

# El Prezente

Studies in Sephardic Culture

vol. 7

# MENORAH

Collection of Papers

vol. 3

Common Culture and Particular Identities:  
Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Balkans

Editors: Eliezer Papo • Nenad Makuljević

December 2013



Ben-Gurion University of the Negev



Center Moshe David Gaon  
for Ladino Culture



1838

Faculty of Philosophy  
University of Belgrade



Menorah

El Prezente, Editorial Committee: **Tamar Alexander**, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev; **Yaakov Bentolila**, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Editorial Council: **Rifat Bali**, Albert Benveniste Center of Studies and Sefardic Culture, EPHE, Sorbonne, Paris, and The Ottoman-Turkish Sephardic Culture Research Center, Istanbul; **David M. Bunis**, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; **Winfried Busse**, Freie Universität. Berlin; **Paloma Díaz-Mas**, CSIC, Madrid; **Oro Anahory-Librowicz**, University of Montreal; **Alisa Meyuhas Ginio**, Tel Aviv University; **Laura Minervini**, University of Napoli 'Federico II'; **Aldina Quintana**, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; **Rena Molho**, Pantheon University, Athens; **Shmuel Refael**, Bar-Ilan University; **Aron Rodrigue**, University of Stanford; **Minna Rozen**, University of Haifa; **Beatrice Schmid**, University of Basel; **Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald**, Bar-Ilan University; **Edwin Seroussi**, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; **Michael Studemund-Halévy**, University of Hamburg

Menorah, Editorial Council:

**Vuk Dautović**, **Jelena Erdeljan**, **Nenad Makuljević**, Department of History of Art, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade; **Svetlana Smolčić Makuljević**, Metropolitan University, Belgrade; **Eliezer Papo**, Department of Hebrew Literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Editorial Coordinator: **Tzahi Aknin**

Language Editor: **Fern Seckbach**

Graphic Design: **Sefi Graphics Design**

Print: **BGU Print Unit**

Cover photo: Felix Kanitz, "Turkish Market Street (Turkische Bazarstrasse)", With the courtesy of the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (7901-II-003)

ISBN 978-965-91164-4-7

© 2013

All rights reserved

Moshe David Gaon Center for Ladino Culture  
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva  
Israel

# Table of Contents

<b>Preface</b>	1
<b><i>History &amp; Society:</i></b>	11
<b>Dušan I. Sindik</b>	
Jews in Serbian Medieval Written Sources	13
<b>Yaron Ben-Naeh</b>	
Dangerous Liaisons in Castoria	27
<b>Ioannis Zelepos</b>	
Multi-denominational Interaction in the Ottoman Balkans from a Legal Point of View: the Institution of Kiambin-marriages	43
<b>Katja Šmid</b>	
A Sephardic Rabbi's View of his Bosnian Neighbors and Common Ottoman Culture as Reflected in his Writings	55
<b>Vladimir Jovanović</b>	
“Good” Turks and “Evil” Ones: Multiple Perspectives on the Turkish Community Reflected in Serbian Sources of the Early Nineteenth Century	77
<b>Gila Hadar</b>	
Jewish Women's Conversion to Islam in the End of the Ottoman Era (Salonica) “Mijor dezero verte kortada la garganta ke azer insulto a tu ley santa”	95
<b><i>Linguistics:</i></b>	113
<b>David M. Bunis</b>	
From Early Middle to Late Middle Judezmo: The Ottoman Component as a Demarcating Factor	115
<b>Ivana Vučina Simović</b>	
In Search of the Historical Linguistic Landscape of the Balkans: the Case of Judeo-Spanish in Belgrade	165

<b>Alisa Meyuhas Ginio</b>	
The Attitude Toward <i>Lēshon haKodesh</i> and <i>Lēshon Laʿaz</i> in Two Works of Sephardi <i>Musar</i> Literature: <i>Meʿam Loʿez</i> (1730) and <i>Pele Yoʿeş</i> (1824; 1870)	187
<b><i>Literature:</i></b>	199
<b>Krinka Vidaković-Petrov</b>	
Some Balkan Specifics of Sephardic Folksongs	201
<b><i>Art:</i></b>	215
<b>Zoran Rakić</b>	
Islamic Influence on Illumination of Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Serbian Manuscripts	217
<b>Saša Brajović</b>	
Between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic – The Bay of Kotor and the Montenegrin Coast in Early Modern and Modern Times	225
<b>Nenad Makuljević</b>	
The Trade Zone as Cross-Cultural Space: Belgrade Çarşi	233
<b>Irena Ćirović</b>	
Imagining the Forbidden: Representations of the Harem and Serbian Orientalism	247
<b>Vladana Putnik</b>	
Influence of the Ottoman Architecture on the Aesthetics of Folklorism in Serbian Architecture	265
List of Participants	277
Guidelines for preparing a Manuscript for Publication	283

