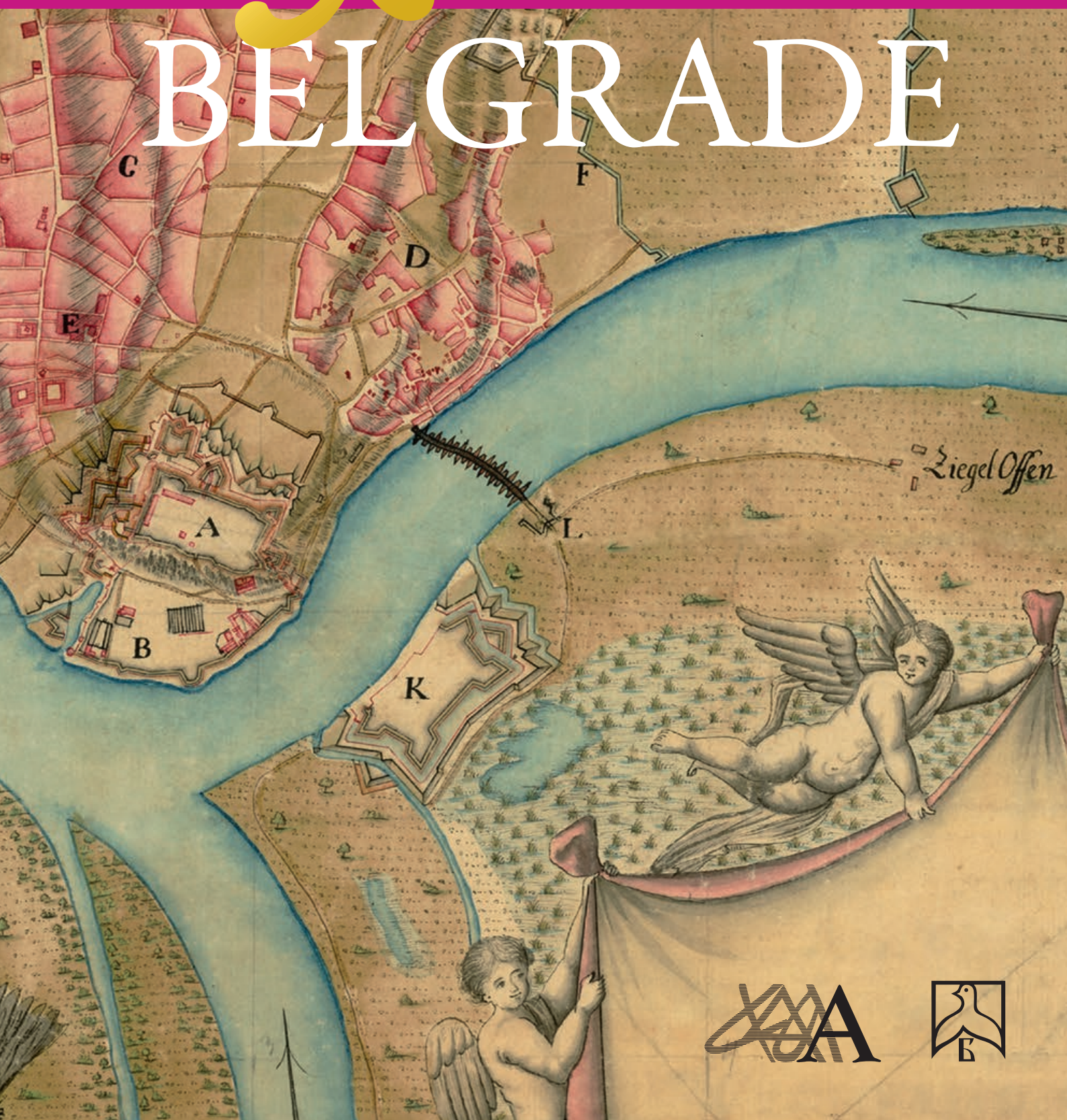


BAROQUE

BELGRADE







BAUOQUE
BELGRADE



АРХЕОЛОШКИ ИНСТИТУТ
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
www.ai.ac.rs



МУЗЕЈ ГРАДА БЕОГРАДА
BELGRADE CITY MUSEUM
www.mgb.org.rs

MONOGRAPH

Institute of Archaeology, No. 70

EDITOR

Vesna Bikić

PUBLISHED BY

Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, Kneza Mihaila 35
Belgrade City Museum, Belgrade, Zmaj Jovina 1a

FOR THE PUBLISHERS

Miomir Korać
Jelena Medaković

SECRETARY

Dragana Vulović

REVIEWED BY

Nada Kurtović Folić
Jelena Todorović
Vujadin Ivanišević

LANGUAGE EDITOR

Mirjana Radovanović

TRANSLATED BY

Ivan Delač

GRAPHIC DESIGN AND LAYOUT BY

Danijela Paracki

PRINTED BY

BIROGRAF, Belgrade

PRINTED IN

500 copies

ISBN 978-86-6439-044-6 (Institute of Archaeology)
ISBN 978-86-6433-020-6 (Belgrade City Museum)



BAROQUE
BELGRADE

TRANSFORMATION

1717–1739



*This book has been published with the support of
the Seretariat for Culture of the City of Belgrade,
Ministry of Culture and Information of Republic of Sebia,
Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of Republic of Serbia
and Deloitte Belgrade.*

Contents

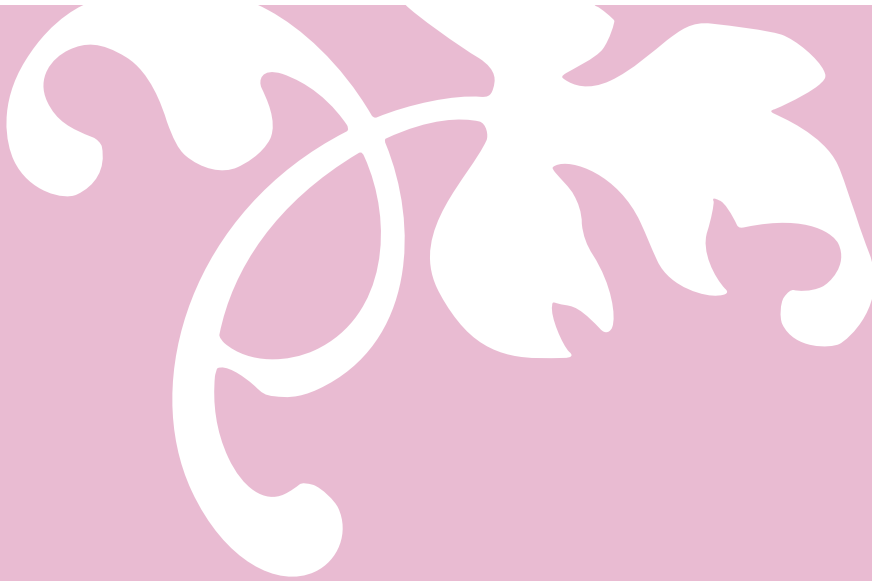
- 
- 6 Foreword
- 12 Belgrade Under Habsburg Rule 1717–1739
Isidora Točanac Radović
- 38 Baroque Reconstruction of Belgrade
Marko Popović
- 60 The Spectacle on Paper and the Baroque Theatre of War: the Conquest of Belgrade 1717
Vladimir Simić
- 74 Belgrade Metropolitans on the Baroque Stage
Ana Milošević
- 96 Beginnings of Baroque Military Architecture in the Belgrade Fortress
Marko Popović
- 110 The Great Military ('Roman') Well in the Belgrade Fortress
Vladan Zdravković
- 130 Symbolism of German Belgrade's Profane Architecture's Narrative
Marina Pavlović
- 148 Baroque Medals – a View of Conquests of Belgrade and the Požarevac Peace Treaty
Marija Marić Jerinić
- 162 New Goods for a New Society – Belgrade and Habsburg Central Europe
Vesna Bikić
- 196 The 'Stone Age' and Flintlock Muskets in the Eighteenth Century Belgrade Fortress
Josip Šarić
- 206 Bibliography
- 222 List of Collaborators and Their Affiliations



Foreword

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Editor

DONAU STROM

PARTIE VON BANAT

MAPPA
EINER
PARTIE DES BELGRADER DISTRICTS
IM
KONIGREICH
SERVIEN

DESCRIPTION

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| A. OBERE VESTUNG ODER DAS SCHLOSS | G. NEU ANGELEGTE REDOUTE |
| B. UNTERE VESTUNG ODER WASSERSTADT | H. NEU ANGELEGTES CRONWERCK |
| C. TEUTISCHE STADT | I. TÜRKISCHE SCHANTZ IN DER DONAUINSUL |
| D. RÄITZEN STADT | K. NEU ANGELEGTES HORNWERCK |
| E. GOVERNEMENT | L. TET DU PONT |
| F. LINIE WOSMIT DIE ZWEY STÄDTE EIN | M. REDOUTE SO IN ZEIT DER BELAGE |

GESCHLOSSEN
ZU BEFÖRDERUNG UND AUFKOMMEN DES KONIG REICHS - SERVIEN
AUF BEFEHL EINER HOCHLOB-KAISERLICHEN ADMINISTRATION ZU BELGRAD DURCH VERANKALTUNG DES
Hauptmanns Amorgans Vermittelst der alda anwesenden jungen Matrosen
als And. Zernitz, Friedrich Molten, Franz Kogor
in Jahr 1721. ausgehoben & ab 1722. zuhause
verbleibend.

MAAS STAB VON 1000 WIENER KLAFTER

ANNO 1724 C. 3722

EXPLICATION

derer
ZEICHEN dieser MAPPA

- Dörfer und Meyerhöf
- Schiff und andere Mühlen
- Weinberge
- Gackertes land
- Wustes
- Garten
- Wiesen
- Rohr und Morast
- Wald
- Busch
- Gemauerte brunnen und quellen
- Wasser
- Wege
- Türkische Appachen



TURKISCHE
APPROCHEN

LAGERUNG
ANNO 1717

HOHES GERICHT

HERR RANTZ
ERTZ BISCH
MÜHLE

HERR DES LEUT GRAP
BURG MEYER HOFF

HERR INSPECTOR
VON PERKINGSBRUNN
MEYER HOFF

FIEBER BRUNN

TOPSTNO

GALLEN FLEISCH
HACKER MEYER
HOFF

HOCH FÜRSTLICH
DÜRCHSCHLAGT
HAUS

GROSSE THIER
GARTEN

KLEINER
THIER GARTEN

TSCHAR
KORVA

RIPPES TE

ADA
DIE GROSSE SAU
ODER
ZIEJAUNER-
INSUL

VIEHSTADEL

AUSRECHNUNG
dieser
MAPPÆ
nach
WIENERISCHER MAASS

Die Vestung und Stadt	461 3/4 Joch
Das Kayser Lager von der letzten Belagerung	3741 1/4 Joch
Das Türk Lager bey der Belagerung	625 Joch
Im hochfürstl. Durchl. Kleiner Thiergarten	68 Joch
Derselben vorgeschriebener Thiergarten	225 Joch
Die grosse Sau oder Ziejauner Insul	359 1/4 Joch
Weinberge	1740 1/4 Joch
Wüst und geackertes Land	8981 1/2 Joch
Wiesen	4360 1/4 Joch
Rehr und Morast	1652 1/2 Joch
Wald	5381 Joch
Busch	1904 1/2 Joch

Summa Summarum des
ganten Inhalts dieser Mappæ 29400 1/4 Joch
Exclusive der Situation von Slavonien



ISIDORA TOČANAC RADOVIĆ

Belgrade Under Habsburg Rule, 1717–1739

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

Ottoman Belgrade, 1521–1717

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Habsburg conquest of Belgrade of 1717

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Веселиновић, *Београд њог влашћу Аустрије*, 523.

⁵ Бешлин, *Евѣније Савојски*, 475–476, 496.



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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The peace treaty between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, based on the principle of *uti possidetis* (fig. 4), was signed at Passarowitz (Požarevac) on July 21, 1718. Each of the belligerents retained the territories controlled by its army at the time of the signing of the treaty. Territorially, the Habsburg Monarchy substantially expanded, as it gained the Banat, Lesser Wallachia, a narrow strip of Bosnia along the rivers Sava and Una, parts of Syrmia, and a large part of Serbia. The conquest of southern Syrmia and the Banat ended the Habsburg-Ottoman wars over Hungarian possessions that had started with the Battle of Mohács and the election of Ferdinand of Habsburg as King of Hungary in 1526.⁹

Kingdom of Serbia

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

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

In 1717, a provisional military administration, headed by General Joseph Anton, Count of O'Dwyer, was appointed to govern the Kingdom of Serbia. A civilian government took over when the Provincial Administration (*Landes Administration*), with its seat in Belgrade, was installed in 1720. Prince Karl Alexander of Württemberg (r. 1720–1733) was the person who held the post of the Administration President longest, and he was also Governor (royal regent). He was succeeded in 1733 by Field Marshal Franz, Count of Marulli, and the last Habsburg regent of Serbia, Field Marshal George Olivier, Count of Wallis, was appointed in November of 1738.¹⁰

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

⁸ Веселиновић, *Србија под аустријском влашћу*, 111.

⁹ Ibid., 111; Dabić, *The Habsburg-Ottoman War*, 191.

¹⁰ Павловић, *Административна и црквена историја*, 19–20.

¹¹ Dabić, *The Habsburg-Ottoman War*, 192.



Fig. 5. Mattheus Seutter, Map of Serbia, Peace of Passarowitz, Augsburg 1717.
(National Library of Serbia, Belgrade, sig. KP II-467)

pretensions in south-eastern Europe and his firm determination to liberate the Serbian and other populations in the Ottoman Empire.

Belgrade – the city and the fortress

From the very beginning, Belgrade played an important part in Vienna's plans of conquest, where it figured as the starting point for further advancement to the south, as well as in the plans related to the defence of Habsburg

war acquisitions and Christian Europe from the Ottoman Empire. Besides, Belgrade was to be the government, administrative and economic centre, as well the centre from which Roman Catholicism and German culture would be disseminated among the predominantly Orthodox Christian population of the Kingdom of Serbia. This led to a speedy transformation of the city within a comparatively short period. In the course of only twenty-two years of the Habsburg governance of Serbia, the former Oriental town with fortress

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

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

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

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

Belgrade – its population and quarters

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

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

¹³ Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*, 200, 241.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

dropped by 22.65%, amounting to 355.¹⁷ This was one of the reasons for the slow rise in the number of residents of the Danube Quarter, where 394 families were registered in September of 1718.¹⁸ Despite incentives for colonisation, primarily intended for Germans, but also for other Roman Catholics, the population of the Danube Quarter did not increase at a later date, either. Some 400 families, mostly German ones, were mentioned both in 1721 and 1736. Since it was recorded that they were families owning houses, it could be assumed that there were also those that did not own houses and that the total figure was higher, but not by much.¹⁹

The Sava Quarter was much smaller than the Danube Quarter, both in area and in the size of its population. Its area kept diminishing owing to the construction of fortifications around the quarter, as private land was being appropriated for the purpose and there was no possibility of expanding the quarter in other directions. Even though it had fewer houses, the Sava Quarter seems to have been more densely populated than the Danube Quarter. Data on the size of its population have survived in an incomplete church census from 1733/34. Six hundred and forty-seven people lived in 102 households. Several families, often unrelated by blood, lived in one house, frequently together with their servants. For example, the most numerous was the household of sixteen members. It was the household where Pavle Dimitrijević, Toma Miškov and Maksim and their families and servants lived, but they do not seem to have been related by blood. Based on the average of about six persons per household, it could be assumed that the population of the Serbian Quarter in the mid-1730s was nearly 1,000.²⁰

¹⁵ Idem, *Општинска управа у Београду*, 126.

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

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

¹⁸ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 112–113.

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

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



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

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

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

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



Fig. 8. Belgrade suburbs – View of Belgrade from the direction of Mount Avala, from de Spar’s atlas, 1738 (Vienna War Archive, sig. BIXb_113_Taf. 16_fol.31)

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

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

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

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

²⁴ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 68–76.

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

German and Serbian municipalities

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

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

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

²⁵ Јачов, *Сјиси Тајној вайиканској архива*, 279–280.

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

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



Fig. 9a. Seal of the Sava Quarter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Belgrade as an economic centre

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

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

³⁰ Поповић Д., *Ојшћинска ујрава у Београду*, 127, 130.

³¹ Idem, *Србија и Београд*, 263, 268–269; idem, *Ојшћинска ујрава у Београду*, 127, 131.

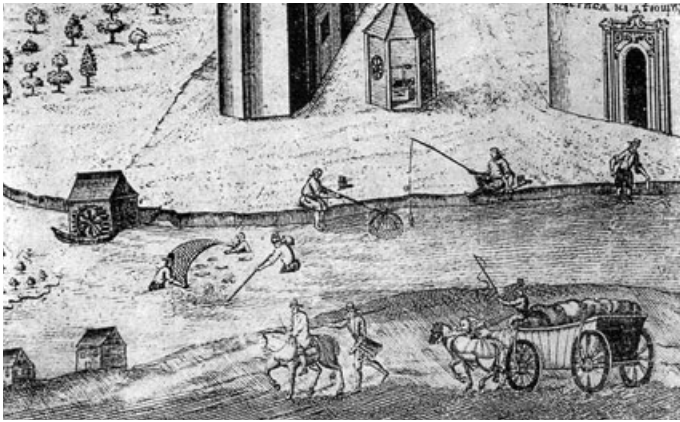


Fig. 10. Mesmer, *Hodoš Monastery*, 1750 – Fishermen, detail
(Давидов, *Српска графика XVIII века*, figs. 190, 193)



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

merchants in the Belgrade subsidiary of the Oriental Company.³⁴

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

Religious policies of Charles VI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁷ Ibid., 170; Точанац, *Српски народно-црквени сабори*, 170.

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

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

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

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

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

Seat of the Metropolitanate

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

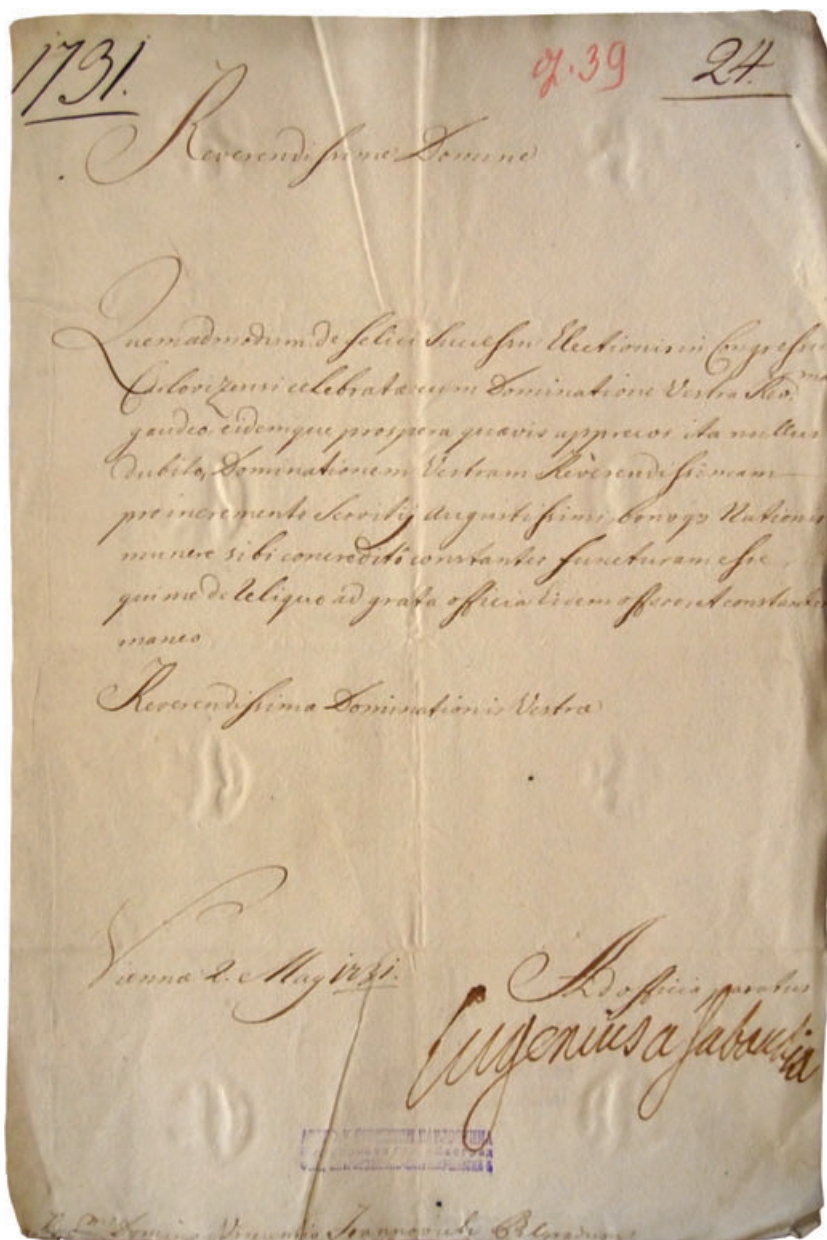


Fig. 13. Prince Eugene of Savoy, President of the Imperial War Council, congratulates Vićentije Jovanović on his election as archbishop (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Archives at Sremski Karlovci: Holdings of the Metropolitanate-Patriarchy Archive B, 1731/39)

Fig. 14. Signature of Metropolitan Vićentije Jovanović

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴³ Idem, *Београдска и Карловачка митрополија*, 205–207.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

⁴⁶ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 20.

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

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

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

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

Under Ottoman rule once again (1739)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵² Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 251.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 252–253.

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

According to the terms of the peace treaty signed in Belgrade on September 18, 1739, the Habsburg Monarchy had to cede to the Ottoman Empire Serbia with Belgrade, the Banat of Severin, and the strip of Bosnia along the Sava. Thus, the new border was set to the Sava and Danube rivers. According to the Treaty, the monarchy also had to cede the Belgrade Fortress with its former fortifications, gunpowder magazines, arsenals, barracks, and public and private buildings in the two quarters. All the new fortifications of the city, the ramparts around the quarters and the outworks on the banks of the Sava and the Danube had to be demolished. The demolition of the ramparts and the fortress lasted six months. The fortress was officially handed over to Ottoman authorities on June 7, 1740.⁵⁵

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

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

⁵⁴ Веселиновић, *Србија под аустријском влашћу*, 160.

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

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



MARKO POPOVIĆ

Baroque Reconstruction of Belgrade

The peaceful, 150-year development of Belgrade as a Turkish *şehir* in the depths of the Ottoman Empire, far from war, was brought to a sudden end by the fateful events of the late seventeenth century. The abortive siege of Vienna in 1683 marked the beginning of the breakdown of Ottoman power in Central Europe. Following a series of Turkish defeats, the focus of war operations quickly shifted towards Belgrade, which thus reassumed its former military strategic significance.

For Turkey, whose loss of Buda and large territories in the north forced her to defend her remaining holdings in Europe at all costs, Belgrade was the key stronghold, which was to stop any further advance of Austrian forces and serve as the base for her campaigns aimed at recapturing the lost northern territories. For Austria, Belgrade became the key stronghold in her defence of the newly conquered territories and a base for further advance southwards. The clash of the great powers in the territories at whose heart lay the city at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube rivers determined its future fate. Belgrade reassumed a primarily military strategic role, which it was

to retain throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It was generally a clash of civilizations that changed the appearance of the city and its fortifications in accordance with their principles and needs. The existing Oriental *şehir* was transformed into a Baroque fortified city, only to be readapted to the Turkish way of life when it once again fell under Ottoman rule (figs. 16, 17).

During the decades-long military conflict, the conquest of Belgrade in 1717 resounded throughout Europe as a major success of Austria and, in a broader sense, as a victory of Christianity in its centuries-long clash with Islam. The entire area of northern Serbia was quickly seized after extended military operations and there were plans for further advance southwards. However, due to a Spanish invasion of Habsburg holdings in Italy, Austria had to discontinue her successful campaigns against the Turks. Peace was concluded at Passarowitz (Požarevac) in the summer of 1718, based on the principle of *uti possidetis*, whereby Austria, in addition to other territories, also gained Belgrade and northern Serbia.

It was Austria's most successful treaty ever signed with the Turks.¹

In the new circumstances created by its inclusion into Austria, Belgrade became 'the main border fortress', which gave it special importance in line with its new role. For Austria and the rest of Christian Europe, Belgrade was the key stronghold of defence against the Turks and a base for further incursions into Turkish holdings in Europe. Besides, in view of its eastern expansion, the Catholic Habsburg Monarchy envisioned Belgrade as a strong cultural, political and economic centre for the dissemination of Roman Catholicism and German colonisation. These goals directed the further development of the city and drew it, admittedly for only a short time, into the orbit of European urban development of the era. The existing Oriental-style town with an outdated, albeit somewhat modernised, fortress stood in stark contrast with the new role of the city and the urban planning and fortification concepts prevailing in Europe during the Baroque epoch. It was evident for this reason that there was a need to undertake a comprehensive reconstruction of the conquered town and transform it into a Baroque fortified city. This involved reconstruction of the fortress as an exclusively military structure, designing a town laid out on a grid pattern and protected by bastioned fortifications, and construction of outworks as part of a unified defence system. In order for this massive project to be carried out, extensive preparations had to be conducted first, from organising the administration of the newly conquered lands, to designing programs and projects, to securing funds for the planned works.²

Immediately upon the conquest of northern Serbia and Belgrade, a provisional military

administration was appointed, with General Joseph, Count of O'Dwyer at its head. The issue of establishing a regular civilian administration of this territory, that is the 'Kingdom of Serbia', was addressed two years later, in the autumn of 1720, when the so-called 'Serbian Administration', headed by Prince Carl Alexander of Württemberg, was established. The Administration of Serbia, as a *crown land of the Habsburgs*, was subordinated to the Imperial War Council, whose president at the time was Prince Eugene of Savoy. One of its main tasks was the work on the reconstruction and construction of Belgrade, to which end the *Administration for Fortress Construction* was founded.³ The first few years passed in the search for the best solutions to the issue of transforming Belgrade into a fortified Baroque city. A particular problem was that of procuring funds and materials for the implementation of this ambitious undertaking, which initially greatly slowed down the works.

Sizeable original material related to construction and reconstruction works in Belgrade during Austrian occupation (1717–1739) is kept in the Vienna War Archives.⁴ Of particular significance are the plans and projects that make it possible to follow their progress almost step by step and analyse the designs employed. According to these documents, the works were carried out in two main stages. During the first stage, which lasted until 1723, preparations were made for implementing the plan of the construction of the city and its fortifications, which was done during the next, second stage.⁵

Initially, the work on the reconstruction of the existing Belgrade fortifications and the construction of new ones was directed by the renowned fortification engineer, Colonel de

¹ For more on the Austrian rule of Belgrade, see I. Točanac Radović, in the present book, pp. 12–37.

² Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 211.

³ Веселиновић, *Ратнови Турске и Аустрије*, 536; Шкаламера, *Планови барокне реконструкције Београда*, 13–18.

⁴ Поповић М., *Пројекти Николе Доксаија де Мореза*, 39–58.

⁵ Idem, *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 226–243.



Fig. 16. Restitution of the plan of Belgrade, c. 1700

(author: Marko Popović; technical drawing: architect Tihomir Dičić)

Boeff. Some time later, he was succeeded by Major Nicolas Suly, the author of the first detailed building project for Belgrade's new fortifications, including the ramparts defending the two outer quarters. The realization of the project began as early as the second half of 1718. The initial stage only included repairs and extensions of the Upper and Lower Town fortifications which the Turks had erected at the end of the seventeenth century according to plans of the Venetian military engineer, Andrea Cornaro. However, the construction of new fortifications based on Major Suly's project was discontinued already at the beginning of 1721 because of Prince Alexander of Württemberg's dissatisfaction. Many objections were raised against Suly's project and

there were also accusations of embezzlement. For this reason, the authorities started searching for the best solutions regarding the defence of the city and an overall reconstruction of the existing urban structure. Several different projects were submitted by 1723. Some of them were produced by renowned fortification engineers of the era, including Colonel Montani, head of the Vienna Military Academy. Finally, the Imperial War Council accepted the project submitted by Colonel Nicolas Doxat de Morez who was thereafter also appointed director of defensive system construction and city reconstruction. The realization of this project, unlike previous ones, was approached much more judiciously. Before the project was implemented, thorough geodetic

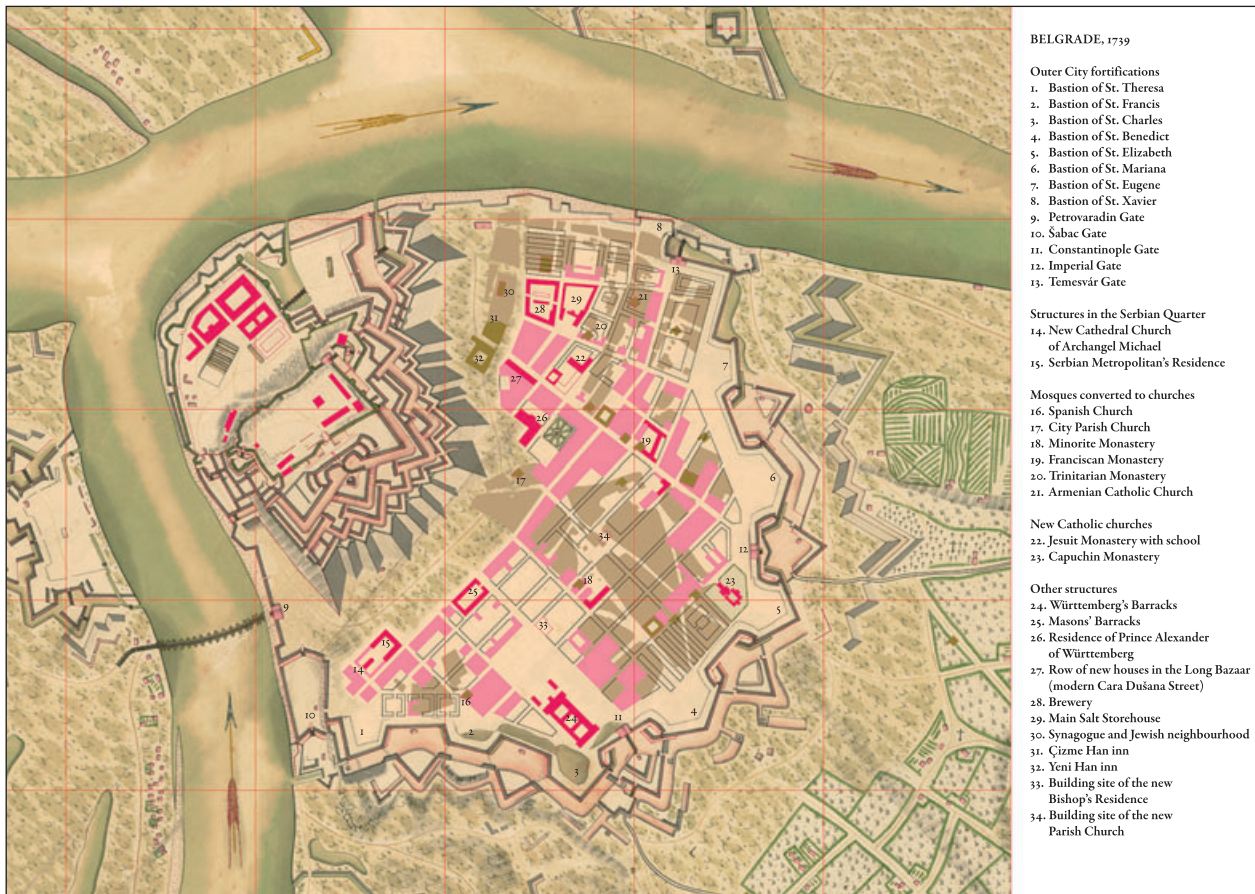


Fig. 17. Restitution of the plan of Belgrade, 1739, after Austrian reconstruction
(author: Marko Popović; technical drawing: architect Tihomir Dičić)

surveying of Belgrade and its broader vicinity had been conducted.⁶ The task was performed by a group of engineers headed by Prince Alexander of Württemberg's adjutant, Captain Aman. This made it possible to adapt the design of new fortifications and the city as a whole to the actual relief of Belgrade, which was not the case with most previous projects.

The reconstruction and transformation of Belgrade into a fortified Baroque city focused primarily on building a series of defensive works. This rather complex and expensive undertaking had to follow the latest fortification models for the construction of bastioned artillery fortifications, based on the methods

of the French Marshal and military engineer Marshal Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban. The construction of the complex city fortifications was to be accompanied by an overall reconstruction of the city, whose urban structure was to be changed entirely as its population was now of a different religious affiliation and ethnicity. During Austrian rule, Belgrade was divided into three administrative units – the Fortress, the German Quarter, and the Serbian Quarter. The two quarters were organized as municipalities, which were further divided into neighbourhoods. Along with military authorities, there were also civilian and ecclesiastical ones. This type of organisation and

⁶ Шкаламера, *Майа једној дела Београдској дисципліни*, 43–66.

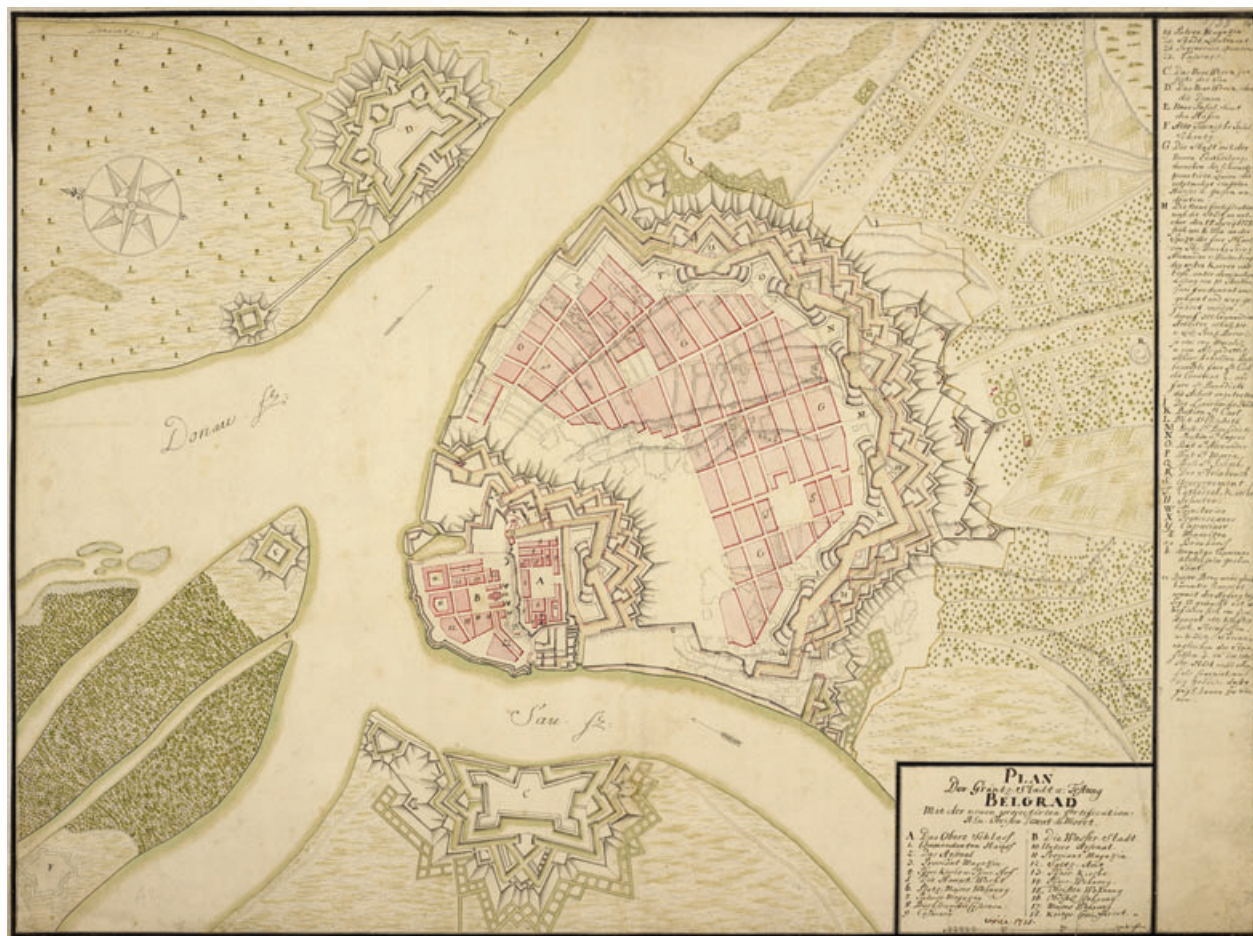


Fig. 18. Design for Belgrade's new defences by Nicolas Doxat de Morez, 1723–1725 (British Library London, sig. HJ 35)

subordination was also reflected in the planned changes of the city's urban structure. The existing network of streets and Oriental-style buildings were to be replaced by a predetermined grid street plan and new Baroque-style structures.

Colonel Nicolas Doxat's project contained exactly these basic city reconstruction components (fig. 18). The Belgrade Fortress was to be the core of a comprehensive defence system that included fortifications around the two quarters and also outworks on the respective left banks of the Sava and Danube rivers. In keeping with Baroque urban planning principles, the construction of new fortifications also implied a thorough reconstruction of the

fortified part of the city that housed its main institutions along with a small segment of the population.

On the whole, Doxat's project offered a rather successful fortification and urban planning solution. It fully observed the basic intention of turning Belgrade into a fortified Baroque city with military, economic, administrative and other functions. Doxat's project was based on the so-called 'first system' of fortification, designed by Marshal Vauban, which was the acme of the development of European fortification. The planned system of Belgrade fortifications offered excellent potentials for the defence of the city against attacks coming from the inland side and the rivers.

The work on the realisation of Doxat's project was carried out in stages, as did the approval of its individual parts. The first of these was the design of the new fortifications of the Belgrade Fortress. It was completed and then approved by the Imperial War Council no later than the first half of 1723. When this part of the project had been approved, it started being implemented in June of the same year.⁷ The rest of the project, which applied to outworks and fortification and urban structure of the two quarters, was completed in the following two years and approved by the Imperial War Council on April 30, 1725.⁸

Belgrade Fortress

During the Austrian siege of Belgrade in 1717, the fortifications of the Belgrade Fortress, which the Turks had rebuilt at the end of the seventeenth century according to plans drawn up by Andrea Cornaro, were not too severely damaged. The structures that sustained the most damage were the ones in the Lower Town, due to an explosion in the Turkish gunpowder magazine housed in the former caravanserai of Sultan Süleyman. The first task the Austrian garrison had to perform involved clearing the debris and providing accommodation for the troops. This was followed by preparations for the reconstruction of the fortifications even before the basic defence concepts were adopted. In this period, i.e., between 1718 and 1720, large-scale land levelling works were conducted in the Upper and Lower Town as part of preparations for the erection of new structures. During these years, the Upper Town witnessed the beginning of the construction of two new barracks and soon thereafter of a well (now known as the Great, or Roman, Well) in order to secure a supply of water in case of siege. Excavation began in the

Lower Town for the purpose of building an underground gunpowder storage (now known as the Big Gunpowder Magazine) to protect ammunition from artillery hits and possible explosion. Work also started on repairing old fortifications and construction of new ones based on Major Suly's designs, but it was soon discontinued. Major repairs were done to the ravelin before the King Gate, where an entirely new western face was constructed. The repairs also included those done in the eastern corner of the Upper Town, where part of a curtain wall, built at the end of the seventeenth century, had collapsed due to artillery bombardment. A blockhouse with a sizeable latrine was incorporated into the bay, probably as a temporary solution, as it does not seem to have been planned originally. The work that started on fortification traces was discontinued soon after Suly's design had been abandoned, not later than 1722, and some parts were demolished.

According to Doxat's design, the mainstay of defence was the Belgrade Fortress at the heart of a larger fortification system (fig. 19). The idea was to enclose the main fortified core, i.e., the Upper and Lower Town, with a system of new bastioned traces, which implied demolition of the entire unfinished bastioned front built by the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century. In this area, which was to defend the easiest access to the fortress, a new south-eastern front was constructed. It consisted of two half bastions with orillons and receded flanks, where six cannon batteries were to be positioned. The two half bastions were connected to the main gate of the fortress (at the location of the present-day Stambol Gate) by a curtain with a large ravelin in front. In the Lower Town, a large bastioned front was built at the former harbour, which thus became a closed naval port. Both of these bastioned fronts were connected by curtains and

⁷ Стефановић Вилловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 273.

⁸ Information found in plan KAW. Sig G I b 29; see Поповић М., *Проекцији Николе Доксајта ге Мореза*, 48–49, сл. 2.

half bastions on the eastern side, whereas several terraced half bastions were built on the Sava-facing slope. A deep ditch was formed in front of the main bastioned trace. Outside of it was an outer line of defence, consisting of counterguards with lunettes and a covered way with glacises.

New gates were paid special attention in the design of the new Belgrade fortifications. The richly decorated gate façades, reflecting the desire to display the power of the ruler and the force of weapons, were a prominent feature of European artillery fortifications in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. This is particularly evident in the monumental portals of the fortress and city gates, erected to glorify the ruler, which actually symbolically functioned as triumphal arches. For this reason, Belgrade's Baroque gates should also be viewed in that context. The decorative elements of the architecture of the Empire's main fortress in the

south-east of Europe, which was assigned a key role in the showdown with the Turks, were to display the power of an expanding state and a military power ready for further conquests.

Unfortunately, the appearance of Belgrade's Baroque gates can now only be conjectured on the basis of the ones that have survived in the ramparts of the Upper and Lower Town, as all the others in the bastioned traces of the fortress and the two quarters were demolished already in 1739–1740. The appearance and stylistic features of the fortress gates can now be gleaned from the surviving Leopold's and King Gates in the Upper Town and the Gate of Charles VI in the Lower Town. The original appearance of the façade of the Water Gate I, which was demolished in 1942, can be reliably reconstructed from surviving documentation.⁹

The most monumental among them is the gate in the north-eastern rampart of the Lower

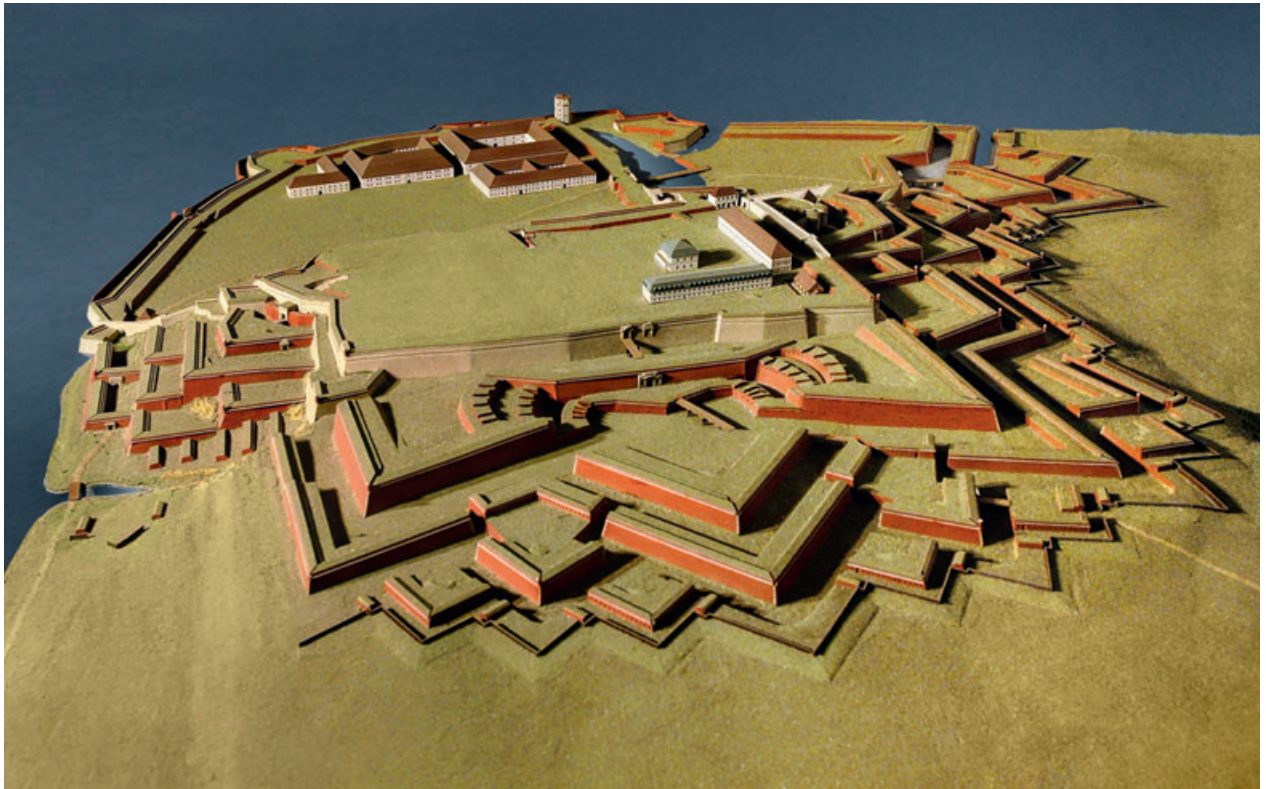


Fig. 19. Belgrade Fortress after Austrian reconstruction in 1739, 3D restitution (author M. Popović)

Town, dedicated to Emperor Charles VI (fig. 20). Both of its façades were built in the Baroque style. The outer, somewhat rustic façade, featuring war trophies and the monogram of Emperor Charles VI, was conceived as a triumphal arch. The inner façade, surmounted by a semi-circular pediment bearing a coat of arms of the Habsburg *Kingdom of Serbia*, that is, a boar's head pierced with an arrow,¹⁰ was much more successfully designed style-wise. It symbolised a portal – triumphal arch at the entrance to the newly conquered land's capital city, emphasising the power and triumph of its new ruler, the emperor, and his new crown land, the *Kingdom of Serbia*.¹¹

In the Upper Town fortifications, two gates with preserved Baroque portals have survived on minor routes. The façade arch of the much more modest gate dedicated to Emperor Leopold, during whose reign Belgrade had first come under Austrian rule, is stylistically kindred to the Gate of Charles VI in the Lower Town.¹² Somewhat different and perhaps more sumptuous is the portal of the add-on to the King Gate, at the western approach to the Upper Town, stylistically related to the façade of the guardhouse above the inner section of the gate.¹³

It has not been reliably established who designed the Baroque façades of the surviving gates of the Belgrade Fortress. It has been observed that they bear the features of the German Baroque with a substantial number of Italian, more specifically Tuscan, elements.¹⁴ The designs of the Gate of Charles VI, particularly its eastern side, and of the portal of

Leopold's Gate are similar in style to the works of Balthazar Neumann, one of Germany's best known Baroque architects.¹⁵ Important in this regard is the fact that Neumann stayed in Belgrade for over a year immediately after the conquest of the city. During his stay, he worked as a military engineer and, for this reason, his participation in the work on Belgrade gates must not be ignored. He may also have been involved in producing the design for the Great Well in the Upper Town.¹⁶

Unlike the fortifications of the Belgrade Fortress, which have all been built according to Nicolas Doxat's designs, his ambitious plans for the erection in the area of the Upper and Lower Town of structures intended for the accommodation of troops and, probably, also of some of the administrative staff of the *Kingdom of Serbia*, were realized only in part. Even though construction of some of these buildings had commenced before the approval of the final design, the construction of new bastioned traces seems to have been a priority. Two barracks with elongated floor plans, whose construction started soon after the Austrians had taken Belgrade, were completed in the Upper Town. Built next to them was a new building of the Main Guard, which, in all likelihood, also housed the Fortress Command Post. In the immediate vicinity of the said barracks, in the eastern corner of the Upper Town, a new gunpowder magazine was built. Concurrently with the construction of these new structures, work resumed on digging the Great Well, completed successfully in 1731.¹⁷ A new water supply line was built for the

⁹ Idem, *Београдска тврђава* (Друго допуњено издање), 235–243.

¹⁰ Idem, *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање) 176, н.135; Idem, *Кайија цара Карла VI у Београду*, 9–25.

¹¹ Uzelac, *Balthazar Neumann i Barokni Beograd*, 31.

¹² Поповић М., *Леополдова кайија Београдске тврђаве*, 35–52.

¹³ Idem, *Краљ кайија Београдске тврђаве*, 9–38.

¹⁴ Васић, *Барок у Београду 1718–1739. године*, 618–619.

¹⁵ Ibid., 609; Uzelac, *Balthazar Neumann i Barokni Beograd*, 33.

¹⁶ Ibid., 31–34.

¹⁷ Поповић М., *Велики бунар Београдске тврђаве*, 31–36.



Fig. 20. Gate of Charles VI in the Lower Town, 1942 photo
(Documentation of Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments)

purpose of supplying the Upper Town better. The line ended in the cistern of the former drinking fountain of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.¹⁸ In addition to these more important structures on the Upper Town plateau, there was certainly a whole series of temporary buildings, which are not shown on the plans from the period.

Unlike the Upper Town, the Lower Town witnessed much more construction work during Austrian rule. Between 1718 and 1721, the Big Gunpowder Magazine was dug into the rocky Danube-facing slope according to Major Suly's design.¹⁹ This spacious and very safe gunpowder storage comprises two chambers with nine columns each. Outside the chambers is a corridor with a massive outer wall and a ceiling made with bricks. The construction of this facility, which lasted only three years, was a huge engineering feat. Functionally, the Big Gunpowder Magazine was very successful and by all means represented a special achievement in the development of fortification architecture at the time.

Before the construction of new buildings on the Lower Town plateau started, land levelling works were conducted and debris and all older structures were removed. The existing land contour, gently sloping and with a low, floodable riverside, unchanged since medieval times, no longer complied with the new requirements. After the year 1723, in order that the area might be levelled and somewhat expanded, the slope was cut²⁰ in the area towards the East Gate and the belt next to the Riverside

Rampart was concurrently filled.²¹ Thus, the comparatively level plateau of the Lower Town was formed and the following structures were built on it between 1723 and 1736: a large arsenal,²² an artillery barracks,²³ and two buildings for storing food with a bakery.²⁴ Construction of an infantry barracks was also commenced in the same period, but it was not completed.²⁵ A smaller gunpowder magazine, similar to the one in the Upper Town, was built in the immediate vicinity of the South Gate of the Lower Town.

The work on the new bastioned traces of the fortress lasted around thirteen years and was completed in 1736, which was symbolically marked by affixing a commemorative plaque to the Gate of Emperor Charles VI in the Lower Town.²⁶ According to Doxat's design, there remained to be built a whole series of new structures for the needs of the fortress garrison, including a garrison chapel, but none of this was done by 1739.

The construction of outworks on the left bank of the Sava began concurrently with the work on the fortifications of the Belgrade Fortress, but at a much slower rate. By mid-1720, only the foundations had been laid and the work was probably suspended already the following year. The fate of the construction of outworks on the left bank of the Danube was similar. It seems that only earthworks had been conducted there by the mid-1721. These outworks featured in Doxat's design as well, but were never built during Austrian rule over Belgrade.

¹⁸ Idem, *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 225, сл. 127.

¹⁹ Протић, *Путовање кроз Србију*, 620.

²⁰ Information found in plan BLL, Sig. HJ 35.

²¹ Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне митрополије*, 39–44.

²² Plan KAW, Sig. G VII 11–421.

²³ Plan KAW, Sig. G VII 11–420.

²⁴ Plan KAW, Sig. G VII 11–440.

²⁵ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање), 171, н. 107–110.

²⁶ Биргашевић, *Један нови документ о калцији Карла VI*, 121; cf. Поповић М., *Утврђене средњовековне калције*, н. 34.

Fortified town

At the time of the Austrian conquest, Belgrade was a developed Oriental commercial *şehir*, structurally in total contrast with the function of a European fortified city and the prevailing Baroque urban planning concepts. This necessitated a reconstruction of the entire city in addition to the construction of the new fortifications. For the purpose of effecting a total transformation of its existing urban and physical structure and contents, the city was divided into separate Serbian and German neighbourhoods, that is, the Sava and the Danube Quarters. Soon after the conquest of 1717, almost the entire demographic structure of the population changed. Mostly German settlers and a smaller number of other Catholics of other ethnicities replaced the Muslim inhabitants that had fled Belgrade. Most of the Serbs already living there and those that had just moved in were supposed to live in the newly formed Lower Sava Quarter and others in the Upper Quarter. No Serbs were allowed to live in the part of the city on the Danube-facing slope, which was incomparably larger than the one on the Sava-facing slope. Already the first Austrian census of the German, or Danube, Quarter from 1718 records 500 newcomer families, categorised by neighbourhoods, which indicates that a new spatial division of the quarter had already been in place. As the quarter had not suffered much damage during the 1717 siege, most of the existing buildings were initially used for the accommodation of troops and new settlers. It is evident from a rather detailed Austrian census of the Danube Quarter from 1728 that, out of the total of 1,375 buildings, only 85 were newly built ones, whereas all the others had been there before.²⁷

The comprehensive programme for the transformation of Belgrade into a fortified Baroque city included a substantial reduction of the area of the former Turkish *şehir*, particularly of its part on the Sava-facing slope. The new alignment of bastioned fortifications intersected the existing urban structure, with the result that only a little over one-half of the former Serbian Quarter remained.

Work on the construction of fortifications around the quarters started after Colonel Doxat's design had been approved in 1725. The beginning of this engineering undertaking was marked by a ceremony of laying of the foundation stone at 6 a.m. on June 18 of that year in the presence of Prince Alexander of Württemberg.²⁸ It was a massive undertaking, which required building a rather complex bastioned trace, whose inland side was over 2,500 metres long and the sides facing the rivers around 1,500 metres (fig. 21). Besides, an almost entirely new city with a new network of streets was to be built in the thus defended area. Such a huge engineering enterprise required a large number of builders and a lot of time and money. It is not known what the deadline was for the completion of Doxat's project, which was discontinued after twelve years. During that time, the fortifications surrounding the quarters were mostly completed. Based on the maps from 1739 and 1740 mentioned above, it is possible to establish with confidence that only the main defensive bastioned line had been constructed before the disruption of the work. It began on the bank of the Sava, ran down the present-day streets of Kosančićev Venac, Topličin Venac and Obilićev Venac and went up to the modern Republic Square, where the main city gate stood, at the starting point of the famous Constantinople Road.²⁹ The bastioned trace

²⁷ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 229.

²⁸ Information found in plan BLL. Sig HJ 35, ad h.

²⁹ It was only after this manuscript was completed and prepared for publication that part of the foundation of this, i.e. Württemberg's Gate appeared in the course of reconstruction of Republic Square.

³⁰ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање), 173, н. 115.

continued down the Danube-facing slope following the routes of the present-day Francuska, Gundulićev Venac and Dunavska Streets and ended at the bank of the Danube. On its inland side, this main bastioned trace comprised

eight bastions connected by curtain walls and bearing the names of eight Catholic saints.³⁰ There was a ravelin in front of each curtain wall. All the ravelins had been completed before the discontinuation of the works but had



Fig. 21. Belgrade in 1739
(Vienna War Archives, sig. H III d 1410)

not been filled with earth.³¹ Only parts of the ditch in front of the first defensive line had been completed.

Construction of the fortifications of the outer line of defence, which, according to the design, were to consist of counterguards with lunettes and a covered way with glacises, had not even started before the discontinuation of the works. Four gates were incorporated into the main bastioned trace on the routes of the main roads, which correspond to the routes of the present-day streets of Dunavska (Temesvár, or Smederevo, Gate), Cara Dušana (Imperial, later Vidin, Gate), Vasina (Württemberg's, later Stambol, Gate), and Karadorđeva (Šabac Gate). On the Sava-facing slope, only an earth rampart was built instead of the originally designed one made from solid materials.³² It featured the Petrovaradin Gate, which faced the pontoon bridge on the Sava in the direction of Zemun. On the Danube-facing slope, only three small bastions were built to defend the Danube Quarter,³³ whereas the originally designed rampart was replaced by a palisade.

The project of the urban reconstruction of the town, whose reconstruction began at the same time as the construction of fortifications around the quarter, envisioned a total makeover of the network of streets. The streets were to be straight, broader and intersect at right angles, that is, at an angle dictated by the location of the fortress fortifications and those surrounding the quarter. The design envisioned construction of blocks of buildings joined together on the side facing the street. According to Doxat's design, not only were many of the alleys to be straightened, but many were also to be eliminated in order to make room for large blocks of houses. The limits of the fortified

town, at the edge of the esplanade outside the fortress, were to be formed by the first blocks of buildings along the route of present-day Pariska, Rige od Fere, and Jevrejska Streets. The plan was to demolish all of the old *mahalle* neighbourhoods bordering the expanded esplanade, as well as other buildings, such as the Yeni Han and Çizme Han inns. It was also planned to pull down the Jewish *mahalle* and the synagogue in it, but these buildings made from solid materials were not demolished and no Jews were displaced.

As already noted, regardless of later reconstruction plans, all of the solidly built Turkish buildings were initially used for accommodation. Alterations dictated by demographic and religious changes are evident in the use of former mosques as churches by Catholic monastic orders and new settlers. One of the most important among them, Yahya Pasha Mosque, was given to Franciscan monks, who converted it into the Church of the Assumption in 1721. In addition to the mosque, the Franciscans were also given other buildings within the complex for the needs of their monastery, including the old madrasa and two *türbe* mausoleums. One of the mausoleums was turned into the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1730, construction began within this complex of a new monastery church, dedicated to St. John of Capistrano.³⁴

The former Şehitlik Mosque was given to Trinitarian monks, who turned it into a church and used nearby houses for their accommodation.³⁵ The neighbouring Zeynüddin Agha Mosque was converted into an Armenian Catholic church, whereas across the city, in the Sava Quarter, the famous Defterdar Mosque became a Spanish church.³⁶ The

³¹ Information found in plan МГБ, Inv. no. И 325, ad 5.

³² Information found in plan КАВ. Sig. Н III d 1416, ad. c

³³ Поповић М., *Београдска њерђава* (прво издање), 173–174, н. 119.

³⁴ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорђола*, 234.

³⁵ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, попис бр. 106–110, 153.

³⁶ Ђурић-Замоло, *Београд као оријентална варош под Турцима*, 31–32.

Bayrakli Mosque, the only mosque that has survived to this day, became the parish church of German Belgrade. Along with minor repairs, an altar apse was added to it.³⁷ The Franciscan order of Friars Minor was given Kizlar Agha Mosque to use as a monastery.³⁸ In 1732, Jesuits, who were granted the use of several Turkish buildings, including a mosque, soon after the year 1717, started building a new monastery in the immediate vicinity of the former Pirinç Han inn. A school was also being built within the monastic complex concurrently with the monastery. The foundation stone of the Jesuit church, with a charter inscribed on a lead plate, was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century at the site of present-day 39–41 Cara Uroša Street.³⁹ Other solidly built mosques served as storehouses, whereas one of them, Ahmed Agha's Mosque in the Long Bazaar, was used for theatrical performances.⁴⁰ Capuchin monks started building their monastery, surrounded by a garden, at a previously unoccupied site, next to the newly built bastion trace, but it was not completed by 1739.

Besides mosques, large, solidly built inns either retained their old purpose or assumed a new one, depending on the new needs. The former Yeni Han inn, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's caravanserai, retained its purpose, whereas the Çizme Han was used to accommodate the craftsmen working on the construction of fortifications.⁴¹ The former Pirinç Han seems to have assumed a new purpose after a comprehensive reconstruction.⁴² A luxurious inn with several buildings, built for a prominent Turk, where Prince Eugene of Savoy stayed after taking the city, became the residence of

the Governor of Serbia, Prince Charles Alexander of Württemberg. In the process of its adaptation to a new purpose after the year 1720, the complex also received a new, detached kitchen building. A beautiful park with a regular geometric network of paths, which survived in the urban tissue of Belgrade until the end of the eighteenth century, was formed in front of the residence.⁴³

In addition to the adaptation of old buildings, construction of new structures began in the Danube Quarter a few years after the establishment of Austrian rule. Based on comparative analyses of cartographic sources, the preserved *List of Buildings in the Danube Belgrade* from 1728,⁴⁴ and earlier field research, it is possible to identify some of the newly constructed buildings. Several designs for new buildings in Belgrade, only a small number of which have been analysed, are kept in the Austrian Court Chamber Archives. It remains for future researchers to study the designs, which will certainly provide a more comprehensive insight into the size of the Baroque reconstruction and help locate all newly built structures with greater precision.

