Grigor Doytchinov, Aleksandra Đukić, Cătălina loniță (Eds.)

## Planning Capital Cities



## Imprint

Editors: Doytchinov Grigor/Đukić Alexandra/Ioniță Cătălina
Title: Planning Capital Cities: Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia
Publisher: Verlag der Technischen Universität Graz, www.ub.tugraz.at/Verlag

## $\operatorname{TG}_{G r a z}$

Graphic design: Martin Grabner, www.martingrabner.com
Print: www.primerate-druckerei.at
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ISBN: 978-3-85125-398-6
ISBN (e-book): 978-3-85125-399-3
DOI: 10.3217/978-3-85125-398-6

Cover illustration: Detail of the cadastral map of Sofia by Bartel, 1897. (Museum of Sofia)

We would like to express our thanks to the Institute of Urbanism and the Faculty of Architecture of the Graz University of Technology for the financial support of the monograph.
We owe Georgi Petev, Nadin Nadja Schaupp, Ana Jeinic, Nelly Tsenova, Alexandra Doytchinova a debt of gratitude for the assistance.

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# The modernization and urban transformation of Belgrade in the $\mathbf{1 9}^{\text {th }}$ and early $\mathbf{2 0}^{\text {th }}$ century ${ }^{1}$ 

## Introduction

For understanding the modern urban development of Belgrade in the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, it is necessary to consider its specific geo-strategic and geo-political position. The site of the city is at the confluence of Sava and Danube Rivers, between the East and the West, which leads to a crucial impact on its urban and architectural development throughout history. The political and cultural Eastern and Western influences, which are alternating after the restoration of the state of Serbia, represent the basic elements of its modern identity. This is also largely expressed in a constant struggle between the traditionalism and modernism, the conservative and the progressive.

The influences of the European culture and academic architecture result when the Principality of Serbia is established in the early $19^{\text {th }}$ century - a period of time, when the Ottoman way of life is still quite obvious. In spite of all the significant changes that take place after 1867, when the Ottomans leave Serbia, no political, social or economic conditions necessary for the radical urban and architectural transformation of Belgrade are present at the beginning of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century. However, the process of social and cultural changes has already started, focusing on the emancipation of the oriental influences and the adaptation of the European social and cultural values. The Austrian Monarchy and many Serbs, who were born and/or graduated there, appreciate and support these new changes.

At the beginning of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century Belgrade is a small ruined and negligent Ottoman fortification consisting of a civilian settlement with earthen ramparts with palisades and a moat. It is constructed during the Austrian rule in the $18^{\text {th }}$ century and reconstructed later by the Ottomans. Due to the permanent war threats, the internal clashes in the Ottoman Empire and the frequent fires

Fig. 1
The main urban areas and communication of the Old Belgrade in $19^{\text {th }}$ and early $20^{\text {th }}$ century (M.Roter Blagojević/S.Rajić)

and plague epidemics, the number of its inhabitants decreases. The trade and the commerce as well as the construction of new buildings are experiencing stagnation. ${ }^{2}$ From the many preserved memories and books, left behind by some traveling writers in that time, we can get the impression that the Old Town is devastated. ${ }^{3}$ Brush's map from 1789 presents an urban pattern combining the narrow and curved Levantine streets and the Austrian straight streets, with the Great Market located square in the city center. ${ }^{4}$

After the First Uprising in 1804, a great number of Serbians return to the Old Town inside the moat and settle predominantly around their church on the Kosančićev venac, above the Sava riverbank. Belgrade is a capital of the new Serbian state until 1806 and the collapse of the Uprising in Serbia, which initiates the establishment of the administrative, legislative and social institutions. ${ }^{5}$ The Old Town keeps its Levantine image within the moat. The trade and commerce is re-established on the Sava slope and on the main street alongside of the Serbian church. As the political circumstances do not provide the conditions for new construction works, the newly formed public institutions and the inhabitants settle into adapted old buildings. One of these buildings is an old Muslim house on the Danube slope, where the first High School, the Lyceum, is established. ${ }^{6}$

After the Second Uprising in 1815 and during the 1820s, when the Serbian population experiences certain political liberties, no significant changes are made in Belgrade by the Ottoman administration. The Ottoman army is concentrated in the fortress and guards the four town gates. The Muslim inhabitants return to their homes, predominantly on the Danube slope.' Only 60 Christians are living in the Old Town by that time. ${ }^{8}$


Fig. 2
The Brush's Plan of Belgrade from 1789.
(Museum of Belgrade)

