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CONSOLIDATION OF STATEHOOD: URBANISATION OF BORDER REGIONS OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF SERBIA IN 1833–1839

Abstract: This paper elaborates on the measures and decisions of the authorities in the Principality of Serbia that aimed to demarcate the borders and urbanise the wider border areas, with the goal of greater separation of the Principality of Serbia from the Ottoman Empire. The chronological framework of the paper spans from 1833 when the provisions of the Hatt-i sharif finally confirmed the border between the Ottoman Empire and the autonomous Principality of Serbia, to 1839, which marked the end of the first rule of Prince Miloš. During this period, the main directions of urbanisation in Serbia were determined. The paper indicates that the urbanisation of Serbia's border regions involved measures directly related to border arrangements (establishment of border patrols, border crossings, customs, and quarantines), as well as measures implemented throughout the territory of the Principality (spatial organisation of towns, small towns, and villages, construction and restoration of churches and monasteries). The impact of migration movements after the establishment of the border on the emergence of new settlements or repopulation of deserted settlements in the border areas of the Principality of Serbia was considered, as well as the spatial planning of border *varošes*/towns and *varošicas*/small towns, and the establishment of new road routes towards the border. Spatial organisation of villages, although incomplete, was successfully implemented in the northwestern and northern border regions of the Principality of Serbia.

Keywords: Principality of Serbia, urbanisation, border, Prince Miloš, quarantines, border posts, roads, churches, Aleksinac, Belgrade.

The 1830s were a turning point in the development of Serbia's statehood and society. The highest legal acts of the Ottoman Empire, the Hatt-i sharifs of 1829, 1830, and 1833, confirmed the autonomous status of the Principality of Serbia. Independent

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internal administration with central and local authorities, the right of hereditary rule for its rulers, religious freedoms, the judicial and educational system, as well as capitalist economic relations in place of the anachronistic Ottoman feudal system and freedom of trade constituted the foundations of Serbia's autonomous rights. On the other hand, the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire was reflected in the retention of military garrisons in fortresses in Serbia and Serbia's obligation to pay the annual tribute.¹

Despite the limitations imposed by the vassal state status, during his first rule from 1815 to 1839, Prince Miloš initiated revolutionary changes in all areas of Serbian society with the ultimate goal of replacing the old, anachronistic, foreign, and Islamic elements with new, national, and Christian ones. In a speech to the National Assembly in February 1834, Prince Miloš stated: "Seeing and reading how educated and enlightened European nations progress in every aspect of their governance, I have ardently desired to improve and establish governance in our homeland so that nothing happens unsystematically in it".²

Branko Maksimović, a pioneer in the study of urbanism in Serbia, labels the years from 1831 to 1861 as the period of the "foundation of new cities". According to his views, it was about the "ideology of urbanisation", which was based on the awareness of the then Serbian elite that they needed to overcome the backwardness of urban and general culture compared to European societies due to the centuries of living under Ottoman rule.³

Besides Serbia, similar processes unfolded in other national states restored in the 19th century in the Balkans (Greece, Romania, Bulgaria). In these countries, urbanisms served "as a means of expressing the ideals of social life and shaping of the new national identity".⁴ By founding new settlements and reconstructing the existing ones in the restored Balkan states, it was necessary to reintegrate and incorporate "universal values, political freedoms, progress, and well-being, while at the same time eliminating all memories of the Ottoman rule, which left deep imprints in the urban structure and landscape".⁵

The urbanisation of the border territories of the Principality of Serbia in the function of consolidating its statehood from 1833 when the Hatt-i sharif finally

¹ An overview of the synthesis of Serbia's history in the 19th century: Душан Батаковић, предговор у: *Историја модерне Србије 1800–2018*, Димитрије Ђорђевић, Београд 2017, 26–37. See also: Радош Љушић, *Историја српске државности. Србија и Црна Гора – нововековне српске државе*, Београд – Нови Сад 2001.

² *Народе српски, љубезна браћо моја/Беседе кнеза Милоша изговорене на народним скупштинама и адресе народних скупштина/*, приредио, предговор написао и речник мање познатих речи саставио Радомир Ј. Поповић, Нови Сад – Горњи Милановац 2022, 113.

³ Бранко Максимовић, „Идејни развој српског урбанизма, период реконструкције градова до 1914. године“, *Споменик САНУ* 121 (1978) 3; Бранислав Којић, *Варошице у Србији у XIX веку*, Београд 1970, 3.

⁴ Alexandra Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820–1920). Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 1996, 11.

⁵ Ibidem.

determined the border between the Principality and the Ottoman Empire, until the end of the first rule of Prince Miloš in 1839, implied a series of governance measures, with the final objective of emancipating the Principality of Serbia from the Ottoman Empire to the greatest extent possible.⁶ Those were measures that were implemented in the territory of the Principality of Serbia (spatial organisation of towns and settlements, construction and restoration of churches and monasteries) and specific activities relating to border arrangements (constant control of the borderline, establishment and arrangement of border crossings), which is why, in the new circumstances, new settlements on the border were founded, or the importance of the existing ones was growing. Migration movements, concretely the emigration of the Muslim population and the immigration of primarily Serbian inhabitants after the border changes, influenced the organisation of border towns and villages. In those towns where the Muslim population remained (Belgrade, Smederevo, Šabac), the Serbian parts were systematically organised. Given that “urbanisation is a multidimensional process” and is etymologically associated not only with the processes concerning the concepts of the “city” and “urban”, this paper will examine these phenomena in Serbia within the specified chronological framework.⁷

It should be noted that there are few preserved legal regulations on this topic. However, the decisions of the administrative authorities of the Principality, primarily of Prince Miloš, provide insight into the breadth and depth of the plan according to which the border and border area of the Principality of Serbia were organised within a short period of time.⁸

As mentioned above, the borders of the Principality of Serbia were finally determined by the highest Ottoman legal act – the Hatt-i sharif of 1833. The northern border, towards the Austrian Monarchy and Wallachia, extended from the confluence of the Drina and Sava rivers, along the Sava and Danube, to the confluence of the Timok river with the Danube. The eastern border, towards the Ottoman Empire,

⁶ The statehood of Serbia in the new century was based on international agreements between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (Bucharest Peace Treaty of 1812, Akkerman Convention of 1826, and Adrianople Peace Treaty of 1829). Between 1829 and 1833, the Porte issued three Hatt-i sharifs granting autonomy to Serbia and a berat confirming hereditary princely status. For information on the organisation of the Serbian-Ottoman border in the 19th century, refer to the following sources: Михаило Гавриловић, *Милош Обреновић III*, Београд 1912, 303–324, 435–464, 505–510; Владимир Стојанчевић, “Административно и војно-полицијско уређење српско-турске границе за време прве владе кнеза Милоша”, *Историјска гласник* 3–4 (1951) 29–43; Радош Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија 1830–1839*, Београд 1986, 40–45; 265–268.