Even though there was some building activity in the Danube Quarter during the first years following the occupation of the city, it intensified only after Colonel Doxat's project had been approved. Thus, already in 1724, one of the first undertakings involved a reconstruction of the Long Bazaar (present-day Cara Dušana Street). For this reason a large number of old buildings were demolished in order to straighten and widen the street. It may be assumed that it was in this area that the

³⁷ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, попис бр. 163, 241.

³⁸ Ђурић-Замоло, *Београд као оријентална варош под Турцима*, 36–37.

³⁹ Валтровић, *Камен темељац једне језуитске цркве*, 123–127.

⁴⁰ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 153–156.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 840–841.

⁴² Веселиновић, *Нека ишитања из прошлости Београда*, 107–111.

⁴³ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 235.

⁴⁴ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 112–282.

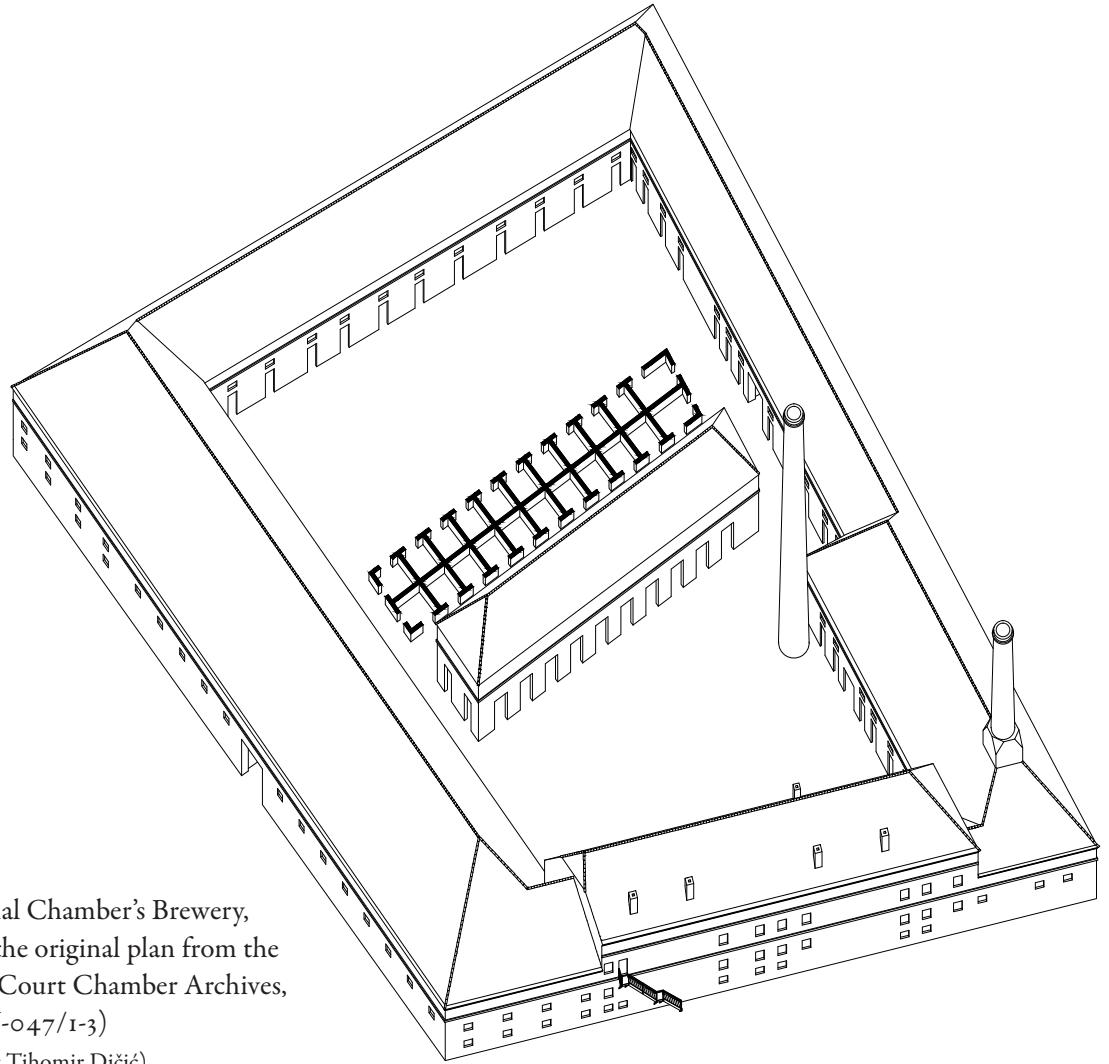


Fig. 22. Imperial Chamber's Brewery, restitution of the original plan from the Financial and Court Chamber Archives, Vienna (sig. N-047/1-3) (author: architect Tihomir Dičić)

construction of new residential buildings began. Based on the surviving original documentation,⁴⁵ it can fairly reliably be assumed that erected there by 1727 were seven new residential buildings, whose location corresponds to the present-day plots at 8–18 Cara Dušana Street. Only one building has survived to this day, namely, the one at number 10, but it has been greatly redesigned. Its structure entirely reflects the Baroque architecture of the time.⁴⁶ In addition to these, other buildings were erected along the Long Bazaar, but there is not

much information on them. One of them was probably the building of the former *Kod crnog orla* (Black Eagle) tavern, on the corner of present-day Cara Dušana and Kapetan Mišina Streets, which was demolished in the 1950s.⁴⁷

The most representative and by all means the largest Baroque edifice in Austrian Belgrade was Alexander's Barracks (also called Württemberg's Palace), erected in the area of the former Turkish cemetery, between present-day Zmaj Jovina Street and Republic Square. All four façades of this monumental two-storey

⁴⁵ Ibid., List Nos. 1113–1121, pp. 112–282.

⁴⁶ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Најстарија сачувана кућа у Београду*, 27–40.

⁴⁷ Павловић, *Једна од најстаријих очуваних грађевина у Београду*, 273–278.

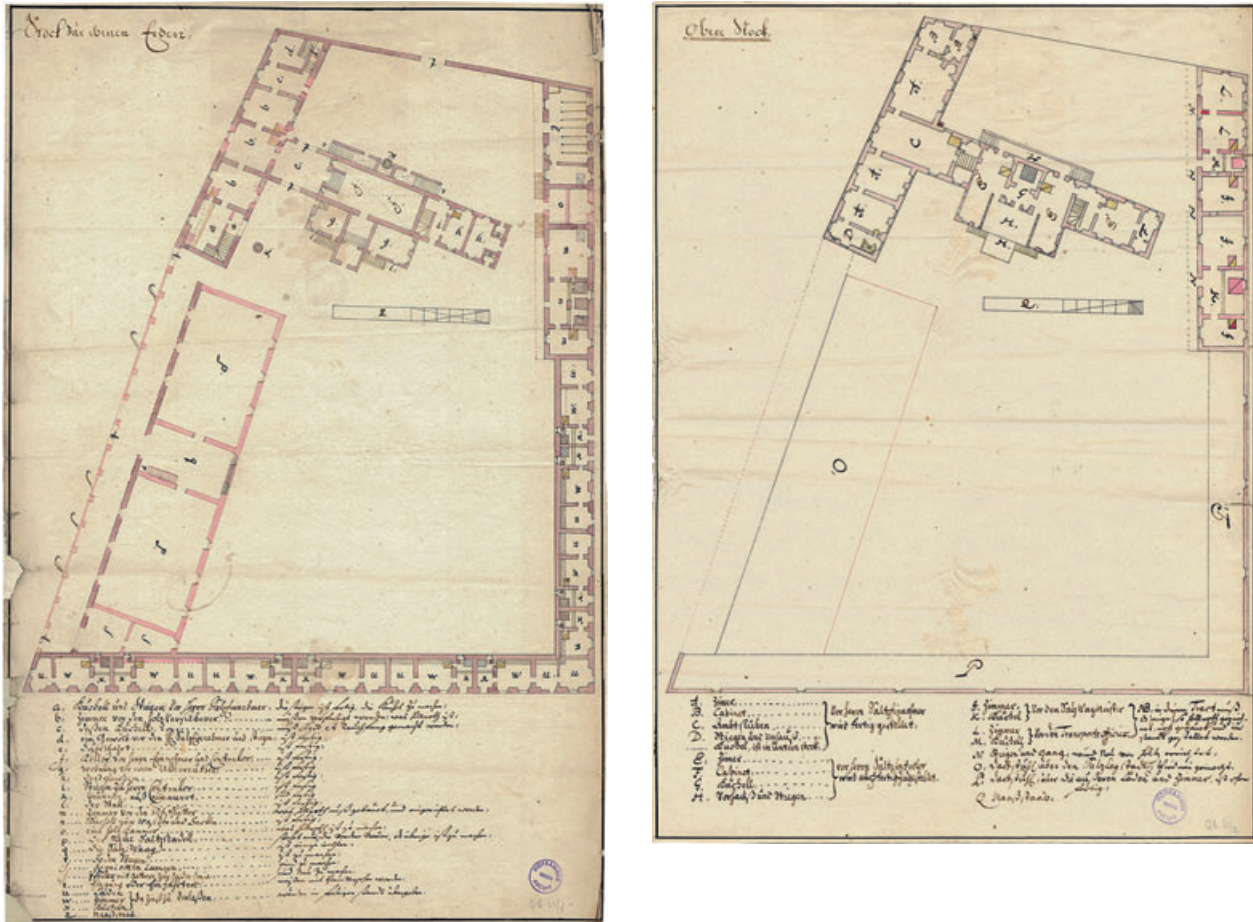


Fig. 23. Main Salt Storehouse in the Danube Quarter
(Financial and Court Chamber Archives, Vienna, sig. Q b 31/1-2)

edifice were fashioned in the spirit of the Baroque. Records show that it accommodated twelve infantry battalions and, from 1726, the court of Prince Charles Alexander as well. In front of the Palace was an empty lot that served for training and mustering troops.⁴⁸

Another big edifice was the Masons' Barracks, erected in 1727 for the accommodation of the engineering troops engaged in building fortifications. It was located at the end of the former Turkish cemetery on the fortress-facing side, in the immediate vicinity of the former *Musalla*. It had a rectangular floor plan with an

inner courtyard and, in all likelihood, it was a one-storey edifice. According to a property census taken soon after its completion, the building had fifty rooms and fifteen kitchens.⁴⁹

Some of the more important economic facilities in the Danube Quarter included the Imperial Chamber's Brewery (fig. 22) and the Main Salt Storehouse (fig. 23). The construction of the brewery started in 1724 in the area of the former Turkish cemetery. It spread over the entire area of the newly built block between present-day Jevrejska, Solunska, Braće Baruh, and Visokog Stevana Streets, whose

⁴⁸ Васић, *Барок у Београду*, 573–584.

⁴⁹ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 265; Васић, *Барок у Београду*, 576.

shape on the city plan has remained nearly unchanged to this day.⁵⁰ Its former appearance can be reconstructed in its entirety from the original plans, kept in the Austrian Court Chamber Archives.⁵¹ It was a one-level building made from solid materials. It had an irregular trapezoidal floor plan and an inner courtyard. A vaulted cellar ran almost the entire length of the building, and there was also a loft over the south wing.

Initially, several already existing buildings and a mosque housed the Imperial Salt Office and salt storehouse.⁵² A new salt storehouse was built in a new block opposite the Imperial Brewery, in a section of the Turkish cemetery.⁵³ In addition to single-level salt storehouses and auxiliary rooms, the inner courtyard featured a two-level building with flats for the concessionaire, controller, officer in charge of salt distribution, and gauger.⁵⁴

In addition to the designs for the buildings erected by 1739, there are also designs for buildings that were not built, but only some of them have been studied so far. The planned construction of a new parish church, on a plot located approximately on the corner of present-day Višnjićeva and Gospodar Jovanova Streets, was never undertaken. The same was the case with a new residence for the Roman Catholic bishop, which was to be built in the area of present-day Students' Square. It would have been a representative, two-storey edifice with decorative Baroque façades on the corner of two new streets.

Unlike the area on the Danube-facing slope, the one on the Sava-facing slope, with its majority Serb population, was almost entirely

demolished due to the construction of city fortifications.⁵⁵ Of the old buildings built from solid materials, only the Defterdar Mosque seems to have been spared and initially served as a storehouse,⁵⁶ only to be converted to a church at a later date and given to the Spaniards from the ranks of the imperial troops. The former Serbian Cathedral Church of Archangel Michael and the house that served as the seat of the Belgrade metropolitan were demolished as a consequence of the construction of the new bastioned traces. Only a few blocks of buildings, laid out on a grid street plan, featured in the project of the Baroque reconstruction of the area of the Sava-facing slope. The new ramparts enclosed only its smaller part, the one around the present-day Cathedral Church, referred to by the city Administration as *Raitzen Stadt* (Serbian Quarter), as opposed to the much larger *Deutsche Stadt* (German Quarter) on the Danube-facing slope.⁵⁷ Due to the massive demolition that included not only the metropolitan's residence, but also the old church, the only one the Serbs had in Belgrade, Metropolitan Mojselj (Mojsije) asked the Imperial War Council to designate a location for new buildings that would be erected to replace the demolished ones. Owing to this intervention, already in 1726 Nicolas Doxat produced a design for the new location of the cathedral church and metropolitan's residence. Following the design, the new church was built in the area of the former Serbian cemetery, not far from the site of the demolished church, on the same spot where the present-day Cathedral Church of Archangel Michael stands. A building site next

⁵⁰ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 235.

⁵¹ Hofkammerarchiv Wien (HKAŦ) sig. Ra 155, N47/1-3.

⁵² Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 199.

⁵³ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 235-237.

⁵⁴ Hofkammerarchiv Wien (HKAŦ) sig. Q b 31/1-2.

⁵⁵ Поповић М., *Прилоі ироучавању београдске Српске вароши*, 145-172.

⁵⁶ Ђурић-Замоло, *Београд као оријентална варош иод Турцима*, 31.

⁵⁷ Поповић Д., *Београд ире 200 іодина*, 68-70.

to the church was designated for the metropolitan's residence and a Serbian school.⁵⁸ Construction work started at once, but was done with great difficulty due to the limited funds at the disposal of the Church and scanty voluntary contributions made by believers. It was only after more than ten years of intermittent construction work that most of this sacral complex, the spiritual centre of the Serbs in the territory of the Austrian *Kingdom of Serbia*, was completed.

Suburbs

The work on the fortifications surrounding the two quarters and the reconstruction of their urban structure resulted in the resettlement of a large section of their populations, which had not left Belgrade after the establishment of Austrian rule. The issue of the resettlement of these people and providing accommodation for some of the colonists that had arrived from Habsburg lands necessitated the formation of suburban settlements not far from the outer line of fortifications.

A special suburb outside the fortifications, known as *Raitzen Vorstadt* (Serbian Suburb), or Lower Serbian Quarter, was created for the Serbs who had to move out of their houses on the Sava-facing slope and for some of the inhabitants of the German Quarter who had moved out.⁵⁹ Plans for the new suburb were produced in 1723 or 1724, when people started settling there. The process of resettlement was nearly completed by 1726. A telling fact is that already in June 1725 the newly settled inhabitants asked for permission to build a new church, which means that this new part of the Serbian Quarter had already been well populated.⁶⁰

The Lower Serbian Quarter was situated on the Sava-facing slopes between present-day Kralja Milana, Sarajevska, and Vojvode Milenka Streets. This new quarter was laid out on a grid pattern. Two main streets constituted its chief coordinates, one parallel to the bank of the Sava, coinciding with present-day Sarajevska and Balkanska Streets, and the other with present-day Nemanjina Street. The centre of the quarter with a square and a church was situated near the corner of present-day Nemanjina and Balkanska Streets, that is, it occupied the largest section of the present-day park in Hajduk Veljkov Venac Street. From there, the New Serbian Quarter stretched to present-day Cvetni Square. Its main links with the fortified part of the city were Würtemberg's, or Constantinople Gate and the Šabac Gate on the bank of the Sava.

There is no detailed information on the internal structure of this Belgrade suburb. It can be assumed that it was built as a typical unfortified colonial settlement, much like the ones built in Vojvodina in the eighteenth century. In addition to residential buildings constituting urban blocks, the main square featured a church, a school and one or two drinking fountains.⁶¹ It was surrounded by vegetable gardens and vineyards and was open for further expansion. The blocks comprised houses standing on fenced land lots. It may be assumed that most of the houses had only the ground floor and gable or tented roofs. It is not known what the bazaar, which must have been situated next to the main square, looked like.

There is more information on the church and the school next to it. According to the preserved documents, at the time of the construction of the metropolitan's residence, a new church, dedicated to St. John the Forerunner

⁵⁸ Поповић М., *Кайија цара Карла VI у Београду*, 157.

⁵⁹ Шкаламера, *Београдска Нова доња варош*, 53–75.

⁶⁰ Поповић М., *Прилоі йроучавању београдске Српске вароши*, 152.

⁶¹ Шкаламера, *Београдска Нова доња варош*, 62–63.



Fig. 24. Georgije Stojanović, St. John the Forerunner, icon from the church in the Lower Serbian Quarter, 1738 (City Museum of Novi Sad)

(fig. 24), was built in the Lower Serbian Quarter. As early as June 1725, the residents of the new Serbian suburb asked the Imperial War Council for permission to build a new church. The request was quickly granted, as evident from a report Colonel Doxat sent to Vienna in July 1726, wherein he states that ‘the construction of the Serbian church has begun.’⁶² The new church was an elongated, single-nave structure, with a rectangular floor plan and a semi-circular altar apse. Judging by its repre-

sentation on the surviving plans, it was about 30 metres long and around 14 metres wide. It was a post and petrail structure on stone foundations, covered with wood shingle. Its construction seems to have taken a long time, as it was completed only as late as 1734.⁶³ It featured an iconostasis, painted by Georgije Stojanović, a resident of the Lower Quarter, from January to May of 1737.⁶⁴

The school was situated in a corner of the churchyard, at the intersection of the main

⁶² Н. К. Р. 1726, Јули 502. Р. Ехр., quoted from Стефановић Вилковски, *Београд, 1717–1739*. This piece of information was wrongly interpreted by some scholars as referring to the construction of the new Cathedral Church, see Шкаламера, *Београдска Нова доња варош*, 55.

⁶³ Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 146–156; Шкаламера, *Београдска Нова доња варош*, 63–64.

⁶⁴ Голубовић, *Георгије Стојановић*, 11–13.

streets, and, together with the church, represented the spiritual centre of the Lower Serbian Quarter. According to available data, the school was a single-level, whitewashed wattle and daub building on wooden foundations.⁶⁵ It featured a hearth room, built with stone and bricks, and glazed windows with shutters.

The other Belgrade suburb outside city fortifications, *Carls Thall*, was built in the area of present-day Palilula and was much smaller than the Lower Serbian Quarter. According to Doxat's design, it was to have six large basic blocks of houses along a broad main street, approximately on the route of present-day Kraljice Marije Streets. It was actually a thoroughfare that coincided with an old route of communication that ran from the Long Bazaar through the newly constructed Imperial Gate parallel to the Constantinople Road (present-day Kralja Aleksandra Boulevard), which it joined at a later point. This new suburb, on the gentle Danube-facing slope, was intended for settlers coming from German lands. Little is known about the structure of the suburb. It may be assumed that, the same as the New Serbian Quarter, it was a colonial-type settlement with single-level houses surrounded by vegetable gardens.

According to the projects for the Baroque reconstruction of the city, the approach to the fortified quarters along the old Constantinople Road on the plateau of the Belgrade promontory was to be left undeveloped. The old urban structure that had remained outside the fortifications seems to have been pulled down in its entirety, with the exception of the monumental Eynehan Bey Mosque, later known as Battal Mosque, situated on the Constantinople Road, not far from the present-day building of the National Assembly. Being an edifice made from solid materials, it was used during Austrian rule as a storehouse for military uniforms.⁶⁶

Not far from this mosque, in present-day Terazije Street, close to the Old Palace, (Stari dvor) was the solitary building of the military hospital. It was recorded that it was a beautiful building, which had a square floor plan and protruding corner overhangs, next to which was a spacious courtyard with three smaller buildings. It had two levels and a large number of rooms.⁶⁷

General assessment of the Baroque reconstruction of the city

The original intention of Prince Eugene of Savoy to turn Belgrade into a fortified Baroque city, embodied in the design of Colonel Doxat, was not entirely materialized by the end of Austrian rule. It is, therefore, difficult to talk about the importance and place of Belgrade in comparison to fortified strongholds and cities of Europe at the time. Had the designed fortifications been completed, Belgrade could have been ranked among the best fortified European cities of the time. Nevertheless, at the time of the Turkish siege of 1739, Belgrade had the best military fortifications in south-eastern Europe. This was particularly true of the fortifications of the Belgrade Fortress, which were the only ones completed in their entirety according to the design of Colonel Nicolas Doxat de Morez. A scrutiny of its fortifications following the completion of the work in 1736 clearly reveals harmony between the old and newly built sections, interconnected into a single defensive system that had perfectly utilised the advantages of the terrain. As such, the Belgrade Fortress was a very successful example of the application of Vauban's fortification methods and it may be said without any hesitation that it represented a significant achievement in the development of European

⁶⁵ Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 151.

⁶⁶ Ђурић-Замоло, *Београд као оријентална варош под Турцима*, 28–30.

⁶⁷ Васић, *Барок у Београду*, 582.

fortifications at the time.⁶⁸ Compared to its development in previous epochs, in this period the Belgrade Fortress grew to its largest size ever and was at its peak with respect to its defences, never to be repeated in subsequent times. Even without outworks, the fortifications around the two quarters, of which only the main bastioned trace with ravelins was completed before the beginning of the Turkish siege, could have served its purpose efficiently, but not to the same extent as envisioned in the design of the project.⁶⁹

As regards the extent of the reconstruction of the urban tissue of the two quarters, which involved a grid street layout and construction of new buildings, it is still difficult to offer full answers to this question. Our knowledge is mostly based on a large number of city plans from 1739 and a small number of published documents, all from the Vienna War Archives. The massive unresearched material held by the institution will be the source of new information on the unfinished transformation of Belgrade into a fortified Baroque city. The new urban typology, materialised only in part, totally supplanted the one that preceded it, thus taking a step towards Western civilization and Christianity's dominance over Islam. This change of culture, reflected in the structure of the city, has been a general characteristic and peculiarity of the urban development of Belgrade, whose geographical location has imposed on it a medial role in the European cultural space.⁷⁰

Turkish siege of 1739

The new Austro – Turkish war, which broke out in mid-1737, arrived at Belgrade's ramparts in the summer of 1739. After Austria's defeat

at the Battle of Grocka, the Turks laid siege to the city and set up two siege lines by early August. They started bombarding the city from these positions, but, due to the inefficiency of Turkish artillery, some damage was inflicted only on the Bastion of St. Elizabeth, which was part of the fortifications enclosing the two quarters.⁷¹

Because of their earlier failures and the defeat in the immediate vicinity of Belgrade, Austrian military commanders became dispirited. As they no longer believed Belgrade could be defended, they started negotiating truce with the Turks and concluded it on September 1, 1739. According to the truce accord, Austria had to surrender Belgrade, with the proviso that all the fortifications built after 1717 be demolished. The old fortifications of the Belgrade Fortress, barracks, arsenals, gunpowder magazines, and all public and private buildings in the city had to be returned to the Turks undamaged. It was also agreed that the unfinished outworks on the left bank of the Sava be demolished as well. The bastioned trace around the two quarters was to be demolished within three months and the new fortifications of the Belgrade fortress within six months. After the completion of the demolition work, a peace treaty was signed in early June of 1740, and the Turks once again took possession of Belgrade. Thus, Belgrade was surrendered almost without a fight, a city that had for twenty years been fortified and developed with huge efforts in order to become the Habsburg Monarchy's main stronghold in its eastward expansion and Christian Europe's main bulwark against Islam.⁷²

Before the Turks returned to Belgrade, almost all its inhabitants had left the city with their movable property. The property of the

⁶⁸ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање), 176, н. 139.

⁶⁹ Idem, *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 247–248.

⁷⁰ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Најстарија сачувана кућа у Београду*, 28–29.

⁷¹ Information found in plan KAW. Sig. H III d 1416.

⁷² Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 248–250.

Belgrade Metropolitanate was evacuated to the territories north of the Sava and the Danube together with most of the Christian Orthodox population. All the icons from the new iconostasis of the Lower Quarter Church of St. John were also transferred there.⁷³ The re-establishment of Ottoman rule was accompanied by the demolition of newly built structures, as provided in the peace treaty, but that was not all. Unlike the fortress, where all the existing buildings were spared, as they were needed to accommodate troops, nearly all new buildings in the outer city were pulled down because they did not meet Turkish needs. Among the first big buildings to be razed to the ground were Alexander's Barracks (Palace) and the Metropolitan's Residence, whereas the new Cathedral Church, which was probably despoiled, was spared. The church in the deserted Lower Serbian Quarter was converted into a mosque.

The demolition of the Baroque edifices and urban structure shaped during the previous two decades of Austrian rule, which had greatly changed the appearance of Belgrade, should be understood not only as a form of revenge on the

defeated Christians, but also as an intention to restore the city's former Oriental character. The traces of the incomplete attempt of transforming Belgrade into a fortified Baroque city can hardly be observed in its present-day urban structure. In addition to the Belgrade Fortress, which indirectly testifies to this ambitious undertaking, the only surviving traces are recognisable in the routes of some of the present-day streets. The location of the former fortifications enclosing the outer city is partly reflected in the routes of present-day Kosančićev Venac, Topličin Venac and Obilićev Venac Streets, as well as the plot of the Church of St. Alexander Nevsky, which totally mirrors the shape of the ravelin in front of the Imperial, later Vidin, Gate, whereas the network of the main Baroque Belgrade's thoroughfares is attested by the routes of present-day Cara Dušana and Kralja Petra Streets. Even though it has survived only in traces, the legacy of Baroque Belgrade was used as a model for the construction of the new Serbian city after the departure of the Turks in mid-nineteenth century, when a step towards adopting European urban planning practices of the time was taken.⁷⁴

⁷³ Three icons from the iconostasis have been preserved in Novi Sad: two in the Matica Srpska Gallery and one in the Novi Sad City Museum.

⁷⁴ Јосимовић, *Објашњење предлога за реулисање овој дела вароши Београда*; Максимовић, *Реконструкција и проширење града*, 307–312.



VLADIMIR SIMIĆ

The Spectacle on Paper and the Baroque Theatre of War: the Conquest of Belgrade 1717

Baroque theatricalism and imagery of war

Baroque art cultivated scenes of the events of war through the metaphor of theatre, in a manner similar to the way the Catholic Reformation was conveyed in religious art under the Jesuit influence.¹ The expressions *Theatrum belli* or *Kriegstheater*, which often appeared on graphic prints and on the title pages of books, referred to the different aspects of military activities: to the sites of great battles and sieges of cities, to the heroic deeds of famous figures and moments of the greatest triumphs and tragic defeats. The absolutist rulers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries experienced waging war as a game which took place on a battle or playing field, where certain pre-determined rules prevailed like in every game.² *Theatrum belli*

was the reflection of the Baroque method of systematising and presenting knowledge, and the setting always had a dual aspect – the stage of a real conflict and a theatre play.³ Anyhow, battles and sieges already inherently contained a theatrical note that was particularly evident when they were depicted in oil paintings or in graphic prints. These scenes already had the form of theatre staging in which the battlefields were turned into stage settings, the soldiers into the actors, while the defeat acquired the elements of classical tragedy. The horrific savagery of war and death was elevated to the level of a clear, established choreography, and thus became the general ethical model, in the way it had already been elaborated in literature in earlier centuries.⁴ For the court elite, who started and ended wars at will, the likening of

* The paper is the result of work on the project *Representations of Identity in Art and the Verbal and Visual Culture of the Modern Age*, No. 177001.

¹ Muller, *Jesuit Uses of Art*, 113–129; Knaap, *Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric*, 161–178.

² Füßel, *Der Krieg*, 207; a good cross-section of military literature from the Baroque period with all the above mentioned elements is given in Sloos, *Warfare and the Age of Printing*, 274–369.

³ Füßel, *Der Krieg*, 215; Danelzik-Brüggemann, *Ereignisse und Bilder*, 173–179.

⁴ McLoughlin, *Authoring War*, 78–82; Meecham-Jones, 'He In Salte Teres Dreynte', 80–84.

war to theatre was the logical form and continuation of the aristocratic representation that existed in every segment of public life. Accordingly, the main guidelines of eighteenth century war aesthetics were geometry and clarity, which was better revealed in visual representations.⁵

One could already notice the connecting of geographic spaces and the theatre from the mid-seventeenth century in the numerous publications that expressed this relationship even in the title. In contrast to 'war theatre', there were events that were metaphorically described as 'theatre of peace' (*Friedenstheater, Theatrum pacis*).⁶ Those spaces portrayed by painters and engravers were transformed into a Baroque stage design against a background in which the soldier-actors performed their theatrical and highly stylised spectacle of war. The link between affectation on the stage and the bodily rhetoric with which the soldiers in the picture expressed the emotional drama prompted by the horrors of the battlefield were more than obvious.⁷ The theatricalisation of war reflected the cultural beliefs of the upper class Baroque man, who saw himself and his place in the world through artificial and aestheticised principles. For this he used the language which the seventeenth and eighteenth century public already knew well from the theatre.

As sieges were the most frequent ways of waging war, by the second half of the seventeenth century, pictures of cities became the primary theatres of war. Given the high cost of fighting wars, as a rule only cities of strategic importance were subjected to lengthy sieges because movement in a certain region could be controlled from them or they offered booty that would compensate the costs of the siege.

The plans of the besieged cities in the form of full panoramas or map projections from an aerial view were most often done by engineers, who were in the military units and indispensable during sieges. The preparations for laying siege to a city required the making of numerous topographic charts, plans and panoramic views and after the triumph of conquest, artists added numerous visual effects in order to report the events or celebrate military victories. In any case, the multitude of scenes of this kind suited the public's desire for ever more up-to-date news about current events.⁸ Nor was the propaganda aspect of these prints negligible, especially in the context of the relations of the Habsburgs, the Austrian ruling house, and the pre-modern public, whose needs were created by the palace elite and the sovereign, about which Ana Milošević has already given a thorough account.⁹

Even though they appeared in different mediums, the most widespread way of illustrating sieges was by making prints from engraved copperplates, mostly because of the low cost of producing them. This kind of copperplate engraving gave the observer a double advantage: besides information on the strategy of waging war, they offered the satisfaction of watching terrible events from a safe distance, rather like present-day television reports about military conflicts and natural disasters. In this remote way, the scenes of war and siege, transformed into a paper spectacle teetering on a line between reality and fantasy, aroused intense feelings among observers.¹⁰ That is why engravers had the multiple task of highlighting and celebrating the location (city), representing the military operation, the struggle between

⁵ Füssel, *Der Krieg*, 216–217; Mérot, *Der Held in der französischen Malerei*, 30–38.

⁶ Милошевић, *Пожаревачки мир 1718*, 43–57.

⁷ As Marian Füssel showed, the ideological connection of scenes of war and the Baroque stage were an innovation of the Baroque era, which had already entered the framework of court representation by around the year 1700, and also popular literature and war reports intended for a broader circle of subjects. Füssel, *Der Krieg*, 205–206; Wolff, *The Singing Turk*, 313–315.

⁸ Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, 109–110.

⁹ Milošević, *Propagandna kampanja bečkog dvora*, 102–104.

¹⁰ Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, 110–111.

the opposing troops, and the turmoil created by the artillery. For the same reason the besieged city was frequently placed in a broad panoramic landscape, combined with a military topographic plan. The Swiss engraver, Matthäus Merian, and his followers, became particularly well-known for this type of scene with the big publishing venture *Theatrum Europaeum*, which came out from 1630 to 1738. In it the landscape featured as the ‘theatre of war’, and the city was his ‘theatre stage’.¹¹

Belgrade as the stage

The scenography for the game of war was swiftly laid out on a number of graphic prints that depicted Belgrade either as a Turkish or medieval city.¹² As it has already been remarked, the panoramic views of Belgrade resembled each other very closely because they were copies of earlier representations, or were based on identical written and visual sources. This raised a problem for researchers who were looking for ‘an authentic record’ and ‘historical credibility’.¹³ This was the copperplate engraving with the Belgrade panorama drawn by Georg Andreas Wolfgang der Ältere (1655–1716), and engraved by Johann Andreas Thelott (1655–1735). The print was featured in the book *Neueröffneten Ottomanischen Pforten Fortsetzung* that Paul Rycaut published in Augsburg in the year 1700. In it he showed a typical, large medieval city with a fortress and a well-planned suburb with beautiful, big buildings, a clear structure and straight streets, decorated with Gothic towers and belfries, located on the banks of wide, calmly flowing rivers. In the cartouche above, depicting the head of a Turk wearing a turban, and on the sides, bows and quivers containing

arrows, he called it *Belgrad* or *Griechisch Weisseburg*.¹⁴ An equally well-executed scenography shows the panorama of Belgrade from 1717, done by Heinrich Jonas Ostertag, under the heading, *Belgrad. Wie es Landwerts, nebst denen beederseits flüssenden Haut: Ströhmen der Donau und Sau siehet*. It was used as an illustration in the book *Hungarisches Kriegstheatrum*, published by Johann Jacob Lotter.¹⁵

Still, the best impression of Belgrade as the scenography for the events that unfolded before him was achieved in the copperplate engraving, entitled *Bellogradum VI Capitur*, which was done by the Augsburg engraver Gabriel Bodenehr der Ältere, 1673–1765) (fig. 25). Even though it looks like a customary representation of that type, it nevertheless had specific features. In the lower part Bodenehr depicted a panorama of Belgrade (*Belgrad oder Griechisch Weissenburg*) from the northern side, including a picture of the Lower Town, as well as the suburb, and also both banks of the rivers on which the city lies. Beneath is a lengthy passage explaining that the depicted city was called *Alba Graeca* in Latin or *Nandor Alba* in Hungarian, and that it was a beautiful and famous city that even Pliny, the Roman writer, mentioned. Part of the city and the fortress of this great, fortified and populous place in Serbia, that lies on the Sava and Danube rivers, is situated on a plateau, Bodenehr goes on to say. ‘In front of the city is a spacious suburb with a large number of houses where many nations live, such as Turks, Jews, Greeks, Magyars, Dalmatians and many others. The fortress has many tall towers on the side opposite the river. This former bulwark of Christianity, for a long time withstood the Turks – the ancestral enemies of the Habsburgs, and it held out especially under the leadership of the renowned János Hunyadi.

¹¹ Ibid., 132–133; Parshall, *Prints as Objects of Consumption*, 27–32.

¹² Васић, *Барок у Београду 1971*, 148–160.

¹³ Milošević, *Propagandna kampanja bečkog dvora*, 105–106.

¹⁴ Томић, *Бреј за размишљање*, Т. 32. The description of the Turks and their culture in Europe through theatre and opera works is analysed in Wolff, *The Singing Turk*, 1–11.

¹⁵ Томић, *Бреј за размишљање*, Т. 37.



Fig. 25. Gabriel Bodenehr der Ältere, Panorama of Belgrade (*Bellogradum VI Capitur*), copperplate engraving, Augsburg 1717
(Belgrade City Museum, sig. I₁ 239)

It was not until the year 1521, when Sultan Suleiman conquered it, that it fell into the hands of heathens. But, in 1688, Prince Elector Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria retrieved it after a heavy siege. Alas, in the year 1690, it was lost once again, the text concludes.¹⁶ However, from the viewpoint of the portrayal of Belgrade as a stage, the upper section of the picture is considerably more interesting. Namely, Bode-

nehr depicted four naked winged children (*putti*) theatrically raising a curtain, revealing the panorama of Belgrade as a stage setting for the epic play of war, heralded by means of the symbols of war and figures in a medallion. In it, decorated with a ribbon and laurel wreaths that cherubs hold in their hands together with palm sprays and olive branches as symbols of the peace that was reached, is an image of some

¹⁶ Ibid., T. 41. For more on the Turks as ancestral enemies in the propaganda of the Vienna Court, see Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde*, 188–216.

ancient hero. Perhaps Heracles or Achilles. While a little *putti* is extending two medallions with emblems to him, with his left hand he raises a smaller medallion framed in oak leaves, in which the text announces that Belgrade is captured – *Bellogradum VI Capitur*.

The siege and conquest of the city 1717

The events that turned Belgrade into a theatre of war played out rather rapidly and thus the war that broke out between Turkey and Venice in 1714 very soon also drew Austria into the military conflict. During April, 1716 Austria and the Venetian Republic formed an alliance and by August 5th, Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated the Turkish army at Petrovaradin, and then seized Timișoara, Pančevo and Nova Palanka by the end of the year. The following year, he set out for Belgrade with 140,000 troops and, having crossed the Danube from June 15th to June 17th, arrived from the south-eastern side, and thus besieged the city, using the element of surprise. Besides the multitude of boats and barges from the direction of the river, the city was under threat from ten Austrian warships manned with 370 guns, while there were 30,000 Turkish troops and 70 different vessels on the river, defending it.¹⁷

Even though the clashes already began on August 1st, as soon as the main body of the Turkish army under the command of Halil Pasha had arrived, parts of the city and the fortress were severely damaged in the next few days. Nevertheless, the decisive battle took place on August 16th, when a counter-attack by the Turkish cavalry slightly undermined the Austrian troops. Prince Eugene of Savoy immediately came out at the head of the army, engag-

ing the enemy troops from their flank, and scored the victory. The Turks had lost 13,000 soldiers, killed on the battlefield, while 5,000 were taken prisoner, whereas the imperial troops suffered fewer casualties – less than 2,000 dead and 3,412 wounded. By August 18th, the remainder of the forces manning the Belgrade fortress had surrendered; Mustafa Pasha signed the capitulation and handed over the city to the victor. A peace treaty was signed between the warring countries in Požarevac, on July 21st, 1718, according to which Austria acquired Banat, Lower Syrmia, northern Serbia to the Western Morava, the narrow belt of Bosnia along the River Sava and Little Wallachia. A new administrative unit was formed with its seat in Belgrade – the Kingdom of Serbia – which would last right until 1739 and the renewal of Turkish authority.¹⁸

The Austrian conquest of Belgrade reverberated throughout Europe, awakening the hope of driving the Turks out of the Balkans into Asia, soon. Hence, the appearance of a large number of copperplate engravings depicting scenes of the battle for Belgrade, and one of these was made in Augsburg in 1717 by Gottfried Rogg (fig. 26).¹⁹ It illustrates the moment of the Austrian cavalry's attack on the Turkish artillery and the desperate but fruitless resistance of the Turkish cavalry. The emphasis in the foreground is on the struggle between the Austrian commander, probably Eugene of Savoy, and a pasha, proof of which is the horse's tail attached to the lance. This epic moment in the duel between the two military leaders, recaptures in a romantic manner the long forgotten tradition of epic heroism. Serving as the background and scenography for this event is the panorama of a fortified Belgrade surrounded from the south with a circumvallation, with

¹⁷ Веселиновић, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије*, 523–524; idem, *Србија под аустријском влашћу*, 107–111.

¹⁸ Idem, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије*, 525–527; Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 11–31.

¹⁹ A detailed title is given on the unfolded scroll in the upper part of the print and reads: *Abbildung der ganze Niederlage der Türkische Haupt Armee welche Selbige am 16. August 1717. bey tentiertem Entsatz von Belgrad unter dieser Vestung von den Keys. Waffen erlitten*. The print was published in the book by Caspar Brechenmacher, *Glück und Unglücksfälle der in dem Königreich Servien gelegenen Haupt Vestung Belgrad oder Griechisch Weissenburg*, Augsburg, 1717. Томић, *Бреј за размишљање*, Т. 56.



Fig. 26. Gottfried Rogg, Scene of the Siege of Belgrade, August 16, 1717, copperplate engraving, Augsburg 1717 (Belgrade City Museum, sig. I, 3171)

Austrian and Turkish troops and batteries in their positions. The city across the Sava River is being bombarded by artillery, destroying and setting it on fire, from which smoke is billowing high above it. All the important elements in the picture, such as the fortified city, the bridge on the Sava, the positions of the Austrian and Turkish river fleets, the infantry and cavalry, are marked with letters and in the form of inscriptions explained at the bottom of the graphic print.

The copperplate engraving composed in a similar manner by Benjamin Kenckel, and published by Johann David Gerhard in 1717, also depicted a scene of the battle for Belgrade on August 16th 1717 (fig. 27). A rather long explanation tells how the event itself unfolded, and the meaning of the creation of the work:

‘A representation of the magnificent victory of his imperial-royal majesty Charles VI against the ancestral enemy, under the courageous and heroic leadership of Prince Eugene of Savoy on August 16th, followed by the capture of the very important Fortress of Belgrade on August 18th 1717.’²⁰ As usual, letters and numbers marked the essential locations and events in the picture, while the key with the explanations was listed along the right-hand margin of the print. Compared to the previous example, this print is of somewhat larger dimensions, making it possible to reduce the size of the scenes and introduce a larger number of figures. In the foreground is the scene of a Turkish camp, which Austrian cavalymen attacked and captured. It abounds in scenes of fighting, both frontal and individual. Kenckel illustrates the

²⁰ ‘Vorstellung des Herrlichen Sieges Ihro Röm. Kay. und König. Cathol. May. CAROLI VI. wider den Erbfeind die Türcken ohnweith Belgrad, unter Tapfer u. Heldenmüthiger anführung Ihro Hochfürst. Durch. Printz EVGENII von Savoyen & den 16. Aug. sambt gleich darauf erfolgten Ubergab bemelter importanten Vestung BELGRAD. den 18dito Anno 1717.’ Ibid., T. 57.



Fig. 27. Benjamin Kenckel, Scene of the Battle of Belgrade, August 16, 1717, copperplate engraving, Frankfurt am Main 1717 (Belgrade City Museum, sig. I, 3170)

heroic acts of the Christian soldiers, stressing their sacrifice and loyalty to the interests of their ruler as the highest form of Christian patriotism.²¹ In the lower left corner, a Christian soldier is driving his spear through a Turkish drummer. In the middle, two soldiers are fighting over a flag, while in the right-hand corner is a Turkish horseman fleeing the battlefield. A duel between a Turk with a sabre and an Austrian soldier with a pistol, is a hint at who the victor will be in the war. Several dead horses are lying dead on the ground, and a detail in which a soldier is stroking the head of his dying horse adds a lyrical note.²² The battlefield between the camps and the besieged

city in the distance, offer a schematic display of the military regiments positioning themselves according to the strategies and rules of warfare at the time. Viewed from the southern side, Belgrade and its suburbs and the river curving round it, rise from the smoke caused by the Austrian bombardment. This perspective of the battle is complemented by a topographic plan on a map opening in the left-hand upper section of the composition. It shows the position of the city with the fortifications defending it, the circumvallation and contravallation lines, the positioning of the military units and the movement of the warships on the Sava and Danube rivers.

²¹ Disselkamp, *Barockheroismus*, 24–54.

²² Füssel, *Der inszenierte Tod*, 127–135.



Fig. 28. Unknown copperplate engraver, Scene of Belgrade Under Siege, 1717, copperplate engraving, 1717 (Belgrade City Museum, sig. I, 409)

There are also a number of graphic prints from 1717, showing the city from the northern side under a full scale attack from the river. There are several of these examples kept in the Belgrade City Museum, under the headings *Belagerung von Belgrad* (I₁ 409), *Belagerung und Eroberung Belgrad* (I₁ 278), *Prospect der Vestung Belgrad* (I₁ 410) (fig. 28). They depict the Austrian army's artillery attack on the city from the direction of Zemun and Banat. Sheltered in the trenches, the Austrian soldiers mercilessly fired projectiles from the big cannon for demolishing defence walls, specially brought from Buda. The city, which occupied a prominent place on all of them, thereby stressing its enormous significance, was heavily bombarded and was often impossible to see due to the

thick smoke from the burning houses and the cannon balls that kept raining in from all sides. The illustrator did not even overlook the big battles fought on the rivers, adding ships, yachts and boats that had been set on fire.

Actors and heroes

On the wide panoramas of Belgrade, generalised and imaginary to a large extent, the Baroque theatre of war celebrated its greatest heroes – Prince Eugene of Savoy and the emperor, Charles VI.²³ As a renowned warrior, the Prince of Savoy admired the Serbian soldiers because he had fought together with them against the Turks. And he was usually the first person the

²³ Милошевић, *Владарске врлине Карла VI*, 183–185; Gutkas, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*, 5–32.



Fig. 29. Unknown copperplate engraver, Portrait of Eugene of Savoy as a Military Commander, from the book *Eugenius nummis illustratus. Leben und Thaten des Großen und Siegreichen Printzen Eugenii*, copperplate engraving, Nuremberg 1738

(University Library ‘Svetozar Marković’, sig. TR1 138)

Fig. 30. Portrait of Emperor Carl VI, copperplate frontispiece of the book: *Augusta quinque Carolorum historia augustissimo, invictissimo, maximo imperatori Carolo VI*, Vienna 1735

(University Library ‘Svetozar Marković’, sig. TR 3111)

Serbian deputations visited when they came to the Court in Vienna because he was known to be well-disposed to the Serbs. Usually, on behalf of the people and clergy, the emissaries thanked him ‘for his continual fatherly love and aid and recommended themselves to his further protection’, expressing their readiness

to lay down their lives, shed their blood and sacrifice all they possessed for his help. The prince acknowledged and stressed the great services the Serbian people had performed for the emperor, and he declared that he would always uphold their cause as much as possible.²⁴ This was reflected in the presence of his

²⁴ The deputation is known on one occasion to have presented as a gift, an icon of the Mother of God, mounted in silver, a cross from the Holy Mount and ‘Божји гроб’ (The Tomb of God) (probably a graphic print depicting Christ’s sepulchre). Поповић Д., *Срби у Војводини*, 370–371.

portraits among the Serbs in southern Hungary, where they could be seen in private households, and in the public and ceremonial rooms of monasteries such as the one in Krušedol.²⁵ It was not uncommon for them to be mostly printed portraits, produced for books written about the exploits of the great military commander.²⁶ On one such portrait, which appeared as the frontispiece to the book *Eugenius nummis illustratus: Leben und Thaten des Grosen und Siegreichen Printzen Eugenii*, published in Nuremberg in 1736, the Prince of Savoy was portrayed as a military leader, in a three-quarter pose, his right hand extended in a classic imperial gesture of the kind seen in sculpture since Antiquity (fig. 29). Confirming his status is the commander's baton in his left hand that rests on the iron helmet on a table. On his breast is the Order of the Golden Fleece, the highest Habsburg decoration. Over his armour is a luxurious cloak, and a modern wig is on his head, clearly demonstrating his refined aristocratic taste. The signature beneath the portrait identifies him as the military commander – *Eugenius Imperator Exercitus*.²⁷

He is represented in numerous battle scenes where he played the main role, such as the print of the copperplate engraving showing the Battle of Belgrade published in the book *Histoire militaire du prince Eugène de Savoie, du prince et duc de Marlborough, et du prince de Nassau-Frise*, compiled in 1729 by Jean Rousset de Missy (fig. 30).²⁸ The illustration was done by Jan van Huchtenburg, the well-known Amsterdam graphic artist, who signed his name in the lower right-hand corner. He composed this scene entitled *Vue et Representation de la Bataille de Belgrade donnee le 16 D'aoust 1717* on two

planes: the first showed the battle scene, while the second was the scenography or setting where the event took place, and it was a view of the besieged Belgrade and its surroundings, as seen from the southern side. The general turmoil with numerous figures in the foreground gives the picture an atmosphere of dynamism – the frightened horses, their riders colliding with each other, the wounded and dead soldiers. In their midst, towards the left, on a hill, is Eugene of Savoy in the iconography of a triumphant leader, his horse rearing on a dead Turkish soldier's shield marked with a crescent. His costume is like the one in the previous illustration, only here the accent is on military triumph.

If Eugene of Savoy was the subject of such public acclaim one can just imagine the amount of panegyric material dedicated to the person at the helm of the entire undertaking – Charles VI, the great emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.²⁹ Elaborate renaissance festivals and spectacles were very potent means in representing the Habsburgs even in the times of Charles V, and processions, triumphal arches and court festivals became the chief means of their imperial propaganda. Carefully directed and excellently stage managed, they introduced a new theatrical element in the imperial representation, which to a great extent had the effect of enriching the imperial rhetoric.³⁰ The image of a Christian monarch of the Catholic religion was dominant during the reign of both Leopold I and Charles VI, and the political representation of each of them, piety or festive public and private ceremonies were considered from the standpoint of a Catholic understanding of morals and doctrine.³¹ With the reign of Charles VI, who consistently followed the Baroque

²⁵ Тимотијевић, *Манастир Крушедол*, 132–135.

²⁶ The most famous group of pictures dedicated to the military triumphs of Eugene of Savoy were executed by the Flemish artist Jan van Huchtenburg, which were later engraved again and became very popular. Gutkas, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*, 213–216, 223–244.

²⁷ One specimen of the book with the portrait is kept in the Svetozar Miletić University Library under the signature TP1 138.

²⁸ De Missy, *Histoire militaire du prince*, 114.

²⁹ Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI*, 127–142; Vocelka, *Glanz und Untergang der höfischen Welt*, 154–162.

³⁰ Polleroß, *Zur Repräsentation der Habsburger*, 87–103; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2–30. Cf. Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor*, 39–40.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 191–211; Broucek, *Im Kampf gegen Franzosen und Türken*, 112–121.



Fig. 31. Jan van Huchtenburg, Representation and Display of the Battle of Belgrade, August 16, 1717, print of copperplate engraving from the book: *Histoire militaire du prince Eugène de Savoie, du prince et duc de Marlborough, et du prince de Nassau-Frise*, The Hague 1729, copperplate engraving (Belgrade City Museum, sig. I, 2862)

tradition of magnificent and luxurious festivals and ceremonies, the imperial culture experienced its zenith.³²

In armour or in uniform, on a ship or on horseback, he was portrayed as a military leader and celebrated as a *homo militans*. The portrait had already become the ruler's means of political communication with his ordinary subjects

even earlier. The propaganda mechanism, the role of which was to create and maintain the subjects' love of their ruler by celebrating his personality and glorifying his good rule, partly relied on the production of cheap visual material – mostly graphic copies of the ruler's portraits.³³ Based on official portraits that had the status of 'profane icons', they conveyed the idea

³² Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI*, 78–95; Atzmannstorfer et al. *Much of the same?*, 237–248.

³³ Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor*, 123–141; Schmoldt, *Die Nadelstiche des Kupferstechers*, 67–70; Hauenfels, *Visualisierung von Herrschaftsanspruch*, 106–125.

of a ruler as the father of the homeland and awakened dynastic patriotism among the subjects. The emperor was the embodiment of the state, and so the introduction of his portraits in the rooms of state institutions ensured his permanent symbolic presence.³⁴ The monarchical portrait had the power of a cultic image and so its representative function, of the kind icons had, was the reason why one encountered them more and more often in private households during the eighteenth century.³⁵ Such graphic prints were often a common feature in the rooms of houses belonging to the Serbian middle-class, and were mentioned as *figure* in contemporary wills and inventories. The expression of dynastic patriotism by keeping a portrait of the ruler had already grown among Serbs in the Monarchy during the first decades of the eighteenth century, when the rulers' portraits, symbols of devotion to the dynasty, were programmatically introduced both in public and private premises. Thus, in the inventory of the metropolitan's residence in Belgrade, drawn up on March 1st 1733, immediately after the death of Metropolitan Mojselj Petrović, it was noted that the portraits of the then reigning emperor Charles VI and his wife Empress Elisabeth Christina of Brunswick, as well as the portrait of the great military commander Eugene of Savoy, were in the green lounge (fig. 31).³⁶

The emperor's public image was inspired by and created on the ideas of Catholic Baroque culture, as testified by the graphic print from the Belgrade City Museum entitled *The Apotheosis of the Habsburg Victory at Belgrade in 1717* (sign. I₁ 195) (fig. 32).³⁷ It was published in Nuremberg in 1717 by the copperplate engraver Wolfgang Magnus Gebhard, and depicted the apotheosis of the emperor Charles VI with the multi-step marble pedestal of the monument on which there was his monogram in the

form of two interlocked letters 'C'. The crown of the Holy Roman Empire was on these initials so the whole emblem symbolically replaced the figure of the emperor. Near the initials on the pedestal, as in the lower zones, were small lanterns with imperial heraldic eagles that confirm the identity of the symbolically represented personage. The emperor's apotheosis was expressed in classical language, that is, in its symbolic exaltation and glorification.

Four narrative scenes, depicting scenes from the war between Austria and Turkey with appropriate inscriptions accompany this central symbolic representation. Their sequence is marked by numbers, and a broader textual explanation is given in the upper part of the graphic print. The first scene is on the side of the pedestal, showing the clash between the Austrian and Turkish cavalries and the conquest of Belgrade. The bodies of soldiers lying dead on the ground are evidence of the terrible scale of the war, where the foreground is occupied by a duel between two commanders, Austrian and Turkish, which in a romantic manner resurrects the lost tradition of knightly heroism. The picture that describes the defeat of the Turks is accompanied by the Latin inscription *TURCIS FUSIS XVI. AVG. MDCCXVII*, also described in German, above, at the top – *Die Türcken sind geschlagen. d. 16 Aug. A. 1717*. In another picture, to the left of this one, is the moment of capturing the enemy camp, when the Austrian troops penetrated among the tents of the Turkish nobility and forced them to flee. This is confirmed in the inscription *CASTRIS OCCUPATIS XVI. AVG. MDCCXVII* and clarified in German – *Ihr Lager heimgetragen den 16. August A. 1717*. To the right of the central picture is the portrayal of the surrender of Belgrade to the Austrians, with the Turks kneeling before the victors, handing over their

³⁴ On examples of portraits of the Habsburgs among the Serbs in the Karlovci Metropolitanate, see Симић, *За љубав оцацбине*, 185–187.

³⁵ The power in the political use of images, whether this concerned profane or sacral themes, has been known since Antiquity and used for various purposes. More about this in Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 1–26.

³⁶ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 126.

³⁷ Томић, *Бреј за размисљање*, Т. 73.

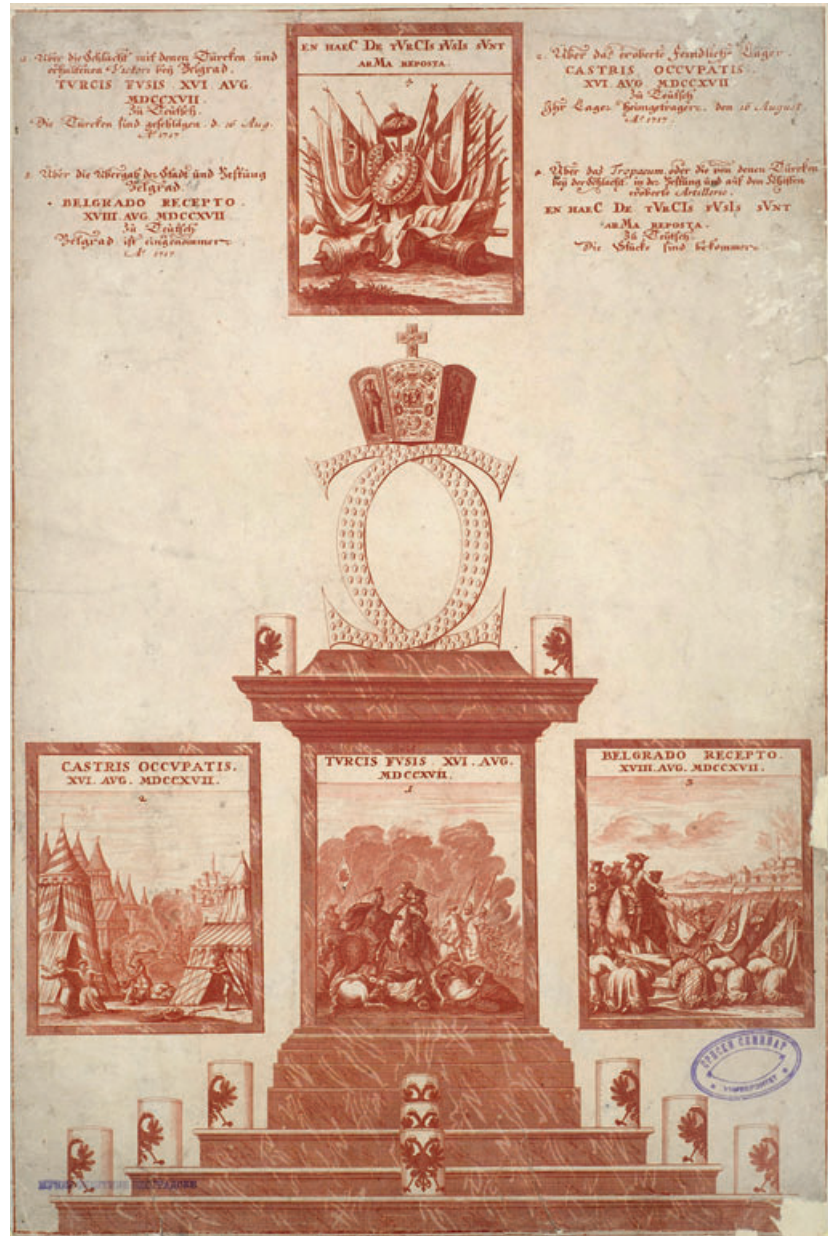


Fig. 32. Wolfgang Magnus Gebhard, *Apotheosis of the Habsburg Victory at Belgrade, 1717*, copperplate engraving, Nuremberg 1717 (Belgrade City Museum, sig. I, 195)

flags, and the city standing liberated in the background. The textual part – BELGRADO RECEPTO. XVIII. AVG. MDCCXVII and *Belgrad ist eingenommen A. 1717* – serve to explain the visual representation. The last scene is completely symbolic and depicts the trophies, that is, the weapons, flags and insignia taken from the defeated Turks. As the most visible form of Charles' triumph, this image is above the initials with the crown, in the middle of the

upper zone of the print. It is accompanied by the Latin inscription EN HAEC DE TVRCIS FUSIS SUNT ARMA REPOSTA, as well as by the German one *Die Stücke sind bekommen*. Characteristic of this print is that it is based on a figure that was frequent in Baroque monumental art, and that was 'a picture within a picture'.³⁸ Similar forms of emblematic representations were not unusual at that time, an example being the one composed by Antal Vanossi in the

³⁸ Bauer, *Barock*, 273–280.

work *Poesis entheia* (Divinely Inspired Poetry) in 1719. In it, he also celebrates the political achievements of Charles VI, and the title page shows the emblem memorialising the signing of the Treaty of Požarevac on July 21st, 1718 between Charles VI and Sultan Ahmed. The picture shows a well-arranged garden in which there is a sapling above which dense clouds are being dispersed by a sun shining through. The sun is in fact the symbol of the monarch and is marked by a large letter 'C', indicating the name of the ruler – Charles. The mottos accompanying the picture are quotations from the works of Virgil and Ovid, and the accompanying text is composed in verses.³⁹

* * *

The war between Austria and Turkey and the conquest of Belgrade in 1717 by the Christian army caused a storm of enthusiasm among the public in the European capitals because it was considered to be the initial step towards finally driving the Turks back into Asia. The attention that was directed on Belgrade led to the appearance of numerous graphic prints that showed the panorama of the city, combined with scenes of the siege and military clashes. Formed according to Baroque visual models, it was not uncommon for these scenes to depend to some extent on the imagination, combining

imaginary architecture with the real elements in the city. In the artistic procedure, the zone of the war operations became similar to a theatre stage setting, the fighters with their theatrical bodily rhetoric seemed like actors, while victory or defeat took on the characteristics of classical epic poems. Battles were depicted according to the standard models that were developed in the works of the great Renaissance artists who painted battle scenes, and were subsequently copied by many European graphic artists, like Gabriel Bodenehr der Ältere, Gottfried Rogg, Benjamin Kenckel or Jan van Huchtenburg. Such copperplate engravings gave the observer the satisfaction of enjoying a terrible event from a safe distance, combined with their use as a propaganda tool, especially in the context of the complex relations between the Habsburg dynasty and the subjects they ruled. The theatricalisation of war reflected the culture of the elite in the Baroque era, which established its place in society through artificiality and aestheticism. The horrors of destruction and ravages of war on copperplate engravings were elevated to the level of a clear and established choreography, and recognised as universal ethical examples. The scenes of war and siege were transformed in this way into a spectacle on paper awakening the observer's emotions in a refined play on the border between reality and fantasy.

³⁹ Knapp, Tüskes, *Emblematics in Hungary*, 78. The ceremonial activities carried out during the signing of the Treaty of Požarevac were part of an ephemeral spectacle for the purposes of glorifying the victor. An album of the Treaty of Požarevac produced by Conrad Weiss in 1719 was in fact a book of illustrations of the festivities and, as a typical product of court art, a means of representing the ruler. More about this in Milošević, *The Festival Book for the Exchange*, 239–240.