# The Trade Zone as Cross-Cultural Space: Belgrade Çarşi

Nenad Makuljević

Department of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

The creation of the Ottoman Balkan culture was a very complex process involving the state, society, religion, local traditions, and trade.<sup>1</sup> One of the main characteristics of Balkan culture is its multicultural nature. Along with the predominantly Ottoman state and religious cultural model, the meeting and crossing of cultures also played an important role. The models of everyday life as well as the material and religious culture were commonly exchanged and melded throughout the Balkans. A significant part of this process was the places that allowed the meeting and crossing of cultures. In addition to private spaces and private communication, the role of the public spaces and activities, which were not limited by the religious and ethnic barriers, was essential. The most important activity enabling different cultures to meet and interconnect within the Ottoman Empire was trade. One of the examples attesting to that fact can be found in nineteenth-century Belgrade, where the trade and the market spaces allowed for the creation of communal cultural models.

1 See Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, Beograd 1987; Leften Stavros Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, New York 2002; Traian Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds: the First and Last Europe*, New York 1994; Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, London-New York 2004; Markus Koller and Kemal H. Karpat (eds.), *Ottoman Bosnia: A History in Peril*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI 2004; Aleksandar Fotić, “Između zakona i njegove primene”, in Aleksandar Fotić (ed.), *Privatni život kod Srba u osvit novog doba*, Beograd 2005, pp. 27-71; Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3, *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, Cambridge 2006; Nenad Makuljević, “Pluralizam privatnosti: kulturni modeli i privatni život kod Srba u 19. veku”, in Ana Stolić and Nenad Makuljević (eds.), *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku*, Beograd 2006, pp. 22-29.

## **The Multicultural Nature of the Trades and Crafts in Belgrade**

Trade and crafts, which were important for creation of common cultural patterns, had a prominent role on the Ottoman Balkans. Balkan trade was very well developed. Places like Thessaloniki, Skopje, Niš, Vidin, Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Mostar became trade centers, and tradesmen were connected, regardless of religious or ethnic differences. Therefore, places of trade, crafts, and other services were not only sites where particular goods were distributed, but also centers of distribution of common cultural patterns, and Balkan tradesmen, as it has already been ascertained, were at the same time renowned members of the Ottoman society.<sup>2</sup> The trading connections also had a huge effect on the transfer of the ideals concerning the private and public culture throughout the Balkans. The merchants of various religions used to travel within the wide space between Istanbul and the Adriatic Sea,<sup>3</sup> as well as between Thessaloniki and the Habsburg Monarchy border, and beyond.<sup>4</sup> This led to the equalization of the cultural ideals of the merchants throughout the Balkans.

In the history of Belgrade at the time of the Ottoman rule, from the fifteenth up to the nineteenth century, trade took a prominent place. The geographical position of Belgrade, on the banks of the Danube and on the Ottoman and Habsburg border, as well as its administrative importance, set favorable conditions for various trades. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, leading protagonists of Balkan trade took part in the trading business in Belgrade. These were Ottomans, Ragusians traders from Dubrovnik), Greeks, Tzintzars, Armenians, Jews, Serbs, and other Balkan peoples.<sup>5</sup>

The multiconfessional and multiethnic structure of the Belgrade trading business was a product of both Ottoman tolerance and the legal acts of that time.

2 Traian Stoianovich, *Between East and West: The Balkan and Mediterranean Worlds*, vol. 2, *Economies and Societies: Traders, Towns and Households*, New Rochelle 1992, pp. 1-77.

3 Suraiya Faroqhi, "Bosnian Merchants in the Adriatic", in Koller and Karpat (eds.), *Ottoman Bosnia* (Note 1), pp. 225-239.

4 Slavko Gavrilović, *Prilog istoriji trgovine i migracije Balkan- Podunavlje XVIII i XIX stoleća*, Beograd 1969; Slavko Gavrilović, Ivan Jakšić, and Sreta Pecinjački (eds.), *Gradja o balkanskim trgovcima u Ugarskoj XVIII I XIX veka*, Beograd 1985.