In 1829 the traveling writer O.D. Pirh mentions that the Old Town of Belgrade is so heavily demolished that only the remnants of the old stone mosques, caravanserais, hamams and etc. can be discerned. ${ }^{9}$ As the Moslems cannot revive their previous economic strength, the Danube side deteriorates, the trade in the old Long Market Street stagnates and the town center moves to the Serbian part of the city on the Sava River's side. ${ }^{10}$

A small number of Serbian inhabitants begin the construction of new houses in the area surrounding the Serbian church. A Serbian administrative and spiritual center is also establishes there, despite of the disapproval of the Ottomans who do not allow new building construction inside the Old Town. The first Court Building and the residence of the Serbian sovereign Prince Miloš Obrenović are constructed in 1818. They are located in front of the Old church and of some new houses of wealthy Serbian citizens. ${ }^{11}$ The spatial concept, the construction and the design of the new houses follows the vernacular Ottoman traditions. ${ }^{12}$ Due to the prevention of building activities in the Old Town and the high land prices the newly arriving population settles outside the moat, in Savamala and Palilula- inherited Austrian suburbs from $18^{\text {th }}$ century.

## The development of Belgrade after achieving political independence and the proclamation for a capital in the middle of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century

After 1830 Belgrade witnesses a great prosperity. While the Sultans are signing the agreements known as Hatti-I-şherif ${ }^{13}$, the new Serbian principality obtains political independence and is able to develop its administrative and social functions. The changed political circumstances attract a great number of new inhabitants, arriving from the other Serbian territories, which are still under the Ottoman rule. There is a great influence of better educated Serbians, originally coming from Vojvodina - part of the Habsburg monarchy. They come to Serbia and work in the administration. In 1834 the number of people, predominantly Serbs and Jews, is 7033. They are living in 769 houses, located in the Old Town. The first data of Belgrade's population is from 1838. There are 8483 Christians, 2700 Muslims, 1500 Jews and 250 foreigners, in total -2963 people. ${ }^{14}$

The political circumstances in the city are specific. The Ottoman administration and the military garrison are still settled in the Belgrade's fortress and guard the town gates. The fortress is separated from the Old Town civilian settlement and by the City Field - the glacis, established by the Austrians in the end of $17^{\text {th }}$ century. The Old Town is still surrounded by old earthen ramparts with palisades and a moat, which prevent the organic and functional merging with the surrounding areas. Little by little, the suburbs are growing, populated by the new inhabitants. A new mercantile district develops on the Sava riverbank, around the port. That is the only connection of Belgrade with the city of Zemun and the European neighbors. The suburb Savamala develops fast, rising above the marshy terrain called the Venice Pond. The suburb Palilula spreads along the main connection to Istanbul. The remaining space is mostly marshy and unpopulated, except of the area around the Stambol-Gate, where a Roma settlement is growing up. ${ }^{15}$

Judging by the memories written by foreign travelers who had visited Belgrade in the beginning of the 1830 s, there is a clearly strict separation between the Serbian and the Moslem parts of the Old Town. According to Boa-le-Conte, while the Muslims-populated area on the Danube slope, with its small densely grouped and ruined timber houses and damaged mosques, is neglected, the Serbian-populated area at the Sava slope expands every day to form an Orthodox Christian town. ${ }^{16}$ A panoramic view on the Belgrade Old Town pictured by Anastas Jovanović ${ }^{17}$ shows the Sava riverbank with the commercial area of the Sava port and the Customs Office Building, which is one of the first European classicistic style-buildings. ${ }^{18}$ On the upper plateau, the Kosančićev venac, one can see the new spiritual center of the Serbian Principality: the new Serbian Cathedral Church, with its high bell-tower ${ }^{19}$ and the monumental Prince Miloš New Court. ${ }^{20}$ The architecture of the church breaks up with the Eastern tradition and represent a gradual adaption of the European styles of the period of late Baroque and Classicism. It is built between 1837 and 1840, following the design of the Austrian builder Adam Friedrich Querfelder from Pančevo, and under the
supervision of the first government engineer, the Slovak Franc Janke, invited to come from Vienna. ${ }^{21}$ Janke arrives in 1835 in order to manage the state works on the new public buildings and the town regulation. The Court, on the other hand, is built by the traditional builder Hajji-Nikola Živković, ${ }^{22}$ 1829-1830, and is a mixture of a representative Oriental residence and the town houses of the small settlements of Zemun and Pančevo across the Sava and Danube Rivers. The Levantine construction and the spatial pattern of the residence contrasts to the façade with its modest European classical forms. The first residential building with pure classical architecture in the Old Town, probably designed by Janke, is the house of the city governor-built in 1836-1837. ${ }^{23}$