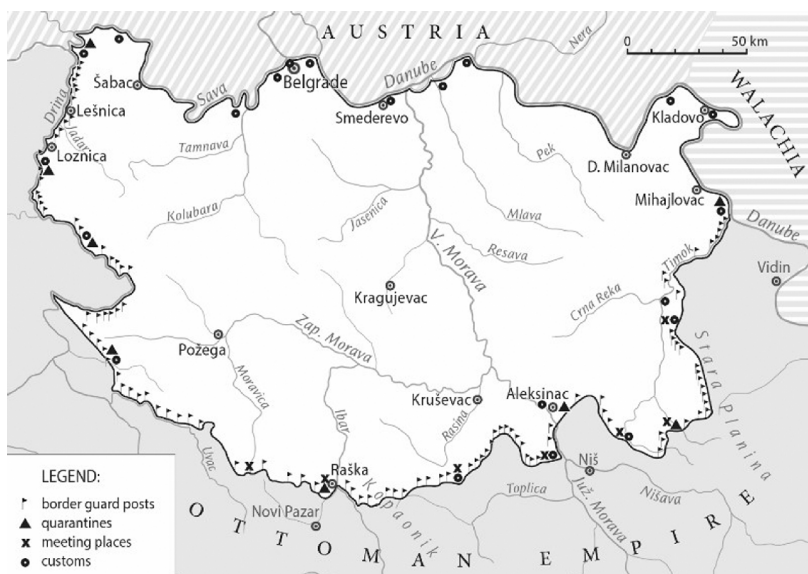
⁷ Војислав Ђурић, “Урбанизација као процес ширења градског начина живота”, *Зборник Матице српске за друштвене науке* 54 (1969) 9.

⁸ The regulation of Prince Miloš on the spatial organisation of villages from 20 March 1837 is the only preserved legal regulation directly related to urbanisation in Serbia during this period (*Зборник закона и уредаба у Књажеству Србији у досадањим зборницима нештампаних, а издатих од 2. фебруара 1835. до 23. октобра 1875. године*, Београд 1877, 175–176).

extended upstream along the Timok river to the confluence of the Bezdanica river, and from there southeast to Svrlijig mountains. The southern border encompassed the mountains of Gramada, Mali and Veliki Jastrebac, Kopaonik, and went along the Ibar river to its confluence with the Raška river, including the mountain of Čemerno. The southwestern border extended along the mountains of Golija, Mučanj, and Ivica, to the upper course of the Drina river. The western border – except for the small area around Mali Zvornik, which remained within the borders of the Ottoman Empire until 1878 – ran along the Drina river to its confluence with the Sava.⁹

The autonomous Principality of Serbia covered an area of 37,740 km². According to the census of 1834, there were 659,624 Serbs, while the number of others (Turks, Vlachs, Roma, Jews and others) was around 39,000. The population density was 18.5 inhabitants per km².¹⁰ There were a total of 2,231 settlements, including 35 *varošes* [towns] and *varošicas* [small towns].¹¹

In 1834, the Principality of Serbia was administratively divided into 15 districts and 63 *captaincies* (later renamed into *srez*).¹² The number of districts and captaincies



Borders of the Principality of Serbia since 1833
(Author of the map: Milovan Milivojević)

⁹ Р. Љушић, *Историја српске државности*, 30; Јован Бугарски, *Карта Княжества Србије*, Београд 1845. Музеј града Београда, I 1, 3834.

¹⁰ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 72–73.

¹¹ Лепосава Цвијетић, “Попис становништва и имовине у Србији 1834. године”, *Мешовита грађа (Miscellanea)* 13 (1984) 16, 114.

¹² *Ibidem*.

changed in the following years due to the separation of certain districts (such as Banjski and Rudnički, for example) and the merger of smaller captaincies into larger ones. Thus, in 1839, there were 17 districts and 52 captaincies. Prince Miloš, in the spirit of a centralist policy, merged several districts during this period, creating larger administrative regions called “serdarstvo” [governorships] (1834–1835) and “military commands” (1835–1839).¹³

At the time of its establishment in 1834 and 1835, the border of the Principality of Serbia towards the Ottoman Empire had an exclusively military character. The borderline was marked by a system of earth trenches and embankments, cut-through forests, and other markers. A permanent border guard post and patrols were set up at the border. Also, following the example of the Austrian border service in the Military Frontier, the so-called *kordon* was established on the borders of the Principality. Each patrol had a commander (*boluk-bashi*) and a designated number of guards who patrolled a specific border sector. The number of border patrols increased from year to year: 1835–68, 1836–84, 1839–115. The border was crossed only at specifically designated points. Subjects of the Ottoman Empire had to have valid travel documents (*teskera*) to enter the Principality of Serbia, while Serbian citizens crossed the border with passports issued by the Serbian authorities, valid for one year.¹⁴

Also, following the example of the Austrian Monarchy and other European states, quarantines or “kontumac” were established along the Serbian border towards the Ottoman Empire in 1836. The purpose of the quarantine was to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. On 10 December 1836, “Novine srpske” (*Serbian Newspaper*) reported that “His Serene Highness, our Gracious Lord Prince [Miloš – note R. P.], constantly caring for the well-being and happiness of his people and homeland, and wishing to prevent the danger of the infectious disease of plague and its transmission in Serbia, has been working for several months to establish and strengthen quarantines in Serbia, at the borders with Turkish territories”.¹⁵ The most important and largest quarantine was constructed in Aleksinac, in the south of the Principality. During 1836 and 1837, quarantines were established in Bregovo, Radujevac, Mokra Gora, Supovac, Ljubovija, Šepačka Ada near Loznica, and Rača.¹⁶ During 1836, special border crossings called “sastanci” (in the Austrian Monarchy *rastels*) were established, following the example of the organisation in the Austrian Monarchy “for the improvement and facilitation of trade”. These crossings were located at Pandiralo and Gramada in the eastern part of the Principality, Vrška Čuka, Supovac, Jankova Klisura, Vasilna Česma, and Raška in the south and southwest.¹⁷

¹³ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 196; *Административно-територијалне промене у НР Србији 1834–1954*, Београд 1955, 5–10.

¹⁴ В. Стојанчевић, “Административно и војно-полицијско уређење”, 38–39.

¹⁵ *Српске новине* [=CH], бр. 48, 28. новембар 1836.

