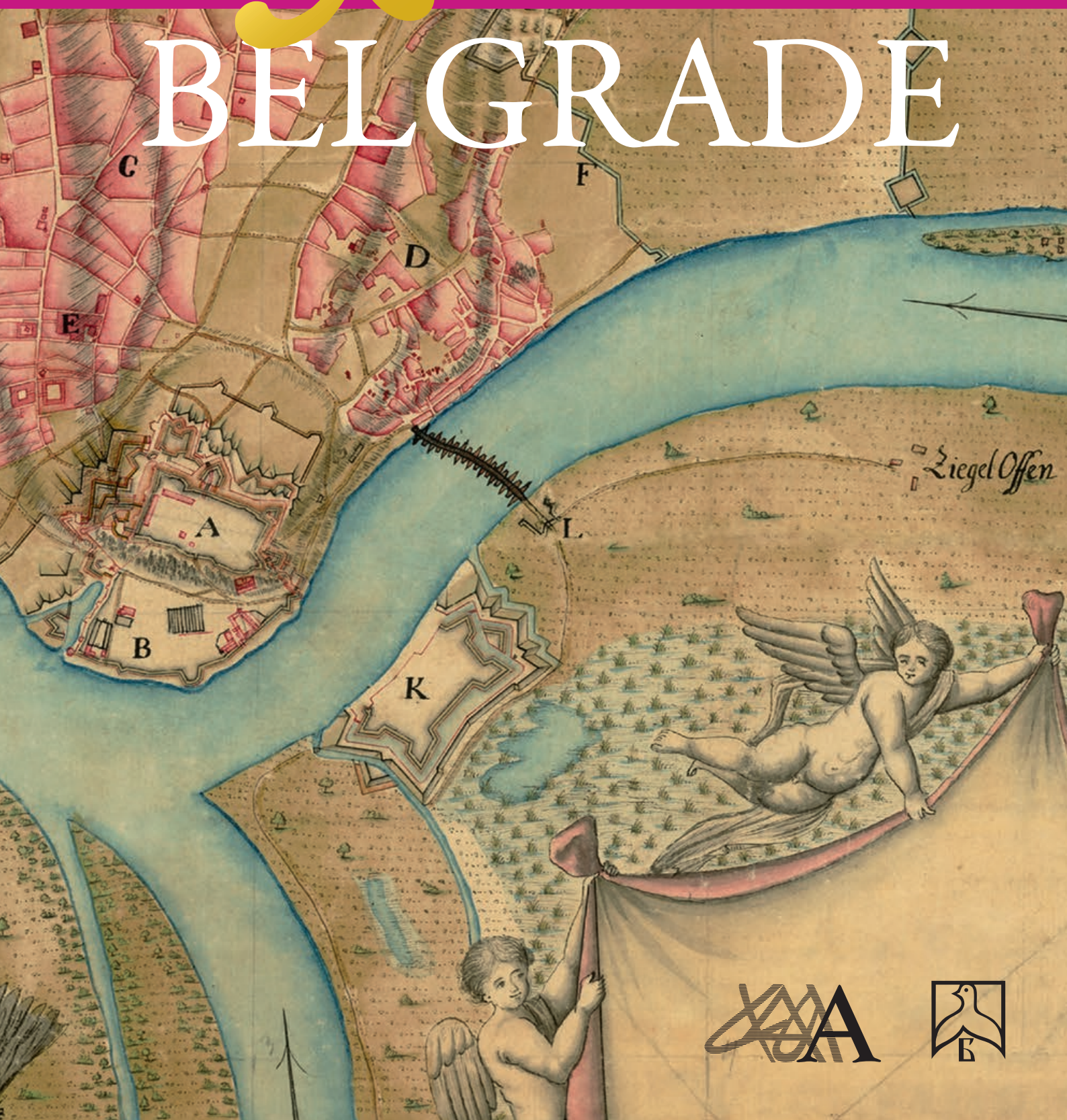


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BAROQUE
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TRANSFORMATION

1717–1739



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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 *şehir* 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

MAPPA
EINER
PARTIE DES BELGRADER DISTRICTS
IM
KONIGREICH
SERVIEN

DESCRIPTION

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| A. OBERE VESTUNG ODER DAS SCHLOSS | G. NEUANGELEGTE REDOUTE |
| 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 auf dem 9. de 1722 Zickel
verfertiget

MAAS STAB VON 1000 WIENER KLAFTER

ANNO 1724 et 1722

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
nach
WIENERISCHER MAASS

Die Vestung und Stadt	461 3/4 Joch
Das Käuffel Lager von der letzten Belagerung 1711 1/2	Joch
Das Türk. Lager bey der Belagerung	62 5/8 Joch
Hochfürstl. Durchl. Kleiner Thiergarten	63 Joch
Demselben vorgeschriebener Thiergarten	22 5/8 Joch
Die große Sau- oder Ziejauner Insul	350 1/4 Joch
Weinberge	1740 1/4 Joch
Wüst- undackerloses Land	8981 1/2 Joch
Wälder	4360 1/4 Joch
Rohr und Morast	1652 1/2 Joch
Wald	5381 Joch
Busch	1804 1/2 Joch

Summa Summarum des
ganten Inhalts dieser Mappe 29400 1/2 Joch
Exclusive der Situation von Slavonien



VESNA BIKIĆ

New Goods for a New Society – Belgrade and Habsburg Central Europe

The Austrian occupation of Belgrade in 1717 brought to the city a new cycle of transformations. As so many times before, the new war conditions at this important geostrategic location required a series of interventions aimed at improving the defensive capabilities of its fortifications, whereas the presence of new military troops and an army of various craftsmen and merchants in it affected the everyday life of its citizens in many ways. From the time of the transformation of Belgrade into the fortified capital of Despot Stefan Lazarević (r. 1404–1427), the city underwent and adopted major cultural changes. Its short-lived sojourn within the borders of the Serbian state was succeeded by Hungarian rule for the best part of a century, only to be followed by nearly two hundred years under the Ottomans. Every change of ruler was accompanied by an almost total disruption of the continuity of material culture, that is, by an inevitable adoption of

different cultural patterns. This new change in the early eighteenth century, the latest in the series, once again connected Belgrade with Central European artisanal and artistic circles. Unlike the previous time, that is, the period of Hungarian rule and Gothic artisanal and artistic trends during the Middle Ages, the cultural milieu at the beginning of the Modern Age was shaped in accordance with the tenets of monumental Baroque and in the conditions of a new economic policy – Mercantilism.¹

The key role in the concept of the new Baroque-style city was played by the standing army, whose task, in addition to making conquests, was to maintain order. Prince Eugene of Savoy's reorganisation of armed forces relied on commandeering, that is, forced recruitment of regiments for service in certain regions, predominantly in the crown lands, such as Austria, Bavaria, Bohemia and Hungary, but also in other regions (fig. 82), so that there were sol-

* The paper is a result of research within the project *Urbanisation and Development Processes in Medieval Society* of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia (no. 177021).

¹ Mumford, *The City in History*, 345–346. The rulers of the Habsburg dynasty were familiar with the policies of Mercantilism, even though their implementation differed from region to region of the vast empire; see Веселиновић, *Продирање аустријске тврђавине у Београд*, 163–166.

diers who spoke French, Flemish, Italian, Serbian and Croatian.² Besides its diversified ethnic composition, the Austrian army was also full of soldiers of various occupations, mostly because of the recruitment of craftsmen, who greatly assisted in the performance of repairs and the production of necessary items.³

In the Habsburg Empire, Belgrade was essentially a military outpost city, the main frontier fortress and the starting point of German (Catholic) eastward colonisation. Its important geopolitical position contributed to the transformation of the city into an economic and cultural centre of the region.⁴ Due to its overall importance, Belgrade became a stage for the display of the Habsburg Empire's power, and the army, as its most conspicuous and ubiquitous component, became a key factor in the dissemination of European cultural patterns and their impact on everyday life. In addition to accommodation and utilisation of space, the presence of the army also implied the consumption of various goods.⁵ To Belgraders of the time, the design of consumer goods and decorative objects represented a novelty compared to the theretofore prevailing Ottoman-Balkan design.

Archaeological assemblages of Austrian Belgrade

The available data, collected in the course of many decades of multidisciplinary investigations, attests to the importance of Belgrade for the study of diverse phenomena at the beginning of the Modern Age. This importance has

come to the fore in recent times owing to investigations of the archaeological contexts from the period of Austrian administration, which contained an abundance of various everyday objects. Even though objects from the period are present, virtually without exception, in the cultural layers of the Belgrade Fortress, it was only recently that all earlier finds were systematised, owing to archaeological investigations of the remains of a blockhouse in the so-called *Prolom* (Breach) in the south-eastern rampart of the Upper Town (fig. 58–60) and in the cellar of the medieval metropolitan's residential complex in the Lower Town. The said archaeological contexts were thoroughly examined as building complexes, whereas their contents allowed for a more precise chronological and cultural determination.⁶ From the viewpoint of contemporary studies of material culture, they contain a set of information of importance for the interpretation of the objects and their social and cultural dimensions.⁷ Even though they are from two stages of Austrian rule, which are mutually different with respect to their content and number of finds, they more fully illustrate the flows of production and consumption of goods in Austrian Belgrade when viewed within a single framework.

