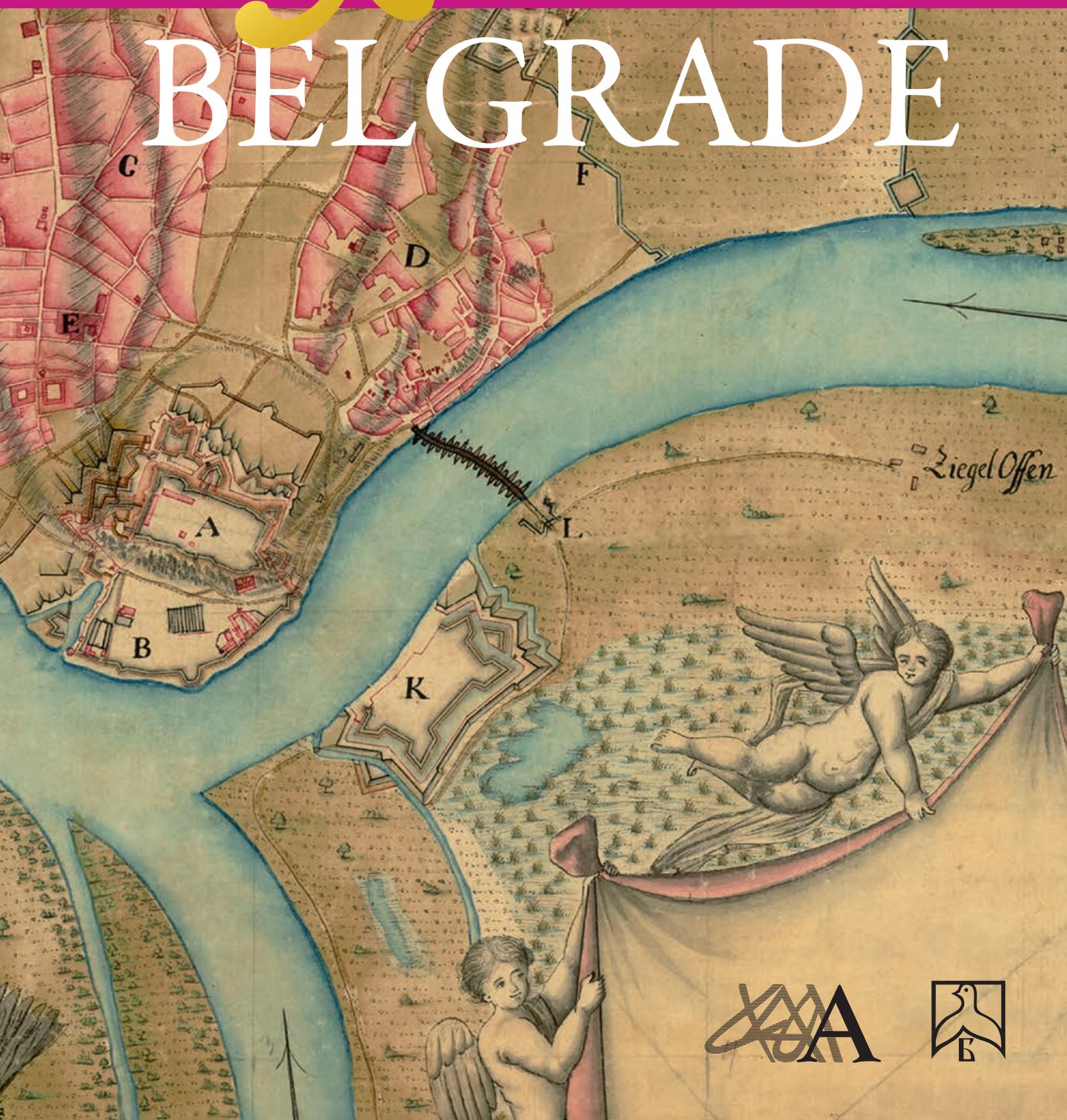


# BAROQUE

# BELGRADE







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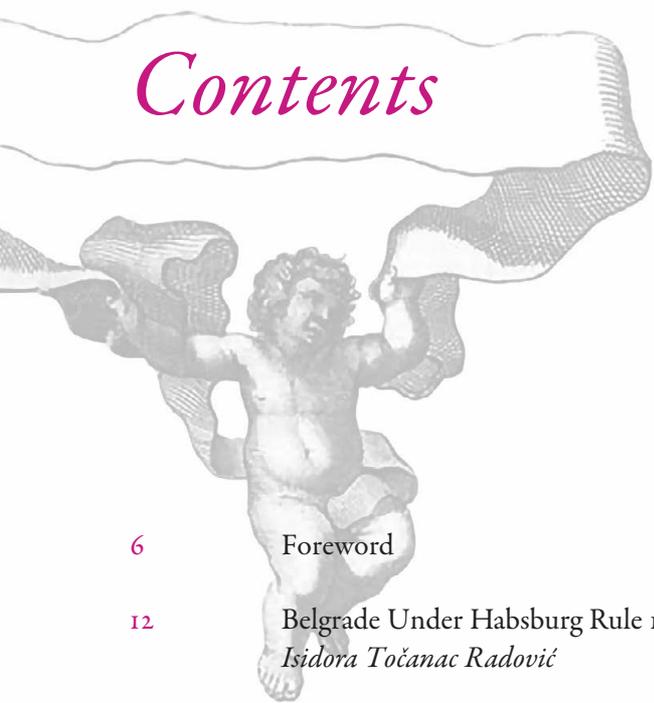
TRANSFORMATION

1717–1739



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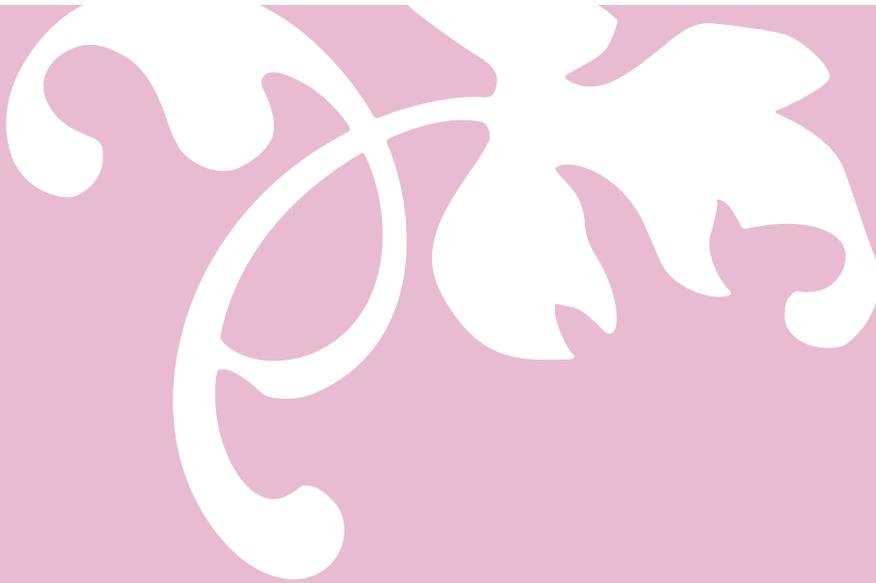
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## *Foreword*

THE RECEPTION OF THE BAROQUE HERITAGE IN BELGRADE IS A VERY intriguing question for the very fact that what has remained of it is extremely modest from the material viewpoint and concealed under layers of later building projects and spatial planning conceptions. For the few experts who research the different phenomena of Baroque culture and art in our country, this short-lived but extremely important period under Habsburg rule, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, represents a crucial step towards the creation of a modern Belgrade. It was a city in transformation, where the Oriental, mercantile *sehir* gave way to the European monumental Baroque in a large-scale reconstruction of its urban structure and buildings. The new shaping of space, designed according to the template of fortified Baroque cities, the pivot of which was the regular urban matrix with visual markers – monumental barracks, palaces and squares – was to convey the Habsburg Monarchy's cultural and political messages in the newly conquered territories, in other words, connect Belgrade to the Central European culture and idea of the Baroque.

In spite of unquestionable town planning and architectural evidence, some experts are cautious when using the term 'Baroque' with the city's name, because it is almost impossible to see 'the real' Baroque in the nature and tissue of Belgrade, perhaps more so because of the fact that it was a Baroque city in the making, commenced in a grandiose manner but never completed. In the estimation of the renowned professor, Pavle Vasić, in its day, 'the Baroque in Belgrade was rather uneven because the buildings ranged from outstanding examples of the Baroque style to stylistically almost expressionless structures, in which functionality was closer to the hearts of the architects than beauty, serving a practical military purpose rather than decorative splendour. The mixture of various elements, Baroque towers and the domes and minarets of



mosques increased the disparities even more and, with Belgrade's outstanding location, contributed greatly to its picturesque appearance.' It is in the unique combination of the already existing and the new that the Baroque in the main Austrian frontier fortress facing the Turks reveals one of its many faces. Consequently, the research of Belgrade's cultural history under Austrian rule is a process full of challenges and constant re-examination.

On the path of learning about the Austrian Baroque in Belgrade, the direction of which was laid out by those who initiated the study of the Modern Age history of the city (Mihailo Valtrović, Teodor Stefanović Vilovski, Dragoljub Pavlović, Radoslav Grujić, Dušan Popović, Pavle Vasić, Rajko Veselinović, Radovan Samardžić, Željko Škalamera, and Marko Popović), valuable contributions have been made during the past few decades, but no comprehensive studies have been produced. The opportunity for a turnabout came with the systematic archaeological investigations, performed during 2008 and 2009 under the leadership of Marko Popović for the Institute of Archaeology's Scientific Research Project on the Belgrade Fortress, and carried out on the south-eastern rampart of the Upper Town, in the area of *Prolom*, a 'breach' in the rampart that occurred during German air raids in April 1941. Along with the discovery of a fortified structure with a subterranean vaulted chamber – the so called *blockhouse* – the investigations brought to light an extraordinarily important group of objects used by the Austrian army stationed in Belgrade between 1717 and 1739.

The extraordinary archaeological context provided not only the necessary stimulus to re-focus the theme to research of the city's cultural history, but also an opportunity, by means of a comprehensive visualisation, to bring Belgrade closer to its Baroque appearance in the measure in which it was planned and partly realised in the early eighteenth century. A several-year

programme of activities was planned with this purpose in the Institute of Archaeology, which in 2017 became the project under the heading 'Baroque Belgrade – the transformation of urban structures and everyday life (1717–1739)'. The result of the project, carried out by the Institute of Archaeology in partnership with the Belgrade City Museum, is this publication and the exhibition accompanied by a catalogue of a matching conception and content.

The present monograph is the product of an effort by a group of experts, specialists in the various aspects of the Baroque heritage in Belgrade and Serbia, viewed in the key of political history and social and cultural phenomena at the beginning of the Modern Age. The framework of the narrative of Baroque Belgrade, and its main protagonists, is laid out by Isidora Točanac Radović, introducing the reader to the volume and character of the transformation of the Ottoman urban settlement into an Austrian fortified city, according to the modern architectural principles of the European Baroque. Introducing the architectural transformation of the city during the period of Austrian rule is a study by Marko Popović, based on a highly detailed analysis of the original material, plans and projects, mainly from the holdings of the Vienna War Archives, and also on archaeological investigations he took part in or headed during his prolific career. The realisation of the project of Colonel Nicolas Doxat de Morez, which encompassed a thorough reconstruction of the fortress, as the heart of the defence system, and the fortified parts of the outer city with its institutions, can be clearly followed through the restitution plans of Belgrade before and after Austrian rule, produced especially for this occasion. Bringing Belgrade and the Austrian Kingdom of Serbia onto the European public scene through the metaphor of the 'war theatre' (*theatrum belli*) is the theme of the respective contributions by Vladimir Simić and Marija Marić Jerinić. Seen through the eyes of artists, copperplate engravers and medallists, Belgrade was the stage of the famed Austrian conquests (1688 and 1717) and its heroes, Prince Eugene of Savoy and Emperor Charles VI, but also a unique means of political propaganda. The theatricalisation of characters and settings, characteristic of the Baroque culture, referred to all the participants in the public life of Belgrade, such as representatives of the administration and the military, dignitaries of the Catholic Church, monastic orders and Orthodox Christian metropolitans. Ana Milošević deals with the self-representation of the dignitaries of the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci, which was reflected both in public – in their apparel and behaviour – and in the appearance and furnishings of the Metropolitan's Residence, in keeping with the idea of *magnificenze* and the protocols of Baroque representation.