¹⁶ State Archive of Serbia [=SAS], Principality Chancellery [=KK], register – Department V, 1836.

¹⁷ Ibidem; Јован Гавриловић, *Речник географско-статистички Србије*, Београд 1994, 229.

Customs offices (*đumrukane*) were established at the borders with the Ottoman Empire and the Austrian Monarchy. The Hatt-i sharif of 1833 stipulated that the customs revenue should be collected by the Serbian instead of the Ottoman authorities. On 2 January 1834, the Belgrade vizier ceremoniously handed over the customs administration in Belgrade to Prince Miloš. In April 1834, a customs office was established in Aleksinac as a branch of the Belgrade customs office, as the previous customs branch in Niš remained in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸ Until 1839, Serbian customs offices were established in Topčider (near Belgrade), Višnjica (near Belgrade), Smederevo, Dubravica, Ram, Tekija, Kladovo, Radujevac, Vrška Čuka, Pandiralo, Gramada, Aleksinac, Mokra Gora, Ljubovija, Šepačka Ada, Rača, Mitrovica, and Šabac.¹⁹

The established border crossings of the Principality of Serbia, whether customs offices, quarantines, or meeting places (*sastanci*), impacted the rapid transformation of some border areas. The most significant transformation occurred in the border town of Aleksinac, which until the 1830s was just a small Ottoman *kasaba* on the Constantinople Road.

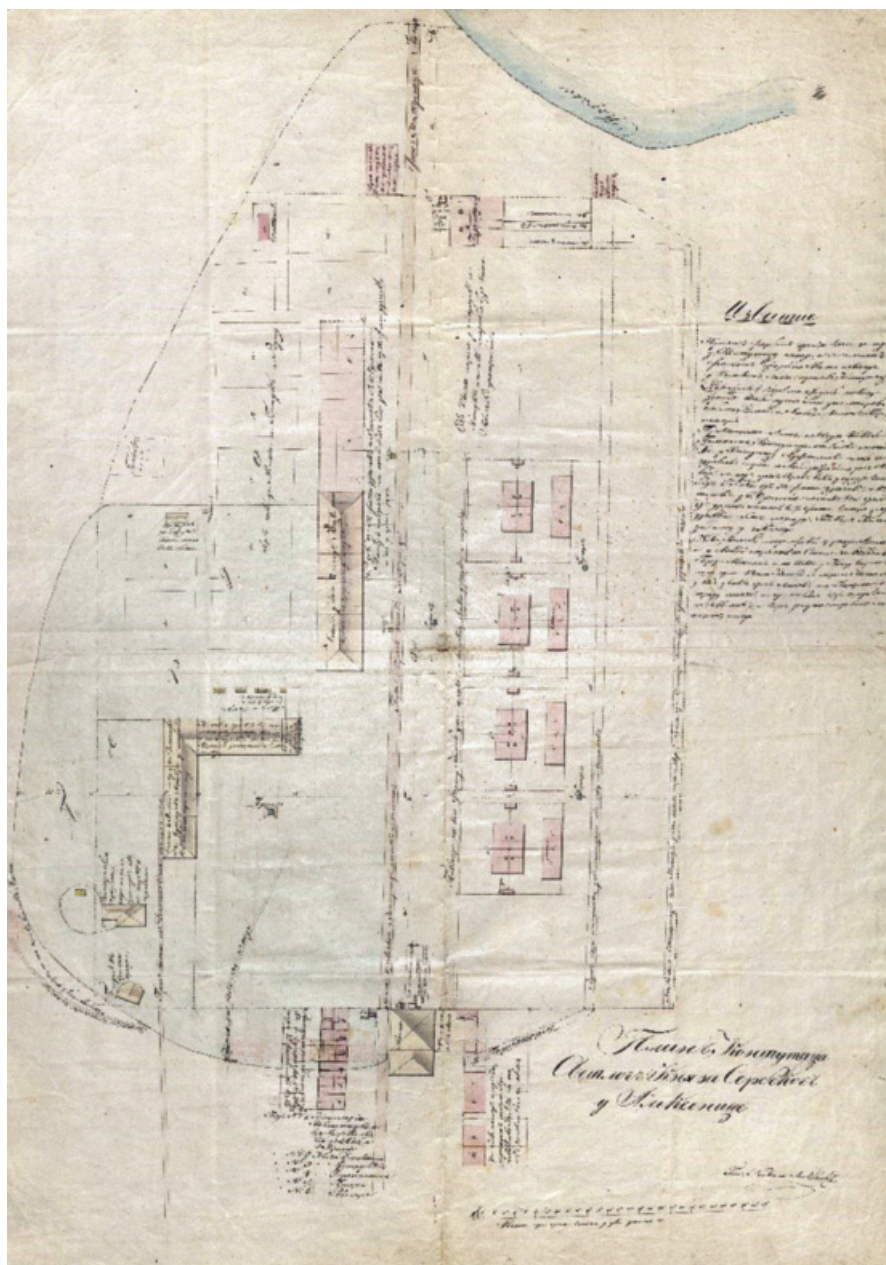
The quarantine in Aleksinac was constructed during 1836 and 1837. It had two sections separated by a high fence. In the official area of the quarantine, there was a building for inspections and listing of goods, a parlatory, a room for meetings and talks between Serbian and foreign subjects, as well as a room for postal disinfection and accommodation for the quarantine porter. Behind these official buildings, there were huts with one or two rooms and a kitchen, enclosed by high wooden fences, warehouses for storing goods, a hospital, a room for disinfection, and a mortuary. In the second section of the quarantine, there were offices and apartment for the quarantine staff. According to a list from 1836, the quarantine staff consisted of the quarantine director, the quarantine doctor, an inspector responsible for registering people and items in the quarantine protocol, a scribe, a warehouse supervisor, *latov* – the person responsible for overseeing and preventing contact between people in the quarantine, and about ten guards.²⁰

¹⁸ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 276; Драган Крсмановић, *Царина и царинска служба у Србији 1804–1914*, Београд 2006, 30–42. The dispute over the double customs duty between Serbia and the Ottoman Empire in Niš and Belgrade was resolved in the spring of 1835 when a sultan's decree (ferman) prohibited the collection of customs duty in Niš for goods entering Serbia (Ibidem).

¹⁹ Мита Петровић, *Финансије и установе обновљене Србије до 1842*, I, Београд 1901, 371.