The said archaeological assemblages of Austrian Belgrade have been accurately determined with regard to their stratigraphy and chronology. The space inside the vaulted chamber under the blockhouse is by all means a representative assemblage, mostly because of the abundance of finds deposited there over a short time period in the 1720s. The objects found had come from structures in the Upper

² Parrott, *From military enterprise to standing armies*, 74–95; Ágoston, *Empires and warfare*, 126, 131–131; Bassett, *The Imperial Austrian Army*, 73–74. After the Austrian conquest of 1688, a similarly composed army was stationed in the Belgrade Fortress, as well as priests, who performed services in German and Slavonic languages. See Веселиновић, *Ратнови Турске и Аустрије*, 468–482; Vanino, *Isusovci u Beogradu*, 21–22.

³ Bassett, *The Imperial Austrian army*, 74.

⁴ I. Тоћанас Радовић, pp. 12–37 and A. Милошевић, in the present book, pp. 74–95.

⁵ Mumford, *The City in History*, 345–348.

⁶ М. Поповић, *Beginnings of Baroque Military Architecture in the Belgrade Fortress*, in the present book, pp. 96–108; Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Митрополије*, 122–129.

⁷ West, *Introduction*, 1–7; Orser, *Historical Archaeology*, 27–28; Cochran, Beaudry, *Material Culture Studies*, 192, 199–200.

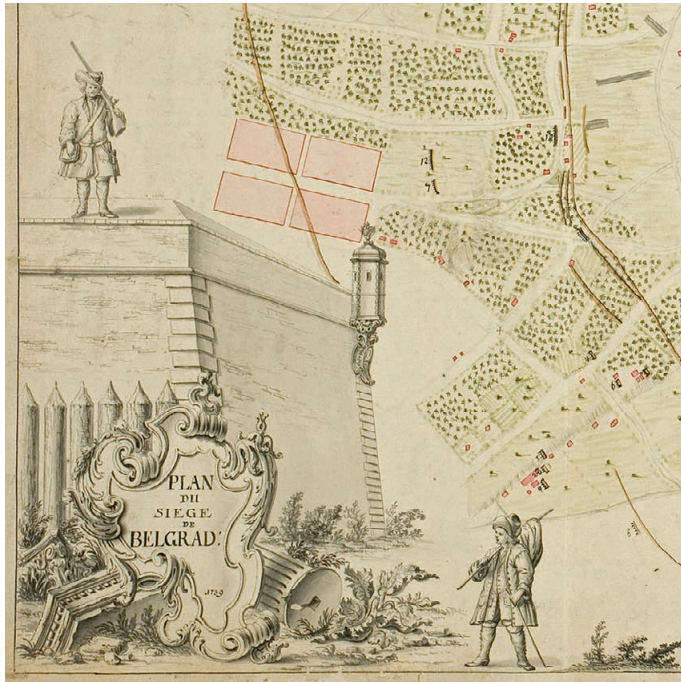


Fig. 82. Plan of the siege of Belgrade in 1717, veduta
(Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, sig. Hfk Pläne_La 14 rot)



Fig. 83. Infantryman and officer, 1710
(Ottenfeld, Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee*, 8)

Town, most notably the two infantry barracks and the Main Guard building, and were discarded as waste when the ground level of the blockhouse was demolished, most likely between 1721/1722 and 1725.⁸ Bearing in mind the time frame of Austrian rule in Belgrade, they are objects used by Austrian troops during the first several years after they had moved into the barracks, which means that the majority of these items were produced before 1721, but not much earlier than the second decade of the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, the archaeological context of the former metropolitan residence's cellar, which had been renovated during Ottoman rule (1521–1688), attests to its intensive use during the first, two-year long Austrian occupation of Belgrade (1688–1690). Namely,

the space housed a dispensary or a storeroom for tinctures and balms.⁹ As such, the context represents one of the very few archaeological examples of a military dispensary and also a valuable testimony to the utilisation of spaces and organisation of everyday activities during the first Austrian conquest of the Belgrade Fortress. As it suffered substantial damage in war, the space fell into disuse after 1717.

As attested by investigation findings obtained thus far, the strong connection between the fortress and the city is evident not only in the architectural, i.e., physical structures, but also in the organisation of everyday life. Unlike the fortress, which has yielded an abundance of various everyday and a smaller number of decorative objects, the area of the town outside it has been much less and sporadically investi-

⁸ M. Popović, *Beginnings of Baroque Military Architecture in the Belgrade Fortress*, in the present book, pp. 96–108.

⁹ Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Миџройолије*, 122–130, сл. 77, 93–95.

gated, given the comparatively modest number of protective archaeological investigations and the poor state of preservation of cultural layers from the period of Austrian rule.¹⁰ However, albeit modest, indications related to the cultural and artisanal milieus provided by movable archaeological finds discovered in the outer city adequately demonstrate similarities between the material cultures of the two entities. In this respect, the archaeological finds from the fortress area illustrate the character of the city as a whole and are, therefore, relevant for a discussion of issues related to the social meaning of the unearthed objects and the creation of a cultural identity.¹¹

*Uniforms and accoutrements,
their maintenance and mending*

There were in Belgrade, as an important strategic place, many troops from all branches of the services and of all ranks.¹² In order to meet their needs, Austrian authorities made contracts on deliveries of large quantities of clothes, boots, gunpowder, horns, belts, bandoliers, etc., with detailed specifications regarding cuts and colours.¹³ In 1707, the Imperial War Council issued an order requiring infantry troops to wear light grey uniforms, that is, of the colour reminiscent of the imperial troops from the time of the Thirty Years' War. However, as wool of that colour was cheapest, it faded in the sun and turned almost white.¹⁴ Craftsmen living in the German part of Belgrade were commissioned to maintain and mend uniforms and footwear and produce spare parts for them.

According to the census of 1723, the most numerous after tailors were shoemakers (11), whilst the number of boot makers was much smaller (3). Also mentioned are four harness makers, one hosier, one button maker, one gunsmith, one weapons cleaner, and two tanners.¹⁵

Archaeological finds provide rather meagre data on the appearance of the Habsburg troops stationed in Belgrade. A general picture may be assumed on the basis of the unearthed parts of uniforms, weapons and accoutrements, but it can only be verified by comparing the finds with depictions of scenes from the life of the soldiers of the time. Outstanding among the latter are the finely detailed illustrations produced by Rudolf Otto von Ritter Ottenfeld, a professor at the Prague Academy of Fine Arts and a military painter,¹⁶ and Martin Engelbrecht, a German painter, engraver and publisher.¹⁷

These detailed visual representations of Austrian troops greatly facilitate the identification and interpretation of the paltry archaeological remains of the parts of uniforms, weapons and accoutrements (fig. 83). The most common among these are buttons and buckles, which is nothing out of the ordinary, given their multipurpose use. Bronze buttons of a certain type and size (fig. 84) were used to fasten all items of clothing, most notably tunics and coats. Small hollow ball-shaped buttons were sewn onto tunics, whereas big and comparatively flat buttons were sewn onto coats. There are also among the finds two big buttons bearing the Roman script letter P, as well as two rivets. All these buttons are now dark green, mostly due to corrosion, with only one of them still bright yellow, the original colour

¹⁰ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 228–237.

¹¹ West, *Introduction*, 1–4.

¹² Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година*, 40–41; idem, *Србија и Београд*, 195–196.

¹³ Tallett, *War and Society*, 119–120.

¹⁴ Ibid., 120; Bassett, *The Imperial Austrian Army*, 74–75.

¹⁵ Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година*, 42; idem, *Србија и Београд*, 198.

¹⁶ Ottenfeld, Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee*.

¹⁷ Engelbrecht, *Theatre de la milice etrangere*.



Fig. 84. Metal buttons from the chamber under the blockhouse
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

of the buttons on Habsburg uniforms of the time. Judging by the comparatively small number of finds from the chamber under the blockhouse, as well as from other spaces in the fortress, soldiers seem to have taken good care of their buttons. Only a small number of them were replaced and discarded because they lacked loops or had become crooked.

Besides metal ones, buttons made from other materials, most notably bone, were used for fastening other items of clothing (Fig. 85a). The use and production of bone buttons is attested throughout Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and, in particular, in the early Modern Age. Owing to the numerous semi-finished items, spent bone plates and discarded items damaged during production discovered in the archaeological context of the chamber under the blockhouse, this issue was recently addressed in much detail, including an explanation of the process of production.¹⁸ We shall, therefore, briefly list only the information relevant to the general picture of the

dress and everyday activities of the Belgrade garrison. Namely, the bone disks with a perforation in the centre are actually the knobs of fabric covered buttons, which were sewn onto various items of clothing, such as jackets, breeches, tunics, etc., as well as onto bedclothes.¹⁹ These semi-finished items were then finished in the next phase of production, when the perforation and both sides of the knob were polished in order that the fabric which covered it might last longer. An interesting fact is that the Belgrade workshop producing buttons predominantly used cattle ribs and long bones (Fig. 85b), most probably those dumped by the nearby garrison kitchen. All this, and the evident mastery of the production technique, as well as the speed of work that resulted in lots of waste, is suggestive of a specialist in charge of the production of multipurpose buttons in the fortress area.

Worn over the tunic at the waist was a belt, which supported a bayonet and/or a sabre. It was normally made from light colour leather,

¹⁸ Bikić, Vitezović, *Bone working and the army*, 57–65 (with literature).

¹⁹ See Бикић, *Девотионалије*, сл. 36.