The architecture of Baroque Belgrade is a theme of three contributions. Marko Popović discusses the appearance and design solutions for the interior spaces of the oldest Baroque style buildings, such as the infantry barracks and the Main Guard (*Haupt Wacht*) building in the Upper Town of the Belgrade Fortress. Particular attention is paid to the already mentioned blockhouse. Besides the monumental fortifications with new gates – triumphal arches, and the rock-cut Big Gunpowder Magazine, the Great ('Roman') Well certainly represents one of the most significant and innovative engineering ventures, which was to contribute to the grandeur of the main fortress of the Habsburgs in the newly conquered regions. The text by Vladan Zdravković discusses the models followed by the builders of the Austrian well and sheds light on the achievements of Marshal Vauban's school of engineering.

Marina Pavlović deals with the urban concept and architectonic features of the space in the newly designed German Quarter. Besides the barracks of Prince Carl Alexander of Württemberg, the residential-military building which dominated the city, and the Masons' Barracks, erected for the needs of the engineering corps, the appearance of the German part of the city on the Danube-facing slope was enlivened by Waldfortner's house (subsequently the Bishop's Residence), the buildings of the Main Salt Storehouse, the Imperial Chamber's Brewery, a row of houses belonging to artisans and merchants – of which only one has survived to this day, at 10 Cara Dušana Street – the building known as the 'Black Eagle' tavern, sacral buildings, schools and hospitals.

Two contributions from the domain of material culture complete this book. The Europeanisation of Belgrade at the beginning of the eighteenth century is visible in the objects that its inhabitants used each day and on special occasions. In the judgement of Vesna Bikić, the accessibility of consumer goods, regardless of ethnic and social affiliation and financial status, made it possible for Belgrade not only to become part of the Habsburg Central Europe but also to adopt the (multi)cultural concept of a modern European city, into which it was supposed to be ultimately transformed. Josip Šarić discusses the development of light infantry weapons and the system of firing flintlock muskets from the perspective of making usable flints by chipping/flaking, a technology that originated in prehistory.

Each scientific undertaking is a joint effort, and this one has been finished thanks to the support and assistance of colleagues and friends. Over time, in the 'Soldiers' Kitchen' in the Lower Town of the Belgrade Fortress, a division of the Institute of Archaeology that houses the documentation centre of the scientific research project on the Belgrade Fortress, a dynamic atmosphere of study and dialogue was created, to which Marko Popović gave his unique imprint in the course of the decades. His dedicated, inexhaustible spirit of research was also built into this book in many ways.

Stefan Pop-Lazić, Uglješa Vojvodić and Vladan Vidosavljević contributed to the illustrated part of the book. Bojan Kovačević introduced us at the appropriate moment to Tihomir Dičić who enriched the book with technical drawings and reconstructions of buildings. Besides the Belgrade City Museum, other cultural institutions supported the project and this publication by providing illustrative material and objects from their collections, for which we owe them a debt of gratitude.

We are also grateful to the institutions that enabled the realisation of the several year long research of the Modern Age history of Belgrade and this publication. They are the Secretariat for Culture of the Belgrade City Assembly, the Ministry of Culture and Information and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development. The Deloitte d.o.o. Belgrade company and its general manager, Mr Miloš Macura, also gave us much needed support at a crucial point.

We hope that, thanks to these contributions, the spaces and spirit of Baroque Belgrade, the way they were conceived at the Habsburg Court and created in the twenty-odd years of Austrian rule of the city, will become clearer, more palpable and appreciated than until now.

*The Editor*

DONAU STROM

PARTIE VON BANAT

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DESCRIPTION

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| B. UNIERE VESTUNG ODER WASSERSTADT  | H. NEUANGELEGTES CRONWERCK             |
| C. TEUTSCHE STADT                   | I. TÜRKISCHE SCHANIZ IN DER DONAUINSIE |
| D. RAITZEN STADT                    | K. NEUANGELEGTES HORNWERCK             |
| E. GOVERNEMENT                      | L. TET DU PONT                         |
| F. LINIE WORMIT DIE ZWEY STÄDTE EIN | M. REDOUTE SOINZEIT DER BELACE         |

GESCHLOSSEN  
ZU BEFÖRDERUNG UND AUFKOMME DES KONIG REICHS SERVIEN  
auf begeh Euer Hochlob. Kayserl. Administration zu Belgrad durch Veranhaltung des  
Haußhans Amigans Vermittelst der alda anwesenden Fürsten Matocias  
als And. Zerrub, Fridrich Molan u. Franz Keyser  
im Jahr 1721 aufgenom. u. de 1722 Zickel  
verfertiget.

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EXPLICATION  
der  
ZEICHEN dieser MAPPA

- Dörffer und Mejer hieß
- Schiff und andere Mühlen
- Weinberge
- Gackertes land
- Wustes
- Garten
- Wiesen
- Rohr und Morast
- Wale
- Busch
- Gemauerte brunnen und quellen
- Wasser
- Wege
- Türkische Appchen



**AUSRECHNUNG**  
dieser  
**MAPPÆ**  
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Die Vestung und Stadt	461 $\frac{3}{4}$ Joch
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Wiesen	4360 $\frac{1}{4}$ Joch
Rohr und Morast	1652 $\frac{1}{2}$ Joch
Wald	5381 Joch
Busch	1804 $\frac{1}{2}$ Joch

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Exclusive der Situation von Slavonien



ISIDORA TOČANAC RADOVIĆ

## *Belgrade Under Habsburg Rule, 1717–1739*

Owing to its favourable geographic location at the confluence of the Danube and the Sava rivers, Belgrade was an important post on the main Balkan thoroughfare – the *via militaris*, or the *Imperial* or *Constantinople Road*, which ran to Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) – and was, therefore, of great military and strategic, economic and commercial importance for every one of its rulers. Often on the edge of empires or on the path of conquests, it changed masters many times in the course of its history. Each change was reflected, to a smaller or greater extent, in the appearance and character of the city and the size and composition of its population. The largest two changes, which involved a complete transformation of the city, occurred after the Ottoman conquest of Belgrade in 1521, when Belgrade was transformed from a European-style city into an Oriental *şehir*, and after the Habsburg conquest of 1717, when the Oriental-style town was quickly transformed into a fortified Baroque city.

### *Ottoman Belgrade, 1521–1717*

During Hungarian rule, the Christian Belgrade was the biggest obstacle to Ottoman military campaigns aimed at conquering Central Europe. After the failed sieges of 1440 and 1456, Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566) succeeded in conquering Belgrade in 1521. The city was added to the Sanjak of Smederevo, an Ottoman administrative region along the border of the empire, and soon became its capital. It was the largest military centre in the European part of the Ottoman Empire and the starting point for all its subsequent conquests in Europe. Already in 1536, it was elevated to the status of *şehir*, a Muslim city of the highest rank. After the conquest of Buda and the establishment of the Sanjak of Buda in 1541, Belgrade found itself far behind the Ottoman frontier. It was no longer a primary military base, but played a major part in military logistics, as weapons, equipment and food supplies for the army were stored in it, and it was also a safe place for

\* This paper is a result of research that is part of the project *From Universal Empires to National States. Social and Political Changes in Serbia and the Balkans* (grant no. 177030) of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

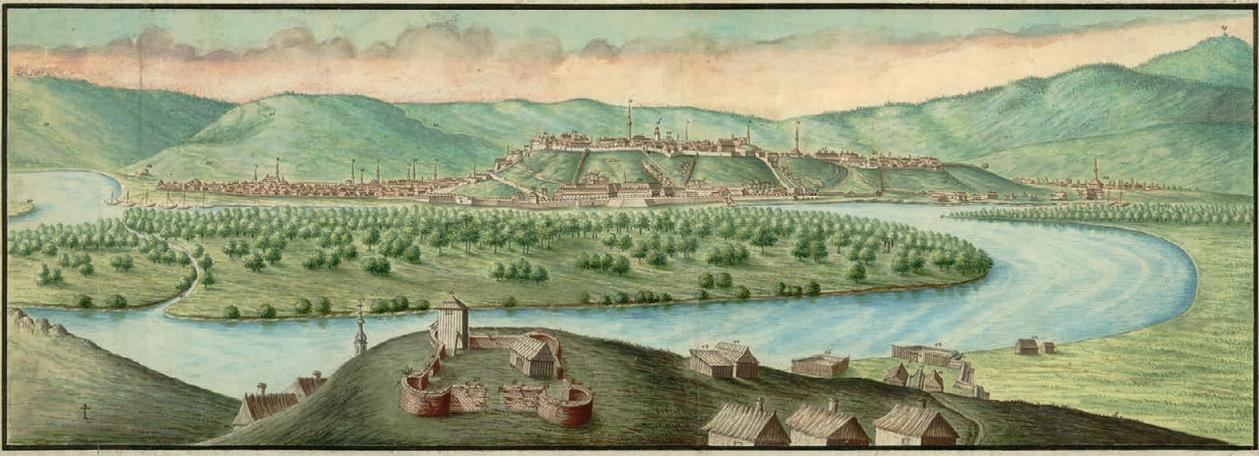


Fig. 1. Panorama of Ottoman Belgrade  
(Austrian State Archives, Vienna, sig. G VI 1188)

the campaigning army in winter. In the ensuing period of peace, it developed into an economic and commercial centre, its area expanded and its population increased. The development of Belgrade was intermittently interrupted by plague epidemics and large fires, but it was not threatened by war. The peak of Belgrade's economic growth came in the middle of the seventeenth century, when travel writer Evliya Çelebi dubbed it *Egypt of Rumelia*. During that time, commodities from Arab and Persian lands reached Habsburg and German cities, and even Sweden, by way of Belgrade, and also the other way round.<sup>1</sup>

When it fell under Ottoman rule, Belgrade became part of Islamic civilization and was gradually orientalized (fig. 1). Sultan Süleyman I found a medieval Christian city protected by ramparts and high towers, with a suburb outside it. As in every other conquered Christian city, the first thing Ottoman authorities did was to convert churches into mosques. Thus the old Metropolitan Church of the Dormition, located in the Lower Town of the Belgrade For-

ress, was converted into the Great Mosque of Sultan Suleiman immediately after he had entered the city. Founders played the main role in the transformation of Belgrade, as they erected not only religious, but also economic, educational and other facilities. Thus numerous mosques, *masjeds* and madrasas filled the city. Inns and caravanserais were also built, the biggest of the latter being the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's caravanserai with *bedestan*. There were also public baths, *bedestans*, bazaars, and marketplaces. City neighbourhoods were divided into *mahalles*, which were usually formed around religious facilities. The neighbourhoods featured small Ottoman-style houses made from wood or wattle and daub. The streets were narrow and curving, many of them coming to a dead end. Besides its majority Turkish Muslim inhabitants, Belgrade also had a Christian population. The Orthodox Christian community was mostly comprised of Serbs, followed by Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians. Most members of the Roman Catholic community were Ragusan traders and Roman

<sup>1</sup> On the conquest of Belgrade in 1521, its development as an Ottoman military, economic, commercial and cultural centre, its fortress and quarters and inhabitants, see Шабановић, *Урбани развојак Београда*; idem, *Београд као ујравно-војно и привредно седиште*; idem, *Град и његово сјановништво*; Самарцић, *Београд у међународној трговини*; Тричковић, *Београд под турском влашћу*; Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 157–208; Fotić, *Belgrade: A Muslim and Non-Muslim Cultural Centre*.

Catholics from Bosnia, but Croats, Dalmatians, Italians and Hungarians are mentioned as well. There were also Jews, Hungarian Protestants and several Muslim and Christian Roma.