ANA MILOŠEVIĆ

Belgrade Metropolitans on the Baroque Stage

As the capital city of the newly established Kingdom of Serbia, Austrian Belgrade was the administrative, military and religious centre and a hub of river and road transport, commerce and industry. In the light of the prevailing Baroque cultural model, which implied an overall theatricality of both spaces and chief protagonists, their conduct and presentation in public, it is possible to visualize the urban design of Belgrade and its public sphere. The space of the city as a stage was defined by architectural and symbolical markers that constituted an urban topography composed of places and structures, but predominantly of various spaces. The latter served as arenas for the representation and self-representation of the chief protagonists or as a *mise-en-scène* in which meticulously produced performances in the form of public events were staged before citizens as audiences. During the twenty years of Austrian rule, the Kingdom of Serbia and its capital, Belgrade, developed their own public sphere, with its own participants and hierarchy. The main power holders in Belgrade at the time were state representatives – members of the administration and the military, heads

of the Catholic Church and monastic orders, and Orthodox metropolitans. Through complex systems of Baroque representation, they reaffirmed their status or strived to obtain it, reflecting actual or desired power and vying for it with one another.

Mojsije Petrović and Vikentije Jovanović occupied the throne of the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and subsequently of the united Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci. Temesvár Bishop Nikola Dimitrijević resided in Belgrade after the former's death for a short time as metropolitanate administrator, and later as a coadjutor to the latter metropolitan. Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta spent some time in Belgrade before the very end of Austrian rule over Serbia.

Princes of the Church

When the Serbian Church, headed by metropolitans, found itself in the Habsburg Monarchy, it was faced with a new cultural model, totally different from the one prevailing in the Ottoman Empire. Even though the Church

enjoyed privileges guaranteed by law, the traditional church organisation was unable to withstand the pressures exerted by the state administration and aggressive Catholic proselytism. The issue of embracing the Baroque cultural model presented itself as a question of survival.¹

As the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci was the only public body of the Serbian ethnic group at the time, the metropolitans, the same as the Peć patriarchs, were regarded as both spiritual and temporal leaders. Since they had to spend a lot of time in Vienna taking care of various affairs concerning the people, they had the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the 'stage of power' in the imperial capital, on which various protagonists played their parts – from the emperor and his family, to grand princes and aristocrats, to Catholic church dignitaries, to high ranking officials, diplomats, etc. Among the commonly adopted models of conduct was also the policy of *magnificenze*, which became one of the most important princely virtues during the Baroque age.² The true power of a prince (ruler) does not lie solely in the military and financial power at his disposal, but also in how the reality is perceived by the public: a strong prince will be even stronger if he skilfully projects his majesty – i.e., if he builds an aura of authority around himself. Giovanni Botero places particular emphasis on liberality

as a prince's virtue which is then combined with magnificence and patronage. 'The prince should display magnificence in all his doings,' engaging in 'honourable and magnificent enterprises,' especially public buildings and works.³ The same rules applied not only to princes and other rulers, of whom there were quite a few, particularly in the empire, but to church dignitaries as well, from the Pope, to cardinals, to local bishops. Church dignitaries, who often hailed from noble families, had to keep up with secular rulers, especially in the sphere of visual representation in the public: by their dress, conduct, size and sumptuousness of their residences, number of servants, art patronage, collections of artwork, etc.⁴

By embracing the policy of *magnificenze*, Belgrade metropolitans found themselves engaged in a competition with state and religious dignitaries, especially in Belgrade. The protocols of Baroque representation required of the Serbian clergy a new style of dress and presentation to the public. The idea of *magnificenze* is further illustrated by the erection of the metropolitan's residence, which was to be one of the most luxurious and beautiful edifices in Belgrade,⁵ and by ephemeral spectacles organised to accompany funerals or enthronements of church prelates, and canonical visitations.⁶ The same ideas also underlay Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović's efforts to establish the Illyrian-Rascian hussar regiment.⁷

¹ Тимотијевић, *Српско барокно сликарство*, 27. The first signs of this are evident in the conduct of some of the leaders of the people already at the time of Patriarch Arsenije III, Самарцић, *Барок и Срби*, 15; Тимотијевић, *Визијација манастира Шишајтовца*, 357.

² The *magnificenze* policy received its theoretical justification already in the 15th century, at the court of the Medicis. Ibid., 258, 259, with the relevant literature.

³ Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, 92.

⁴ This was particularly prominent in the Holy Roman Empire, where members of the clergy were also rulers of small states. Oftentimes, highest church officials also held state positions. For example, the Primate of Hungary was at the same time president of the Hungarian Court Chamber. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 422, 423.

⁵ The residence was modelled on the residences of the nobility in the West. Apart from priests and servants, other staff also lived in the residence, as was customary in secular residences. For the appearance and interior design of the residence, see Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 350; Васић, *Барок у Београду 1971*, 163–164; Медаковић, *Српски митрополијски дворови*, 194–205.

⁶ Тимотијевић, *Визијација манастира Шишајтовца*, 361.

⁷ Букић, *Нешто за историју царске краљевске српске хусарске рејименте*; Руварац, *Историјско-критична црџа о Викентију Јовановићу*, 64–66; Павловић, *Административна и црквена њолијика*, 197.



Fig. 33. Anonymous, *Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović*, oil on canvas
(Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church)



Fig. 34. Anonymous, *Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović*, oil on canvas
(Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church)

The style of dress and presentation to the public were an important segment of the image metropolitans wished to create for themselves.⁸ In addition to their traditional habit, they adopted the style of dress of the prelates of the Catholic Church. It was not considered suitable for metropolitans to be wearing their traditional episcopal attire – a wide-sleeved cassock – for official audiences or any other public appearance in Vienna. Therefore, the cut and fabrics of their robes became increasingly similar to those worn by Catholic dignitaries.⁹ They procured large quantities of clothes, made

from exceptionally fine fabrics and materials, tailored predominantly in Vienna and Carlsbad (much less often in Belgrade). This new style of dress seems to have provoked the Ecumenical Patriarch into writing a stern letter wherein he stated that members of the clergy were not allowed to wear expensive, fashionable and ornate attires, as it was contrary to Church canons, but that they had to wear appropriate clothes, as befitting Church order and laws.¹⁰ The 1733 *Inventory of the Metropolitan's Residence in Belgrade* (*Попис имовине митрополијске резиденције у Београду*) testifies that, in

⁸ For the notion that beautiful garments are a frame for a beautiful soul in the same manner as an ornate frame emphasizes the beauty of a mirror, see Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror*, 146.

⁹ Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 350.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 351.

addition to expensive and richly adorned vestments, there was also a great number of the metropolitan's items of clothing kept in the library.¹¹ Most of the inner and outer cassocks were black or dark blue – of the so-called *mor* colour – and made from *kreditor*¹² or *kamilot*.¹³ The other robes and items of clothing were made from expensive fabrics, such as silk (Venetian, Muscovite, Damascene), velveteen, broadcloth, *ćama venedička*, etc. For example, the outer cassock worn by Metropolitan Vikentije for an audience with the emperor was made from black *kreditor* lined with red *talasli* silk. There were also garments of bright colours, such as several red ones with floral patterns made from Muscovite silk, blue ones made from *kreditor*, and fur lined *ćurdija* vests made from azure blue broadcloth or red silk. Black and dark blue items of clothing often featured brightly coloured linings or decorative trims.¹⁴ A large number of *ćurdija* vests were lined with marten, sable, polecat, fox and 'sea mouse'¹⁵ fur, whilst their summer variants were predominantly lined with red plain or *talasli* silk, atlas silk, *klondlaiment*, red-green taffeta, and also with cheaper fabrics, such as *bogasija* or fustian. The head coverings included *kalimavkia*, *skufias*, several sumptuous kalpaks, hats and skullcaps. There was also a number of garments worn beneath the cassock.¹⁶ Besides their attire, metropoli-

tans also took good care of their hair, beards, moustaches and body hygiene, as attested by a large number of combs and different toiletry tools.¹⁷

Belgrade metropolitans often visited Vienna on state business and met with the highest state officials. On such occasions, the metropolitans had to represent with dignity not only themselves, but also the institution they headed – the Orthodox Church in the lands under imperial rule. In addition to the items of garment mentioned above, the rules of representation required them to follow norms of conduct associated with their status, such as keeping servants, observing decorum, giving gifts, etc. During his stay in Vienna in 1718, where he went to be officially confirmed as Belgrade metropolitan, Mojsije Petrović spent 7,000 florins on taxes and even more on gifts (*diskrecije*) for numerous Viennese officials.¹⁸ The gifts for more important state officials mostly consisted of money or wine, whereas those for the members of the highest nobility and the emperor included various cult objects that held some symbolic significance. During his audience with Prince Eugene of Savoy in 1731, the metropolitan expressed gratitude on behalf of the Serbian people and clergy for the prince's fatherly love and mercy. On that occasion, the prince was presented with a silver icon of the Theotokos,¹⁹ a beautiful cross from

¹¹ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 111–113. The archpriest's vestments, made from best quality fabrics of bright colours and richly decorated with embroidery and lace, are a different topic.

¹² In all likelihood, *kreditor*, or *kraditor*, was a type of heavy fabric from which garments, vestments and even wall coverings were made. Михајловић, *Грађа за речник сѣраних речи*, 310.

¹³ *Kamilot* (*kamelot*) is an expensive fabric made from camel and goat hair, later also from wool, and could also be mixed with silk. Thus, *kamelot* could be woollen or silken (like taffeta). Andersson, *Foreign Seductions*, 21.

¹⁴ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 112, 113. *Bogasija* is a thin cotton fabric, commonly red. Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 393

¹⁵ Probably a kind of rodent.

¹⁶ E.g., there were two pairs of yellow trousers, socks of various colours, etc. Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 112.

¹⁷ E.g., instruments for cutting nails, cleaning teeth and other purposes are mentioned. Ibid., 127. For personal hygienic habits and the adoption of West European concepts of health culture, see Милошевић, Крајновић, Ваџић, *Како су се лечили београдски митрополити*, 435–445.

¹⁸ Руварац, *Мојсије Петровић*, 86. Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović also had to give small presents to guards and lackeys of various Viennese officials. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 15.

¹⁹ Јакшић, *О Вићенију Јовановићу* (књ. 199), 30. The list of expenditures of Metropolitan Vikentije in Vienna from May to October of 1731 shows that a goldsmith was paid 18.40 florins for an icon frame, a painter was paid 32 florins for an icon, and again a goldsmith was paid 9.23 florins for an icon that was to be presented to Prince Eugene of Savoy. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 71–72.

Mount Athos and a 'divine sepulchre'.²⁰ An icon was usually presented to the emperor at audiences, and another one to the empress. The metropolitans normally spent several months in Vienna awaiting replies from various official quarters. During his stay in 1731, Vikentije Jovanović had to spend several months in Carlsbad (modern Karlovy Vary) because of illness and, apart from the treatment he was receiving, he passed his time there by taking walks and enjoying himself.²¹

Unlike in Vienna, where there were all kinds of people of high rank, in Belgrade the metropolitans held a more prominent position and could compete on a more equal footing with other power holders. Even though it was in no manner supported by the state, the Orthodox Church had to be tolerated and its heads respected as representatives of the most numerous body of believers in the Kingdom of Serbia. Metropolitan Mojsije put much effort in maintaining good relations with high-ranking people, particularly with Prince Alexander of Württemberg, whom he visited in Belgrade and Jagodina, where the latter went hunting.²² The metropolitan gave gifts of wine to 'their lordships' – Prince Alexander, General Merulli, the *Kriegs-Sekretär*, and the Vice-Commandant, *Oberst Doxat*.²³ The metropolitans' journals also list expenditures on New Year's gifts.²⁴

However, the metropolitans themselves received numerous gifts as well. Upon their successful return from Vienna, they were paid visits by priests and hegumens from the vicinity and also by representatives of the people, who presented gifts of candles, soaps, lemons, coffee, sugarloaves, wine, cakes, items of clothing, etc.²⁵ Particularly valuable gifts were the ones brought from pilgrimages to Jerusalem, such as candles, bars of soap (large, medium and small, flat and round), prayer beads, sashes, small boxes containing soil from holy places, scarves, and shrouds, of which there were quite a few at the metropolitan's residence. When they travelled or went on visits, the metropolitans rode in coaches pulled by six horses, whereas in winter they used sleighs. The 1733 *Inventory* lists a large number of vehicles: one red and lightly covered carriage, one black coach that belonged to the late Bishop Maksim Gavrilović, another three large coaches, two sleighs (one of them big and metal-framed, drawn by six horses, and the other small), one new, big, closed coach-and-four and two small, red ones. The harnesses were plain or made from red silk and adorned with woollen or silk tassels, whereas the saddle blankets were made from red broadcloth and decorated with goldwork and golden tassels.²⁶ The metropolitan's coach was usually fol-

²⁰ The 'Divine Sepulchre' may have been an engraving depicting an *aedicula* of the Holy Sepulchre. Симић, *За љубав оцаубине*, 436. It is less likely that this was a tabernacle, i.e. a 'tomb' for Christ's body, such as the one donated in 1735 by Petar Jocković on behalf of the grocers' guild. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 151. The *Попис целе имовине Београдске Митрополије* (Inventory of All Holdings of the Belgrade Metropolitanate) mentions three mother-of-pearl sepulchres. Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 111.

²¹ Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 72–74. On this occasion, the metropolitan and Partenje Pavlović also visited Prague.

²² *Ibid.*, 32, 37. E.g., as much as 18 florins was spent on a single visit to the Prince!

²³ *Ibid.*, 39.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 35. Coffee was often sent with wish well cards. *Ibid.*, 50. Metropolitan Vikentije's instruction was that it was the duty of the residence prefect to send gifts of things and money and greeting cards for holidays to 'their lordships'. Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 102. *Инићрукија о дужностиима*.

²⁵ For the gifts Metropolitan Mojsije received between July of 1728 and January of 1729, see Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 99–100. All the gifts Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović, or persons authorized by him, received from priests and prominent figures from Belgrade and its vicinity between 1731 and 1737 were entered in the *Тештер од њрезенџа* (Register of Gifts). Gifts were also brought to the metropolitan at his residence at Easter, as evident from receipts of the church in the New Serbian Quarter. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 148, 150.

²⁶ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 111, 139.

lowed by other coaches or carriages carrying his exarchs.

The titles Metropolitans Mojsije Petrović and Vikentije Jovanović used for communication purposes were also a means of representation as well as a reflection of the political situation. Oftentimes, these were adapted to current circumstances or to the addressee of an official document or letter with whom the metropolitans were in a certain relationship of power. For instance, the surviving correspondence between Karlovci Metropolitan Vikentije Popović and his Belgrade counterpart, Mojsije Petrović, allows for tracking changes both in the salutations and valedictions, which range from brotherly greetings and first name terms to insistence on the use of official titles – the latter resulting from the imperial recognition of Mojsije Petrović as Metropolitan of Belgrade and the creation of another autocephalous church organisation in the territories under Habsburg rule beside the Metropolitanate of Karlovci.²⁷ After the unification of the two metropolitanates, in his official correspondence with the national-church assembly and in his decrees and other documents addressed to members of the clergy or to parishes, Metropolitan Mojsije signed himself as ‘Orthodox Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade and of all the Christian people of the Eastern Church under the authority of the Most Excellent Emperor of Rome’ or as ‘Orthodox Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade, the Banat of Temesvár, and the Imperial Ungro-Wallachia ...’²⁸ The title ‘Advisor to His Majesty’ appears after 1727, when the metropolitan was appointed imperial advisor.²⁹ After 1735, Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović styled himself as ‘Orthodox Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade and Archbishop of all the

Christian people under the authority of the Most Excellent Emperor of Rome and His Majesty’s Advisor, and Protector of the Illyrian-Rascian Hussar Cavalry Regiment’.³⁰ In some of the documents written in Latin and German, the metropolitan calls himself ‘Primate’ of the Illyrian people of the Greek Rite.

When faced with criticism by bishops, Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović claimed that he had not been informed of the establishment of the hussar regiment and that he had subsequently been persuaded to accept it.³¹ The establishment of the regiment known as the Serbian Hussar Regiment was initiated in 1734 as part of a plan that envisioned an expansion of the imperial military forces. Thus, in 1733, 14 regiments were established, and another three in 1734. The Serbian regiment was established and commanded by Colonel Magnus Gottlob von Helldorff, but it seems that the original plan had been that the metropolitan would assume the responsibility for financing the regiment, which he actually did. The metropolitan accepted the role of the regiment’s protector on condition that, excepting the two foreign chief commanders, all the other officers be Serbs and that, in the course of time, the foreign officers be replaced by Serbian ones. The permission to form the regiment was regarded as a great honour bestowed on the Serbian people by the emperor. The metropolitan believed that such an opportunity would never arise again and did not want to abandon the plan for its establishment, even though there were many problems associated with it, primarily financial ones. Following the capitulation of January 26, 1735, Emperor Charles VI permitted financing of the regiment from contributions of the Serbian people. At that time the unit was renamed

²⁷ Руварац, *Мојсије Петровић*, 159–180.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 199.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 133.

³⁰ Витковић, *Сйоменци из будимскої и њешџанскої Архива*, 220.

³¹ This is also stated by the metropolitan in his last will. Руварац, *Тестиamenti Вићентија Јовановића*, 683; Јакшић, *О Вићентију Јовановићу* (књ. 202 и 203), (књ. 204), 236, 184.

Illyrian-Rascian Hussar Regiment, whose owner (protector) was Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović. The metropolitan assumed the obligation to cover recruitment expenses and place a combat ready regiment at the disposal of the emperor, whereas the regiment, under its name and standard, would spread the fame of the Illyrian-Rascian nation and the metropolitan himself wherever it fought. The expenditures of the regiment were huge, as it was necessary to supply it with uniforms, arms, horses, standards, etc.³² The first six companies of the regiment were fully outfitted when the metropolitan came to Buda in June of 1735 to consecrate their standards.³³ Before it joined the imperial army on the Rhine, the Serbian Hussar Regiment passed through Vienna, where the emperor ceremoniously received its six companies. Extremely flattering words were spoken on the occasion about the Serbian people and their self-sacrificing struggle.³⁴ In August of the same year, the formation of the regiment was made public at a council in Karlovci. The council expressed their gratitude to the emperor and defined the method of financing the regiment by collecting funds from the people.³⁵ The metropolitan, as the owner of the regiment, was entitled to promote officers to a certain rank and to donate standards to each company.³⁶ The Hussar Regiment greatly contributed to the financial collapse of the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci. At the end of 1735 its debts amounted to 159,660 florins, and at the

end of 1736 the regiment was handed over to Prince Rudolf Kantakuzen, who incurred further debts. Even though the regiment was disbanded immediately after the signing of the Belgrade Treaty, its debts were still being paid in the time of Metropolitan Pavle Nenadović.³⁷ The Hussar Regiment as a project of Metropolitan Jovanović, perhaps even more than the sumptuous metropolitan's residence, demonstrated the disproportion between the requirements imposed by the need to produce a Baroque representation of a prince of the Church, that is, the image metropolitans wished to create in the public eye, and their ability to do so, which was more than modest.

The idea of *magnificenze* is also evident in the practice of commissioning representative portraits intended for display at the metropolitan's residence. In the surviving portraits of Mojsije Petrović and Vikentije Jovanović (Figs. 37, 38), these ideas are evident in the emphases placed on accessory symbolism aimed at presenting status. The metropolitans are depicted wearing their most ceremonial dress, with strongly highlighted attributes of their position, in a pose emulating those found in the portraits of the members of the ruling dynasty and the nobility.³⁸ It is only logical to assume that, in addition to the portraits of the metropolitans, other portraits were also commissioned or purchased (such as the portraits of the emperor and empress, Prince Eugene of Savoy, Georgije Branković, and Tsar Dušan's coat of arms).³⁹ Judging by the large

³² Витковић, *Споменици из будимској и њешћанској Архива*, 221.

³³ Metropolitan Vikentije writes to the Bishop of Buda, Vasilije Dimitrijević, from Vienna that he needs books and a *typikon* for the upcoming consecration of a standard. Ibid., 207. Four regiment standards are now kept in the Museum of Military History, Vienna. For more on their iconography in the context of political intentions of Vikentije Jovanović, see Тодоровић, *Заставе илирско-расцијанске рејиментије*, 79–86.

³⁴ The metropolitan expressed his satisfaction on account of this great success and his desire for continuing trust. *Писмо од 27. августа 1735.*

³⁵ Точанац, *Српски народно-црквени сабори*, 240.

³⁶ Асерби, *The Austrian Imperial-Royal Army*.

³⁷ Ђукић, *Нешћо за историју царске краљевске српске хусарске рејиментије*, 59.

³⁸ Тимотијевић, *Порџреџи архијереја*, 165, 166; Васић, *Порџреџи српских архијереја*, 52–66.

³⁹ It is quite plausible to assume that Metropolitan Mojsije commissioned the portrait of Georgije Branković for the new residence and that it is the same painting as the one mentioned in the 1744 inventory of the Karlovci residence. Тодић, *Јов Василијевић у Карловцима*, 191. The portrait served as a model for later surviving portraits from the eighteenth century. Костић, *Десјот Георгије II*, 177–191.

number of icons produced using various techniques, as well as portraits, vedute and maps, listed in the 1733 *Inventory*, there was a strong desire to fill the sumptuous spaces of the residence both with matching furniture and works of art. The metropolitans thus acted as buyers, which enabled them to present relationships of power in the edifice and position themselves within a set framework,⁴⁰ whereas the collection of artwork and luxurious furniture was only a secondary means of the ruling propaganda.⁴¹

The Residence

In his last will and testament, Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović lists the circumstances and reasons for which he decided to erect the Belgrade residence. He states that he started building it, but could not complete it despite all his efforts. He did not undertake this big enterprise for his own sake, but rather for the sake of the greater good – the metropolitan's residence was supposed to remain for ever a foundation and a symbol of the Serbian people in Belgrade, the principal city in the homeland. The metropolitan further states that, even though the residence is being erected for the sake of the entire nation, no funds in sup-

port of its construction have arrived from outside Serbia.⁴² The residence was conceived to be a 'common home' with a school, a seminary and a chapel and to serve as the seat of the spiritual court.⁴³ Its construction started in 1726, immediately after the conclusion of the national-church assembly on August 8, when the foundations of the new residence were laid, even though the surviving documents show that the decision had been made much earlier, since the preparations for construction and procurement of building materials had begun already in November of 1725.⁴⁴ The resident engineer was Ständl, the officer supervising the reconstruction of the Belgrade Fortress, and his design of the residence fit Nicolas Doxat's plan for the reconstruction of the settlements situated between the inner and outer walls of the fortress. Before the new residence was built, there had already existed the Old Residence and 'the Old Residence below the Salt Fountain'.⁴⁵ During the life of Metropolitan Mojsije, only the foundations, the basement and the ground floor were built.⁴⁶ Building materials were not easy to procure. For instance, lime had to be bought from Buda and Szentendre. Also, the metropolitan petitioned various state figures and institutions (Prince Alexander, the Hungarian Court Chamber, and the Imperial War Council) to

⁴⁰ Scholars have emphasised the duality of public and private, state and church, etc., in the arrangement of the works of art in the metropolitan's residence. Тодоровић, *Концепцији приватној на изозорици јавној*, 670–671. A carefully conceived setting, where works of art played an important part, was created during the national-church assembly in Karlovci in 1744. See Тодић, *Јов Василијевић у Карловцима*, 179–196.

⁴¹ Schnapper, *The King of France as Collector*, 201–202. Both Mojsije Petrović and Vikentije Jovanović commissioned various vessels, mostly made of tin, embossed with their respective coats of arms and relevant year. Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 132–133.

⁴² Руварац, *Мојсије Пејровић*, 131–132, 187.

⁴³ Витковић, *Сиоменици из будимској и њешњанској Архива*, 23.

⁴⁴ Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 32; Руварац, *Колико је њојрошено*, 85. From Nov. 1, 1725, to Dec. 31, 1732, as much as 39,972.07 florins was spent. The metropolitan petitioned the Imperial War Council for compensation for the demolition of the old residence, which had been located on the alignment of new fortifications. He was allowed only to reuse the debris from the demolished edifice. Стефановић Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 16, 17.

⁴⁵ Руварац, *Нејокрејино имање Миџрополије београдске*, 209. That the Old Residence was functional as late as 1730 is evident from the fact that the metropolitan died on July 27, 1730 in a red bed in a small room in an old house. Јакшић, *О Вићеницију Јовановићу* (књ. 199), 5. For more on the difficulties of determining the precise locations of the metropolitan's residences, the old and new Cathedral Church, and the development of the Serbian Quarter as a whole in this period, see Поповић М., *Прилој њроучавању београдске Српске вароши*, 145–172.

⁴⁶ The ground floor seems to have been completed already in 1728, when a fee was paid to the contractor for the production of a coat of arms (*ворн*) above the entrance. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда од 1717 до 1739*, 6.



Fig. 35. Nicolas de Spar, *View of the Upper and Lower Town, the Sava Gate, and the Serbian Church and Metropolitanate*, lithograph

(Vienna War Archives, sig. BIXb_113_Taf. 11_fol.26)

grant him access to certain resources or loans.⁴⁷ Construction work resumed under Vikentije Jovanović, who inherited vast debts incurred by his predecessor on account of the erection of the residence.⁴⁸ One part of the residence had been completed and furnished already in 1731 and the metropolitan moved into it.⁴⁹ The surviving receipts show that most of the masonry work was done by master builder

Matthias Simon and his team between 1730 and 1733. In 1733, he was contracted to build the entire first floor, including a large room and anteroom, to plaster and whitewash the rooms on the ground floor, and perform a number of smaller tasks. As stipulated in the contract, the contractor was required to complete the structure in the same fashion as the wing with chapel, which he had completed in

⁴⁷ Руварац, *Мојсије Петровић*, 131.

⁴⁸ It is estimated that, at the time of the death of Mojsije Petrović, the debts of the metropolitanate exceeded 17,000 florins, only to amount to nearly 40,000 florins in 1732. Точанац, *Српски народно-црквени сабори*, 173; Руварац, *Колико је јојрошено*, 85. The debts related to the construction of the new residence were often a point of dispute between the metropolitans and bishops. Јакшић, *О Вићенију Јовановићу* (књ. 200), 99, 108.

⁴⁹ Гарић Петровић, *Митрополијски намесници и њидворни служитељи*, 90.



Fig. 36. Nicolas de Spar,
Plan of Belgrade, drawing
(borrowed from Васић, *Барок у Београду 1718–1739*)

1730.⁵⁰ It is evident from later documents that there was a loft above the first floor. There was also a garden of the orangery type, maintained by a gardener, and a fishpond. There are receipts for other work on the residence, such as that done by joiners, locksmiths and glaziers, until as late as 1735.

Some information on the external appearance of the metropolitan's residence is found in the surviving drawings produced by Nicolas

François de Spar, whereas the appearance of the interior and the arrangement of rooms can be reconstructed to some extent from the 1733 *Inventory*.⁵¹ One of de Spar's drawings (Fig. 39) shows that the residence had a first floor, a central portico on the east side surmounted by a pediment, and a tall roof similar to the roofs of German houses in Belgrade depicted in other drawings.⁵² Another drawing by de Spar also shows the tambour of the dome of the residence

⁵⁰ Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 323–335.

⁵¹ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 110–144.

⁵² Васић, *Барок у Београду 1718, 174–175*.

chapel.⁵³ However, on a plan of Belgrade drawn by de Spar, the residence is shown as a compound of a closed square plan comprising a cluster of buildings (Fig. 40),⁵⁴ which would be more in line with the said contract with master builder Matijaš Simon, where two wings are mentioned as well as ‘closing the residence with walls on both sides’.⁵⁵ The residence had around forty rooms, including luxurious rooms on the ground floor, some of them intended for receiving guests and others for accommodating the metropolitan and his attendants, as well as a kitchen and a cellar. The first floor served a similar purpose. The *Inventory* lists a great hall and a number of rooms that had yet to be completed. The ground and first floors were connected by an oak staircase. The chapel encompassed parts of the ground and first floors, with its choir situated on the latter.

This Modern Age residence was intended to serve several purposes: to be the residence of the ruler, to be the seat of government and its institutions, and to be the stage for the ceremonies and rituals related to the ruler.⁵⁶ In accordance with the dual nature of authority, that is the existence of two bodies of the ruler, i.e., his ‘physical’ and ‘political’ bodies, the residence had to express this dichotomy through an intricate ratio of private to public, which is evident in the functions of various rooms, their arrangement and correlation.⁵⁷ Their purpose may be discerned from their names and, even

more so, from the descriptions of their interiors and the items they contained.

The most important section of the ground floor was the one containing the metropolitan’s room and offices. The metropolitan’s room was conceived as both his study and bedroom. In addition to a desk with writing implements and other stationery on it, there was the metropolitan’s bed, with drapes and a canopy and expensive silk bedding. The room and the adjoining office had green walls (*špalir*) with wood panelling along the bottom of the walls.⁵⁸ As the other luxurious rooms, it featured a stove of a matching colour.⁵⁹ A large number of the metropolitan’s items intended for his personal hygiene (combs, implements for cleaning teeth and clipping nails, razors, etc.) and personal worship (on top of the cabinet was a Jerusalem crucifix and two small icons of St. Nicholas and St. Catherine, respectively, prayer beads, various crosses, etc.). The walls were adorned with unframed portraits of Emperor Charles VI and the Empress, respectively, an icon of the Holy Virgin on canvas in a blue frame decorated with golden flowers, a glassed and framed depiction of Mount Sinai on silk, two icons painted on mirror glass, and a mirror. The room also featured three very beautiful tables and several chairs, clocks and candlesticks. All this testified to the fact that, in addition to its primary, private residential character, the room was

⁵³ The dome on the chapel was constructed in 1733, with wood, from a ‘design’. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 343.

⁵⁴ A plan similar to de Spar’s is found in *План аустријске реконструкције и београдских утврђења 1717–1739* (A Plan of the Austrian Reconstruction and Belgrade Fortifications), by an anonymous author, МГБ, ГИ/324. Neither this plan nor de Spar’s shows the Cathedral Church.

⁵⁵ Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 335.

⁵⁶ Adamson, *The Making of the Ancient-Regime Court*, 10.

⁵⁷ For more on the ratio of private to public in the metropolitan’s residences, see Тодоровић, *Концепції иривайної на йозорници јавної*, 655–686. For the dual nature of royal power, see Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 7–23.

⁵⁸ Popović interprets *špalir* as a vine-shaped wall decoration. Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 286. Given that the term was also used for a type of cloth with gold threads and embroidered flowers, it is possible that in the metropolitan’s residence it was either a sort of a wall pattern or wallpaper. The confirmation that the latter was the case may be found in the statement that five pieces of the *indianiši molera* type *špalir* and seven pieces of regular *špalir* were kept in the library. Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 112, 126–127.

⁵⁹ A contract in German with Anton Suttner from Altenburg from April 1735 on the procurement and delivery of four corner stoves for the metropolitan’s residence has been preserved. One stove was to be white, two of them wavy green, and one sea green. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 349, 350.



Fig. 37. Antimension of Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović, 1727
(Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church)

also intended for receiving select guests.⁶⁰ The adjoining office also featured a flat ceiling (*štukator*) covered with boards, green (*špalir*) walls with a yellow pattern and painted wood panelling along the bottom. There was also a green stove and tables of different sizes, chairs and a sofa, and one large and three small cabinets. Decorative accessories included only a mirror, a music clock and several large wooden candlesticks.⁶¹ The green cabinet was connected by a door with a number of adjoining

rooms accommodating the metropolitan's attendants. For instance, a big room with an unfinished ceiling and adjoining the office contained five beds, several shelves and a small table. Its walls were adorned with black-framed vedute of Rome, Venice, Amsterdam and Vienna.⁶² The room next to it, also unfinished, contained two large beds, a long bench, two racks for hanging harness, a chair, and 'figures drawn on paper' on the walls. The next room was a small chamber for storing dried

⁶⁰ This is particularly attested by the portraits of the ruling couple and the prominently positioned white gold-framed cross beset with beautiful diamonds, hanging from a red ribbon, a present to the metropolitan from Emperor Charles VI. Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 127.

⁶¹ Kept in one of the cabinets were fourteen small gold-framed icons painted on paper and eight different geographical maps. *Ibid.*, 126.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 125.

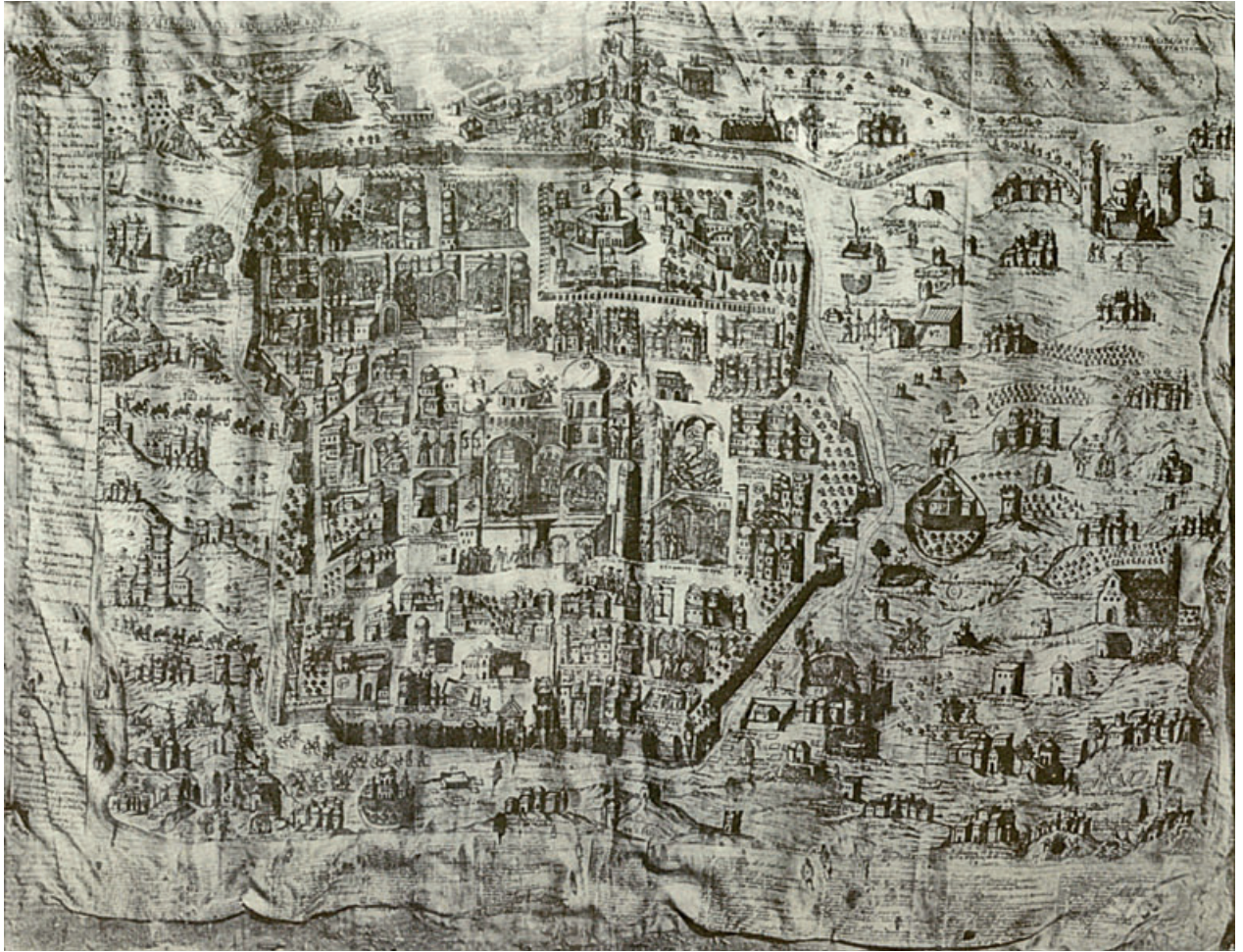


Fig. 38. Franz Ambrosius Dietell, *The Holy City of Jerusalem*, chalcography on silk, c. 1723, Vienna, published in the time of Chrysanthus, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Mojsije Petrović, the Metropolitan of Belgrade, under the supervision of Hieromonk Germanos, the Archimandrite of the Holy Sepulchre (borrowed from Papastratos, *Paper Icons*, 531)

fish. The last room, where the carpenter slept, was next to the large basement. The room with a Turkish ceiling (*na čemerli*) contained only a table, two chairs and a cabinet (Δολάπ),⁶³ as well as two icons of the Theotokos, one of which was ‘very beautiful’ and had come from Mount Athos. Next to the library was a room (office) furnished only with a cabinet, a desk and four chairs, whereas the walls were adorned with framed pictures painted on paper (12 *synaxaria*, two icons depicting

Christ’s passion, vedute of London, Jerusalem and Vienna, and one depicting a hunt), and one *Image of Christ Made Without Hands*.⁶⁴ The library featured a vaulted brick ceiling and brick floor. Judging from the *Inventory*, it was the most unusual of all the rooms. It had no furniture other than a large number of cabinets and chests, the latter ready to be sent on to Buda. Hanging on the walls were three unidentified vedute on paper and five Moscow icons. The room served as a kind of storage

⁶³ *Dolap* is a cupboard with shelves attached to a wall or built into it. Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpsko-hrvatskom jeziku*, 222.

that housed not only books, but all sorts of different objects, such as icons, *enkolpia*, prayer beads, candles, crosses, various products from Jerusalem, crockery and cutlery, clothes, fabrics, pistols and rifles, as many as 39 antimensions (Fig. 41), and one depiction of Jerusalem printed on atlas silk (Fig. 42). Stored in one area of the library were the metropolitan's summer and winter robes and numerous other items of clothing. Books, classified as Slavonic, which were the most numerous, Greek-Latin, Greek, Latin and German, occupied a long cabinet. The number of copies of each inventoried book was listed next to it. The book with the most copies, as many as forty-four, was the *Primer*, the so-called *desetoslovije*, by Theophanes Prokopovich (Fig. 43). Due to a dire need for Muscovite and Kievan liturgical books, the metropolitan tried to obtain them by whatever means he could, mostly from Muscovite traveling salesmen. Purchased books were kept in the metropolitans' residences and were eventually sold to bishops and priests as need arose.⁶⁵ Packages containing printed privileges, large and small, were also kept in the library. Sixteen chests of different sizes were kept there until they were sent, with most of the books, to Buda in 1734. They contained all sorts of different items, predominantly archpriestly and priestly robes, liturgical vessels, silverware, expensive tableware sets, diverse valuables, even a few curiosities, and also a number of more common items, such as everyday clothes, underwear, towels and scarves.⁶⁶

The metropolitan's bedroom and office and a red room with adjoining office could also be

accessed from the spacious great hall with a brick ceiling and two fireplaces, eighteen wall lamps, two built-in cabinets, twenty-four leather chairs and six tables. Hanging on the walls were icons of the Saviour, Theotokos, Dormition, a hagiographic icon of St. Nicholas (Fig. 44), the Passion of Christ, and another one of the Theotokos – all of them large, painted on canvas and richly framed. There was also a gilt-framed portrait of Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović in full archpriestly attire, and a depiction of Jerusalem. The hall also housed a Holy Table with linen coverings, the antimension and candlesticks, as well as icons of the Saviour, John the Forerunner, the Theotokos, and one small and one large icon of St. Nicholas. There was also a *proskomidion* niche, containing a white shroud of Egyptian silk, candelabra and candlesticks, an icon of the Theotokos with Crucifixion and the Instruments of the Passion, which belonged to Metropolitan Mojsije, a gold-framed icon of the Theotokos, an icon of St. Nicholas, and a silver-framed icon of the Deesis.⁶⁷ Further on, the *Inventory* lists in some detail the priestly vestments and liturgical vessels 'in the chapel'⁶⁸ and describes a cabinet that contained various kinds of drinking glasses, tableware sets, cutlery and a large number of towels. It seems that, in addition to its basic purpose of a space for entertaining a large number of guests, the great hall also served as a temporary storage for chapel items.

Adjoining the great hall was the red room mentioned above. Its walls were of white floral *špalir* with wood panelling along the bottom,

⁶⁴ Ibid., 124, 125.

⁶⁵ It is evident from the correspondence between Metropolitan Jovanović and bishops in 1734 that the bishops were breaking his order by buying books at fairs. Јакшић, *О Вићеницију Јовановићу* (књ. 199), 101. For more on the history of the library, see Дурковић-Јакшић, *Најстарија библиотека у Београду*, 1–11.

⁶⁶ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 116–124. In addition to two fragments of and one whole unicorn horn and a cup made from a unicorn's armour (?), the chests contained, among other things, twenty-four sea urchin 'quills' (spines) and a green stone, all of which were used for medical purposes. Милошевић, Крајновић, Ваџић, *Како су се лечили београдски митрополијци*, 439, 440. Valjevo Bishop Dositej Nikolić also had an icon of the Panagia made from alicorn, a silver-framed drinking glass, and a piece of alicorn with a drinking glass. Радосављевић, *Ваљевска епископија*, 47.

⁶⁷ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 128.

⁶⁸ It even contained two bells.



Fig. 39. *The Primer* by Theophanes Prokopovich, printed at Rymnik in 1726
(Museum of Pedagogy, Belgrade)

and its floor was covered with boards. Its furniture included only a large table, twelve chairs and a sofa. Hanging on the walls were three large, framed icons painted on canvas: *The Deposition*, *The Crucifixion* and *The Deesis*. This room was connected by a door to the red office, which had similarly decorated walls but with *špalir* bearing yellow flowers. The office also contained a bed with a canopy and drapes of red cloth decorated with yellow lace, 12 chairs upholstered in yellow broadcloth, one half of 'a floral table' and a glassed-in cabinet. On the walls was a gilt-framed portrait of the late Metropolitan Mojsije, a frameless portrait of Prince Eugene of Savoy, a representation of the coat of arms of Serbian Tsar Stefan, and a mirror. A large room next to the chapel contained 12 chairs and four beds, an arched ico-

nostasis with glass wings and a curtain of green woollen fabric called *raša*, an icon of the Theotokos painted on canvas that had a frame decorated with flowers, a portrait of Despot Georgije Branković (Fig. 45), another four icons of the Theotokos, and icons of Christ and John the Baptist, all richly framed. A window in this room overlooked the Chapel of St. Nicholas. The room that served as an office had a large table covered with a kilim and twelve chairs, a bed, a large mirror, and a Muscovite two-sided icon of the *Panagia*. The large dining room featured a table covered with a kilim and eighteen chairs, a cabinet and, on the wall, an icon of the Theotokos.

The Chapel of St. Nicholas had two storeys, a flat brick ceiling and a brick floor. The altar partition was also built with bricks. Both floors



Fig. 40. *St. Nicholas with Hagiography*,
Russian icon, oil on canvas
(Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church)

featured a large number of windows.⁶⁹ The chapel was adjoined by three rooms, furnished mostly with tables and chairs, but only one of them had a bed. The third room was adorned with three icons painted on wood and two painted on paper, as well as three framed geographical maps. The room listed in the *Inventory* as the dining room, where students also slept, had five beds. The kitchen complex comprised a bakery, a small bread storage room, a

brandy cellar, a kitchen and a storage room for kitchen utensils. There was also a large cellar and three smaller ones, one of which was used as a jail.⁷⁰

The anteroom was situated outside the great hall and a staircase led from it to the first floor above. There was another great hall adjoined by two large and two small rooms, none of them completed. A section of the first floor was occupied by the chapel choir, where

⁶⁹ It is evident from a locksmith's bill from 1735 that the altar, the cross, the 'sun' and the 'moon' were made from cast iron. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 362.

⁷⁰ Even though they are not mentioned in the *Inventory*, it is known that the residence featured several toilets, one even in the jail, which were connected by pipes to a cesspit in the yard. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 334–335, 340, 343, 350, 363.



Fig. 41. Anonymous, *Count Georgije Branković*, oil on canvas, first half of the 18th century (Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church)

adults and children stood during services. One of the small rooms seems to have been a bedroom, as it featured a bed, a cabinet, several chairs, and an icon of the Theotokos painted on parchment. The 'last' room also featured a bed, a table and some chairs, and a large quantity of materials (e.g. twenty-five pieces of yellow *špalir* and thirty-five pieces of yellow *špalir* with a red floral pattern for wall covering), parts of various items, etc. Under a long roof in the board-fenced yard was a red coach, a carriage (which used to belong to the late Bishop Gavrilović), a big cart for transporting water, two wagons, three carriages, and two sleighs. A brick stable, panelled with oak boards, housed horse stalls and a large number of harnesses. The metropolitan had about twenty

horses, horse tack, a new closed coach, and two small red coaches.⁷¹

At the beginning of his service as metropolitan under Austrian rule, Mojsije Petrović surrounded himself with a small number of attendants. Mention is made of the exarchs Nikola Dimitrijević and Maksim Nestorović, both subsequently promoted to bishops, and of the deacons Georgije and Jovan.⁷² As the number of attendants – resident priests and servants – had rather increased by the end of the 1720s, Mojsije Petrović issued in 1729 *Rules for Residence Attendants and Servants* (*Правила за дворјане и дворске служийъље*) in order to better organise them and specify their duties more precisely.⁷³ The most important among the metropolitan's spiritual attendants were as

⁷¹ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 139, 140.

⁷² Гарић Петровић, *Митрополичјски намесници и дворски служийъље*, 96.

⁷³ Руварац, *Дужности и права дворјана и дворских служийъља*, 417–421, 452–454.

follows: the general exarch, who was the metropolitan's deputy in charge of religious and material affairs as well as the chief residence officer in charge of the office and official correspondence; the residence advisor chaplain or *ephemerius* (curate), who was in charge of coordinating residence and servant activities as well as of organising church ceremonies; and the archdeacon, who assisted the *ephemerius*, took care of the metropolitan's garments and served as the master of protocol.⁷⁴ Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović's example was followed by Vikentije Jovanović in 1731, even though he increased his staff.⁷⁵ In his *Rules*, the most important residence attendants were the prefect and steward (*oikonomos*, the former general exarch, Archimandrite Isaija Antonović);⁷⁶ the exarch in charge of residence construction (Protosynkellos Sofronije Dimitrijević); the assistant steward (*paraioikonomos*, Priest Simeon); and the deputy assistant steward (Maksim Radković, who was later designated as Exarch of Požarevac). There were still other offices not mentioned in the *Rules*, such as the offices of the residence preacher and scribe.

By its organisation and duties assigned to the servants, the metropolitan's residence was very much like the great houses of the European nobility.⁷⁷ The large body of servants was mostly composed of Germans hired to cater to the new, much greater needs imposed by the social life in the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia, as well as by the metropolitan's status as the head of the Orthodox Church in the monarchy and one of the most prominent fig-

ures in Belgrade of the time. The most important post was that of the valet, who was responsible for the metropolitan's toilette and bed, served him at table, constantly communicated with the physician, acted as the metropolitan's confidant, and attended to his every need. He was assisted by a lackey. There were also other important posts, such as those of the major-domo and the stable master, as well as that of the physician. There were also several cooks, a baker, a cellarer, a scullion, a shoe servant, a page, a lackey, a coachman, a running footman, a gardener, etc. Residence servants had to wear livery.⁷⁸

Enthronements, receptions and burials

A ceremony of the enthronement of an archbishop, in addition to his burial, was one of the two very important events demonstrating the archpriest's public activities. Both events assumed much greater significance than mere religious ceremonies and were transformed into public spectacles intended to emphasise and confirm the office of the metropolitan as the religious and political leader of Orthodox Christians under imperial rule.

The election of the archbishop at a national-church assembly ended by the delegates shouting his name. His ordination (*cheirotomia*)⁷⁹ and ceremonial inauguration followed shortly thereafter in the Cathedral Church in the presence of representatives of Austrian authorities, church dignitaries and priests, military and

⁷⁴ The names of the spiritual servants at the time of the issuance of the *Duties* are known, but their specific duties are not. Those listed are Isaija Antonević, Teofan, Andrej Atanasiević, Nikanor Pavlović, Sofronie Joanović, Sofronie Dimitrijević, Petr Nenadović, Simeon, Georgie Savić, Josif Stojanović, and Dimitrije. *Ibid.*, 418. A document from 1730 states that the exarchs were Petar Nenadović and Jovan Mihailović and the *ephemerius* was Parteniije Pavlović. Руварац, *Мојсије Пејровић*, 191.

⁷⁵ Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 101–105; *Инструкција о дужностима служитеља*. Metropolitan Jovanović inherited most of the attendants from his predecessor. Гарић Петровић, *Митрополијски намесници и њихови служитељи*, 96.

⁷⁶ When Isaija Antonović had gone to the Bishopric of Arad in 1732, he was succeeded as prefect and general exarch by Pavle Nenadović.

⁷⁷ For cardinals, for instance, to have a court and numerous servants was a matter of dignity, even when it was beyond their means. Cf. Fragnito, *Cardinals' Courts*, 27.

⁷⁸ Руварац, *Уговори митрополија Вићенција Јовановића*, 49–53; *Idem*, *Годишњи тирошак митрополија београдско-карловачкој*, 279.

⁷⁹ During the rite of ordination (*cheirotomia*) the archpriest was anointed, dressed in bishop's vestments, and received holy sacraments.

civic leaders of the people, and many others. The new metropolitan pledged his allegiance to the Church (*obet*) and the emperor (*iuramentum* of obedience), following which the attending bishops lifted him on their shoulders and exclaimed 'Long live!' (*Vivat!*) three times. Sometimes common people also participated in the ceremony. For instance, the enthronement of Mojsije Petrović in 1726 was performed before Count Joseph Oduyer (O'Dwyer), the military commander of Slavonia, and Alexander Johann, Baron of Kallanek, Court Chamber's commissioner for Slavonia.⁸⁰ After he was elected metropolitan of both metropolitanates and inaugurated, the bishops and the representatives of the people congratulated him by again lifting him three times on their shoulders.⁸¹ Then the bishops accompanied the metropolitan to the church and the archbishop's throne, thus symbolically recognizing his authority. After that, the metropolitan, assisted by two bishops, two priests and two deacons, served the Divine Liturgy. Thereafter, he was ceremonially accompanied to the residence, which marked the end of the ceremonies and the beginning of the usual festivities, such as a banquet in the residence. After the inauguration of Vikentije Jovanović as Archbishop of Belgrade and Karlovci in Karlovci, so many people were present that it was necessary to select those who would accompany him to the residence. After all this, it was necessary to obtain approval from the emperor, which, in the case of the Belgrade Metropolitanate, had to be requested through the Imperial War Council, and, in the case of the Karlovci

Metropolitanate, through the Hungarian Court Chamber. For this reason, the metropolitans had to travel to Vienna to speed up the issuance of the approval, sometimes having to wait for it several months or even years.⁸²

The enthronements of archbishops were extremely costly events. In one of his letters to the Russian Synod, Maxim Suvorov states that the inauguration of Mojsije Petrović in 1726 cost 20,000 florins, which was a huge amount of money at the time.⁸³

Upon the return of the Serbian archbishops from important state-related trips to Vienna, ceremonial receptions were conducted for them in either Belgrade or Karlovci, the seats of the respective metropolitanates. The receptions were in the form of a ceremonial entry of a ruler into a city, the latter being seen as a stage for the production of an ephemeral spectacle. As even the slightest demonstration of the metropolitans' ruling pretensions was viewed rather suspiciously by the Austrian authorities, all hints of courtly pomp, with all its symbolism and other elements characteristic of European courts, were avoided.⁸⁴ This was of a particularly sensitive nature in the multi-ethnic and multicultural Belgrade, the seat of the Austrian administration and the most important fortress in the south-eastern part of the empire. In Karlovci, however, where the presence of the authorities was not felt to such an extent, Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović, the Protector of the Illyrian-Rascian Hussar Regiment, was able to effect in 1735, following his return from Vienna and the confirmation of the privileges,⁸⁵ a triumphal entry worthy of a

⁸⁰ Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 311–312.

⁸¹ Точанац, *Српски народно-црквени сабори*, 102–103.

⁸² Точанац, *Српски народно-црквени сабори*, 104. In 1718, Mojsije Petrović received from Charles VI a confirmation diploma, recognizing him as Metropolitan of Belgrade. As he had held the title since 1713, there was no rite of ordination, only the Divine Liturgy, following which he was ceremoniously installed, that is, proclaimed Archbishop of Belgrade by the Commander-in-Chief of Serbia, Count O'Dwyer, in the presence of Ecclesiastical Auditor Homuth and leaders of the people. Руварац, *Мојсије Пејировић* 89, 90.

⁸³ Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 311. This information has to be taken with a grain of salt, as it is known that Suvorov was prone to exaggeration in his reports.

⁸⁴ Тодоровић, *Енџинџеј у сенци*, 157–158.

⁸⁵ Јакшић, *О Вићенџију Јовановићу* (књ. 201), 136.

German prince. The organisation of the reception of the metropolitan was entrusted to the rector of the 'Latin School' (*Collegium slaveno-latinum carloviciense*), the learned Emanuel Kozachinsky, who was assisted by monks from the residence. The metropolitan's arrival was signalled by ringing bells and chanters' hymns. Students and a mass of people holding flowers stood on both sides of the path down which the metropolitan was coming. The priests wore their best robes and came before the archbishop carrying ripidions, a canopy and banners. The metropolitan got off his coach and proceeded to the church, blessing those present, who then formed a line and entered the temple. There, the Divine Liturgy was served and the metropolitan delivered a pertinent sermon, following which Kozachinsky read his paean, which, through Old Testament parallels, magnified the metropolitan's character and diplomatic achievements, his efforts on the cultural and educational planes and, in particular, his contribution to the affirmation of the Serbian Church and faith.⁸⁶

After he had fled from Peć, Patriarch Arsenije Jovanović IV Šakabenta came to the territory of Austria. Some of his entourage hurried on to Belgrade to announce his arrival. In the dire conditions prevailing in the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci after the demise of Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović due to discord amongst the bishops and the impossibility of convening a new national-church assembly because of the new war, the arrival of the patriarch in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy was seen as a sign of God's grace.⁸⁷ Although Partenije Pavlović,

the patriarch's protosynkellos, reports that the brethren welcomed them in love both in Belgrade and in Karlovci and Šanac, he does not make any mention of a reception ceremony.⁸⁸ However, the fact that a reception ceremony and a triumphant entry of the patriarch into Belgrade were organised on September 16 is evident from a paean written for and read on this occasion.⁸⁹ We learn from the panegyric that the patriarch, who arrived as a rescuer, was welcomed by archpriests and priests and all the people – men, women and children, the old and the young, people of every age and standing – that is, the body of believers entrusted to him. Based on analogies, it may be assumed that the reception of the patriarch was concluded in the Cathedral Church, where the Divine Liturgy was served and the said paean was read.⁹⁰

During Austria's rule over Serbia (1717–1739), two metropolitans, Mojsije Petrović and Vikentije Jovanović, died and were buried in Belgrade. They were given burials that had been conceived as public events, a kind of Baroque spectacle, mimicking West European practices, which, according to extant documents, was particularly evident in the case of Mojsije Petrović's burial.⁹¹

As stated in one of the records from the time, the metropolitan died in Belgrade on July 27, 1730, in a red bed in a small room in an old house. On August 2, his body was transferred to the Cathedral Church, and the following day he was buried in the presence of a large number of clergymen and people.⁹² According to a book of expenditures, which also contains expenses related to the burial of Metropolitan

⁸⁶ Ерчић, *Мануил (Михаил) Козачинскиј*, 203–208; Тодоровић, *Енишијетей у сенци*, 159–160.

⁸⁷ Грујић, *Свечани њоздрав*, 60.

⁸⁸ Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и најписи*, 112–113 (2720).

⁸⁹ Грујић, *Свечани њоздрав*, 60–63.

⁹⁰ Ерџић attributes the paean to Kozachinsky, a fact adopted by some other authors. Ерчић, *Мануил (Михаил) Козачинскиј*, 210–211; Тимотијевић, *Визитација манастира Шишајовца*, 361. A suspicion regarding the attribution is expressed in Тодоровић, *Енишијетей у сенци*, 161.

⁹¹ For more on the funerary practices relating to bishops in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, see *ibid.*, 162–171.

⁹² Јакшић, *О Вићентију Јовановићу* (књ. 199), 5.

Mojsije, a total of 21,804 florins, a huge sum at the time, was spent on the funeral.⁹³ The sum of 1,850 florins was spent on mourning clothes for the metropolitan's relatives and attendants and on his servants' liveries alone, 174 florins on the broadcloth with which the hearse and horses were covered, 98 florins on the metropolitan's coffin, cross and bier, 192 florins on a velveten pall, 186 florins on the banner, throne,⁹⁴ ambo and iconostasis; 620 florins on wax candles, and 777 florins on black bands and veils. The services of the surgeon, the physician and the apothecary, and the funeral and memorial services cost 1,151 florins. The costs pertaining to the chapel and the residence amounted to 670 and 4,469 florins, respectively, etc.⁹⁵ Some indirect conclusions may be drawn from these meagre data and also from surviving descriptions of similar archpriestly burials of the time.⁹⁶ Six days elapsed from the metropolitan's death to his funeral. Given the high fees paid to the surgeon, physician and apothecary, it may be assumed that the metropolitan was embalmed and then lay in state in the new residence.⁹⁷ Based on the surviving evidence related to similar funerals in Temesvár at approximately the same time, it is possible to reconstruct who attended the funeral and what the funeral procession at the burial of Metropolitan Mojsije looked like. Students and their teachers were at the head of the procession, followed by all the Belgrade municipality officials wearing black bands and carrying candles. After them came priests and deacons with candles, censers and banners.

Archpriests, wearing their best attire, went before the hearse, behind which were the metropolitan's relatives and the rest of the people. The route of the funeral procession is not known, but it certainly ended at the Belgrade Cathedral Church, where the metropolitan was interred. The archpriests attending the funeral were the Temesvár Bishop Nikola Dimitrijević, the Bishops of Buda, Valjevo, Sebeş, and Szigetvár, and Nikanor, the former Bishop of Pécs. Excepting Prince Alexander, who was on a hunting trip in the vicinity of Jagodina, the funeral was attended by the Commander of Belgrade, General Marulli, and his deputy, Marquis Botta d'Adorno, a large number of military officers, and representatives of the Serbian people, both spiritual and secular, great and small.⁹⁸ In order to comprehend the grandiosity of the spectacle that was the metropolitan's burial, it is sufficient to consider the fact that, if the majority of the candles were the standard wax ones, priced at 12.75 florins per 150 pieces, then, judging by the total amount spent on them, there were just under 7,500 of them used at the funeral! Eyewitnesses state that all the shops in the merchant quarters on the banks of the Danube and the Sava ran out of black broadcloth and crepe. When Marquis d'Adorno saw the huge quantities of broadcloth and silk being brought from the merchant quarters, he said that no emperor's funeral cost as much as that of the Rascian bishop.⁹⁹ However, what followed after the burial was as scandalous as the exorbitant sums spent on it. An order left

⁹³ According to the Book of Expenditures, this sum was announced before the general National-Church Congress of 1731, but, as can be seen from the entries, it was not spent entirely on the costs of the funeral, but also on the gifts of money which the metropolitan had promised to 'their lordships' at the previous assembly and which were to be paid in accordance with his last will, as well as on some of the current expenses. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 42.

⁹⁴ М. Тимотијевић believes that the 'throne' was a structure on which the metropolitan lay in state. Тимотијевић, *Визијација манастира Шишајовца*, 359.

⁹⁵ Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 41, 42.

⁹⁶ E.g., the funeral of the Temesvár Bishop, Georgije Kirilović, in Temesvár in 1717. Костић, *Гробови епископа и краљана тѐмишварских*, XXXV–XXXVI.

⁹⁷ For more on embalming as a common West European practice, see Aries, Weaver, *The Hour of Our Death*, 361.