Due to the uncertainty which inevitably affects the life in the Old Town and due to the permanent threat by the Ottoman bombardments from the fortress, Prince Miloš commences, in the beginning of the 1830 s , the construction of a new Court complex in Topčider, far away from the city and the canyons. The political situation and the fact that the final eviction of the Moslem inhabitants is not achieved, force the prince to take a radical decision. In 1834 he starts planning the establishment of the new Serbian Belgrade, situated on the sunny slopes of the West Vračar area, where the prince intends to settle all the Serbians. The new administrative center of the Serbian state consisting of the National Assembly Building, the Court and the Great Barracks is raised in Savamala area. ${ }^{24}$ The regulation of the new town is supervised by Janke and under the direct instructions of Prince Miloš. ${ }^{25}$ The first straight streets with new houses are Savamalska and Abažijska, form the new city's commercial center, where all the Serbian merchants and craftsmen are supposed to be settled, after leaving the Old Town's Main Street. These streets are representing Princ Miloš's urban visions and they show for the first time the emergence of long, straight wide traffic corridors in Belgrade. ${ }^{26}$ These days the streets have still an important traffic function for the city of Belgrade.

The rational Western matrix of the future Belgrade is established on this way. The rare preserved plan of Janke, dating from $1842,{ }^{27}$ shows the new streets and blocks with the governmental buildings as well as the orthogonal regulation of Western Vračar, with the two 38 m wide main streets to the Court in Topčider and to the city of Kragujevac. The Western Vračar is established as a prominent residential area for the emerging middle class, with ground floor houses and gardens. ${ }^{28}$ Throughout the decades, in order to follow this matrix, it will be extended to the remaining area of East and Western Vračar. The pattern established in the middle of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century is the basis of the urban regulation of the whole Vračar area. Today it represents the most significant urban planning heritage from the beginning of the Serbian urbanism.

One of the most important for the city's communications element is Gospodska Street. It runs from Sava port to Terazije-an emerging city center outside the moat, where the representative houses of many wealthy citizens are located. The fostering of the commercial relations with Austria enables a fast development


Fig. 3
The Plan of West Vračar area made by engineer F. Janke, dating from 1842.
(Reproduction, Vukotić-Lazar/Lalošević)
of the area alongside the Sava port. The mercantile center, which is in charge of the export and import of goods is also formed there and flourishes after 1856, when the Danube free navigation is finally permitted. ${ }^{29}$

After Prince Miloš descends from the throne in April 1841 and his son is proclaimed as the new ruler, Belgarde becomes again the capital of Serbia. A fast social and economic development fosters under the Karađorđević Dynasty and Prince Aleksandar I since 1842. ${ }^{30}$ The main European countries, Austria, Great Britain, Russia and France, open consular offices as guarantors for the peace. The arriving of a great number of new inhabitants continues. In 1846 there are 14386 inhabitants ( 8651 of Serbian nationality) and 1714 houses. ${ }^{31}$

The traits of the oriental town gradually disappear. The travelers Roman Zmorski, ${ }^{32}$ Herbert Vivien and Felix Kanic ${ }^{33}$ observe that the town is changing considerably and in only four years a lot of one-story houses in European manner have been built all around the city. The enriched Serbian inhabitants chase the Moslems away from the central parts of the town into the Danube slope. The Terazije area is partially regulated. The public works are commenced in the town to provide public services, stone-paving of the streets and the planting of rows of trees. The first park of Belgrade is established on the West Vračar area, around the first monument, devoted to the rebels who lost their life during the First Serbian Uprising.

The urban development until the middle of the century is presented correctly in the plan made by the Austrian Captain G. König in 1854. ${ }^{34}$ There is an obvious contrast between the new orthogonal street network on the slopes of the Western Vračar area and the spontaneously formed winding streets in the old fortified town, on the Sava slope, on Terazije and on Palilula. The large area between the Sava riverbank and the settlement on the Savamala and Western Vračar is covered by marshy terrain.

Despite the considerable changes in the appearance of the town, the conflicted and tense political relations between the Muslim and the Serbian inhabitants prevent the faster transformation and regulation of the Old Town with its 1214 Serbian and 1118 Moslem houses. After a clash between the Ottoman soldiers and the Serbian inhabitants, which cause the Turkish bombardment in 1862, 400 houses are damaged and burned down, mostly around the Saborna Church. ${ }^{35}$


A considerable data about the degree of construction and the owners of the plots in Belgrade can be obtained from the Turkish Plan of Belgrade made in 1863. ${ }^{36}$ The Moslem inhabitants populate the area of the Danube slope. Beside them are only Jews living around the Old Synagogue. Serbian houses and shops are situated on the Sava slope and in the central area of the Old Town, around the Great Market. The Old Town still preserves the oriental pattern of streets, especially on the Danube side.