The Great Turkish War (1683–1699) left a permanent mark on Belgrade. In a short period of time, it was conquered twice, suffering heavy human losses and destruction. It sustained substantial damage from bombardments and it took years, even decades, to rebuild it. Habsburg rule, however, was short-lived, lasting from September of 1688 to October of 1690. All efforts were concentrated on reconstructing the fortress and building facilities needed by the army and there was, therefore, no time to make any substantial changes in the city itself. In the period after the Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlovcı), signed in 1699, by which the empire lost many of its territories in the north and west, retaining only the Banat and a part of Syrmia, Belgrade remained the largest Ottoman city on the border with the Habsburg Monarchy. It once again became the seat of the military frontier command, a large, seething military camp, constantly unsettled by revolts. This continued until the next war, when, after it was recaptured by the Habsburgs in 1717, Belgrade underwent a new major transformation.<sup>2</sup>

### *Habsburg conquest of Belgrade of 1717*

The Ottoman invasion of the Venetian holdings in the Peloponnese in late 1714 was in breach of the terms of the Treaty of Karlowitz and led to a new war. The Habsburg Monarchy entered the war in the spring of 1716 with great ambitions. Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–1740) entrusted the command of the army to the President of the Imperial War Council, Prince

Eugene of Savoy, who heavily defeated Ottoman forces in the Battle of Petrovaradin on August 5, 1716 (figs. 2, 3). During the battle, Grand Vizier Damad Ali Pasha was deadly wounded.<sup>3</sup> The victorious Habsburg army continued the campaign by invading Temesvár and, by the end of November, captured the entire Banat.<sup>4</sup>

From the outset, the main objective of Prince Eugene of Savoy was to conquer Belgrade, because he regarded the city as crucial for the outcome of the war. Belgrade was the *gate of the Orient* and its capture would enable the Habsburg army to penetrate deep into the Ottoman territory. Due to the importance of Belgrade to the Ottoman Empire, both in the military-strategic and psychological respects, Prince Eugene was aware that the Ottoman army would not abandon it easily and would engage in battle below the city or defend it to the last man. As Belgrade had held a special place in the centuries-long conflict between Christianity and Islam, an atmosphere similar to that before the Crusades was created on the eve of the Habsburg army's campaign. The great interest of the Habsburg and European public in the campaign is attested by the fact that around forty princes and members of high nobility from Habsburg provinces, German states, Poland and other areas arrived at Prince Eugene's headquarters. They included members of the Hohenzollern, Sobieski and Condé families, the sons of Maximilian of Bavaria, and many others. Even the Russian Tsar Peter the Great sent Prince Gagarin as his representative. The majority of the aristocrats were not mature, skilled or experienced enough, nor were they fit to serve as officers and fight, but their presence was a matter of prestige and desire to participate in fateful events.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Веселиновић, *Београд од 1683. го 1717. године*, 5–25; idem, *Рајтови Турске и Аустрије*, 465–519; Тричковић, *Београд њог југословенском влашћу*, 110–118.

<sup>3</sup> The mausoleum (*türbe*) of Damad Ali Pasha was built in the Upper Town of the Belgrade Fortress in 1784.

<sup>4</sup> Веселиновић, *Београд њог влашћу Аустрије*, 523.

<sup>5</sup> Бешлин, *Евџеније Савојски*, 475–476, 496.



Fig. 2. Gustav Adolph Müller, *Keiser Karl VI*, 1730, – after the original by Jacob van Schuppen (Erdmannsdörffer, *Deutsche Geschichte II*)



Fig. 3. Jacob van Schuppen, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen nach der Schlacht von Belgrad am 16. August 1717*, 1718 (The Austrian Gallery Belvedere, Vienna – Copyright Public domain)

The Belgrade campaign began in late May of 1717, when the Habsburg army, nearly 150,000 strong, including around 10,000 Serbs from the Military Frontier, moved from its wintering camps and assembled at Pančevo. The direction of the assault was different than during previous campaigns, when the main body of the Habsburg army advanced from Syrmia and crossed the Sava river at Ostružnica, whence it continued towards Belgrade. This was exactly the direction from which the Ottoman defences expected the attack to come again. However, at a suggestion of General Claude Florimund of Mercy, Prince Eugene led the assault on Belgrade from the Banat. The Habsburg forces started crossing the Danube near the village of Višnjica on June 15 and two days later headed for a plateau at the village of Mirijevo and on to the area of Vračar. They

immediately laid siege to Belgrade, set up two siege lines between the Sava and the Danube, firmly enclosing the city from the landward side, with Prince Eugene's command post between them. The Belgrade Fortress was defended by a garrison of around 30,000 men, commanded by Mustafa Pasha, who awaited the arrival of the main force of the Ottoman army. Because they were slow to get ready and assemble at Adrianople, the Ottoman forces of around 200,000 troops, led by the Grand Vizier Khalil Pasha, set off as late as early June and arrived at Belgrade on August 1. The decisive battle for Belgrade took place on August 16, 1717 and culminated in a devastating defeat of the Ottoman troops and Khalil Pasha's retreat. The Belgrade Fortress was not yet taken and, because its commander declined to hand it over, it was bombarded for another two days.



Fig. 4. Johann Theodor Boethius, *Prospect des Kayserlichen Großen Conferenz-Zelts zu Pasarowitz, allwo der Friede tractiret und den 21. Julii 1718 geschlossen worden*, copperplate engraving, Leipzig 1719.

University and State Library of Saxony-Anhalt, sig. VD18 1153883X

(<http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/id/5384101>)

On August 18, Mustafa Pasha signed the treaty of capitulation and surrender of the fortress.<sup>6</sup>

The victory at Belgrade was a great success of the Habsburg army. The restoration of the city to a Christian ruler resonated across Europe as a triumph of the imperial power of Charles VI and the Habsburg dynasty and of the unquestionable military skills of the *Noble Knight*, Prince Eugene of Savoy. The Habsburg monarch and Holy Roman Emperor was a defender of the Christian faith, victorious over the evil Ottoman invaders, and a protector of the state and the lives and property of his subjects. The conquest of Belgrade and the subsequent peace treaty were glorified in artis-

tic, literary and musical works dedicated to the ruler and Prince Eugene, as well as in their depictions on medals and coins.<sup>7</sup>

The entry of Eugene of Savoy into Belgrade fuelled expectations that the army would continue its victorious campaign in the south and southeast. The retreat of the grand vizier and the remaining Ottoman army opened the door for the imperial forces to advance nearly as far as Niš. However, the landing of the Spanish army in Habsburg Sardinia on August 20, 1717 precipitated the opening of a new front in Italy and stunned Charles VI's ambitions to continue his conquests. With the mediation of England and Holland, he agreed

<sup>6</sup> For more on the siege and battle of Belgrade, see Веселиновић, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије*, 524–527; Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 208–210; Бешлин, *Евгеније Савојски*, 499, 501–506.

<sup>7</sup> Simić, *Patriotism and Propaganda*, 267–286; Milošević, *The Festival Book for the Exchange*, 239–253; Бешлин, *Евгеније Савојски*, 509–512. For more on medals, see M. Marić-Jerinić's contribution in this collection of papers, pp.

to negotiate peace with Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730). While diplomatic activities and preparations for the negotiations were going on, fighting with the Ottomans in Serbia did not cease completely. It involved Serbian frontiersmen and rebels from the Sanjak of Smederevo, the most prominent of them being Todor Prodanović and Staniša Marković Mlatišuma. By the time the peace treaty was concluded, they had occupied the territory enclosed by the rivers Sava, Kamenica, Western Morava and Timok.<sup>8</sup>

The peace treaty between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, based on the principle of *uti possidetis* (fig. 4), was signed at Passarowitz (Požarevac) on July 21, 1718. Each of the belligerents retained the territories controlled by its army at the time of the signing of the treaty. Territorially, the Habsburg Monarchy substantially expanded, as it gained the Banat, Lesser Wallachia, a narrow strip of Bosnia along the rivers Sava and Una, parts of Syrmia, and a large part of Serbia. The conquest of southern Syrmia and the Banat ended the Habsburg-Ottoman wars over Hungarian possessions that had started with the Battle of Mohács and the election of Ferdinand of Habsburg as King of Hungary in 1526.<sup>9</sup>

### *Kingdom of Serbia*

Charles VI retained the majority of the newly conquered territories under his direct rule and divided them into two separate administrative entities – the Kingdom of Serbia (*Königreich Servien*) and the Banat of Temesvár (*Temisvarer Banat*). They were governed through two central bureaus in Vienna, that is, the Imperial War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) and the Imperial Department of Finance (*Hofkammer*), as well as by the respective provincial governments in

Temesvár and Belgrade. The Kingdom of Serbia, with Belgrade as its capital, did not encompass the entire conquered territories south of the Sava and the Danube, but only 15 counties, or districts (Belgrade, Grocka, Smederevo, Požarevac, Rama, Gradište, Resava, Paraćin, Jagodina, Kragujevac, Rudnik, Valjevo, Šabac, Jadar, and Palež). Eastern Serbian lands, divided into seven districts, were placed under the authority of the provincial government in Temesvár (fig. 5).

In 1717, a provisional military administration, headed by General Joseph Anton, Count of O'Dwyer, was appointed to govern the Kingdom of Serbia. A civilian government took over when the Provincial Administration (*Landes Administration*), with its seat in Belgrade, was installed in 1720. Prince Karl Alexander of Württemberg (r. 1720–1733) was the person who held the post of the Administration President longest, and he was also Governor (royal regent). He was succeeded in 1733 by Field Marshal Franz, Count of Marulli, and the last Habsburg regent of Serbia, Field Marshal George Olivier, Count of Wallis, was appointed in November of 1738.<sup>10</sup>

Charles VI's direct authority over the Kingdom of Serbia meant that he was not only the ruler, but also the undisputed owner and lord of the land. He could exert his unlimited influence on the population policies or economic development of the region. There were no restrictions such as those imposed on him in some of the crown lands and provinces that constituted the Habsburg Monarchy by the nobility and curiae, landowners or the Roman Catholic Church, which was a major landowner.<sup>11</sup> By emphasizing his title of the King of Serbia (*Serviae rex*), which he inherited together with the crown of Hungary and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbia, Charles VI wished clearly to demonstrate his

<sup>8</sup> Веселиновић, *Србија под аустријском влашћу*, 111.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 111; Dabić, *The Habsburg-Ottoman War*, 191.

<sup>10</sup> Павловић, *Административна и црквена историја*, 19–20.

<sup>11</sup> Dabić, *The Habsburg-Ottoman War*, 192.



became a fortified Baroque city, wherein the traces of the former Ottoman rule were gradually erased.

The guiding thought of the state authorities was to transform Belgrade into an impregnable fortress following the principles of fortification design set down by French Marshal Vauban. First, the rubble was cleared and the fortress was adapted to satisfy the needs of defence, whilst at the same time, experts were looking for the best method of fortifying the city. When Colonel Nicolas Doxat de Morez was appointed head of the Fortress Construction Administration, the work intensified following his designs. The Belgrade Fortress was reconstructed as the main bulwark of defence and civilians were not allowed, as they had been during Ottoman rule, to settle in its Upper and Lower Town. Simultaneously with the work on the fortress, new ramparts were being built around the city to protect the existing Danube and Sava Quarters. The two quarters were redesigned in accordance with a new, grid street plan and new structures were built from solid materials. Construction of outworks on the respective left banks of the Sava and the Danube also began. Over the next two decades, Belgrade was a big construction site. When a new war with the Ottoman Empire broke out in 1737, Doxat's project had been nearly completed.<sup>12</sup>

The fortified city that was growing under the beady eye of the emperor and the Imperial War Council in Vienna consisted of two parts that served different purposes. They were the Belgrade Fortress (*Festung/Vöftung Belgrad*), the military stronghold, and, next to it, the civilian capital of the Kingdom of Serbia (*Hauptstadt Belgrad*). The city comprised two settlements, i.e., the Danube Quarter and the Sava Quarter. During Habsburg rule, they were protected by strong, newly constructed ramparts, which ran from the area of present-

day Republic Square down in the direction of Francuska and Skadarska Streets to the Danube, and on the other side, through present-day Obilićev, Topličin and Kosančićev Venac Streets towards the Sava. These inner quarters were regarded as separate administrative units, with their own municipal authorities and fiscal obligations, and for this reason they were often referred to as the *city* (*Stadt*). They were not part of the Belgrade District, which further testifies to their special status. Due to changes in the structure of the Belgrade population, the said quarters assumed ethnic distinctions and were respectively dubbed 'German' and 'Serbian' quarters. They are always separately referred to in documents as *Deutsche oder Donaustadt Belgrad* and *Raizen- oder Savestadt Belgrad* (fig. 6).<sup>13</sup> Since the seat of the administrative, economic and judicial institutions, as well as of the Roman Catholic Church, was in the Danube Quarter and high officers and clerks lived there, it was only natural that this part of the city was regarded by the Habsburg authorities and its predominantly German population as Belgrade, the throne city. For the Serbs, on the other hand, *Beligrad* referred to the Sava Quarter, which was the seat of the Belgrade Metropolitanate and the centre of their religious and political life.

#### *Belgrade – its population and quarters*

The change of masters resulted in demographic changes in Belgrade, particularly in the Danube Quarter, which prior to 1717 had predominantly been inhabited by Muslim Turks. After the surrender of the fortress and the departure of the Ottoman garrison, the entire Turkish population left Belgrade and some 900 Turkish houses in the Danube Quarter were deserted. In line with the state colonization policy, Germans were encouraged to settle in

<sup>12</sup> For more on the reconstruction of the Belgrade Fortress and construction of fortifications around the two quarters, see Поповић М., *Пројектии Николе Доксајиа ге Мореза*; idem, *Београдска њврђава* (Друго допуњено издање), 211–250.

<sup>13</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 200, 241.