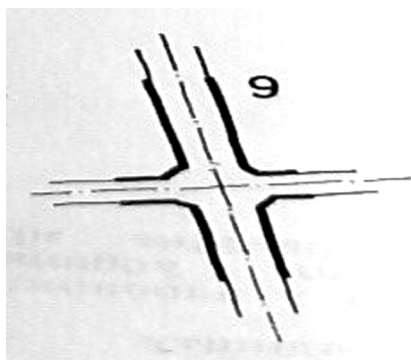
²⁰ Vladimir Macura, *Čaršija i gradski centar*, Niš–Kragujevac 1984, 36. Бранко Перуничкић, *Алексинац и околина*, Београд 1978, 105–106; Војислав Михаиловић, *Из историје санитета у обновљеној Србији од 1804 до 1860*, Београд 1951, 531.

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Plan of Aleksinac quarantine (SAS, KK, I, 209)

Alongside the construction of the quarantine, a church was also built in Aleksinac, and its construction was completed in 1837. The church of St. Nicholas became the central point of the new Serbian small town of Aleksinac. According to the plan of the engineer Franz Janke from 1839, two orthogonal axes were set up next to the church, with the one in the north-south direction still being the main transit artery of Aleksinac. Over time, public buildings (the school and the local administration building) were constructed on the town square, with the *čaršija* – the commercial part of the town, located in the extension of the square.²¹



Shape of the square in the urban plan of Aleksinac,
according to the plan by F. Janke from 1839²²

The small towns of Ljubovija and Raška, out of a total of eleven newly founded small towns in Serbia in the 19th century, owe their existence to the border crossings around which they developed, starting from the 1830s.²³ The quarantine and customs in Ljubovija were established in 1837 on the right bank of the Drina river, in an empty field that once belonged to the former Muslim small village of Drabići. Ljubovija quickly developed, and by 1844, it had 101 houses and nearly eight hundred inhabitants.²⁴ In the late 1830s and early 1840s, the first inhabitants of Raška were the guards and officials of the border crossing (*sastanak*). The land on which the new

²¹ Б. Којић, *Варошице у Србији*, 146–148; Ана Костић, *Црквена уметност у Кнежевини Србији (1830–1882)*, Београд 2023, 214–215.

²² Б. Којић, *Варошице у Србији*, 28; Бранко Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије 1791–1848*, Београд 1986, 157–158.

²³ “Plans for quarantine buildings” in Serbia were made in 1837 (SAS, KK, registry-V department, 1837).

²⁴ Ј. Гавриловић, *Речник географско-статистички Србије*, 99; Љуба Павловић, *Соколска нахија*, Насеља и порекло становништва, књ. 26, Београд 1930, 341, 469–471; The small town of Ljubovija was established in the immediate vicinity of the Drina river in the 1830s and 1840s. It was destroyed in a major flood in 1896 and was relocated to its current location, six hundred meters away from the original site, in 1897 (*Ibidem*).

town would be established was purchased by the authorities of the Principality of Serbia from a Muslim owner in 1839. The following year, the sale of plots to settlers began, with the condition that they build houses “in a row” and pave the space in front of them with stones to “give the *čaršija* a neat and attractive appearance”.²⁵ According to the plan by Kosta Alković from 1844, a new quarantine was established in Raška, around which the urban planning of the town began in 1847. The town was characterised by orthogonal intersecting streets and a spacious square.²⁶

During the Ottoman rule in Serbia, there were only a few travel routes. The most important one was the Constantinople Road, which connected Belgrade, Grocka, Jagodina, Čuprija, Paraćin, Niš, Sofia, and Edirne (Adrianople) with Constantinople (Istanbul). Another route led from Belgrade along the Sava river to Šabac, Loznica, Zvornik, and further towards Sarajevo. The third route extended along the right bank of the Danube from Belgrade to Požarevac, Poreč, and Brza Palanka, while the fourth route led from Belgrade to Kragujevac, further to Čačak and Užice. Lastly, the fifth route extended from Belgrade to Valjevo and continued towards Užice and the border crossing at Mokra Gora.²⁷

By establishing the border crossings of the Principality of Serbia, some of the roads that were used during Ottoman rule were intersected, and new road routes were constructed towards the border crossings. In 1836/37, a road was constructed from Svilajnac, or the Constantinople Road, through Neresnica and Majdanpek, continuing to Donji Milanovac. According to the project of engineer Kordon in 1837/38, a road was built over Miroč mountain from Donji Milanovac to Brza Palanka.²⁸ Starting from 1838, a road was constructed along the Drina river, connecting the quarantine in Rača to the quarantine in Ljubovija.²⁹ Special efforts were made to redesign the section of the Constantinople Road from Aleksinac to the border towards Niš. The expansion of the road network continued in the following decades. For example, in the 1880s, a road was built from Kraljevo to Raška through the precipitous Ibar valley.

During the 1830s, urbanisation in Serbia was closely related to dynamic demographic movements. While the Muslim population was emigrating, the Serbian population was immigrating. The population of the Principality of Serbia multiplied rapidly, particularly from 1833 to 1840, with an increase of 150,703 inhabitants in seven years. The population growth rate in Serbia during this period was comparable to the population growth rate in the United States of America.³⁰

²⁵ Б. Максимовић, *Урбанизам у Србији*, 77; Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 158–159.

²⁶ Б. Којић, *Варошице у Србији*, 134–136. Branko Maksimović, *Urbanizam u Srbiji, osnovna ispitivanja i dokumentacija*, Beograd 1938, 77.

²⁷ Вук Стефановић Караџић, “Географско-статистичко описаније Србије”, *Даница 1826–1829; 1834, Сабрана дела Вука С. Караџића VIII*, Београд 1969, 139–140; Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Србија пре сто година*, Београд 1946, 113–115.

²⁸ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 106.

²⁹ ДАС, КК, регистар, В – одељење, 1838, бр. 3020.

³⁰ Милош Јагодић, *Насељавање Кнежевине Србије*, Београд 2003, 26–28.

The table below presents changes in the number of settlements, houses, and inhabitants in specific border captaincies/districts, based on the censuses from 1834 and 1844.³¹

The name of captaincy, i.e. srez	1834			1844		
	Number of settlements	Number of houses	Number of inhabitants	Number of settlements	Number of houses	Number of inhabitants
Ključ	21	1,288	6,272	18	1,779	7,906
Zaječar	24	2,275	14,086	25	2,041	15,886
Aleksinac-Ražanj ³²	52	1,360	8,893	53	1,975	12,385
Rača	30	1057	7,059	32	1,326	10,454
Rujan	58	2,390	16,442	63	3,485	25,150
Moravica	39	1,351	9,653	39	1,758	13,256
Azbukovica	18	867	6,122	18 ³³	1,077	8,608
Jadar	39	2,099	11,833	35	2,501	15,521
Mačva ³⁴	39	3,502	23,672	38	4,153	27,046

While the number of settlements in the border administrative units changed slightly, the increase in the number of houses and inhabitants clearly indicates demographic changes in Serbia during the fourth and early fifth decades of the 19th century.³⁵

The establishment of the border of the Principality of Serbia and migrations resulted in the emergence of new settlements in its border region. Under the

³¹ The border captaincies/districts whose administrative jurisdiction remained unchanged between the two mentioned censuses are taken into account. The table was compiled according to: Л. Цвијетић, "Попис становништва и имовине у Србији 1834. године", 110–114; Ј. Гавриловић, *Речник географско-статистички Србије*, 3–4, 61, 78, 80, 146, 168.