5 Radovan Samardžić, "Beograd u međjunarodnoj trgovini XVI i XVII veka", in Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beograda 1*, Beograd 1974, pp. 359-375; Vasa Čubrilović, "Razvoj privrede 1740-1788", in Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beograda 1*, Beograd 1974, pp. 690-692.

As stated by Stojan Novaković, trade was free according to the 1793 Sultan's edict (Hatisherif).<sup>6</sup>

Testimonies of the protagonists of Belgrade commercial life were found in numerous documents from Belgrade Court archives and administration from the first decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, a number of memoirs often mention merchants and craftsmen from different religious communities. Mixed collaboration and communication among tradesmen and craftsmen from different communities was not completely interrupted even during fierce war clashes. Thus, at the time of the First Serbian Uprising, from 1806 to 1813, it was often stated that a large number of Ottomans were banished and murdered, but certain merchants and craftsmen managed to stay. Lazar Arsenijević Batalaka points out that initially an important part of trade was managed by the Jews since Serbs were busy with the war.<sup>8</sup> Maksim Evgenović provides an example illustrating the crafts and trade in Belgrade. During the First Serbian Uprising, he first started learning the tailoring craft from a Sephardi Jew in Belgrade, who also thought him Spanish. After that Evgenović moved on to become an apprentice of a convert Turk, where he also learned to speak Turkish. Later on, while changing occupations, he trades, collaborates, and establishes friendly connections with Belgrade Turks.<sup>9</sup> The case of Maksim Evgenović is a good example of how the trade and everyday communication used to be carried out among the population of Belgrade. Religion was not a limiting factor in the making of business arrangements.

A particularly important period in the history of Belgrade trade and crafts was the period between 1815 and 1867, when Belgrade was under both Serbian and Ottoman jurisdiction and when this twofold government created all aspects of the cultural life.<sup>10</sup> Thanks to the specific legal position they had, the co-existence of the Ottoman and the Serbian governments was a contributing factor in the development of the Belgrade's multicultural character. A good illustration of this was presented by an English traveler, Andrew Archibald Paton, in his description of the convergence point

6 Stojan Novaković, *Vaskrs države srpske: političko-istorijska studija o Prvom srpskom ustanku 1804-1813*, Arandjelovac-Beograd 2002, pp. 24-25.

7 Branko Peruničić, *Beogradski sud: 1819-1839*, Beograd 1964; Branko Peruničić, *Uprava varoši Beograda: 1820-1912*, Beograd 1970.

8 Lazar Arsenijević Batalaka, *Istorija srpskog ustanka I*, Beograd 1979, p. 253.

9 Maksim Evgenović, *Životopis*, Budimpešta 1877, pp. 9-10; 19-20, 31-33.

10 On Ottoman-Serbian Belgrade 1815-1867, see Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beograda 2*, Beograd 1974.

of the Serbian and the Ottoman parts of the city: “In the centre of the town is an open square, which forms a sort of line of demarcation between the crescent and the cross. On the one side, several large and good houses have been constructed by the wealthiest senators, in the German manner, with flaring new white walls and bright green shutter-blinds. On the other side is a mosque, and dead old garden walls, with walnut trees and Levantine roofs peeping up behind them”.<sup>11</sup>

In the period between 1815 and 1864, trade was one of the most important economic activities. The dual, Ottoman and Serbian, government in Belgrade was very beneficial to the development of the economic and commercial çarşi. This is attested to by Nićifor Ninković, who clearly states that in such complex conditions neither the Serbs nor the Ottomans were any position to “pressure” the merchants and craftsmen, allowing them to continue working unhindered.<sup>12</sup> Ninković also brings a precise image of the ethnic structure of the Belgrade’s economy during the first decades of the nineteenth century. He points out that the first among the Belgrade’s barbers was an Armenian, while also mentioning the great solidarity of the Tzintzar merchants.<sup>13</sup>

What contributed to the specific multicultural character of Belgrade trade was its geographical position. Belgrade was a city on the border between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy. An important part of the trade between the two countries was done through Belgrade, which caused it to become an important location for the transit of various types of goods. The Belgrade trade was characterized not only by the land routes but also the trading routes which went over the Sava and Danube Rivers. The goods from Bosnia were delivered by the Sava, while the Danube allowed communication and trading in the area from Vienna to Vidin. The specificity of the trade in Belgrade was also influenced by the intense over-the-border collaboration with neighboring Zemun in the Habsburg Monarchy. Strong communication, as well as the most varied trading, existed between Zemun and Belgrade for centuries. The customs houses in these two cities were extremely busy throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, which is evidenced in the numerous archived sources.<sup>14</sup>

11 Andrew Archibald Paton, *Servia, Youngest Member of the European Family: or, a Residence in Belgrade and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior during the years 1843 and 1844*, London 1845, p. 49.