⁹⁸ Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 187, 188.

by the late metropolitan, which was later suspected to be a forgery, was read in the church and then *principova knjiga*¹⁰⁰ was read from the ambo by Petar Nenadović, and after that the Temesvár Archbishop, Nikola Dimitrijević, was installed as administrator. When the people and the clergy heard Mojsije's order, Priest Partenije cursed those who would not abide by it, which provoked resignation among the assembled bishops. Then the people elected delegates that were to go to Vienna and ask for permission to hold an electoral assembly.¹⁰¹

No information on the burial of Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović has survived. His last years in office were marked by his conflicts with bishops, by trials and by financial difficulties further aggravated by the never-ending expenditures associated with the construction of the residence in Belgrade and his project of the 'hussar regiment'. The metropolitan's policies were defeated in all areas, resulting in the appointment of a coadjutor, none other than his old rival, the Temesvár Bishop Nikola Dimitrijević.¹⁰² Humiliated at every step and seriously ill, Vikentije died in Belgrade in June. We learn about the modest, almost inappropriate burial, organised by the coadjutor, from a letter some of the bishops wrote on the occasion. In the letter, they express their anger at Nikola Dimitrijević for burying the metropolitan too soon, before the bishops could assemble for the funeral and bid him farewell with a

holy kiss. They also regret the fact that the metropolitan was buried without his omophorion and epitrachelion, as if he were a common man rather than an archpriest.¹⁰³

Between 1718 and 1739, the Kingdom of Serbia was a stage on which the major carriers of power presented themselves. The hierarchically organised public sphere of Austrian Serbia, wherein Belgrade metropolitans had to vie for their place, manifested itself through visual culture, understood in the sense of a broad range of visual manifestations of diverse ideas and relations, such as buildings and other products of material culture, as well as conduct, protocol, dress and public appearances. To quote Dušan Popović, '[F]inding a middle path between representing the Church in a contemporary manner and the religious sensitivity of our people was no mean task. Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović, and Vikentije Jovanović in particular, tried hard to remain both good Orthodox metropolitans and represent themselves as princes of the Church. This is evident in their correspondence and how they signed themselves, as well as in their attire, their life in the residence, their attitude towards lower clergy and towards the body of believers entrusted to them ... with its external appearance and interior design the metropolitan's residence in Belgrade was meant to represent our Church appropriately before the heterodox believers residing in Belgrade and Serbia.'¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Ibid., 188. According to the 1733 *Inventory*, the library contained a black velveteen cover with tassels lined with *klonlaiment*, which had been laid on the tomb of the late Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović, whereas one of the chests contained the black taffeta cloth that had been used to cover the table on which the metropolitan lay in state. Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*, 113, 122.

¹⁰⁰ *Principova knjiga*, or *Prince's Letter*, was a letter of recommendation written by Prince Alexander of Württemberg, the Governor of the Kingdom of Serbia, wherein he recommends that Bishop Dimitrijević be installed as administrator and appeals to the people to recognize him as such. Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда*, 187.

¹⁰¹ Јакшић, *О Вићенију Јовановићу* (књ. 199), 5.

¹⁰² Руварац, *Одношај митрополија Вићенија Јовановића*, 501, 525.

¹⁰³ Јакшић, *О Вићенију Јовановићу* (књ. 202 и 203), 200.

¹⁰⁴ Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*, 230.



MARKO POPOVIĆ

Beginnings of Baroque Military Architecture in the Belgrade Fortress

After the occupation of northern Serbia and Belgrade in the late summer of 1717, a provisional military administration, headed by General Joseph, Count of O'Dwyer, was set up. One of its first tasks was to organize reconstruction and construction work in Belgrade. Established for this purpose was a special Fortress Construction Administration, responsible to the Imperial War Council in Vienna.¹ Intensive work on rebuilding old and constructing new fortifications started only after a peace treaty with the Turks had been signed on July 21, 1718. The commander-in-chief of Belgrade and Serbia was ordered to have a design project produced and thereafter to submit detailed plans for the construction of new fortifications in Belgrade.² Initially, Colonel de Boeff was commissioned to do this, but he was soon replaced by Major Nicolas Suly,³ who became chief engineer at the end of 1717. Without embarking

on an analysis of Suly's design, as it is presented elsewhere,⁴ we shall focus only on the work planned and executed in the eastern part of the Upper Town, including a provisional reconstruction of a collapsed section of the southeastern rampart and construction of a blockhouse, for which there is no information in the plans and designs for the fortress of the time.

Construction of barracks, arsenals and storehouses was planned in the area inside the Upper Town fortifications, where troops were to be accommodated and weapons, ammunition and food supplies stored, along with construction of a building that would serve as military headquarters and a garrison chapel. When scrutinizing the project produced by Major Suly, it is rather difficult to tell which of the buildings were originally designed by him and which may have been borrowed from the somewhat older project of Colonel de Boeff.⁵

¹ Веселиновић, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије*, 536.

² Стефановић Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 246.

³ Веселиновић, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије*, 574; Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање), 158, н. 24.

⁴ Ibid., 157–161; idem, *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 212–226.

⁵ Idem, *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање), 159, н. 34.

The rather comprehensive programme of construction to be carried out in the Upper Town found in Major Suly's design project was completed only in part. Before the construction of new buildings, land levelling works were to be conducted on the Upper Town plateau.⁶ By 1723, some of the levelling works had been done, only to be fully completed at a later date.⁷ In some sections of the eastern half of the Upper Town plateau, the level of the terrain was lowered by two to three metres, that is, the natural flat-topped elevation that was the tip of the so-called 'Belgrade *greda*' was removed. Constructed in the thus delevelled area were two barracks and the building of the Main Guard, which are in the focus of the present paper, and later also, towards the end of the 1720s, a gunpowder magazine.⁸ According to the extant documentation kept in the Vienna War Archives, the construction of the two barracks was well under way in the spring of 1721 and they were probably completed before 1723. The construction of the building of the Main Guard may have started in 1721 and it is reasonable to assume that it was also completed by the end of 1723.⁹

Infantry barracks

These, it may be freely stated, oldest buildings of Baroque Belgrade occupied the larger part of the eastern half of the Upper Town. Both barracks, which were essentially of identical

shape and dimensions, were positioned in parallel to the inner curtains of the north-eastern and south-eastern ramparts, at a distance of between ten and fifteen metres. The building of the Main Guard (*Haupt Wacht*) was situated in the central area in front of the barracks. Only the foundations and remains of caved-in basements, which have not been thoroughly investigated or documented by archaeologists, is all that has survived to this day. Their original appearance may be inferred from an axonometric view from 1723 illustrating an idea for new bastion faces around the Upper Town fortification that was part of Nicolas Doxat de Morez's design project (fig. 55).¹⁰ There is also a detailed plan of the barracks situated next to the north-eastern rampart, produced during the short-lived Austrian re-occupation of 1789–1790, when this building was still there, probably in its original condition.¹¹

Some basic information can be gleaned and certain conclusions drawn about the building from the available documentation. The barracks that lay parallel to the north-eastern rampart of the Upper Town had an elongated rectangular floor plan and was 81.80 metres long and 13.50 metres wide (fig. 56).¹² It had a basement, a ground floor and two levels above it. The basement did not run under the entire building but was divided into two separate basements that ran under its narrower north and south ends.¹³ The basements had identical floor plans and each comprised four chambers, three of which were vaulted whilst the fourth was of a somewhat more complex design, as it

⁶ KAW. Alte Feldakten, Mem. 22/182, p. 31, ad. 6.

⁷ Information found in plan KAW. Sig. K I f 23–71.

⁸ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (Друго допуњено издање), 234–235, сл. 133; This gunpowder magazine, well preserved almost to our time, was demolished by German bombs in April 1941.

⁹ Idem, *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање), 164, н. 71–74.

¹⁰ Plan KAW sig. K I f 23–71; Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (Друго допуњено издање), 228–229, сл. 129.

¹¹ Plan KAW. sig. G VII 11–422; Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (Друго допуњено издање), 224, сл. 126.

¹² The dimensions shown on the detailed plan, sig. G VII 11–422, are length: 43 *klafters*; and width: 7.2 *klafters*.

¹³ The remains of the barracks, excavated in part in 1952, include preserved basement walls on the narrower northern side, in places even to the height of former vaults. On the opposite, southern side, there are no visible traces of the other basement. Unfortunately, the excavated remains of the barracks were neither photographed nor documented.

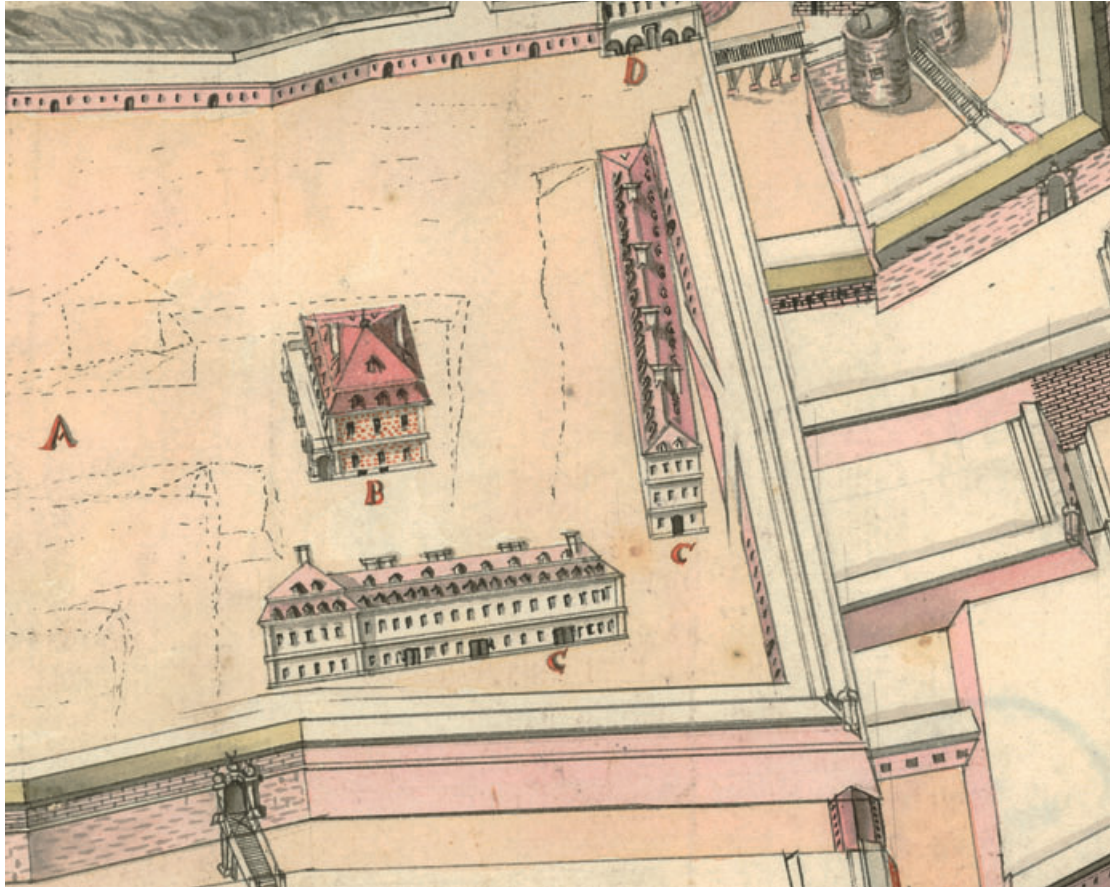


Fig. 42. Detail from N. Doxat's project showing barracks and the Main Guard building (Vienna War Archives, sig. K I f 23–71)

featured arches supporting small cruciform vaults. Both basements were around 2.40 metres high on the inside and were entirely below ground level. They were accessed by outside staircases dug into the ground at the respective narrower sides of the buildings.

The ground floor and the two storeys above it had an identical arrangement of rooms. Each level featured sixteen spacious rooms, most of which were not interconnected horizontally, as the main constructional and functional arrangement was along the vertical plane, where there were eight unconnected sections, each with its own entrance – three on each longer side and one on each narrower side. Each of the sections had an identical arrangement of rooms on all three levels. They

were connected by an outside staircase that started from a separate entrance. Each level, separated from other levels by wooden floors, had two rooms, accessed from the stair landing. All of the rooms featured masonry heaters (*Kahelofens*), fired from special, windowless auxiliary rooms that were also accessed from the landing. The heaters were built with glazed tiles, including pieces that featured decorations in relief in certain zones. (fig. 57). It is noteworthy that, in addition to a chimney, each of the auxiliary rooms also had a special ventilation shaft, whose purpose was not only to air the room, but to produce a stream of air that would boost combustion.

All forty-eight rooms in the barracks were of approximately the same size, that is, around

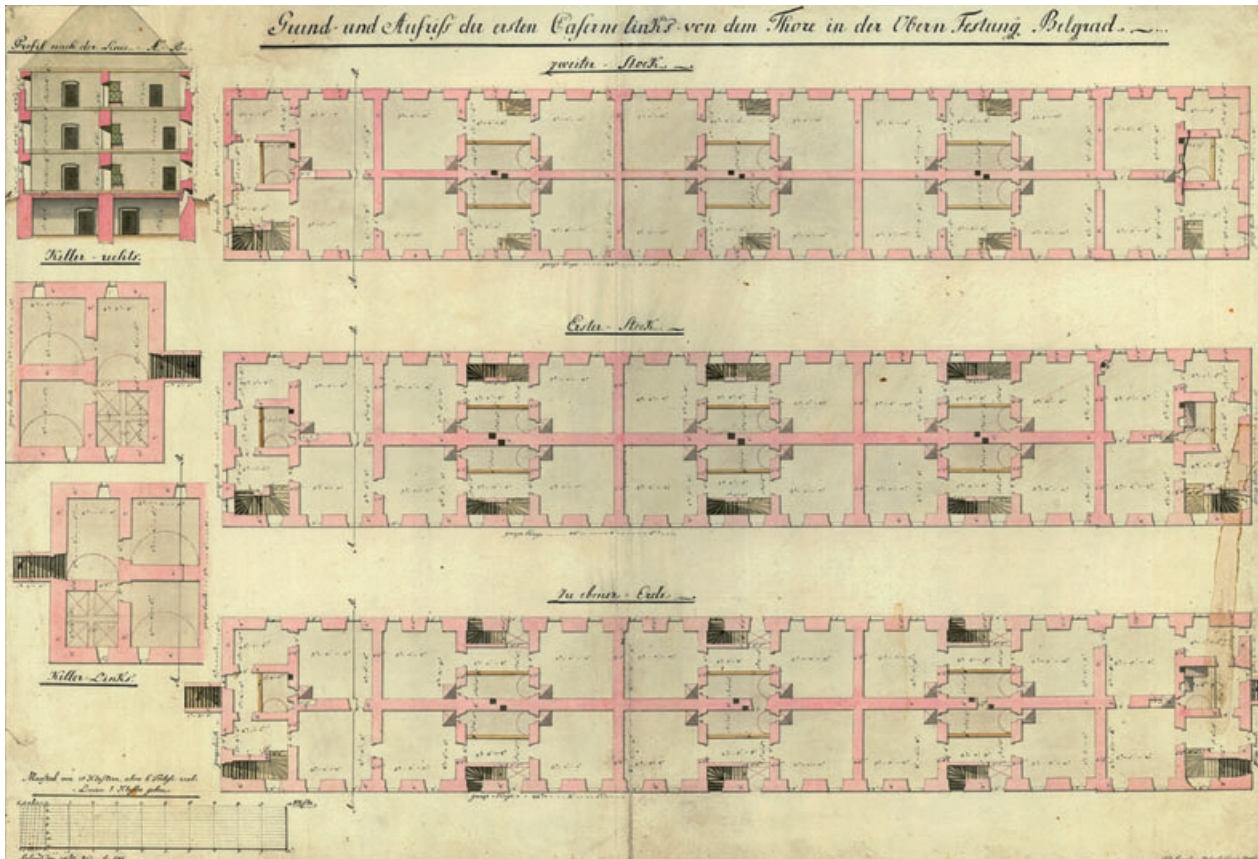


Fig. 43. Plan of the barracks next to the SE rampart with floor plans and cross-sections from 1790 (Vienna War Archives, sig. GVII_11_422)

29 to 30 square metres,¹⁴ and were between 2.50 to 2.60 metres high. There were two windows in each room and most rooms were not interconnected. On the whole, the barracks next to the north-eastern rampart had a total of 149 windows and eight entrances with corresponding staircases. It is difficult to discuss the appearance of its façades on the basis of a single drawing. It is evident that the levels of the building were marked on the outside by belt courses, but there is no evidence of any decorative elements around the windows or portals.

The other, contemporaneously built barracks, parallel to the south-eastern rampart,

was identical in size and floor plan to the first one. As nothing is known about this building other than what can be learnt from the said drawing and the structure's meagre remains, only a few suppositions can be made.¹⁵ It also featured a deep basement at its narrower end, identical to that of the first barracks. No remains of this long demolished building have been excavated and it is therefore unknown whether there was a similar basement at the opposite narrower end. According to the drawing, there was a level above the ground floor surmounted by a loft. Since the original documentation on the building and its floor

¹⁴ Of an average size of 2.59 by 3.05 *klafers*.

¹⁵ Most of this barracks was demolished before the nineteenth century. Only the part above the basement on the narrower side facing the Sahat Gate, which can also be seen in a photograph from 1867, survived and was thoroughly refurbished. See *ibid.*, 284, Fig. 176.

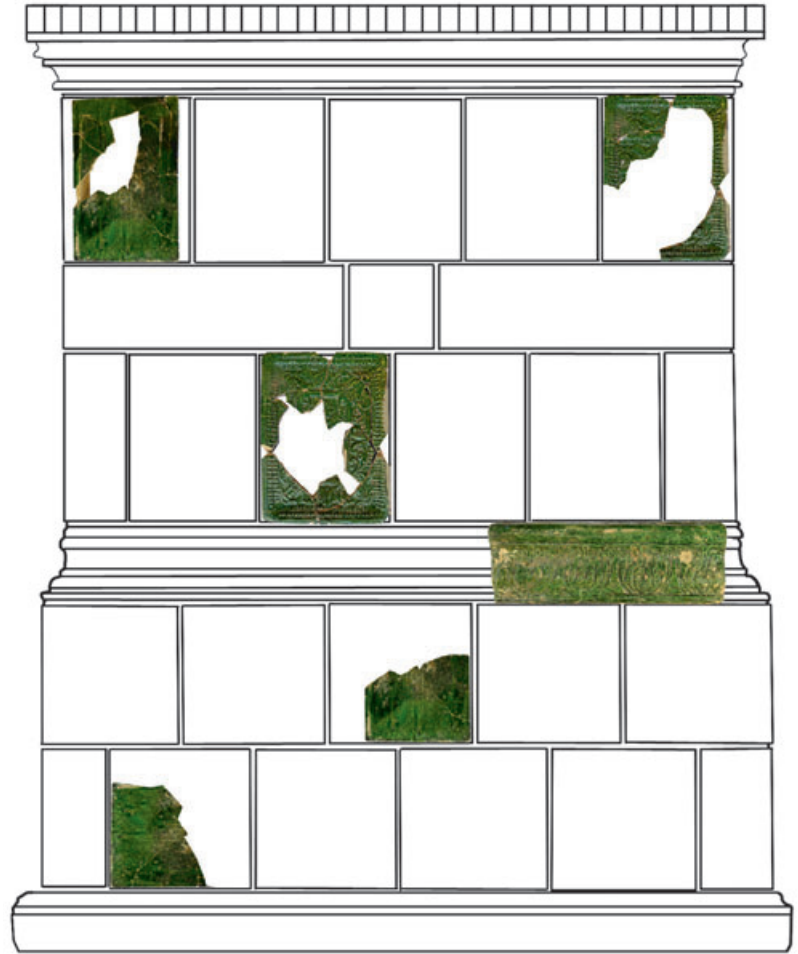


Fig. 44. Glazed tiles from masonry heaters in the Upper Town barracks (after Böhmer, *Keramikfunde*, Abb. 26; technical processing U. Vojvodić)

plan and cross sections has not been preserved, we can only speculate about its internal spatial arrangement. As already noted, it has been reliably established that both Upper Town barracks were of identical size and floor plan. This may mean that their respective internal space was organised in a similar or even identical manner. This supposition is supported by the appearance of the longer, southern façade, facing the south-eastern rampart, shown in the said drawing, where three separate entrances can be clearly observed. Based on this fact, it may be concluded that the internal space was divided along the vertical plane, with separate staircases, the same as in the case of the first, better known barracks. The possibility that the loft was designed in the same manner as the second floor of the first barracks should

not be discarded. The barracks parallel to the south-eastern rampart also featured a belt course between floors, but, judging by the corner pilasters, it may be concluded that its façades were a little more ornate.

Both of these Upper Town buildings are designated as infantry barracks on the preserved plans from the period of Austrian rule. Their spatial arrangement, with several separate vertically divided segments, separate entrances and staircases, fits the type of military buildings constructed following rules set by Marshal Vauban. There are no original data on the number of officers and soldiers accommodated in the two Upper Town barracks, but some estimates may be made regarding the better known barracks, the one facing the north-eastern rampart. Each of its two upper

levels comprised sixteen rooms intended for the accommodation of troops. The same was probably true of the ten to twelve rooms on the ground floor, whereas other rooms may have had a different purpose, such as a kitchen, infirmary, and the like. As the prevailing rule at the time was that one room should accommodate twelve soldiers, we arrive at a figure of around five hundred men accommodated in the barracks.¹⁶ If we assume that it was the same in the case of the other barracks, we will not be far off the mark in assuming that the two Upper Town buildings accommodated a total of one thousand troops.

Main Guard building

This building, erected in front of the infantry barracks, was situated in the centre of the delevelled eastern half of the Upper Town. Several plans kept in the Vienna War Archives show it as just another building in the Upper Town. A drawing attached to the earlier mentioned Doxat's design project, where it is shown together with the two infantry barracks, is of great importance for a reconstruction of its former appearance.¹⁷ There is also a photograph from 1867,¹⁸ when the building, which was later extended and converted to Sultan Mahmoud Mosque, was still intact.¹⁹ The building had a square floor plan of 16 by 16 metres. Its basement ran the length of the building and had two longitudinal rooms. Each room featured a segmental vault and was accessed by a staircase by way of a small corridor. There were certainly two more levels with wooden floors above the probably vaulted ground floor. It is difficult to say what the sec-

ond level originally looked like, as the said photograph clearly shows two rows of windows on an even façade, whereas Doxat's drawing shows a loft above the first floor. The building was covered by a tiled hip roof. Its main façade was in the south-west, facing the main thoroughfare, which started at the Sahat Gate and intersected the Upper Town plateau. On this side, the ground floor extended into a porch that ran the length of the façade and had six columns connected by brick arches. Above the porch, an uncovered balcony protruded from the first floor. On the basis of the available data, the appearance of the façades may only be hypothesised about. There was a clearly identifiable belt course between the ground and first floors and shallow pilasters on the corners.

There is no information on how the space inside the Main Guard building was organised and arranged. Judging from its name, found on plans from the time of Austrian rule, the building must have housed the garrison command post and, in all likelihood, the office of the fortress commander. A building designated by the same name in the centre of the German Quarter had a similar function, as it probably housed the command post for the troops manning the quarter's ramparts.

Blockhouse in the south-eastern rampart

When the Austrians laid siege to Belgrade in August of 1717, the Upper Town fortifications did not sustain much damage during military operations. However, part of the fortifications the Turks had erected two decades earlier after a design of Andrea Cornaro was

¹⁶ According to data found in *Војна енциклопедија* [Military Encyclopedia], 275.

¹⁷ Vienna War Archives, sig. K I f 23–71; Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (Друго допуњено издање), 228, Fig. 129.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 284, Fig. 176.

¹⁹ After the year 1740, the building was adapted and converted to Sultan Mahmoud Mosque. During the First Serbian Uprising, it was used for displaying war trophies, and, after the final departure of the Turks from the fortress, it served as an ammunition storehouse of the Serbian garrison. It was destroyed by a fire and the resulting explosion in the mid-1880s. Its remains were excavated in 1952.

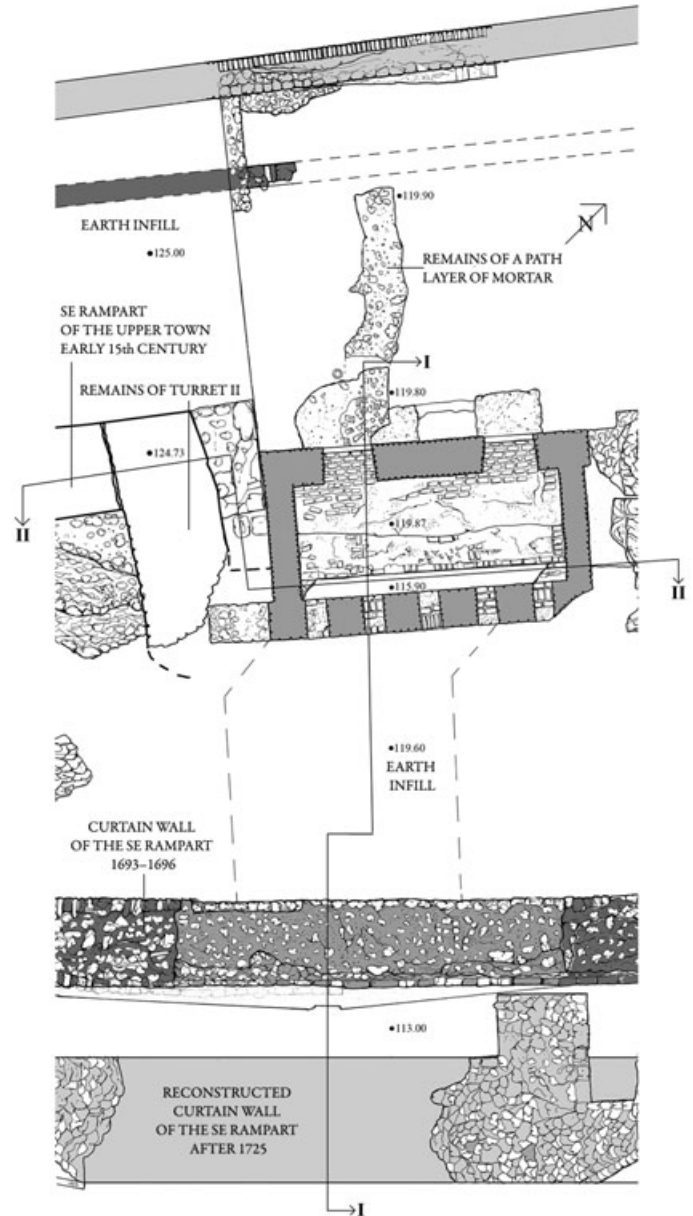
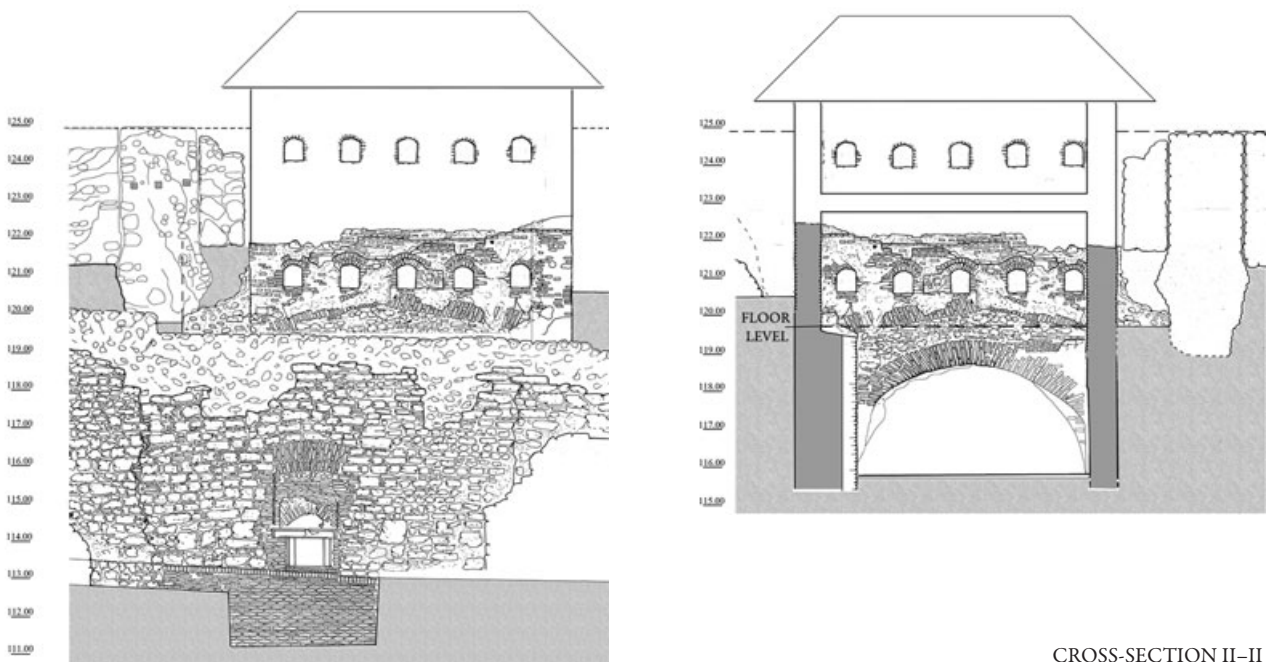
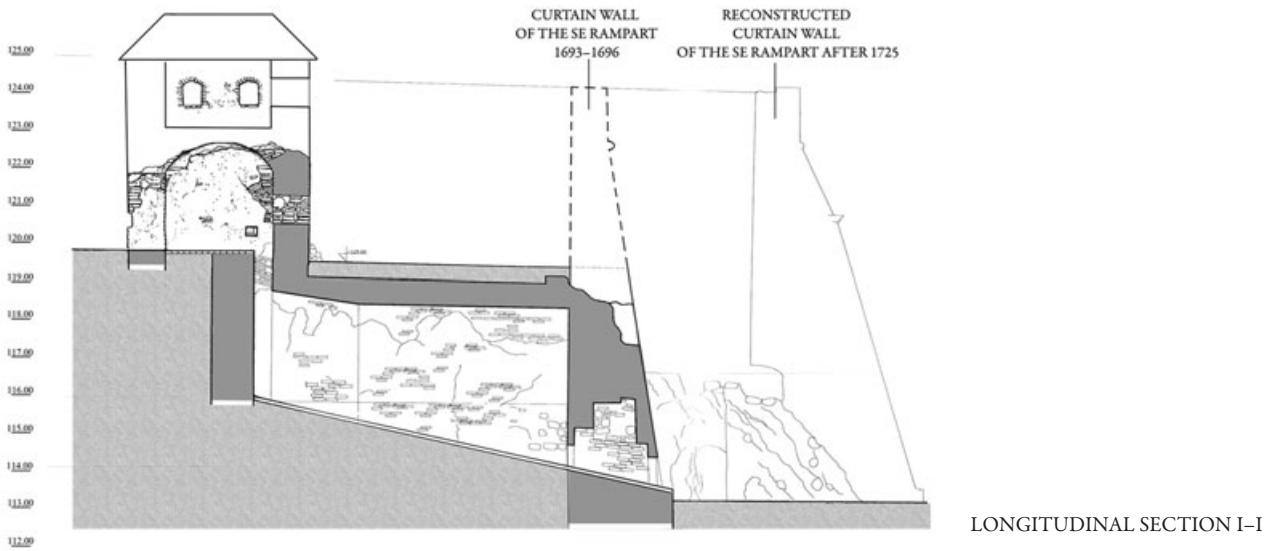


Fig. 45. Remains of the blockhouse, ground plans, cross-sections and appearance (R=1:200) (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology and the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments)

found to be dilapidated. This was primarily the case in the eastern corner of the Upper Town, where part of the curtain wall of the south-eastern rampart collapsed or was on the verge of collapsing, and there were also wide cracks in the neighbouring section of the old medieval north-eastern rampart. As this was the part of the Upper Town fortifications that had sustained the most damage during the previous

siege of Belgrade in 1688, it may be assumed that the foundations of the new curtain wall were rather weak at this spot. It was, therefore, necessary to start reconstructing this part of the fortifications as soon as possible. However, according to the surviving plans kept in the Vienna War Archives, the reconstruction of the collapsed section was completed only as late as after 1722.²⁰ In all likelihood, the delay

²⁰ Details of the 1722 project for the reconstruction of the eastern corner of the Upper Town, Vienna War Archives, sig. K I f 23-61.



was caused by the fact that the final design project for the construction of new fortifications was not approved until 1723–1725, when the project proposed by Colonel Nicolas Doxat de Démoret was adopted.

Meanwhile, some work on the damaged section of the fortifications did take place. Archaeological investigations of the south-eastern rampart, in the section facing the eastern corner of the Upper Town, colloquially known as *Prolom* (Breach), yielded new find-

ings. Part of the south-eastern rampart, east of the Sahat Gate, damaged and partly collapsed when it was hit during a German air raid in April 1941, was not subsequently repaired, which made it possible, after removing the earth that was used to fill the bastions, to investigate the remains of older fortifications and cultural layers preserved in the structure of the current rampart. Unearthed in the area of the Breach were remains of medieval fortifications and a collapsed section of the curtain

wall erected in 1693–1696, during Cornaro's reconstruction of the south-eastern rampart. The remains of a complex fortification element, which could be classified as a blockhouse, were excavated above these ruins (fig. 58). The remaining section of the curtain wall of the

south-eastern rampart with older fortifications was cut through at a width of around twelve metres, from the Upper Town plateau to the bottom of the ditch in front of the rampart. A subterranean, vaulted chamber was incorporated into this space in the direction



Fig. 46. Blockhouse remains, general appearance, photo from 2008
(Documentation of Institute of Archaeology)

of the ditch, penetrating the rampart to the depth of around ten metres. It has a massive brick vault and its front side is aligned with the older curtain wall. This section at the ditch level features a small rectangular opening that serves as its only entrance. Its outer face was incorporated into the old curtain, but is rather different from it as it was mostly built with ashlar. Conspicuous among this material are spolia, which were also used to frame the opening. Judging by the treatment of the upper part of this façade wall, that is, its crest, it ended at a spot level of around 119.50. It was at this exact level at the rampart that was cut through that a platform was formed on top of the earthen infill above the vault of the said subterranean chamber. The upper surface of the vault was shaped with plaster and bricks into a 'gable roof' and covered with a 0.50 to 1 metre thick infill, and at this spot level the ground floor of the blockhouse was recessed in the rampart. Its front façade was recessed by about 8.5 metres in relation to the face of the outside curtain wall. In that respect, the upper and lower levels of the structure overlapped by only 1.5 metres.

The ground floor of the blockhouse contained a room with a rectangular floor plan, 21 square metres in area, with a barrel vault resting on the longer walls. Judging from the preserved remains, the apex of the vault was at the height of around three metres (fig. 59, 60). There are five windows in the longer wall – wide loopholes with segmental arches. In the wall on the opposite side, facing the Upper Town, which was substantially damaged, were two doors, probably surmounted by shallow segmental arches. Judging from the discovered ghost traces, it can be concluded that the doors had wooden thresholds and, probably, wooden frames. The floor of the room was made with bricks and ended, on the longer south-eastern side, at a vertical wall, which extended down to the bottom of the subterranean chamber, thus forming its northern face.

Above the said wall, around half a metre over the floor, was a massive wooden beam, whose mortises survived in the shorter walls of the upper level. This narrow passage of only 0.50 metres in width connected the vaulted subterranean chamber with the upper level of the blockhouse.

The walls of the blockhouse were built with bricks and, sporadically, ashlar and roughly dressed stone. All interior surfaces were coarsely rendered. Traces of coarse rendering are also evident on outer walls. The south façade wall of the blockhouse, built above the vault of the subterranean chamber, had a relieving arch in its bottom zone, whereas one of its westward extensions leaned on the remains of a lateral wall of medieval turret II. A similar thing was observed in the northern façade wall, in whose eastern corner a bond was provided for a connection with the inner face of the remaining section of the main medieval rampart.

The blockhouse was accessed from the Upper Town through a breach in Cornaro's south-eastern rampart. Remains of an access path, made from compacted gravel, brick shards and plaster, were discovered in this area. The path ascended slightly from the threshold to the Upper Town plateau, where all signs of it have vanished. When this section of the excavated area towards the current inner curtain wall was investigated, traces of delevelling of the Upper Town plateau, conducted in the first years of Austrian rule, were clearly observed in the western profile.²¹ Compared to the older level of the ground next to the inner underpinned curtain wall of Cornaro's rampart (elevation 122.00), the terrain at the access way to the blockhouse was lowered by 0.50 to 0.80 metres, which is approximately the same as its current level.

The remains of the blockhouse described above are the only testimony to this edifice, as it was not recorded on any plan of the fortress from the time and there is no information

²¹ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (Друго допуњено издање), 222–226.

about it in the heretofore studied material in the Vienna War Archives, which does not mean further research will yield no results in this respect. The unearthed remains of the masonry, as well as a broader stratigraphic situation, indicate that the building was quickly demolished during the works in this part of the south-eastern rampart. For this reason, its construction might be dated to the very beginning of Austrian rule and the fortification work carried out between 1718 and 1721, directed by Major Nicolas Suly. The reasons behind the cutting into the rampart, built only two decades earlier, admittedly damaged in this area but not substantially ruined, are difficult to explain in rational terms, although it is known that at the time there was no clear concept of how to fortify the newly occupied Belgrade, as this was a period of searching for a suitable fortification design. The purpose of the structure seems a little more evident if we assume that it served to defend the access to the flank wall of the existing eastern crownwork, erected following Cornaro's design. However, Suly's ideas for new Belgrade fortifications were soon dismissed and most of the work suspended. Seen in this light, the unearthed remains of the blockhouse, its fate and further construction work in the investigated area of the Breach become a little more intelligible. In all likelihood, the idea of erecting the blockhouse was dismissed at the same time as the decision was made to remove Cornaro's entire outer line of defence in front of the Upper Town, including the crownwork, and to build entirely new outer bastion faces.²² This could have been in 1721, at the latest, which would have been the *terminus ante quem* for the discontinuation of all work based on earlier concepts. It remains unclear whether by that time the blockhouse had been built completely or only in part. Based on observations made during archaeological excavations, it may be assumed that the construction of the blockhouse was discontinued before the comple-

tion of the original design concept and therefore the structure was not used for the purpose for which it had been built. This is also indicated, among other things, by the fact that no archaeological layer testifying to the structure's use was discovered in the subterranean chamber.

The unearthed remains of this building, regardless of whether it was completed or not, provide sufficient elements for a consideration of its original design and structure, as well as of its intended purpose. As already pointed out, it was a building of a complex structure, that is a dual purpose edifice, whose lower level was to be used as a *latrine*, that is, a military toilet, whereas the upper part was to serve as a proper blockhouse intended for preventing potential enemy penetration of the Upper Town through the breach in the damaged rampart. In this respect, the vaulted underground chamber was to serve as a spacious septic tank that emptied into the fortress ditch. On its ground level, next to the longer wall, the wooden structure with the beam mentioned above represented a functional part of the latrine, with a narrow slit above the vaulted chamber below – the septic tank.

In addition to this, the ground level also served its primary, defensive purpose. Judging from the preserved wide loopholes, if need arose, the space could accommodate eight to ten soldiers. A similar number of defenders could have been deployed on the first level, where it is also possible to imagine loopholes in the shorter walls. It is by no means clear whether the blockhouse in the south-eastern rampart featured still another level of similar design. The existence of this second level would be in agreement with this type of defensive structure, but may be at odds with the height of the curtain walls of the south-eastern rampart. Regardless of whether one or two levels were designed, there was to be a covered gallery with masonry parapets above the uppermost level.

²² Idem, *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање), 160.



Fig. 47. Blockhouse, detail of the vaulted subterranean chamber, photo from 2008
(Documentation of Institute of Archaeology)

When the Upper Town defence strategy had been changed and work discontinued, the ensuing stage of construction, which likely started after 1722, saw the construction in front of the collapsed section of Cornaro's curtain of a protruding reinforcement that closed off the entire breach and gave the space its final form within the bastioned traces of the south-eastern rampart. It was built with stone and is not much different from the older front of the bastioned trace. It remains unclear what the opposite side, that is the inner curtain wall, looked like after these Austrian works and the delevelling of the Upper Town plateau, as there are no reliable clues indicating that anything was done in this section of the bastioned traces in this period. Following common practice, the inside structure of the reconstructed and reinforced rampart was filled in with earth, and, in the process, the blockhouse was filled in with it as well. Archaeological investigations yielded important findings related to the stages of filling the rampart with earth.

Before the infilling, probably already during the construction of the said reinforcement, that is the protruding section of the curtain wall, the ground level of the blockhouse was partly

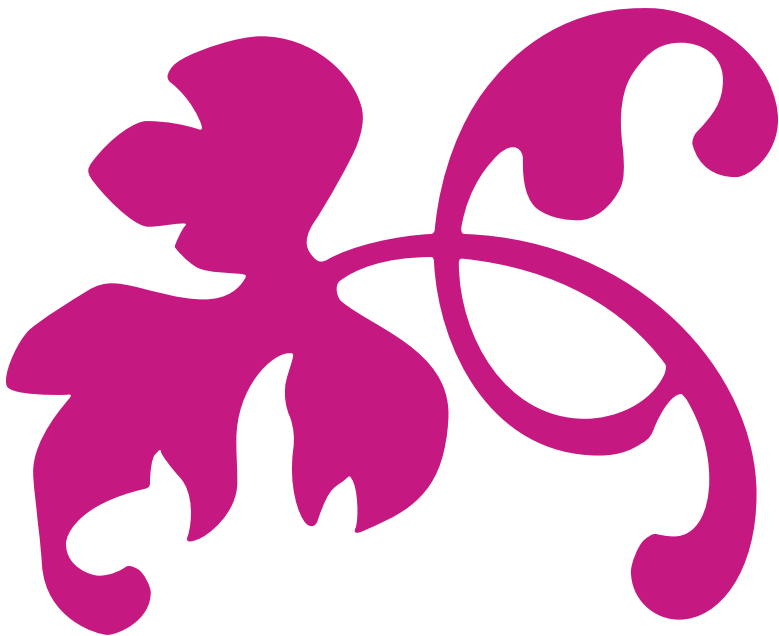
demolished. The entire vault with most of the northern wall was removed, whereas most of the lateral walls and the front wall with loopholes were preserved. For a time, this partly collapsed building was filled in with rubbish and other debris. Judging from the stratigraphic layers that reflect this process of infilling, it could be concluded that this was done from the eastern side of the rampart platform. Layers containing large quantities of ceramic and glass shards and animal bones were mostly concentrated around the eastern and, to some extent, southern walls, both outside and inside the ground level room of the collapsed building. The vaulted subterranean chamber, which had not been demolished, was almost entirely filled with large quantities of the same type of infilling material. The infill of earth and waste material got into the chamber through a longitudinal breach next to the southern wall of the ground level room. In addition to a consideration of the remains of the surviving masonry structures of the blockhouse, of particular importance are the layers of this primary infill which contained an abundance of archaeological finds. Several thousand potsherds, including a large number of fragmented ceramic vessels, were found in the earth of a heterogeneous composition. This

is a clean and closed archaeological horizon with material finds, which currently represents a unique stratigraphic assemblage, clearly confined to the period of Austrian rule. Owing to a detailed analysis of the process of the construction of fortifications of the Belgrade Fortress, the formation of this layer, that is, the infill, can be dated with great precision. The infilling of this space and the partly collapsed blockhouse may have started as early as 1721 or the following year, at the latest. This process of unknown duration was most probably completed already in the mid-1720s.

After this primary infill, when this section of the bastioned trace was used as a dump for the waste generated in the Upper Town, and

the erection of a new protruding curtain wall, the area containing the blockhouse was filled in with earth. This second infill layer, which contained traces of plaster rubble, yielded few archaeological finds.

All of the buildings from the time of Austrian rule in the Upper Town of the Belgrade Fortress were demolished in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Those that were not annihilated by war were destroyed by an attitude of disregard for this kind of legacy. Current knowledge and future research might be incentives for bringing to light the still uncovered traces of them as testimonies to an attempt to turn Belgrade into a fortified Baroque city.





VLADAN ZDRAVKOVIĆ

The Great Military ('Roman') Well in the Belgrade Fortress

As an all-comprehensive branch of military science, fortification design in the time of Marshal Vauban (1633–1707) included not only a study of new military strategies and construction technologies necessary for the erection of military installations, but also a close study of logistics related to accommodating troops and supplying them with food, materiel and safe drinking water on a regular basis, as well as to accommodating and feeding animals, removing manure, etc. This simultaneous study of the above aspects is very similar to the practices of twentieth-century schools of engineering design, which only goes to prove how rapid the development of military engineering in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was, particularly in view of the fact that this branch of engineering had been neglected for a long period. In that context, the water supply systems introduced in West European fortresses in the seventeenth century represented the main logistic resource without which long-term defence of a fort or fortified settlement would have been impossible. The majority of these systems involved construction of hydrotechnical structures with all the accompanying installations,

most notably cisterns and wells. Concurrently with the beginning of the development of the new fortification system, much attention was given to the design of high-capacity water supply facilities. The reason why there was this increased need for water lay in the fact that there was also an increase in the number of soldiers in standing armies and consequently in the number of their garrisons and regiments.

Wells also witnessed some improvements in digging and masonry techniques as well as in their accessibility. Some of the best examples are related to designs produced by Marshal Vauban and the designers of cisterns and wells in France under his command. The Great Well in the Belgrade Fortress (Fig. 48) was designed in 1720, that is, after the time of Marshal Vauban and the wars in Western Europe in the seventeenth century, but did not emulate the so-called *Grand puits* (castle wells). Thus the castle well in Belgrade did not follow the traditional line of development of this military utility, but rather represented an attempt to introduce this important fortress feature into Austrian bastioned fortresses as superior to its predecessors because its hydrotechnical instal-



Fig. 48. Entrance structure of the Great ('Roman') Well in the Belgrade Fortress
(PE Belgrade Fortress)

lation incorporated a number of novel solutions and did indeed play its part well in the overall military system of the Belgrade Fortress in the early eighteenth century.

Rational warfare

A first theoretical articulation of the role of the military engineer, which served as a model followed when national military schools were being established, was succinctly expounded in articles on mechanic arts in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, compiled in the early eighteenth century. According to this famous work, engineers are classified into three main types: one for warfare, specialising in the

knowledge of attacking and defending military positions; one for the sea, specialising in the knowledge of naval construction; and one for civil work, that is the building of roads, bridges and water works.¹

The vast number of fortification structures erected in France during the reign of Louis XIV by Marshal Vauban served as the main theoretical and practical foundation for the establishment of military engineering *grandes écoles* (great schools). Schools for training military officers, including military engineers, existed as private institutions before the establishment of state-run great schools. However, these were mostly restricted to instructing members of the aristocracy and, as a rule, had a limited syllabus. Already in the early sixteenth

¹ Diderot et al., *Encyclopédie*. As the oldest organised and bureaucratised engineering institution, L'Ecole des Constructeurs de Vaisseaux, founded in Nantes in 1672, aimed to train naval engineers.

century, the Habsburgs commissioned prominent Italian military engineers to fortify Austria's major cities.

The Holy League succeeded for the first time to make an inroad into Ottoman Serbia by briefly conquering Belgrade in 1688, where it also tried to modernise the existing medieval and Turkish fortifications.² Following the next Austrian conquest of Belgrade, by Eugene of Savoy in 1717, the fortress was refortified in accordance with the principles set by Marshal Vauban. Most of the fortifications previously erected by Cornaro were demolished, even though the existing medieval ramparts were retained wherever it was possible.³ As many as ten years before the Austrians conquered the city, Eugene of Savoy complained of the dire shortage of capable military engineers and the nonexistence of a well organised engineering corps. In a letter to the emperor of 1710, he states: 'I do not have a single engineer who knows how to build a proper fortress. The engineers have either been broken by misery and hardship, or they have deserted in order to avoid their imminent ruin. That is why we have been unable to fulfill our project of setting up an engineering corps and a school of military architecture of the sort on which all the other princes lavish so much money.'⁴ Several years passed before not only a competent military engineer but also design projects befitting the military doctrine of the Habsburgs in the part of Serbia under their control were found.⁵ By 1720, when Alexander of Württemberg became governor of Belgrade and Serbia, projects drawn up by Colonel de Boeff and his successor at the post

of chief fortress engineer, Major Nicolas Suly, had started being implemented. During the implementation of Major Suly's project, several major engineering undertakings were completed, such as the construction of the Big Gunpowder Magazine in the Lower Town, a rock-cut structure built in only three years (1718–1721).⁶ The sinking of the Great Well in the Upper Town probably began at approximately the same time. Austrian diplomat and travel writer Gerhard Cornelius von den Driesch expressly states that the well in the Upper Town had already been completed, but the well is not shown on the detailed plan produced by Captain Amman in 1722. The well is next mentioned as late as 1731, when a water drawing system was installed.⁷ The construction of the Great Well (*Der Grosse Brunn*) was an important infrastructure project, as complex as the Big Gunpowder Magazine (*Großes Pulver Magazin*), because both are subterranean structures. It is very likely that, in view of what had happened during the attacks on the Turkish fortress in 1717, when most of the buildings in the Lower Town were devastated in the explosion of the Turkish gunpowder magazine, Major Suly, together with Colonel de Boeff, addressed the very sensitive issue of gunpowder storage. For this reason, they opted for the safest, albeit most expensive solution, which involved building two rock-cut chambers of the gunpowder magazine at the foot of the limestone cliff in the Lower Town. The inspiration for the construction of the Great Well, a likewise exceptional and innovative engineering feat, came from several quarters.

² Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 183–188.

³ *Ibid.*, 226–248.

⁴ Duffy, *The Fortress in the Age of Vauban and Frederick the Great*, 25.

⁵ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 211–226

⁶ *Ibid.*, 262.

⁷ *Idem*, *Велики бунар Београдске тврђаве*, 31–37.

⁸ A century later (1746), in the reports on the condition of the Longwy Fortress, immediately after the one on the inspection of the fortifications, there is a report on the condition and yield of the wells and cisterns. Langins, *Conserving the Enlightenment*, 152–153.

Military engineering and hydraulics

The French model of training military engineers involved studying and mastering the knowledge of defensive fortifications and the skill of laying effective sieges to cities and fortresses. The curriculum did not comprise the study of hydrotechnical engineering and, for this reason, the designs for water works and sanitation systems were normally produced by civil engineers. During the construction of one of the most successful bastioned traces at Longwy (*Fortification de Longwic*), when Vauban submitted a memorandum with

a bill of quantities and a detailed estimate of expenses relative to fortification works together with a design project for the sanitation system and latrines next to the barracks, he proposed that two good master stonecutters (*appareilleurs*) and a specialist in water supply (*fontainier*) should come from Paris.⁸ The latter quite certainly had to do with the establishment of a unit that would be charged with constructing the famous wells at Longwy, of which the so-called Siege Well (*Le puits de siège*) (Fig. 49) was a public well supplying the civilians in the city. This testifies to well advanced standardisation of bill of quantities

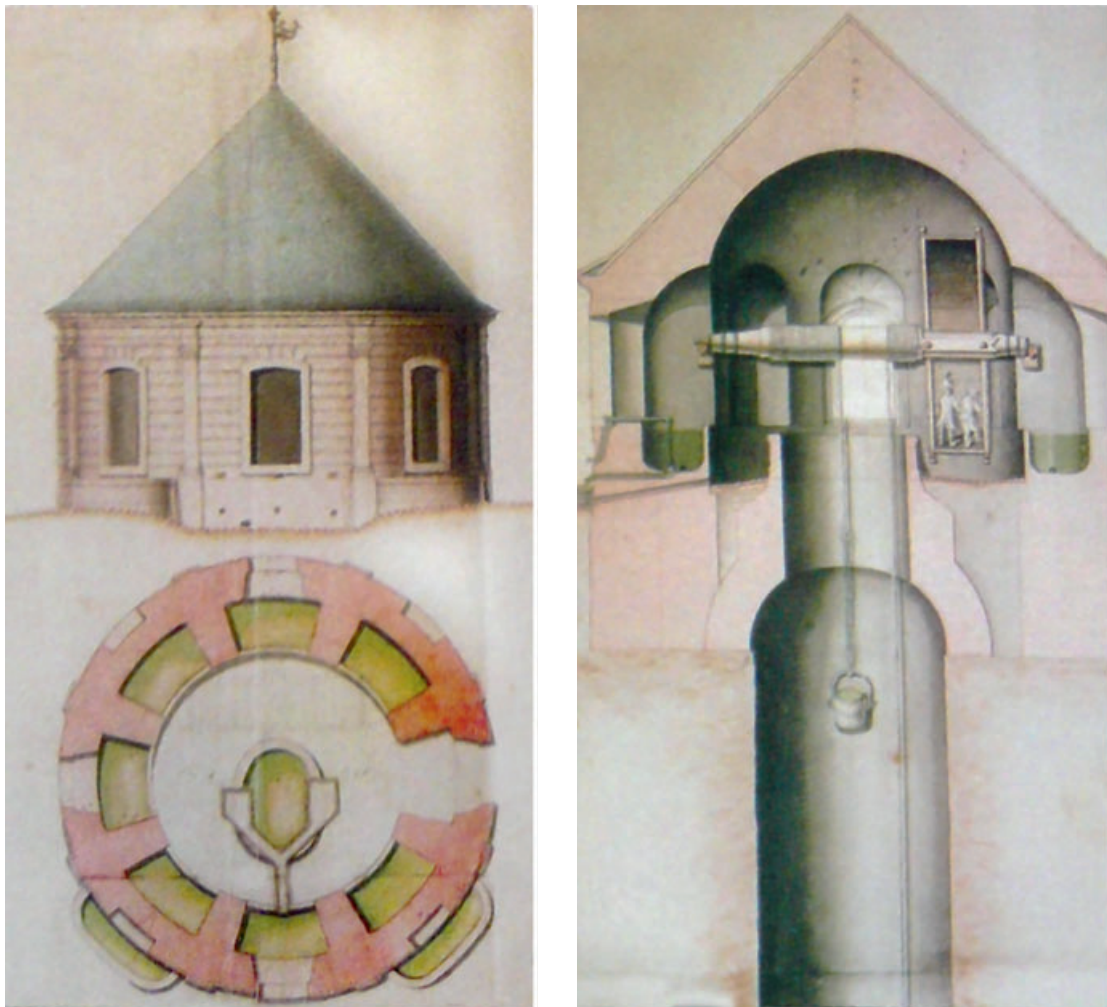


Fig. 49. Vauban's Siege Well (*Puits de Siège*) in the *Place d'Armes* at Longwy – plan, external elevation and cross-section (<http://www.mairie-herserange.fr/mes-loisirs/culture/office-de-tourisme-du-pays-de-longwy/>)

items relative to planning and building water intake structures.

Vauban's ingenious water supply system applied at Longwy involved transporting water from distant springs at the foot of the plateau on which the fortified city stood through covered channels running from the springs through the rock mass. The shafts of the five wells, each intended for a different group of users, accessed the channels around 60 metres below the city pavement.⁹ Easily recognisable in this concept is the old water supply system called *qanat*, which spread to Europe from the Middle East through the water supply systems used in the cities of the medieval Umayyad Caliphate in Spain.¹⁰ Vauban's solution at Longwy represents an improvement of the *qanat* system used in medieval Siena, where regular shortages of potable water were all but eliminated owing to a system of water channels, known locally as *botini*.¹¹ Vertical air ducts and well shafts complemented this system, which, by its structural features, belongs more to medieval *qanats* than to Roman aqueducts. The majority of fortress wells in France and Germany conceptually belong among traditional medieval water supply facilities, some of which were greatly improved, particularly those in several of Vauban's fortresses (Besançon, Longwy, Luxembourg, Fort de Joux).¹² Wells in medieval German castles were over 150 metres deep, but in the context of new warfare technologies, such deep wells were less impressive compared to those that allowed for efficient drawing of sufficient quantities of fresh and unpolluted water.

In order to ensure strategic quantities of water, cisterns were built as well to catch rain-

water and melted snow. In peacetime, they were used to water animals, for washing and personal hygiene. River water was used for drinking only in wartime if there was no other permanent supply of fresh water. Therefore, construction of a well was also undertaken in the Belgrade Fortress in order to provide the defenders of the Upper Town with fresh water in full siege conditions and in case of a breakdown of the existing city water supply system. Namely, the former water supply system in the Turkish settlement was repaired in the course of the major Austrian reconstruction of Belgrade and the well known water supply line running from Terazije to the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's drinking fountain was quickly operational again.¹³ In addition to this branch, which transported water under the Great Ravelin and the Sahat Gate to the tank of Mehmed Pasha's drinking fountain, there was also the Holy Spring (of Saint Paraskevi) in the eastern suburb, which was used even more, perhaps for cultic purposes, as Driesch, in his travelogue of 1720, reports on the great popularity of the water from this spring among the citizenry.¹⁴ Besides these two sources of potable water, the latter also being of insufficient yield, which made the water supply system vulnerable during sieges, there was no other option for the Upper Town to be supplied with satisfactory quantities of water but to excavate a deep well and build cisterns to catch rainwater. Regarding the latter, the fact that no cistern was ever built has its justification in the fact that the city is embraced by two big rivers, whose water could be used as technical water, very much like rainwater.

⁹ The best known Longwy well, the so-called 'Siege Well' (*Le puits du siège*), took eleven years to build (1679–1690) and its purpose was to supply the civilians in this garrison city with water. It was 58.5 m deep and fed with water from a spring in the Marchand Forest (*Fontaine du Bois de la Marchande*). Courbon, *DE CORDES-SUR-CIEL (Tarn) A KYFFHAUSER (Thuringe)*, 5.

¹⁰ Kucher, *The Water Supply System of Siena*, 48–58.

¹¹ Pulselli et al., *An emergy evaluation of a medieval water management system*.

¹² Courbon, *DE CORDES-SUR-CIEL (Tarn) A KYFFHAUSER (Thuringe)*, 6.

¹³ Ćorović, Blagojević, *Water, Society and Urbanization in the 19th Century Belgrade*, 53–59.

¹⁴ Милошевић, Крајновић, Ваџић, *Како су се лечили београдски митрополијци*, 435–447, нап. 16.

The decision to sink a fortress well of great depth may have been made because there was the spring in the eastern suburb indicating presence of water on the rocky Belgrade promontory. However, everything points to the fact that the author of the design for the Great Well wished to furnish the new Baroque-style fortress with an innovative and prestigious hydrotechnical resource that, along with other engineering feats, such as the Big Gunpowder Magazine and the magnificent bastioned traces, would spread the fame of the grandiosity of a Habsburg fortress throughout Europe. All the more so, because, seen in isolation, the fortress well did not have to be an organic part of the fortifications, that is, it could have been conceived and designed as a totally separate facility.

The Great Well in the Upper Town of the Belgrade Fortress – the origin of the concept

It does not suffice to say that the Great Well was just another fortress facility. This water intake structure was initially conceived as a narrow and very deep fortress garrison (rather than public) well, with spiral brick staircases in a double helix. The intended purpose of the well was to draw water from a presumed spring located at a great depth inside the rocky Belgrade (Kalemegdan) promontory without installing any water drawing mechanism or supplying any eventual system of conduits in the Upper Town with water. Given that this was to be a garrison well, water was to be drawn by men at regular intervals and as need arose. In all likelihood, the sinking of the well was approached with great self-assuredness, without drilling any test bores that would prove the presence of water in the rock mass of the *Taşmajdan Miocene shelf*. This is evident from the choice of the site of the Great Well,

in the best sheltered part of the Upper Town, well protected from bombardment by bastioned ramparts. Besides, its entrance is several metres lower than the Upper Town plateau, as it is situated in the former moat of Despot Stefan Lazarević's castle. Another hydrotechnical facility, the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's drinking fountain,¹⁵ was also built in the same moat, in its eastern part, because there the low invert level of the medieval moat suited the gravity flow necessary for transporting water through the Terazije aqueduct.

Structurally, the Well consists of three parts: a subterranean entrance with a strong roof structure as protection against bombardment; an upper, wider well shaft with spiral stairwells; and a lower, narrower cylindrical reservoir (Fig. 50). Variants of the structural elements used in the construction of the Great Well were utilised in the construction of a small number of big wells and edifices in Europe. The origin of the concept of deep fortress wells with a spiral staircase that provide access to water at great depths dates from no earlier than the High Middle Ages. The first and oldest such well was sunk outside Europe, in the Cairo Citadel of Sultan Salah ad-Din (r. 1169–1193), the famous *Bir Yusuf* (also known as 'Well of Joseph' or 'Saladin's Well'), as part of large-scale fortification work and construction of the new Cairo fortress, which began in 1176.¹⁶ It was followed by two deep wells in Italy, the more famous one being at Orvieto (*Pozzo di San Patrizio*), sunk between 1527 and 1537, and the somewhat later one at Turin, called *Cisternone* (*Il Pozzo Grande della Cittadella di Torino*), excavated in the centre of the Turin Citadel in 1565–1567.¹⁷ Saladin's Well, a masterpiece of Islamic hydraulic engineering, must have made a strong impression on his contemporaries. The reason why we do not encounter more such structures in Moslem

¹⁵ Поповић, М., *Чесма Мехмед-џаши Соколовића*, 71–83.