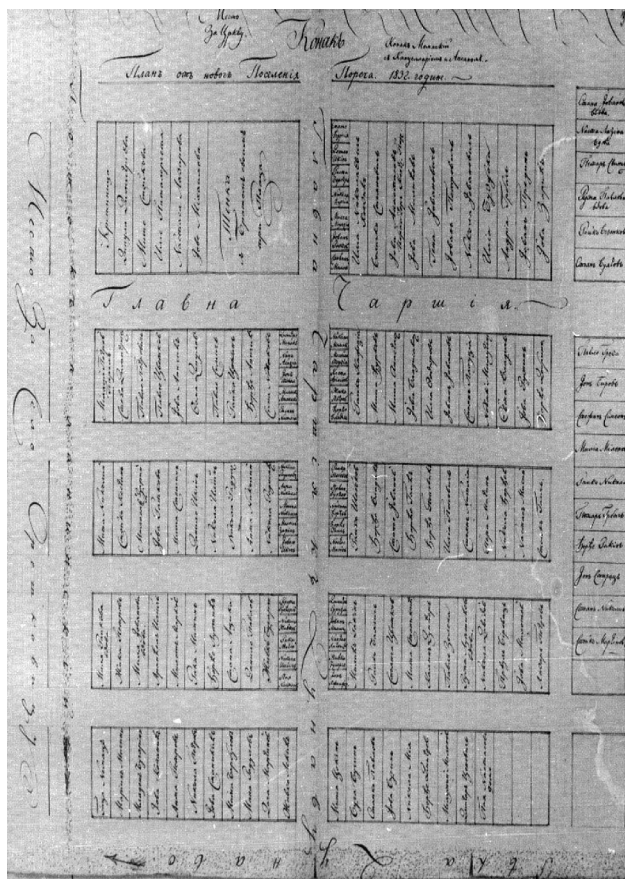
³² In 1834, the Aleksinac and Ražanj districts were separate administrative units, while in 1844, they became one administrative unit. Therefore, the census data for these two captaincies from 1834 were added together.

³³ The census did not include Muslim villages that were under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman authorities in the neighbouring Zvornik Pashalik.

³⁴ In the 1834 census, the town of Šabac belonged to the Mačva captaincy, but ten years later, it was part of the Pocerina district. Therefore, the data for the town of Šabac were excluded from the 1834 census of the Mačva captaincy.

³⁵ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 72; *Зборник закона и уредаба у Књажевству Србији*, 236.

agreements between the Ottoman and Austrian Empires and the provisions of the Hatt-i Sharif on Serbia's autonomy, the river islands on the Sava and Danube, where some settlements previously existed, belonged to Austria and the Ottoman Empire (Wallachia), depending on which of these countries Serbia shared its border with. The inhabitants of the Danube island of Poreč, which was given to the Ottoman Empire (Wallachia), were resettled with the assistance of the Serbian authorities in 1831 to the right bank, in the newly built settlement of Milanovac (present-day Donji Milanovac). Donji Milanovac was especially significant in Serbian literature as the first planned settlement in the Principality of Serbia, named after Milan, the eldest son of the Serbian ruler. The plan of "the new settlement of Poreč", i.e. Milanovac from



Plan of "New Poreč", present-day Donji Milanovac, 1832 (SAS, KK, XXI, 1304)

³⁶ В. Максимовић, *Urbanizam u Srbiji*, 78; 97; Тихомир Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа за насеља у Србији у време прве владе кнеза Милоша (1815–1830)*, Београд 1926, 159–161.

1832, which was approved by Prince Miloš after some revision, was drafted by Stefan Stefanović Tenka, a local administrator in eastern Serbia. Although not an engineer by education, Tenka's plan for Milanovac foreshadowed the Serbian authorities' intention to organise settlements in the future using a rectangular system.³⁶

Similarly, the village of Mihajlovac was founded downstream from Milanovac. The inhabitants of Veliko Ostrvo on the Danube, desiring to come under the rule of the Serbian Prince, secretly prepared for this during 1831 and 1832, as they were allowed to settle on the right bank opposite the island. The new settlement of Mihajlovac was established in 1833 and named after the younger son of Prince Miloš.³⁷ By the initiative and with financial assistance of Prince Miloš, a church was built in Mihajlovac in 1834.³⁸

In the 1830s, almost all towns and small towns in Serbia, including those in the border regions (Kladovo, Kruševac, Zaječar, Ivanjica, Požega, Loznica, and Lešnica), were planned and organised "in the European style". This involved the establishment of rectangular streets, the square, the commercial part of the town (*čaršija*, i.e. *bazaar*), markets, as well as the demarcation and measurement of plots for the construction of private and public buildings, which were also planned systematically. At the beginning, prominent officials such as Laza Zuban and Stefan Stefanović Tenka were involved in urban planning. From the mid-1830s, engineers from Austria were engaged in this task, with the most notable ones being Franz Janke and Baron Franz Kordon.³⁹ In November 1833, in Zaječar, upon the order of Prince Miloš, a specially engaged engineer "organised the *čaršija*". This engineer was tasked with arranging and planning the commercial part of the town (*bazaar*) in a systematic manner.⁴⁰ After Prince Miloš's visit and the suggestions he gave them in the autumn of 1834, the inhabitants of the small town of Kladovo organised the *čaršija* two years later. Around the *čaršija* in Kladovo, street lines (*šor*) were laid out, and some houses were relocated away from the Danube riverbank.⁴¹ After the emigration of the Muslim population from the central Podrinje region in the summer of 1834, around three thousand Serbs from Bosanska Krajina relocated to that territory in larger groups. The former Ottoman *kasaba* of Lešnica and *palanka* Loznica were organised based on new principles according to the plan by engineer Janke in 1837.⁴² In Lešnica, a spacious square was formed by intersecting two streets at right angles. On the other hand, in Loznica, the houses were aligned in a straight line.⁴³ After the withdrawal of the Turks, a new urban plan was also developed for Kruševac. According to this plan, the *čaršija* was relocated to a higher ground in 1836 after several delays due to financial

³⁷ Ibidem, 120–121, 135–138.