Fig. 85. a) Bone buttons: disks (1–5), with fabric cover (6–9), for bedclothes (10–11);

b) bone waste from a workshop that made buttons

(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

b



Fig. 86. Buckles for belts and shoes from the chamber under the blockhouse
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

similar in hue to the infantry tunic and coat. Unfortunately, the leather parts of the belt have not survived, but a multitude of buckles were unearthed in the course of archaeological excavations (Fig. 86). Most of the buckles are rectangular or oval, made by casting and unadorned. These simple, functional objects were not changed much over time, and the square-shaped type was virtually not changed at all.²⁰ They came in two sizes, depending on the width of the belt. Namely, pictorial sources suggest there were differences in the widths of belts worn by different branches of the army. Thus, infantrymen wore wide belts, capable of withstanding the weight of weapons and ammunition, whereas cavalrymen wore one or two narrow belts, which better suited their needs.²¹ Besides these standard types, there have

been sporadic finds of more finely worked buckles, such as the small one with a mesh ornament (Fig. 86/14). The unearthed buckles were more or less damaged. In the case of the oval ones, their pins were broken, whereas in the case of the square ones, most of their frames were cracked around the middle. These patterns of damage are indicative of the comparatively poor quality of these items, i.e., that they were produced 'in a rush'. Some branches of the military, most notably the infantry, wore a rectangular cartridge box, made of hard leather, used for carrying ammunition, flints and wadding for pistols and muskets or black powder for glass bombs.²² These pieces of military accoutrement have not been registered among archaeological finds, not only because of the perishable nature of the material, but also

²⁰ Fingerlin, *Gürtel*, 181/293, 294 (Kat. Nr. 68, 283).

²¹ Ottenfeld, Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee*, 8, 10, 12.

²² *Ibid.*, 9.

probably because they could not be identified due to the erosion of the discarded items.

The investigations of the chamber under the blockhouse yielded new insights into the military footwear prevalent at the beginning of the Modern Age. A total of 110 pieces of leather of various sizes were discovered in this archaeological context. There were fewer than ten soles and the rest were parts of heels (Fig. 87). This ratio between discarded parts suggests that heels wore out much faster than soles, which may have been related to the duration and intensity of marching.

All the discovered parts of footwear indicate that it comprised three basic elements, i.e. the sole, the heel and the upper. These were joined together by gluing or stitching through perforations made by an awl. Based on the total

length of the soles and heels, which ranges from 24.4 to 25.5 centimetres, it can be assumed that the sizes of the footwear corresponded to modern European sizes of 38 to 40. Two types of soles have been identified: one with a single row of perforations and the other with two rows, where the row with smaller perforations ran along the edge. The heels were made from several layers of leather (between four and ten of them) that were glued together and additionally joined with rivets. Two varieties were observed in this case as well: one with small rivets evenly distributed over the entire heel, and the other with a large, centrally positioned rivet and small rivets along the edges. Unfortunately, it is currently not possible to establish which parts were paired when individual pieces were produced. It seems likely, however,



Fig. 87. Shoe parts: soles and heels from the chamber under the blockhouse
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)



Fig. 88. Weapon finds: glass bombs (1–2), bayonet (3), spear tip (4)
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

that these belonged to three different types of footwear, that is, shoes with a decorative buckle (Fig. 86/9, 10), shoes to which a separate legging could be attached, and boots.²³ Since the Middle Ages, the common shoemaking practice had been to make footwear parts from different kinds of leather. Thus, the bottom parts (soles, heels) were made from oxhide and the upper from calfskin or, less commonly, sheepskin.²⁴ The soles were comparatively stiff, as they were commonly made from the sturdiest oxhide, the one from the back of the animal (the so-called *croupan*).²⁵ Joining the sole and the upper was of utmost importance. What was used was a special two-thread stitch, invisible on the outside.²⁶ Used from the late fourteenth century was a flat flax thread strengthened

with wax, which made it possible to join shoe parts more securely.²⁷

Finds of weapons are typically rather sporadic, given the high price of any piece of weaponry and also the penalty for losing or pawning them.²⁸ By all means, one such piece is the bayonet (Fig. 88/3). Judging by the shape of its blade and socket, it was part of the flintlock gun used by infantry in the early eighteenth century.²⁹ Besides, the use of flintlocks in the Belgrade Fortress is attested by the comparatively numerous finds of ready-to-use flints, which we shall not discuss here, as they are dealt with in another paper.³⁰ Sabres were also among the weapons carried by troops in the Belgrade Fortress, a fact indirectly attested by finds of iron scabbards. They were used by

²³ Ibid., 5–13.

²⁴ Grew, de Neergaard, *Shoes and Pattens*, 46; Radek, *Przynależność gatunkowa skór*, 101–105, Ryc. 33.

²⁵ Kowalska, *Leatherworking*, 28–29, Fig. 7.

²⁶ *Das Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung*; Grew, de Neergaard, *Shoes and Pattens*, Figs. 72–73.

²⁷ Ibid., 48.

²⁸ Tallett, *War and Society*, 123–124.

²⁹ Ottenfeld, Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee*, 8, 101.

³⁰ J. Šarić, in the present book, pp. 196–205.

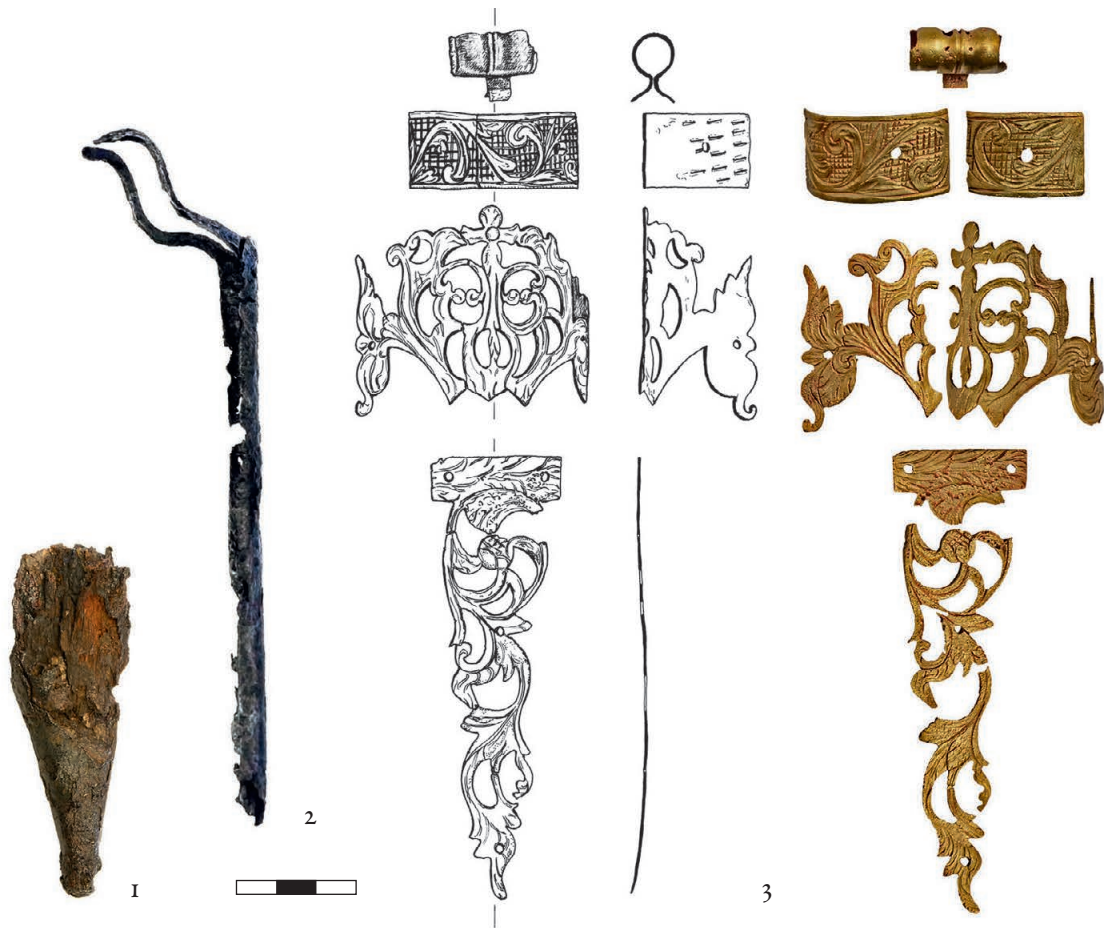


Fig. 89. Weapon finds: sabre scabbard
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

all branches of the military, with the type of sabre, i.e., the shape of its blade and hilt, depending on the branch and rank. Scabbards were made to fit each shape of the blade and it is therefore possible, with some caution, to identify the type of sabre. In this regard, the semi-circular tip (Fig. 89/2) may have belonged to the scabbard of a grenadier's sabre, whereas the button-shaped tip (Fig. 89/1) may have been part of the scabbard of a cavalry sabre.³¹ Some sabre scabbards were richly decorated and expensive. An illustrative example of such a scabbard is provided by the parts of a

gilded sheath with a floral motif, produced by the repoussé and chasing techniques, attached to the leather sheath through a series of perforations (Fig. 89/3).³² In all likelihood, this exquisite item belonged to an officer stationed in one of the buildings in the Upper Town. It was discovered in a layer inside the infill on the Danube-facing slope formed during the land levelling conducted during the first several years of Austrian rule.

Some of the most attractive finds of weaponry are massive spheres, that is, grenades made from dark blue glass with a conical opening for

³¹ Ottenfeld, Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee*, 99.

³² Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Миштролије*, 170, 112/472.