¹⁶ Lyster, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 5–7.

¹⁷ Bearzi, Bearzi, *Architettura degli impianti*, 93.

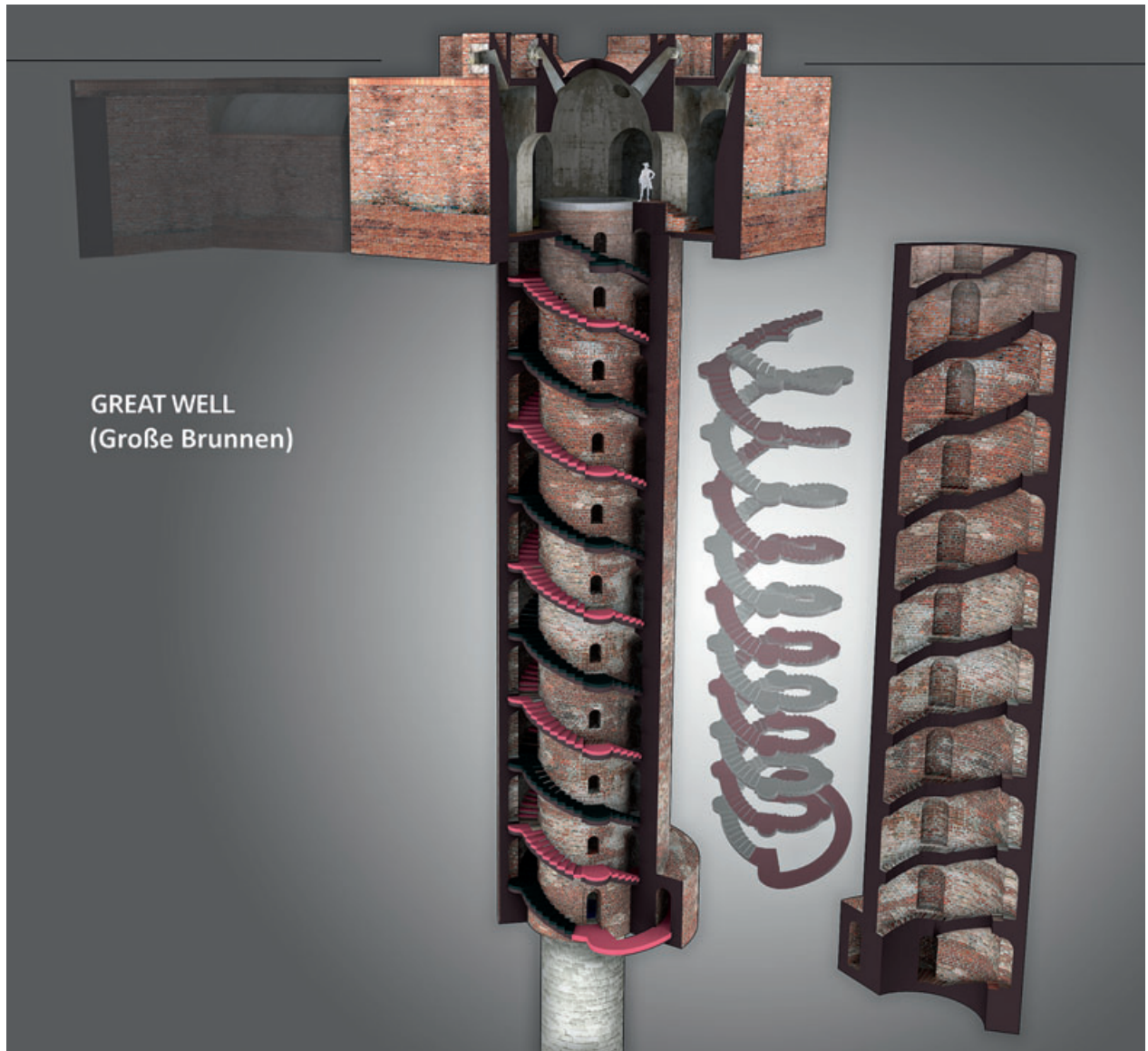


Fig. 50. Cross-section of the Great Well in the Belgrade Fortress
(author: architect Vladan Zdravković, 2019)

cities and very few of them in Europe at a much later date does not lie so much in the complexity of the enterprise and the utilised water drawing technology, but rather in the rarity of such a topographical and hydrological site as the one at the Muqattam Hills, on one of whose promontories the Cairo Citadel was erected. Likewise, siting a fresh water spring of sufficient yield to justify the huge effort involved in deep excavation through rock

masses has always been a big challenge and, for this reason, it was not uncommon to complement low-yield wells with additional accumulation surfaces.

Of the four said deep wells, which constitute a unique type of well, it is the oldest among them, Saladin's Well in Cairo, that is superior in almost every respect – from the quality of excavation work and the design of the entrance, to the efficient but simple water drawing

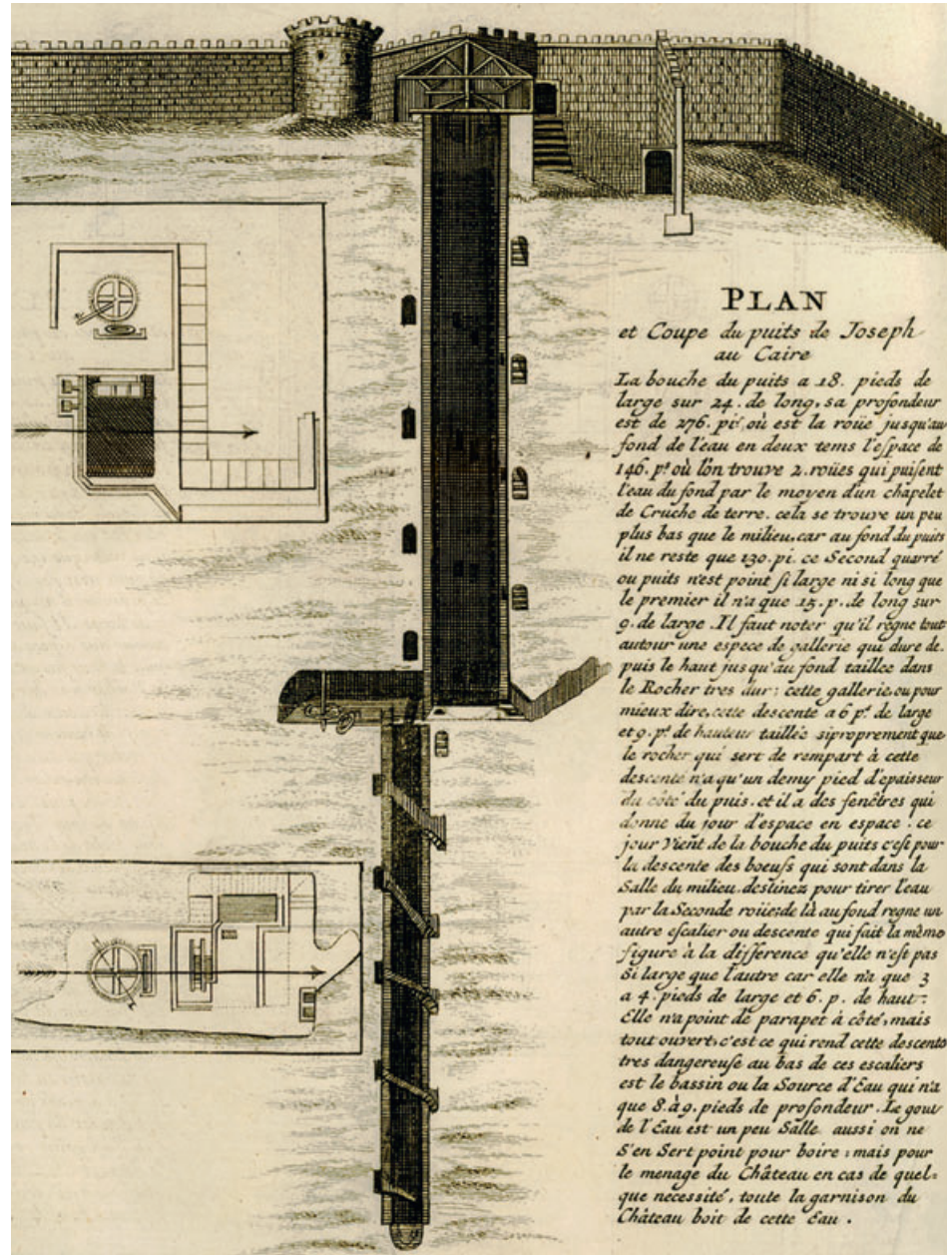


Fig. 51. Paul Lucas, Drawing of the Well of Joseph (*Bir Yusuf*) in Saladin's fortress in Cairo, 1720 (<http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=45384>)

method, to the connection of the well to the irrigation system in the citadel. The management of fresh water in semi-desert conditions of the Nile Delta and the region of Mayrut was constantly being improved throughout Antiquity until it received its final form. This was primarily achieved by combining several

technical elements in a single mechanism, such as that utilised in the ancient castella wells in the greater area of Alexandria, which combined ancient *sakīyas* – water wheels and *noria*, mounted on wells, and reservoirs for producing gravity flow necessary for transporting water, mostly to public baths.¹⁸ *Sakīyas* and

¹⁸ Better conceived mechanisms featured *norias* – large-diameter wheels driven by ox-powered *saqīyas*, the same as in *Der Große Doppelbad castellum* and the palace at Abu Mena. Plans 37, 38 and 39: Oleson, Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices.



Fig. 52. Horizontal wheel of a *sakīya* at Saladin's Well (*Bir Yusuf*) in the Cairo Citadel (University of California, Keystone Collection; UC Riverside, California Museum of Photography, <https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt8489r2bo/>)

wells with cisterns are the main methods of obtaining supplies of water in the area of Lake Mareotis and it is, therefore, not surprising that as many as two *sakīyas*, driven by two teams of three oxen each, were mounted on Saladin's Well (Fig. 51). The lower *sakīya* was mounted approximately halfway down the well, which is 87 metres deep, and this lower unit drew

water with a closed set of pots that emptied into a reservoir at the same level where oxen turned the wheel of the *sakīya*. The *sakīya* at the top of the well drew the water from the reservoir in the same manner and emptied into the fortress aqueducts (Fig. 52). The wider spiral staircase allowed for bringing oxen to the lower *sakīya*, whereas the narrower, also spiral staircase provided access to the water itself.¹⁹ However, this undertaking did not go without surprises at the very end, either, as the water was brackish, which required the installation of water wheels of the *noria* type on the banks of the Nile to transport water from the river to the system of aqueducts, whereas the well served as a source of water of inferior quality in times of crises.²⁰

Three and a half centuries later, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger of Florence built a large public well in the city on the rock, Orvieto, in the course of ten years (Fig. 53). News of Saladin's well must have circulated among Christians in the west of medieval Europe rather early, even though Europeans had had no access to the Citadel until at least the sixteenth century.²¹ It was certainly much earlier than the renowned reports on Cairo by Pellegrino Brocardo that the Cairo well, into which oxen were led, was known in Italy, but it is uncertain how Renaissance innovators understood this information, as neither Orvieto or Turin wells featured any kind of mechanical device that would replace manual labour and make drawing water more efficient.

Da Sangallo decided to build a large public well in Orvieto after he had completed the restoration of *Pozzo della Cava*, an ancient well in another part of the city. Because of its low yield and poor accessibility, the latter well

¹⁹ The spiral stairway that enveloped the rectangular shaft along its entire height inspired the well's other name, *Bir Al-Halazun* – the well of the snail or spiral well; cf. Lyster, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 6.

²⁰ That the Cairo Well was built by Arab engineers was long dismissed in the West by claims that it was actually built during Antiquity. See Brewster, *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, 213–214.

²¹ The first news of the well may have come from the Spanish travel writer Ibn Jubayr, who reported in 1183 on 'countless captive Crusaders' digging a ditch around the Citadel, but also in later reports, such as the travelogue of Pellegrino Brocardo, who went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land by way of Egypt in 1556. Micara, *Alexandria, Egypt*, 271–276.



Fig. 53. Fortress well in Orvieto – view towards the water at the bottom of the dry shaft surrounded by spiral staircases

(<http://www.inorvieto.it/pozzo-di-san-patrizio/>)

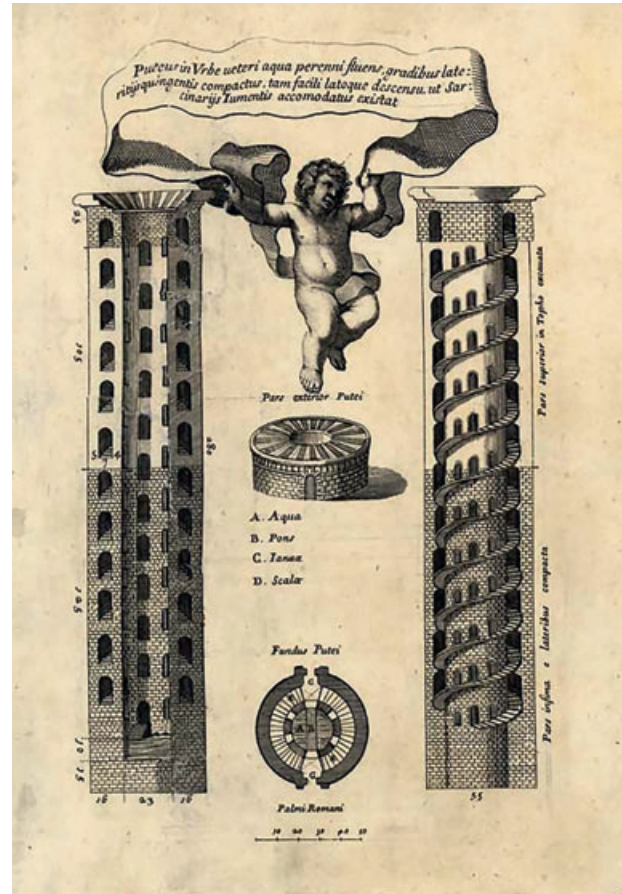


Fig. 54. Filippo Bonanni, External elevation and cross-section of the fortress well in Orvieto, 1699 (*Orvieto*, 42–43)

was not a reliable source of water for the citizens in times of crisis. The sinking of the cylindrical shaft of the 'Fortress Well' (the first name of da Sangallo's well is *Pozzo della Rocca*), with a base diameter of 13 metres and around 54 metres deep, in the rock mass mostly composed of soft tuff, began only after conducting hydrogeological tests in order to find a site where it would be possible to reach the layer of clay with a water vein.²² Two spiral ramps in a double helix provided access for

beasts of burden that carried the water that had been drawn and transported it throughout the city (Fig. 54).

Sangallo's concept is in every respect medieval but efficient in the sense that it met Orvieto's needs for water and safety of its citizens in case of siege. The structure over the entrance of the well, called *bocca*, was left open to the sky, allowing for rainwater collection in the reservoir and also for natural light to reach the bottom sections of the shaft. The double

²² Riccetti, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane in Orvieto*, 76–85.

helix ramps allowed for unobstructed descent and ascent. The access to the water for manual drawing is totally medieval and reminiscent of the well known city fountains and horse-watering basins (*fonti* and *guazzatoi*) of medieval Siena,²³ the covered pools of water whose utilisation was governed by strict regulations.

Thirty years after the building of Sangallo's well, military engineer Francesco Paciotto of Urbino, applied the same concept to building a well in the Turin Citadel that was a little more advanced and exclusively military in character. He built it at the behest of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who moved the capital of his duchy to Turin in 1559. The shaft of this

well/cistern (Fig. 55) is a little wider than that in Orvieto (11.3 m in diameter and 22 m deep) and surrounded by more comfortable ramps intended for bringing teams of horses to the water and leading them out by the other helical ramp.²⁴ The two-storey structure over the *bocca* of the well is open to the sky, allowing for rainwater collection.

The imposing entrance structure, whose rooms were used for storing military materiel, was the target of artillery fire during all sieges of Turin, and was, therefore, damaged many times, even though it sustained the severest damage, as did the Citadel, in the explosion of 78 tonnes of gunpowder in 1698. It was expo-

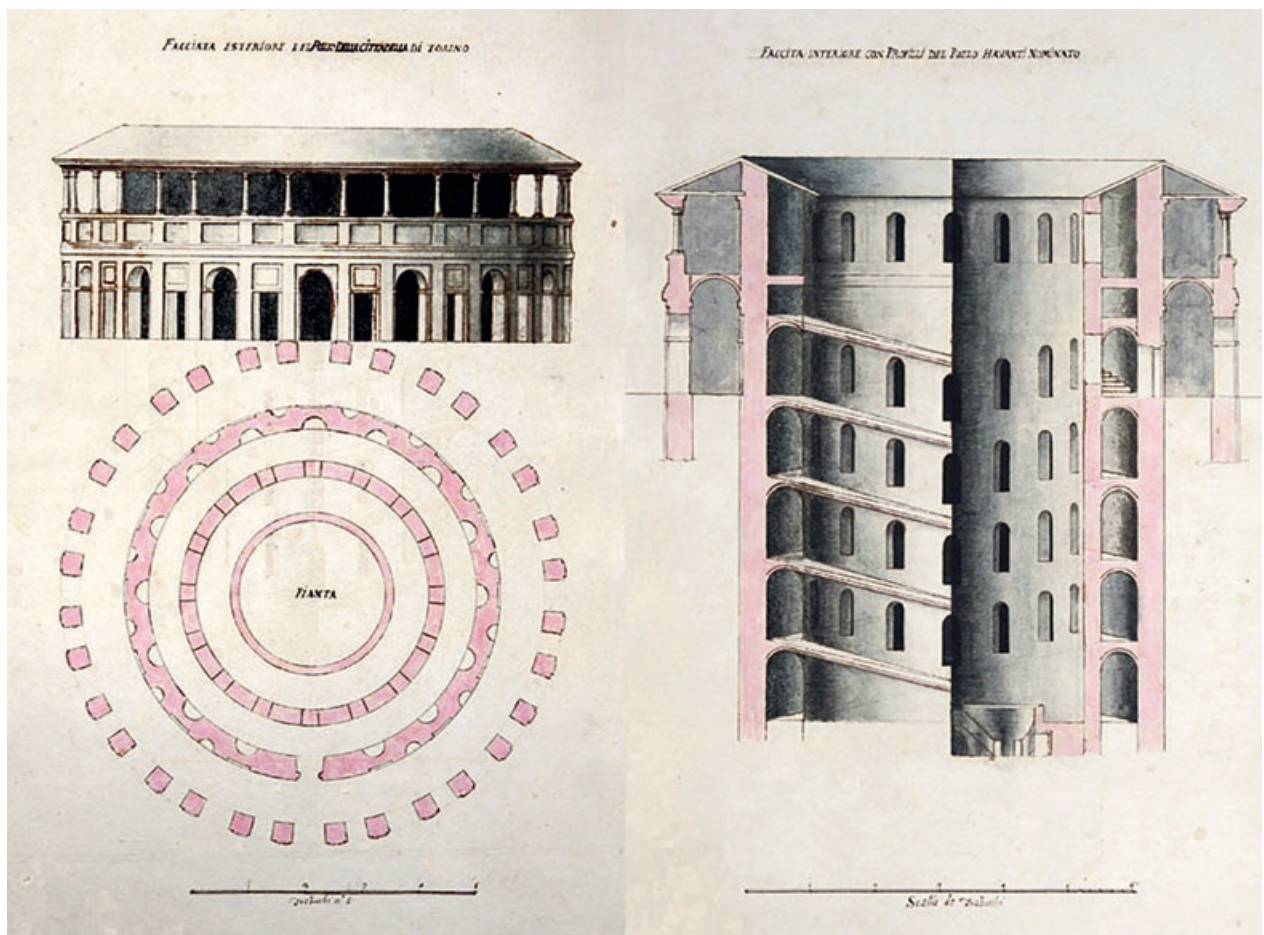


Fig. 55. Morello, External elevations of the fortress well in Turin (*Pozzo Grande della Cittadella*)

(Istituto Storico e di Cultura dell'Arma del Genio di Roma, BB.ICO.951/D.8858, <http://www.museotorino.it/view/s/ca7f360517df46928fdaa89895a8fc36>)

sed to bombardment because it was in the centre of the *Piazza d'Armi*, the very heart of the Citadel, whose architecture followed the principle of geometrical symmetry of a star-shaped citadel rather than military doctrine. Because it was an easy target, and also failed to provide any protection for the well, the entrance structure was not restored after the siege of 1706.²³

Unlike the Italian Renaissance wells with ramps, Marshal Vauban viewed wells as unavoidable resource structures that are part of a larger, well-conceived water supply system in bastioned fortresses and fortified cities of the seventeenth century. He did not start a technological revolution in the utilisation of wells, but each of the wells built by Vauban's *fontainiers* following his water supply design projects were designed rationally, and in some cases, such as Longwy, even ingeniously. The so-called 'Siege Well' in Longwy (1679–1690), even though it was built, following the Renaissance custom, in the very heart of the ramparted city, that is, in the centre of the *Place d'Armes*, the same as the *Cisternone* in Turin, it was uncommonly well protected from bombardment by a closed, circular entrance structure. This veritable bunker over the well (with 2.55 m thick walls) withstood all artillery attacks, including heavy bombardments in both World Wars.

Traditionally, as in the case of most other large wells in France, water was drawn by manual labour utilising large treadwheels called 'squirrel cages' (*cage d'écureuil*) (Fig. 49), within which one or two well attendants would wind a rope by treading and thus raise buckets filled

with water from great depths (at Longwy from a depth of as much as 60 metres). Other attendants would then take the buckets and empty them into inner troughs or pools, which were radially positioned around the well shaft, whence water was transported by pipes to the taps on the outside of the entrance structure. Thus, not even at Longwy was human power replaced by a more advanced system of drawing water. Overall, however, the water supply system had been ingeniously conceived, as fresh water was transported by underground conduits and the protective entrance structure over the well was exceptionally sturdy.

Der Große Brunnen in the Belgrade Fortress

The creator of the design for the Great Well in the Belgrade Fortress, built in the early eighteenth century, must have been well acquainted with the abovementioned large fortress wells and sinking techniques. It is evident from the very concept of the Great Well in the Upper Town of the Belgrade Fortress that the design also met safety requirements, because a sturdy protective structure was erected over the entrance to the well, a feature evidently borrowed from Vauban's comprehensive military doctrine and the Longwy well (Fig. 56). Well sinking techniques were not substantially different from country to country. They primarily depended on the terrain and the geology of the ground in which

²³ The design of the large well in Orvieto was commissioned by Pope Clement VII at the time when he had fled Rome and took shelter in Orvieto in 1527. The design and early works can by all means be attributed to Sangallo, but the well was completed only as late as 1543, during the papacy of Pope Paul III and under the supervision of Florentine architects and sculptors Giovanni Battista da Cortona and Simone Mosca. Ray, *Seven Partly Underground Rooms and Buildings*, 19.

²⁴ The referential plans of the Turin well (*Pozzo Grande della Cittadella*) are the engravings by Michelangelo Morello in *Theatrum Statuum Regiae Celsitudinis Sabaudiae Ducis*, I, Amstelodami, Blaeu, 1682. Collezione Simeom, N 1) integrated into Manzo, Peirone, *I GIORNI DELL'ASSEDIO*, 6; changes to the plan are recorded by the same author in Michel Angelo Morello, *Facciata esteriore del Pozzo della Cittadella di Torino / Facciata interiore con Profili del Pozzo havanti nominato*, Istituto Storico e di Cultura dell'Arma del Genio di Roma, BB.ICO.951/D.8858. (<http://www.museotorino.it/view/s/ca7f360517df46928fdaa89895a8fc36>)

²⁵ Gariglio, *1706, l'assedio di Torino*, 176–178.

the well was to be sunk and also on the availability of skilled manpower.²⁶ By all accounts, by the time of the construction of the Great Well in Belgrade such specialist undertakings had involved organised logistic operations, such as recruiting a team of men who would do the job. It stands to reason to conclude, at least in the case of the sinking of the well in the Upper Town, that the task was performed by the same master builders and pioneers who had built the Big Gunpowder Magazine in the Lower Town under Major Suly, as both of these structures involved rock excavation. The construction team must have been very similar to the team of the French *fontainiers*, which was comprised of specialists such as rock dig-

gers (*rocteurs*), carpenters (*charpentiers*), who put up the scaffolding, bracing (*pleyons*) and formwork, stonemasons (*tailleurs de pierres*), who produced ashlar and other stone profiles, stonemasons (*maçons*), bricklayers, and, finally, well diggers (*puitiers ou puisatiers*), who did the work on the shaft. A military engineer organised and supervised the work. His responsibilities and tasks are described in more detail by Bédidor in his treatise, *La science des ingénieurs dans la conduite des travaux de fortification et d'architecture civile*, from 1729, wherein he lists Vauban's instructions for the work of engineers.²⁷

The well-digging technique was described in several subsequent treatises, as the manner



Fig. 56. Great Well in the Belgrade Fortress – working platform over the dry shaft in the protective entrance structure (PE Belgrade Fortress)

of sinking narrow well shafts had not changed much. The dangers to which the workmen were exposed were the same in the Middle Ages as in later times and mostly included the perennial threat of shaft walls caving in, embolism and accumulation of toxic fumes and gases.²⁸ The diggers and labourers who were lowered to the lowest level of the well had to be secured with ropes and rope ladders so that they could quickly be pulled out in case there was an increased concentration of harmful fumes. As a rule, the only indication of this was when the candles which they took into the shaft with them extinguished. In order to ensure a constant flow of air in deep and narrow bores, a duct was installed vertically along the shaft and fire was lit at one of its ends to produce a difference in pressures that enabled air flow in order to prevent asphyxia (*anoxic asphyxia*).

The most prominent feature of the Belgrade well is its spiral staircase in double helix surrounding the dry well shaft and enabling unobstructed descent to the reservoir and ascent to the exit of the well (Fig. 57). As the well had been conceived solely as a water intake structure for the needs of the garrison of the Belgrade Fortress and not for public use, the Great Well was not equipped with a water drawing mechanism that would facilitate its use and enable more efficient exploitation. The designer had certainly calculated the quantity of water drawn by human power, that is by teams of soldiers, which could obviously draw sufficient quantities of fresh water in a short time. It was for this exact purpose

that the two spiral staircases were constructed, utilising the geometry of a double helix, in order to make possible one-way descent to the water and ascent to the exit of the well for the soldiers carrying buckets (Fig. 58). Spiral staircases in a double helix were not unknown in Europe at the time of the construction of the well in the Upper Town. Thus, their construction inside a military hydrotechnical facility suggests that the architect in charge was highly educated. Such staircases were first used in Central Europe during the High Gothic period, in the Cathedral of St. Elisabeth in Košice (*Kassa*, 1430–1440), and the less well known ones in Graz (*Die Grazer Burg Doppelwendeltrepe*, 1499–1500). Their purpose was to enable an unobstructed flow of pilgrims in the former and segregation of classes, that is, to prevent any encounter between aristocrats and ordinary citizens in the castle, in the latter. The best known helical staircases are the ones in the Château de Chambord, built in the early sixteenth century. Their construction is often attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, mostly because of his sketch of a double helix intended for Renaissance fortifications. However, other Renaissance innovators also experimented with twisted staircases. Perhaps the most important among them was Donato Bramante, whose helical ramp, constructed in 1505 in the palace of Pope Innocent VIII, probably served as inspiration for Sangallo when he decided to construct staircases in a double helix in the Orvieto well.²⁹

It was possible to produce the final design for the Great Well in Belgrade only after the

²⁶ The method of digging under the bottom of a brick cylinder was used in deep wells being sunk into soft and loose ground, and this required a greatly experienced designer and workmen in charge of preventing cave-ins, which was a huge practical challenge when no geological and hydrotechnical sounding of the ground was performed. This method is still used when the first concrete cylinder, which represents the so-called 'knife', is dug under. See Војиновић, *Техничар*, 606–607. In the chapter on cisterns and wells, Béliidor classifies such wells as *puits forés* – bore wells, as this digging method can be applied only in the case of soft ground, but he does not address the issue of the so-called 'great wells' (*grand puits*): De Béliidor, *La science des ingénieurs*, 82.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁸ Debaue, *Procédés et matériaux de construction*, 289–361.

²⁹ Riccetti, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane in Orvieto*, 76 – includes Sangallo's original sketch of the helical coil. See 6. *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, Pozzo della Rocca o di S. Patrizio, ca 1528. Firenze, Uffizi, 1242Ar.*



Fig. 57, 58. Great Well – the dry shaft and spiral stair flight (PE Belgrade Fortress)

depth at which the water vein lay had been established. This piece of information was necessary primarily to minimise the effort invested in the excavation of the wider, upper well shaft with staircases, which was probably not immediately sunk to its present size. An unpleasant surprise for the builders of the well came when they did not reach the water vein, even though the narrower, lower shaft had already reached a depth of over 60 metres, measured from the entrance above, that is around ten metres below the bank of the Sava River (Fig. 59).³⁰ According to some resea-

chers, a lateral tunnel, which was started at the depth of 50 metres in order to compensate for the absence of groundwater at the bottom of the well by conveying water from the Sava, was never completed because of unfavourable geology, but the more likely reason is that the reservoir of the well started filling with water that was seeping through cracks in the rock mass from the top of the so-called 'Belgrade ridge'. This filtered water was caught in the reservoir of the well, which thus became a cistern. Evidently, the water column in the submerged shaft/cistern fluctuated in height, that

³⁰ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (прво издање), 169, сл. 63.



Fig. 59. Submerged well shaft serving as a cistern
(PE Belgrade Fortress)

is, in the volume of water over the year, which presented additional problems to the builders.

By all accounts, the construction of the spiral staircases was undertaken immediately after the height of the water column stabilised at 25 metres (spot level 73.12), which suggests that the builders did not expect it to fluctuate significantly between spring and autumn. However, the inflow of water during rainy months

and when snow melted in the spring caused an increase in the water column, which thus submerged nearly one third of the height of the upper shaft and the staircases, making it impossible to use the latter as originally conceived. Because of these seasonal inflows, the engineers had to install a water drawing mechanism in 1731,³¹ which made it possible to keep the level of the water at the bottom of the staircases. Some of the surplus water drawn by pump was stored in a reservoir built next to the entrance to the well. The reservoir was later remodelled, quite certainly due to the experience drawn from its utilisation before and after the installation of the pump, when the volume of drawn water that needed to be stored increased.

Pump installation in 1731

There is no precise data on the pump installed in the Great Well, but there are strong indications about the type of device, particularly after the discovery of a drawing of one such installation in the Matica Srpska Library.³² Even though the drawing refers to pumps installed in deep wells, that is, without specifying whether the pump was intended for the Belgrade Well or another one, the pumps described are piston pumps that have predominantly been utilised in West European mines since the seventeenth century to drain groundwater.

The widespread use of the system began after the publication of Georgius Agricola's famous treatise on pumps and mining,³³ wherein this innovator proposed an improved version of the ancient piston force pump invented by Ctesibius as a solution to the

³¹ M. Popović quotes T. С. Вилловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 343; Vienna War Archives, HKR, 1731 dezentember 612 P. Ex., in Поповић М., *Велики бунар Београдске тврђаве*, 31–37.

³² *Ibid.*, 20.

³³ The last two types of Agricola's pumps, marked as VII and VIII, would correspond to mining pumps powered by the *Stagenkunst* in West European mines and the pump installed in the Great Well in Belgrade. Agricola, *De re metallica*, 184–187.

burning issue of groundwater in mines (Fig. 60). Mines in France, German principalities and Austria³⁴ were comparatively quickly equipped with this innovation, which, over time, developed into the complex drainage adit systems, including the one utilising the flatrod system powered by the kinetic energy of water streams (*Stagenkunst*) over long distances. These adit pump systems were rather unreliable because of frequent breakdowns, as

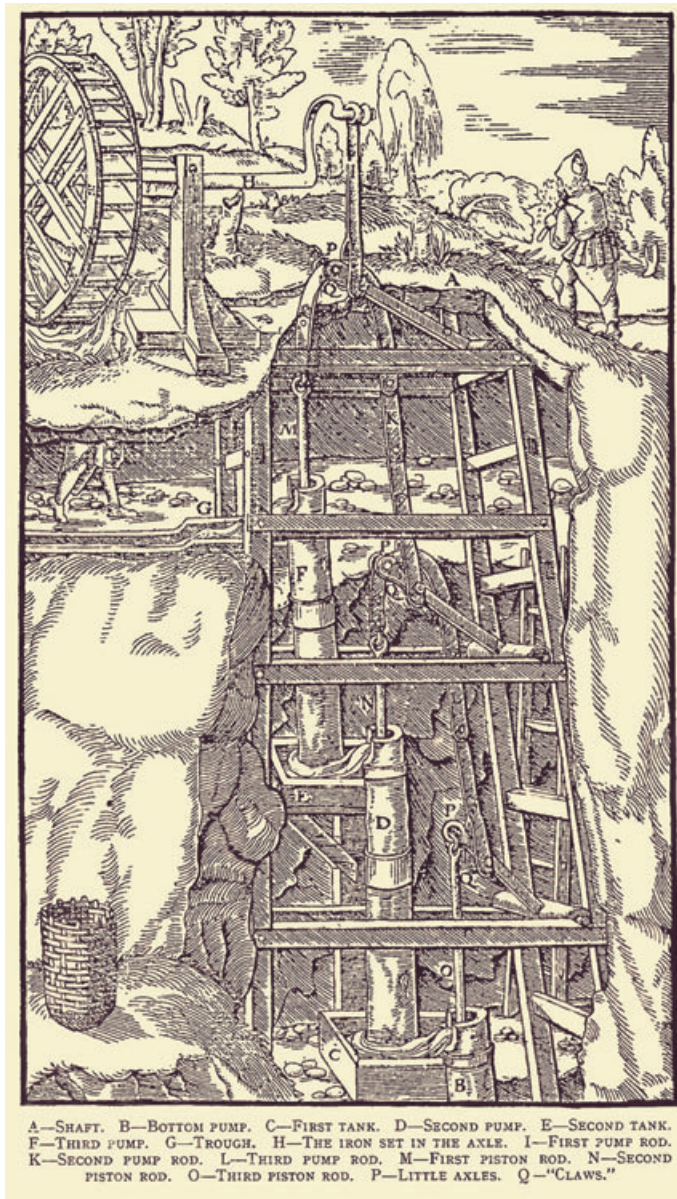


Fig. 60. Agricola's drainage piston pump, Type 7
(Agricola, *De re metallica*, 185–189)

wooden pipes were used for a long time. It was in the mid-seventeenth century that Agricola's mining pumps were supplanted by improved piston pumps with metal pipes and other component parts.

Therefore, the pumping system installed in the Great Well of the Belgrade Fortress in 1731 most probably belonged to the group of somewhat modified mining drainage installations that essentially followed Ctesibius' (and subsequent Heron of Alexandria's) basic system with two pipes, which allowed the pistons to lift water no higher than 24 feet, i.e., around six metres,³⁵ the usual height of a mine gallery. This means that the installation in the Belgrade Well had at least five levels, each fitted with a container from which water was drawn to the level above it. The propelling power was again human. Also, given the early date of the installation of the pump (1731), it is very likely that the pump featured wooden pipes and a few metal (bronze) parts on the body, in which case it had to operate almost without a stop, as wooden pipes change their gauge during longer periods of disuse, which requires their replacement.

However, the utilisation of this installation was short-lived, as Belgrade, as well as the entire Serbia under Württemberg's administration, was ceded already in 1737. It is unlikely that the pump was relinquished to the Turkish garrison after the newly constructed parts of the fortress had been demolished as provided in the peace treaty, even though the plan of demolished structures shows the Great Well among those that had been spared.³⁶ After Laudon's conquest of Belgrade in 1789, the plan of existing fortifications also contains a plan of the Great Well, with an accompanying description stating that it was a usable well with spiral staircases, but there is no mention of a pump (Fig. 61).³⁷

Given the well-developed water supply system in Ottoman Belgrade, with one high-yield branch running along the Terazije ridge to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's drinking fountain, the Great Well remained a secondary source of

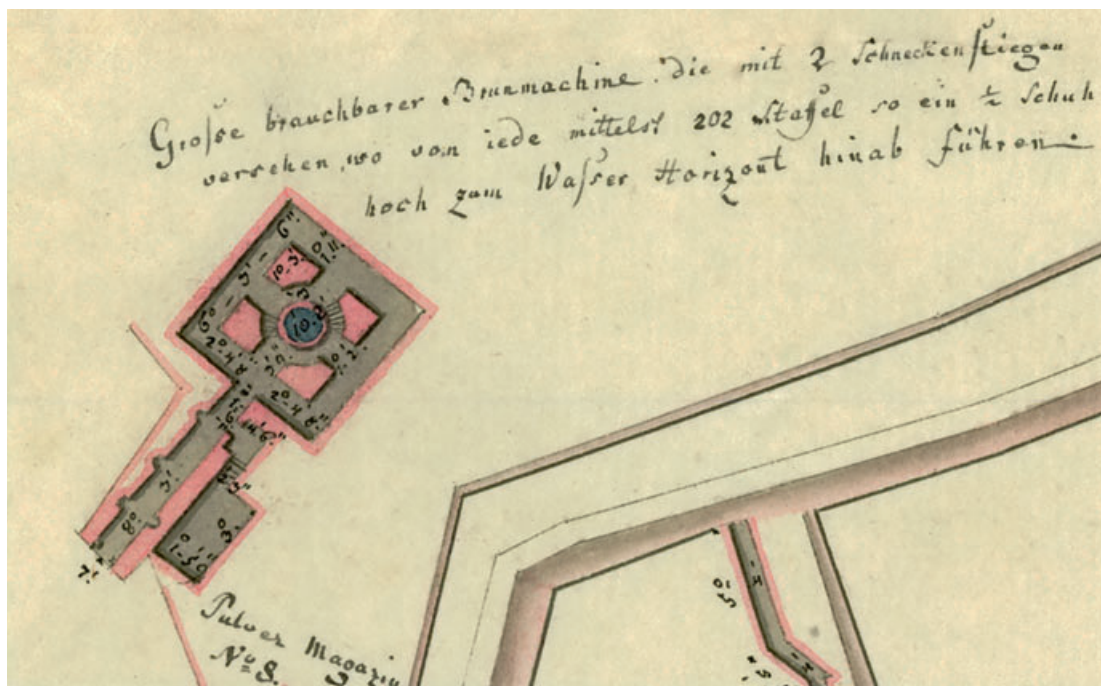


Fig. 61. Ground plan of the Great Well – magnified detail from the ground plan of the fortress from 1789 (Vienna War Archives, sig. G I b 40–3)

potable water in the Upper Town, more or less used in subsequent times as well. No other water drawing mechanism was installed in the well after 1739, but this military installation was never abandoned by any military authority as long as the Belgrade Fortress was of any military importance.

Concluding assessment

By its original concept, the Great Well, built between 1718 and 1731 in the Upper Town of the Belgrade Fortress, belongs to the small group of deep fortress wells with stairways leading down to the water. Created in the early

³⁴ The *Stagenkunst* system was first introduced in German mining region of Erzebüрге on the border of Bohemia and Saxony in 1550–1565, mostly because of the need to make a transition from surface to underground mining, the latter previously being difficult due to groundwater. Kitsikopoulos, *Innovation and Technological Diffusion*, 55–57.

³⁵ Agricola, *De re metallica*, 184.

³⁶ On the orthographic plan of the organised demolition of Belgrade's bastioned traces, the well is captioned as 'der Große Brunnen'. The entire plan is titled *Grund-Riß der rafsirten Stadt Belgrad mit der außwechsluns Cormonio dafs Röm. Kaißerb: und Turkifchen- Groß Boltſchaffters* and dated June, 1740. Belgrade City Museum, Plan 146V4.

³⁷ The translation of this description of the Great Well on the 1789 plan of the underground of the Belgrade Fortress ("*Souterains Plan: Von der Festung Belgrad, wie sich solche nach der Einnahme den 8th October 789 vorgefungen haben*" KAW) was done at this author's request by experts of the Vienna City Administration and the Vienna Water Works, Ing. Gerald Strof, Johann Schwungfeld, Thomas Hubmer and Christoph Turecek, in March/April 2018, and it reads as follows (with added comments): "The big useful well (no machine but the description of a building surrounding the well) with 2 screwstairs (because of the circular running), with 202 stairs (for „Staffel“ as in doorsill or threshold) of ½ Schuh (~ 15,8 cm) height going down to the water horizon of the well." (*Große brauchbarer Brunnenmaschine = Der große Brunnen (heute würde man Brunnfassung dazu sagen, also das Gebäude um den Brunnen – offenbar Freispiegelbrunnen mit Grundwasser) Die mit 2 Schneckenstiegen versehen, wovon jede mittelst 202 Staffeln so ein ½ Schuh hoch = Also spiralförmig um den Brunnen herum 2 Stiegen mit 202 Stufen etwa 15,8 cm hoch (überwindet also ca. 3,2 meter in die Tiefe). Zum Wasserhorizont hinab führen = also zur Ebene des Wasserspiegels).*

eighteenth century, the concept of this hydro-technical installation has never been repeated elsewhere, perhaps mostly because of the great risk of failing to find a water vein after investing huge efforts into deep rock excavation. Even though the Belgrade Well had an exclusively military purpose of providing the fortress garrison with sufficient supplies of fresh water in times of siege, its architect embarked on producing its design with a great knowledge of European sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fortress wells in an obvious attempt to turn a utilitarian hydraulic installation into a prestigious example of European military architecture.

The innovative character of the concept of the Great Well is primarily evident in the utilisation of the spiral staircases in a double helix

as a means of access to the water and back up to the exit, that is, the concept of unobstructed one way movement that had long been known in Central Europe, but which had also been superbly utilised in Renaissance Italy, in the two famous wells, the ones in Orvieto and Turin. These two wells featured helical ramps, but the one in Belgrade had narrow staircases that were sufficiently wide for the movement of water carriers in file. This and the absence of any kind of mechanism that would replace human power, plus the bleak functionality of the architecture, reveal the rational stance of Habsburg military engineering in the period of Turkish-Austrian wars (Fig. 62). This is also how far the success of the Great Well in Belgrade goes, as the purpose of this facility was only to serve as a secondary source of

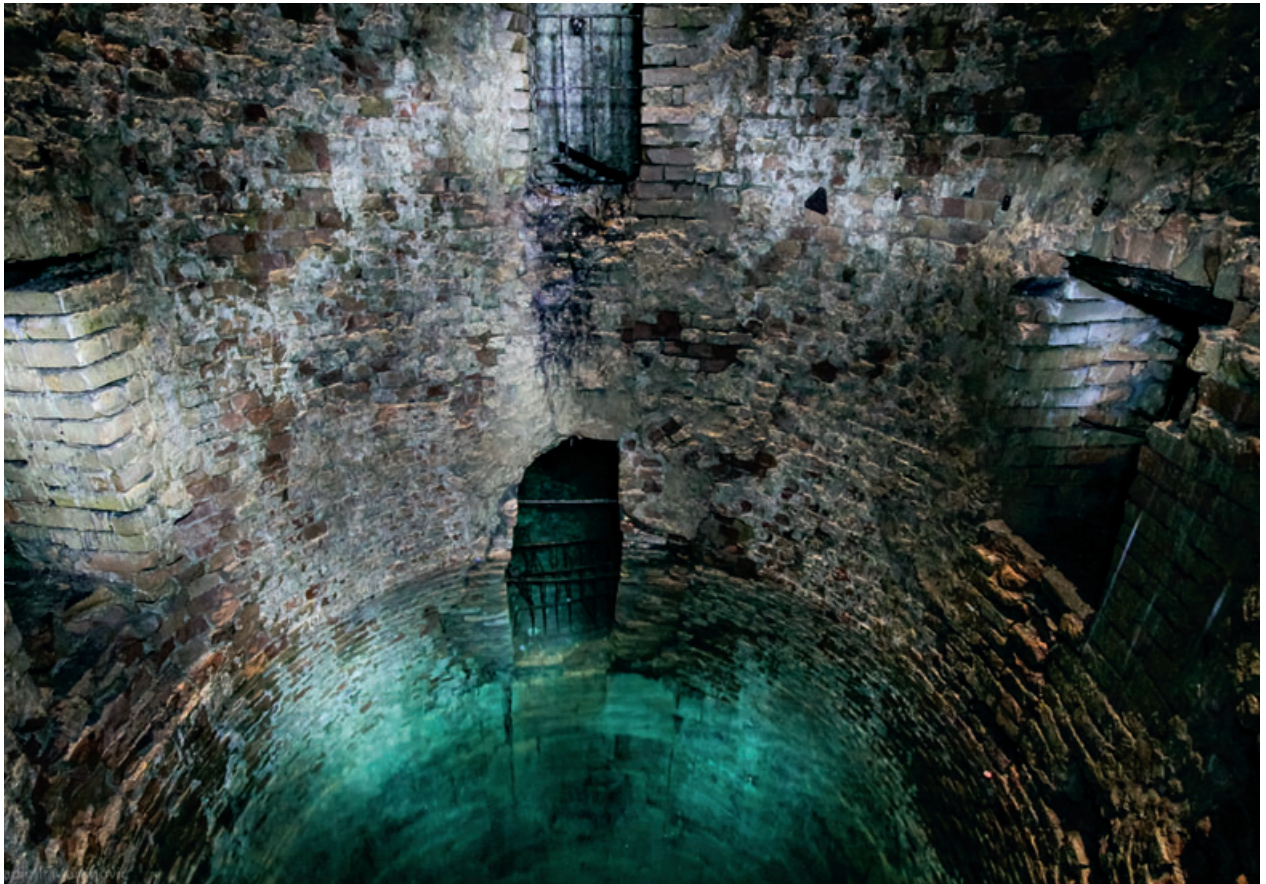


Fig. 62. General view of the dry shaft of the Great Well in the Upper Town of the Belgrade Fortress (PE Belgrade Fortress)

water for the military inhabitants of the fortress in times of crises. It had never been intended to provide water for the Upper Town by means of a water supply system, nor had there been any plans to fit it with a more efficient water drawing mechanism. The piston pump, which was installed in 1731, must have been a variant of the mine drainage pumps, widespread in Central and Western Europe, and this human powered mechanism enabled the well attendants to maintain the

level of the water column below the bottom of the staircases during the rainy seasons, when they would normally have been flooded. Despite all the complications that accompanied its construction, the Great Well is a worthy example of an engineering feat, not only because of the huge efforts invested in the sinking of its shafts, but also because of the courage of its engineers and their taking the risk of designing and materialising a rare hydraulic concept.



MARINA PAVLOVIĆ

Symbolism of German Belgrade's Profane Architecture's Narrative

Visual spatial representation has never borne such a significance as it did during the Baroque era. Architecture played a crucial role in displaying the structural characteristics of Absolutism by creating the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, rendering all the other branches of art secondary to it. By producing a new urban blueprint of the city and the structures within it, the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of the Baroque reconstruction of Belgrade (1717–1739) was intended to permanently engrain the values of the Habsburg Monarchy into the city. Having sprung from the Counter-Reformation and Absolutism, Baroque architecture carried a direct message and established what was an admittedly one-sided, communication between sacral and secular rulers and their subjects by defining, directing and shaping spaces, from landscapes and urban plans to individual structures. Energy and movement, dynamism and intertwining spaces, shapes and various branches of art, all incorporated within a highly symbolical meaning and expression of power, produced the

contradictory Baroque architecture, which, through grandiosity, overcramming and lavishness on one hand and good organisation, discipline and pragmatism on the other, symbolises the fundamental tenet of absolutist rule, which is centralised and of unquestionable power.

Spanning back from as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, Serbian historians became interested in the short but exceptionally significant period of Belgrade's Baroque-style development. Even though it had not left behind many architectural traces, it had indirectly initiated the formation of an urban blueprint to which the city returned a hundred years later, in the mid-nineteenth century, and on which it rests up to this day. The first researchers, prompted by the then still existing ruins of Baroque buildings, most notably those of the 'palace of Prince Eugene',¹ contributed to the study of the architecture of the period (Todor Stefanović-Vilovski, Felix Kanitz and Milutin Valtrović).² The collection and

¹ Протић, *Одломци за историју*; Шкаламера, *Локације неких знаменитих београдских грађевина*.

² Стефановић Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*; Каниц, *Србија* 28, 53; Валтровић, *Камен темељац једне језуитске цркве*.

interpretation of archival material was mainly carried out by Dušan Popović, whereas it was Pavle Vasić who produced the very first paper on the Baroque art of the era.³ Research done by Željko Škalamera and Marko Popović⁴ contributed in a systematic way to the interpretation of archival material, locating buildings and shedding light on Belgrade's urban development.

*Belgrade in the Habsburg Monarchy,
the Habsburg Monarchy in Belgrade*

Throughout Belgrade's long history, its development has always depended on its geostrategic position and, therefore, its Baroque-style reconstruction was no different. Immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz (July 21, 1718), the famous military commander Prince Eugene of Savoy sent a letter from his Belgrade camp to the Imperial War Council, over which he also presided at the time. Therein he emphasised the significance of the newly conquered territories of the Banat, Serbia and the Lesser Wallachia, adding that they must be subsidiary to the War Council and the Court Chamber in order to keep the frontier areas safe not only from the Ottoman Empire, but also from the pretensions of the Hungarian nobility.⁵ Belgrade, as the capital of Serbia, was immediately placed under military administration, headed by General Count Joseph O'Dwyer. Even though Serbia was placed under civilian administration, headed by Prince Alexander of Württemberg, as early as 1719, the military and civilian administrations operated concurrently until 1739, when Serbia once again became part of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, Belgrade was never granted the status of

a free imperial city, which greatly affected the development of the society and the cultural and social life within the city.

The rule of the Habsburg Monarchy was based on harmonious relations with the privileged elite, the nobility and the Church rather than on implementing decisions by the force of the law. Charles VI was benevolent towards the Church and rather committed to encouraging the development of the economy following the doctrines of Cameralism, and thus the goal of his patronage was to create a dualism between the Crown and the Church. Despite investing very little in the construction of his personal palaces,⁶ Charles VI is regarded as the progenitor of the Imperial style, due to the development of a unique and easily recognisable visual pattern of the Late Baroque architecture in the Habsburg Monarchy during his reign (1711–1740), which was used to transmit cultural and political messages throughout the empire. The first impressive palaces along with churches, monasteries and various monuments of the Austrian Late Baroque come from the last decade of the seventeenth century. The architecture was influenced by the Italian Baroque and reached its pinnacle in the designs of Fischer von Erlach, such as the triumphal arch erected in Vienna in honour of Joseph I (1690) and the unrealised monumental project for the Schönbrunn Palace (c. 1690), only to assume a totally unique character through a combination of the Italian Baroque and French architectural elements in the designs of Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt and Balthasar Neumann.⁷

Belgrade architecture was a direct reflection of political and cultural strivings of the Monarchy, which assumed a rather pragmatic stance towards the newly conquered territories,

³ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*; Васић, *Барок у Београду 1971*.

⁴ Шкаламера, *Локације неких знаменитих београдских грађевина*; Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*; Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Најстарија сачувана кућа у Београду*.

⁵ Volkmann, *Die Architektur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 24–25; Поповић Д., *Београд у XVIII веку*, 41.

⁶ Ingraо, *Habsburška monarhija*, 115.

⁷ Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City*, 283–307.

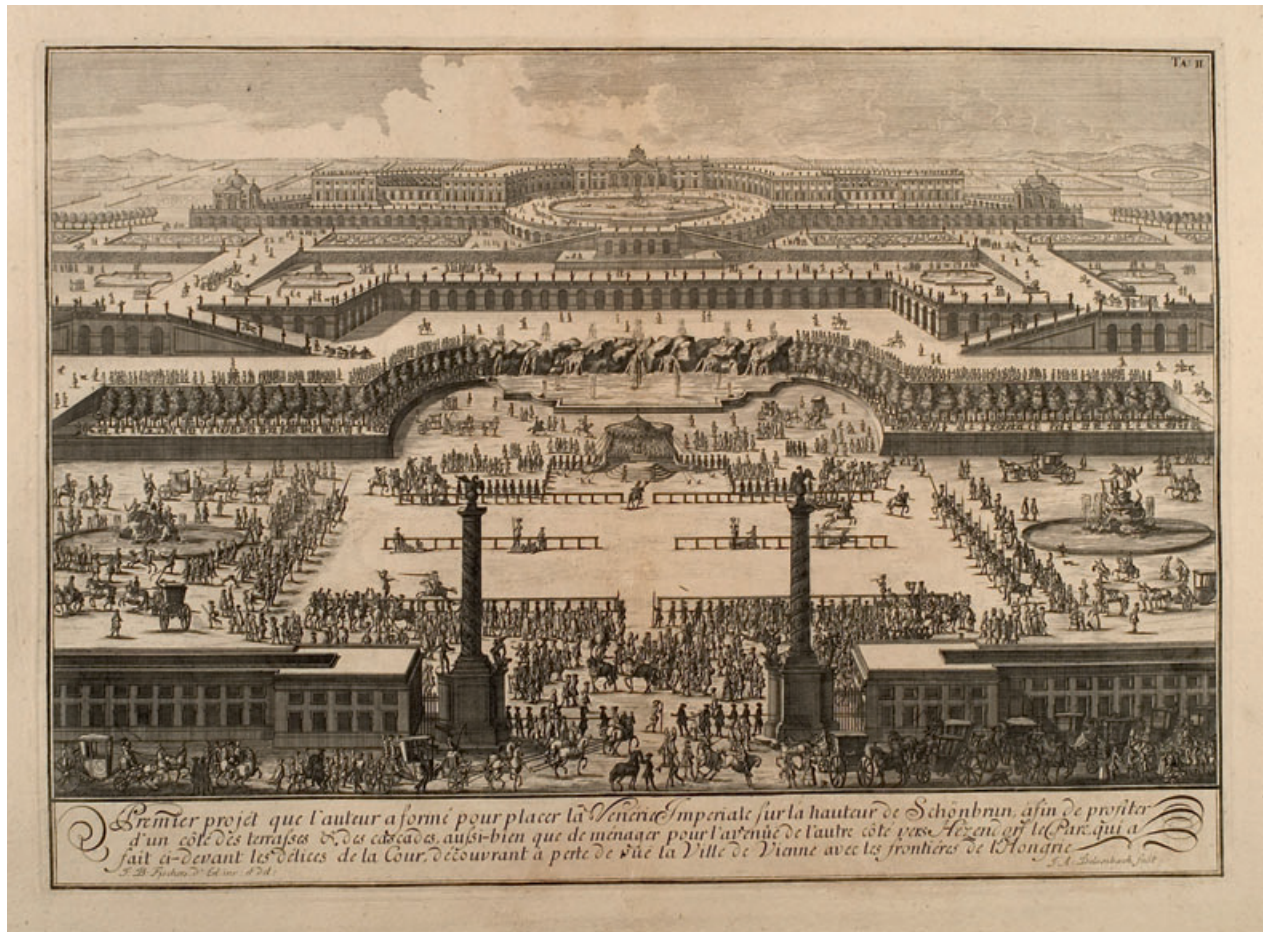


Fig. 63. Fischer von Erlach, Unrealized project for the Schönbrunn Palace, 1690
(Published in: Erlach, Bernhard, *Entwurf Einer Historischen Architectur*, 95)

both in military and economic respects, due to the unfavourable financial situation which it found itself in.⁸ The need for economic recovery required that only six days after the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz a trade agreement be made with the Turks, providing for free sailing on the rivers and access to the other party's internal markets.⁹ Thus the lower course of the Danube became the main route for exports to the Ottoman Empire, and Belgrade, as a key fortress towards the border with the Ottoman Empire, undoubtedly played a crucial role in

the trade. Simultaneously, from the military point of view, it was necessary to build up-to-date fortifications as quickly as possible. The reconstruction of Belgrade, which started immediately after the signing of the peace treaty, was carried out in two stages:¹⁰ the first stage was carried out from 1717 to 1723, that is, until the replacement of Major Suly, whilst the second stage began with the appointment of Doxat de Démorez to the position of chief engineer at the behest of Prince Alexander (1723). Even though the arrival of this renowned expert was

⁸ Ingraio, *Habsburska monarhija*, 113.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁰ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 226–243.

to boost the development of Belgrade, his plan, adopted and approved by the Imperial War Council in 1725, was never completed.¹¹ On the one hand, centralised administration and the direct authority of the Imperial War Council over Belgrade did in fact contribute to increasing urbanization and modernisation, with the goal of deorientalising of the city by employing centralised funding and carefully planned colonization and construction. On the other hand, the constraints arising from the overbearing and inefficient administration which prioritized the military necessities and requests, slowed down the development of the urban structure. The reign of Charles VI failed to yield any kind of reform in the field of administration in the monarchy, which gave rise to inefficiency, corruption and inability to implement decisions at lower levels of authority.¹²

Insufficient funding, further reduced due to apparent embezzlements, was the main reason for the slow and piecemeal implementation of the plan. Namely, the nobility in the Belgrade administration generally spent more money than they could afford, a phenomenon that was not limited solely to the periphery of the empire.¹³

Profane architecture of German Belgrade

In Belgrade, grandeur, characteristic of the *Kaiserstil* present in the cities of the Habsburg Monarchy was replaced by rigidness and the monumentality of military facilities. In a similar manner as the previous projects for the reconstruction of the city, the one proposed

by Nicolas Doxat de Démorez envisioned, in addition to the construction of bastioned fortifications around the fortress, the construction of the city within the new ramparts as well as the development of suburban areas outside the fortified urban core. Even though the existing Oriental structure of the city was dismantled according to the project, the pre-existing ethnic division remained present along the Terazije ridge which divided the city into German Belgrade, on the Danube-facing slope, previously inhabited almost exclusively by Turks, and Serbian Belgrade, a small area on the Sava-facing slope.¹⁴

The backbone of the urban planning of the city consisted of a rectangular matrix that spread radially from the fortress to the outer ramparts, thus forming a Baroque structure filled with visual references along the axes, with well conceived squares at regular intervals, establishing a symbolic arrangement of the spaces. In Belgrade, the palace of the ruler, which represented the focal point of a Baroque city, was personified by a monumental barracks, erected in 1726.¹⁵ Upon its completion, Prince Carl Alexander of Württemberg, the governor of Serbia during that time after whom the barracks was named, moved in with the three battalions comprising his grenadier regiment.¹⁶ This residential-military edifice, located in the largest square, dominated the city by both its grandiosity and location at the top of the Terazije ridge, stretching from the present-day Zmaj Jovina Street to the Republic Square.¹⁷ According to the 1728 property census, the barracks featured 232 rooms, 48 kitchens and 15 cellars,¹⁸ far more than any existing or planned

¹¹ Idem, *Projekțiii Nikole Doksaïa De Moresa*.

¹² Ingraо, *Habzburška monarhija*, 124.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Поповић М., *Прилоі ироучавању београдске Српске вароши*, 151–152.

¹⁵ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 238.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ The foundations of the barracks were unearthed next to the building housing the present day Russian Tsar restaurant during the construction of the Spasić Foundation in Knez Mihailova Street. See Stefanović-Vilovsky, *Belgrad unter der Regierung*, 27.

¹⁸ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*, 265.

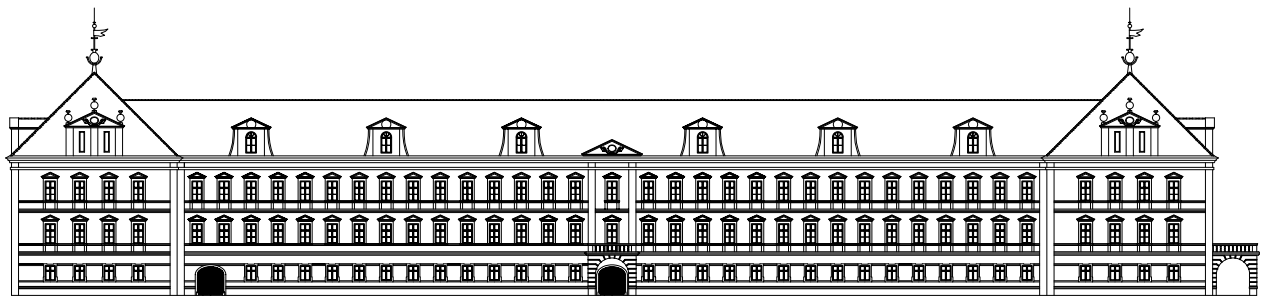
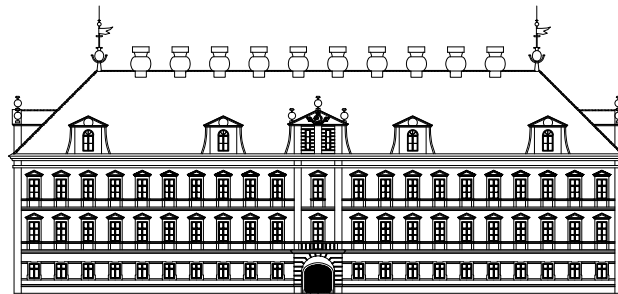


Fig. 64. Barracks of Prince Alexander of Württemberg:

a) a drawing from de Spar's *Atlas*

(Vienna War Archives, sig. B IX b_113_Taf. 13_fol. 28)

b) restitution of the original appearance

(technical drawing by architect Tihomir Dičić)

building in Belgrade at the time. D. Popović states that it is very likely that the following folk verses from the time may well be referring to the barracks of Alexander of Württemberg: 'As many as the days in a year/Are the windows here,'¹⁹ given that there are 365 windows on the outer façades shown on a drawing of the barracks in de Spar's *Atlas*,²⁰ that is, the same as the number of days in a year. Along with the building's monumentality and its prominent location on the boundary between the Orthodox and Catholic parts of the city, that is, the respective Serbian and German neighbourhoods, this symbolism played an important role in propagandising the values of the monarchy, its power, omnipresence and immovability as a guarantor of peace and prosperity.