³⁸ Ibidem, 155. The authorities in Wallachia resettled about ten houses from the Danube island of Šimijan to Wallachia in April 1834, out of fear that they might cross over to Serbia.

³⁹ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 87

⁴⁰ ДАС, КК, XXXVI, 51 (микрофилм [=мкф.], ролна [=рол.], број [=бр.] 96.

⁴¹ Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 169–171.

⁴² В. Максимовић, *Urbanizam u Srbiji*, 81.

⁴³ Ibidem; Б. Максимовић, *Идејни развој српског урбанизма*, 2.

difficulties. The previous location of the bazaar was described as “marshy and muddy” land.⁴⁴ Due to favourable political and social circumstances, all towns and small towns in Serbia, except Valjevo, experienced population growth in the 1830s. In Loznica, there were 65 houses and 287 inhabitants in 1834, but five years later, there were 233 houses and 1,028 inhabitants, up by as much as 258%. In Lešnica, the number of houses increased by 76, and the population grew by 362, resulting in a growth rate of 102%. The population growth in Kruševac was 69%.⁴⁵

On the other hand, in the major border towns of Belgrade, Šabac, and Smederevo, the Muslim population, along with the Ottoman garrisons, remained until the 1860s due to the violation of the Hatt-i Sharif provisions regarding their emigration.

Belgrade for the first time became the capital of Serbia briefly in 1839, and permanently in 1841. The fact that it was the largest town in Serbia and the seat of the Ottoman governor and the commander of the fortress, which housed a strong Ottoman garrison, prevented the Serbian Prince from moving the capital there until 1839. However, from the beginning of the 1830s, Prince Miloš began spatially organising the town of Belgrade and making preparations for relocating the capital there, citing the provisions of autonomy and implementing urban measures. This marked the beginning of the “Europeanisation” process of Belgrade, which lasted over the following decades. Until the final Ottoman withdrawal from Belgrade in 1867, the “Ottoman” and “Serbian” Belgrade coexisted in parallel.⁴⁶

In the early 1830s, Belgrade was divided into three zones: the fortress – an exclusively Ottoman area, “varoš u šancu” (*town in the trench*) – the settlement around the fortress, surrounded externally by a deep moat with well-guarded passages (*gates*) that segregated predominantly Muslim inhabitants, with a smaller number of Jews and Christians, and “varoš izvan šanca” (*town outside the trench*) – the sparsely populated area beyond the jurisdiction of the Ottoman authorities.⁴⁷

The transfer of customs collection under the auspices of the Serbian authorities encouraged Prince Miloš to erect, in 1834 and 1835, what is believed to be the first building in Belgrade in the Western architectural style – *Đumrukana* (a Turkish term for a customs house). This two-storey building, with a rectangular base and a series of symmetrical arched openings on the ground floor and rectangular openings on the first floor, featured a central entrance. Situated right on the bank of the Sava river and, therefore, on the border with Austria, it was visible to all those coming from that side, symbolising the beginning of a new era for Serbia.⁴⁸

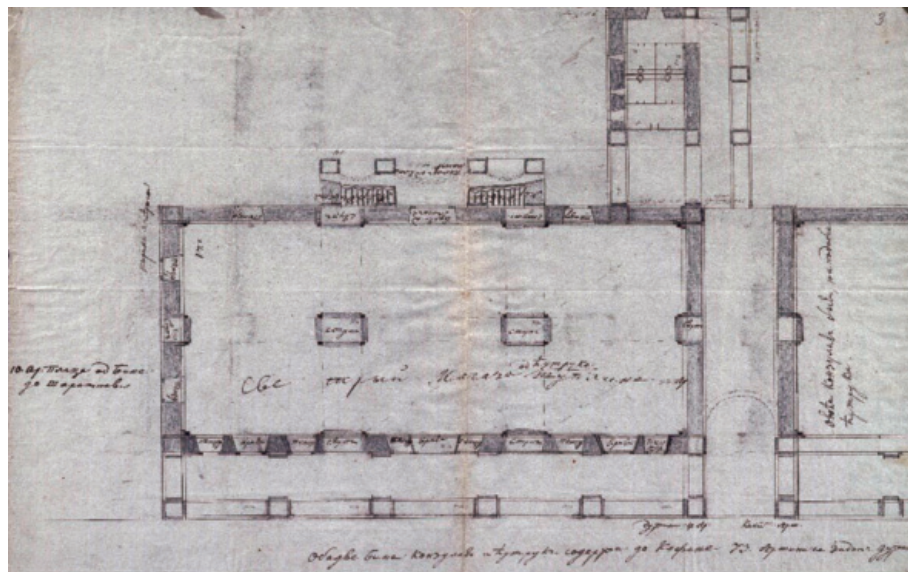
⁴⁴ Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 186–189.

⁴⁵ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 85–86.

⁴⁶ Ненад Макуљевић, *Османско-српски Београд: визуелност и креирање градског идентитета (1815–1878)*, Београд 2014.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, 247–251.

⁴⁸ The construction of *Đumrukana* (the customs house) cost the state treasury half a million groschen (М. Петровић, *Финансије и установе* 1, 762); Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 146–147; Дивна Ђурић Замоло, *Градитељи Београда 1815–1914*, Београд 1981.



Building plan of Đumrukana in Belgrade, 1834 (SAS, KK, VI, 417)

The construction of Serbian Belgrade in Savamala was a much more ambitious undertaking than building a single representative building. Savamala was an area outside the Belgrade fortress where an unregulated settlement had existed for decades. Prince Miloš, with the intention of organising this space, forcibly relocated the hitherto inhabitants of Savamala to another part of the town. Then, with his approval, from 1835 to 1837, in line with European architectural concepts, the barracks, the Council building, and the new prince's palace were constructed. The latter two buildings marked a crucial change in the spatial concept, as they abandoned the "Balkan-centric foundation" and adopted a new type of foundation in the shape of the Cyrillic letter P ("П"), characterised by elongated corridors and numerous rooms on both sides of the corridor.⁴⁹ In the early 1850s, an orthogonal street grid was established around those buildings in Belgrade, creating the Serbian Belgrade as an urbanistic counterpart to the "Ottoman" Belgrade in the fortress area.