The foreign travelers, like G. Rasch, describe in 1866 the chaos of the Oriental town with its narrow and bumpy streets and dirty wooden houses cladded with mud. ${ }^{37}$ In the Serbian part of the city they observe white European style houses and the grandiose University building, built in 1963, situated on the main street in the city core, designed by the Czech architect Jan Nevole. ${ }^{38}$ The building is initially planned as a monumental residence for the wealthiest Serbian citizen, Captain Miša Anastasijević. Located in front of the Great Market Square, it is the second three-story building in the town. After his owner makes a donation to the homeland by giving away the building for cultural and educational purposes, it becomes a shelter for all the main state institutions, the Gymnasium, the University and the National Museum and Library.

Nevole, who has studied at the Technical High Schools of Prague and Vienna as well as at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts becomes in 1845 the chief of the Government Building Construction Office and is the first educated architect in Serbia Thanks to him and some German, Czech and Slovak states engineers as well as a number of Serbian architects, born in the Habsburg monarchy and

Fig. 4
The Austrian plan of Belgrade from 1854, made by captain König. (Reproduction, VukotićLazar/Lalošević)
graduated in Pest, Vienna, Munich and Karlsruhe ${ }^{39}$, the architecture in Serbia reaches for the first time an European level. The Captain Miša's Building is representing the Romanesque architectural style in Serbia and is related to the idea of the national liberation and to the attention to the own medieval tradition between the 1850 s and 1870s. ${ }^{40}$

## The first plan for the reconstruction of the Old Town

Favorable circumstances for the reconstruction of the Serbian capital come in the 1870 s. After the return of the Obrenović dynasty on the throne in 1859 and the death of Princ Miloš in 1860, the new young sovereign Prince Mihailo manages to accomplish the final withdrawal of the Ottoman army and the Moslems from the Old Town. ${ }^{41}$ In 1867, there are 24612 inhabitants and 3478 houses. ${ }^{42}$ New inhabitants are constantly arriving from other Serbian settlements and region, is still under Ottoman rule. There are advantageous circumstances for the reconstruction of the fortified Old City and the removal of the old city ramparts in order to link the Old Town with the peripheral settlements. A great free area for new construction is obtained by cleaning out

Fig. 5

the strip surrounding the moat. The state buys up the majority of the Muslim estates, so that a great part of the urban area becomes in a possession of it and a more radical urban reconstruction is possible.

The situation and the existing number of houses in the Old Town are recorded for the first time in a land survey by the university professor Emilijan Josimović, in the period of 1864-1867. ${ }^{43}$ The cadastral plan published in 1867 contains all the communications and the buildings of solid construction. Based on the land survey, Josimović makes and publishes his explanation of proposal for the urban regulation of the part of Belgrade, which lies within the moat as a lithographic plan in the scale of $1 / 3000 .{ }^{44}$ He preserves the majority of the solidly built houses and the main communications, inherited from the Austrian reconstruction in the beginning of the $18^{\text {th }}$ century. With minimal corrections


Fig. 6
The City Reconstruction Plan of Old Belgrade Town in Moat, made by Emilijan Josimović, published in 1867. (Reproduction, Maksimović)


Fig. 7
The J. Garašanin house, 43 Knez Mihailova St, 1867-70.
of the already formed routes, Josimović obtains an approximately orthogonal street network with regular blocks as basic elements of the urban structure. He proposes a new urban pattern with a rational urban scheme of wide streets, major squares, parks and monumental public buildings, which resemble the modern European capitals. ${ }^{45}$ His proposal leads to the destruction of many mosques and Ottoman public buildings, which completely changes the previous Levantine identity and the traditional skyline of the city originating from the $16^{\text {th }}$. From then on, the de-Ottomanization and Europeanization is the political paradigm of the construction of Serbia's new national identity. The clearing-up of the architectural remnants of the Ottoman culture is an integral part of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century national identity forming process. ${ }^{46}$

A significant contribution of Josimovic's plan is the rearrangement of the new Knez-Mihailova St. It becomes a main street, obtaining a direct link between the center of the Old Town and Terazije, as well as other urban parts outside of the ramparts. His proposals for the construction of a boulevard with tree rows and pedestrian alleys on the glacis, following the monumental Vienna's Ring, is also of significance. ${ }^{47}$ Thus a good communication between all parts of the town is established, as well as a linkage of the inner and outer urban parts. He plans to arrange gardens, in order to solve the lack of green areas and to preserve the shape of the old ramparts in the new urban tissue in the area where the extended old earthen platforms for cannons still exist. He proposes to build-up monuments in each garden in memory of important national heroes and cultural enlightenments. ${ }^{48}$ These ideas express the political, economic and cultural liberation from the Ottoman rule and the Europeanization of the society.