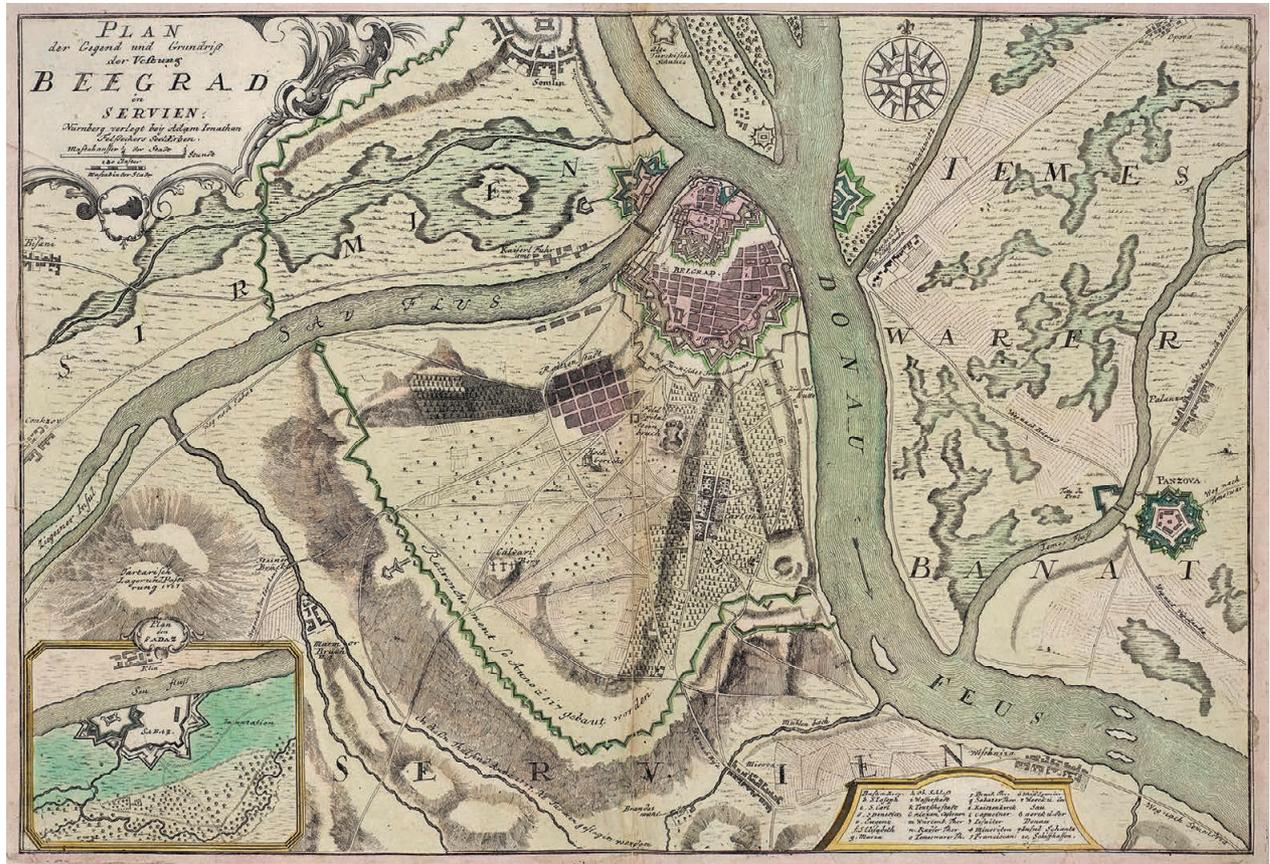


Fig. 6. Adam Jonathan Felscecker,  
*Plan der Gegend und Grundriss der Vestung Belgrad in Servien*, Nürnberg 1737  
 (Belgrade City Museum, I, 331)

the city. The Germans came not only from Habsburg provinces, but also from various other parts of the Holy Roman Empire, mostly from Alsace, Lorraine and Worms. There were also Hungarians and, to a lesser extent, Czechs, Italians and even the French. The newcomers settled in the Danube Quarter, where they were allowed to move into empty Turkish houses. By November of 1717, 343 German families had already lived in Belgrade; 333 of them settled in the Danube Quarter and ten in the Sava Quarter. The settlers were predominantly poor people, who followed the army hoping for a better life in a new environment. Other settlers included merchants and craftsmen, as

well as veterans of Prince Eugene of Savoy's army. However, some Serbs, Roman Catholic Armenians and Sephardic Jews remained to live in the Danube Quarter after the conquest.<sup>14</sup>

During the period of Ottoman rule, most Serbs lived in the Sava Quarter, but a number of their families also resided in the Danube Quarter. Aside from the Serbs, the Orthodox Christian population included Greeks, Aromanians and Armenians. From 1717, Serbian merchants and craftsmen who had fled Belgrade in 1690 and predominantly settled in Buda, started coming back. Thus, after the Treaty of Passarowitz, old Belgraders Nikola Dimitrijević Čukurhanlija, Ilija Bošnjak, Zaka Dobrić,

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 195, 203; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 183–185.

Nenad Ilić, the father of the future Metropolitan Pavle Nenadović, and many others returned. The majority of them claimed their former property, but they also undoubtedly searched for new business opportunities. There was great interest among the Serbs in settling in Belgrade. Buda *birov* (Serb municipality president) Stojko Petrović ironically remarked about them that ‘some had gone to Belgrade to grab houses and shops’, and that even the teacher had gone, abandoning his students and school.<sup>15</sup>

The earliest data on the size of the population and ethnic structure of Belgrade’s quarters under Habsburg rule are from November of 1717, when a census was taken for the purpose of employing forced labourers for digging trenches around the city (*Schanzarbeit*), which was mandatory for the inhabitants of both quarters. The total number of families living in the Danube Quarter was 459; of these, 333 were German, 39 Serbian, 29 Armenian, 11 Hungarian and 47 Jewish (34 Sephardic and 13 Ashkenazic). The number of families in the Sava Quarter was 465–455 Serbian and ten German. According to some estimates, around 5,000 people lived in 942 Belgrade families.<sup>16</sup>

The populace of the Danube Quarter diminished over a short period of time, because many had left in order to evade forced labour. The population, not just in Belgrade, had to do physical work for the state 153 days a year, including 42 days of digging trenches around the city and doing preliminary work related to the construction of fortifications around the two quarters. By the end of December of 1717, 104 families moved out (62 German, 14 Serbian and eight Armenian) and in less than a month the number of families in the Danube Quarter

dropped by 22.65%, amounting to 355.<sup>17</sup> This was one of the reasons for the slow rise in the number of residents of the Danube Quarter, where 394 families were registered in September of 1718.<sup>18</sup> Despite incentives for colonisation, primarily intended for Germans, but also for other Roman Catholics, the population of the Danube Quarter did not increase at a later date, either. Some 400 families, mostly German ones, were mentioned both in 1721 and 1736. Since it was recorded that they were families owning houses, it could be assumed that there were also those that did not own houses and that the total figure was higher, but not by much.<sup>19</sup>

The Sava Quarter was much smaller than the Danube Quarter, both in area and in the size of its population. Its area kept diminishing owing to the construction of fortifications around the quarter, as private land was being appropriated for the purpose and there was no possibility of expanding the quarter in other directions. Even though it had fewer houses, the Sava Quarter seems to have been more densely populated than the Danube Quarter. Data on the size of its population have survived in an incomplete church census from 1733/34. Six hundred and forty-seven people lived in 102 households. Several families, often unrelated by blood, lived in one house, frequently together with their servants. For example, the most numerous was the household of sixteen members. It was the household where Pavle Dimitrijević, Toma Miškov and Maksim and their families and servants lived, but they do not seem to have been related by blood. Based on the average of about six persons per household, it could be assumed that the population of the Serbian Quarter in the mid-1730s was nearly 1,000.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Idem, *Општинска управа у Београду*, 126.

<sup>16</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 195; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 182.

<sup>17</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 195; Dabić, *The Habsburg-Ottoman War*, 199.

<sup>18</sup> Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 112–113.

<sup>19</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 204; Павловић, *Финансије и привреда за време аустријске владавине*, 13.

<sup>20</sup> Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 59–68; Laslett, Clarke, *Houseful and household in an eighteenth-century Balkan city*, 376–380.

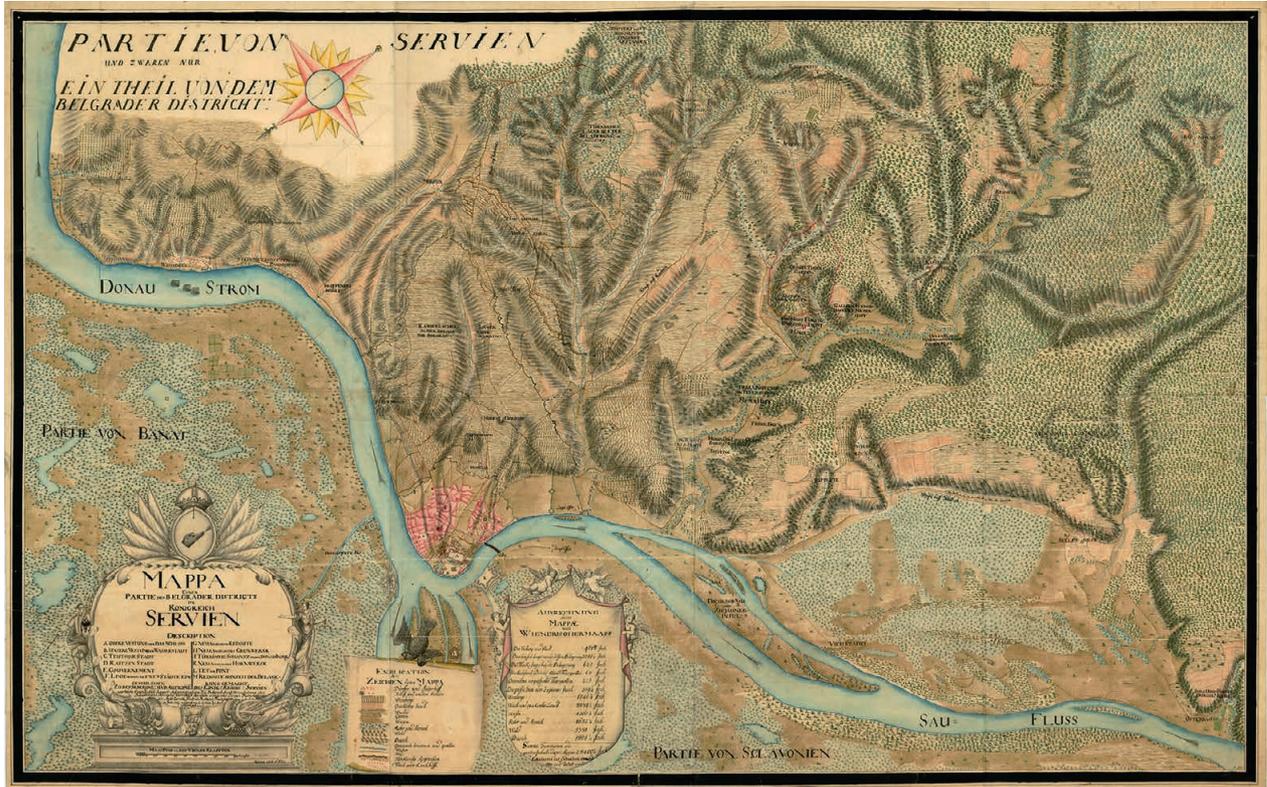


Fig. 7. Der Special Karte von einem Partie des Belgrader Distrikts im Konigreich Servien, 1722 (Vienna War Archive, sig. G Ib 25)

In the 1720s, new settlements were built outside the area protected by ramparts (figs. 7, 8). These were external neighbourhoods, called in the sources ‘German’ and ‘Serbian’ suburbs – *Deutschen Vorstadt* and *Raizen Vorstadt*. They were built in previously uninhabited locations in accordance with spatial plans and were structured like typical European artisan suburbs of the eighteenth century. It is evident from the surviving maps of Belgrade that both settlements had well ordered interior structures and orthogonal networks of streets. The settlements were surrounded by orchards, vineyards and vegetable gardens. Since they were defenceless, they became desolate during the war of 1737–39, when their inhabitants fled before the Ottoman army.<sup>21</sup>

The German suburb, called Carlsthal, developed in the area below present-day Tašmajdan in the direction of the Danube and was predominantly populated by Germans from the Rhenish Palatinate. In the strictly administrative sense, Carlsthal was part of the Belgrade District but not of the capital city. There is not much information on the inner workings and administration of the settlement. Carlsthal played a special role during the next Habsburg-Ottoman war. In the summer of 1737, a lazaretto was established there, that is, a military field hospital, where at least one physician and one surgeon took care of the wounded and sick. Sources mention that in early 1739 the lazaretto was full of people infected with the plague that had spread from the Ottoman army.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година*, 17; Шкаламера, *Београдска Нова доња варош*, 55–57. On the internal structure and distribution of buildings, see M. Popović’s contribution, *Baroque Reconstruction of Belgrade*, in the present book, pp. 38–59.