Similarly to Belgrade, Serbian urban spaces, in contrast to the Ottoman ones, were formed in other mixed-population border towns of Serbia where Ottoman fortresses existed, along with a certain number of Muslim inhabitants in the suburbs. The conflict between Serbs and Turks in the mixed-population Užice in 1832 led to the Serbian population's forced relocation from Užice to Požega, located about twenty kilometres away. In 1832, Laza Zuban, an official of Prince Miloš, marked the location

⁴⁹ V. Macura, *Čaršija i gradski centar*, 84, 35; Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 147.

in Požega where houses and shops would be built, featuring a circular square in the centre of the town.⁵⁰ Thus, Požega, a planned Serbian settlement, became the centre of Serbian authority in that part of Serbia until 1835. In the Serbian *čaršija* (bazaar) in Smederevo, according to the plan approved by Prince Miloš on 11 April 1837, plots were designated for the construction of a two-storey building for the district court and customs, a school, and a church.⁵¹ The Serbian border town in Šabac, with its straight and wide streets, was established and organised in the 1820s and 1830s, contrasting with the Muslim suburb and fortress.⁵²

The transformation of an Ottoman *kasaba* or *palanka* into a Serbian *varoš* and *varošica* was carried out ceremonially and ritually. In 1836, a cross was erected in the centre of the relocated Kruševac *čaršija*, and priests ritually blessed the water. This symbolic act bestowed a Christian character upon the newly established Serbian market town.⁵³

From the beginning of his rule, Prince Miloš systematically restored and built churches and monasteries, especially from 1831 when the Church in the Principality of Serbia became autonomous. In the border areas of the Principality, numerous churches were restored and constructed (Zaječar, Mihajlovac, Kruševac, Loznica, Lešnica etc.).⁵⁴ The chain of Orthodox churches along the borders and in the interior of the Principality of Serbia indicated the Orthodox Christian identity of the renewed Serbian state. In the region of eastern Serbia, specifically in the newly established Timok Diocese, which became a part of the Belgrade Metropolitanate in 1833, there were at least fifty churches according to the census from 1836. Approximately twenty of these churches were constructed during that very decade.⁵⁵

The Church of St. Archangel Michael in the new settlement of Mihajlovac was built shortly after the establishment of the settlement. Prince Miloš personally supervised the construction of the church, which began in April and was completed in the autumn of 1834. The architectural design of the church in Mihajlovac is typical of the 1830s: a single-nave stone building without a dome and bell tower, featuring a decorated western portal, rectangular windows, a nave, and an altar space separated by an iconostasis. Moreover, Prince Miloš sent the text of the inscription, which stated that the church was built in 1834 through the “benevolence of faithful Prince Miloš”,

⁵⁰ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 331–332; В. Максимовић, *Urbanizam u Srbiji*, 73–74; 78–79.

⁵¹ Леонтије Павловић, *Смедерево у 19. веку, занимања, имовина и зарада становника према пописима 1833. и 1862/63. године*, Смедерево 1969, 91; Бранко Перуничкић, *Насеље и град Смедерево*, Смедерево 1977, 459–461.

⁵² Владимир Стојанчевић, “Шабач и Шабачка нахија од избијања Првог српског устанка до краја кнез Милошеве владе”, у: *Шабач у прошлост* 2, Шабач 1980, 143–147; Братислав Стојановић, “Урбанистичко–архитектонски развој Шапца током 19. и почетком 20. века”, у: *Шабач у прошлости* 3, Шабач 1984, 273–294.

⁵³ Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 188.

⁵⁴ А. Костић, *Црквена уметност у Кнежевини Србији*, 205–206, 207–208, 217.

⁵⁵ Недељко Радосављевић, “Тимочка епископија по попису из 1836”, *Историјски часопис* 52 (2005) 263–264.

during the administration of Metropolitan Petar and as a dedication for all other regions that were within the borders of Serbia since 1833.⁵⁶ On the other side of Serbia, in Belgrade, above the Đumrukana building, the construction of a monumental cathedral dedicated to St. Archangel Michael (the Cathedral Church) began in the summer of 1837. The main construction works were completed in 1839, and the raising of the cross on the church's tower during the following year turned into a significant state and public celebration.⁵⁷ In Belgrade, on the border of the Principality of Serbia, in the immediate vicinity of the Ottoman fortress, the monumental Orthodox church embodied in the best way the renewed sovereignty of Serbia.

Society in 19th-century Serbia was predominantly rural. The proportion of the rural population in 1839 amounted to 92.25%, according to the estimates.⁵⁸ During the fourth decade of the 19th century, Prince Miloš endeavoured to organise rural settlements. The rural population lived in villages where houses and households covered vast areas. Some villages, according to Vuk Karadžić, were even larger in size than Vienna. However, in terms of the number of houses and inhabitants, during the fourth decade of the 19th century, rural settlements in Serbia were relatively small – 99% of all villages had up to two hundred households.⁵⁹

The decree of Prince Miloš from 20 March 1837, named “ušoravanje sela” (grouping village houses into streets), is the first known and preserved legal regulation in the field of urban planning in 19th-century Serbia. The regulation stipulated that distant houses and households in villages should be consolidated and brought closer together for the sake of further general economic prosperity.⁶⁰ In the explanatory statement accompanying this regulation, it was noted that “the time has passed when we had to hide in the woods and streams [during Ottoman rule – note R. P.], that now we do not need to do that, that it is better to live together, in order, and in proximity, brothers with brothers, friends with friends, and neighbours with neighbours, rather than being scattered apart from each other”.⁶¹

In fact, the spatial planning of villages in the border regions of Serbia began before Prince Miloš's decree in 1837. Jevrem Obrenović, the brother of Prince Miloš and the administrator of three border districts in northwestern Serbia, started this process in Mačva in the late 1820s, following the example of Austrian villages in neighbouring Srem. Around thirty Mačva's villages were spatially arranged by the mid-1830s. In addition to the Šabac district, some villages were also consolidated in the Danube

⁵⁶ Ирена Ћировић, “Црква светог арханђела Михаила у Михајловцу”, у: *Сакрална топографија Неготинске крајине*, прир. Ненад Макуљевић, Неготин 2012, 112–125; Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 147.

⁵⁷ The furnishing and decoration of the Cathedral Church were completed in 1845 (Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 116–125).

⁵⁸ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 79.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 80–81.

⁶⁰ *Зборник закона и уредаба у Књажевству Србији*, 175–176.

⁶¹ Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 578–579.

region, Pomoravlje, Šumadija, and eastern Serbia. However, relocating houses in mountainous and hilly areas proved to be challenging due to the terrain's configuration, predominantly livestock production of the population, the high cost of the undertaking, and the inhabitants' reluctance to change their established way of life.⁶²

In just a few years Prince Miloš managed to organise and define the borders of the Principality of Serbia and set the direction for its further urban development. This was a significant step, as Serbia started transforming its inherited Oriental urban environment into a European urban style. Although this process unfolded throughout the 19th century, its roots dated to the 1830s. It is not strange that in the early fifth decade of the 19th century English traveller Andrew Archibald Paton, after visiting Serbia, published the book *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family...*⁶³ From the late 1830s, crossing the border of the Principality of Serbia meant, in fact, entering the European urban space.