The military quarters were designed as a two-level closed block, with three inner courtyards, following the model of the Italian type of palace that was suited for the military purpose. Nevertheless, the entire structure of the complex longitudinal floor plan that ended in corner pavilions may also be viewed as mirroring the architecture of Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere Palace (Vienna, 1714–1723), a paradigm of the Imperial style.²¹ In de Spar's drawing, the lateral façade is shown as the main one, even though there is also a prominent entrance zone on the longer façade and it is also stated in the descriptions that there were entrances on every side of the edifice.²² It is possible that the dual purpose of the edifice as the governor's residence and a barracks is expressed through its architecture and volumetric shaping: when viewed from the longer side, the building has a longitudinal floor plan with corner pavilions that suggest a ceremonial courtyard, thus creating a parallel with princely palaces; when

viewed from the lateral side, the edifice presents itself as an Italian palace, whose calm lines fit its purpose as a barracks.²³ The floor plans of the edifice are still unknown, which makes it difficult to resolve the issue of its functional organisation and spatial arrangement.

Its characteristic Baroque appearance was achieved by the division of the longer façade into five vertical segments, with corners protruding in the form of avant-corpses, by a decorative, gabled top level and a central entrance enclosed by pilasters of the composite order. In line with the principles of Baroque architecture, the avant-corpses received their own roofs, thus a greater segmentation of the structure was achieved, which was further emphasised by the narrow twin windows in the gable, each surmounted by a triangular tympanum bearing heraldic decorations.²⁴ The lateral, main façade overlooking the main square was vertically divided into three sections, achieved by emphasising the central axis of the front with a protruding entrance porch surmounted by pilasters flanking the gable wall above the cornice. Whilst the lateral façade features a vertically highlighted entrance zone, as a counterbalance to the prominent height of the avant-corpses on the longer side, the longer façade lacks this kind of highlight even though it features the same kind of entrance porch with pilasters. The protruding entrance porches framed by arches, form a terrace on the first floor, which was used for public speeches and making announcements in the service of ephemeral spectacles and self-representation. The tall, steep roof complemented the whole ensemble with equidistantly positioned roof windows along all the façades of the building and prominent decorative chimneys above the

¹⁹ Idem, *Београд у XVIII веку*, 48.

²⁰ Published in: Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*.

²¹ Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City*, 294–297.

²² Стефановић Вилковски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 298.

²³ Васић, *Барок у Београду 1971*, 153.

²⁴ Ibid.



Fig. 65. Fischer von Erlach, Paul Strudel and Lodovico Burnacini, Plague column in Vienna, 1679 (wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vienna_-_Plague_Column_-_engraving.jpg)

front façade. Due to the fact that the barracks took over the role of the governor's palace due to its military and economic function, a large square was situated at the exterior of it, called *Paraden Platz*,²⁵ which, as its name implies, was used for staging ephemeral spectacles. The central area of the square in front of the main façade also extended along the longer façade. A plan from 1739,²⁶ which shows the then actual state of things, also shows two small structures with rectangular floor plans, positioned in such a manner as to form a ceremonial courtyard in between them, a typical fea-

ture of Baroque juxtaposition and progression from open and half-open to closed spaces.²⁷ According to the said plan, there was probably to be a monument in the form of a votive pillar on the axis of the entrance to the ceremonial courtyard. After the plague of 1679, a votive column, designed by Fischer von Erlach, Paul Strudel and Ludovico Burnacini, was erected in Vienna and soon became the first in a series of plague columns throughout the monarchy as one of the most explicit exponents of monarchy policies, glorifying an allegorical representation of angels fighting the plague, that is,

²⁵ Стефановић Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 298.

²⁶ КАН III d 141 з.

²⁷ De Spar's drawing of the barracks does not show the corner structures that formed the ceremonial courtyard, but they are shown on a plan of the city in the same *Atlas*. See Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд*.

the monarchy fighting infidels.²⁸ At the end of the square opposite the barracks of Prince Alexander of Württemberg was a public drinking fountain, the central point of the city's life.²⁹ Even though the extant plans disagree as to the location and size of the main city square, they all agree on its design. The 1725 plan based on the project of Doxat de Démorez shows a square with equilateral sides³⁰ in the same location as on the plan showing completed work, with the central spot in the square occupied by a cathedral, next to which was probably to be a U-shaped administrative building, with a ceremonial courtyard between the wings. An almost identical location of the central square is also evident in an older plan from 1720.³¹

Another large building in German Belgrade was the *Maurer Caserne*, that is, 'Masons' Barracks',³² erected in 1727 for the accommodation of engineering troops. It stood in the area bordered with present-day Kralja Petra, Uzun Mirkova and Knez Mihailova Streets, with its longer side facing the Belgrade Fortress, and constituted the city limit at the edge of the esplanade. By its size, it was one of the more monumental buildings in the city, a fact that further emphasises the importance of the military administration in the area. It had one-fifth as many rooms as the Barracks of Prince Alexander, that is, 50 rooms and 15 kitchens, which suggests that it was a one-storey edifice. A plan from 1739 shows that it was built as a closed block with a large inner courtyard,³³ whereas a plan from 1740 contains an orthographic projection of a typical closed-block

building with a slanted roof,³⁴ designed after the model of conventional barracks, without any architectural or artistic pretensions, the same as those erected within the fortress.

Another spacious city square found on a plan from 1720 and in the later project of Nicolas Doxat de Démorez was located in the part of the city on the Danube-facing slope, a fact confirmed, with some variations, by the plan from 1739. This square with a regular rectangular base was in the central section of the commercial and residential zones of German Belgrade, just beyond present-day Cara Dušana Street. Along one side of the square was a Jesuit monastic complex, with a church, residence and grammar school.³⁵ In addition to the Jesuit church, the square featured a new building of the city guard with a clock at its top, which, according to Vilovski, citizens liked so much that they asked the Imperial Council several times to gift them one, but were turned down. However, the citizens were allowed to collect funds for the purchase and installation of a clock.³⁶ The citizens collected the required funds and ordered a clock from Vienna, which was then placed on the building of the magistrate. This is a telling story of the extent to which each decision depended on the Imperial War Council, a fact that certainly impacted the construction of Belgrade, as well as of the extent of Vienna's direct cultural influence. The square and its structures reflect the stance of the authorities and the Church, most notably of the Jesuit order, which was rather influential throughout the Monarchy.³⁷

²⁸ Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City*, 298–299.

²⁹ Vilovski states that this was most probably the location of the later Delijska drinking fountain. See Стефановић Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*.

³⁰ BLL RUSI noHJ 41 1725.

³¹ BNFP Ge C 2318 2.

³² Шкаламера, *Локације неких знаменитих београдских грађевина*, 180–182.

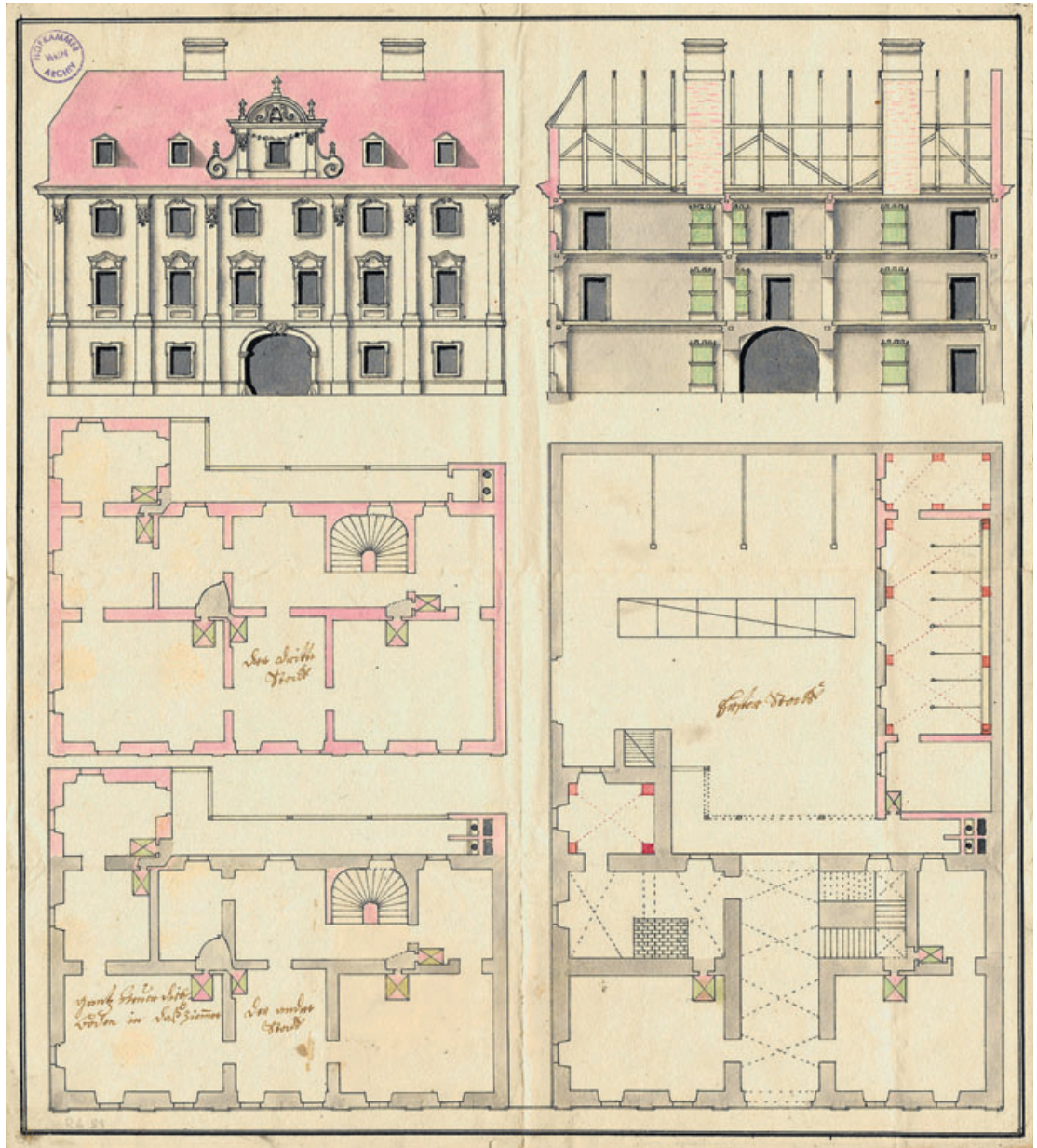
³³ Škalamera states that the courtyard was around 200 square metres in area. See *ibid.*, 181.

³⁴ Detail of the plan (МГБ I, 333) published in *ibid.*, 181.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Стефановић Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 341.

³⁷ Ingraо, *Habsburška monarhija*, 122.



a

The so-called 'Commander's Palace' was situated in the immediate vicinity of the square near present-day Cara Dušana Street.³⁸ The original residence, separated from the square by a block of buildings, comprised a group of more or less interconnected structures. The palace was part of a representative Oriental complex³⁹ that served as the seat of Belgrade chief admin-

istrators, from Eugene of Savoy to Alexander of Württemberg, in the period from the conquest to the completion of a new barracks, when Prince Alexander moved his residence there, and General Franz Xaver von Marulli moved into the Commander's Palace. The 1728 property census confirms that there were a large number of structures constituting the complex,

³⁸ Ibid., 177.

³⁹ Шкаламера, Локације неких знаменијих београдских грађевина, 177–178.

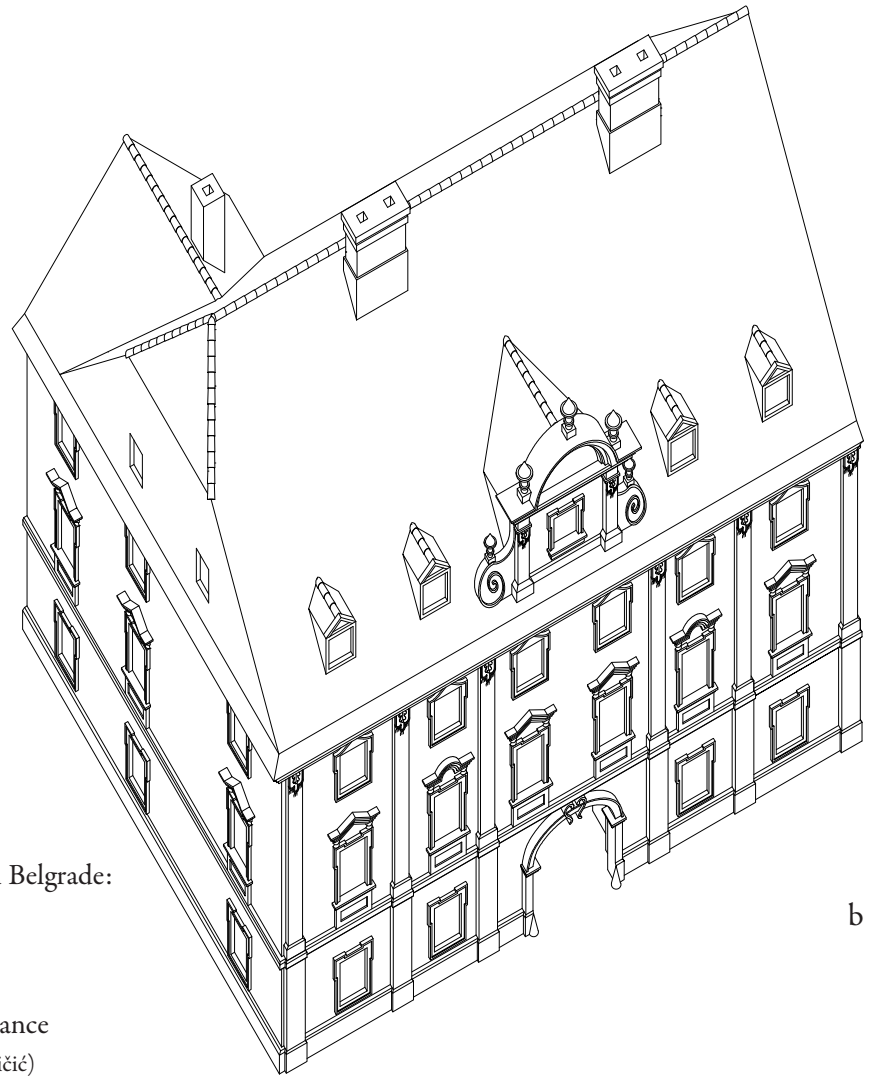


Fig. 66. Waldfortner's House, subsequently Bishop's Residence, in Belgrade:
 a) Plan from the Financial and Court Chamber Archives (sig. Rb-089);
 b) restitution of the original appearance (technical drawing by architect Tihomir Dičić)

which was transformed and extended in the course of years, so that the headquarters comprised four buildings with twenty rooms, four kitchens, a cellar and two stables, and another three structures for the accommodation of servants. Only the floor plan of the kitchen designed for Prince Alexander as a detached elongated structure has been preserved.⁴⁰

Vilovski's brief description of the residential part of the Commander's Palace is clearly suggestive of a typical architectural structure of the time, that is, a hierarchical division by

floors, even though it is stated that the main level (*piano nobile*) was the second floor, as the first floor was occupied by auxiliary kitchens, guards and low rank personnel, whereas the ground floor featured stables, utility rooms, storerooms and living quarters for coachmen. The main floor was accessed by a representative staircase via the great hall connected to the drawing room by a large corridor. There were 24 other rooms in the palace, for the commander and his lackeys, two auxiliary kitchens, and two secret rooms with secret stairs.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Стефановић Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, 340.

Outside the Commander's Palace was a Baroque-style garden,⁴² which served as an extension of the architecture, that is an inclusion of nature through a geometrisation into a designed artistic world. The almost square garden was intersected by radial paths that converged in the centre, where there was probably a fountain as the central visual feature.⁴³

A better insight into the architecture preferred by the higher classes in German Belgrade is provided by the 1732 design of 'Waldfortner's House' (subsequently bishop's residence), preserved in the documentation kept at the Vienna War Archives.⁴⁴ The same as the design for the barracks and hospital, this design must have come from Vienna and reflected a more subdued architecture of the capital city. The building is of the small-sized city palace type, whose axis of symmetry on the main façade is underscored by a central entrance that is further highlighted by a prominent vertical field that ends in a gable. The bishop's residence featured a façade divided into five vertical segments: a broader field at each end, a narrower field next to each broader field, and then the broadest, central field with two windows and a centrally located carriage entrance flanked by a decorative stone portal surmounted by an elliptical vault. The vertical division was effected with pilasters of the stylised composite order. Unlike the Barracks of Prince Alexander, the façade is not dominated by belt courses indicating divisions between floors, as they are only found between the ground and first floors and then in the form of a cornice surmounted by a mansard roof. Even though they are typical of French architecture, mansard roofs entered the aesthetic repertoire of the Imperial Style after Hildebrandt had built the Belvedere

Palace and became characteristic of architecture in Eastern Europe of the time.⁴⁵ Windows of reduced size and vertically positioned decoration are suggestive of the building's function and floor division, that is, of the legacy of the Renaissance-style structure of Italian urban villas. The ground floor features small, square windows with simple stone frames, whereas those on the first floor are rectangular and richly decorated with lesenes surmounted by tympana whose shapes follow the rhythm of the façade's vertical division, so that they are triangular on the lateral and central avant-corpses and semi-circular above the windows in the central fields. The window parapets are also decorated. The second floor windows are of the same size and shape as the ones on the ground floor, but their stone frames are more finely and playfully decorated, maintaining a hierarchical gradation from the ground floor to the cornice with ever richer and freer decorative schemes. An aperture on the axis of each field of the mansard roof complements the playfulness of the façade. The highlighted central zone and the absence of horizontal divisions between the floors eliminates immobility, balance and horizontality and brings liveliness and motion to the façade.

The axis of symmetry of the main façade is also reflected in the building's interior in that its spatial organisation reveals regularity and symmetry. The development of patrician buildings in Western Europe was gradual, and the Baroque was characterised by its preference for simplified functionality, that is by a pragmatism that did away with small corridors, auxiliary rooms, and hidden and small staircases.⁴⁶ The building was entered through a central carriage entrance covered with groin

⁴² KAW H III d 1413.

⁴³ Škalamera states that there was also an Oriental-style garden on this site, but it is reported in the property census of 1728 that the kitchen of Prince Alexander was built on the site of a Turkish garden. Cf. Шкаламера, *Локације неких знаменитих београдских грађевина*; Поповић Д., *Грађа за истројију Београда*, 205.

⁴⁴ The project is published in Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Најстарија сачувана кућа у Београду*, 31.

⁴⁵ Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City*, 295.

⁴⁶ Müller, Vogel, *Atlas architecture*, 455.

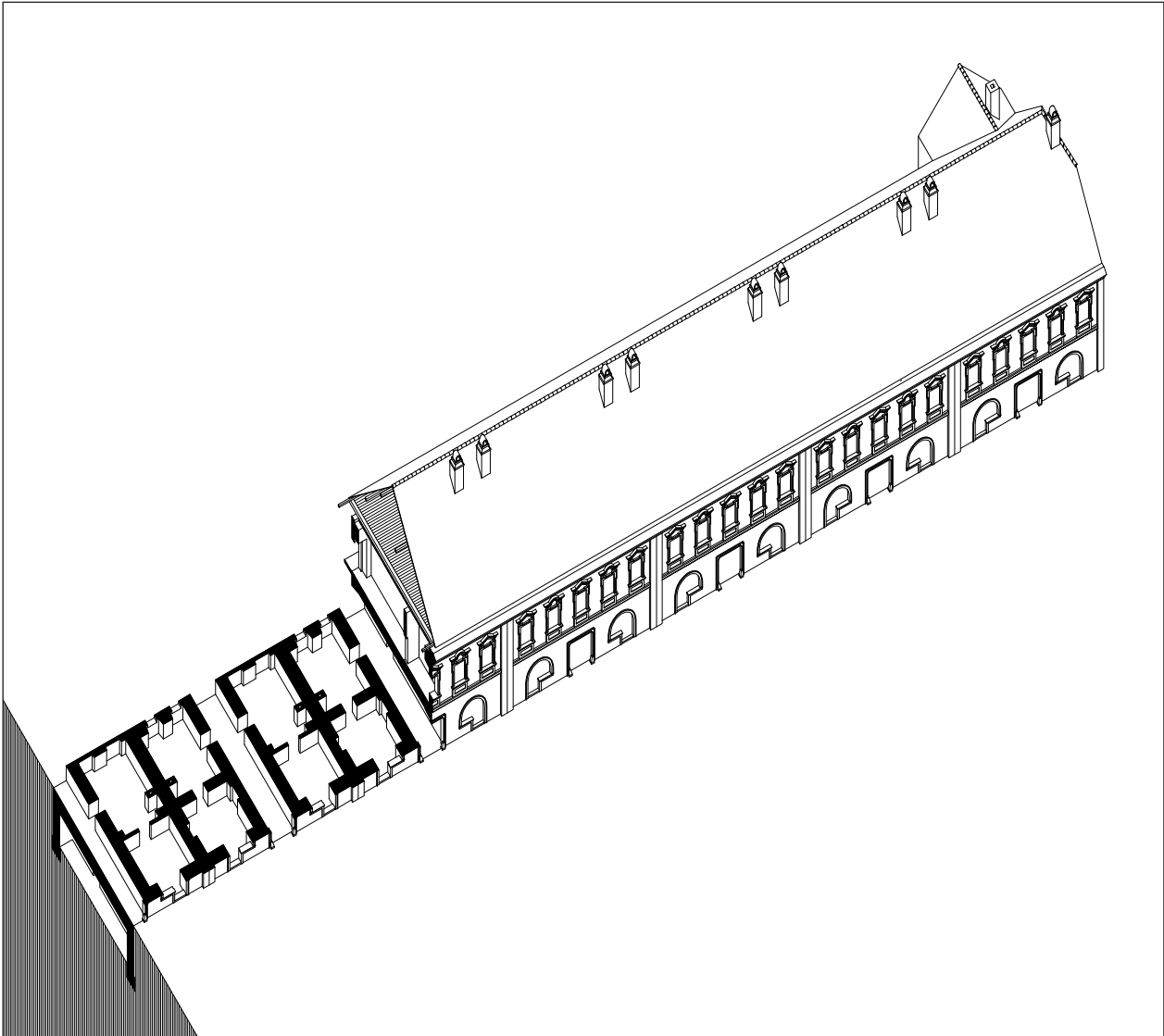


Fig. 67. Reconstruction of seven houses in a row in present-day Cara Dušana Street
(technical drawing by architect Tihomir Dičić)

vaults at whose end, on one side, was a staircase. During the Baroque, staircases were the main venues for welcoming guests and provided direct access to representative rooms, situated on the first floor (*piano nobile*), which is indicated by the much more ornate staircase, with landings and surmounted by groin vaults, leading to the first floor than the one connecting the first and second floors, which is hidden behind a wall, is straight and has no landings.

As in all city palaces, the ground floor was comprised of auxiliary rooms, which had been arranged based on their representativeness from the street-facing façade towards the courtyard, ranging from those of a semi-public purpose to the kitchens, behind which were pantries and stables. The same pattern is repeated on the first and second floors, particularly on the *piano nobile* level, where large and regularly shaped rooms are concentrated along the street-facing façade. One side of the palace is attached



Fig. 68. View of a row of houses in Cara Dušana Street in the early 20th century (photo archives of Miloš Jurišić)

to another building and is, therefore, oriented towards three sides. The spatial arrangement which followed the notion of overlapping private and public rooms was still typical during this period and therefore the rooms were aligned in enfilades. A little more isolated are the ensembles with corridors, where it is possible to access each room individually (*appartement semi double*), which is in part made possible owing to an open gallery that runs along the courtyard-facing façade. There are galleries of the same dimensions on all the levels and there are also toilets on every floor. The compact, regular and symmetrical spatial organisation of each floor allowed for an economical arrangement of masonry heaters and chimneys that heated as many as three rooms at once.

Local influences on the architecture of Baroque Belgrade were presumably negligible and are evident only in repurposed and adapted structures from the time of the Turkish occupation. The local influences may be present in the construction of the smaller buildings owned by craftsmen and merchants. However, the only preserved structure from the first half of the eighteenth century, the one at what is now known as 10 Cara Dušana Street,⁴⁷ is suggestive of an absolutely typical Central European *burger* house. Due to various interventions over the centuries, the house has been significantly modified and, therefore, does not provide sufficient information about its original architecture. The irrefutable evidence of it is found in the materials used to build the cellar

⁴⁷ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Најстарија сачувана кућа у Београду*.

and ground floor, which have retained their original structure and shape. They are built with solid bricks and feature groin and barrel vaults. The development of small houses of merchants and craftsmen in Europe was gradual. However, in the case of Belgrade, the same as with other architectural structures, this type of building was imported by colonists arriving from the territories of the Habsburg Monarchy, predominantly from the Rhineland. Owing to historical photographs, it is possible to reconstruct the original appearance of the façade of the house at 10 Cara Dušana Street, which was one in a row of seven nearly identical buildings. All of them featured two floors, were of the same height and their eaves faced the street, which was one of the differences compared with the previously common orientation of terrace houses in Western Europe, whose gable walls overlooked the street. The same height of both the ground and the first and other floors made it possible to achieve a perfect alignment of the belt courses between the ground and first floors and of the cornices of all the buildings in the row constituting the block. The Modern Age need to establish a certain type of urban building led to the formation of blocks composed of structures in a row. Each building was edged with shallow pilasters intersected by belt courses. The ground floor featured three entrances: a rectangular central entrance and two semi-circular side entrances with stone frames, each with a keystone in the lintel.

The first floor had five windows positioned equidistantly, each with a rich parapet and a lesene and a tympanum surmounting it. A photograph from the second half of the nineteenth century shows the deep profile of a single

triangular tympanum, which may have been fashioned above all of the windows, or in alternation with a semi-circular one, as in the ideal reconstruction proposed by M. Popović.⁴⁸

Even though it has only partly survived in its original form, the internal spatial organisation of the building suggests its close adherence to the architectural tenets prevailing at the time, such as using the ground floor for public and business activities, that is, for shops and workshops, which could make good use of the large arched entrance facing the street. An exclusively functional staircase was situated on the side facing the courtyard, at one end of the building, with pantries behind it. The living quarters of the owner were on the first floor and were characterised by a compact spatial organisation and rooms *enfilade*.

As late as the end of the 1950s, a two-level house, thought to have been erected during the Baroque reconstruction of the city, still stood on the corner of present-day Kapetan Mišina and Cara Dušana Streets.⁴⁹ This unappealing structure was known as *Kod crnog orla* (Black Eagle) tavern⁵⁰ because of the Austrian emblem, the double-headed eagle, painted above the entrance. The house was dated on the basis of its structural members, construction materials and spatial arrangement, of which it was stated that 'it fits more the Pannonian type of building with a long courtyard-facing porch'⁵¹ than Oriental architecture. It is believed that it was built as a guardhouse,⁵² which is quite likely, most notably because of its proximity to the Imperial Gate (*Kayser Thor*) and also because of the double-headed eagle, which was a mandatory heraldic symbol on all state buildings throughout the Habsburg Monarchy.⁵³ The ground floor had probably preserved the

⁴⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁴⁹ Павловић, *Једна од најстаријих очуваних грађевина у Београду*.

⁵⁰ Нушић, *Из њолујрошлосџи*, 138.

⁵¹ Павловић, *Једна од најстаријих очуваних грађевина у Београду*, 274.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ingraо, *Habzburška monarhija*, 115.

original arrangement of rooms, primarily because of the rather thick walls built with rubble and hard-burnt brick and because of its vaulted ceilings, which are also suggestive of a

non-Oriental arrangement of rooms.⁵⁴ On the first floor, only two walls were made from solid materials, while the rest were built using the post and petrail system. The spatial arrange-

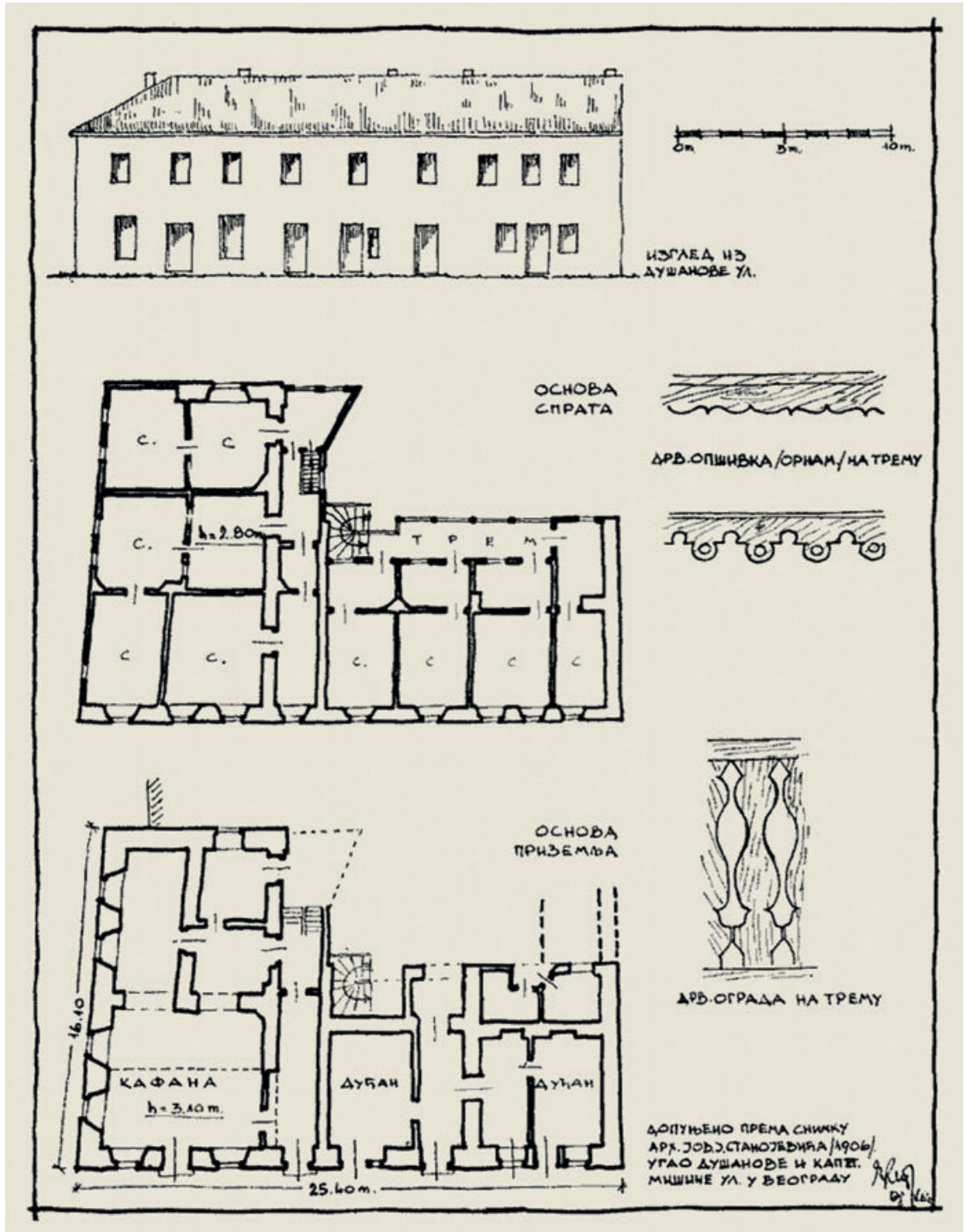


Fig. 69. House at 54 Cara Dušana Street – *Kod crnog orla* (Black Eagle) tavern
(Published in Павловић, *Једна од најстаријих очуваних грађевина у Београду*, fig. 4)

ment in one wing of the house, which featured a separate entrance and staircase, was of the compact type, featuring rooms *en enfilade* that could be individually accessed from a closed corridor, in keeping with Baroque trends, whereas the other wing featured unconnected rooms in a row, each with its own anteroom that led to an open porch overlooking the courtyard, which was an arrangement typical of Oriental inns. The position and arrangement of the first-floor walls, made from solid materials, indicates that these structural elements were added for the purpose of enlarging the building after it had undergone a major renovation, as attested by the discovery of the foundations of another wing in the courtyard. Plans drawn before the demolition of the building do not contain any information on whether there was any decoration on the façade. Admittedly, without historical photographs, it would not be possible to assume that the house at 10 Cara Dušana Street ever featured such a wealth of architectural sculpture, either.

Belgrade's architectural repertoire was conditioned by the military and economic character of the city and its administration, which heavily depended on decisions made by the Imperial Court Chamber and kept stressing the importance of public charity.⁵⁵ In addition to administrative, military, residential and sacral structures, there were also schools and hospitals, the latter of which seem to have been particularly significant, because the building of the City Hospital was a monumental edifice, designed as a structure with an elongated ground plan and a centrally positioned avant-corps.

A substantial portion of what was built in German Belgrade included economic and com-

mercial facilities as a result of strong trade relations between the Monarchy and the Orient. The ground plans of the Main Salt Storehouse and the Imperial Chamber's Brewery are kept in the Vienna War Archives.⁵⁶

Even though breweries did not export their products, they held a special place in the cultural life of the monarchy. Every larger town in the empire had its own brewery, and the military character of Belgrade required that sufficient quantities of alcohol be produced, a fact confirmed in literary sources.⁵⁷ There were four breweries in Belgrade, including the Imperial Chamber's Brewery, built in 1724 by a certain Abraham, a Jew, who leased it out to the state administration for 160,000 florins per annum.⁵⁸ The brewery, located in the area of the block bordered with present-day Jevrejska, Solunska, Braće Baruh and Visokog Stevana Streets,⁵⁹ was a vaulted building with a cellar that ran the length of the edifice. It had a ground and first floors, built with bricks and stone, and a steep roof. Its ground plan reflects the trapezoidal shape of the plot of land on which it was built. It featured a large inner courtyard, intersected in the middle by a single-level structure with numerous small and unconnected storerooms. Breweries were so important in the Habsburg Monarchy that the manner of their construction was described in Christian Ludwig Stieglitz's *Encyklopädie der bürgerlichen Baukunst* (Encyclopaedia of City Architecture), published in 1792, a work on the theory of architecture that strongly influenced the development of architecture in German-speaking lands in the nineteenth century. Its description of an ideal brewery matches what is shown in the surviving plans of the

⁵⁴ For an analysis based on a technical photograph taken before the demolition, see Павловић, *Једна од најстаријих очуваних грађевина у Београду*.

⁵⁵ Ingraо, *Habsburška monarhija*, 116.

⁵⁶ Published in: Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 236–237.

⁵⁷ Поповић Д., *Београд у XVIII веку*, 57–60.

⁵⁸ Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда*.

⁵⁹ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*.

Belgrade brewery. The description states that the building must be constructed from solid materials, preferably stone, that it should be sited on the north side so as not to be exposed to the sun too much, but that both the brewery and the malthouse should have plenty of light and enough windows for ventilation. There should be a cellar under the brewery fitted with ventilation canals in order to prevent the formation of damp, which is evident from the fact that no other building in German Belgrade other than the brewery had a cellar that ran the length of it.⁶⁰

In a block opposite the Imperial Chamber's Brewery stood the new Main Salt Storehouse,⁶¹ built in 1729/30 in the area now occupied by Braće Baruh, Solunska, Cara Uroša and Visokog Stevana Streets.⁶² The production of and trade in salt in the Habsburg Monarchy was one of the most developed economic activities subject to royal rights and directly subordinate to the Court Chamber (*Hofkammer*), an institution parallel to the Imperial War Council.⁶³ The same system of subordination was applied throughout the Habsburg Monarchy, that is, the monarchy held a monopoly over the production of and the trade in salt and state officials controlled the entire chain from extraction to wholesale. It is, therefore, self-evident that the trade of salt in Belgrade was of excep-

tional importance to the state. Plans show a building whose ground floor occupied an entire trapezoidal block, with one part intersecting the courtyard transversely. On the first floor, erected above a section of the ground floor, were flats for the concessionaire, controller, officer in charge of salt distribution, and gauger.⁶⁴

Not disregarding the pragmatic approach of the monarchy to Belgrade based on the military and economic function of the city and the entire area, it may be said that the cultural and social values prevailing throughout the empire were introduced into Belgrade, perhaps mostly, through architecture. By shaping spaces and incorporating symbolic references, Baroque architecture introduced order and an entirely new way of life. Even though few architectural traces have survived, the preserved documents reveal a well thought-out, aesthetic expression of ideas and a symbolic narrative of architecture. The contours of the architecture of Belgrade during the Baroque era, mostly preserved as archived plans and descriptions, no matter how modest and deficient they may seem, are an integral part of the empire and can only be truly grasped by taking into account the social and cultural relations in the Habsburg Monarchy and Belgrade's position within.

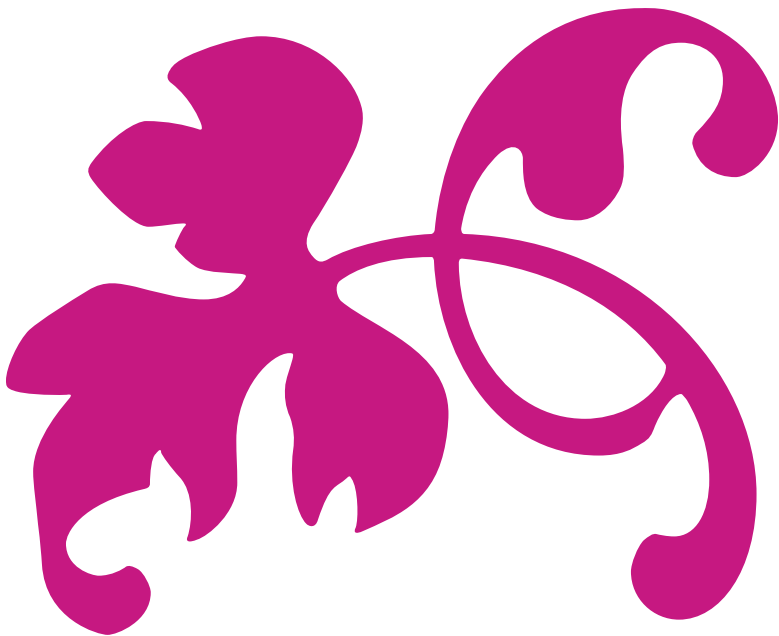
⁶⁰ Secondary source: Pilsitz, *Architektonische entwicklung*, 19–21.

⁶¹ The plan is kept at the Vienna Court Chamber Archives and was published in Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*.

⁶² Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 235–236.

⁶³ Adshead, *Salt and Civilization*, 232.

⁶⁴ Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*, 236.





MARIJA MARIĆ JERINIĆ

Baroque Medals – a View of Conquests of Belgrade and the Požarevac Peace Treaty

Owing to the durability of the material they were made of and the reproductive manufacturing technique, but primarily owing to the themes represented on them, Baroque medals made to commemorate Christian-Ottoman wars have been collected and kept in Serbian museums as part of our own cultural heritage.¹ For a long time, historical events that were the reason for creating these objects of applied art and their basic cataloguing were the sole way of their presentation in Serbian historiography.² A more recent approach to the study of this themed collection of medals indicates multifaceted meanings of visual messages, which amalgamate the reality of historical events with the allegorical way of thinking, as well as with their propaganda character.

Although awareness about the medal being an important medium for conveying information has a long history, it was in the Baroque

period that this potential was developed in a more substantial manner. The multitude of motifs which appeared on them in that period demonstrate how large was the number of subjects that could be conveyed, despite the limited space. Complex messages were delivered to the observer by means of complex emblematic presentations and circular and rim inscriptions. Before considering their meaning, it is necessary to indicate several facts about the medal as a medium and the functions that it fulfils in order to more closely determine what this term entails.

Formally, as a plastic work, a medal is a miniature sculpture, with the distinctive flat shape, two sides and most often made from metal. What separates it from a sculpture is the intentionality – an external circumstance that was the cause for its creation, and the almost inevitable addition of a ritual character, which is

¹ The collections of the National Museum in Belgrade, the Belgrade City Museum and the National Museum in Požarevac are an indication of the planned and systematic collection of medals about this subject.

² Вајферт, *Споменице о узету Београда од Турака*; Weifert, *Meine Sammlung von Medaillen auf die Eroberungen Belgrads*; Тодоровић, *Из збирке медаља Нумизматичко-егиџафској одељења*; idem, *Југословенске и иностране медаље*; idem, *Пожаревачки мир*; Crnobrnja, *Sporten medalje izdate povodom austrijskog osvajanja Beograda*; Mandić, *Medalje izdate povodom zauzeća Beograda*.

also true of memorial monuments.³ This orientation has generated certain rules for the forming of its front and back sides. The front, or obverse side indicates the bearer of the value (meaning), and the back, reverse side the nature of that meaning. This semantic articulation, which is crucial for understanding the phenomenon of the medal, does not exist in any other visual art medium and is the main characteristic of its uniqueness or identity.⁴ As for the function of medals, they are primarily objects for observing, they have a memorial function and are collectors' items and, as the ideal value, they also have a material function. Their memorial character and their being a recollection of events and persons from the past also make them significant as historical sources.⁵

Baroque rulers, prone to self-simulation, understood the benefits of the medal as a means of developing their public relations. One of the reasons for the new approach to this medium is explained by technical innovations which enabled a greater volume of production.⁶ The first absolutist ruler who systematically approached the issuing of medals with the primary purpose of spreading his own fame was Louis XIV (1643–1715). By institutionalising their production through forming the so-called *Little Academy* and then the *Royal Academy of Inscriptions*,⁷ where subjects were conceived, allegoric presentations created and inscriptions written in the lapidary style of Antiquity, each segment in the process of medal production was placed under supervision of the authorities. A series of medals, known as *History in Metal (l'Histoire métallique)* is a result of this project-oriented entrepreneurship. During the long reign of the *Sun King*, the series grew to

three hundred specimens and became a model not only for the subsequent French, but also for many other European rulers.

And while the designing and making of medals was under the control of the sovereign in France, the existence of several mints and minting masters in the Holy Roman Empire reflected a different situation. One of the reasons for their decentralized model of production is explained with great demand for exceptional medallists, who moved from court to court as the aristocrats invited them. At the same time, this also explains the fact that signatures of significant authors are found on medals commissioned by completely different persons. The fact that medals were also sought by ordinary citizens in the Baroque period led to medal makers appearing in the role of medal issuers in the last third of the seventeenth century. As free entrepreneurs, they strived to secure an official licence or imperial privileges for their production to protect themselves against competition and plagiarism. One of the measures for protecting the buyer, which the bearers of such privileges were obliged to have in place and which is still visible on certain medals made from tin, is the implementation of inserts made from copper. A small reddish circle on the polished tin surface prevented such medals from being identified as made from silver. The possession of imperial privileges on medals of this period is emphasised with the marking *c.p.c.* (*cum privilegio caesaris*).⁸

The production of medals inspired by the crucial events of the Great Vienna War (1683–1699) exceeded in volume everything that had been produced in this medium up to that date, on the subject of battles with the Ottoman

³ In the Serbian language, a term that translates as 'memorial' in English is used for a type of medal.

⁴ Mesinger, *Traktat o medalji*, 17.

⁵ Schneider, *Medaillen und Schaumünzen des Barock und Rokoko*, 4.

⁶ Schumann, *Die andere Sonne*, 323.

⁷ The *Académie royale des Inscriptions et médailles*, also known as the Little Academy (*petite académie*), and subsequently the *Académie royale des Inscriptions et belles lettres* were founded in 1663 by the finance minister of Louis XIV, J. B. Colbert.

⁸ Weber, *Die Medaille*, 52–53.

Empire. This is corroborated by the fact that at least a hundred medals were created about those events, with a multitude of innovations in the composition and content of the representations.⁹ Besides works from Vienna, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Salzburg, Gdansk, Wrocław, Oels, there are also those by medalists who produced in France, Holland, Scandinavia and Rome, that is, outside the warring countries, which shows how much international interest this war had stirred. The form of medals varied in size and metal they were made from – gold, silver or bronze. The more expensive ones, larger and more lavish, were intended for diplomatic purposes, while those of cheaper make were available to a broader circle of recipients – they were sold on the market or presented during public ceremonies.¹⁰ Because of its insufficient technical capacities in this period, the Vienna mint issued a small number of medals which bore a closer resemblance to money. The content and appearance of representations on them makes them more a kind of comment on the events of the time rather than ‘memorial medals’ in the real sense.¹¹

The immense mobilisation behind the dramatic war events called for broad propaganda support and justification through victories. Emperor Leopold I and all of the aristocrats who joined the fight against the Ottomans attempted to emphasise the scope of the danger of the enemy and their own role in the victories through various panegyric publications, graphical prints and medals. The defeat of the Turks at Vienna in 1683 marked the start of

the collapse of their rule in Central Europe, and the start of the sixteen-year conflict between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. The immediate danger from Islam united the nobility and cities of the Holy Roman Empire, and also other countries of the Christian West, as they were joined by Poland and Venice in 1684. The lavish medal of Johann Jakob Wolrab,¹² dedicated to this decisive event in the war, now kept in the National Museum in Belgrade (fig. 70), presents in the best way the poetical and rhetorical principle according to which a deeply committed idea of an alliance against the common enemy was turned into a visual representation.¹³ Four opponents of the Turks are kneeling before Christ’s name which emanates rays of light; below them are two crossed sabres and distorted letters of the word MAHUMED.¹⁴ The figures on the right are Polish King John III Sobieski and Elector of Saxony Johann Georg III, and on the left are Emperor Leopold I and the Elector of Bavaria Max Emanuel, with representations of their coats-of-arms. The circular inscription is in verse: WANN DIESE HELDEN SIGEN – SO MUS DER TÜRKEN ERLIEGEN – HUNGARN DER FRIED VERGNÜGEN (= These heroes shall win – that must break the Turks – and peace will bring joy to Hungarians). The scene of the battle on the reverse of the medal, although small in format, bears all the key characteristics attributed to the Baroque: it is spacious, theatrical, ornamental, rhythmical, vivacious and monumental.¹⁵ Rising over the scene is a crowned imperial

⁹ Hirsch, *Die Medaillen auf den Entsatz Wiens*.

¹⁰ Schumann, *Die andere Sonne*, 321–339.

¹¹ Winter, *Glanz des Hauses Habsburg*, 22.

¹² Johann Jakob Wolrab, a goldsmith, medallist and coin engraver. Born in 1633 in Regensburg or Augsburg. He was a citizen of Nuremberg from 1663, where he died in 1690. He taught medal-making to Martin Brunner and Georg Hautsch. He introduced to Germany the technical innovation of inscription on the medal’s rim, which was already in use in France (Thieme, Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, 232–233; Veit, *Medaillen und Münzen*, 122, 129).

¹³ The medal *Liberation of Vienna in 1683*; Medal Collection, Inv. No 20_190; silver (coined), 64 mm. The signature of the medallist is located on the reverse, below the scene of the battle: HIW.

¹⁴ Weber, *Die Medaille*, 59, M4.

¹⁵ Тимотијевић, *Српско барокно сликарство*, 11.



Fig. 70. Johann Jakob Wolrab, *Liberation of Vienna 1683*
(National Museum in Belgrade, 20_190)

eagle, with a sword and coat-of-arms under a rainbow, on which a dove of peace is perched – all elements of standard symbolism which, in this case, represents Leopold I. The inscription that encircles the representation, WIEN DAS ADLER NEST SICH FREUT – DAS DER TÜRKEN – HERR ZERSTREUT – DANKE GOTT O'CHRISTENHEIT (= Vienna, the eagle's nest, is rejoicing – the ruler has vanquished the Turks – thank the Lord, O Christendom!), supplements its meaning.

The allied Christian military forces pushed the opponent further through Hungary. Buda was liberated two years later and the forces pushed southwards. The focus of military operations was approaching Belgrade, which regained its former military and strategic significance. Clashes moved to Serb-populated territories, with the inevitable inclusion of the local population, and the Belgrade Fortress became the 'Turks' main defence stronghold, supposed to stop the further advance of the

Christian forces.¹⁶ This was the main reason why its capture, on September 6th, 1688, resounded powerfully throughout Europe. In the context of the said historical facts, it is understandable that the majority of medals issued on that occasion bear the image of a fortress (Figs. 71, 72, 73, 74).¹⁷ The medal *Conquest of Belgrade 1688* by Nuremberg medallists Martin Brunner¹⁸ and Johann Färber is an example of the visualisation of the perception of Belgrade's strategic significance in that period (fig. 75).¹⁹ The representation on the obverse depicts a fortified city on river banks, in flames, shelled by cannonballs from the tent encampment on the opposite river bank. A theatrically positioned figure of a horseman, identified as the commander-in-chief, Elector of Bavaria Max Emanuel, is in the foreground. The ribbon above carries the inscription: BELGRAD and the initials of the medallist, MB, are in the field to the right. The inscription in Latin which frames the obverse

¹⁶ Веселиновић, *Ратнови Турске и Аустрије*, 465–519.

¹⁷ According to reference inventories of the medals minted on that occasion, which bear the representation of the Belgrade Fortress, their number is greater (Sammlung Julius, *Krieg und Frieden in der Medaille und in der Gedenkmünze*, Cat. No. 346–357).

¹⁸ Martin Brunner (1659–1725), a die-cutter and medallist in Nuremberg. He studied under Johann Jakob Wolrab and worked in Prague, Wrocław, Dresden and Leipzig.

¹⁹ The Medal Collection of the National Museum in Belgrade, Inv. No. 20_898.



Fig. 71. Friedrich Kleinert, Phillip Heinrich Müller, *Conquest of Belgrade 1688* (Belgrade City Museum, N_253)

representation, also explains it: ELECTOR BAVARUS, LEOPOLDI DEXTRA, PORTAS PANDIT ET INTREPIDVS TVRCICA CASTRA PETIT. 1688. (= Elector of Bavaria, Leopold's right hand, opens the gate and fearlessly attacks the Turkish fort). The obverse representation is emblematic in character.²⁰ The smaller fortress is positioned in a landscape with the Danube and its tributaries. The hand that descends from the clouds, a sign of the divine presence, holds three keys connected by a single holder, pointing to three different sides that are marked with the names of territories: SERVIA, GRAECIA, WALACHIA. Thus, Belgrade is signified as the key stronghold, which gives Christians access to the territories ruled by Turkey, which the inscription: UBIQUE RECLUDIT (= It opens everywhere) explains. If we know that 'key' was the main theme of the sermon delivered in Freising Cathedral near Munich in 1688 by Marcellian

Dalhofer on the occasion of the conquest of Belgrade, the multi-layered meaning of the depiction on the medal becomes clearer.²¹ The monogram F is below the representation, on the basis of which the authorship of the reverse is attributed to Johann Färber, who worked in Nuremberg at that time.²² The inscription on the rim of the medal has its provenance in Antiquity and its function is to additionally emphasise the significance of the victory: NUNC ADITUS LUSTRAT NUNC CLAUSAM CUSPIDE PORTAM INFESTAT CÆSAR, FRUITURQ TIMORE PAVENTUM (= the ruler now opens the passage, bangs on the door and feeds on the fear he causes).

Three other differently conceived representations of the Belgrade Fortress (Figs. 71, 72, 73) appear on the medals which were created on the same occasion, and are now kept in the collections of Serbian museums. It is certain that different graphical templates were used

²⁰ Due to its being so interesting, this emblematic representation attracted the attention of the renowned researcher of medals, Max Bernhart, in the early twentieth century (Bernhart, *Die Türken im Wandel des historischen Urteils*, 78).

²¹ Weber, Seelig, *Kürfürst Max Emanuel, Bayern und Europa*, 87.

²² Gebert, *Der Handelsmann Johann Ferber und Rechenpfennigmacher*; several pieces of archival information are preserved about Johann Färber, which illustrate the position of medallists in this period. One of them testifies that he left Nuremberg for economic reasons and came to Vienna, where he offered his services to the emperor in 1699, in connection with the upcoming marriage of the heir to the throne (Polleross, "Pro decore Majestatis" *Zur Repräsentation Keiser Leopold I.*, 286).



Fig. 72. Georg Hautsch, *Conquest of Belgrade 1688*
(Belgrade City Museum, N_251)



Fig. 73. Georg Hautsch, *Conquest of Belgrade 1688*
(Belgrade City Museum, N_252)



Fig. 74. Georg Hautsch, *Conquest of Belgrade 1688*
(National Museum in Belgrade, 20_1264)



Fig. 75. Martin Brunner and Johann Färber, *Conquest of Belgrade 1688*
(National Museum, Belgrade, 20_898)

for forming them. Since no data has been preserved about these templates, comparisons with older and contemporary graphical representations of the Belgrade Fortress provide the possibility for the formation of medals in this period to be considered from another angle. When graphical material that documents the visual appearance of Belgrade from the collections of the Belgrade City Museum is analysed in more detail and the particularities of its representation are observed, it becomes clearer why there are different skylines on medals from the same period.²³ From the time of the first known representations on the wood engravings produced by Nuremberg printer Wolfgang Resch and the reverse of the medal issued on the occasion of the conquest of Belgrade by Suleiman I in 1521 (fig. 76)²⁴ to the last dec-

ades of the seventeenth century, the city was depicted as seen by a traveller arriving from the north, down the Danube River. The emphasised elevation of the Upper Town, at the expense of its actual appearance, makes it appear like a powerfully fortified rock and stresses its impregnability. A similar graphical solution inspired Justus van den Nypoort for his representation of 'Greek' Belgrade (*Griechisch Weissenburg*), which was published in 1686 in Birkenstein's geometry textbook intended for artillery schools (fig. 77).²⁵ The form of the city's name and the details of the depicted buildings are an indication of the possibility that this is the template used by Philipp Heinrich Müller and Friedrich Kleinert²⁶ for the obverse of the medal *Conquest of Belgrade 1688* (fig. 71).²⁷ The reverse representation, with the personifica-

²³ Новаковић, *Београд на тривирама од XVI до XIX века*; Томић, *Бреј за размишљање*.

²⁴ The appearance of this medal is known from an illustration published on p. 47 of Lucke's *Sylloge numismatum elegantiorum*, Strasbourg 1620.

²⁵ The copperplate engraving was published in Vienna in 1686, in Anton Ernst von Birkenstein, *Ertz-herzogliche Handgriffe deß Zirckels und Linials, oder außserwehlter Anfang zu denen mathematischen Wissenschaften. Worinnen man durch eine leichte und neue Art ihm einen geschwinden Zutritt zu der Feldmesserey und andern darauß entspringeden Wissenschaften macht* (Томић, *Бреј за размишљање*, Т. 14).

²⁶ Friedrich Kleinert (1633–1714), an engraver, mechanic and medallist, was a craftsman and citizen of Nuremberg from 1668. His medals are characterised by flawless rim inscriptions. Kleinert's workshop passed to the hands of Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer in 1710.

²⁷ Besides the medals with identical obverses and reverses in the collection of the Belgrade City Museum and the National Museum in Belgrade, two other combinations are known, with the same obverse but different reverses, from the State Collection of Coins in Munich. Photographs of these specimens are published in Марић Јеринић, *Појед изблиза: Медаље у спомен освајања Београда*, figs. 6 and 8.



Fig. 76. Graphical representation of the medal *Conquest of Belgrade by Suleiman I, 1521* (taken from Lucke, *Sylloge numismatum elegantiorum*, 47)

tion of the church, with the sun on its chest and the cross in its hand shining a light that blinds a Turk and makes him fall to his knees, celebrates the event as a victory under the sign of the cross, which is indicated by the inscription *IN HOC SIGNO* (= under this sign). The Habsburgs often used this symbol of triumph of Emperor Constantine, the protector of the Christian faith, to emphasise their mission, and it was included in their dynastic propaganda programme through the idea of continuity with the Roman emperor.²⁸ The inscription that surrounds the representation additionally explains it: *IMBELLES TURCOS CRUX AT QUE ECCLESIA VINCUNT*.

The third representation of the city, from the reverse of the medal *Conquest of Belgrade 1688* by Georg Hautsch,²⁹ is an example of a greater level of realism. Here, Belgrade is no longer presented as viewed by a passenger arriving at the foot of a powerful fortress, but

seen from the south, the path of the new conquerors under the command of Max Emanuel. It emphasises the winning strategy, as much as the medium allowed, by depicting a different city skyline. The historical fact that the decision was made at the War Council, held in the military headquarters of the elector of Bavaria on September 4th, that the charge on the Belgrade Fortress, scheduled for the following day, should be from the south side, by land, is evidence of the strategy that led to victory on September 6th.³⁰ And, as the inscription on the medal's reverse certifies, *ALBA GRÆCA* was conquered by the will of God (*SIC VOLVIT DEUS*), while its visual rendering is in accord with significant facts of the historical event (fig. 78).³¹

The special role of the chief military commander Max Emanuel is also emphasised on a medal with the identical obverse (fig. 72). The signature G. H. below the bust figure in

²⁸ Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI*, 139.

²⁹ Georg Hautsch, medallist and seal engraver. From 1683, he worked as the official engraver of the city of Nuremberg. He frequently worked with Martin Brunner, Georg Friedrich Nürnberger and Friedrich Kleinert. He moved to Vienna in 1712, where he continued making medals until his death some time before 1745.

³⁰ Веселиновић, *Ратнови Турске и Аустрије*, 465–519.

³¹ The obverse of the medal from the National Museum in Belgrade (Inv. No. 20_964) differs from the medal in the Belgrade City Museum (N_252), the obverse of which depicts the figure of a woman that personifies Hungary.

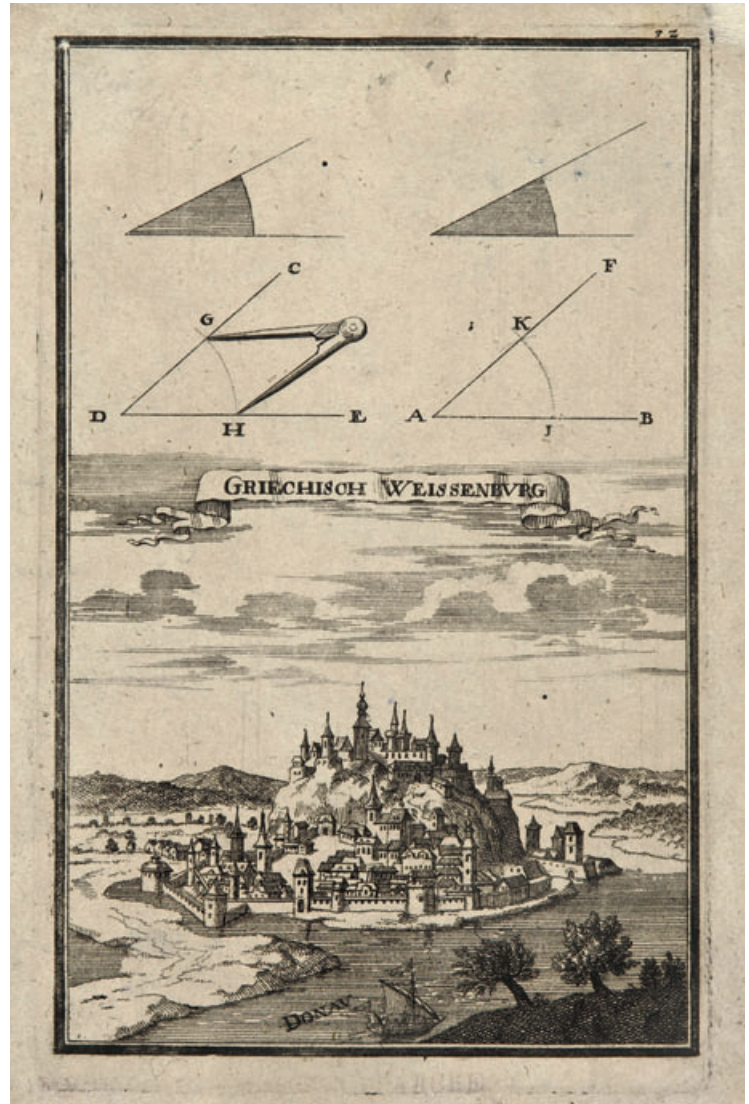


Fig. 77. Justus van den Nyport, *Griechisch Weissenburg*, taken from von Birkenstein, *Ertz-herzogliche Handgriffe deß Zirckels und Linials*

(Belgrade City Museum, sig. I, 453)

armour confirms that the author is Georg Hautsch, while the Bavarian elector's significance is emphasised by the circular inscription of the acronym of his full title in Latin: MAX. EMAN. D. G. V. BA. & P. S. D. C. P. R. S. R. I. AR. & E. L. L. (= *Maximilianus Emanuel Dei gratia utriusque Bavariae & Palatinatus Superioris dux, comes palatinus rheni, Sacri Romani Imperii, archidapifer & elector, Landgravius Leuchtenbergensis* = Max Emanuel, by the grace of God Prince of both Bavaria and Upper Palatinate, Palatine Count on the Rhine,

Prince-electoral of the Holy Roman Empire and Count of Leuchtenberg). The representation on the reverse of the transfer of troops from the left to the right bank of the Sava River to attack the fortress, depicts the crucial strategic move, while the rim inscription describes the essence of the medal's propaganda concept: BELGRADUM SUBITO BAVARUS CAPIT IGNEUS AUSU (= Fiery Bavarian conquers Belgrade in an unusually daring feat).³² The presentation of the city within a geographic map of the Danube and Sava river

³² The medal from the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade (Inv. No. 20_1264) has the same reverse representation, while on the obverse, like on the medal, the figure of a woman personifying Hungary (Fig. 73) stands instead of Max Emanuel.