Fig. 8. Belgrade suburbs – View of Belgrade from the direction of Mount Avala, from de Spar’s atlas, 1738 (Vienna War Archive, sig. BIXb\_113\_Taf. 16\_fol.31)

The New Serbian Quarter, also called Lower Sava Quarter, grew in the area of the Sava-facing slope, some distance from the river. It lay between the present-day streets of Kralja Milana, Sarajevska, Kraljice Natalije and Vojvode Milenka. Its centre, with a square and a church, was at the present-day junction of Nemanjina and Balkanska Streets. The suburb also included a Roma neighbourhood (*Zigeuner Dörfel*, *Zigeuner Gassel*) on the right bank of the Sava. The new quarter was started by the Serbs who had started moving out of the Sava Quarter in 1724 because their houses had been demolished and land appropriated on account of the construction of fortifications, and by those who had moved out of the Danube Quarter. By 1726, when the last Orthodox Christian inhabitants were evicted

from the Danube Quarter, the New Serbian Quarter had been fully formed. The settlement featured a parish church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, whose construction, financed from contributions made by parishioners, started in 1726. The churchyard also housed a small *trivial* (elementary) school.<sup>23</sup> A church census of 1733/34 records the names of 709 inhabitants of the New Quarter, who lived in 90 households. Since the record is incomplete, there were certainly more residents. Among the New Quarter households was one with as many as 23 members. There lived Stanoje Miloradov, Blagoje Mihailov, Stojadin and Stojan Dobrovojev, and a certain Stanko, all with their respective families. The average of nearly eight members per household was higher than the Sava Quarter average.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 246; Стефановић-Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 22; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 180; Митровић, *Погаџи о Србији*, 290, 333, 339–341.

<sup>23</sup> Шкаламера, *Београдска Нова доња варош*, 54–64; Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 139–142, 146–156.

<sup>24</sup> Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 68–76.

The last data on the size of the Belgrade population are from May of 1738. According to a report of Belgrade's Roman Catholic Bishop Francesco Antonio, there were 15,000 people in the area of Belgrade. The bishop included military personnel and state officials in the figure and also the people living in the suburbs. According to religious affiliation, there were 9,000 Roman Catholics, 6,000 Orthodox Christians and 500 Jews. The large number of Roman Catholics was certainly a result of the war and the arrival of the army, which was stationed in Belgrade. This is hinted by the bishop himself, who states that only 2,500 believers are under his jurisdiction and 6,500 are under the jurisdiction of Jesuit military chaplains, i.e., the Society of Jesus.<sup>25</sup> The number of Orthodox people was also much higher than in peacetime conditions. Jesuits were military chaplains and were allowed to do pastoral work in Belgrade. The report of bishop Francesco Antonio depicts a city teeming with refugees and soldiers trapped by war.

#### *German and Serbian municipalities*

The respective municipal administrations of the German and Serbian Quarters were organised in a similar but not identical manner. Each municipality was headed by some sort of president, who acted as a representative of and mediator for the residents before city authorities, performed municipal tasks and acted as a magistrate in minor disputes. In the German Quarter, he bore the title of *Stadtrichter*, and in the Serbian Quarter he was called *knez* and *birov*. A body of municipal administration was the Council (*Rath*), known as *Magistrat* in the German Quarter and *Tanač* in the Serbian Quarter. As the Council had certain judicial

prerogatives, its members also served as jurors. Some Council members were chosen to assist the president in his everyday duties and bore the titles of *Rathsverwandt* and *eškut*, respectively. The Council had its own notary (*syndic*), interpreter and clerks. Serbs from Buda, particularly former Belgraders who had returned after 1717, played an important part in the establishment of the Serbian municipality, which is reflected in the names of the municipal bodies.<sup>26</sup>

In 1717, the head of the German municipality was Friedrich Stadler, who tried hard to resolve the problems encountered by the new settlers. Among other things, he attempted to relieve the residents of the Danube Quarter of their financial and labour-related obligations to the state that had been imposed on them and to fulfil the promise of state authorities that all the settlers in the newly conquered territories would enjoy certain tax reliefs and other benefits. On account of this, he travelled to Vienna in 1718, but to no avail. Neither did he shirk from engaging in disputes with the military authorities, which threatened to arrest him because he defied orders. During Stadler's term of office, the Danube Quarter was divided into six neighbourhoods supervised by headmen (*Viertelmeister*). After 1721, when he was reappointed *Stadtrichter*, he was actively involved in drafting proposals for a reorganisation of the municipality. He tried to have the Danube Quarter raised to the rank of a free royal town, which would allow it to enjoy a certain level of autonomy from the central authorities. The proposal was rejected by Vienna on the grounds that, among other things, if such a rank were granted to the German Quarter, it would restrict the influence of the military authorities, which was unacceptable in view of the military and strategic significance of Belgrade.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Јачов, *Сјиси Тајној вайиканској архива*, 279–280.

<sup>26</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 200; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд* 263; idem, *Ойштинска ујрава у Београду*, 127, 130.

<sup>27</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 195, 199, 204; Павловић, *Финансије и њивреда за време аустријске владавине*, 11–12; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 201–205.



Fig. 9a. Seal of the Sava Quarter

(Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Archives at Sremski Karlovci: Holdings of the Metropolitanate-Patriarchy Archive B, 1726/10 I)

Fig. 9b. Signature of Hadji Gavriilo Rašković with the seal of the Sava Quarter.

(Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Archives at Sremski Karlovci: Holdings of the Metropolitanate-Patriarchy Archive B, 1726/10 II)

Charles VI approved the Statute of the Danube Quarter on February 18, 1724. The Statute provided for the manner of electing members of the *Magistrat* and its president for a term of two years, and specified their duties and obligations. When the *Magistrat* was constituted for the first time in accordance with the new Statute, Stadler was re-elected to the post of municipality president. The Statute provided that the quarter should have its own physician, a pharmacy, a small hospital with twelve beds, a community hall, an inn, and a captain and a sergeant responsible for maintaining peace and order. A cadastre was established and kept in the *Magistrat*. A treasury was set up and the quarter collected taxes from land and shops, municipal excises, fines, and taxes from fairs, wine, etc. In the Statute, the German Quarter is consistently called *Stadt Belgrad* or simply *Stadt*, and its chief official is called *Bürgermeister*, i.e., mayor. The *Stadt* had its own seal with the inscription *Alba Graeca recuperata anno 1717* ('Belgrade recaptured in 1717'). The Statute also provided for a full separation of the German Quarter from the Serbian Quarter, which was to be effected in the following two years. This implied moving non-Catholic residents out of the Danube

Quarter, which began as soon as 1724. It was completed in November of 1726, when the town drummer announced an order stating that the remaining Serbs had to move out within the next twenty-four hours. Thus, the German Quarter became a nearly homogenous Roman Catholic German Quarter in both religious and ethnic terms. In 1728, a new mayor, Christoph Schönholz, is mentioned.<sup>28</sup>

The first president of the Serbian Municipality (*birov*) under Habsburg rule was Avram Đurić, mentioned in the sources from 1711 as Belgrade chief (*knez*). Already in 1717, he signed himself as *birov*. From 1722, at first intermittently and thereafter permanently, the presidents of the Sava Municipality used the title *veliki birov* (grand president), which was also borne by the presidents of politically influential Serb municipalities, such as the ones in Buda and Temesvár. The *birov* and *Tanač* (Council) of the Serbian Municipality were elected for a one-year term. The councillors (*tanačnici*) were elected by guilds and therefore they were representatives of artisan and merchant associations in the municipal administration. Newly elected councillors appeared before the metropolitan to receive his blessing. Thus, in 1720, 16 councillors, elected by the

<sup>28</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 204–210; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 205–207; Веселиновић, *Београд њод влашћу Аустрије*, 529.

guilds of merchants, cloth makers, tailors, furriers, hatters, boot makers, grocers, bakers, chandlers, goldsmiths, carpenters, butchers, fishermen, coachmen, diggers and boatmen, came before Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović. The election of the *birov* did not take place in the Council but at a public assembly. Avram Đurić was elected in 1724 with 76 votes in his favour. Public assemblies, in which all adult men could participate, were convened on special occasions, such as, for example, when the Serbian Quarter elected its representative at a National-Church Congress.<sup>29</sup>

The most respected and influential members of the community were elected to the position of the Belgrade *birov* and oftentimes it was the same person year upon year. Some of the most prominent figures were Hadži-Gavriilo Rašković (elected at least seven times), Avram Đurić (five times) and Antonije Jovanović (at least three times) (figs. 9a, b). The last *birov* was Teodor Petrović. The Belgrade *birov* played an important part in the national and church life in both the Sava Quarter and among all the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy. He participated in all the meetings and councils convened by the metropolitan, represented Belgrade and the Kingdom of Serbia at National-Church Congresses and was selected a member of delegations that travelled to Vienna on business of national importance or accompanied the metropolitan on such trips.<sup>30</sup>

In all likelihood, the Sava Quarter was reorganised as a municipality in 1724, but it is not known whether it was done by a statute, as in the case of the Danube Quarter, or by a different type of legal document. Thereafter, a representative of the Belgrade Administration attended the election of the *Tanač*. In mid-January of 1724, the Administration confirmed the new members of the *Tanač* and the re-election of Avram Đurić as the *birov*. The follow-

ing year, the Municipality started using a new seal, which bore an image of the Holy Archangel Michael, the patron saint of the Serbian Quarter, and the inscription *Сви ѱечайи савске вароши. 1725* (Seal of the Sava Quarter, 1725). Not a lot is known about this new organisation of the Serbian Municipality because of the scarcity of information. It can only be assumed that some of the services were organised similarly to those provided by the German Quarter Municipality. Thus, for example, the Municipality kept books of receipts and expenditures and had its own treasury. There was a community hall housing the municipal office and archives. A section of its basement served as a jail. Peace and order in the quarter were maintained by *pandur* guards.<sup>31</sup>

#### *Belgrade as an economic centre*

The two Belgrade quarters were centres of small business, with numerous craftsmen and retailers catering to the needs of the local residents and authorities. There were craftsmen who made clothes (tailors, furriers), footwear (boot makers, slipper makers), metal objects (blacksmiths, tinsmiths, bladesmiths), wooden items (joiners, carpenters, wainwrights, coopers, turners), and leather items (harness makers, saddle makers). There were barbers, soap makers, chandlers, dyers, rope makers, glassware makers, and diggers. Also mentioned are butchers and bakers and, in the German Quarter, a pastry chef or cake maker. There were innkeepers, *boza* sellers, and grocers. Belgraders also engaged in other occupations, such as that of boatmen, coachmen, fishermen (fig. 10), cattlemen, shepherds, musicians, and water carriers. The crafts knew no ethnic affiliation and Serbs, Greeks, Aromanians, Germans and others alike were engaged in the produc-

<sup>29</sup> Руварац, *Мојсије Пејровић*, 88; Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 35, 36; idem, *Србија и Београд*, 263, 268; Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 125.

<sup>30</sup> Поповић Д., *Ойшћинска ујрава у Београду*, 127, 130.

<sup>31</sup> Idem, *Србија и Београд*, 263, 268–269; idem, *Ойшћинска ујрава у Београду*, 127, 131.