12 Nićifor Ninković, *Živni opisanija moja*, Nolit, Beograd 1986.

13 Ninković, *Živniopisanija moja* (Note 12), pp. 91-92.

14 Gavrilović, Jakšić, and Pecinjački (eds.), *Gradja o balkanskim trgovcima* (Note 4).



A report on the trading business from 1832 states that Belgrade was supplied with goods from Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Serres, Trieste and Dubrovnik, the Habsburg Monarchy, Hamburg and Leipzig.<sup>15</sup> Descriptions of the goods show that, among others, Belgrade was supplied with Czech porcelain and glass, with wrought iron objects from Graz, colonial goods from Trieste, silk and cotton products from Tzarigrad, oil and olives from Epirus, salt, salted fish and brandy from Vallachia and Bulgaria. The traded items from different countries of origin listed here, from the Ottoman Empire and European states, contributed to the formation of the cultural identity of the citizens of Belgrade—from their clothes to the nutritional culture. At the same time, they clearly showed that trade helped overcoming the borders and enabled a cross-cultural process.

### **Zerek: The Belgrade Trades and Crafts Çarşı**

Places of trade were concentrated around çarşis. Çarşı was a characteristic feature of Ottoman Balkan towns.<sup>16</sup> It was a place of trade and cultural exchange, an intercultural place where contact between different religious and ethnic groups was enabled. In the urbanistic sense, çarşis represented the important locations, which were the common meeting points for people from different parts of the city—from different mahalas. They were created as the places of merchant-and-craft economy, which determined the domination of economic and financial relations. But at the same time, a çarşı was also a social place—a juncture and a source of different information about the current events in the city or state. Therefore, the market area was the main place for the crossing of cultures and creation of common culture in the Ottoman Balkans.

Belgrade çarşı is an example showing culture-crossing processes. It will be analyzed bearing in mind the description of what it looked like in the nineteenth century and through identification of its ethnic and social structure, position in the urban tissue of the city, and testimony of creation and usage of unique cultural patterns. It is also important to note that market çarşı was not the only place of contact of members of different religious and national communities in Belgrade, but other places, such as the Velika pijaca (Great Market), the harbor on the Sava River, Kalemegdan Park and city

15 Peruničić, *Uprava varoši Beograda* (Note 7), pp. 81-83.

16 Vladimir Macura, *Çaršija i gradski centar: razvoj središta varoši i grada Srbije XIX i prve polovine XX veka*, Niš-Kragujevac 1984.

fountains, were both meeting points and places of conflict. This is why market čarši should be considered not only as an actual place, but also as a paradigm of cultural interface in Belgrade, because the entire city used to be a single, specific zone of commerce.

The multiethnicity and multiconfessionality of Belgrade trade and craft were spatially defined, as well. During the Ottoman rule, up to the second half of the nineteenth century, Belgrade was a typical Ottoman military border town.<sup>17</sup> The military fortress on the Danube crag was surrounded by the town (varoš), which used to be encompassed by a wooden fence. The Ottoman part of Belgrade was, therefore, clearly enclosed within a fence, which separated it from the surrounding area with the predominantly Serbian village inhabitants. The inhabitants lived in mahalas, and up to the nineteenth century the majority were Muslims. Therefore, Belgrade was dominated by Islamic religious constructions; so, for example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were as many as fourteen mosques.<sup>18</sup> There was one church for Orthodox Christian inhabitants,<sup>19</sup> whereas Sephardic Jews inhabited Jališa, where they had a synagogue.<sup>20</sup>

Places of trade in Belgrade moved at the time of the Ottoman rule. The main marketplace in the seventeenth century was in Donja čarši, in the vicinity of today's Cara Dusana Street.<sup>21</sup> There were also bezistans, domed marketplaces. Christian čarši was isolated around the church of St. Archangel Michael. Changes in political relations, war conquests, and demolitions of Belgrade brought about some changes in both urban structure and the position of the čarši. What had been the most important place of trade was gradually marginalized, and a new central čarši was formed at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

The new main trade street–čarši connected different religious communities and stretched along the line from the Serbian varoš. Branislav Nušić divided this street into three parts, the first one from the Saborna Church to today's Kralja Petra Street;

17 Divna Djurić-Zamolo, *Beograd kao orijentalna varoš pod Turcima 1521-1867. Arhitektonsko-urbanistička studija*, Beograd 1977.