Fig. 90. Sewing kit: small boxes (1–3), thimble (4), pincushions (5–7)
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

the fuse (Fig. 88/1, 2). Glass grenades were one of the main weapons used by grenadiers (*bombers*), who were an elite infantry unit. As a rule, they are rarely discovered intact, but their parts suggest a standardised type of weapon with a diameter of 8 to 8.5 centimetres and around 8 centimetres high.³³ Another piece of weaponry is comparatively rare in the archaeological assemblages, i.e., the lance, which, in addition to being a weapon, was also used as a pole for regimental standards.³⁴ Funnel shaped iron plating of a lance was discovered in the chamber under the blockhouse (Fig. 88/4).

Even though the state was in charge of outfitting the armed forces, soldiers had to spend a sizeable portion of their salaries on quite a number of items of clothing and other necessities (tobacco, weapons, etc.).³⁵ During everyday activities, socks, shoes and coats wore out rapidly, and men did the repairs themselves,

mended torn clothes and replaced lost buttons. As regards sewing kits, discoveries were made of needle boxes (but not of needles) and thimbles of cast bronze (Fig. 90/4). A wooden needle box survived complete with its lid (Fig. 90/6), whereas another one, made from bone, features a coil for fitting the lid at its top (Fig. 90/5).

Small whetstones, used to sharpen knives, razors and bayonets, were also part of soldiers' personal accoutrements. Even though the overall number of whetstones found in the Belgrade Fortress is much greater, it has been established with certainty that the eight pieces from the chamber under the blockhouse were used in the 1710s or 1720s by the troops stationed in the Upper Town. They were flat and made from grey and grey-green sandstone. Judging from the few of them that have survived intact, they were between 10 and 15 centime-

³³ Ibid., kat. 309, 477, ca. III.

³⁴ Ottenfeld, Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee*, 3, 8.

³⁵ For this reason, it is assumed that the standing army supplemented its earnings by performing odd jobs in the local community. See Tallett, *War and Society*, 112–113; Bassett, *The Imperial Austrian Army*, 74.



Fig. 91. Whetstone fragments
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

tres long (Fig. 91). Most of them have two usable surfaces, partly worn out from use, which is common for such objects.³⁶ One of them features an engraved personal message: ANA MARI CBVC(...) (Fig. 91/2).

Items of personal adornment

The process of establishing standing armies was accompanied, among other things, by the introduction of order into all segments of military life, particularly dress and accommodation. With the standardisation of dress, that is, with the introduction of uniforms, came a depersonalisation of troops. As in all previous and subsequent periods, status, origins and tastes were bespoken by various ornaments worn by soldiers or used by them in their everyday duties, as well as by those that reminded them of their native lands, dear persons or certain events. However, as archaeological practice has demonstrated, with the exception of military uniforms and accoutrements, the finds of decorative objects, including expen-

sive ones, are very rare. This makes the finds of pieces of jewellery in the archaeological assemblages from the period of Austrian rule that much more important. These only include finger rings, but their variety testifies to the high artisanship of the Baroque age. Two of the rings are made of silver and engraved with initials. One of them bears Latin script initials *BH* on the square bezel and trefoils in relief on the shoulders (Fig. 92/3).³⁷ It is of high quality workmanship, with polished surfaces, and the initials were engraved with exceptional skill. The other silver ring bears the Latin script initials *RT* on the circular bezel, framed by spirals and tiny crescent-shaped incisions filled with a blue paste (Fig. 92/4).³⁸ Unlike the clean-cut lines of the decorations, which suggest a skilfully engraved mould, the casting was not at a particularly high level of execution, as evident from the cavities made by air bubbles entrained in the surface of the ring. Besides, the initials were executed rather unevenly, with noticeable differences in the size of the letters and the depth of engraving, particularly in the cade of the letter *T*. There is

³⁶ Wiśniewski, *Wyroby kamiennie*, 125, Ryc. 83–88

³⁷ Find spot: Belgrade Fortress, Lower Town, north-eastern rampart, Turkish Bath, Trench 4/63, C-145/1963; dimensions: diameter, 2 cm.

³⁸ Find spot: Belgrade Fortress, inner fortifications, Trench I/78, Sector II, C-9/1978; dimensions: diameter, 2.3 cm; bezel width, 1.7 cm.



Fig. 92. Finger rings from the archaeological assemblages in the Belgrade Fortress from the period of Austrian rule (Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

the impression that the initials were engraved later and that the empty field in the centre of the bezel had been intended to receive the desired initials later, but that in this case it was not done by a goldsmith(?) skilled at engraving letters. Despite all this, the dilemma remains whether any subsequent intervention on the bezel was originally planned.

Another two rings, both made from bronze, had stones (or glass) set in them, which are now missing. One of them, of sharp lines and with a conical bezel, features a linear motif on the shoulders produced by pricking (Fig. 92/1).³⁹ The widest, lateral sides of the hoop substantially abraded due to wear and friction produced by contact with another object, perhaps another ring. There are also visible subsequent incisions forming a zigzag line. The bezel of the band ring is round and shaped like a mounting for a stone (Fig. 92/2).⁴⁰ It is in a poor state of repair: in addition to its broken hoop, which was probably the reason why it was discarded, it has also been substantially damaged by corrosion.

Prominent among the objects found in the archaeological layers from the time of Austrian rule are metal parts of two bags, which, in the context of military dress, may be

interpreted as fashion details in the broadest sense of the term. Namely, they were component parts of the system for closing bags made from fine cloth or leather. They are both made of a bronze alloy but of different compositions, judging by their current colour, as one is reddish and the other is yellow. They belonged to bags of different sizes. The smaller item, bearing floral decorations, (Fig. 93/1),⁴¹ may have been part of an object similar to a coin purse, whereas the other one, with somewhat straighter lines, belonged to a little larger bag (Fig. 93/2).⁴² Judging by the perforations, it was affixed to the leather receptacle with rivets.

As regards accommodation of troops, the focus was also on uniformity and strict functionality. As demonstrated by analyses of the spatial arrangement of the Upper Town barracks, the dormitories were rather sparsely furnished.⁴³ Given that a standing army, by virtue of its organisation, was supposed to stay long in one place, it is reasonable to assume that soldiers possessed items that embellished their living quarters, such as mirrors, clocks, figurines and candlesticks. Of these, parts of bronze candleholders and ceramic figurines were found in the archaeological assemblages. In

³⁹ Belgrade Fortress, Lower Town, north-eastern rampart, Trench 5/64, C-150; dimensions: 2.5 × 2.3 cm; hoop width, 0.6 cm.

⁴⁰ Belgrade Fortress, south-eastern rampart, subterranean chamber, infill layer, C-301/2008; diameter, 2 cm.

⁴¹ Find spot: Castrum, atrium of the City of Belgrade Library, Level II, deposit of dark brown soil with debris, Ц10/1985.

⁴² Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Миштролије*, кат. бр. 334.

⁴³ For more details, see M. Popović, 'Beginnings of Baroque Military Architecture in the Belgrade Fortress', in the present book, pp. 96–108.



Fig. 93. Purse locks from the archaeological assemblages in the Belgrade Fortress from the period of Austrian rule (Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

addition to parts of standing candleholders (Fig. 94/1),⁴⁴ there is also a bird's wing (Fig. 94/3),⁴⁵ most likely that of a two-headed eagle that adorned the vertical shaft, i.e., the body of an expensive, crown-shaped candelabrum. All three of these were parts of candleholders, similar to each other with respect to the materials (alloys) they were made from and the method of production that implied casting the elements in series and joining them together with screws.⁴⁶ Like other candleholders of this type, the wing was affixed to the eagle's body by way of a groove. The same technology used in the production of all of these candleholders suggests they were made in the same workshop. According to available data, it may be assumed that they were made in Flemish workshops, which were famous for

the production of various standing, wall and hanging candleholders.⁴⁷ Easily transportable standing candleholders may have been part of the furnishings of private and public spaces, such as, in our case, of soldiers' living quarters and common spaces, whereas the crown-shaped candelabrum may be assumed to have embellished one of the public spaces, most likely the mess. Judging from their wear and tear, the items were used for a long time. This is especially evident on the eagle's wing from the candelabrum, which is marred by a large number of shallow scratches.

Unfortunately, only a small part of the figurine has been preserved, i.e., its stand and feet (Fig. 94/4). Judging by its appearance, the figurine was produced in a rather rustic style, with an easily observable rough finish.

⁴⁴ Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Миџрополије*, кат. бр. 395; Belgrade Fortress, south-eastern rampart, Prolom, С-290/2008.

⁴⁵ Bikić, *Viseci svećnjaci*, 364, sl. 4.

⁴⁶ Бикић, *Висећи свећњак из Сокоћана*, 210, with literature.

⁴⁷ Bikić, *Viseci svećnjaci*, 366.