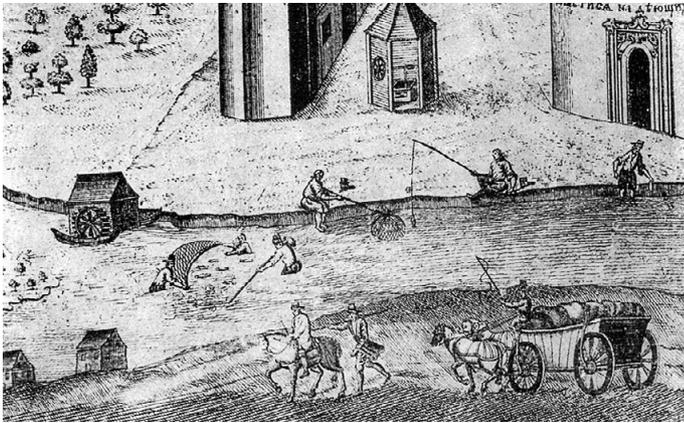


Fig. 10. Mesmer, *Hodoš Monastery*, 1750 –Fishermen, detail  
(Давидов, *Српска графика XVIII века*, figs. 190, 193)



Fig. 11. E. Janković, *Traders. A comedy in three acts*, Laipsig 1787 – emblem on the title page  
(Library of Matica Srpska, P I 399)

tion of various items of clothing and footwear. Noticeable in some economic activities, however, is the predominance of a single ethnic group, such as that of Aromanians in butchery. Some economic activities were new to Belgrade and they were done exclusively by German craftsmen. Several wigmakers and a horologist, a goldsmith, a button maker, a hosier, and a silk dyer worked in the German Quarter. Craftsmen and merchants were organised in guilds, most commonly according to the economic activity they were engaged in. The guilds were strongly influenced by religious affiliation and therefore Orthodox and Catholic craftsmen and merchants in the two quarters, as well as in other places, belonged to different guilds of the same trade.<sup>32</sup>

During the period of Habsburg Administration, in addition to its residents' engagement in crafts and trade that were local in character, Belgrade developed into an economic and commercial centre of the newly conquered areas of Serbia and the Banat and also became a new centre of Habsburg trade with the East. The new authorities knew how to

exploit Belgrade's favourable location at a junction of major waterways and roads and stimulate its economic development. That this role had been intended for the city was already evident during the conclusion of the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718. The peace treaty provided the general principles and conditions pertaining to trade between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, protection of economic interests, opening of consulates, etc. The principles were further elaborated in seventeen articles of a separate Treaty on Commerce and Navigation (*Passarowitzzer Commerzientractat*), signed a few days after the conclusion of peace. Regardless of their religious and ethnic affiliation, Charles VI's subjects were allowed to use all waterways and roads for the conduct of their trade in all the territories of the Ottoman Empire. The following year witnessed the establishment of the Imperial Privileged Oriental Company, which had the exclusive rights to trade in the Ottoman Empire and other lands in the East. Its head office was in Vienna, with subsidiaries in Belgrade, Trieste and Rijeka. Trieste and Rijeka were declared

<sup>32</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 212; Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година*, 80–85, 95; idem, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 45–62, 225–251; Веселиновић, *Београд из влашћу Аусџрије*, 533, 535.

free ports and became centres of trade with the Levant. Charles VI invited merchants from the two cities to set up a merchant colony in Belgrade, which was supposed to open the door for the two Habsburg ports to trade with both the Balkan hinterland and the Orient, which at the time were the preserve of Venice and Dubrovnik.<sup>33</sup>

Belgrade merchants asserted themselves as wholesale intermediaries predominantly because there was free navigation on the Danube, along which merchandise was shipped from the East to Belgrade and on to Vienna and other Central European cities, and European manufactured goods went in the opposite direction. In addition to the above, the most intensive trade was in Banat corn and livestock, mainly intended for the needs of the army and the respective Belgrade and Temesvár administrations. The main export products of the Serbian economy were honey, wax and wine. There were wholesalers in both Belgrade's quarters who engaged in lucrative export-import deals. There were only a few Germans among their ranks, as wholesale trade was in the hands of Serbs and Jews (fig. 11). The Serbian merchants' guild grew very strong in this period and in 1725 succeeded in obtaining an imperial privilege that granted it the exclusive right to import manufactured and industrial goods from the Ottoman Empire, Germany and the Habsburg Monarchy and to sell them in Belgrade and Serbia. The members of the delegation that accomplished this feat in Vienna were the following merchants: Maksim Hadži Petrović, Adam Branković, Novak Petrović, Stojko Jovanović, Stefan Radivojević, Mihailo Jovanović, Radoslav Simonović, Maksim Petrović, Rista Petrović, Radovan Radovanović, Petar Vuković, Nikola Tomić and Stojan Vuković. Prince Alexander of Württemberg proposed to the Vienna authorities to incorporate Belgrade

merchants in the Belgrade subsidiary of the Oriental Company.<sup>34</sup>

The business acumen of Jewish merchants was also demonstrated in Belgrade under Habsburg authorities, which regarded them as an undesirable community, only tolerated under certain conditions. In 1719, a tolerance tax (*Juden-Toleranz*) was levied on them. They had to pay taxes on the business activities they were engaged in (*Judenzins*) and their settlement in Belgrade was restricted. Belgrade Jews were an isolated community, living in only two buildings in the Danube Quarter, for which they paid rent – the Sephardim in their old three-story *Jewish House* (*Türkischer Judenhof*) next to the Çukur Han inn, and the Ashkenazim in the rented Yeni Han inn nearby. Despite their hard living and business conditions, the Jewish merchants in Belgrade were resourceful and successful and started investing their capital in production. Thus in 1724, the Köpisch brothers, corn traders hailing from Temesvár, obtained a monopoly on beer production and opened the first brewery in Belgrade. Due to high taxation, they had to hand it over to the Belgrade Administration in 1730. At a later date, they teamed up with Isaac Moyses and Jakob Franckl and obtained a monopoly on brandy production.<sup>35</sup>

### *Religious policies of Charles VI*

Belgrade held an important place in the religious policies of Charles VI. The plan was to develop it as a centre from which Roman Catholicism would spread among the majority Serb population in the Kingdom of Serbia. Roman Catholicism was proclaimed the dominant religion in Serbia and the task of the new authorities was to protect and assist the Roman Catholic Church in every way. The

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 532; Костић, *Српско трговачко насеље на Ријеци*, 38; Malnar, Marjanić, Labus, *Gradnja hrata Sv. oca Nikolaja u Rijeci*, 52–57.

<sup>34</sup> Павловић, *Финансије и привреда за време аустријске владавине*, 14–15; Веселиновић, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије*, 534.

<sup>35</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 169, 242; Павловић, *Финансије и привреда за време аустријске владавине*, 20–21; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 188–190.

Orthodox Church was to be tolerated but its rights, guaranteed to it by the *Privileges*, granted by Emperor Leopold I between 1691 and 1695, were to be limited as much as possible in the newly conquered territories. In addition to the policy of converting the Orthodox Christian population to Catholicism, the influence of Roman Catholicism was to be further enhanced by a colonisation policy that contained strong religious elements. This was officially endorsed in 1726 by an imperial decree that allowed only Roman Catholics to settle in Serbia and the Banat.<sup>36</sup> The State supported the Roman Catholic Church financially by paying it 13,000 silver florins a year through the Court Chamber and paid priests' salaries from its coffers. The amount was nearly half of the Chamber's budget earmarked for Serbia. At the same time, the revenues of the Belgrade Metropolitanate amounted to 6,000 florins per annum, which the Belgrade Administration paid to the metropolitan as a lump sum equivalent to the annual Church tithe in Serbia, plus around 1,500 florins from the metropolitan's revenues of the Archdiocese.<sup>37</sup>

The future religious policies for Serbia and Belgrade could be anticipated already in July of 1717, when the first missionaries entered the city together with the Habsburg army. They were Jesuits, who, at the time, served as military chaplains in the army of Prince Eugene of Savoy. In August of the same year, members of the Franciscan and Capuchin orders asked the military authorities for permission to stay in Belgrade and to provide them with accommodation. The Capuchins asked for any plot of land where they might build 'a small monastery', but the Franciscans, who had been rather active under Ottoman rule, were only interested in the Danube Quarter and *Duga ulica* (now Dušanova Street) as possible places where

they could build their residence. Soon after them came the Trinitarians and the Minorites. The Knights of Malta were also represented in Belgrade through one of their Masters, the General, Count of Marulli.<sup>38</sup>

The monastic orders were allowed to use former Turkish houses and five mosques, which they converted to churches (fig. 17). One of Belgrade's mosques was also given to Roman Catholic Armenians. Several monastic complexes were formed in the Danube Quarter. Thus, for example, the Trinitarian complex encompassed four houses and the nearby Şehitlik Mosque, converted into a church. It was situated on the corner of the present-day streets of Visokog Stevana and Braće Baruh. In 1721, the Franciscans were granted the use of the entire complex of Yahya Pasha Mosque, which was located in the present-day Dušanova Street, between Dubrovačka and Knićaninova Streets. In addition to the mosque, which to that point had been used as a war equipment storehouse, the Franciscans were also given several other buildings nearby, including the old madrasa and two mausoleums. The mosque was soon converted to a church dedicated to the Assumption, whilst one of the mausoleums was turned into the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1728, construction began of a monastery and a church dedicated to St. John of Capistrano, which was consecrated in 1730. The building of the former mosque served as 'the old church'.<sup>39</sup>

Jesuits were the most influential group among the Roman Catholics in Belgrade. They were held in particularly high esteem by Prince Eugene, who showed them his respect by inviting them to preach a sermon at the ceremonial mass held on August 18, 1717, the day of Mustafa Pasha's capitulation. When they entered the city, they were given several houses

<sup>36</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 168; Павловић, *Административна и црквена историја*, 168–169.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 170; Точанац, *Српски народно-црквени сабори*, 170.

<sup>38</sup> Митровић, *Подаци о Србији*, 13; Костић, *Историја фрањевачкој манастира*, 195; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 119.

<sup>39</sup> Костић, *Историја фрањевачкој манастира*, 195–196; Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 127, 134, 153–154, 163, 214; Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 234.

and a mosque. In 1718, they had the emperor's official permission to establish a mission, and in addition to their service as military chaplains, the Jesuits were allowed to work as priests among the civilian populations of Belgrade. Their missionary work was also financed by state authorities, who paid them 1,000 florins per annum through the Court Chamber, starting in 1723. In 1727, they were given land for the construction of a residence and a church near the former Piriņ Han inn, which housed the military pharmacy. Construction of the church began in 1732. The church was located in the present-day Cara Uroša Street, between Dušanova and Visokog Stevana Streets. The residence also housed an elementary school, which is mentioned after 1728. However, despite all the incentives and support they enjoyed, their results were not satisfactory. By the end of the Habsburg rule, there were only 1,700 Roman Catholics outside Belgrade. This fact is also indicative of the overly ambitious Habsburg colonisation policies outside the city.<sup>40</sup>

Charles VI clearly distinguished between faith and church organisation. In this respect, he used his imperial authority to deal with all such issues. Interventions in the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in the territories ruled by Charles VI were possible on account of the privileges and rights the Habsburgs had received from the head of the Roman Catholic Church or which they had inherited with the crowns and lands that they had annexed, and also on account of the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. A dispute with the Vatican arose over the Belgrade bishopric, whose seat was transferred to Smederevo in 1521, even though the Belgrade bishopric was not officially abolished or united with the one at Smederevo. When Belgrade was conquered and brought back under the rule of the Christian

monarch, the old dispute between the Pope and the Habsburgs was revived over who had jurisdiction over bishoprics and who had the right to invest bishops. A situation was created where both Charles VI and Pope Clement XI claimed the right to invest a bishop in Belgrade. Charles VI intended to use his authority and restore the Belgrade bishopric and unite it with the one at Smederevo, which was under the Pope's jurisdiction, and thus assume control of the entire organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in Serbia. That is why he refused to recognise Luca Natalis, whom the Pope had invested back in 1709, as Bishop of Belgrade. The emperor succeeded in his intention in 1729, when Pope Benedict XIII accepted the canonical unification of the Belgrade and Smederevo bishoprics. Charles VI invested Count Antonio della Torre as the first Bishop of Belgrade and Smederevo, with his seat in Belgrade.<sup>41</sup>

#### *Seat of the Metropolitanate*

The emperor showed a similar attitude to the organisation of the Orthodox Church and supported the formation of a separate archbishopric for Serbia and the Banat besides the Metropolitanate-Archbishopric of Karlovci, which had existed in the Habsburg Monarchy since 1708. Four Orthodox dioceses in the newly conquered territory (Belgrade and Valjevo in Serbia and Temesvár and Vršac in the Banat) were part of the Belgrade Metropolitanate. Namely, in 1717, the Bishop of Belgrade, Mojsije Petrović, who bore the honorary title of metropolitan, asked the emperor to confirm him as archbishop of the newly conquered territories. In this he had the support of the leaders of the people in the towns and villages that belonged to his diocese, including the *birov* of

<sup>40</sup> Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 222; Валтровић, *Камен темељац једне језуитске цркве*, 123–127; Vanino, *Isusovci u Beogradu*, 25–27, 29; Павловић, *Административна и црквена историја*, 170; Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 234; Јачов, *Сјиси Тајној вайхижанској архива*, 279–280.

<sup>41</sup> For more on this, see Mitrović, *The Peace of Passarowitz*, 210–214.