Fig. 78. Georg Hautsch, *Conquest of Belgrade 1688*
(National Museum in Belgrade, 20_964)

basin is a reflection of the development of cartography in this period. Greater insistence on accuracy and topographic details is connected with the military feats of the greatest European courts, which, for reasons of politics and war, were the principal buyers of geographic maps.³³ The shift in style towards the greater realism of representations on medals of the Baroque period is not interpreted as a reflection of striving for an accurate image, but in the function of serving a historical mission.³⁴ On the example of these medals, the concept of the idea is focused on stressing the crucial and decisive role of the elector of Bavaria.³⁵

It is beyond doubt that successes in the war against the Turks contributed to the rise in the popularity of the medium of medals. It is clear from the above examples that not all medals were dedicated to the emperor and that there were also those that had as topics the roles and participation of electors and princes. Among a multitude of motifs that appeared on the medals, a certain number carry the representations of liberated cities alone, without

the image of Leopold I. Still, the most numerous medals are those where the emperor is the subject – in the text, the rim inscription or in the form of a symbol. Powerful in their expression, the visual symbols that represent him, such as the two-headed eagle or the triumph of the sun over the crescent, are among the more striking examples of the motifs used. This cannot be said of the representations in which Leopold I has the active role. The predominant medals are those with his static bust, with an appropriate scene on the reverse – the siege of a city or an emblematic composition. The emperor is usually represented in a bust, as a warrior in armour, with the use of standard symbols, recognisable in the visual representation of many European rulers. The ideological foundations of such representations originated at an earlier date and their rhetoric, developed since the sixteenth century, was founded on the anti-Turk idea.³⁶

As for the medals where the emperor himself is the subject, the clarification of the issue of who ordered their production and use by

³³ Buisseret, *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps*, 1–4.

³⁴ Schneider, *Medaillen und Schaumünzen des Barock und Rokoko*, 5.

³⁵ Марић Јеринић, *Појлед изблиза: Медаље у спомен освајања Београда*, 162–163.

³⁶ Симић, *За љубав ојтаџбине*, 166.



Fig. 79. Phillip Heinrich Müller, *Victory over the Turks and the Liberation of Belgrade from the Turkish Peril in 1688 – Congratulatory Medal of the City of Augsburg to the Emperor* (Belgrade City Museum, N_254)

the court is viewed as crucial for understanding the process of development which the medium of medals was undergoing at the end of the seventeenth century. It is also significant that, besides the technical improvements in production, there was also a change in the way in which they were placed on the market. An example of one of the most famous medalists of the time, Christian Wermuth,³⁷ who sold medals at fairs from printed catalogues, better explains the situation with production, which was not solely under the control of the authorities, but was also performed by independent entrepreneurs, provided they had a licence issued by the emperor.³⁸ A work by a medallist from Augsburg, Heinrich Müller,³⁹ *Victory over the Turks and the Liberation of*

Belgrade from the Turkish Peril in 1688, a silver specimen of which is kept in the Belgrade City Museum (fig. 79),⁴⁰ is evidence of personal initiative in the creation of a medal bearing the image of the emperor. The other name under which it appears, *Congratulatory Medal of the City of Augsburg to the Emperor*, is important in view of the context in which it was made.⁴¹

In September 1689, on the occasion of the forthcoming coronation of Joseph I as King of Hungary, Augsburg city officials presented a gift to his mother, Empress Eleonore, of thirteen medals which Philipp Heinrich Müller had made for that purpose. Thematically, these medals did not deal with the coronation, but represented his works over the previous thirteen years. This fact gives this collection a doc-

³⁷ Christian Wermuth (1661–1739), a medallist from Gotha, is the author of a large series of medals in which he emphasises Leopold I as the successor of the emperors of ancient Rome. Thanks to this, he was granted imperial privileges on independent production of medals, and signed them as of 1699 with the added *c. p. c.* (Wohlfahrt, *Christian Wermuth*).

³⁸ Schneider, *Medaillen und Schaumünzen des Barock und Rokoko*, 5.

³⁹ Philipp Heinrich Müller (1654–1719), a goldsmith and medallist from Augsburg. The use of a more modern press in the production of medals and the high quality workmanship made him known beyond the borders of Germany. Nuremberg mint owners and publishers Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer and Friedrich Kleinert produced medals from his dies (Gerlind, *Müller, Philipp Heinrich*, 468).

⁴⁰ The same specimen in gold is kept in the Museum of Art History in Vienna. It weighs 104.85 g, which equals the weight of 30 ducats, and has a diameter of 58.3 mm (Inv.-Nr. I.035 bß). The date 'September 16th, 1688' is actually September 6th. The Gregorian calendar reform in the period from 1582 to 1682 introduced a difference of ten days (Winter, *Glanz des Hauses Habsburg*, Cat. No. 62).

⁴¹ This name of the medal appears in the catalogue Sammlung Julius, *Krieg und Frieden in der Medaille und in der Gedenkmünze*, Cat. No. 357.

umentary character, because it provides an insight into which events the medallist thought deserved to be immortalised. Besides the imperial wedding and the birth of sons, seven medals have Leopold's victories against the Turks as the topic.⁴² Among them, the *Congratulatory Medal of the City of Augsburg to the Emperor* is distinctive because it connects two topics on the reverse: the coronation of the king and the emperor's military successes. The personification of Hungary is bowing to Joseph I, while the steps of the throne are marked by Leopold's victories against the Turks, emphasising the connection between the coronation and the Habsburgs' role as protectors. A bust of the Emperor Leopold I, framed by coats-of-arms, is shown on the obverse. It was common for the unity of the emperor and the empire to be depicted through the portraits of the seven electors or their coats-of-arms; here, the artisan offers a circle of ten coats-of-arms to the observer. This represents a political and propaganda message that the military commanders who participated in the fight against the Turks were worthy of the emperor's circle.⁴³ The example of Philipp Heinrich Müller, but also of other medallists of that period, shows that medals were not only produced by order, but also on personal initiative, and were offered on the market as such. One should not exclude the possibility that the buyers were state dignitaries or members of the ruling house. Sensing the interests of potential clients guided the medallists in selecting the topics and the method of rendering them. The above example is a confirmation of the opinion that, as a result of the Turkish wars of 1683,

medals became a significant form of communication, but that the court in Vienna utilised very little of that élan for its own ends.⁴⁴

A change in the Habsburg medal-making art came about during the reign of Charles VI (1711–1740), when the Baroque north of the Alps was at its pinnacle. At the start of the second decade of the eighteenth century, the inspector of the Vienna mint and antiques dealer Carl Gustav Heraeus initiated a fundamental revival of medal-making by modernising the minting technique and employing renowned foreign artists as court medallists. A die-cutter from Naples, Antonio Maria de Gennaro and Swedish medallists Daniel Warou and Benedikt Richter are the names with which this revival is closely linked.⁴⁵ The fundamental novelty lies in the circumstance that Heraeus, while using the French series of medals *l'Histoire métallique* as the model, conceived the topics and created representations on medals which celebrated Charles VI. The example of the medal made on the occasion of the emperor's return from Spain in 1711, on which he is depicted as the Roman emperor, indicates the essence of Heraeus' concept.⁴⁶ According to the French model, he presented the medals made for propaganda purposes for Charles VI in the book *Historia metallica seu numismatica Austriaca*,⁴⁷ with detailed explanations of their representations. Besides conceiving the iconography and interpreting the ruler's ideology, this numismatist organised many court celebrations and ceremonies⁴⁸ until his death in 1725.

The segment of the didactic visual language of the Baroque with its series of symbols, allusions and emblematic pictograms, taken from

⁴² The siege of Vienna is described in the text, while the visual representation depicts Hercules slaying the dog of hell, Cerberus. Other medals represent the liberation of Buda, the battles of Mohács and Osijek, while three victories from 1685 are celebrated on one medal.

⁴³ Schumann, *Die andere Sonne*, 334.

⁴⁴ Polleross, "Pro decore Majestatis" *Zur Repräsentation Keiser Leopold I.*, 286.

⁴⁵ Antonio Maria de Gennaro, Daniel Warou, Benedikt Richter (Winter, *Glanz des Hauses Habsburg*, 24).

⁴⁶ The medal titled *Return from Spain for the Imperial Coronation* is kept in the numismatic collection of the Museum of Art History in Vienna, Inv. No. 1.284 bß.

⁴⁷ The book was published in Nuremberg in 1721, inspired by *Louis XIV et ses symboles dans l'histoire métallique du regne de Louis le Grand*.

⁴⁸ Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI.*, 43–44.



Fig. 80. Georg Wilhelm Vestner, *Conquest of Belgrade 1717*
(Belgrade City Museum, N_256)

the official imperial iconography, is also present on medals minted in connection with the next Austrian–Turkish war (1716–1718). Besides works from the renewed Vienna mint, medals dedicated to these events were still made by the medallists from Nuremberg and Augsburg,⁴⁹ with official permission of the emperor Charles VI. The subjects of pieces kept in Serbian museums are related to two events of this war that took place on our soil: the conquest of Belgrade in 1717⁵⁰ and the Požarevac peace treaty in 1718. In consideration of the strategy of war operations, the decision of the military commander Prince Eugene of Savoy after the taking of Timișoara and Banat to direct the main attack towards Belgrade, the strongest fortress in the European part of Turkey, was crucial for its conquest.⁵¹ This historical fact

was the main inspiration for Nuremberg artisan Georg Wilhelm Vestner⁵² to depict his image on the obverse of the medal dedicated to this event. The reverse shows Prince Eugene holding a sword, which is referred to as the ‘sword of Gideon’ in the inscription – NON EST HEIC ALIVO NISI GLADIVS GIDEONIS. The formulation reflects the Old Testament picture of a just revenge on non-believers guided by the hand of God, in which prophet Gideon defeats the Midianites with his small army (Judges 7:13–14:20). In a similar way, Eugene of Savoy and his sword, as the envoy and representative of Emperor Charles VI, defeats the Turks in the battle of Belgrade⁵³ (fig. 80). The conquest of Belgrade once again resounded in Europe as a great success of the Habsburgs and as a victory of

⁴⁹ Martin Brunner, Georg Wilhelm Vestner, Philipp Heinrich Müller are the names of medallists whose signatures appear on medals issued in relation with the Austrian-Turkish war (1716–1718).

⁵⁰ The National Museum in Belgrade and the Belgrade City Museum possess only two medals dedicated to the conquest of Belgrade in 1717 each, two of which are the same and celebrate Eugene of Savoy. According to reference catalogues, the number of medals made to mark this event does not fall behind the number of those made in connection with the previous conquest in 1688 (Sammlung Julius, *Krieg und Frieden in der Medaille und in der Gedenkmünze*, Cat. No. 1274–1303).

⁵¹ Веселиновић, *Рајови Турске и Аустрије*, 523.

⁵² Georg Wilhelm Vestner (1677–1740), medallist of the Würzburg bishops from 1720, and the court medallist of Bavaria from 1732. He worked together with his son Andreas from 1726 and in 1728 was granted by Emperor Charles VI the privilege to make medals in his workshop in Nuremberg (Bernheimer, *Georg Wilhelm Vestner und Andreas Vestner*).

⁵³ Милошевић, *Влагарске врлине Карла VI*, 193.



Fig. 81. Bengt Richter, *Požarevac Peace Treaty 1718*
(National Museum in Belgrade, 20_886)

Christianity in the centuries-old conflict with Islam. After that, the territory of northern Serbia was conquered, with the idea to make a still further advance southwards. Spain's attack on Habsburg holdings in Italy was the reason for ending the war with Turkey and for peace negotiations. With the mediation of England and Holland, the peace treaty was signed in Požarevac on July 21st, 1718. For the Holy Roman Empire, this was the most favourable peace signed with the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴

The basic concept of representations on medals issued in connection with the signing of the Požarevac peace treaty in 1718 does not significantly deviate from those created during the Great Vienna War. The official imperial iconography, developed under Heraeus' leadership in this period, placed greater emphasis on formulations which presented Charles VI as the Roman emperor. The example of the bronze medal from the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade, the work of medallist Bengt Richter (fig. 81),⁵⁵ explicitly refers to the

emperor as the new Augustus. The image on the reverse depicts the emperor crowned with a laurel wreath – because of the lasting victory against the Turks, i.e., the peace established through victory. He is wearing a toga and leaning on the cross, to which, in his piousness, he attributed the victory. The shield, symbolising victory, is affixed to the cross and bears the inscription *DE BARBARIS GENTIBUS* (of barbaric tribes). Triumph is also emphasised by the weapons laid at the foot of the cross. Religion holds in its right hand a book locked by seven seals, symbolising seven Catholic sacraments, while the Christian globe, symbolising the peoples Charles VI liberated in the war against the Turks, lies next to its feet. The emperor is presented with an oak wreath, like Augustus, the bringer of peace. The inscription *AVGVSTO PACATORI. III* indicates that Charles VI was the triple peace-maker in the wars with Hungary, Spain and the Ottoman Empire, which ended with the Požarevac peace treaty.

⁵⁴ Веселиновић, *Ратнови Турске и Аустрије*, 523–571.

⁵⁵ Bengt Richter (Stockholm 1670 – Vienna 1735). Before arriving in Vienna, he worked in Paris, London and Stockholm as a die-cutter and medallist. He became senior medallist in the Vienna mint in 1715 (Тодоровић, *Пољаревачки мир*, 516–517); National Museum, Belgrade, Inv. No. 20_886.

⁵⁶ For a more detailed interpretation of the meaning of representations on medals related to the Požarevac peace treaty, see Милошевић, *Влагарске врлине Карла VI*, and Simić, *Patriotism and Propaganda*.



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, *Райови Турске и Аусџрије*, 468–482; Vanino, *Isusovci u Beogradu*, 21–22.

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

⁴ I. Тоџанас 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.

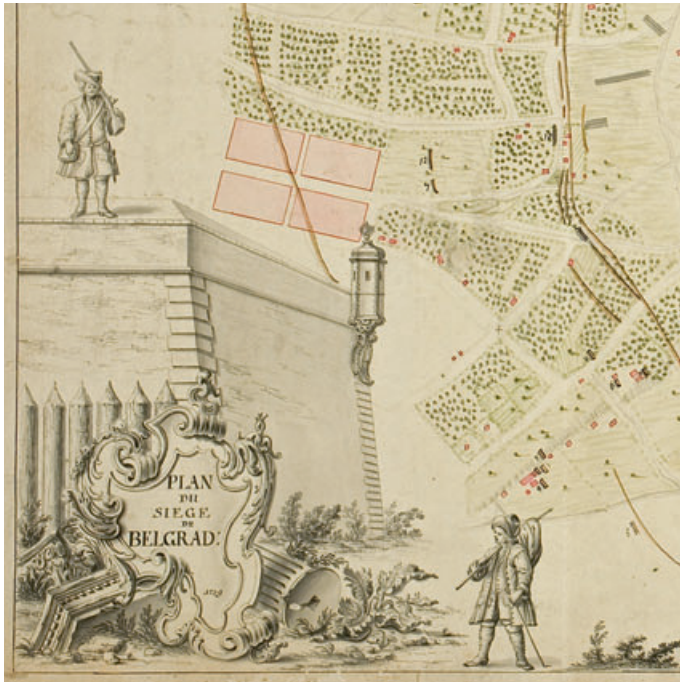


Fig. 82. Plan of the siege of Belgrade in 1717, veduta
(*Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, sig. Hfk Pläne_La 14 rot*)



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 block-house 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 étrangère*.



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)



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.

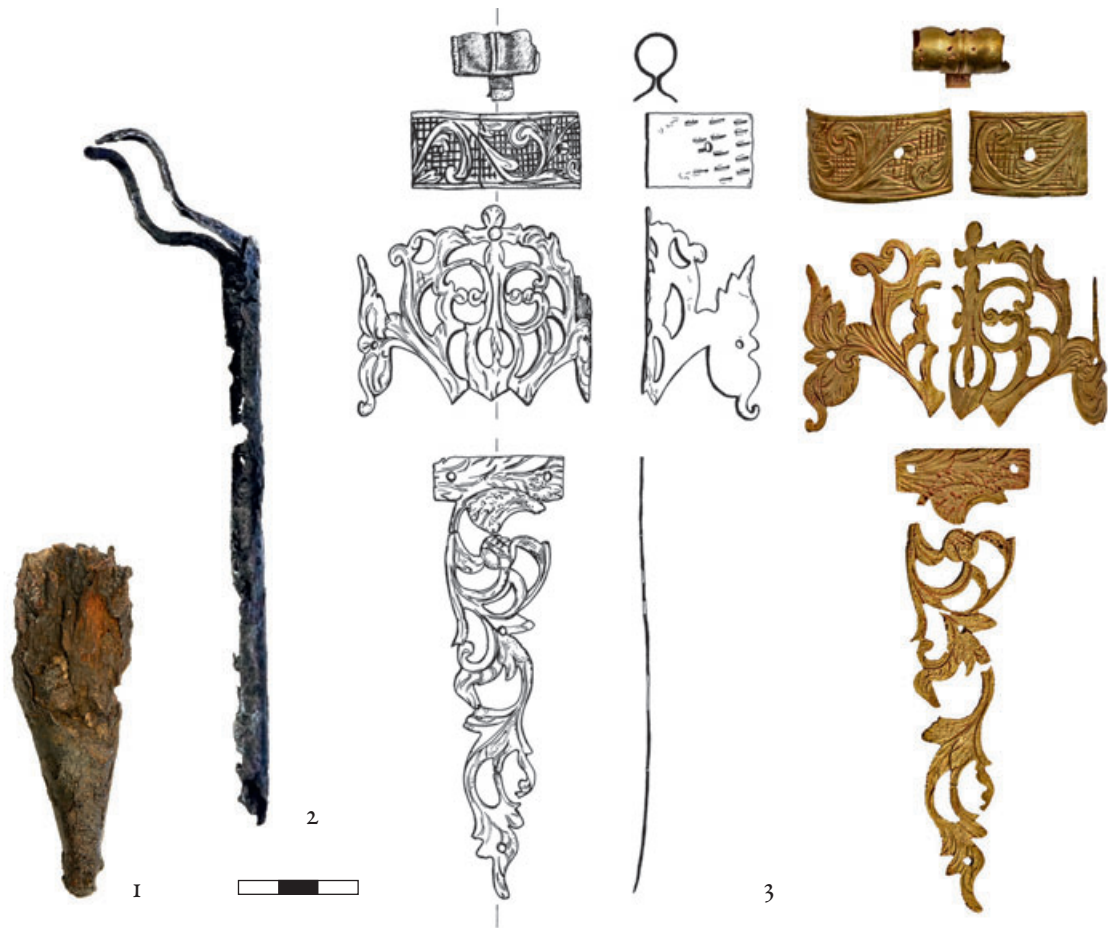


Fig. 89. Weapon finds: sabre scabbard
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

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, *Viseli svećnjaci*, 364, sl. 4.

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

⁴⁷ Bikić, *Viseli 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)

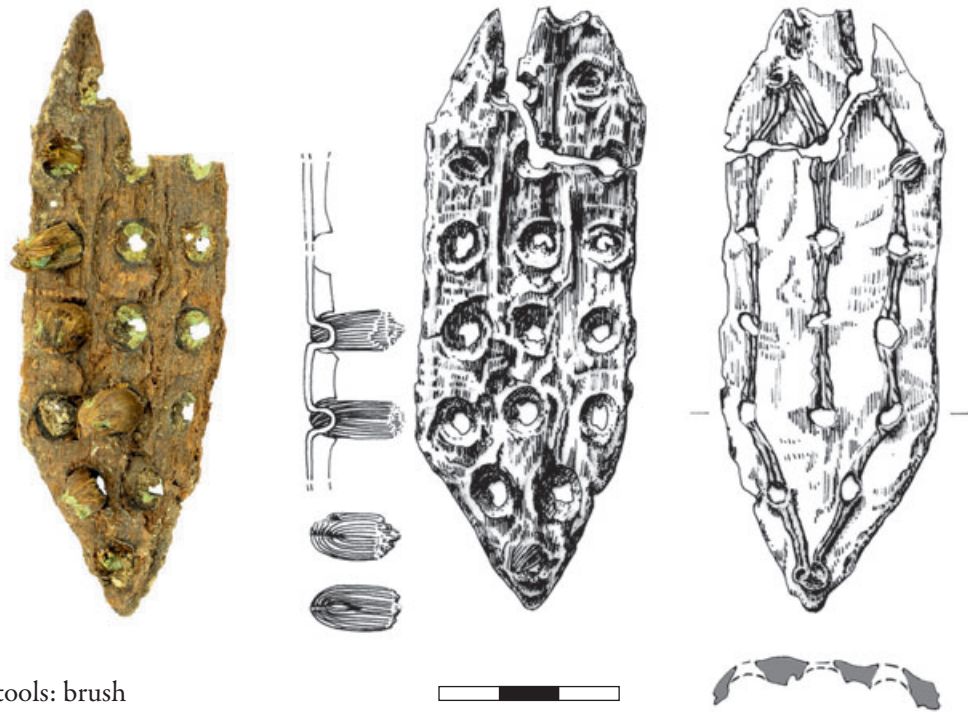


Fig. 97. Personal hygiene tools: brush
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

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)

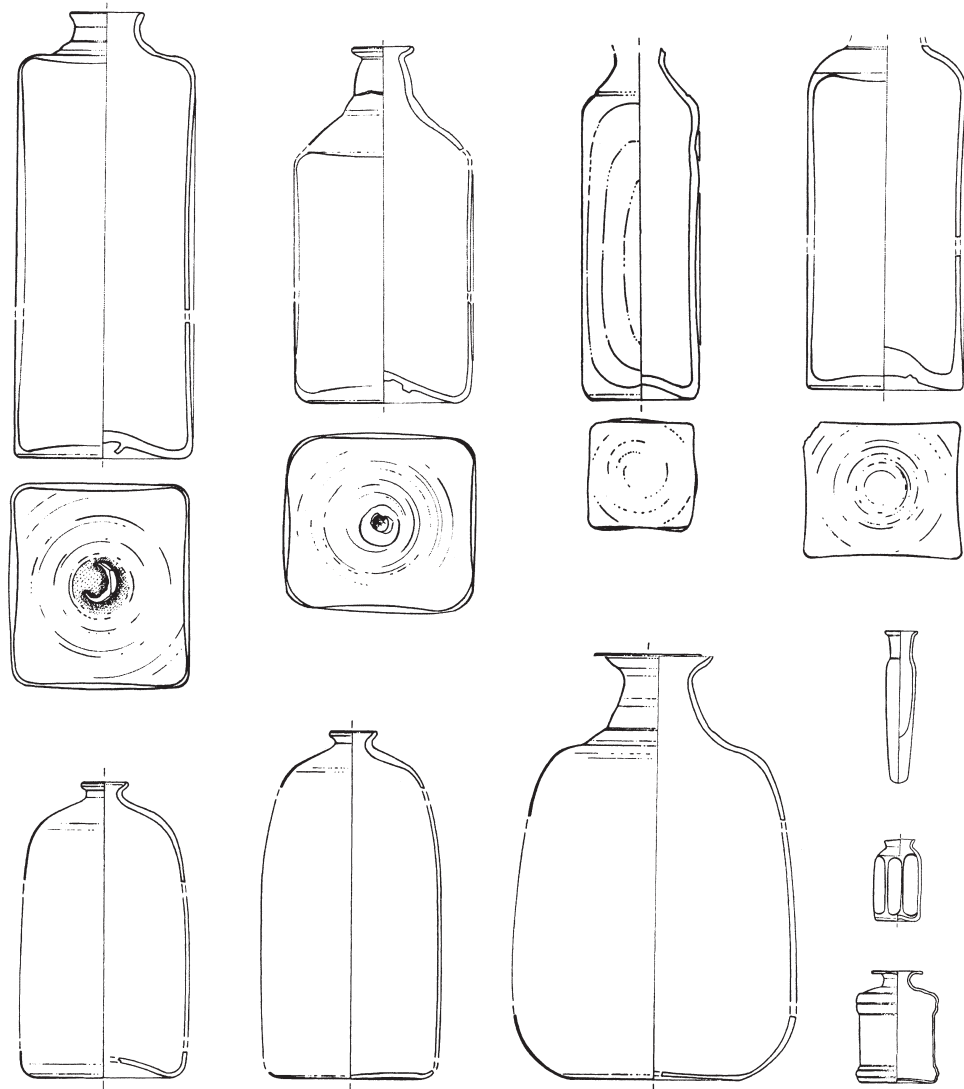


Fig. 100. Glass vessels from the apothecary shop in the cellar of the former metropolitan's residence at the foot of the Danube-facing slope
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

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 Rumpol, *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 a 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 сѣакла'; 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: *Gežifſy γ Marigi Matkau twau poraučim tj γ tĕlem duſſy*, 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 Nazareus 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, *Райови 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, *Agyagművesség*; 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*, Т. XXVIII–XXXII.

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

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



JOSIP ŠARIĆ

The 'Stone Age' and Flintlock Muskets in the Eighteenth Century Belgrade Fortress

It can be said without hesitation that the technology of stone processing lies in the very foundations of modern civilisation. From the oldest roughly shaped choppers that marked the very beginning of the Lower Palaeolithic, to the period when new technological procedures enabled the melting of metallic ores, stone represented one of the most significant natural raw materials for making tools and weapons. From the start of the Eneolithic, stone was gradually suppressed as the raw material for producing tools and weapons, and the technology for its processing was slowly forgotten. Sophisticated procedures for stone processing by chipping disappeared from the historical scene, but the most rudimentary methods remained in existence through the making of roughly shaped flint pieces that were used for fire-making in combination with an iron striker. It was exactly this simplest way of stone processing that made a comeback at the beginning of the Modern Age, when small, most

often rectangular pieces of chipped stone, found their place as the crucial element in a new product of technology – handheld firearms.

Appearance of firearms on the historical scene

The invention of the recipe for making gunpowder represents one of the key developments that directly influenced the course of subsequent historical events. As of the Middle Ages, thanks to the invention of gunpowder, the development of firearms started in China, which completely changed the strategy of warfare. From China, the making and using of gunpowder spread to other parts of the world and, as it was used more and more as time passed, numerous patents and technological procedures developed for making new, much more efficient weapons. The first simple cannons were already being cast in China in the early

* The paper is the result of work on the projects *Urbanisation and Development Processes in Medieval Society* (no. 177021) and *Archaeology of Serbia: cultural identity, integration factors, technological processes and the role of the Central Balkans in the development of European prehistory* (no. 177020) financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

fourteenth century, and then in Europe, but it was clear to military strategists by that time that besides the massive and bulky artillery pieces, it was necessary to develop light, handheld, firearms for the infantry.¹

A transitional stage between heavy artillery pieces and handheld firearms was the harquebuse, a kind of portable handheld cannon with a massive hook as an integral part of the construction which, when attached to the wall of the fortress, dampened the powerful recoil when the projectile was fired. The firing system of the harquebuse was very simple – firing was manual, performed by bringing a burning fuse to the chamber with a charge of gunpowder. A major improvement on that weapon, which led to the development of the first true muskets, was the introduction of a wooden stock as the damper, which enabled the marksman to nest the weapon against his shoulder. Apart from the weapon becoming lighter, the marksman became much more mobile and was no longer bound to the fort walls as the necessary point for stabilising the earlier harquebuse.²

A significant innovation in the further development of personal firearms was the mechanism with a lit match, by which muskets with that mechanism were called matchlock muskets. When the trigger was pulled, the match carrier fell on the powder chamber and lit it, and the resulting gases propelled the lethal projectile out of the barrel. This construction of the firing mechanism imminently led to the development of the lighter and more easily manipulated infantry weapons – the matchlock muskets which appeared in Europe in the sixteenth century.³

Although this mechanism represented a significant improvement over the bulky harque-

buses, many flaws were observed in practical use. Matchlock muskets were not ready to fire immediately, the flame of the burning match could be extinguished by a stronger gust of wind or by rain and the marksman, due to the flame of the match, was visible to the opponents.⁴ All these flaws that became apparent in the practical use of the matchlock musket led the constructors to create a new, significantly improved mechanism, applied in what is known as the wheel-lock musket. It was a mechanism with a dog – a jaw-like clamp that held a piece of pyrite in the initial period and, subsequently, a piece of flint wrapped with a leather strip or, more frequently, a lead strip. This method of fixing was needed to make the flint immobile in the clamp and to prevent excessive wear of the flint due to its unintended motion within the clamp. Lead was much more frequently used as the flint wrapper (fig. 112/2) in the military, because a marksman would easily make it into a strip by tapping the lead ball that was used as the projectile.⁵ When the trigger was pulled, the dog with the clamp pivoted towards contact with the grooved edge of the wheel that protruded from the chamber with gunpowder (the so-called 'pan'). The wheel rotated (powered by a spring that was wound up with a key from the outside) and, in contact with the pyrite/flint, created a spark that ignited the powder charge, causing it to explode and develop gases that propelled the lead ball down the barrel of the musket.⁶

Wheel-lock muskets undoubtedly had advantages over matchlocks, but the mechanism applied in them was more complex and thus expensive to make, so the logical course of events was the construction of a simpler and cheaper mechanism, which would significantly reduce the already high cost of equipping the

¹ Houston, Stroyan, *Firearms, An Illustrated History*, 12.

² *Ibid.*, 20.

³ Бајам, *Оружје и оклоји*, 38.

⁴ Houston, Stroyan, *Firearms, An Illustrated History*, 26.

⁵ Brandl, *Characterisation of Middle European*, 132.

⁶ Бајам, *Оружје и оклоји*, 39; Houston, Stroyan *Firearms, An Illustrated History*, 27.

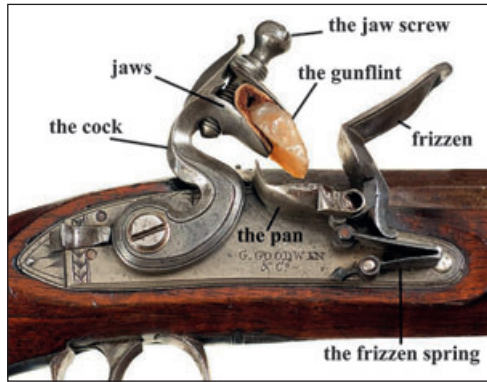


Fig. 112. 1 – Mechanism of the flintlock musket

(modified presentation from <http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/flintlock+mechanism>);

2 – Presentation of finished flint pieces, wrapped with lead strips

(Brandl, *Characterisation of Middle European*, 133, Fig. 5.3.5, Photo: G. Trnka)

military. A mechanism that is characteristic for flintlock muskets, which were so named because of the method of igniting the powder in the pan, had been in use with increasing frequency since the second half of the sixteenth century. The clamp on the dog no longer held a piece of pyrite – only flint. The grooved wheel was excluded from the mechanism, and the flint would create a spark by striking a small moving platform made from strengthened steel, which would ignite the gunpowder charge (fig. 112/1). The French constructor of weapons, Martin le Bourgeois, is commonly referred to as the inventor of the flintlock firing mechanism in the period after 1620,⁷ although other sources state that the mechanism, as a Spanish invention, was used for the first time around 1630.⁸ In England, the introduction of flintlock muskets began in 1686, while the Duke of Brunswick did the same in Germany one year later.⁹ The new mechanism surpassed

the previous ones in all aspects and, as the much more practical and safer solution, remained in use for the next two full centuries. Constructors developed several forms of the basic mechanism for flintlocks, but the French design was dominant in most of Europe, although regional styles were successfully developed in Germany, Austria, Bohemia and Poland.¹⁰ The development of pistols and hunting weapons that used the same mechanism progressed parallel with that of muskets intended for military use.¹¹

Despite the advantages of the wheel-lock mechanism over those of the matchlock and of the flintlocks over the wheel-locks, the upgrading of weapons in the military could not be performed all at once due to costs, but would instead be carried out gradually, sometimes even very slowly, so it frequently occurred that both old and new systems were in use at the same time in one unit.¹²

⁷ Бајам, *Оружје и оклоји*, 40.

⁸ *Aggsbach's Palaeolithic Blog*.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Houston, Stroyan, *Firearms, An Illustrated History*, 42.

¹¹ Ibid., 37, 64–65.

¹² Бајам, *Оружје и оклоји*, 38.

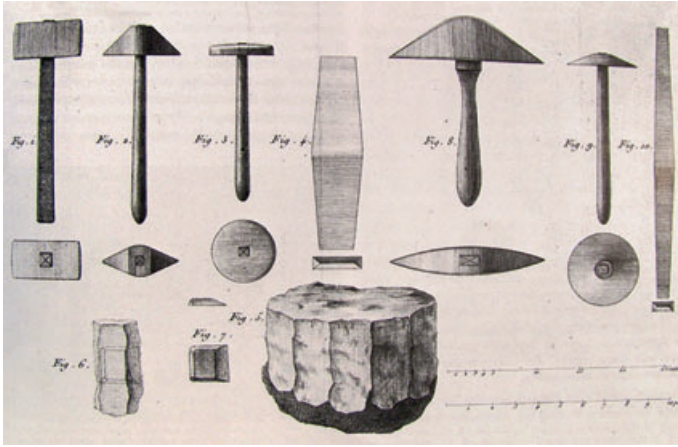


Fig. 113. Tools used in gun flint workshops
(Brandl, *Characterisation of Middle European*, 140, Fig. 5.3.8)

The penetration of the Ottoman Turks in their conquests in south-eastern Europe enabled their military strategists and arms-makers to learn about western European hand-held firearms. The Turkish military received muskets as part of the standard armament during the sixteenth century, with wheel-locks being little represented and the flintlocks, as a much more reliable weapon, becoming dominant in all Turkish units during the seventeenth century.¹³

The technology of processing flint for firearms

The construction of the firing system in flintlock muskets led to an unexpected revival of an old and largely forgotten technology – the processing of stone by chipping, which, actually, lay at the very roots of the development of modern civilization. Technological procedures in shaping the simple pieces of flint for mus-

kets were rudimentary in character, if we were to compare them with some of the complex technological procedures developed in prehistoric times from the Palaeolithic to the Neolithic. However, there was one significant technological improvement – the tool used to perform the chipping was made from metal and not stone, bone or antler, which was the case during prehistoric times (fig. 113).

Although flintlocks were already in use in the French military in the period after 1620, marksmen who were armed with them were often left to their own devices in finding a suitable flint. That led to flints of various quality being used, while the users' unequal chipping skills resulted in the flint pieces for muskets being shaped in very rough and uneven forms. The appearance of the first specialized workshops for manufacturing standardized shapes of musket flints was registered only as late as 1719, with quality flint from French quarries used as the raw material for making them.¹⁴ Although the harquebuses are already mentioned in Italy in 1547, the first written data about the local production of flints for the muskets that succeeded the harquebuses originates from 1726 or 1766.¹⁵

Historical sources state that, in Austria, Emperor Joseph II announced a public invitation for finding a source of raw materials which would be equal in quality to the already well-known French flint. A reward of 100 ducats was offered to those who discovered such sites, and 300 ducats to those who would provide the military with a constant supply of quality gunflint.¹⁶

Such deposits were discovered in Poland, in the area of Krakow. It is interesting that the so-called Jurassic flint from the vicinity of Krakow had already been exploited in considerable quantities in the Neolithic by the local

¹³ Радовић, *Занайско оруђе Балкана*, 29.

¹⁴ *Aggsbach's Palaeolithic Blog*.

¹⁵ Chelidonio, Woodall, *Italian firesteel flints*, 2. The year in the document presented by the author is almost illegible – hence the two dates.

¹⁶ Woodall et al., *Gunflint Production*, 17.

population and, as a valuable raw material for bartering, it had also been exported to distant lands.¹⁷

On the other hand, Germany, that is Prussia, did not possess such deposits and was forced to import raw materials from other countries.¹⁸ Therefore, there is no information about early local production in Germany – it is only recorded that 2.5 million and 5 million pieces of finished gunflints were imported from France in 1751 and 1753, respectively, during the reign of Friedrich II.¹⁹

After the procurement of flint²⁰ (most often hornstone) of appropriate quality, the process of shaping the pieces for muskets proceeded in three stages. The first craftsman would shape the raw material, which arrived in the form of slabs or irregular pieces, into smaller pieces, suitable for making the core. After this primary treatment, the next craftsman created the cores and then, from the cores prepared in such a way, chipped away long, equal blades with parallel edges. The final procedure was completed by the third craftsman, who would cut the blades into segments and shape them by retouching the edges, usually into square or rectangular pieces that were suitable for fixing into the jaws of mechanism of the flintlock musket or pistol. In many rural environments, this production initially had the character of rudimentary industrial production, and was organised by individuals or smaller groups, who performed

the work at home or in small workshops. One small workshop, in which work was well organised, could produce between three and four thousand gunflints per day. Although it does seem that way at a first glance, making gunflints was very risky work because inhaling siliceous particles that were created in the process of chipping caused lung silicosis, so it is recorded that many craftsmen from such shops died young, already in their forties.²¹

Gunflints were distributed in great quantities throughout Europe and were also exported to numerous European colonies around the world. Evidence of the quantity of these artefacts that circled Europe is the fact that as much as 1.5 tons of finished gunflints was discovered, during the 2002 excavations alone, in the Neugebeude castle in Vienna.²² In a relatively short while, the constant demand for gunflints resulted in true industrial production being developed, wherein a catalogue of samples of gunflints and flints for fire-making from the workshop in Burgenlengenfeld, Germany, from 1796, testifies to the seriousness and systematic character of that production.²³ This form of real industrial production implied the establishing of standardized shapes, such as those that came from French, German or English workshops.²⁴ Over time, Meusnes in France, Brandon in England, Casa Monterro in Spain, the area of Mount Lessini in Italy, and the region of Krakow in Poland (fig. 114)²⁵ became the main production centres.

¹⁷ Lech, *Mining and Distribution*, 369–380.

¹⁸ *Aggsbach's Palaeolithic Blog*.

¹⁹ Weiner, *On Gunflint Manufacture in Germany*, 3.

²⁰ Flint is a term used in everyday language as a common denominator for rocks that possess great hardness, but are brittle and easily broken by a powerful and well-directed impact. Their shell-shaped break line is one of the important characteristics that enabled man in all prehistoric epochs to make stone tools by employing the technique of chipping. About certain contradictions in different terms used for referring to such rocks, cf. Šarić, *Artefakti od okresanog kamena*, 22, 23.

²¹ *Aggsbach's Palaeolithic Blog*.

²² Brandl et al., *Raw Material Analysis*, 65.

²³ Weiner, *On Gunflint Manufacture in Germany*, 11.

²⁴ Austin, *A Study and Some Hypotheses*, 85–105; Weiner, *On Gunflint Manufacture in Germany*, 1–18; Chelidonio, Woodall, *Italian firesteel flints*, 1–8.

²⁵ Brandl et al., *Raw Material Analysis*, 65.

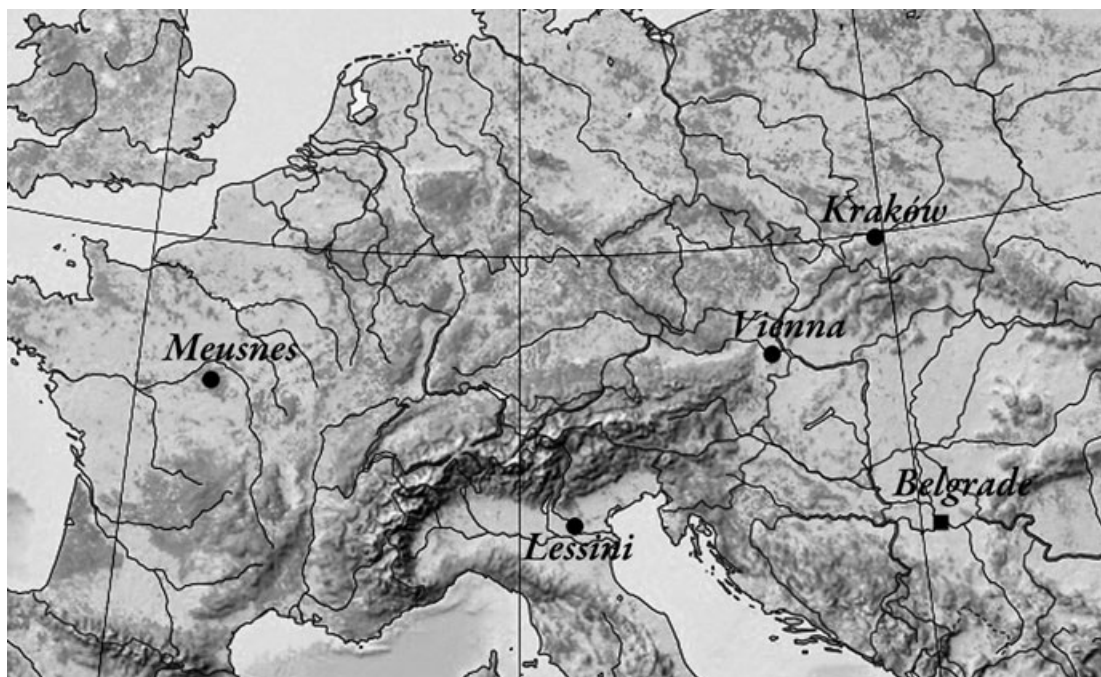


Fig. 114. Geographic position of primary sources of flint exploited for the needs of armouries in the 18th century

Gunflint finds in the Belgrade Fortress

During the archaeological excavations of the so-called blockhouse in the Upper Town, performed during 2008, a total of nine specimens of gunflints were discovered, all of which were connected with that building. Three were found in the area of the upper level of the structure (fig. 115/7–9; fig. 116/7–9) and six in a subterranean chamber which, together with the ground floor, served as a latrine and a faecal collector (fig. 115/1–6; fig. 116/1–6).²⁶ These are flints used for muskets, although there is an indication that some of the pieces might have been used for fire-making with an iron striker. Bearing in mind that this Austrian structure had embrasures, which testifies to the presence of garrisoned troops, and the exis-

tence of barracks in the immediate vicinity, it becomes clear why gunflints would be discovered in the building. Given that historical sources place the second Austrian reconstruction of the Belgrade Fortress in the period between 1717 and 1739²⁷ and the finds from the so-called blockhouse are dated to the period between 1717 and 1725²⁸, it is without doubt that the flint artefacts belong to this, or perhaps a slightly earlier period.

Technical and morphological characteristics of flints from the Belgrade Fortress

Given the mechanical stress the flint pieces fixed in the jaws endured when striking the frizzen, less brittle flint was more desirable;

²⁶ See V. Bikić, in the present book, pp. 163–164.

²⁷ Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава* (друго допуњено издање), 211–226.

²⁸ Bikić, *The Haban Pottery*, 211.



Fig. 115. Flintlock gun flints from the Belgrade Fortress
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology,
1–6: C1 318; 7–9: C386 a, b, c; Photo: J. Šarić)



the lower transparency is one of its physical characteristics also.²⁹ All the finds from the Belgrade Fortress are made from quality hornstone of various shades of grey and amber, with lighter spots of beige. Their surface is slightly glossy to matt, with relatively low transparency. The small number of discovered pieces, as well as the absence of data about the possible existence of a workshop with a specialised craftsman to serially produce gunflints

for the garrison, are limiting factors in determining the possible primary sources of the raw material. However, in view of the macroscopic characteristics of these hornstones and their comparison with the specimens published by Brandl, there is an evident similarity with the samples that originated from the flint deposits in the vicinity of Lessini in Italy and Krakow in Poland.³⁰ Taking into account the geographical position of Vienna in relation to the

²⁹ Weiner, *On Gunflint Manufacture in Germany*, 2.

³⁰ Brandl, *Characterisation of Middle European*, 132, 203, fig. 5.3.4, 5.3.30.

³¹ Detailed analyses of the chemical composition of flints from the Belgrade Fortress could not have been performed at the time of writing of this text for technical reasons. When conditions permit, the analyses will be performed and the findings will enable a direct comparison with the analyses published by Brandl (Brandl, *Characterisation of Middle European*) and, on that basis, the primary zone from which the Belgrade pieces originated should be established with great certainty. For the time being, the primary zone remains in the domain of assumption.

primary zones from which the raw material came to Vienna, and that the Belgrade pieces belonged to the Austrian garrison, it is possible that the raw material from which they were made originated from these main quarry areas (fig. 114).³¹

The nine finds of flint from the Belgrade Fortress have typological characteristics on the basis of which they can be divided into

rectangular (fig. 115/7; fig. 116/7), triangular (fig. 115/4, 5; fig. 116/4, 5), arched (fig. 115/2; fig. 116/2), trapezoidal (fig. 115/1, 3, 8; fig. 116/1, 3, 8) and irregularly shaped (fig. 115/6, 9; fig. 116/6, 9). Considering the fact that the Belgrade finds belonged to the fortress garrison, they were probably gunflints for muskets – long-ranged weapons. Still, it should be borne in mind that the observable differences

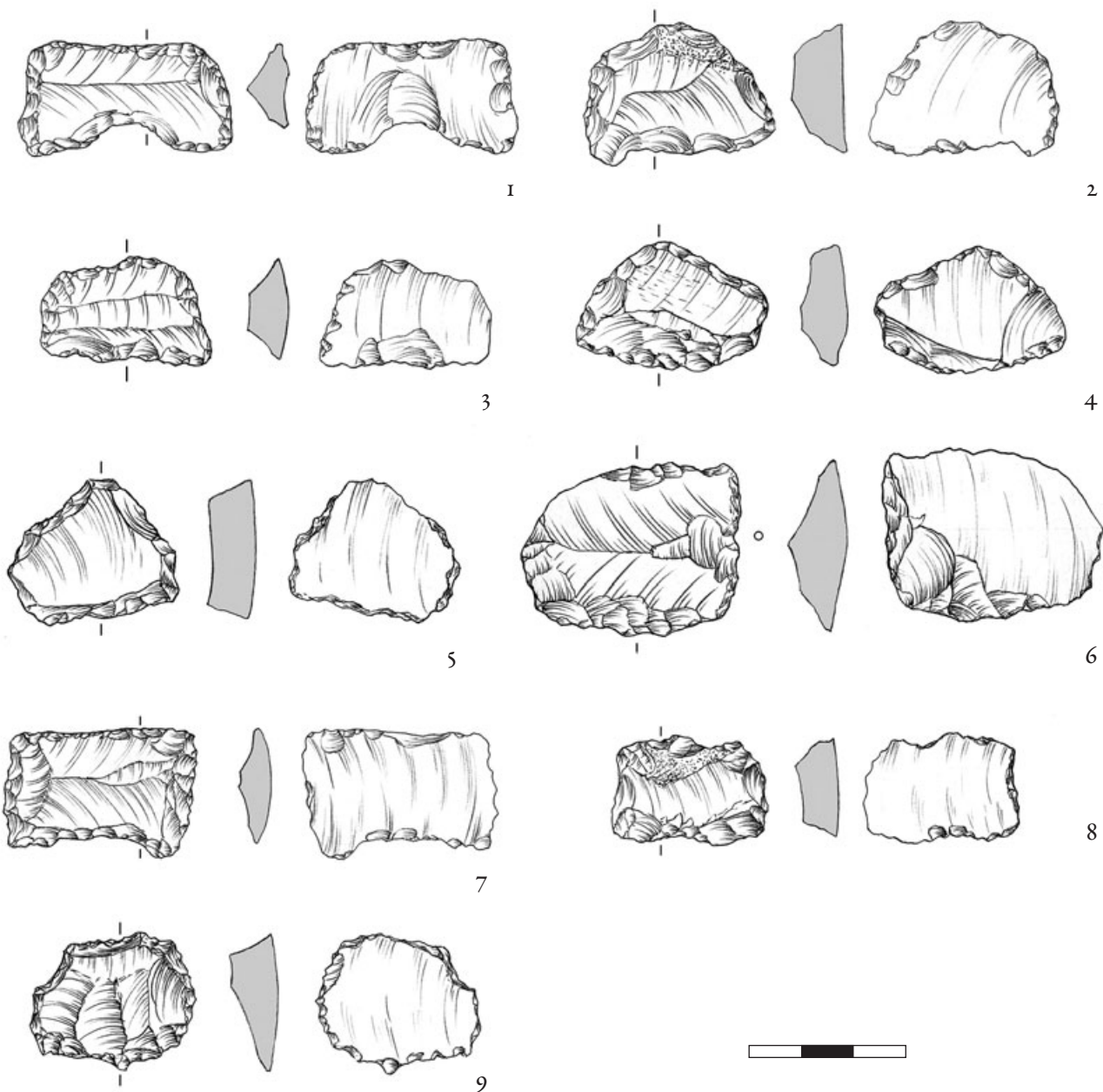


Fig. 116. Flintlock gun flints from the Belgrade Fortress

(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology; 1–6: C1 318; 7–9: C386 a, b, c; Drawings: J. Šarić)

in dimensions among items such as gunflints also depended on the type of weapon (muskets, pistols) a piece was intended for. It is interesting that, on two pieces, of better quality of make than the others (fig. 115/1, 7; fig. 116/1, 7), the wear on the edge that formed a concave surface is so prominent that one can presume with justification that they were re-utilized, or that the gunflint had a dual purpose and was also used for fire-making with a metal striker.³² Bearing in mind the quality of make of these two pieces, it is logical to assume that they were made by well-trained craftsmen. On the other hand, the remaining specimens of irregular shape (fig. 115/2–6, 8, 9; fig. 116/2–6, 8, 9) are an indication of the possibility, which cannot be confirmed at this time, that they were made by soldiers in the fortress garrison or by semi-skilled craftsmen from the fortress weapon shop.

Conclusion

The study of the development of firearms, especially handheld arms for the infantry, led the researchers to issues that were partly connected with particular prehistoric technologies. In dealing with the period that showed hints of the future industrial revolution, the issues were related to the analyses of the procurement of stone raw materials, their processing, distribution and practical use of the final product in the form of flints for muskets and pistols. The flint artefacts discovered in the Austrian structure from the early eighteenth century in the Belgrade Fortress represent a still unstudied type of material in Serbian archaeology. The small number of finds from

the Belgrade Fortress and the inability to compare them with a larger group of possible analogous finds from Serbian territory³³, present more uncertainties and questions to the researchers than they offer clear answers. These can be summarised into several points:

Considering the place of discovery, the pieces from the Belgrade Fortress are certainly linked to the military garrison and their use in firearms. Based on their varied dimensions, one can assume that some of the pieces were used in pistols; however, bearing mind that this was a garrison that defended the fortress, it is more probable that all the pieces were used in muskets.

Available literature provides information about the production of flint for fire-making with an iron striker in the same workshop where gunflint was made. According to illustrations on the list of products of the workshop in Burglengenfeld, fire-making flint has the shape of an elongated rectangle, or is in the form of an unworked blade.³⁴ If we consider the said rectangular shape, only one piece from the Belgrade Fortress, depicted in fig. 115/7 and fig. 116/7, corresponds to that product category. The prominent pitting damage on the working edge³⁵, visible on one piece from the Belgrade Fortress, depicted in fig. 115/1 and fig. 116/1, indicates that the flint was used for fire-making with a metal striker. We can conclude on the basis the mentioned characteristics that these two pieces were among the equipment of the fortress garrison, although not necessarily as the integral part of a firearm. On the other hand, a rational approach to available resources could have led to their reutilisation and using the two artefacts in firearms, but also as elements for fire-making.

³² Austin, *A Study and Some Hypotheses*, 93–94, fig. 7, 8.

³³ The author of this text is aware of data about only two pieces (both wrapped with a lead strip), which are kept in the National Museum in Vranje and the National Museum in Požarevac. We would like to thank our colleagues Aleksandar Bulatović and Aleksandar Kapuran for the information. There can be no doubt that many more such pieces, or similar ones, exist in museum collections throughout Serbia.

³⁴ Weiner, *On Gunflint Manufacture in Germany*, 11, fig. 5.

³⁵ Austin, *A Study and Some Hypotheses*, 93–94, fig. 7, 8.

An issue that remains open is whether the raw material from which the Belgrade pieces were made truly originated from the area of Mount Lessini in Italy and around Krakow, Poland, or from some other area.

The fact that their shapes are uneven is reason enough to consider whether all the pieces discovered in the Belgrade Fortress were created in a workshop or armoury by several craftsmen with uneven skills, or if some of them were made by the marksmen themselves, which was not uncommon in some situations.

If we assume that all the pieces originated from one workshop, was the flint processed within the Belgrade Fortress and its armoury (which must have existed), or did it reach the

troops as a finished product from the centre in Vienna?

Getting acquainted with this type of archaeological material in the collections of local museums, which has so far been neglected, and its systematic study, would be a necessary and significant step towards a more detailed knowledge about arms making in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the territory of Serbia. Researchers have been presented with a challenge and we believe that those who study the technology of stone processing by chipping during prehistoric periods, would successfully respond to it by including in their studies the objects made with prehistoric technologies in the Modern Age.



Bibliography

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

Primary Sources

- Agricola, *De re metallica*** = G. Agricola (1494–1555), H. Hoover, *De re metallica*, “A complete and unchanged reprint of the translation published by the Mining magazine, London, in 1912.” New York Dover Publications 1950.
- De Belidor, *La science des ingénieurs*** = B. F. de Belidor, *La science des ingénieurs dans la conduite des travaux de fortification et d’architecture civile*, C. Jombert (Paris), livre IV, chapitre XII (1787).
- Debauve, *Procédés et matériaux de construction*** = A. Debauve, *Procédés et matériaux de construction*, V^{ve} Libraire des Corps Nationaux des Ponts et Chaussées, des Minies et des Télégraphes, Paris 1888, 289–362.
- Diderot et al., *Encyclopédie*** = D. Diderot, A. Jean Le Rond, J.-M. Papillon, P. Mouchon, *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, A Paris: Chez Briasson... David l’aîné... Le Breton... Durand, 1751.

Bibliography

- Бајам, *Оружје и оклоји*** = М. Бајам, *Оружје и оклоји, Историја ручној наоружања од камених секира до њушака Дивљеј зајага*, Београд 1989.
- Бешлин, *Евѣније Савојски*** = Б. Бешлин, *Евѣније Савојски и његово доба*, Нови Сад 2014.
- Бикић, *Висећи свећњак из Сојоћана*** = В. Бикић, *Висећи свећњак из Сојоћана*, Саопштења XL (2008) 207–216.
- Бикић, *Девотионалије*** = В. Бикић, „У руке Твоје Оче предајем дух свој” – Девотионалије аустријске војске са Београдске тврђаве, Саопштења XLV (2013) 227–249.
- Бирташевић, *Један нови докуменџ о кайији Карла VI*** = М. Бирташевић, *Један нови докуменџ о кайији Карла VI у Београду*, ГГБ III (1956) 121–124.

- Вајферт, *Сјоменице о узећу Београда од Турака*** = Х. Вајферт, *Сјоменице о узећу Београда од Турака* године 1688, 1717. и 1789, ССАД 1-3 (1884) 20-31; 64-68; 105-110.
- Валтровић, *Камен шемељац једне језуитске цркве*** = М. Валтровић, *Камен шемељац једне језуитске цркве од године 1732. у Београду*, ССАД IV (1887) 123-127.
- Васић, *Пориретии српских архијереја*** = К. Васић, *Пориретии српских архијереја у Карловачкој митрополији (1690-1790)*, Нови Сад 2013.
- Васић, *Барок у Београду 1971*** = П. Васић, *Барок у Београду 1718-1739*, in: *Доба барока, студије и чланци*, Београд 1971, 148-166.
- Васић, *Барок у Београду*** = П. Васић, *Барок у Београду 1718-1739. године*, in: *Историја Београда 1*, Београд 1974, 573-584.
- Васић, *Барок у Београду 1718-1739*** = П. Васић, *Барок у Београду 1718-1739*, in: *Ослобођење градова у Србији од Турака 1862-1867. године*, edd. В. Чубриловић, В. Глигорић, Београд 1970, 607-624.
- Веселиновић, *Нека ишћања из прошлости Београда*** = Ј. Веселиновић, *Нека ишћања из прошлости Београда XVI-XIX века*, ГМГБ II (1955) 107-111.
- Веселиновић, *Београд од 1683. до 1717. године*** = Р. Веселиновић, *Београд од 1683. до 1717. године*, ГГБ XV (1968) 4-25.
- Веселиновић, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије*** = Р. Веселиновић, *Београд под влашћу Аустрије од 1717. до 1739. године*, in: *Историја Београда 1*, ed. В. Чубриловић, 1974, 521-572.
- Веселиновић, *Продирање аустријске тировине у Београд*** = Р. Веселиновић, *Продирање аустријске тировине у Београд у другој половини XVII века*, in: *Ослобођење градова у Србији од Турака 1862-1867. год.*, ed. В. Чубриловић, Београд 1970, 163-179.
- Веселиновић, *Рајови Турске и Аустрије*** = Р. Веселиновић, *Рајови Турске и Аустрије 1683-1717. године*, in: *Историја Београда 1*, ed. В. Чубриловић 1974, 465-519.
- Веселиновић, *Србија под аустријском влашћу*** = Р. Веселиновић, *Србија под аустријском влашћу 1718-1739*, in: *Историја српског народа IV-1*, ed. С. Гавриловић, 1986, 106-162.
- Витковић, *Сјоменици из будимској и иешћанској Архива*** = Г. Витковић, *Сјоменици из будимској и иешћанској Архива*, II, књ. 4, Београд 1873.
- Војиновић, *Техничар*** = М. Војиновић, *Техничар, Грађевински ириручник 6*, Београд 1989.
- Војна енциклопедија*** = Војна енциклопедија, том 4, Београд 1972.
- Вујовић, *Саборна црква у Београду*** = Б. Вујовић, *Саборна црква у Београду. Прилој историји изградње и украшавања главној београдској храма*, ГГБ XXX (1983) 87-95.
- Гарић Петровић, *Митрополијски намесници и иридворни служитељи*** = Г. Гарић Петровић, *Митрополијски намесници и иридворни служитељи у Сервијској епархији (1718-1739)*, НП 14 (2013) 87-100.
- Гачић, *Луле*** = Д. Гачић, *Луле из музејских збирки Србије - Кајалој изложбе*, Нови Сад 2011.
- Голубовић, *Георгије Сјојановић*** = Б. Голубовић, *Георгије Сјојановић (?-1746)*, Нови Сад 1990.
- Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије*** = Р. Грујић, *Прилози за историју Србије у доба аустријске окупације (1718-1739)*, ССКА LI (1914) 84-208.
- Грујић, *Свечани иоздрав*** = Р. Грујић, *Свечани иоздрав иешћком иаштријарху Арсенију IV ириликом његова доласка у Београд 1739. године*, БГ IX (1906) 60.
- Давидов, *Српска графика XVIII века*** = Д. Давидов, *Српска графика XVIII века*, Нови Сад 1978.
- Дурковић-Јакшић, *Најсћарија библиотеа у Београду*** = Љ. Дурковић-Јакшић, *Најсћарија библиотеа у Београду*, Београд 1970.
- Ђукић, *Нешћо за историју царске краљевске српске хусарске реименте*** = А. Ђукић, *Нешћо за историју царске краљевске српске хусарске реименте*, Нови Сад 1894.
- Ђурић-Замоло, *Београд као оријентална варош под Турцима*** = Д. Ђурић-Замоло, *Београд као оријентална варош под Турцима 1521-1867*, Београд 1977.