18 Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, "Geografičesko-statičesko opisanije Srbije", *Danica, zabavnik za godinu 1827* (1827), pp. 42-43.

19 Branko Vujović, *Saborna crkva u Beogradu*, Beograd 1996.

20 Ženi Lebl, *Do "konačnog rešenja": Jevreji u Beogradu 1521-1942*, Beograd 2001, pp. 226-228.

21 Djurić-Zamolo, *Beograd* (Note 17), pp. 188-189; 192-193; 196-198; 209.

the second, central and the main part Zerek; and the third one in Dorćol.<sup>22</sup> Zerek was the central part of this trade zone, whose surrounding areas were mostly inhabited by Muslims until mid nineteenth century. There was also the Zerek Mosque, today better known as the Barjakli Mosque.<sup>23</sup>

The location of the *çarşi* clearly shows that it was formed as a point of contact and connection of various communities. This is also clearly seen from its urban position and significance. This was the longest street in Belgrade, enabling a more dynamic town communication. Judging by the analyses of the existent Belgrade urban plans, it was formed through connection of different city mahalas, which would imply that it emerged primarily due to the needs of tradesmen and townspeople

The urban position of the *çarşi* indicates that it was a meeting point of different cultures, a common street used by inhabitants of various mahalas. This is what travelogues also mention, noticing not only the diversity of inhabitants in the street, but also domination of certain groups in some parts of the street.

The multiconfessional and multiethnic appearance of the *çarşi* was described by a number of travel writers. Joakim Vujić describes the entire *çarşi* as very rich, with numerous merchant and craft shops, which used to sell both European and Eastern goods.<sup>24</sup> The German travel writer Otto Dubislav von Pirch wrote in 1829, “As for the town ... it is just a row of low wooden shops with roofs made of shingle, protruding in the front. Another low floor above the roof is rarely seen. Serbian, Greek and Turkish tradesmen sit in these shops next to each other, there you can see beautiful English and Turkish fabrics, goods of all kinds, everything very tastefully spread and arranged in the small and dark space. Apart from the tradesmen, in those similar shops there are also craftsmen, they are inside or sitting on the wide stair. Baker, grocer, sellers of roasted meat and fish have brought their goods onto the shop door and they cook ... Only café owners and barbers work indoors ...”<sup>25</sup> The *çarşi* had not changed much three decades later, when it was visited by Felix Kanitz, whom these shops reminded of Turkish Bazaars.<sup>26</sup>

22 Branislav Nušić, *Stari Beograd*, Beograd 1984, pp. 12-20.

23 Djurić-Zamolo, *Beograd* (Note 17), pp. 23-25.

24 Joakim Vujić, *Putešestvije po Srbiji*, knj. 1, Beograd 1901, p. 27.

25 Otto von Pirch, *Reise in Serbien im Spaetherbst 1829*, Erster Theil, Berlin 1830, pp. 72-73.

26 Felix Kanitz, *Serbien. Historisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1859-1868*, Leipzig 1868, p. 446.

The presence of shop owners, tradesmen, and craftsmen of different nationalities in Zerek can also be seen in well-known archives. The craftsmen used to be an integral part of every Ottoman çarşı, and they were traditionally organized into guilds.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes, the members of specific religions used to dominate certain crafts. Vuk Karadžić wrote about the differentiation and domination of the Turks within certain guilds: “[T]hey also have noble crafts, which only Turks can practice, for example, a Serb cannot be a farrier (who fashions horse shoes), a tabak (Bārber), a saddler (Riemer), nor a kazaz (gombar), and a barber or a shoemaker with great difficulty. In addition to these crafts that are not free for all to learn, there is also tailoring, weapon-making, sliver-smithing, and bakery (bread-making); while neither of these can be a leather-worker”.<sup>28</sup> But it is plain from the known nineteenth century documents that the guilds in Belgrade were represented not only by individual religions, but were also multiconfessional. The political changes and strengthening of the Serbian state were certainly a contributing factor in the increased liberties and the unified organization of craftsmen of different religions. Therefore, in the income tax lists of the Belgrade’s guilds in the 1860s, it can be seen that both the Christians and the Jews used to work within the same guilds.<sup>29</sup>