**Fig. 12.** Seal and signature of Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Archives at Sremski Karlovci: Holdings of the Metropolitanate-Patriarchy Archive B, 1728/29a)



Belgrade, Avram Đurić, and, most importantly at that time, of Prince Eugene of Savoy. In 1718, for political and state reasons, Charles VI confirmed Mojsije Petrović as archbishop and metropolitan in the Kingdom of Serbia, with its capital Belgrade (fig. 12), for which its old name, *Alba Graeca*, was used in the confirmation diploma. By 1720, his authority was extended to Lower Sylvania and the Banat of Temesvár. Thus, the territory under the jurisdiction of the Belgrade Metropolitanate-Archbishopric encompassed all the newly conquered lands. The Orthodox Church in the newly conquered Habsburg territories, which were set apart as domains under the direct rule of the emperor, received a new organisation. The Belgrade Metropolitanate was in a different position from its Karlovci counterpart, because the emperor imposed bans and restrictions on the privileges which the Karlovci Metropolitanate enjoyed, but which agitated Hungarian nobles, county authorities and the Roman Catholic Church, and consequently affected state interests and policies. In 1721, the establishment of the Belgrade Metropolitanate was canonically recognised by Serbian Patriarch Mojsije Rajović when he confirmed Mojsije Petrović as archbishop. In his charter of confirmation, the Patriarch expressed his wish for a soon unification of the Belgrade and Karlovci Metropolitanates into a single metropolitanate that would encompass all Orthodox believers in

the monarchy. With regard to the seat of the future, unified metropolitanate, the patriarch favoured Belgrade.<sup>42</sup>

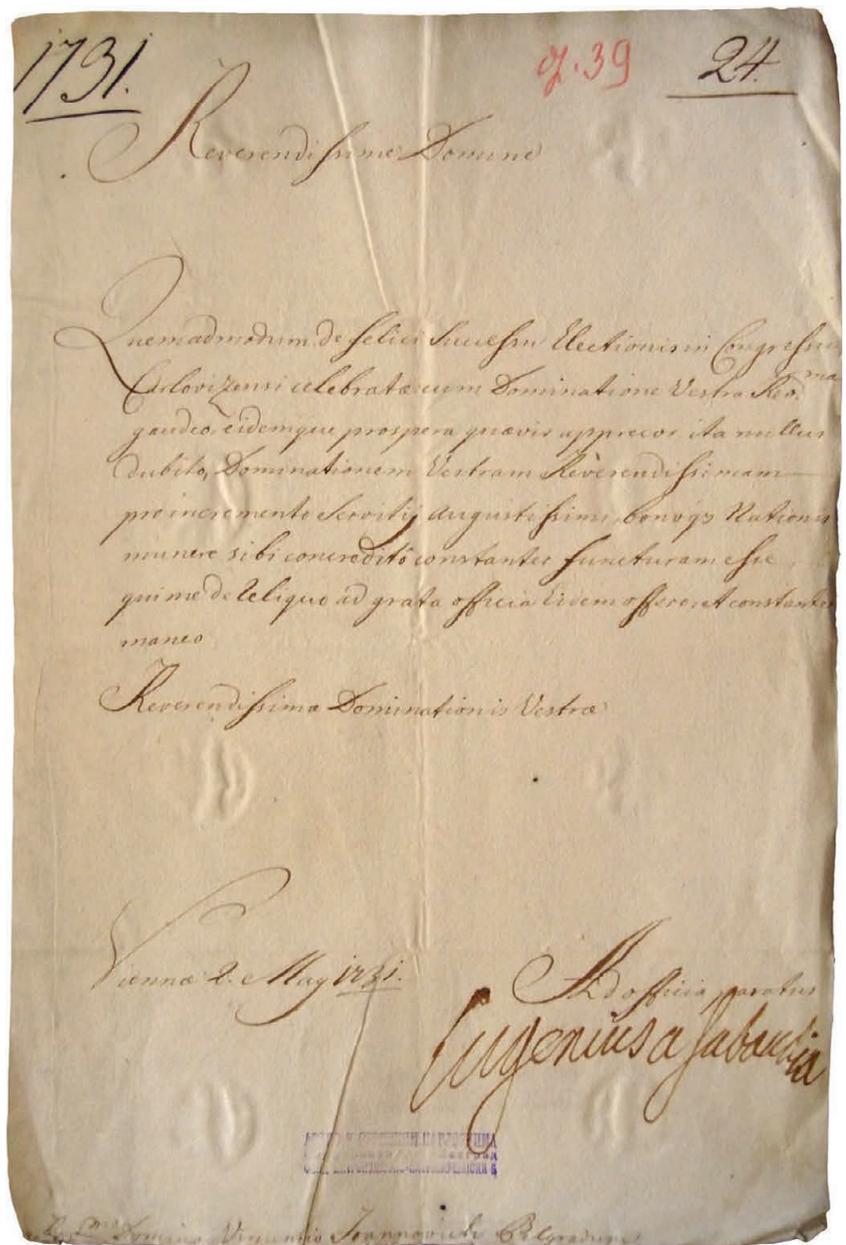
The seat of the Belgrade Metropolitanate was in the Sava Quarter, which had become not only the religious, but also the political centre of the Serbs under Habsburg rule. Maintaining the tradition of catholicity, the Metropolitan surrounded himself with prominent priests and leaders of the people, with whom he consulted on and discussed various topics, from the issue of organising schools that were under ecclesiastic jurisdiction to the issue of the infringement of the rights and liberties granted by the *Privileges*. These meetings were usually attended by the Belgrade *biror*, municipal council members (*eškuti*), and the Belgrade *protoiereus*. The only National-Church Congress of the Belgrade Metropolitanate was held in Belgrade on September 21, 1722. It was attended by twenty-three representatives of the clergy, army and civilian inhabitants of the Kingdom of Serbia, including the Belgrade *protoiereus* Pavle. In accord with the National-Church Congress of the Karlovci Metropolitanate, held two days before, the Congress of the Belgrade Metropolitanate decided that upon the demise of either incumbent metropolitan the other would be elected head of both metropolitanates and thus the two institutions would be united. The decision was condemned by Vienna and Metropolitan Mojsije

<sup>42</sup> Руварац, *Мојсије Пејровић*, 92–93; Павловић, *Административна и црквена историја*, 176–177; Точанац, *Српски народно-црквени сабори*, 129–130, 152–154.

was sternly reminded that he was not authorised to convene Congresses of the Belgrade Metropolitanate and was thus denied yet another right granted by the *Privileges*.<sup>43</sup>

The striving for unification was expressed at the Congress of 1726, when, after the death of Karlovci Metropolitan Vićentije Popović, Belgrade Metropolitan Mojsije was elected metropolitan of Karlovci as well. The emperor did not approve the decision of the Congress. He confirmed Mojsije Petrović only as archbishop

of the Karlovci Metropolitanate and demoted him to the position of administrator of the Metropolitanate of Belgrade. Despite this, for the Serb population of the Habsburg Monarchy, the unification of the Belgrade and Karlovci Metropolitanates was an accomplished fact and they thereafter regarded Belgrade as the unofficial seat of the two metropolitanates. After the death of Metropolitan Mojsije, Vićentije Jovanović was elected joint metropolitan at the National-Church Congress of 1731 and Bel-



**Fig. 13.** Prince Eugene of Savoy, President of the Imperial War Council, congratulates Vićentije Jovanović on his election as archbishop (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Archives at Sremski Karlovci: Holdings of the Metropolitanate-Patriarchy Archive B, 1731/39)

Fig. 14. Signature of Metropolitan Vićentije Jovanović

(Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Archives at Sremski Karlovci: Holdings of the Metropolitanate-Patriarchy Archive B, 1733/63)

grade officially became the seat of the united Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci (fig. 13). Vićentije Jovanović was the first and only metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovci recognised and confirmed by state authorities (fig. 14). He bore the title of *Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade and of all Christian* [Orthodox] *people by the authority of His Imperial Majesty*, and, accordingly, his residence was in Belgrade. In Karlovci, where the Congress was held, the metropolitan was given a ceremonial send-off and was then escorted to his residence in the capital city by a special delegation of twenty-nine members, including the Belgrade *protoiereus* Kiril Marković.<sup>44</sup>

Among the problems with which the metropolitans had to cope in Belgrade under Habsburg rule was the lack of sacral and other buildings. First of all, there was a shortage of Orthodox churches. There was only one, decrepit parish church in the Sava Quarter, dedicated to St. George. The old Cathedral Church, dedicated to the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, is not mentioned in the sources from the period and it may, therefore, be concluded that it was probably demolished when the Ottoman army entered Belgrade in 1690. The issue of building a new cathedral church was raised already in 1717 and became rather important after the establishment of the Belgrade Metropolitanate in 1718. In his attempts

to collect funds for the erection of a cathedral church, Metropolitan Mojsije unsuccessfully appealed to Russian Tsar Peter the Great, to whom, in a letter of September 14, 1718, he described the devastation of Serbia following Ottoman rule and the war. He specifically asked for help with construction of a cathedral church ‘in the famous city of our Serbian land, Belgrade’. However, he never received any aid.<sup>45</sup>

Besides the money that needed to be collected, it was also necessary to obtain a permit for a building site from the City Administration. It was also necessary to obtain a building licence for a structure built from solid materials at a time when the entire output of bricks and lime was being used for the reconstruction of the Belgrade Fortress. The Habsburg authorities did not dispute the metropolitan’s right to build a cathedral church, but to them it was initially a matter of secondary importance. Only when priority plans for the reconstruction of the fortress had been implemented and the alignment of the future ramparts around the quarters decided on, could the metropolitan be certain that a building site of a new cathedral church would be assigned.

Meanwhile, Metropolitan Mojsije decided to renovate the old Church of St. George and, in November of 1720, he called on the parishioners to make contributions for the cause. He wrote in his journal that it was the first time

<sup>43</sup> Idem, *Београдска и Карловачка митрополија*, 205–207.

<sup>44</sup> Idem, *Српски народно-црквени сабори*, 103–104, 158–159, 161–165.

<sup>45</sup> Руvaraц, *Мојсије Пејтровић*, 146–147; Нарочницкий, Петровиц, *Политические и культурные отношения России*, 57.

that an archbishop had asked believers to help renovate a church building with their donations, that something like this had not been customary in Belgrade before, but that it should be encouraged. Eighteen donators, most of them craftsmen, and also including parish priest Velimir, who made a huge contribution of one golden ducat, responded to the metropolitan's appeal.<sup>46</sup> The Church of St. George was later found to be standing on the rampart alignment and there was no doubt it would be pulled down. Metropolitan Mojsije informed

Russian Tsar Peter II about this in 1727. In his quest for funds for the construction of a cathedral church, Metropolitan Vićentije Jovanović informed Russian Tsarina Anna Ivanovna in April of 1732 that the Church of St. George would be demolished that same year.<sup>47</sup>

The construction of the new Cathedral Church, which was traditionally and by its link to the old cathedral dedicated to the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, began in mid-1726, on the same spot as the present-day Cathedral Church in Belgrade. Due to a con-

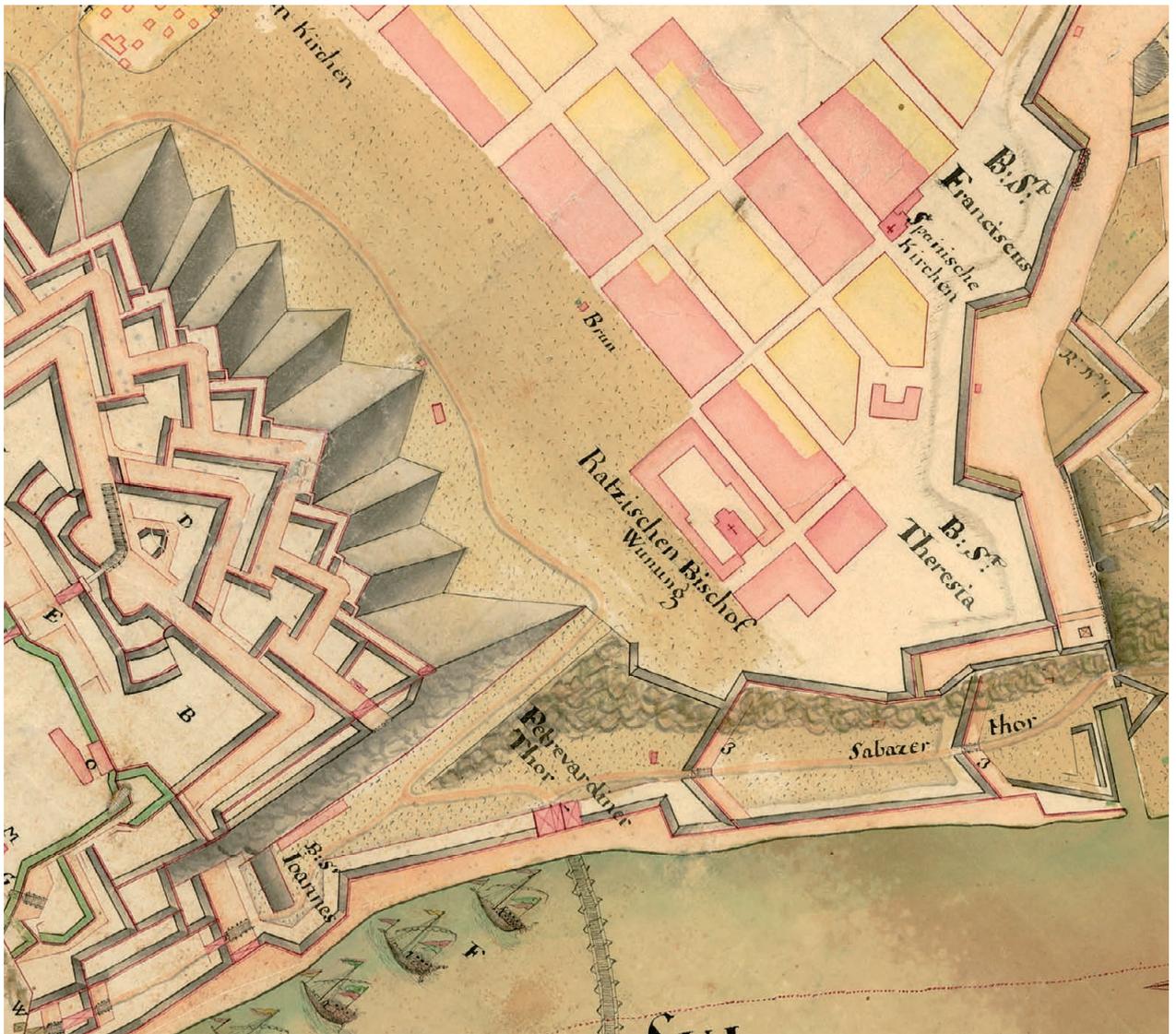


Fig. 15. Apartment of the Belgrade Metropolitan, detail of a plan (Vienna War Archives, sig. H III d 1410)