Josimović also proposes to reconstruct Belgrade's fortress and the town battle field Kalemegdan into a European style public park. ${ }^{49} \mathrm{He}$ also proposes to build up a quay with a boulevard and tree rows alongside the Sava and the Danube riverbanks. Since he is aware of the bad communication between the Sava and the Danube sides, he comes up with the idea of a tunnel under the town hill, which creates a direct connection between the Sava and the Danube ports and eliminates the traffic that would interrupt the planned public park. He also considers the re-location of some important public buildings and anticipates new locations for the main governmental ones. ${ }^{50}$

It is obvious, that Josimović's intention is to follow the examples of Vienna and Budapest and to implement the European rational urbanism in Serbia. However, most of his visionary proposals, although essential for the new modern image of Belgrade, aren't realized, and the chance for a radical transformation of the city fails. The consequences are still visible today by the bad traffic function of the city. Some futuristic ideas, like the tunnel and the quay alongside the Sava and the Danube riverbanks are reestablished in recent time.

Even though it has never been accepted by the official institutions, Josimovic's plan is the first one that comprehensively treats the reconstruction of the Old


Fig. 8
The Plan of Belgrade from 1878, made by the engineer Stevan Zarić.
(Reproduction, Maksimović)
Town which influences greatly its further transformation. A draft for the Law on Regulation of the Town of Belgrade is proposed in 1867 too. Yet it is also rejected, so that the further regulation doesn't have an appropriate legal basis. ${ }^{51}$ The owners of the estates and buildings are strongly against any changes, while the Belgrade Municipality experiences a lack of technically skilled people to organize and accomplish the reconstruction. Due to that reason, the reconstruction is not running punctually and is not based on a consistent concept, as proposed by Josimović. The new Knez-Mihailova St is reconstructed and the old main Serbian shopping street is connected with the new business and commercial center on Terazije. A comprehensive regulation of the Danube slope begins, which results in the accomplishment of an orthogonal street matrix around the Great Market area. ${ }^{52}$

One of the greatest results of Josimović's ideas and Prince Mihailo's wishes is the reconstruction of the area around the destroyed historic Main Town Gate. A main town square is established and a raise of a monument dedicated to Prince Mihailo, assassinated in May 1868, is foreseen. ${ }^{53}$ The first theatre is built between 1868 and 1889 designed by the young architect Aleksandar Bugarski, who has studied at the Polytechnic School of Buda. ${ }^{54}$ It is the first academic NeoRenaissance building in Serbia, built in a modest scale and in accordance with the financial capabilities of the state. ${ }^{55}$ The Knez Mihailova St is developed into a main street with many solidly built one-story terraced houses of wealthy merchants, with shops in the ground floor and representative academic style façades. ${ }^{56}$

The results of the regulation can be seen in the first layout of the complete town territory made by the engineer Stevan Zarić in 1878. ${ }^{57}$ Beside the names of the streets and squares, the layout also presents numerous data of basic town planning elements and existing buildings, since the building shapes are also entered in the plan. The town is spread to south-westwards and southeastwards, over the West and East Vračar and Palilula. The main commercial and administrative urban axis is the new city spine that stretches from the fortress, across the main trade street, the Terazije and the Slavija squares, to the city periphery. The spiritual center of the town is, as previously defined by the Saborna Church, the Archbishop's seat and the Theological College. The educational center of the state is established on the Great Square in front of the University. The regulation of the Danube slope is accomplished in the upper parts, but the area alongside the Sava port preserves its old morphology and buildings. It has a great communicative and commercial significance for the state. Being a main terminal for passengers and goods, it represents the Gate to Europe. Some areas on the city's periphery, like the Palilula square, where the first public municipal hospital is built, and the Zeleni venac square, start being developed. ${ }^{58}$ In the Western and Eastern Vračar area are erected predominantly ground-floor middle-class houses with modest academic architecture. ${ }^{59}$

## The fast development of Belgrade in the end of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century

After a short period of stagnation caused by the Serbian-Turkish War, 1876-1878, the southern regions of Serbia are liberated and the political independence is achieved, which results in the proclamation of the Kingdom of Serbia in 1882. During the reign of King Milan Obrenović the ties with Europe and especially with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are getting stronger. ${ }^{60}$