The find of an expensive-looking plate bearing a depiction of a ship (Fig. 95) represents a strong testimony to the fact that the walls of the soldiers' living quarters were also adorned. Judging by the perforations on its back side, intended for inserting a rope or a leather string through them by which it hung on the wall, was an indubitably decorative object. The decoration of the plate is unique, executed in relief and with an attractive colour scheme. The medallion with radial rays features a depiction of a ship with passengers on the rough sea, whereas the edge is adorned with oak leaves in fields bordered with rays. Its base colour, which is also the colour of pottery after firing, is almost white and the colour scheme was expertly selected to highlight the details – the background is yellow and the details were executed in ultramarine, green, brown and white colours. The ship is depicted

in much detail, rather realistically inasmuch as it is possible to identify it as a small fishing vessel (*leut*), which was also used for transportation between big ships and between big ships and the coast.⁴⁸ Besides the features of the vessel, the participants in the voyage are also clearly identifiable, most notably two members of the crew, one of them at the helm and one rowing. Taking everything into account, the plate depicting the vessel is an item of excellent workmanship, both in artisanal and artistic respects. Due to the lack of analogies and technological parameters, primarily those related to the composition of the clay and the glazing, we can only hypothesise about the workshop where the plate was produced. There are only a few among the workshops in Europe at the time that specialised in glazed pottery in relief. One of them was located in Rhineland, Germany, where work-



Fig. 94. Parts of interior furnishings from the archaeological assemblages in the Belgrade Fortress from the period of Austrian rule: standing candleholder (1–2), chandelier (3), ceramic figure (4) (Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)



Fig. 95. Decorative (wall) plate showing a ship
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

shops producing stoneware also developed the technique of polychrome glazing of vessel surfaces done in relief.⁴⁹ In the quest for the possible regions where the plate was manufactured, we may also consider the workshops specialising in masonry heater tiles in relief. The products of the Nuremberg workshop stand out among them by their quality and variety of designs.⁵⁰ In any case, the plate depicting the vessel is one of the rare examples

of glazed ceramics in relief from the era discovered in the archaeological context of the infill of the former metropolitan's residence on the Danube-facing slope. The contents of the infill, consisting of materials from the first years of Austrian rule, came from the area of the Upper Town and may, therefore, be identified as furnishings from one of the flats in the infantry barracks or the building of the Main Guard.

⁴⁸ I am indebted to Mihajlo Stojković for his assistance in identifying the type of ship.

⁴⁹ Hurst, Neal, van Beuningen, *Pottery*, 176–234.

⁵⁰ See Cserey, *Nachahmungen*. I owe special thanks to Dr Andreas Heege of the Universität Zürich Kunsthistorisches Institut for his assistance in my search for the workshop that produced the plate in relief.

Personal hygiene and healthcare

All military regulations included provisions on maintaining the basic requirements of personal hygiene,⁵¹ which is also confirmed by archaeological finds from the area of the Belgrade Fortress. Combs made of bone account for the majority of the finds of items used for the purpose. The comparatively large number of comb finds do not come as a surprise, given that, at the beginning of the Modern Age, men wore their hair medium length, whereas the more affluent among them wore wigs. Similar fashions prevailed among soldiers and officers and, therefore, as many as seven wig-makers and one comb maker performed their craft in Belgrade.⁵² Unfortunately, in the archaeological contexts of the Belgrade Fortress, combs were found in a rather fragmentary form and it is therefore impossible to determine their original measurements. However, their breakage pattern suggests that the small comb fragments were most likely one-third of the total size (length) of the item. Nevertheless, the unearthed comb parts testify that their shape and overall appearance had not changed much for centuries.⁵³ Whether they are one-sided or two-sided, as both these types are represented in the archaeological

contexts from the period of Austrian rule, all the combs feature very close teeth (Fig. 96/1–3). It is, therefore, believed that the combs were not used solely for styling and grooming hair every day, but also for taking care of certain medical issues, most notably infestation of lice (*Pediculus humanus var. capitis*). One of the more efficient ways to solve the problem and free the scalp of nits is the use of close teeth combs. For this reason, the archaeological finds of combs indirectly testify that Austrian soldiers in Belgrade were affected by head lice infestation.

In addition to the medium length hair, moustaches were also fashionable among men during the Baroque. Judging from visual sources, soldiers wore moustaches almost as a rule, whereas the rest of the face was shaved clean.⁵⁴ For this reason, razors were unavoidable tools of men's personal hygiene. As attested by the finds from the chamber under the blockhouse, soldiers' razors were quite simple, made of iron, and their sheaths were overlaid with bone (Fig. 96/4–6).

A brush also stands out among the archaeological finds related to the soldiers accommodated in the Upper Town barracks. It consists of a wooden block and bristles joined together on the bottom side with a string (Fig. 97).



Fig. 96. Personal hygiene tools: bone combs (1–3) and razors (4–6)
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

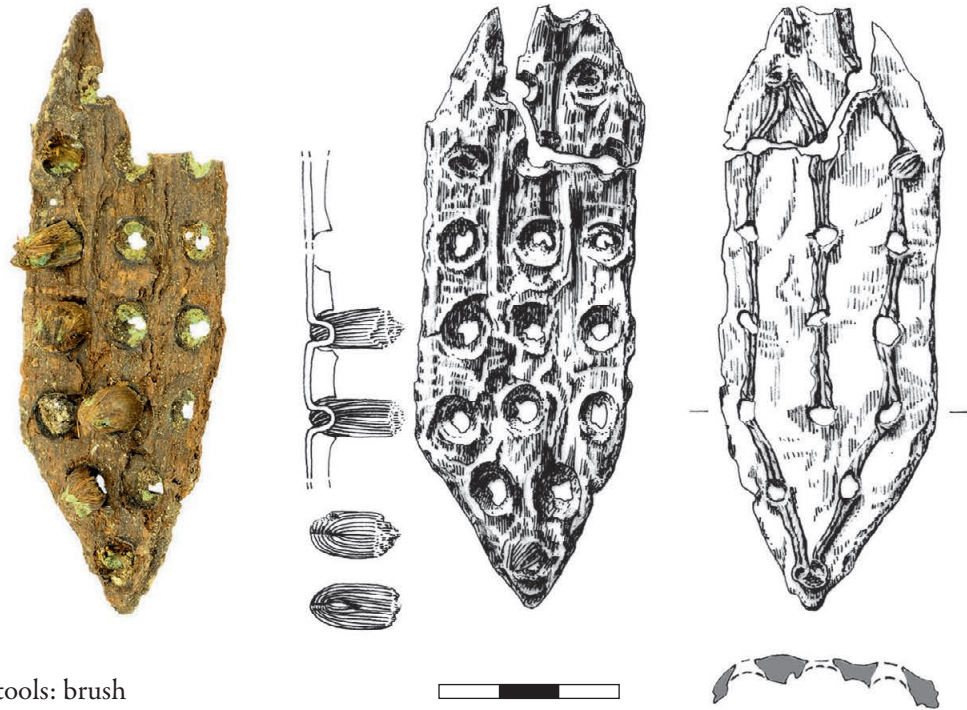


Fig. 97. Personal hygiene tools: brush
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

Rather similar to modern brushes, it was used to brush and wash clothes.

A large number of chamber pots testify to the maintenance of a good level of personal hygiene in the barracks and living quarters. All have a wide mouth and are of a similar size, i.e., volume, and each of them has a small handle and is glazed both inside and out (Fig. 98).

There is overwhelming evidence that at the beginning of the Modern Age armies suffered more casualties from contagious diseases than from weapons.⁵⁵ This is not surprising, given that soldiers' living conditions provided a fertile soil for the onset and transmission of various infectious diseases. On top of that, there were different unintentional injuries caused by

handling arms and engaging in other everyday activities. Immediately upon the establishment of Habsburg administration in Belgrade in 1717, a healthcare service was established as well. It was headed by the military physician Ludwig Hack, who was assisted by the civilian physician Johann Ludwick Odelin, two military surgeons, ten nurses, two dentists and as many as three apothecaries.⁵⁶ The healthcare service also included barber surgeons, who performed blood-letting and leeching and also extracted teeth. Along with them, mention should be made of soap makers, of whom there were ten in Belgrade.⁵⁷ The organisation of the healthcare service also implied the existence of a medical corps that accompanied troops on marches and in battles.

⁵¹ Tallett, *War and Society*, 107.

⁵² Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година*, 42; idem, *Србија у Београд*, 199.

⁵³ Jaworski, *Ślady obróbki surowca kościanego i rogowego*, 74, 82, 83, Ryc. 17, 22.

⁵⁴ Ottenfeld, Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee*, p. 4–11.

⁵⁵ Tallett, *War and Society*, 105–107.

⁵⁶ Поповић Д., *Србија у Београд*, 199.

⁵⁷ Ibid.



Fig. 98. Chamber pots
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

A medical corps with a dispensary was the core of the healthcare service already during the previous, two-year Austrian occupation of Belgrade at the end of the seventeenth century. Owing to accurate stratigraphic archaeological excavations and subsequent meticulous analyses of movable finds, we now know, to a sufficient extent at least, what one such dispensary in the newly conquered Belgrade Fortress looked like. It was housed in the cellar of the former metropolitan's residence at the foot of the Danube-facing slope, which, during the Turkish period, was converted to a storehouse for various commodities. This rather inadequate but comparatively safe and dark space was used for keeping medicinal herbs, tinctures

and balms in ceramic jars and glass bottles).⁵⁸ All the vessels, the ceramic jars in particular, were found smashed to bits and therefore their overall number could only be conjectured rather than accurately established. It may be assumed that there were at least around 20 ceramic jars and approximately 40 glass bottles.⁵⁹ Ceramic jars with indented panels framed with a floral ornament (Fig. 99) were manufactured for apothecaries and alchemists as early as the turn of the fifteenth century.⁶⁰ The artefacts discovered in the cellar were made using the Haban (Anabaptist) faience technology in one of the workshops in Slovakia.⁶¹ Besides these, there were other, likewise purpose-made vessels. One of them is a conical jar

⁵⁸ Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Миџрополије*, 127–128, 142–147, сл. 93–95.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 185–186.

⁶⁰ Bikić, *The Haban Pottery*, 208–210, Figs. 2, 4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁶² Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Миџрополије*, 144, кат. бр. 97, 108, 157; Bojani, Ravanelli Guidotti, Fanfani, *La donazione Galeazzo Cora*, Cat. Nos. 82–84, 88–94, 96–101.