⁶² Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 75–79; Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 155–157; Р. Ј. Поповић, “Просторни и архитектонски преображај мачванских села у 19. веку”, у: *Село Балкана. Континуитети и промене кроз историју/The Balkan Village. Continuities and Changes Through History*, Београд 2017, 77–96.

⁶³ <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/16999>.

Радомир Й. Попович

**УКРЕПЛЕНИЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОСТИ:
УРБАНИЗАЦИЯ ПОГРАНИЧНЫХ ТЕРРИТОРИЙ
КНЯЖЕСТВА СЕРБИЯ В 1833–1839 ГГ.**

Резюме

Автономный государственный статус, признанный высшими правовыми актами Османской империи (1829, 1830 и 1833 года), позволил начать всесторонние реформы в Княжестве Сербии под руководством князя Милоша Обреновича. В истории урбанизации Сербии период с тридцатых до шестидесятых годов XIX века называется “периодом основания новых городов”. Хронологические рамки работы – 1833 год, когда соглашением Хатишерифа была установлена граница между Османской империей и автономным Княжеством Сербии, и 1839 год – завершение первого правления князя Милоша, который определил основное направление урбанизации. Взаимосогласованные управленческие меры направлены на выделение Княжества Сербии из Османской империи. Граница между вассальным княжеством и султанской империей в 1834 и 1835 годах имела исключительно военное обозначение. По образцу австрийской пограничной службы на границах Княжества по отношению к Османской империи было установлено постоянное наблюдение и контроль за граничной линией, так называемый “кордон”. Определены граничные переходы, то есть таможни, карантин и посты. Самым значимым пограничным местом Княжества Сербии по отношению к Османской империи стал Алексинец на Константинопольской дороге. Репрезентативное здание церкви в Алексинце, завершённое в 1837 году, было угловой точкой небольшого городка, организованного по плану 1839 года, в соответствии с которым две улицы пересекались под прямым углом, образуя ортогональную схему улиц. Построенные пограничные переходы на незаселённых местах непосредственно повлияли на появление городков Любовия и Рашка. В результате установления границы Княжества Сербии и переселения населения на его территорию возникли совершенно новые, планомерно организованные поселения, такие как Доњи Милановац и Михајловац на Дунае, а также городки, из которых выселились мусульмане (Кладово, Крушевац, Зајечар, Ивањица, Пожега, Лозница и Лешница), были оформлены “европейским” образом. В городах, где существовали военные поселения и мусульманское население (Белград, Шабац, Смедерево), сербские части этих городов были организованы по ортогональной схеме улиц, с площадью и коммерческими частями – базарами. Важным сегментом урбанизации Княжества Сербии были святыни, которые строились или реконструировались на территории Княжества Сербии. Князь Милош уделял особое внимание строительству и реконструкции церквей в пограничной

области. Репрезентативний Собор Святого Михаїла в Белграді, строительство которого началось в 1837 году, церковь в Алексинце, а также церковь в новом поселении Михайловац и ряд других церквей вблизи границы указывали на православный характер обновленного сербского государства. Указ князя Милоша от 20 марта 1837 года о “ушорении деревень” (шор = улица), о пространственной организации деревень, с ортогональной схеме улиц, считается первым законодательным актом в области урбанизма и пространственного плана в Сербии в XIX веке. Пространственная организация сел, хотя и не полностью, успешно осуществлена в равнинных и пограничных районах северо-западной и северной части Княжества Сербии.

Радомир Ј. Поповић

**УТВРЂИВАЊЕ ДРЖАВНОСТИ:
УРБАНИЗАЦИЈА ПОГРАНИЧНИХ КРАЈЕВА
КНЕЖЕВИНЕ СРБИЈЕ 1833–1839. ГОДИНЕ**

Резиме

Аутономан државни статус Кнежевине Србије признат највишим правним актима Османског царства (1829, 1830. и 1833) омогућио је под руководством кнеза Милоша почетак свеобухватних реформи у Кнежевини Србији. У историји урбанизма Србије, раздобље од тридесетих до шездесетих година 19. века назива се периодом „оснивања нових градова”. Хронолошки оквири рада су 1833. када је одредбама Хатишерифа одређена граница између Османског царства и аутономне Кнежевине Србије и 1839 – завршетак прве владавине кнеза Милоша, који је одредио главни правац урбанизације. Међусобно координисане управљачке мере имале су за циљ издвајање Кнежевине Србије из Османског царства. Граница између вазалне кнежевине и сизеренског царства имала је 1834. и 1835. године искључиво војно обележје. По узору на аустријску граничарску службу, на границама Кнежевине према Османском царству успостављен је стални надзор и контрола граничне линије, такозвани кордон. Одређени су гранични прелази, то јест царине, карантини и састанаци. Најзначајније погранично место Кнежевине Србије према Османском царству постао је Алексинац на Цариградском путу. Репрезентативно здање цркве у Алексинцу која је завршена 1837. представљало је угаону тачку варошице која је уређена према плану из 1839. према којем се две улице секу под правим углом, око којих је настала ортогонална схема улица. Успостављени гранични прелази на ненасељеним местима директно су утицали на настанак варошица Љубовије и Рашке. Услед успостављања границе Кнежевине Србије и досељавања

становништва на њену територију настала су потпуно нова, плански уређена насеља Доњи Милановац и Михајловац на Дунаву, док су вароши и варошице из којих су се иселили муслимани (Кладово, Крушевац, Зајечар, Ивањица, Пожега, Лозница и Лешница) уређени „по европски”. У варошима у којима су постојале војне посаде и муслиманско становништво (Београд, Шабац, Смедерево) уређени су српски делови тих вароши са ортогоналном схемом улица, тргом и пословним деловима вароши – чаршијама. Важан сегмент урбанизације Кнежевине Србије чиниле су сакралне грађевине које су подизане или обнављане на територији Кнежевине Србије. Кнез Милош је посебну пажњу поклањао изградњи и обнови цркава у граничном подручју. Репрезентативна Саборна црква у Београду чија градња је започета 1837, црква у Алексинцу, па црква у новом насељу Михајловцу и низ других цркава око границе, указивале су на православни идентитет обновљене српске државе. Указ кнеза Милоша од 20. марта 1837. године о „ушоравању села”, то јест просторном уређењу села сматра се првим законским прописом у области урбанизма у Србији у 19. веку. Просторно уређење селâ, иако непотпуно, успешно је спроведено у равничарским и пограничним пределима северозападне и северне Кнежевине Србије.