The number of Belgrade's inhabitants is constantly arising. While in 1874 it has 27.605 inhabitants, in 1889 this number is doubled and in 1900 the town reaches a population of 69.769 people. The greatest influx comes from the liberated southern regions and from Austria, so that in 1900 only $60 \%$ of the town inhabitants are born on the territory of Serbia. In the period from 1874 to 1890 the number of the buildings increases, mostly in Palilula and Vračar around $80 \%$. The houses are built with bad quality materials, mostly
of timber framed construction and mud. Most of them lack the minimum of hygienic requirements. In 1889 only 2098 of the listed 5448 building structures consist of solid material. In the same year there are 317 café-restaurants, 1989 workshops and 217 stores. ${ }^{61}$

The investment of foreign capital in Serbia funds the building of the first industrial manufactures. The state marks a constant economic growth. This is especially supported by the construction of the railway road, 1881-1884, and the Sava railway bridge. ${ }^{62}$ The railway has a crucial impact on Serbia's future development. A closer connection to Western Europe and a link to the eastern countries and their capitals-Sofia and Istanbul are achieved. The greatest changes are around the Venice Pound. After the area of the Sava embankment is dried out, a railway station is built according to the Viennese design in 1884.

The regulation of some urban parts is continued during the 1880s and the Old Town is almost completely reconstructed. A new city axis is connecting the railway station and the Slavija square. A new regulation with octagonal blocks is planned to cover the Savamala area and to expand the city towards the Sava riverbank. A representative landscape park is designed in front of the Ministry of Finance. The municipal administration plans to expand the town towards the Danube riverbank and to construct the riverbank road, as recorded in the Plan of Belgrade from 1886. ${ }^{63}$ In addition, it is planned to expand the city southwards, so that new streets are drawn in the plan around the Slavija Square. ${ }^{64}$

However, despite of the planned steps of regulation of the suburbia, the town is greatly expanded beyond control, due to the illegal construction of low quality houses around the town perimeters. In 1885 for the first time, the Belgrade municipality initiates a regulation plan and the determination of the administrative borders of the town district, i.e. of the territory which is to be equipped with public services. The territory is determined in 1890 and the Regulation plan of Belgrade is completed in 1891.

The illustrated map of Bešlić from 1893 shows the new recorded city border. One can see the already regulated area around the Saborna Church in the Sava slope, while the old street morphology around the Kosančićev venac stays untouched. The regulation of the Danube slope has been completed, too and a uniform orthogonal street network covers the area of Palilula. It is planned the same rational pattern to be applied on the Western Vračar area to the Soldiers' Field. ${ }^{65}$

Numerous records written by foreign travelers, who have visited the town in the 1880s and 1890s, present the picture of an exceptionally fast transformation of the oriental settlement to a modern, almost Western town. The most detailed descriptions of Belgrade, including sketches of some ambient and of the most important buildings are made by Felix Kanic, who mentions a new network of regular stone-paved streets, provided with electricity lighting, with beautiful administrative public and private buildings. ${ }^{66}$

Fig. 9
The Plan of Belgrade from 1893, made by Bešlić. (Reproduction, Vukotić-Lazar/Lalošević)


It is obvious that the Belgrade municipality undertakes extensive works for the arrangement of the town and for the increasing of the level of its public services. By the end of the century, the public service facilities of Belgrade reach a level similar to the European capitals, like Budapest, for example. ${ }^{67}$ The streets are still paved with the inherited stone-paving. However in 1886, the Dubrovačka Street, located next to the Saborna Church, is paved with granite cubes. Later, the Knez Mihailova St, and all other important streets are paved with granite cubes, too. The water supply for the town is provided from 20 town fountains,
connected with the water supply system constructed during the Ottoman rule in the $17^{\text {th }}$ century and the Austrian rule in the first half of the $18^{\text {th }}$ century, which are still in use. The plan for the new water supply system is completed in 1892, and the plan for the sewage system is adopted two years later. The town lighting is initially supplied by gas lamps. The electric lighting is introduced upon the construction of the first electrical power station in 1891. The first horse-draft tramway line is built between 1891 and 1892 towards the main city axes. Soon many additional tram lines are established, which altogether cover around 8 km . The electric-power tram appears in 1894 on the line from the Sava Port to the town center. The urban regulation is completed with the planting of tree rows and the construction of numerous parks. A landscape park is arranged around the area of the Greater Kalemegdan, according to the plan from 1884, while the Smaller Kalemegdan Park is arranged after the launch of a contest in $1898 .{ }^{68}$

In 1896 the Belgrade Building Law is adopted (with amendments in 1898 and 1901) and from 1897 on, the Building Code for the Town of Belgrade ${ }^{69}$ regulates all the issues related to the construction in the separate parts of the town. These documents define more specifically the street widths, the positioning of the buildings, the dimensions of the building lots, the building heights etc. After the adoption of the Belgrade Building Law, a Building Committee is founded, which is in charge with the construction of the town.