The multiethnicity can clearly be perceived in the detailed register of Belgrade coffee shops from 1860. This is where one can review the structure of the owners and the arrangement within the town. Zerek was characterized by the greatest diversity of café owners. There were, among other, coffee shops owned by the Jewish brothers Ozerovic and Haim Davidovic; by a Turk, Jahail Karaoglan; and Ottoman administration, by a Tzintzar, Nića Kiki; and a Serb, Marija Maca (Živko Petrović’s widow).<sup>30</sup> The religion of the coffeehouse owners in Belgrade did not determine the religious structure of their patrons. The coffeehouses represented a very important place in the cultural life of the Ottoman Empire, where the culture of conversation, coffee drinking, and food were cherished.<sup>31</sup> But the Belgrade coffeehouses used

27 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople Under the Ottomans*, London-New York I.B. Tauris, 2009.

28 Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Opisanije Srbije*, Beograd 1989, pp. 14-15.

29 Peruničić, *Uprava varoši Beograda* (Note 7), p. 443.

30 Peruničić, *Uprava varoši Beograda* (Note 7), p. 417.

31 Ekrem Işin, “Cofeehouses as places of conversation”, in Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *The illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, Würzburg 2003, pp. 199-208.

to serve alcohol, as well, which led to frequent confrontations between Serbs and Ottomans.

The atmosphere in the Belgrade market *çarşi* is well illustrated in the drawings of Anastas Jovanović and Felix Kanitz. In Jovanović's drawing one can see a typically Ottoman market street with street vendors, characteristic architecture, and the urban landscape with a mosque.<sup>32</sup> A very similar atmosphere is also presented by Felix Kanitz. In his book *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*, there are pictures of two scenes from the market *çarşi*.<sup>33</sup> In one, there is a Turkish merchant smoking a *chibouk* in front of his store in a busy street, while the other represents a scene from a weapons store. Kanitz writes that selling and browsing through weapons is the favorite kind of male trade in Belgrade,<sup>34</sup> and therefore his drawing undoubtedly illustrates a characteristic city scene.

Along with *Zerek*, for the purpose of trade, there were also *hans* (roadhouses), where goods were brought. The owners and users of these *hans* were members of various religions. The *hans* were usually named after their owners, so we have Daut's *han*, Topal-Nasko's *han*, Davičo's *han*, and Krstić's *han*. Some *hans* were named after the ethnicity of their owners, such as *Tzintzar han* or *Turkish han*. The *hans* used to be located close to the *çarşi*, because their existence was closely connected to trade. This is why the *hans* used to be a very important place for meetings and conversation. For the merchants who came to Belgrade, this is where they would perform a part of their buying and selling activities, exchange money, as well as personal experiences, but they would also bring news from different parts of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>35</sup> As time passed by, the *hans* providing these services turned into hotels, and the owners of these hotels were Turks and the Serbian rulers Prince Mihajlo and Prince Aleksandar Obrenovic.

Multiethnicity of Belgrade *çarşi* was largely a reflection of the ethnic and religious structure of its inhabitants. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the population of Belgrade was most diverse. For example, Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski testifies in 1868-69, that the population of city consisted of the Balkan-Orthodox and Jewish inhabitants.<sup>36</sup>

32 See Cat. No. 319: Pavle Vasić, *Anastas Jovanović (1817-1899), katalog radova*, Galerija Matice srpske, Novi Sad 1964, p. 61.

33 Felix Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*, Erster Band, Leipzig 1904, p. 41.

34 Kanitz, *Serbien. Historisch-ethnographische Reisestudien* (Note 26), p. 446.

35 Nušić, *Stari Beograd* (Note 22), p. 36.

36 Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski, *Zapisi o Srbiji 1868-1869*, Novi Sad 1994, p. 94.

During the year 1865 there was a registration of inventory of the central part of Belgrade. It was ascertained at that time that there were 535 Serbian houses and 490 shops; 724 Turkish houses and 429 shops, 189 Jewish houses and 27 shops, and 3 Roma houses.<sup>37</sup> The data clearly showed ethnic and religious mixture, demonstrated trading and the service industry as the main occupations of the inhabitants, and indicated that Belgrade çarşi was a place of cultural interface and crossing.

