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# QUARANTINE STATIONS AND SASTANCI ON THE BORDERS IN SERBIA (1829–1839)\*

**Abstract**: Between 1829 and 1839 a quarantine system was established and developed in the Principality of Serbia to protect the population from contagious diseases threatening from abroad. The most important element was the quarantine station, and the border *sastanci* (trading posts) were important as economic and sanitary institutions. This paper focuses on the establishment of the first quarantine stations in the Pashalik of Belgrade and later on in the Principality of Serbia. It will show when the quarantine stations and *sastanci* were established, what their role was and how they operated, which laws they were regulated by. The duration of quarantine is also reconstructed. Special attention will be paid to the duration of the quarantine and the procedures followed. The paper is based on unpublished and published archival materials, and on relevant literature.

**Keywords**: Principality of Serbia, Prince Miloš, quarantine, sastanak, bubonic plague, border, cordon sanitaire.

Serbia is located in the central part of the Balkan peninsula, a position with many benefits but also burdened by political history. Serbia and its population were not safe from its impact on the public health. The bubonic plague, also known as the Black Death, spread through the Balkans and medieval Serbia between 1346 and 1351. The plague swept across the Balkans again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and this had serious consequences for its demography. There were at least five waves of the plague in the eighteenth century, with epidemics lasting for several years. It was during this century, which witnessed the most frequent plague epidemics in Serbia, that the first quarantine stations emerged. Due to Austrian rule over the Kingdom of Serbia between 1718 and 1739, the first quarantines were established in 1718 in Paraćin and Crna Bara, located on the

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For more, see: Ivanić 1937: 15–42; Hrabak 1981: 5–39; Šešum 2021: 12–15.

border with the Ottoman Empire. Later, in 1733, the quarantine in Crna Bara was moved to Prnjavor.<sup>2</sup> The Austrian period was also the first time sanitary regulations were implemented in the Kingdom of Serbia. These regulations clearly defined quarantine practices. They were inherited from Venetian regulations and adjusted to the needs of the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1770, all of these regulations were published as part of the General Norm of the Sanitary Service, which had been preceded by Plague Patent of 1710, Charles VI's Patent of October 22, 1728, establishing a cordon sanitaire, and regulations from 1731 regarding the duties of officials working in quarantine stations.<sup>3</sup>

With the end of Habsburg rule over the former Kingdom of Serbia and the establishment of a border on the Danube and the Sava, the short-lived period of organized sanitary service in the area south of the two rivers came to an end. There was no cordon sanitaire in the Ottoman Empire, that was organized through quarantine. The semi-autonomy of the Serbian people in the Pashalik of Belgrade—established after the Second Serbian Uprising, based on an oral agreement between Prince Miloš and Marashli Ali Pasha, and confirmed by *firmans* issued in the winter of 1815/1816—did not mean the Serbs could establish quarantines independently. Despite the Serbs concern over it, the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade was still an administrative line separating the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In order to organize a cordon sanitaire independently, it was necessary to have precisely defined state borders separating the autonomous region from the rest of the empire.

## 1. The First Quarantine Stations

The establishment of the Principality of Serbia, enabled by the Porte's legal documents (*Hatt-i-sharifs* from 1829, 1830, and 1833), and the delineation of its borders paved the way for quarantine stations to be established along them. Although the first *Hatt-i-sharif* did not provide new rights to the Serbian people, and instead repeated the earlier Russian–Turkish provisions,<sup>6</sup> it nevertheless guaranteed the fulfillment of Serbian demands. Although the Serbs' right to build quarantine stations along the border was not mentioned at all in the *Hatt-i-sharif* of 1829, it seems that it led to the establishment of these institutions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ivanić 1937: 15, 26, 28; Đorđević 2016: 29–36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Jesner 2021: 31–48; Bronza 2019: 177–181; Jagodić 2021: 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ljušić 2022: 36, 84–86.

There are several studies in the recent literature about the Serbian cordon sanitaire between 1830 and 1839: Petrović 1897: 349–351; Mihailović 1937: 29–88; Mihailović 1961; Stojančević 1952: 61–85; Stojančević 1975: 3–10; Živković 1973: 53–78; Petković 2008: 33–36; Milojević 2023. Even with such extensive literature about how the quarantines and *sastanci* (trading posts) were organized, many questions remain about the history of the Serbian border cordon during this period, including some very basic ones such as when the first quarantine stations and a permanent border cordon were established; how long the quarantine period lasted when the *stastanci* established and where on the Serbian border were they located; what were the dynamics of their operation during the late 1840s; and many other questions. Thus after a detailed analysis of the archival material, it is necessary to offer a new overview of the development of the Serbian border sanitary service during the 1830s to address all of these questions. There are many errors in the cited literature, so commentary has been avoided, since it would require a considerable amount of work.