stant lack of funding, the work progressed slowly. The funds Metropolitan Mojsije appealed for to Russia never arrived and he had to rely on his personal funds and contributions made by believers, but failed to complete the undertaking before his death. The construction continued under Metropolitan Vićentije Jovanović, who, too, tried to get some funds from Russia, but there is no evidence that he succeeded in obtaining them. He also encouraged a more active collection of contributions from believers, not just in the two Belgrade quarters, but in entire Serbia and also in the area of the Karlovci Metropolitanate. In 1734, he kept appealing to believers in his dioceses of Belgrade and Syrmia, as well as to those in the Eparchy of Bačka, to help build the magnificent Church of the Holy Archangels. On account of the construction, the metropolitan incurred huge debts, having borrowed money even from Belgrade Germans. It is not known to what extent the Cathedral Church was completed before the beginning of a new Habsburg-Ottoman war, because finishing-off operations and its furnishing were still going on in 1737. Metropolitans Mojsije Petrović and Vićentije Jovanović were buried in the Cathedral Church in 1730 and 1737, respectively. Before the signing of the Belgrade Peace Treaty in 1739, the then exarch and subsequent metropolitan, Pavle Nenadović, transferred their remains to Mount Fruška Gora. Upon the entry of the Ottoman army into Belgrade, the Cathedral Church sustained substantial damage, but was not completely destroyed. The building survived until 1836, when it was demolished and replaced by the present-day Cathedral Church.<sup>48</sup>

Aside from the issue of the Cathedral Church, the issue of the construction of a new

residence was also of importance to the metropolitans. There were two houses in Belgrade that Metropolitan Mojsije used and which are called in the sources *the old residence* and *the older residence below the salt fountain*, respectively. The old residence was located in the Sava Quarter, on the corner of the present-day Pop Lukina and Topličin Venac Streets, and the older one in the Danube Quarter, next to the present-day intersection of Kneginje Ljubice and Strahinjića Bana Streets. They were modest and comparatively small buildings, which, after 1718, could no longer meet the needs of the archbishop of the newly founded metropolitanate, who required a larger, more spacious and more functional residence. The metropolitan's idea was that the future building should represent more than mere living quarters for the archbishop. He envisioned the residence as a seat of the Archiepiscopal Consistory, i.e. the Spiritual Court, a place where he would convene meetings and counselling sessions with the leaders of the people, and also as a place where he would establish a school. As the ramparts were being built, the buildings along the alignment, including the metropolitan's house in the Sava Quarter, were demolished. He asked for damages, which he did not get, but was only allowed to reuse the bricks from the rubble. In October of 1725, the metropolitan asked the Imperial War Council to have Belgrade authorities provide a plot of land for a new residence. In all likelihood, he did not wait for the answer, but rather started procuring building material in November of the same year. By July 1727, Nicolas Doxat had completed a design for the metropolitan's residence, with an adjoining Serbian school, and its foundations were laid in August. The residence was located next to the Cathedral

<sup>46</sup> Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 20.

<sup>47</sup> Руварац, *Мојсије Пејтровић*, 149; Нарочницкий, Петрович, *Политические и культурные отношения России*, 86, 87 н. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Руварац, *Мојсије Пејтровић*, 144–145; Стефановић-Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 27; Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 171, 182–183; Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 78–82; idem, *Србија и Београд*, 333–335; Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 134, 137–139, 387–388; Вујовић, *Саборна црква у Београду*, 87–95. Нарочницкий, Петрович, *Политические и культурные отношения России*, 86, 87.

Church, in the same place as the present-day King Petar I Elementary School (fig. 15).<sup>49</sup>

Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović was building his Belgrade residence with modest means at his disposal and failed to complete it during his lifetime. He died on August 7, 1730, in his old house in the Danube Quarter. The expenditures for the construction of the residence increased drastically during the term of his successor, Metropolitan Vićentije Jovanović. He had the roof, plasterwork and flooring finished and began furnishing the residence. The costs were huge, because special and expensive items were procured, such as, for example, four corner stoves from Altenburg. The residence was an imposing two-level edifice, with two great halls for the metropolitan and a large number of rooms, including a library with an adjoining office and some sort of a meeting room, where the National-Church Congress was held in 1732. The residence also featured a school and a chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, where services started in 1734 at the latest.<sup>50</sup>

#### *Under Ottoman rule once again (1739)*

In mid-1737, the Habsburg Monarchy entered a war with the Ottoman Empire as Russia's ally. Its goal was to penetrate deep into the Balkans through Serbia and conquer Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, Wallachia and Moldavia. However, after initial successes, the tide of the war turned against the Monarchy already during the first year.<sup>51</sup> By mid-1738, the Ottoman army had been ravaging and pillaging the Belgrade District and threatening the city itself. One of

the Belgrade teachers, Russian Hieromonk Pyotr Mikhailovsky, wrote in June to the Serb bishop of Buda that whoever could flee the city did so and that the Metropolitan's Residence was deserted, because Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabent, who had crossed over to the Habsburg territory in 1737 and taken charge of the Metropolitanate, had taken refuge in Varadinski Šanac (present-day Novi Sad). The teacher added that the 'German' army had also crossed over the Danube to the Banat, whilst the remaining Belgraders awaited with great fear the imminent arrival of the Ottoman army at the city walls.<sup>52</sup>

The last attempt to defend Habsburg gains from the previous war ended when the Governor of the Kingdom of Serbia, Field Marshal George Olivier, Count of Wallis, was defeated at Grocka on July 23, 1739. Already on July 26, Grand Vizier İvaz Mehmed Pasha laid siege to Belgrade, during which the city was under constant artillery fire. Patriarch Arsenije IV, who at the time was at Karlovci, learnt that the bombardment was not causing too much damage either to the city or to its inhabitants, with the exception of an odd house or two that was hit, because the Ottomans acted *as if they were blind*, as he stated in a letter.<sup>53</sup> Besides the siege, a huge problem was also an epidemic of the plague, which broke out among the Ottoman army and spread to Belgrade in 1739. The city was full of refugees from all parts of Serbia, who, because of the siege, could not cross the Sava or the Danube and find refuge in safer territories.

On July 26, only a day after the start of the siege, Count Wallis tried to initiate truce

<sup>49</sup> Стефановић-Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 16–17, 27–28; Руварац, *Нејојкрејино имање Миштрополије београдске*, 209; Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 32; Поповић М., *Прилози проучавању београдске Српске вароши*, 156–157. For more details, see Ана Милошевић, in the present collection of papers, pp. 74–95.

<sup>50</sup> Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 110–160; Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година*, 129–132, 139; Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 249–250, 333–335, 343, 344–346.

<sup>51</sup> For more on the war of 1737–1739 and the siege of Belgrade, see Веселиновић, *Србија под аустријском влашћу*, 146–162; Тричковић, *Београд под турском влашћу*, 126–127.

<sup>52</sup> Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 251.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 252–253.

negotiations. The grand vizier agreed on condition that Belgrade be surrendered, a thing the governor could not accept at that time, so the siege and bombardment of the city continued for over a month. A preliminary peace treaty was signed on September 1, 1739 and, already on September 4, the grand vizier rode triumphantly into Belgrade, accompanied by his commanders and some five hundred Janissaries. Ali Pasha Abdipashazade, the heretofore *beylerbey* (governor) of Rumelia, was appointed the first Ottoman commander-in-chief of Belgrade, and he soon moved into the barracks of Alexander of Württemberg.<sup>54</sup>

According to the terms of the peace treaty signed in Belgrade on September 18, 1739, the Habsburg Monarchy had to cede to the Ottoman Empire Serbia with Belgrade, the Banat of Severin, and the strip of Bosnia along the Sava. Thus, the new border was set to the Sava and Danube rivers. According to the Treaty, the monarchy also had to cede the Belgrade Fortress with its former fortifications, gunpowder magazines, arsenals, barracks, and public and private buildings in the two quarters. All the new fortifications of the city, the ramparts around the quarters and the outworks on the banks of the Sava and the Danube had to be demolished. The demolition of the ramparts and the fortress lasted six months. The fortress was officially handed over to Ottoman authorities on June 7, 1740.<sup>55</sup>

The restoration of Ottoman rule resulted in new demographic changes in Belgrade. German and Serbian inhabitants moved out, the former Turkish residents returned from Niš

and Vidin, where they had found refuge after 1717, and new settlers also came to the city. The city quickly assumed its former Oriental appearance and character. Most structures built during Habsburg rule were demolished, including the barracks of Prince Alexander and the Metropolitan's Residence. Those buildings that seemed too tall to the new owners had some of their top floors removed, churches were converted to mosques and new mosques were erected. The design of new buildings followed the rules of Ottoman architecture. Being on the border with the Habsburg Monarchy, Belgrade became the seat of a *serhat* – a frontier *pashalik* – playing an important part in the state military and administrative system. It developed as a military and economic hub and a centre of transit trade between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy. However, the development of the city in the following period was affected by the weakening of central rule, which was reflected in the struggle for positions related to getting hold of state revenues, such as rent from lucrative economic enterprises (*mukataa*) and poll taxes imposed on non-Muslims (*jizya*), as well as to controlling commerce. Janissaries held the upper hand in Belgrade and the city soon became a battlefield of rival groups. Its residents became impoverished under the burden of heavy taxation and other imposts. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the two Belgrade quarters, with their low, wooden, closely packed houses and streets full of holes and loose cobblestones, struck Western visitors as poor and neglected.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Веселиновић, *Србија под аустријском влашћу*, 160.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 159–161; Тричковић, *Београд под турском влашћу*, 126–127.

<sup>56</sup> On Belgrade under Ottoman rule after 1739, see Тричковић, *Главна шврћава Царска времена Европи*, 585–537; idem, *Варош после 1740. године*, 641–673; idem, *Београд под турском влашћу*, 127–134; Чубриловић, *Развој иривреде 1740–1788*, 674–693.



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### *Abbreviations*

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- АИСПКМ** = Архив за историју Српске православне карловачке митрополије, Сремски Карловци
- БГ** = Богословски гласник, Сремски Карловци
- ВСЦ** = Весник Српске цркве
- ГГБ** = Годишњак града Београда, Београд
- ГИАВ** = Гласник Историјског архива у Ваљеву, Ваљево
- ГМГБ** = Годишњак Музеја града Београда, Београд
- ГНЧ** = Годишњица Николе Чупића
- ГСКА** = Глас Српске краљевске академије
- ЗНМ** = Зборник Народног музеја у Београду, Београд
- ИЧ** = Историјски часопис, Београд
- ЈИИ** = *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*
- ЈМН** = *The Journal of Modern History*, Chicago
- ЛМС** = Летопис Матице српске, Нови Сад
- НП** = Наша прошлост, Краљево
- ПКЈИФ** = Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор, Београд
- СС** = Српски Сион
- ССАД** = Старинар Српског археолошког друштва, Београд
- ССКА** = Споменик Српске краљевске академије, Београд
- ЃР** = *Ѓovjek i prostor*
- УБ** = Урбанизам Београда, Београд

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