In 1868, the Turks left Belgrade, and this was when the changes in the shops' ownerships occurred. From that point on, the Zerek market was dominated by the Tzintzar/ Vlach, Serbian, and Jewish merchants, who would not change the models of trade and their shops until World War I

### **Crossing of Cultures and the Creation of the Common Cultural Models**

Multiethnicity of trade, common places of contact and communication, as well as the Ottoman law provided a setting for the introduction of common cultural patterns for the inhabitants of Balkan towns.<sup>38</sup> Whereas faith and religious life were typical for every community and provided the foundation of Muslim, Christian, or Jewish identity, the culture of conduct and costume were very similar. This was the consequence of living in such close quarters within the Ottoman cities, as well as the mutual private and public communication. Even though Ottoman laws regulated usage of color and fabric,<sup>39</sup> they were more often than not disobeyed.<sup>40</sup> Be that as it may, it seems that non-Muslims consistently abided only by the rule of not using green color.

What attests to the creation of a unique cultural pattern in Balkan towns, including Belgrade, is perception of the Serbian writer Vuk Karadžić. Vuk Karadžić's view of the Serbs is of great importance here. Vuk, who came from the village population, perceived Serbs primarily as peasants, whereas he considered the townsfolk as an estranged part of the Serbian people. He says that "the few Serbs living in towns

37 Peruničić, *Uprava varoši Beograda*, (Note 7), pp. 576-577.

38 See Nenad Makuljević, "From Ideology to Universal Principles: Art History and Visual Culture of the Balkans in the Ottoman Empire", in Jaynie Anderson (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, The Miegunyah Press 2009, pp. 99-101.

39 Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997), pp. 403-425.

40 Aleksandar Fotić, "Izmedju zakona i njegove primene" (Note 1), pp. 64-71.

as tradesmen and repairmen (mostly skimmers, dressmakers, silversmiths) are called townspeople; and as they dress like Turks and live by their customs, and during riots and wars either lock themselves in the towns with Turks or flee to Germany with money, so therefore they are not only despised by the Serbian people, but they cannot even be counted as Serbs”.<sup>41</sup>

Vuk’s radical nationalistic stance clearly testifies to a division between the town and village cultures, as well as to a common cultural model of the townspeople. The state of affairs which he recorded was by all means a consequence of many centuries of cohabitation and the dominant Ottoman cultural model in the state. Vuk’s stance that Serbs dress the same way as Turks found confirmation in Joakim Vujić’s drawings. Vujić visited Belgrade in 1826, when he precisely described and drew both the male and female costume of the Belgrade townsfolk.<sup>42</sup> What is evident here is the usage of the Ottoman model of costume, where the fez is a dominant element. It is particularly important that Vujić’s drawings show that even the family of the Serbian prince Obrenović at the Požarevac residence accepted the identical dress model, which was clearly different from Serbian village costume.

The shared life and communication between the members of different religions and nationalities is witnessed in the diary of Anka Konstantinović, who was a member of the ruling Serbian family, the Obrenović’s. She provides evidence about the intense meetings between Serbian and Turkish women in Belgrade. The important positions in this meetings were occupied by the “first ladies” of both Serbian and Ottoman Belgrade—the Pasha’s wife and Princess Ljubica. They used to visit each other and exchange gifts, while Serbian women attended the wedding of the Pasha’s son in the Pasha’s residence.<sup>43</sup>

The common life of Serbs, Turks, and Jews in the trading town of Belgrade contributed to the exchange of experience and usage of the same cultural patterns. This is what the Austrian travel writer of Jewish origin, Sigfried Kapper, also wrote about. He recorded a young Serbian lady saying that they often socialized with Turkish women, who were particularly skilled when it came to scarf embroidery.<sup>44</sup>

41 Karadžić, *Opisanije Srbije* (Note 28), p. 24.

42 Vujić, *Putešestvije* (Note 24), pp. 38-39.

43 Radmila Gikić Petrović (ed.), *Dnevnik Anke Obrenović (1836-1838)*, Novi Sad 2007, p. 148.

44 Siegfried Kapper, *Sudslavische Wanderungen*, Band I, Leipzig 1853, p. 312.

Kapper also recorded his encounter with Jews in Dorćol, as well as the similarities and differences of their costumes: “I suddenly noticed that the faces and the costumes around us were somehow different from the ones I’ve been seeing thus far. Almost all women and girls were dressed as Serbian ladies, but some of them were using silk scarves wrapped around small fezzes trying to cover their hair a little. Others were using golden ducats to decorate their long black braids, as if trying to put their riches on display where everybody could see. The men were dressed in long, dark gabardines, which were different than the Turkish ones, while beneath them they wore some sort of striped trousers. On their heads some black cloth caps, while others wore turbans or fezzes”.<sup>45</sup> Kapper’s texts show that the formation and usage of common cultural models were brought about through direct contact between people belonging to different religious and ethnic communities.