In the eve of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century a considerable progress in the construction of all types of buildings in Belgrade is achieved. The architecture reaches a Western European level. The actual concepts of the historical style architecture are adopted, but adjusted to the economic and social conditions of Serbia. That is expressed by the new governmental buildings designed by the Ministry of Construction and established in 1863. These are works of a new generation of local and born in Austria Serbian architects, who have graduated in Vienna, Munich, Karlsruhe, Berlin, Aachen and Zurich. ${ }^{70}$ A precise interpretation of the architecture of the historical styles is presented on most of the residential buildings, based on the academic principles of modeling and transmission of stylistic forms. ${ }^{71}$ The most beautiful governmental palaces are the New Royal Court on the Terazije designed by Bugarski, 1881-1884, with its large and wellnourished English style garden, ${ }^{72}$ and the National Bank Palace, 1888-1889, ${ }^{73}$ designed by Konstantin Jovanović ${ }^{74}$.

Belgrade's development in the 1890s is very fast. Numerous one-story residential houses of academic architecture, with very solid modeling are built in the main commercial street. Although there are not many, a certain number of two-story mansion houses for the upper class with representative large flats are constructed. These represent the result of the general progress of the country and the increase of citizens who are able to finance it. Although they aren't similar in size compared to some monumental residences in Vienna and Budapest, the stylistic concepts are very identical. ${ }^{75}$

## Epilogue: the first Master plan at the early 1920s

Some new political tensions and the vicious assassination of the young King Aleksandar I Obrenović and his wife Draga at the beginning of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century set the country in a political isolation. ${ }^{76}$ The Karađorđević dynasty returns declaring the new ruler King Petar I. They break the previously strong connections with the Habsburgs and orientate the political communication to France and Russia. ${ }^{77}$ However, the tendency of Belgrade's fast expansion continues. The rapid development and the great demand for dwelling accommodations increases considerably the price of land and causes certain negative consequences like speculations with the land and constructions of high buildings in the central urban parts. This kind of buildings occupies almost the entire area of the plot, leaving very small courtyard spaces. The apartments in these buildings are dark and there is a lack of natural ventilation. Many of the rooms get light via the light-wells. Nevertheless, the number of such examples is insufficient and Belgrade is still a settlement with low rise buildings: the ground-floor houses are $83 \%$ and the one-story buildings are 16\% of the building stock in 1906-1907, while the multi-storied buildings are only 60 or just $1 \% .^{78}$

The Municipality is confronted with the permanent problem of the illegal and non-quality constructions in the suburbs as well as with the over-population of the existing housing fund. In 1910 there are 89876 inhabitants living in 6964 houses, most of them are small ground-floor buildings with 4 to 6 rooms. ${ }^{79}$ The revision of the first Regulation Plan is commenced in 1902. However, it isn't done comprehensively for the complete urban territory, but with single plans for the individual parts of the town. The new town district is determined in 1906, so that the urban territory is expanded to the southern and eastern territories of the town. A new railway road with its embankment is constructed alongside the Sava and Danube riverbanks. It is well positioned, from the Sava Railway Bridge up to the Danube Railway Station area, where new industrial complexes, like the Slaughterhouse, are established. The railway road completely isolates the town from the two rivers and prevents its further expansion in that area. That is why the town expands to the south and south-east, where the poorest inhabitants settle because cannot afford to pay for the expensive buildings within the town district. ${ }^{80}$

Finally in 1910, the Belgrade Municipality is able to establish a Technical Office by taking out a loan. The office is in charge of the urban development and the reconstruction plans of the town. The young Paris engineer Eduard Leger is appointed as a chief of the office. ${ }^{81}$ However, Leger's proposals are constantly criticized by the Belgrade's engineers and architects who aren't satisfied with his work due to his very partial solutions of the town reconstruction issues. They require an Urban Master Plan to be prepared and ask for the preservation of the inherited urban patterns, opposing to the "Haussmannization" of the town and the demolition of the heritage.