⁶³ McNulty, *Common Beverage Bottles*, 97–100; Losier, *Bouteilles et flacons*, 157–163, figs. 4–7; Castillo Cardenas, *Pharmaceutical Glass*, 315.

⁶⁴ McNulty, *Common Beverage Bottles*, 93–95.

with lid, glazed green (Fig. 99a), and another is of the albarello maiolica type, bearing an *alla porcellana* ornament, manufactured in one of the Italian workshops (Fig. 99b, c).⁶²

Glass bottles were also standardised with respect to the quality and colour of the glass as well as their size. In the eighteenth century, they were a multipurpose product. In addition to serving as receptacles for balms, tinctures, powders, eau de toilette and perfume in apothecary shops, barber's shops and alchemist's

laboratories, they were used for serving wine, brandy, oil and vinegar.⁶³

The glass inventory of the apothecary shop comprised cylindrical and square bottles made of transparent light green and opaque dark green glass (Fig. 100). They were manufactured in northern German lands and, most notably, in Holland, by workshops that had been operating since the sixteenth century, first in Antwerp and subsequently in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Gorinchem and The Hague.⁶⁴



Fig. 99. Ceramic vessels from the apothecary shop in the cellar of the former metropolitan's residence at the foot of the Danube-facing slope
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)



Fig. 100. Glass vessels from the apothecary shop in the cellar of the former metropolitan's residence at the foot of the Danube-facing slope
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

The demand for them grew significantly in the eighteenth century, in accordance with the increase in the number of chemical and pharmaceutical laboratories.⁶⁵

Due to the purpose of the bottles, their colour was adapted to the contents that had to

be protected from light, their cylindrical and square shapes were suitable for easy storage and transport, and their price was low, as they were manufactured in large series and there was a great demand for them in a large part of the European market.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Castillo Cardenas, *Pharmaceutical Glass*, 315.

⁶⁶ McNulty, *Common Beverage Bottles*, fig. 27; Castillo Cardenas, *Pharmaceutical Glass*, 314.



Fig. 101. Location of the mess (H) with spatial arrangement (Berlin State Library, sig. X 47_083_19)

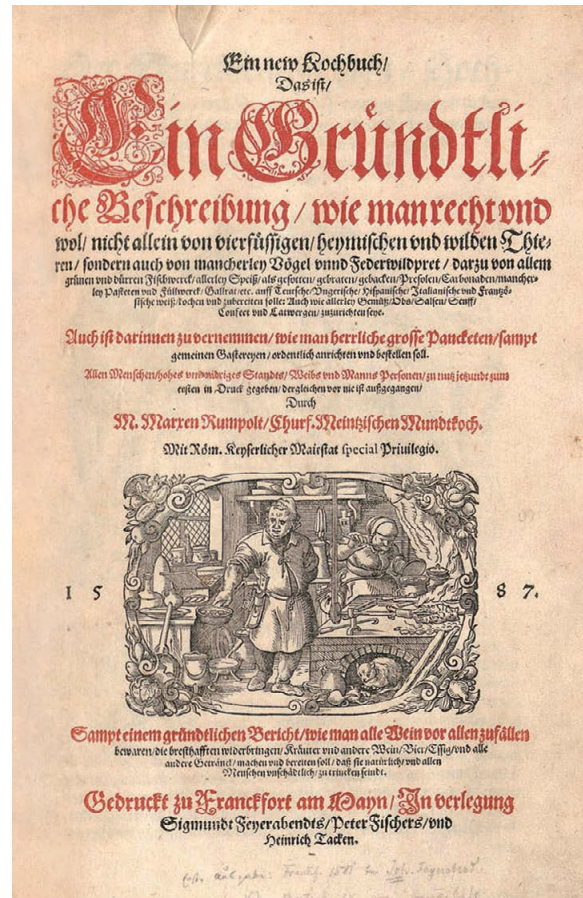


Fig. 102. Marx Rumpolt, *Ein neu Kochbuch* (1581), emblem from the title page (<https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00090475&cpimage=00001&cv=150&nav=&cl=fr>)

In the kitchen and on the table – dishware for the army

Procurement of food and its preparation for the troops was one of the more important activities in the everyday life of Austrian Belgrade. Wholesalers were tasked with procuring strategic foods, meat and cereals and they also procured goods for shops that sold wine, brandy, oil and fruit.⁶⁷ Nearly 40 bakers baked bread every day and several patisseries produced special types of pastry, pasties, gingerbread and rolls.⁶⁸ In view of where the troops were accommodated, it is only logical to assume that they took their meals in various ways, that

is, essentially in messes and individually. As they constituted a large community, the troops accommodated in the fortress area were most likely served by a large kitchen that was fitted with all the necessary equipment, metal and ceramic cooking pots, large pots with lids for fresh water, different utensils, a kneading table, a large cupboard and a chest for keeping cold food and daily supplies (Fig. 102). An extra worktop, facilitating the arrangement of pots when cooking meals at different temperatures and thereby reducing the consumption of firewood, may have been positioned next to the stove.⁶⁹ The spatial arrangement and kitchen activities may to a large extent be visualised by

⁶⁷ Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 196–197.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ McIver, *Cooking and Eating*, 152–153.

looking at the plan of the Belgrade kitchen of Alexander of Württemberg, drawn in 1720.⁷⁰ As regards the Upper Town, it may be assumed that two separate buildings served the purpose. One such potential mess is designated on N. Doxat's plan as *Wirths Haus* (D), that is, a restaurant (Fig. 42).⁷¹ This building, as well as all the other ones on this plan, is represented using a two-point perspective, and it is evident that this was a three-level structure, comprised of a cellar and a ground and first floors. A later plan provides some data on its internal spatial arrangement (Fig. 101). Some of the remains of this structure were discovered in the course of archaeological excavations, but two other structures may be assumed to have served the same purpose.⁷² The latter structures, one of which has been identified as a bakery, are located next to the south-eastern rampart in the western part of the plateau.⁷³ Given the proximity of the water tank (the former drinking fountain of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha), the Great Well and the sanitary facilities, the presumed arrangement of the messes completes the arrangement of the most important buildings for an organised provision of food to the troops.

Some answers to the question of how military food supply was organised may come from the ceramic vessels found in a relevant assemblage, which in the case of Belgrade is by all means the chamber under the blockhouse. It is, so far, probably the largest pottery assemblage coming from a closed archaeological context from the early eighteenth century. Among more than 7,000 potsherds, some 1,000 vessels, including 700 cooking vessels, both closed and

open forms, and around 300 pieces of tableware, such as bowls, plates, jugs, pitchers, cups and goblets, were identified in the course of archaeological processing.⁷⁴ This pottery assemblage is of manifold significance and, besides formal, decorative and technological features, also bespeaks social dimensions of the pottery, such as personal preferences for certain types of vessels and the manner of their utilisation. A detailed analysis of all these and other issues largely exceeds the scope of this paper and will be dealt with in another publication, whilst the present paper will focus on those aspects that are of importance for an understanding of the discovered ceramic vessels in the broader manufacturing, artisanal and artistic context of Habsburg Central Europe.

The uniformity of the earthenware assemblage from the subterranean chamber, evident from the technology, type, size and volume of the vessels, as well as from the decoration techniques and design, unquestionably suggests the existence of separate facilities for food preparation and messing. Cookware includes closed types, such as pots, and open types, such as tripod vessels (typically called bowls or, rarely, pans) and large bowls with handles and one or two lips at opposite ends (Fig. 103).⁷⁵ As a rule, the pots have small handles, whereas the tripod bowls have either small handles identical to those found on the pots or, rarely, a hollow, horizontal handle. The majority of the vessels clearly show traces of exposure to fire during cooking on the side opposite the handle and, in the case of unlidded receptacles, on the feet. Regardless of certain morphological differences, the multipurpose cooking vessels belong

⁷⁰ Austrian State Archives (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv), AT-OeStA/FHKA SUS KS, sig. Rb-080, <http://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=1999543> (retrieved Nov. 25, 2018).

⁷¹ Vienna War Archives (Kriegsarchiv Wien – KAW) sig. K I f 23–71.

⁷² Поповић М., *Београдска шврђава* (Друго допуњено издање), 234.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Preliminary findings published in Bikić, *Early Modern Period Pottery*.

⁷⁵ Krenn et al., *Koch- und Tafelgeschirr*, 25–26; Hofer, *Handbuch*, 73, 78.

⁷⁶ Bikić, *Gradska keramika Beograda*, 114–115.

to a standardised group comprising four sizes, i.e., volumes. All of them are glazed yellow, green or brown on the inside. In addition to these large groups, there are also sporadic red painted cooking pots (Fig. 103b). The tradi-

tion of their manufacture and unique painted decoration in Central Europe dates back to the Late Middle Ages, with little variation in clay composition and structure and painting methods.⁷⁶



Fig. 103. Cooking vessels from the chamber under the blockhouse
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)



Fig. 104. Tableware from the chamber under the blockhouse
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

The observed formal and technological properties of the cookware fit the standard prevailing in Central Europe during the Middle Ages. Even though it is possible to speak of an unique manufacturing style of ceramics, greater similarities of forms and proportions of cookware have been observed at the regional level. Thus, the ceramic material from Belgrade is most closely related to that found in the fortified cities in its immediate vicinity, i.e. Croatia and Hungary.⁷⁷ These are vessels of a stable quality, produced in large series for the needs of settlers in newly conquered territories. It must be borne in mind that ceramic vessels represented only a fraction of the movable objects

in kitchens. There were also wooden barrels, baskets, copper receptacles for water, buckets, sinks, aquamaniles, utensils, ladles, mortars, colanders, and moulds for pastry and cakes.⁷⁸

Uniformity is also a feature of the tableware, even though the group includes a large variety of objects, in keeping with the rules on laying the table prevailing during the Baroque. The bowls and the plates come in two sizes, whereas the jugs, with a few exceptions, in only one. Greater variations have been observed among the goblets. There is also some regularity regarding decoration, as bowls of different sizes bear decorations painted in different variants of the so-called *Malhornware* group

⁷⁷ Horvat, Biondić, *Keramika i staklo 17. i 18. stoljeća*, 53–99; Kovács, *16th–18th century Hungarian pottery types*, 170–171, Pls. III–IV; Mésárosz, *Szekszárd*; Vizi, *A kora újkori kerámia*.