- Ерчић, Мануил (Михаил) Козачинскиј** = В. Ерчић, *Мануил (Михаил) Козачинскиј и његова Трагедо-комедија*, Нови Сад – Београд 1980.
- Иниширукција о дужностима служитеља** = „Иниширукција о дужностима служитеља митрополијске резиденције у Београду ‘ош прваго до последњего’ састављена у Београду 14. маја 1731 год.”, АЗОРУБСМ, Ибр. 2489.
- Јакшић, О Вићенцију Јовановићу** (књ. 199, 200, 201, 202 и 203, 204) = М. Јакшић, *О Вићенцију Јовановићу, Прилози за историју митрополијства му 1731–1737*, ЛМС, књ. 199 (1–50), књ. 200 (85–110), књ. 201 (121–159), књ. 202 и 203 (218–261), књ. 204 (170–234), Нови Сад 1900.
- Јачов, Сјиси Тајној ватиканској архива** = М. Јачов, *Сјиси Тајној ватиканској архива XVI–XVIII века*, Београд 1983.
- Јосимовић, Објашњење предлоја за реулисање овој дела вароши Београда** = Е. Јосимовић, *Објашњење предлоја за реулисање овој дела вароши Београда што лежи у шанцу*, Београд 1867.
- Каниц, Србија** = Ф. Каниц, *Србија, земља и сјановништво*, том 1, Београд 2007.
- Костић, Десиош Георгије II** = М. Костић, *Десиош Георгије II Бранковић (1645–1711): уобличавање кулша првој модерној хероја код Срба*, Београд 2014.
- Костић, Историја фрањевачкој манасири** = М. Костић, *Историја фрањевачкој манасири у Београду*, ПКЈИФ VI (1926) 191–197.
- Костић, Срјско шрјовачко насеље на Ријеци** = М. Костић, *Срјско шрјовачко насеље на Ријеци у XVIII веку*, ИЧ 7 (1957) 37–51.
- Костић, Гробови епископј и грађана шемшварских** = С. Костић, *Гробови епископј и грађана шемшварских у православно срјском храму шемшварском 1757–1838*, Темшвар 1938.
- Максимовић, Реконструкција и шроширење града** = Б. Максимовић, *Реконструкција и шроширење града 1867–1914. године*, in: *Историја Београда 2*, Београд 1974, 307–316.
- Марић Јеринић, Пошлед изблица: Медаље у сјомен освајања Београда** = М. Марић Јеринић, *Пошлед изблица: Медаље у сјомен освајања Београда 1688. из Државне збирке новца у Минхену*, ЗНМ XX/2 (2012) 157–172.
- Медаковић, Срјски митрополијски дворови** = Д. Медаковић, *Срјски митрополијски дворови у XVIII веку*, in: *Барок код Срба*, Загреб 1988, 194–205.
- Милошевић, Владарске врлине Карла VI** = А. Милошевић, *Владарске врлине Карла VI у светилу аустријско-шурској рајла 1716–1718*, in: *Умешност и њена улоја у историји: Између шрајностии и шролазних -изама*, Међународни тематски зборник посвећен сећању на проф. др Миодрага Јовановића (1932–2013), ed. З. М. Јовановић, Косовска Митровица 2014, 183–206.
- Милошевић, Крајновић, Вашић, Како су се лечили београдски митрополијши** = А. Милошевић, Д. М. Крајновић, З. Вашић, *Како су се лечили београдски митрополијши у шрвој шоловини 18. века*, in: *800 година срјске медицине*, Зборник радова са VII конгреса историчара медицине, 2017, 435–447.
- Милошевић, Пожаревачки мир 1718** = А. Милошевић, *Пожаревачки мир 1718. на каршама, шравирама и медаљама*, Београд 2018.
- Митровић, Подаци о Србији** = М. Митровић, *Подаци о Србији у шрошоколима Дворској рајнош савеша у Бечу (1717–1740)*, Београд 1988.
- Михајловић, Грађа за речник сшраних речи** = В. Михајловић, *Грађа за речник сшраних речи у шредвуковском шериоду, I шом (А–Б)*, Институт за лингвистику, Нови Сад 1972.
- Нарочницкиј, Петровић, Политические и културные отношения России** = А. Л. Нарочницкиј, Н. Петровић, *Политические и културные отношения России с югославянскими землями в XVIII в.*, Москва 1984.
- Новаковић, Београд на шравирама од XVI до XIX века** = Ж. Новаковић, *Београд на шравирама од XVI до XIX века*, Београд 1984.
- Нушић, Из шолушрошлосши** = Б. Ђ. Нушић, *Из шолушрошлосши, белешке, шришце, сећања*, Сабрана дела XXII, Београд 1935.

- Павловић, *Административна и црквена полиција* = Д. М. Павловић, *Административна и црквена полиција аустројуска у Србији (од 1718–1739)*, по грађи из бечких архива, Глас СКА LXII (1901) 113–197.
- Павловић, *Финансије и њивреда за време аустројуске владавине* = Д. М. Павловић, *Финансије и њивреда за време аустројуске владавине у Србији (од 1718–1739)*, Глас СКА LXIV (1901) 1–73.
- Павловић, *Једна од најстаријих очуваних грађевина у Београду* = Д. Ст. Павловић, *Једна од најстаријих очуваних грађевина у Београду*, ГМГБ III (1956) 273–278.
- Писмо од 27. августа 1735. године* = „Писмо од 27. августа 1735. године”, АЗОРУБСМ, Ибр. 2495.
- Поповић Д., *Београд пре 200 година* = Д. Ј. Поповић, *Београд пре 200 година*, Београд 1935.
- Поповић Д., *Београд у XVIII веку* = Д. Ј. Поповић, *Београд у XVIII веку (од 1717. до 1739)*, Београд 2011.
- Поповић Д., *Грађа за историју Београда* = Д. Ј. Поповић, *Грађа за историју Београда од 1711–1739*, ССКА, LXXVIII, II, 61, 2 (1935) 17–108 (Тефтер 1, Регистри, Хесап...), 112–282 (Попис становништва...).
- Поповић Д., *Општинска управа у Београду* = Д. Поповић, *Општинска управа у Београду за време аустројуске владавине (1718–1739)*, ГГБ III (1956) 125–134.
- Поповић Д., *Србија и Београд* = Д. Ј. Поповић, *Србија и Београд од Пожаревачкој до Београдској мира (1718–1739)*, Београд 1950.
- Поповић Д., *Срби у Војводини* = Д. Ј. Поповић, *Срби у Војводини. Од Карловачкој мира 1699. до Темишварској сабора 1790*, Књ. 2, Нови Сад 1990.
- Поповић Д., Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда* = Д. Ј. Поповић, М. Богдановић, *Грађа за историју Београда од 1717–1739*, Београд 1958.
- Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава (прво издање)* = М. Поповић, *Београдска тврђава (прво издање)*, Београд 1982.
- Поповић М., *Београдска тврђава (друго допуњено издање)* = М. Поповић, *Београдска тврђава (друго допуњено издање)*, Београд 2006.
- Поповић М., *Велики бунар Београдске тврђаве* = М. Поповић, *Велики бунар Београдске тврђаве*, ГГБ XXIV (1977) 31–37.
- Поповић М., *Кайија цара Карла VI у Београду* = М. Поповић, *Кайија цара Карла VI у Београду*, Наслеђе XIII (2012) 9–25.
- Поповић М., *Краљ кайија Београдске тврђаве* = М. Поповић, *Краљ кайија Београдске тврђаве*, Наслеђе III (2001) 9–38.
- Поповић М., *Леополдова кайија Београдске тврђаве* = М. Поповић, *Леополдова кайија Београдске тврђаве*, Наслеђе V (2004) 35–52.
- Поповић М., *Прилој ироучавању београдске Српске вароши* = М. Поповић, *Прилој ироучавању београдске Српске вароши – Спаша Саборна црква и Миштропољски двор*, Глас САНУ CDXX, Одељење историјских наука 16 (2012) 145–172.
- Поповић М., *Пројекти Николе Доксаја де Мореза* = М. Поповић, *Пројекти Николе Доксаја де Мореза за реконструкцију београдских тврђава 1723–1725. године*, ГГБ XXX (1983) 39–58.
- Поповић М., *Утврђене средњовековне кайије* = М. Поповић, *Утврђене средњовековне кайије на С-И бедему Београдској града*, Београдска тврђава IV, Саопштења 9, 1970.
- Поповић М., *Чесма Мехмед-паше Соколовића* = М. Поповић, *Чесма Мехмед-паше Соколовића*, ГГБ XXVII (1980) 71–83.
- Поповић М., Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Миштропољје* = М. Поповић, В. Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне Миштропољје у Београду*, Београд 2004.
- Протић, *Одломци за историју* = К. С. Протић, *Одломци за историју града Београда, Београд од 1718. до 1739*, ГНЧ VIII (1886).
- Протић, *Путовање кроз Србију* = К. Протић, *Путовање кроз Србију 1719. и 1720. године*, Отаџбина XXI (1889) 616–630.

- Радовић, Занайско оружје Балкана** = А. Радовић, *Занайско оружје Балкана: XVII–XIX век*, каталог изложбе, Београд 2002.
- Радосављевић, Ваљевска епископија** = Н. Радосављевић, *Ваљевска епископија у „извештенију” из 1735. године*, ГИАВ 32 (1998) 9–37.
- Руварац, Годишњи протошак** = Д. Руварац, *Годишњи протошак митрополија београдско-карловачкој Вићенији Јовановића на званичнике, учитеље и послужитеље*, АИСПКМ IV (1914) 279–280.
- Руварац, Дужности и права дворјана и дворских служитеља** = Д. Руварац, *Дужности и права дворјана и дворских служитеља за време митрополисања Мојсеја Пејровића*, СС XVII (1907) 417–421, 452–454.
- Руварац, Историјско-критична црња о Викенији Јовановићу** = Д. Руварац, *Историјско-критична црња о Викенији Јовановићу митрополију београдском и карловачком 1731–1737*, Земун 1886.
- Руварац, Колико је појрошено** = Д. Руварац, *Колико је појрошено за београдску Архиепископско Митрополијску Резиденцију?*, АИСПКМ III (1913) 85–86.
- Руварац, Мојсије Пејровић** = Д. Руварац, *Мојсије Пејровић, митрополиј београдски, 1713–1730: прилој историји српске цркве*, ССКА 34 (1898) 81–200.
- Руварац, Непокрејно имање Митрополије београдске** = Д. Руварац, *Непокрејно имање Митрополије београдске у Београду 1730*, Архив за историју Српске православне карловачке митрополије 2 (1912) 209–210.
- Руварац, Одношја митрополија Вићенија Јовановића** = Д. Руварац, *Одношја митрополија Вићенија Јовановића сјрам коадјутора Николе Димитријевића*, СС XIV, књ 17 и 18 (1904) 501–503, 525–528.
- Руварац, Тестаменј Вићенија Јовановића** = Д. Руварац, *Тестаменј Вићенија Јовановића Архиепископа – Митрополија београдско-карловачкој 1731–1737*, ВСЦ XXX, св. XI (1925) 683–684.
- Руварац, Уговори митрополија Вићенија Јовановића** = Д. Руварац, *Уговори митрополија Вићенија Јовановића са дворским послужитељима*, АИСПКМ I (1911) 49–53.
- Самарцић, Барок и Срби** = Р. Самарцић, *Барок и Срби*, in: *Зайагноевројски барок и византијски свей*, ed. Д. Медаковић, Београд 1991, 13–17.
- Самарцић, Београд у међународној ирјовини** = Р. Самарцић, *Београд у међународној ирјовини XVI и XVII века*, in: *Историја Београда 1*, ed. В. Чубриловић, Београд 1974, 359–375.
- Симић, За љубав оцаубине** = В. Симић, *За љубав оцаубине: иаириоше и иаириошизми у српској култури XVIII века у Хабзбуршкој монархији*, Нови Сад 2012.
- Стефановић Виловски, Београд, 1717–1739** = Т. Стефановић Виловски, *Београд, 1717–1739*, Београд 1906.
- Стојановић, Сјари српски записи и напјиси** = Љ. Стојановић, *Сјари српски записи и напјиси II*, Београд 1983.
- Тештер од ирезенја** = „Тештер од ирезенја” (1731–1737), АЗОРУБСМ, Ибр. 2417.
- Тимотијевић, Визитација манастира Шишатовца** = М. Тимотијевић, *Визитација манастира Шишатовца у XVIII веку, Прилој ирочавању ефемерној сјектакла*, in: *Манастир Шишатовца*, Зборник радова, Београд 1989, 341–366.
- Тимотијевић, Манастир Крушедол** = М. Тимотијевић, *Манастир Крушедол*, II, Београд – Нови Сад 2008.
- Тимотијевић, Порирети архијереја** = М. Тимотијевић, *Порирети архијереја у новијој српској умейности*, in: *Зайагноевројски барок и византијски свей*, ed. Д. Медаковић, Београд 1991, 147–174.
- Тимотијевић, Српско барокно сликарство** = М. Тимотијевић, *Српско барокно сликарство*, Нови Сад 1996.
- Тодић, Јов Василијевич у Карловцима** = Б. Тодић, *Јов Василијевич у Карловцима 1743–1744. године*, ЗНМ XVIII–2 (2007) 179–196.

- Тодоровић, Енићийеј у сенци** = Ј. Тодоровић, *Енићийеј у сенци: Майирање моћи и државни сјектјакл у Карловачкој Мийројолији*, Нови Сад 2010.
- Тодоровић, Засїаве илирско-расцијанске реїменїе** = Ј. Тодоровић, *Засїаве илирско-расцијанске реїменїе у конїекстїу ефемерної сїектјакла*, Наслеђе IV (2003) 79–86.
- Тодоровић, Концеїїй їривайної на їозорници јавної** = Ј. Тодоровић, *Концеїїй їривайної на їозорници јавної – їривайни живої на мийројолиїском двору у 18. веку*, in: *Привайни живої у срїским земљама у освиї модерної доба*, ed. А. Фотић, Београд 2005, 655–686.
- Тодоровић, Из збирке медаља Нумизматїичко-еїїїрафскої одељења** = Н. Тодоровић, *Из збирке медаља Нумизматїичко-еїїїрафскої одељења Народної музеја у Беоїраду – Медаље које илустїрују райтове с Турцима у XVI, XVII и XVIII веку*, Зборник Народног музеја I (1958) 127–144.
- Тодоровић, Јуїословенске и иносїране медаље** = Н. Тодоровић, *Јуїословенске и иносїране медаље*, Београд 1964.
- Тодоровић, Пожаревачки мир** = Н. Тодоровић, *Пожаревачки мир, 1718, у лиїтерайури, їравири и медальерстїву*, Зборник Народног музеја VIII (1975) 509–525.
- Томић, Бреї за размишљање** = В. Томић, *Бреї за размишљање: Беоїрад на їравирама од XVI до XIX века*, Београд 2012.
- Точанац, Беоїрадска и Карловачка мийројолија** = И. Точанац, *Беоїрадска и Карловачка мийројолија – їроцес уједињења (1722–1731)*, ИЧ LV (2007) 201–217.
- Точанац, Срїски народно-црквени сабори** = И. Точанац, *Срїски народно-црквени сабори (1718–1735)*, Београд 2008.
- Тричковић, Беоїрад їод їурском влашїу** = Р. Тричковић, *Беоїрад їод їурском влашїу 1521–1804. їодине*, in: *Истїорија Беоїрада*, ed. З. Антонић, Београд 1995, 91–141.
- Тричковић, Варош їосле 1740. їодине** = Р. Тричковић, *Варош їосле 1740. їодине*, in: *Истїорија Беоїрада* 1, ed. В. Чубриловић, Београд 1974, 641–673.
- Тричковић, Главна їврђава Царсїва їрема Евроїи** = Р. Тричковић, *Главна їврђава Царсїва їрема Евроїи*, in: *Истїорија Беоїрада* 1, ed. В. Чубриловић, Београд 1974, 585–637.
- Хан, „Ѓїайоїрла сїакла”** = В. Хан, *„Ѓїайоїрла сїакла” из Горњеї їрада Беоїрадске їврђаве*, Археолошки музеј на Македонија, Зборник посветен на Димче Коцо, VI–VII, Скопје 1975, 317–326.
- Цуњак, Смедеревска їврђава** = М. Цуњак, *Смедеревска їврђава, новија истїраживања*, Смедерево 1998.
- Чубриловић, Развој їривреде 1740–1788** = В. Чубриловић, *Развој їривреде 1740–1788*, in: *Истїорија Беоїрада* 1, ed. В. Чубриловић, Београд 1974, 674–693.
- Шабановић, Беоїрад као уїравно-војно и їривредно седїишїе** = Х. Шабановић, *Беоїрад као уїравно-војно и їривредно седїишїе у XVI–XVII веку*, in: *Истїорија Беоїрада* 1, ed. В. Чубриловић, Београд 1974а, 323–348.
- Шабановић, Град и њеїово сїановнишїво** = Х. Шабановић, *Град и њеїово сїановнишїво у XVI–XVII веку*, in: *Истїорија Беоїрада* 1, ed. В. Чубриловић, Београд 1974б, 385–422.
- Шабановић, Урбани развїїак Беоїрада** = Х. Шабановић, *Урбани развїїак Беоїрада од 1521. до 1688. їодине*, ГГБ XVII (1970) 5–40.
- Шкаламера, Беоїрадска Нова доња варош** = Ж. Шкаламера, *Беоїрадска Нова доња варош у XVIII веку*, ГГБ XVIII (1971) 53–75.
- Шкаламера, Локације неких знамениїих беоїрадских їрађевина** = Ж. Шкаламера, *Локације неких знамениїих беоїрадских їрађевина XVI и XVIII века*, ГГБ XX (1973) 171–187.
- Шкаламера, Майа једної дела Беоїрадскої дисїриктиа** = Ж. Шкаламера, *Майа једної дела Беоїрадскої дисїриктиа из 1721. їодине*, ГГБ XVII (1970) 43–65.
- Шкаламера, Планови барокне реконсїрукције Беоїрада** = Ж. Шкаламера, *Планови барокне реконсїрукције Беоїрада из 1717–1740. їодине*, УБ 22 (1973) 13–18.

- Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Најстарија сачувана кућа у Београду*** = Ж. Шкаламера, М. Поповић, *Најстарија сачувана кућа у Београду из прве половине XVIII века*, ГГБ XXIX (1982) 27–41.
- Шкаламера, Поповић М., *Урбани развој Дорћола*** = Ж. Шкаламера, М. Поповић, *Урбани развој Дорћола*, ГГБ XXV (1978) 211–253.
-
- Acerbi, *The Austrian Imperial-Royal Army*** = E. Acerbi, *The Austrian Imperial-Royal Army (Kaiserliche-Königliche Heer) 1805–1809: A Dictionary of K. K. Austrian Regimental Positions and Ranks*, http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/organization/Austria/ArmyStudy/c_AustrianArmyDictionary.html (25. 6. 2018).
- Adamson, *The Making of the Ancient-Regime Court*** = J. Adamson, *The Making of the Ancient-Regime Court 1500–1700*, in: *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture*, ed. J. Adamson, London 1999, 7–41.
- Adshead, *Salt and civilization*** = S. A. M. Adshead, *Salt and civilization*, London 1992.
- Aggsbach's Paleolithic Blog** = Aggsbach's Paleolithic Blog, Stone age after the Stone age: Gunflint, <http://www.aggsbach.de/2011/10/stone-age-after-the-stone-age-gun-flint/> (12. 1. 2018).
- Andersson, *Foreign Seductions*** = E. I. Andersson, *Foreign Seductions: Sumptuary laws, consumption and national identity in early modern Sweden*, in: *Fashionable Encounters: Perspectives and trends in textile and dress in the Early Modern Nordic World*, edd. T. E. Mathiassen, M-L. Nosch, M. Ringgaard, K. Toftegaard, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2014, 21.
- Aries, Weaver, *The Hour of Our Death*** = P. Aries, H. Weaver, *The Hour of Our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes Toward Death over the Last One Thousand Years*, New York 1982.
- Atzmannstorfer et al., *Much of the same?*** = J. Atzmannstorfer, A. Christian, H. Körbl, R. Starch, B. Weisskopf, D. Weltin, *Much of the same? Das Leben am Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonialprotokolle (1652–1800). Ein quellenkritischer Werkstattbericht*, in: *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonialprotokolle (1652–1800). Eine Annäherung*, Hrsg. von Irmgard Pangerl und Martin Scheutz, Innsbruck–Wien–Bozen 2007, 229–253.
- Austin, *A Study and Some Hypotheses*** = R. J. Austin, *A Study and Some Hypotheses Regarding Gunflint Procurement*, *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (2011) 85–105.
- Azinović Bebek, *Novovjekovni nabožni predmeti*** = A. Azinović Bebek, *Novovjekovni nabožni predmeti nađeni prigodom arheoloških istraživanja na lokalitetima sjeverozapadne Hrvatske*, doktorski rad, Filozofski fakultet, Zagreb 2012 (u rukopisu).
- Ágoston, *Empires and warfare*** = G. Ágoston, *Empires and warfare in east-central Europe, 1550–1750: the Ottoman–Habsburg rivalry and military transformation*, in: *European Warfare, 1350–1750*, edd. F. Tallett, D. J. B. Trim, Cambridge 2010, 110–134.
- Bassett, *The Imperial Austrian army*** = R. Bassett, *For God and Kaiser – The Imperial Austrian army from 1619 to 1918*, New Haven and London 2015.
- Bauer, *Barock*** = H. Bauer, *Barock: Kunst einer Epoche*, Berlin 1992.
- Bearzi, Bearzi, *Architettura degli impianti*** = G. Bearzi, V. Bearzi, *Architettura degli impianti. Da una ricerca esemplificativa nel passato una prospettiva per il prossimo future*, Tecniche Nuove, 1997.
- Bekić, *Novovjekovno staklo*** = L. Bekić, *Novovjekovno staklo iz podmorja Istre i Dalmacije / Post-Medieval glass from the seabed of Istria and Dalmatia*, Muzej antičkog stakla / Museum of ancient glass – Međunarodni centar za podvodnu arheologiju u Zadru / International Centre for Underwater Archaeology in Zadar, Zadar 2014.
- Bernhart, *Die Türken im Wandel des historischen Urteils*** = M. Bernhart, *Die Türken im Wandel des historischen Urteils: Eine medaillen geschichtliche Betrachtung*, *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 8(3) (1915) 69–80.
- Bernheimer, *Georg Wilhelm Vestner und Andreas Vestner*** = F. Bernheimer, *Georg Wilhelm Vestner und Andreas Vestner: Zwei Nürnberger Medailleure*, München 1984.

- Bikić, *Early Modern Period Pottery*** = V. Bikić, *Early Modern Period Pottery from Belgrade: Production and Consumption Models*, in: *Ceramics Between Change and Challenge, Between Past and Present, from Baroque until Today*, edd. B. Crvenković, J. Popović, Museum of Applied Arts, Belgrade 2016, 28–33.
- Bikić, *Gradska keramika Beograda*** = V. Bikić, *Gradska keramika Beograda (16–17. vek)*, Beograd 2003.
- Bikić, *The Haban pottery*** = V. Bikić, *The Haban pottery from the Belgrade Fortress: Archaeological Contexts, Chronology, Decorative Designs*, *Starinar* LXII (2012) 205–227.
- Bikić, *Viseći svećnjaci*** = V. Bikić, *Viseći svećnjaci sa područja srednjovekovne Srbije*, *Annales – Series Historia et Sociologia* 18, 2 (2008) 361–368.
- Bikić, Miladinović-Radmilović, *Vojnik ili sveštenik*** = V. Bikić, N. Miladinović-Radmilović, *Vojnik ili sveštenik: slučaj groba sa Beogradske tvrđave*, in: *Bioarheologija na Balkanu. Metodološke, komparativne i rekonstruktivne studije života u prošlosti. Radovi Bioarheološke sekcije Srpskog arheološkog društva*, edd. N. Miladinović-Radmilović, S. Vitezović, Beograd – Sremska Mitrovica 2016, 159–183.
- Bikić, Vitezović, *Bone working and the army*** = V. Bikić, S. Vitezović, *Bone working and the army: An early eighteen-century button workshop at the Belgrade fortress*, in: *Close to the bone: current studies in bone technologies*, ed. S. Vitezović, Belgrade 2016, 57–65.
- Blažková, Matějková, *Novověká odpadní jímka*** = G. Blažková, K. Matějková, *Novověká odpadní jímka z Pražského hradu*, in: *Castrum Pragense 13: Nálezy hmotné kultury z renesančních odpadních jímek z Pražského hradu*. Díl II. Studie, edd. G. Blažková, J. Vepřeková, Archeologický ústav AV ČR, Praha 2016, 185–204.
- Bojani, Ravanelli Guidoti, Fanfani, *La donazione Galeazzo Cora*** = G. C. Bojani, C. Ravanelli Guidoti, A. Fanfani, *La donazione Galeazzo Cora – ceramiche dal medioevo al XIX secolo*, Vol. 1, Museo Internazionale delle ceramiche in Faenza, Fabri editori, Milano 1985.
- Bonanni, *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum*** = P. P. Bonanni, *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum quae a tempore Martini V. usque ad annum MDCXCIX vel auctoritate publica vel privato genio in lucem prodire, explicata, ac multiplici eruditione sacra, & prophana illustrata*, vol. I, Rome 1699, 192.
- Borkowski, *Rozrywka*** = T. Borkowski, *Rozrywka – zabawki i drobna plastyka figuralna*, in: *Ze studiów nad życiem codziennym w średniowiecznym mieście. Parcele przy ulicy Więziennej 10–11 we Wrocławiu*, *Wratislavia Antiqua* 1, edd. C. Buško, J. Piekalski, Wrocław 1999, 187–201.
- Böhmer, *Keramikfunde*** = H. Böhmer, *Keramikfunde aus dem Bürger- und Krämerhaus Residenzplatz 11 in Passau, Die Brandkatastrophen von 1442 und 1662 – ein Glücksfall die Keramikforschung*, in: *Keramik und Technik, Internationale Fachtagung der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Mittelalterarchäologie zugleich, 43. Internationales Symposium Keramikforschung des Arbeitskreises für Keramikforschung, Mautern an der Donau, 20. bis 25. September 2010*, edd. S. Felgenhauer-Schmiedt, N. Hofer, K. Kührtreiber, G. Scharrer-Liška, Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich 27 (2011), 165–172.
- Brandl, *Characterisation of Middle European*** = M. Brandl, *Characterisation of Middle European Chert Sources, A Multi Layered Approach to Analysis*, unpublished dissertation, Universität Wien, Wien 2013.
- Brandl et al., *Raw Material Analysis*** = M. Brandl et al. 2013, *Raw Material Analysis of Military Gunglins from Schloss Neugebäude, Vienna, Austria*, 5th Arheoinvest Symposium, Stories Written in Stone, International Symposium on Chert and Other Knappable Materials, Programme and Abstracts, Iași 20–24. 8. 2013, 65.
- Brewster, *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*** = D. Brewster, *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia, Volume 5*, Edinburgh 1830.
- Broucek, *Im Kampf gegen Franzosen und Türken*** = P. Broucek, *Im Kampf gegen Franzosen und Türken*, in: *Welt des Barock*, Hrgb. von Rupert Feuchtmüller und Elisabeth Kovács, Wien 1986, 105–122.
- Buisseret, *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps*** = D. Buisseret (ed.), *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, Chicago 1992, 1–4.
- Bursche, *Tafelzier des Barock*** = S. Bursche, *Tafelzier des Barock*, München 1974.
- Castillo Cardenas, *Pharmaceutical glass*** = K. Castillo Cardenas, *Pharmaceutical glass in post-medieval London: a proposed typology*, *London Archaeologist* 2013/2014, 309–315.

- Chelidonio, Woodall, *Italian firesteel flints*** = G. Chelidonio, J. N. Woodall, *Italian firesteel flints and gunflint workshop traces*, Archäologische Informationen 39 (2017), Early View, <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/arch-inf/article/viewFile/42478/36214>, (12. 1. 2018).
- Cochran, Beaudry, *Material culture studies*** = M. D. Cochran, M. C. Beaudry, *Material culture studies and historical archaeology*, in: *The Cambridge companion to historical archaeology*, edd. D. Hicks, M. C. Beaudry, Cambridge 2006, 191–204.
- Courbon, *DE CORDES-SUR-CIEL (Tarn) A KYFFHAUSER (Thuringe)*** = P. Courbon, *DE CORDES-SUR-CIEL (Tarn) A KYFFHAUSER (Thuringe). Les puits à eau de grande profondeur*, 2016/2017, 1–19.
- Crnobrnja, *Spomen medalje izdate povodom austrijskog osvajanja Beograda*** = N. Crnobrnja, *Spomen medalje izdate povodom austrijskog osvajanja Beograda 1688, 1717. i 1789. godine i Požarevačkog mira 1718. godine iz Zbirke Muzeja grada Beograda*, Dinar 23 (2004) 61–64.
- Cserey, *Nachahmungen*** = É. Cserey, *Nachahmungen von Nürnberger Renaissance ofenkacheln*, Ars decorativa 22 (2003) 7–25.
- Ćorović, Blagojević, *Water, society and urbanization in the 19th century Belgrade*** = D. Ćorović, Lj. Blagojević, *Water, society and urbanization in the 19th century Belgrade: Lessons fro adaptation to the climate change*, Spatium International Review 28 (2012) 53–59.
- Dabić, *The Habsburg-Ottoman War*** = V. S. Dabić, *The Habsburg-Ottoman War of 1716–1718 and Demographic Changes War-Afflicted Territories*, in: *The Peace of Passarowitz 1718*, edd. Ch. Ingrao, N. Samardžić, J. Pešalj, Indiana 2011, 191–208.
- Danelzik-Brüggemann, *Ereignisse und Bilder*** = C. Danelzik-Brüggemann, *Ereignisse und Bilder: Bildpublizistik und politische Kultur in Deutschland zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution*, Berlin 1996.
- Das Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung*** = *Das Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung in Nürnberg – Deutsche Handwerksbilder des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bruckmann, München 1965 (Originale in der Nürnberger Stadtbibliothek). http://homepage.univie.ac.at/rudolf.koch/mendel/m_inh.htm (15. 6.2014).
- Day, *Cooking in Europe*** = I. Day, *Cooking in Europe 1650–1850*, Westport, Connecticut and London 2008.
- De Missy, *Histoire militaire du prince*** = J. R. De Missy, *Histoire militaire du prince Eugène de Savoie, du prince et duc de Marlborough, et du prince de Nassau-Frise*, T. 1, La Haye 1729.
- Disselkamp, *Barockheroismus*** = M. Disselkamp, *Barockheroismus. Konzeptionen ‘politischer’ Größe in Literatur und Traktatistik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 2002.
- Duffy, *The Fortress in the Age of Vauban and Frederick the Great*** = C. Duffy, *The Fortress in the Age of Vauban and Frederick the Great 1660–1789*, Routledge 2015.
- Engelbrecht, *Theatre de la milice etrangere*** = M. Engelbrecht, *Theatre de la milice etrangere*, priredili Lj. Dabić, M. Peković, Beograd 2014.
- Erdmannsdörffer, *Deutsche Geschichte II*** = B. Erdmannsdörffer, *Deutsche Geschichte II*, Berlin 1893.
- Erlach, Bernhard, *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur*** = F. Erlach, J. Bernhard, *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur: in Abbildung unterschiedener berühmten Gebäude des Alterthums und fremder Völker; umb aus den Geschicht-büchern, Gedächtnüß-münzen, Ruinen, und eingeholten wahrhafften Abrißsen, vor Augen zu stellen*, Leipzig 1725, 95 (<https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/fischer1725>).
- Fingerlin, *Gürtel*** = I. Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin 1971.
- Fotić, *Belgrade: A Muslim and Non-Muslim Cultural Centre*** = A. Fotić, *Belgrade: A Muslim and Non-Muslim Cultural Centre (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)*, in: *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos, Rethymno 2005, 51–75.
- Fragnito, *Cardinals’ Courts*** = G. Fragnito, *Cardinals’ Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, JMH Vol. 65, No. 1 (1993) 26–56.

- Freedberg, *The Power of Images*** = D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago 1991.
- Füssel, *Der inszenierte Tod*** = M. Füssel, *Der inszenierte Tod. Militärische Sterbe- und Beerdigungsrituale im Kontext des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, in: *Übergänge schaffen. Ritual und Performanz in der frühneuzeitlichen Militärgesellschaft*, edd. R. Pröve, C. Winkel, Göttingen 2012, 127–152.
- Füssel, *Der Krieg*** = M. Füssel, *Der Krieg als Inszenierung und Wissensschauplatz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, *Metaphorik* 14 (2008) 205–230.
- Gajić-Kvaščev et al., *Archaeometric study of painted pottery*** = M. Gajić-Kvaščev, V. Bikić, V. J. Wright, I. Radosavljević Evans, Lj. Damjanović-Vasilić, *Archaeometric study of 17th/18th century painted pottery from the Belgrade Fortress*, *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 32 (2018) 9–21.
- Garády, *Agyagművesség*** = S. Garády, *Agyagművesség, Budapest története a török korban*, in: Fekete L. (szerk.), Budapest 1944, 382–401.
- Gariglio, *1706, l'assedio di Torino*** = D. Gariglio, *1706, l'assedio di Torino*, BLU Edizioni, 2005.
- Garwood, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*** = S. Garwood, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Post-Medieval Adriatic: An examination of glass artefacts from the 15th through mid-18th centuries*, A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The University of Sheffield, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Department of Archaeology, September 2017.
- Gebert, *Der Handelsmann Johann Ferber und Rechenpfenningmacher*** = C. F. Gebert, *Der Handelsmann Johann Ferber und Rechenpfenningmacher*, *Mitteilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* XXXV (1918) 129–138.
- Gerlind, *Müller, Philipp Heinrich*** = W. Gerlind, *Müller, Philipp Heinrich*, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 18 (1997) 468.
- Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor*** = M. Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text*, Mainz 2000.
- Grew, de Neergaard, *Shoes and pattens*** = G. Grew, M. de Neergaard, *Medieval finds from excavations in London: 2, Shoes and pattens*, illustration by S. Mitford, London 2001.
- Gutkas, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*** = K. Gutkas, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen, Feldherr und Staatsmann*, in: *Prinz Eugen und das barocke Österreich: Ausstellung der Republik Österreich und das Landes Niederösterreich*, Wien 1986, 5–32.
- Hauenfels, *Visualisierung von Herrschaftsanspruch*** = T. Hauenfels, *Visualisierung von Herrschaftsanspruch. Die Habsburger und Habsburg-Lothringer in Bildern*, Wien 2005.
- Hirsch, *Die Medaillen auf den Entsatz Wiens*** = A. Hirsch, *Die Medaillen auf den Entsatz Wiens 1683*, Troppau 1883.
- Hofer, *Handbuch*** = N. Hofer (ed.), *Handbuch zur Terminologie der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Keramik in Österreich*, *Fundberichte aus Österreich Materialhefte A, Sonderheft 12*, Wien 2010.
- Horvat, Biondić, *Keramika i staklo 17. i 18. stoljeća*** = I. Horvat, R. Biondić, *Keramika i staklo 17. i 18. stoljeća iz starog franjevačkog manastira*, *Katalog izložbe, Muzej Slavonije, Osijek* 2007.
- Houston, Stroyan *Firearms, An Illustrated History*** = R. Houston, C. Stroyan (edd.), *Firearms, An Illustrated History*, Dorling Kindersley Limited, New York 2014.
- Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*** = H. Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630*, Cambridge 2004.
- Hurst, Neal, van Beuningen, *Pottery*** = J. G. Hurst, D. S. Neal, H. J. E. van Beuningen, *Pottery produced and traded in north-west Europe 1350–1650*, *Rotterdam papers VI: A contribution to medieval archaeology*, Rotterdam 1986.
- Ingrao, *Habzburška monarhija*** = Č. Ingrao, *Habzburška monarhija 1618–1815*, Beograd 2014.
- Jaworski, *Ślady obróbki surowca kościanego i rogowego*** = K. Jaworski, *Ślady obróbki surowca kościanego i rogowego*, in: *Ze studiów nad życiem codziennym w średniowiecznym mieście. Parcele przy ulicy Więziennej 10–11 we Wrocławiu*, *Wrocław Antiqua* 1, edd. C. Buško, J. Piekalski, Wrocław 1999, 70–92.

- Kaltenberger, *Die frühneuzeitliche Malhornware*** = A. Kaltenberger, *Die Grabungen des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut im ehem. Benediktinerkloster ("Schloss") Mondsee III, Die frühneuzeitliche Malhornware*, Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines 141/I (1996) 187–227.
- Kaltenberger, *Keramik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit in Oberösterreich 1*** = A. Kaltenberger, *Keramik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit in Oberösterreich*, Band 1: Grundlagen. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte von Oberösterreich 23 – NEARCHOS Band 17, Bibliothek der Provinz, Innsbruck 2007.
- Kaltenberger, *Keramik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit in Oberösterreich 2*** = A. Kaltenberger, *Keramik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit in Oberösterreich*, Band 2: Katalog. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte von Oberösterreich 24 – NEARCHOS Band 18, Bibliothek der Provinz, Innsbruck 2007.
- Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*** = E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton 1997.
- Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City*** = T. C. Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City, The Art and Culture of Central Europe*, Chicago 1995.
- Kitsikopoulos, *Innovation and Technological Diffusion*** = H. Kitsikopoulos, *Innovation and Technological Diffusion: An economic history of early steam engines*, Routledge 2015.
- Knaap, *Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric*** = A. C. Knaap, *Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric in Peter Paul Rubens's Program for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, in: *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773*, edd. J. W. O'Malley et al., Toronto 2006, 157–181.
- Knapp, Tüskes, *Emblematics in Hungary*** = É. Knapp, G. Tüskes, *Emblematics in Hungary: a study of the history of symbolic representation in Renaissance and Baroque literature*, Tübingen 2003.
- Kondorosy, *Cseréppipák a Budai*** = S. Kondorosy, *Cseréppipák a Budai felső vízivárosból, Budapest Régiségei* 41 (2007) 249–280.
- Kovács, *16th–18th century Hungarian pottery types*** = G. Kovács, *16th–18th century Hungarian pottery types*, Antaeus 19–20 (1990–1991) 169–180.
- Kowalska, *Leatherworking*** = A. B. Kowalska, *Leatherworking in Late Medieval Szczecin Chyżyńska Neighbourhood*, Szczecin 2013.
- Krenn et al., *Koch- und Tafelgeschirr*** = M. Krenn, J. Kraschitzer, D. Schön, J. Wagner, *Koch- und Tafelgeschirr des 18. Jahrhunderts, Ein Keramikfunkomplex aus Melk, Niederösterreich*, Fundberichte aus Österreich Materialheft A 17, Wien 2007.
- Kucher, *The Water Supply System of Siena*** = M. P. Kucher, *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy: The Medieval Roots of the Modern Networked City*, Psychology Press, 2005.
- Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung*** = J. Langer, *Serbien unter der Kaiserlichen Regierung 1717–1739, /poseban otisak/ Mittheilungen des k. k. Kriegsarchivs*, Bd. III, Wien 1889, 155–247.
- Langins, *Conserving the Enlightenment*** = J. Langins, *Conserving the Enlightenment: French Military Engineering from Vauban to the Revolution*, MIT Press, 2004.
- Laslett, Clarke, *Houseful and household in an eighteenth-century Balkan city*** = P. Laslett, M. Clarke, *Houseful and household in an eighteenth-century Balkan city. A tabular analysis of the listing of the Serbian sector of Belgrade in 1733–4*, in: *Household and family in past time*, edd. P. Laslett, R. Wall, Cambridge 2008², 375–400.
- Lech, *Mining and Distribution*** = J. Lech, *Mining and Distribution of Siliceous Rocks Among the First Farming Communities in Eastern Central Europe – a review*, in: *Chipped Stone Industries of the Early Farming Cultures in Europe, Archaeologia interregionalis*, eds. J. K. Kozłowski, S. K. Kozłowski, Krakow 1988, 369–380.
- Leech, *The processional city*** = R. Leech, *The processional city: some issues for historical archaeology*, in: *The Familiar Past? : Archaeologies of later historical Britain*, edd. S. Tarlow, S. West, Routledge–London 1999, 19–34.
- Losier, *Bouteilles et flacons*** = C. Losier, *Bouteilles et flacons: Les Contenants utilitaires français du début du XVIIIe siècle au début du XIXe siècle*, Aspects techniques et sociaux, Journal of glass studies 54 (2012) 151–179.

- Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas*** = L. Paul, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas fait en MDCCXIV, &c. par ordre de Louis XIV, dans la Turquie, l'Asie, Sourie, Palestine, Haute et Basse Egypte, &c...*, vol. I, Amsterdam, Steenhouwer & Uytwerp, 1720.
- Lucke, *Sylloge numismatum elegantiorum*** = J. J. Lucke, *Sylloge numismatum elegantiorum, quae diuersi imp: reges, principes, comites, respublicae diuersas ob causas ab anno 1500. ad annum usq. 1600 cudi fecerunt, concinnata & historica narratione (sed breui) illustrata*, Starassburg 1620.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:bpt6k96568379.textelimage> (28. 9. 2018).
- Lyster, *The Citadel of Cairo*** = W. Lyster, *The Citadel of Cairo: A History and Guide*, Cairo 1990.
- Malnar, Marjanić, Labus, *Gradnja brama Sv. oca Nikolaja u Rijeci*** = B. Malnar, D. Marjanić, N. Labus, *Gradnja brama Sv. oca Nikolaja u Rijeci 1717–1746. – Dokumenti, Artefakti 6–7* (2004) 35–165.
- Mandić, *Medalje izdate povodom zauzeća Beograda*** = R. Mandić, *Medalje izdate povodom zauzeća Beograda 1688, 1717. i 1798. godine iz Zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu*, Dinar 26 (2006) 60–64.
- Manzo, Peirone, *I GIORNI DELL'ASSEDIO*** = L. Manzo, F. Peirone, *I GIORNI DELL'ASSEDIO*, Torino 2006.
- Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*** = J. A. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque, Analysis of a Historical Structure, Theory and History of Literature, Volume 25*, Minneapolis 1986.
- Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI*** = F. Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI: Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des "Kaiserstils" I*, Berlin – New York 1981.
- McIver, *Cooking and Eating*** = K. A. McIver, *Cooking and Eating in Renaissance Italy – From Kitchen to Table*, London 2014.
- McLoughlin, *Authoring war*** = C. M. McLoughlin, *Authoring war: the literary representation of war from the Iliad to Iraq*, Cambridge 2011.
- McNulty, *Common beverage bottles*** = R. H. McNulty, *Common beverage bottles: their production, use, and forms in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century Netherlands, Part I*, Journal of Glass Studies XIII (1971) 91–119.
- Meecham-Jones, 'He In Salte Teres Dreynte'** = S. Meecham-Jones, 'He In Salte Teres Dreynte': Understanding Troilus's Tears, in: *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature*, edd. S. Downes et al., New York 2015, 77–97.
- Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror*** = S. Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror: A History*, New York 2002.
- Mérot, *Der Held in der französischen Malerei*** = A. Mérot, *Der Held in der französischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Triumph und Tod des Helden. Europäische Historienmalerei von Rubens bis Manet*, edd. M. Ekkehard, A. Repp-Eckert, Mailand 1988, 30–38.
- Mésárosz, *Szekszárd*** = G. Mésárosz, *Szekszárd és környéke törökös díszítésű kerámiai emlékei*, Szekszárd 1968.
- Mesinger, *Traktat o medalji*** = B. Mesinger, *Traktat o medalji*, Osijek 1987, 7–33.
- Micara, *Alexandria, Egypt*** = L. Micara, *Alexandria, Egypt. The role of the harbours and fortifications in the formation of the Mediterranean city's image*, in: *Defensive Architecture of the Mediterranean. XV to XVIII Centuries: Vol. V*, ed. V. Echarri Iribarren, Fortmed 2017, 271–276.
- Milošević, *Propagandna kampanja bečkog dvora*** = A. Milošević, *Propagandna kampanja bečkog dvora u Austrijsko-turskom ratu 1716–1718. godine na kartama i gravirama*, Kultura: časopis za teoriju i sociologiju kulture i kulturnu politiku 131 (2011) 92–111.
- Milošević, *The Festival Book for the Exchange*** = A. Milošević, *The Festival Book for the Exchange of Austrian and Turkish Deputation in 1719*, in: *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, edd. C. Ingrao, N. Samardžić, J. Pešalj, West Lafayette 2011, 239–253.
- Mitrović, *The Peace of Passarowitz*** = K. Mitrović, *The Peace of Passarowitz and the Re-establishment of the Catholic Dioecesan Administration in Belgrade and Smederevo*, in: *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, edd. C. Ingrao, N. Samardžić, J. Pešalj, Indiana 2011, 212–214.

- Muller, *Jesuit Uses of Art*** = J. Muller, *Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders*, in: *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773*, edd. J. W. O'Malley et al., Toronto 2006, 113–156.
- Mumford, *The city in history*** = L. Mumford, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations and its prospects*, New York 1961.
- Müller, Vogel, *Atlas Arhitekture*** = W. Müller, G. Vogel, *Atlas Arhitekture. Istorija graditeljstva od romanike do danas*, tom 2, Beograd 2005.
- Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices*** = J. P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology*, Springer Science & Business Media, 1984.
- Orser, *Historical Archaeology*** = C. E. Orser, Jr., *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World*, Springer – New York 1996.
- Orvieto** = “Orvieto – Caput Etruriae”, GAL Trasimeno Orvietano, Orvieto 2015.
- Ottensfeld, Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee*** = R. von Ottensfeld, O. Teuber, *Die österreichische Armee von 1700 bis 1867*, Akad. Druck-u, Verlagsanstalt, Graz 1971.
- Papastratos, *Paper Icons*** = D. Papastratos, *Paper Icons, Greek Orthodox Religious Engravings 1665–1899*, II, Athens 1990, 531.
- Parrott, *From military enterprise to standing armies*** = D. Parrott, *From military enterprise to standing armies: war, state, and society in western Europe, 1600–1700*, in: *European Warfare, 1350–1750*, edd. F. Tallett, D. J. B. Trim, Cambridge 2010, 74–95.
- Parshall, *Prints as Objects of Consumption*** = P. Parshall, *Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe*, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998) 19–36.
- Pilsitz, *Architektonische entwicklung*** = M. Pilsitz, *Architektonische entwicklung Historischer Fabrikbauten im Siedlungsgebiet des Heutigen Budapest zwischen 1815 und 1915 unter besonderer berücksichtigung der Brauereien*, PhD Thesis, 2015.
- Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*** = M. Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2010.
- Polleross, “Pro decore Majestatis” Zur Repräsentation Kaiser Leopold I.** = F. Polleross, “Pro decore Majestatis” Zur Repräsentation Kaiser Leopold I. in *Architektur, Bilder und Angewante Kunst*, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 4/5 (2002/2003) 191–295.
- Polleroß, *Zur Repräsentation der Habsburger*** = F. B. Polleroß, *Zur Repräsentation der Habsburger in der bildenden Kunst*, in: *Welt des Barock*, edd. R. Feuchtmüller, E. Kovács, Wien 1986, 87–104.
- Pulselli et al., *An emergy evaluation of a medieval water management system*** = R. M. Pulselli, B. Rugani, E. Tiezzi, N. Marchettini, *An emergy evaluation of a medieval water management system: the case of the underground “Bottini” in Siena (Italy)*, *WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment* 128 (2010) 369–374.
- Radek, *Przynależność gatunkowa skór*** = T. Radek, *Przynależność gatunkowa skór z działki przy ul. Więziennej 11*, in: *Ze studiów nad życiem codziennym w średniowiecznym mieście. Parcele przy ulicy Więziennej 10–11 we Wrocławiu*, *Wratislavia Antiqua* 1, edd. C. Buško, J. Piekalski, Wrocław 1999, 95–105.
- Rafaelli, *Rame d'arte*** = U. Rafaelli (ed.), *Rame d'arte – Dalla preistoria al XX secolo nelle Alpi centro-orientali*, a cura di U. Rafaelli, Provincia autonoma, Servizio beni culturali Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e collezioni provinciali, Trento 1998.
- Ray, *Seven Partly Underground Rooms and Buildings*** = M. A. Ray, *Seven Partly Underground Rooms and Buildings for Water, Ice, and Midgets*, Pamphlet Architecture 20 (1997) 78.
- Riccetti, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane in Orvieto*** = L. Riccetti, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane in Orvieto. Una lettera ed altri documenti inediti*, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 42. Bd., H. 1 (1998) 67–100.
- Ridovics, Haider, *The history of the Hungarian pipemaker's craft*** = A. Ridovics, E. Haider (edd.), *The history of the Hungarian pipemaker's craft. Hungarian history through the pipemaker's art*, Budapest 2000.

- Sammlung Julius, *Krieg und Frieden in der Medaille und in der Gedenkmünzen*** = Sammlung Julius, *Krieg und Frieden in der Medaille und in der Gedenkmünzen I. Teil bis 1740*, Heidelberg 1958.
- Schmoldt, *Die Nadelstiche des Kupferstechers*** = W. Schmoldt, *Die Nadelstiche des Kupferstechers: Graphische Porträts als Mittel der Propaganda*, in: *Krieg der Bilder: Druckgraphik als Medium politischer Auseinandersetzung im Europa des Absolutismus*, ed. W. Cilleßen, Berlin 1997, 67–75.
- Schnapper, *The King of France as Collector*** = A. Schnapper, *The King of France as Collector in the Seventeenth Century*, JIH Vol. 17, No. 1 (1986) 185–202.
- Schneider, *Medaillen und Schaumünzen des Barock und Rokoko*** = R. Schneider, *Medaillen und Schaumünzen des Barock und Rokoko*, Osnabrück 1988.
- Schumann, *Die andere Sonne*** = J. Schumann, *Die andere Sonne. Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopolds I.*, Berlin 2003.
- Sedláčková, *From the Gothic period to the Renaissance*** = H. Sedláčková, *From the Gothic period to the Renaissance, Glass in Moravia 1450 – circa 1560*, in: *Studies in post-medieval archaeology 2: Material culture from the end of the 15th century and its reflection in archaeological, written and iconographic sources*, ed. J. Žegklitz, ARCHAIA, Praha 2007, 181–226.
- Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*** = L. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: the visual ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, Princeton 2008.
- Simić, *Patriotism and Propaganda*** = V. Simić, *Patriotism and Propaganda: Habsburg Media Promotion of the Peace Treaty of Passarowitz*, in: *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, edd. C. Ingrao, N. Samardžić, J. Pešalj, West Lafayette, Indiana 2011, 267–290.
- Sloos, *Warfare and the Age of Printing*** = L. Ph. Sloos, *Warfare and the Age of Printing. Catalogue of Early Printed Books from before 1801 in Dutch Military Collections*, Vol. 1, Leiden–Boston 2008.
- Stefanović-Vilovsky, *Belgrad unter der Regierung*** = T. Stefanović-Vilovsky, *Belgrad unter der Regierung Kaiser Karls VI: (1717–1739) mit Benützung archivalischer und anderer Quellen*, Wien 1908.
- Šarić, *Artefakti od okresanog kamena*** = J. Šarić, *Artefakti od okresanog kamena u starijem i srednjem neolitu na tlu Srbije*, Beograd 2014.
- Šimek, *Srednjovjekovno staklo iz Varaždina*** = M. Šimek, *Srednjovjekovno staklo iz Varaždina*, Archaeologia Adriatica 4.1 (2011) 307–324.
- Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpsko-hrvatskom jeziku*** = A. Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpsko-hrvatskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1985 (пето издање).
- Tallett, *War and Society*** = F. Tallett, *War and Society in early-modern Europe, 1495–1715*, Routledge – London, New York 1992.
- Tarcsay, *Zum Stand der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Glasforschung*** = K. Tarcsay, *Zum Stand der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Glasforschung in Ostösterreich*, in: *Auf gläsernen Spuren, Der Beitrag Mitteleuropas zur archäologisch-historischen Glasforschung*, edd. S. Felgenhauer-Schmiedt, A. Eibner, H. Knittler, Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich 19, Wien 2003, 165–178.
- Thieme, Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*** = U. Thieme, F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* 36 (1992) 232–233.
- Tomka, *Excavated pipes*** = G. Tomka, *Excavated pipes from the 16th to the 18th century in Hungary*, in: *The history of the Hungarian pipemaker's craft. Hungarian history through the pipemaker's art*, edd. A. Ridovics, E. Haider, Budapest 2000, 25–32.
- Uzelac, *Balthazar Neumann i Barokni Beograd*** = Z. Uzelac, *Balthazar Neumann i Barokni Beograd – jedna reinterpretacija Sagallovog bunara iz Orvijeta*, ČP 7–8 (1988) 31–34.
- Vanino, *Isusovci u Beogradu*** = M. Vanino, *Isusovci u Beogradu u XVII i XVIII stoljeću*, Vrela i prinosi 4 (1934) 1–4.
- Veit, *Medaillen und Münzen*** = L. Veit, *Medaillen und Münzen*, Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseum (1962) 122–137.

- Vizi, *A kora újkori kerámia*** = M. Vizi, *A kora újkori kerámia feldolgozásának módszerei. Az Ozorai várkastély leletanyagának adatbázisáról*, in: *Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary*, II, edd. E. Benkő, G. Kovács, Budapest 2010, 817–838.
- Vocelka, *Glanz und Untergang der höfischen Welt*** = K. Vocelka, *Glanz und Untergang der höfischen Welt: Repräsentation, Reform und Reaktion im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat*, Wien 2004.
- Volkman, *Die Architektur des 18. Jahrhunderts*** = S. Volkman, *Die Architektur des 18. Jahrhunderts im Temescher Banat*, PhD Thesis, Heidelberg 2001.
- Wachowski, *Militaria*** = K. Wachowski, *Militaria*, in: *Ulice sredniowiecznego Wroclawia, Wratislavia Antiqua II*, edd. J. Piekalski, K. Wachowski, Wrocław 2010, 179–183.
- Weber, *Die Medaille*** = I. S. Weber, *Die Medaille, ein wichtiges Medium der Propaganda während der Türkenkriege*, in: *Diplomaten und Wesire. Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel türkischen Kunsthandwerks*, ed. P. Schienerl, München 1988, 51–70.
- Weber, Seelig, *Kürfürst Max Emanuel, Bayern und Europa*** = I. S. Weber, L. Seelig, *Kürfürst Max Emanuel, Bayern und Europa um 1700* (Band II), München 1976.
- Weifert, *Meine Sammlung von Medaillen auf die Eroberungen Belgrads*** = H. Weifert, *Meine Sammlung von Medaillen auf die Eroberungen Belgrads in den Jahren 1688, 1717 und 1789 und den Frieden von Passarowitz 1718*, Wien 1893.
- Weiner, *On Gunflint Manufacture in Germany*** = J. Weiner, *On Gunflint Manufacture in Germany*, *Archäologische Informationen* 39 (2016) 247–264.
- West, *Introduction*** = S. West, *Introduction*, in: *The Familiar Past?: Archaeologies of later historical Britain*, edd. S. Tarlow, S. West, Routledge–London 1999, 1–15.
- Winter, *Glanz des Hauses Habsburg*** = H. Winter, *Glanz des Hauses Habsburg. Die habsburgische Medaille im Münzkabinett des Kunsthistorischen Museums*, Wien 2009.
- Wiśniewski, *Wyroby kamienne*** = A. Wiśniewski, *Wyroby kamienne*, in: *Ze studiów nad życiem codziennym w średniowiecznym mieście. Parcele przy ulicy Więziennej 10–11 we Wrocławiu*, *Wratislavia Antiqua* 1, edd. C. Buško, J. Piekalski, Wrocław 1999, 120–135.
- Wohlfahrt, *Christian Wermuth*** = C. Wohlfahrt, *Christian Wermuth: ein deutscher Medailleur der Barockzeit*, London 1992.
- Wolff, *The Singing Turk*** = L. Wolff, *The Singing Turk: Ottoman Power and Operatic Emotions on the European Stage from the Siege of Vienna to the Age of Napoleon*, Stanford 2016.
- Woodall et al., *Gunflint Production*** = J. N. Woodall et al., *Gunflint Production in the Monti Lessini, Italy*, *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 31, Issue 4 (1997) 15–27.
- Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde*** = M. Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde. Politische Feindbilder in der reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen Westfälischem Frieden und Siebenjährigem Krieg*, Mainz 2004.

<https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00090475& pimage=00001&v=150&nav=&l=fr>

<https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/kt84892bo/>

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

<http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=45384>

<http://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=1999543>

<http://www.inorviato.it/pozzo-di-san-patrizio/>

<http://www.mairie-herserange.fr/mes-loisirs/culture/office-de-tourisme-du-pays-de-longwy/>

<http://www.museotorino.it/view/s/ca7f360517df46928fdaa89895a8fc36>

<http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/flintlock+mechanism>

wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vienna_-_Plague_Column_-_engraving.jpg



List of Collaborators and Their Affiliations

VESNA BIKIĆ, PhD, Principal Research Fellow
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade
v.bikic@ai.ac.rs; vesna.bikic@gmail.com

VLADAN ZDRAVKOVIĆ, Architect
Independent Researcher
Belgrade
vladan.zdravkovic@gmail.com

MARIJA MARIĆ JERINIĆ, Senior Curator
National Museum, Belgrade
m.jerinic@narodnimuzej.rs

ANA MILOŠEVIĆ, PhD, Museum Advisor
Independent Researcher
Smederevska Palanka
anamilosevitz@gmail.com

MARINA PAVLOVIĆ, PhD, Architect-conservator
Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments
pavlovic.marina@yahoo.com

MARKO POPOVIĆ, PhD, Senior Research Fellow
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade
dama.popovic@yahoo.com

VLADIMIR SIMIĆ, PhD, Associate Professor
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Art History
vmsimic@f.bg.ac.rs

ISIDORA TOČANAC RADOVIĆ, PhD, Research Associate
Historical Institute, Belgrade
isidora.tocanac.radovic@iib.ac.rs

JOSIP ŠARIĆ, PhD, Senior Research Associate
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade
josips@eunet.rs

REPRODUCED ARTEFACTS ARE KEPT IN:

Archives of SASA, Sremski Karlovci
Austrian State Archives, Vienna / Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien
Belgrade City Museum
Berlin State Library / Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin
British Library, London
City Museum of Novi Sad
Financial and Court Chamber Archives, Vienna / Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Wien
General Land Archives Karlsruhe – Landesarchiv Baden Württemberg / Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade
Matica Srpska Library, Novi Sad
Museum of Pedagogy, Belgrade
Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade
National Library of Serbia, Belgrade
National Museum in Belgrade
The Austrian Gallery Belvedere, Vienna / Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Wien
University and State Library of Saxony-Anhalt, Halle (Saale) / Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle (Saale)
Svetozar Marković University Library, Belgrade
Vienna War Archives / Kriegsarchiv, Wien

PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS:

Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade (Slavica Marković, Uglješa Vojvodić)
Miloš Jurišić's photo documentation
PE Belgrade Fortress



CIP – Каталогизacija u publikaciji
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

94(497.11 Београд)"1717/1739"(082)

BAROQUE Belgrade : transformation 1717–1739 / [editor Vesna Bikić ; translated by Ivan Delač]. – Belgrade : Institute of Archaeology : Belgrade City Museum, 2019 (Belgrade : Birograf). – 223 str. : ilustr. ; 25 cm. – (Monograph / [Institute of Archaeology] ; n° 70)

Nasl. izvornika: Барокни Београд. – Deo teksta štampan dvostubačno. – Tiraž 500. – Str. 6–9: Foreword / Vesna Bikić. – List of Collaborators and Their Affiliations: str. 222–223. – Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. – Bibliografija: str. 207–221.

ISBN 978-86-6439-044-6 (IA)

ISBN 978-86-6433-020-6 (BCM)

a) Београд – 1717–1739 – Зборници
COBISS.SR-ID 275174156



97886641390446



97886641330206



АРХЕОЛОШКИ ИНСТИТУТ
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
www.ai.ac.rs



МУЗЕЈ ГРАДА БЕОГРАДА
BELGRADE CITY MUSEUM
www.mgb.org.rs