Finally the Master Plan of Belgrade is released by the French planner Alban Chambon in $1912^{82}$. It attempts to create a uniform town structure and to connect the old and the new urban parts. He introduces characteristic traits of the French urbanism to Belgrade. The Master Plan provides a valuable proposal of a circular boulevard thus clearly dividing the urbanized area from the rest of the city. The town is covered by a regular orthogonal network of communications and numerous diagonal directions, forming trident- and star-shaped squares. The planner also proposes the formation of eleven monumental ensembles with Beaux-Art style representative public edifices, inter-connected with wide boulevards.

The requirement for esthetic values and monumentality of the public spaces complies with the spirit of the French academic tradition. Haussmann's

Fig. 10
The first Master Plan of Belgrade from 1912, made by Alban Chambond. (Reproduction, Vukotić-Lazar/ Lalošević)
reconstruction of Paris prevails in the Master Plan, ${ }^{83}$ while the qualities of the inherited urban patterns and the realistic possibilities of the town are neglected. This is why the Belgrade engineers and architects criticize the city authorities for their inadequate approach to resolve the infrastructural problems of the city. They call for a new plan to solve the problems and they ask for a pan-Slavic contest which allows also experts from other countries to submit their proposals. This plan is used as a solid basis for the arrangement of some significant architectural units in the central part of the town. However, the beginning of WW I stops even the partial realization of the ambitious plan of Chambon. ${ }^{84}$

Considerable changes happen in Belgrade's architecture in the first decades of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, bringing a great heterogeneity of types and forms. The eclecticism and a more unrestrained treatment and diversity of forms continue its development in the Serbian architecture under the influence of the European artistic tendencies around 1900. The new artistic and architectural ideas are very rapidly transferred to Serbia and occupy the attention of artists and architects. ${ }^{85}$ The architects and civil engineers graduated in Belgrade or in the eminent European schools have different levels and type of education, so the aspirations seen in their works are rather heterogeneous. They enrich the historical styles of academic architecture with elements of Art-Nouveau and a desire for restoration of the national tradition by establishing a distinctive Serbian-Byzantine style. ${ }^{86}$

The construction of the main public building-the National Assembly, begins in 1906, designed in classicistic style by Ilkić and finished after WW I. ${ }^{87}$ Further on, many imposing banks ${ }^{88}$ and military objects are built. ${ }^{89}$ Some large blocks of flats, hotels and banks are built inspired by the Art Nouveau or the

Fig. 11
Project for National Assembly,
Alban Chambond, 1912. (Reproduction, Milatović)


Austrian Secession combined with the monumental academician style. ${ }^{90}$ Later, numerous new types of dwelling buildings of different size and complexity are developed. The large multistoried apartment complexes, usually of three stores, appear in the busiest streets of the town center and occupy great areas of the urban blocks or fully complete them. ${ }^{91}$ They consist of shops and offices in the ground-floor and the mezzanine, emerge as a new element in the architecture of the main streets, following the Vienna's model. The first social residential buildings for workers' dwellings are built by the Belgrade Municipality in the Danube area, near to the new industrial zone. A complex of buildings with a communal courtyard is designing in 1911 by the first female architect, the young city architect Jelisaveta Načić ${ }^{92}$ under the influence of the contemporary European ideas of undecorated architecture for the modern industrial man.

The political and cultural influences of the East and West alternating after the restoration of the Serbian state are the basic elements of the modern development and the creation of a new cultural identity of Belgrade during the $19^{\text {th }}$ and the early $20^{\text {th }}$ century. It is also largely expressed in a constant struggle between the traditionalism and the modernism, the conservative and the progressive. The process of implementation of the Central European urbanism and architecture in Serbia and its capital Belgrade is completed during the first decades of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, so that the architecture turns entirely towards the achievements of the contemporary European design. There is a clear attempt to express the traditions, distinctions and uniqueness, nevertheless in accordance with the universal principles. However, the establishing of modern public buildings and larger housing developments as well as the applying of the modern stylistic ideas is adapted to the local conditions and therefore presented to a smaller extent, because of the country's considerable lack of development. Only a few buildings reveal the basic implementation of modern constructions and modern principles of architectural design. A very important step towards the city's modern urban transformation is achieved


Fig. 12
Project for Royal Court, Alban Chambond, 1912.
(Reproduction, Milatović)

Fig. 13
The Vučo building, 61 Karađorđeva St, 1908.
(Blagojevic)

through the Urban Master Plan from 1912 which supports the faster development of Belgrade as a modern capital of the new Kingdom SHS after the WW I. ${ }^{93}$

Fig. 14
The M.Petrović-Alas house, 22
Kosančićev venac, 1910-12. (Blagojevic)

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