⁷⁸ Rafaelli, *Rame d'arte*, 139–173, 210–262. Fig. 4–7.



Fig. 105. Haban faience tableware from the chamber under the blockhouse, and pitcher with scissors from Belgrade (?)
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, and Belgrade city Museum)



Fig. 106. Engraved marks of ownership on vessels
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

(Fig. 104).⁷⁹ In addition to polychrome plates, there is a set of large and small plates, along with a goblet, painted white under a green or brown glaze. The jugs are different inasmuch as most of them are monochrome glazed vessels or white painted under a monochrome glaze. The most numerous among the ceramic tableware items are around 50 vessels from the group of Late Haban (Anabaptist) faience (Fig. 105).⁸⁰ They include a few bowls, but the majority are jugs, characterised by subdued blue-and-white painted and so-called ‘marbled’ decoration. Of particular interest in this group are the polychrome pieces, especially those bearing emblems of the guilds of carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and butchers,⁸¹ as well as the one bearing a depiction of the Lamb of God (*Agnus Dei*).

Even though visual uniformity was one of the most significant properties of the set, it has been observed that the users preferred certain vessels to others. These preferences are evident from various marks of ownership incised

in certain spots on the vessels. In the case of cookware, the markings were most commonly incised on the handles and, less commonly, on the necks and bottoms, whereas in the case of tableware they were typically incised on the bottom of the vessel. Even though, in most cases, they are simple markings, such as a cross or a hatched field, there are sporadic examples of letters and more complex markings (Fig. 106). In this regard, the markings visible on the cooking pots imply a *personalisation* of the vessels, that is, setting apart the vessels used for cooking meals for certain individuals.

In addition to the abundance of pottery, the archaeological layers from the period of Austrian rule in Belgrade also contained a lot of glass. This is primarily true of the chamber under the blockhouse, where there were over two hundred vessels that could be identified with great certainty.⁸² The assemblage of glassware contains goblets and bottles of various shapes and made of colourless, green or blue

⁷⁹ Kaltenberger, *Die frühneuzeitliche Malhornware*; Gajić–Kvaščev et al., *Archaeometric study of painted pottery*, 10–12.

⁸⁰ Bikić, *The Haban Pottery*.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 217–220, figs. 13–16.

⁸² I owe special thanks to Dr Sonja Jovanović for the data; the finds of Modern Age glass from the Belgrade Fortress will be dealt with in a separate paper. A preliminary examination of the glass was carried out by Dr Samantha Garwood while she was working on her doctoral thesis; see Garwood, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 261–281, 289–297.



Fig. 107. Glass tableware

(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

glass. Bottles and drinking glasses (goblets) stand out by their quantity and variety. There are square and cylindrical bottles of various sizes, including quite small cylindrical bottles resembling ampoules. The glasses are of several shapes and decorative designs and the most numerous among them are small cylindrical glasses with smooth surfaces and optical decoration, ribbed and engraved glasses for jellies, that is, desserts, and engraved glasses/mugs (Fig. 107). They may have been produced by Bohemian or some other Central European workshops specialising in potash-lime glass products.⁸³

Rather outstanding among the glassware are bottles with necks composed of five tubes

(Fig. 107). So far, nine such bottles have been found in the area of the fortress, five of them in the subterranean chamber. However, a sufficient number of fragments of only one of them were preserved to allow for a reconstruction of its appearance. Liquids flowed slowly through its unusual neck and skill was required to pour from it without spilling. In addition to large bottles for keeping beverages, there were also small-sized ones, intended for drinking, particularly brandy. In its land of origin, Germany, the bottle with a neck divided into tubes is called *Kuttrolf*, whereas in Serbia it is known as *pjatogrlo staklo* (a flask with five throats), as recorded in the 1733 inventory of the Monastery of Vinča, where 20 of them are listed.⁸⁴

⁸³ Ibid., 263.

⁸⁴ Хан, 'Пјатогрла сѝакала'; Garwood, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 279–280; Sedláčková, *From the Gothic period to the Renaissance*, 211–212, Figs. 36, 37.



Fig. 108. Eating utensils

(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

Unlike dishes, utensils have been unearthed in comparatively small numbers. The majority are knives, all of which feature a handle comprised of two bone plates affixed to the tang with rivets (Fig. 108). Only in one case are the handle scales faceted, decorated with several series of tiny punctures, whilst its hilt is composed of seven rings separated by thin metal plates (Fig. 108/9). Given that in most cases the blades have not been sufficiently preserved, the specific purpose of the knives cannot be established with much certainty. The well-preserved parts, most notably the handles, support the assumption that these were multi-purpose table knives, whereas two of them (Fig. 108/10, 11), because of the blade length, are presumed to have been used to cut large pieces of meat. Two- and three-pronged forks also had bone scale handles, rather similar to those found on the knives (Fig. 108/2–4).

Even though the unearthed tableware is not expensive in the conventional sense of the word, it makes it possible to get the general picture about what the military table was like. It should be borne in mind that this was only a fraction of the tableware, as it stands to reason to assume that the more expensive pieces of metal (copper and silver) and glass vessels and cutlery were carried away when the army was leaving Belgrade. By all means, the vessels of different sizes and depths testify that diverse dishes and beverages were served. Even though the soldiers' and officers' messes were not as luxurious as the dining rooms at Baroque courts in Europe, it is possible to envisage a tableware arrangement that was in line with the order fashionable at the time in which dishes were served, starting with soup and followed by meat and fish hors d'oeuvres, the main course, pastry, fruit and desserts, such as ice-cream, jellies and cakes.⁸⁵ Alcoholic beverages, such as

⁸⁵ Day, *Cooking in Europe*, 5–17; for more details, see Bursche, *Tafelzier des Barock*.



Fig. 109. Dice from the chamber under the blockhouse
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

wino, beer and brandy, were also served with meals. All available information indicates that, like in the rest of Baroque Europe, a lot of alcohol was consumed in Belgrade, particularly in the German Quarter.⁸⁶ In addition to everyday meals, special feasts were organised in the fortress on holidays. In this respect, several Haban pitchers bearing emblems of guilds and year dates (Fig. 105) are a valuable testimony to the feasts celebrated by craftsmen, most notably carpenters and blacksmiths.

Leisure time

Despite their intensive daily routine, involving drills, marches and other spectacles for the people, soldiers did have enough spare time. They passed the time by engaging in various diversions and amusements, most commonly, as it seems, gambling, drinking and enjoying tobacco.⁸⁷ The soldiers engaged in gambling at every opportunity, as attested by the finds of dice throughout the fortress. These were made of bone (Fig. 109), of the type that had

been used for centuries in various games of chance.⁸⁸ Even though most public houses were located in the German and Serbian Quarters – there were an estimated 200 various taverns, taprooms and inns, with 140 of them in the German Quarter alone⁸⁹ – drinks were also available in the fortress. Besides alcoholic drinks, tobacco was consumed in large quantities as well. This is not surprising, given that soldiers and sailors were instrumental in spreading the habit of smoking throughout Europe (in German lands from the Thirty Years War).⁹⁰ It is of interest to note that, along with food and clothes, the state also supplied troops with tobacco at a subsidised price, partly because tobacco was credited with protective powers against the plague!⁹¹

There are numerous finds of clay pipes from the cultural levels of the Belgrade Fortress – as many as 110 of them were discovered in the chamber under the blockhouse alone (Fig. 110). It is evident at first glance that they included various types of two-part smoking pipes, predominantly Turkish and Turkish-Hungarian.⁹² The most numerous among those of the Turkish type are reddish brown hexagonal pipes, followed by several varieties of round ones and pipes with rosettes, some of which are glazed green, whereas the predominant among the Hungarian type pipes are orange coloured conical ones bearing linear and floral decoration in relief (Fig. 110a). Apart from the types mentioned above, there are also pipes that stand out by their shape and workmanship, such as the Turkish meerschaum pipes and the Hungarian pipes fashioned as turbaned

⁸⁶ Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година*, 62–63; Idem, *Србија и Београд*, 217–218.

⁸⁷ Tallett, *War and Society*, 122.

⁸⁸ Borkowski, *Rozrywka*, Рус. 1; Wachowski, *Militaria*, 238, Рус.164.

⁸⁹ Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година*, 62–64.

⁹⁰ Томка, *Excavated Pipes*, 30–31; Гачић, *Луле*, 31, 45.

⁹¹ Tallett, *War and Society*, 121.

⁹² Unlike one-piece pipes, where the bowl and the shank are made from a single piece of clay, the shank of a two-piece pipe is made from a different material, most commonly wood; see Томка, *Excavated Pipes*, 29–32; Гачић, *Луле*, 21–35.