Every ethnic and religious community in Belgrade had its specific customs, but also elements of a collective culture. Saturday nights, which is when they would leave their houses, were observed by the Sephardi Jews. This is evidenced by Hajim S. Davičo in his description of a Saturday in Belgrade’s Jaliija, “when Jews went outside with their families to Jaliija, and there they ate boiled eggs and cakes, washing it all down with good rakia ... All these people were dressed in clean and colorful clothes on Saturdays; while their faces were bright from a special kind of happiness and content. The disheveled hair and the dark eye-lashes were no more covered by a greasy fez, but a new one from Stambol, dashingly crooked on the head ... In those days, the Jews were still dressing according to the eastern fashion and colors, and their beautiful figures were much more visible then, than they are today in talmas (cloak) of my fellow tribesmen”.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to costume, there were other common characteristics in everyday and festive life in Belgrade. One of these was the music. Even though there was a clear difference between the city and the rural musical styles, as well as the traditional dances of different ethnic groups, the city had always been acceptable to Ottoman music as well. Joakim Vujić writes about attending the wedding of the daughter of Hadži Nikola Konstantinoć Brzak, the Serbian commercial representative in Belgrade. On that occasion, vizier music was playing during the meal, while the singer was singing in Turkish and Albanian.<sup>47</sup>

45 Kapper, *Sudslavische Wanderungen* (Note 44), pp. 329-330.

46 Vasa Pavković (ed.), Hajim S. Davičo, *Priče sa Jaliije*, Beograd: 2000, pp. 19-20.

47 Vujić, *Putešestvije* (Note 24), p. 37.



An interesting example, which speaks about the acceptance and the usage of the common cultural models in everyday life, is provided by the reports about auctions of the objects left behind by the Belgrade citizens who had passed on. An example of this is the property of Doctor Bartholomeo Kunibert, which was bought by Serbs, Muslims, and Jews in 1839.<sup>48</sup>

Moreover, also occupying a prominent place in the creation of a common culture were decisions made by the political authorities. As a town in the Ottoman Empire, Belgrade accepted and abided by the Ottoman laws. Tanzimat reforms and changes in relation to the Christians also affected the citizens of Belgrade. During 1829 there was an edict on change of costume and the obligatory wearing of a fez in the Belgrade fortress. Soon thereafter fez, as a symbol of citizen's equality, was also accepted by Serbs, so it became one of the main distinctive features of Belgrade men's costume. The fez also became one of the best sold products, and according to S. Kapper, an original Stambol fez was considered to be the best one.<sup>49</sup>

It is interesting that in some cases decisions related to the culture of conduct were made both by Ottoman and Serbian government. Thus, during 1841, the authorities passed a decision on general rules of conduct: cattle was to be kept off the town streets, people were obliged to remove garbage in front of houses and shops, and smoking was banned in the street, during both day and night. In these rules it was clearly stated that they referred to Serbs, Turks, and the Jews alike. If someone was to violate this decision, the Serbs and the Jews would be punished by Serbian authorities, whereas the Turks would be responsible to the Turkish ones.<sup>50</sup> This decision was an important example of common Ottoman-Serbian work on maintenance of hygiene and public order, as well as on formulation of rules of conduct in the town.

The example of Belgrade *çarşi* shows the importance of trading zones in the creation of common cultural identity in the Ottoman Balkans. The world of trade was an open place for members of different religious and ethnic communities, so trade of various goods also enabled a cultural transfer and the crossing of different cultures. At the same time, prominent trading towns, like Belgrade, had not only local importance but were also significant points in the cultural network of the Ottoman Balkans.

48 Miroslav Jovanović et al. (eds.), *Živeti u Beogradu: 1837-1841: dokumenta uprave grada Beograda*, Beograd 2003, pp. 296-298.

49 Kapper, *Sudslavische Wanderungen* (Note 44), p. 109.

50 Peruničić, *Uprava varoši Beograda* (Note 7), p. 155.