Fig. 110. Clay pipes: a) overview of pipe types; b) face pipes; c) wooden pipe
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

human figures (Fig. 110b).⁹³ In archaeological layers from the early eighteenth century, primarily in Danubian fortresses, finds of the clay parts of pipes are frequent, with the basic types almost equally represented, even though no finds were made of the Hungarian type pipe in the chamber under the blockhouse, as

they are from a later period.⁹⁴ Quite exceptional among the finds of tobacco pipes is that of a small wooden one (Fig. 110c). Actually, it is an unfinished piece, whose rustic appearance reveals a soldier's attempt to make a smoking implement from a material found in his immediate environment.

⁹³ Tomka, *Excavated Pipes*, 30–31; Гачић, *Луле*, 31, 45.

⁹⁴ See Ridovics, Haider, *The history of the Hungarian pipemaker's craft*; Гачић, *Луле*; Kondorosy, *Cseréppipák a Budai*.

Faith and worship among Belgrade soldiers

The Austrian Empire of the Habsburgs was committed to disseminating Catholicism, which it carried out through programmes involving Catholic colonists, missionary work and erection of churches.⁹⁵ It is difficult to say with any certainty whether the members of the imperial army shared this commitment. It is commonly believed that soldiers at the beginning of the Modern Age were not overly religious. They shirked daily prayers, but did carry devotional objects as amulets, to protect them from bullets.⁹⁶ Archaeological finds additionally support this belief, and those from the Belgrade Fortress are no different.⁹⁷ On the one hand, the modest number of devotional objects may be explained in two ways: relics were either well watched or the custom was not widespread among the soldiers stationed in Belgrade. On the other hand, the repertoire of unearthed relics is suggestive of profoundly religious persons. Besides, the majority of the relics come from funerary contexts, but from the area of the fortress where, as a rule, funerals were not performed, which makes them contextually and socially exceptional. Even though they are objects of popular religiosity, produced in large series using cheap technology, in archaeological contexts they all assume a well-rounded social dimension.

All in all, the number of the devotional objects is comparatively small. There are only eight of them, including two crosses, lost while their owners were still alive, and one discarded because it was broken, whilst the rest were part of the grave goods deposited with the deceased. The front side of a gilt cross with its arms ending in trefoils, discovered in the area of the

Masons' Barracks (*Maurer-Kaserne*), features a representation of the Crucifixion, *Corpus Christi*, affixed to the body of the cross with rivets (Fig. 111/1). Another small cross of the same type, from the cellar of the demolished former metropolitan's residence, is made of cast bronze and has smooth surfaces, but no additional symbols (Fig. 111/2). A cross fragment with the ends of its arms expanded in the form of lily flowers, discovered in the chamber under the blockhouse, belonged to a Caravaca type cross, with two crossbars. It is rather worn out, but it is possible to make out a representation of the Instruments of Passion (*arma Christi*) on the front side,⁹⁸ whereas the letters on the back side are virtually illegible (Fig. 111/3).

Another assemblage of devotional objects was discovered in graves dug next to the ruins of medieval buildings, which were used to some extent during Turkish rule, between 1521 and 1688. Two burials in wooden coffins within the complex of the former metropolitan's residence contained identical devotional objects, that is, a small medal of the breviary type in each of them and a bronze cross with its arms ending in trefoils in only one of them.⁹⁹ Under the glass of each breviary is a drawing depicting the Lamentation of Christ, surrounded by the following Czech language text in Gothic script: *Gežiffy γ Marigi Matkau twau poraučim tj γ tělem duffy*, which means: 'Jesus and Mary, your Mother, I vow myself to you with [my] body and soul' (Fig. 111/4). Both of these breviary parts may be linked with the city of Prague: the depiction bears similarities to the miraculous statue of the Madonna in the Church of St. James, and the text to the prayer arrow found in a book written by the Prague author, Jan Ignác Dlouhoveský z Dlouhé Vsi (1638–1701).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ For more on this, see I. Točanac Radović (with literature), in the present book, pp. 12–37.

⁹⁶ Tallett, *War and Society*, 126–128.

⁹⁷ Published in Бикић, *Девотионалије*, 179, Т. 56, кат. бр. 748.

⁹⁸ Azinović Bebek, *Novovjekovni nabožni predmeti*, 178–179.

⁹⁹ The finds from the other grave disintegrated soon after unearthing, see Бикић, *Девотионалије*, 234–235.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 238–240.



Fig. 111. Devotional articles: crosses (1–3), breviaries (4–5) and finds from a grave in the eastern suburb (6–10) (Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

On the other hand, the finds of devotional items in a grave dug in the remains of a medieval building on a slope in the Eastern Lower Town, which most probably served as an ammunition storehouse, are of particular interest both contextually and in a broader social and cultural respect. On the chest of the deceased were two silver-framed wooden cross pendants (Fig. 111/9, 10), a rosary comprised of agate beads (Fig. 111/6) and ending in a small silver crucifix with a plaque bearing the inscription *INRI – Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum* (Fig. 111/8), as well as a dolphin-shaped seal showing a nobleman's coat of arms (Fig. 111/7). The devotional items suggest a very religious person, who had made a pilgrimage to one of the most venerated Modern Age sanctuaries, the miraculous Virgin of Mariaschein (modern Bohusudov) in northern Bohemia. The location and manner of the person's burial, as well as the marks of his deteriorating health and long horse rides and the seal with the coat of arms, indicate that he was a soldier, an officer or a

military chaplain of noble descent.¹⁰¹ On the whole, the types of devotional objects discovered in the burials on the Danube-facing slope confirm the presence of Czechs among the Austrian troops stationed in Belgrade between 1688 and 1690.¹⁰²

Europeanisation of Belgrade in the early eighteenth century

The military, economic, demographic and cultural policies prevailing in Belgrade between 1717 and 1739 mirrored the policies the Habsburgs pursued in South Eastern Europe. The erection of new fortifications and urban structures, as well as troops accompanied by colonists largely from Central European lands, made Belgrade an ideal example of a fortified city of the early eighteenth century, designed following Baroque concepts and ideologies. The huge architectural undertakings, the standing army and the settlement of civilian populations

¹⁰¹ Bikić, Miladinović-Radmilović, *Vojnik ili sveštenik*.

¹⁰² Веселиновић, *Ратнови Турске и Аустрије*, 468–482.

from other social and cultural milieus resulted in a new everyday dynamic, which perhaps best corresponds to Roger Leech's *processional city*,¹⁰³ where an interminable procession of people lives at a hectic pace.

The cultural identity of the Habsburg Central Europe is also clearly evident from the objects that people living in the Belgrade Fortress and the outer city acquired and used. As the army represented a large group of consumers, its diverse needs influenced the organisation of the production and distribution of goods at the state level. In keeping with its protectionist and prohibitive economic system, which was essentially rather similar to Mercantilism, the state took over the production of articles of everyday use in order to supply its internal, that is, domestic market in the first place. The archaeological picture in the territories of the former Habsburg Monarchy fully confirms the unity of the market independently of the social or functional character of an area.¹⁰⁴ The objects came from a joint artisanal and artistic circle in which they had been created and improved since the High Middle Ages. All the goods discussed above were new to Belgrade and *manufactured*, that is, they were solid, stable quality consumer goods produced in large series. The uniformity of their shapes

and the variety of their decoration made them suitable for use on different occasions.

The creation of consumer goods was part of the process of the creation of the so-called *popular Baroque culture* for the needs of the new and numerous urban populations of modest descent and means, or, as H. Maravall has observed, at a time when there were few individuals producing culture, more (culture) was produced because there were more consumers.¹⁰⁵ The availability of these goods, among other things, contributed to Belgrade's adoption of the cultural concept of a modern European city in the early eighteenth century, such as it was ultimately supposed to become. Thus, adopted along with the new designs of objects was also the (Central) European culture of living, which, if only for a short period, supplanted the earlier Balkan-Oriental substratum. The rich supply of various goods was ensured by the Imperial Privileged Oriental Company, which had a branch in Belgrade, as well as the activities of Serb, Greek, Aromanian and German merchants in the German and Serbian Quarters.¹⁰⁶ All available data speak in favour of the fact that the new goods were used by all citizens regardless of ethnic affiliation, social status or wealth, thus giving even more substance to Belgrade's multiculturalism.

¹⁰³ Leech, *The processional city*, 19–24.

¹⁰⁴ See Kaltenberger, *Keramik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit in Oberösterreich 1*; Kaltenberger, *Keramik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit in Oberösterreich 2*; Krenn et al., *Koch- und Tafelgeschirr*; Tarcsay, *Zum Stand der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Glasforschung*, 170–174; Garády, *Agyagművéség*; Kovács, *16th–18th century Hungarian pottery types*; Ridovics, Haider, *The history of the Hungarian pipemaker's craft*; Blažková, Matějková, *Novověká odpadní jímka*; Horvat, Biondić, *Keramika i staklo 17. i 18. stoljeća*; Bekić, *Novovjekovno staklo*; Šimek, *Srednjovjekovno staklo iz Varaždina*; Цуњак, *Смедеревска шврђава*, T. XXVIII–XXXII.

¹⁰⁵ Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, 79–86.

¹⁰⁶ Веселиновић, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије*, 533–534.



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Abbreviations

- АЗОРУБСМ** = Архивска збирка Одељења реткости Универзитетске библиотеке „Светозар Марковић” у Београду, Београд
- 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
- ЋР** = *Ћovjek i prostor*
- УБ** = Урбанизам Београда, Београд

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