Article 8 of the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), Article 5 and the Separate Act of the Ackermann Convention, Article 6 of the Treaty of Adrianople (Ljušić 1984: 1–20; Ljušić 2022: 88).

for sanitary protection on the borders of the Pashalik of Belgrade. Encouraged by the fact that the Serbian demands would soon be fulfilled, and the Serbian state would establish a border, with a yet uncertain direction, Prince Miloš took steps to enact health safety measures to protect the population under his control.

The idea to establish quarantines along the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade emerged in the latter part of 1829 and was initiated by an outbreak of plague spreading through the area of Vidin. Two quarantine stations were built around the same time: one in Poreč and another in Cuprija. The quarantine in Poreč was built in the latter part of November 1829.7 Unlike in Poreč, opening a station in Ćuprija was somewhat more complicated. The Turks and Arnauts living there were opposed to any quarantine measures along the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade. The Belgrade vizier had to be informed about the directive to establish a station in Cuprija and his approval had to be obtained, at least in principle. Although the vizier agreed with Prince Milos's directive, due to the presence of the Arnauts and the pasha's army in Niš, he dared not issue a permit without the approval of the Porte.<sup>8</sup> The vizier suggested the prince obtain the permit of the authorities in Niš, while Mileta Radojković and Milosav Zdravković were on their way to establish a quarantine in Cuprija. After they arrived, they informed the Turks of Prince Miloš's decision. No quarantine building was built, and instead three Turkish buildings with fifteen rooms were rented. This was how the quarantine in Cuprija was established, and the quarantine regulations were applied immediately. Similar to Poreč, the guards were deployed along the borders of Temnić and Resava to prevent free passage of the population and to direct them to the quarantine in Cuprija.9

The Turks and Arnauts who remained in Ćuprija soon openly expressed their frustrations caused by the quarantine due to financial, religious, and political circumstances. Their main market was in Paraćin, and their mills were also located there. Given that a tenday quarantine was required at each border crossing, the financial concerns behind their dissatisfaction are clear. Also, they were not prepared to have their children quarantined alongside 'infidels' or to comply with their measures. Apart from that, the more clearly defined border between the Pashalik of Belgrade and the area south of its borders made it more difficult to maintain contact with their compatriots. The situation was resolved by a letter from the Belgrade vizier in which he stated that they would be expelled south of the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade if they failed to comply with the quarantine rules. <sup>10</sup>

Only a few notes have been preserved about the Poreč and Ćuprija quarantines after they were opened. It is certain that the quarantine period in Ćuprija immediately after its establishment was ten days. What else went on at this quarantine until the second half of 1831 is not known, but it appears that quarantine regulations were not applied for some time. The quarantine period was most likely abolished or reduced to one day in the first half of 1830. The favorable epidemiological situation in the regions south of the Pashalik of Belgrade would suggest this. Political circumstances and dissatisfaction among the Turks

The State Archives of Serbia, Belgrade, Chancellery of the Principality, Požarevačka nahija sa Porečom (=XXI), 976. (DAS, KK).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> DAS, KK, Beogradski konzulat (=VII), 632.

<sup>9</sup> DAS, KK, XXXI, 494.

DAS, KK, VII, 634; DAS, KK, Ćuprijska nahija (=XXXI), 574; Šešum 2016: 142.

and Albanians also had an influence. However, this does not mean the station itself had been closed. It remained there throughout 1830, and only the quarantine period was abolished or significantly reduced.<sup>11</sup>

Unlike the station in Ćuprija, how the Poreč quarantine operated appears to be somewhat clearer. It is not known how long the quarantine period was after it was opened, but in May 1830 the quarantine was reduced to only twenty-four hours, where it remained until July 1830 when it again increased to seven days. In the second half of the year, the number of necessary quarantine days was certainly reduced at some point, but it is not known by how much. Also, in early 1830, the Poreč station was relocated and expanded due to flooding. 12

An outbreak of plague in Bucharest at the beginning of 1831, followed by a cholera outbreak throughout almost all of the Principality of Serbia in the middle of that year gave a new impetus to the development of the quarantine system in the principality. The outbreak of plague in Bucharest led to the period in Poreč being extended to seven days for all travelers coming from Wallachia. Travelers from Vidin, where cholera was not yet present, only needed to be quarantined for day and a half (thirty-six hours). When news of the increased spread of cholera arrived in Poreč, the quarantine period there was increased to twenty days. Only the pasha of Ada Kaleh's men were either fully exempt from quarantine or allowed to continue their journey to Belgrade after only one day. The quarantine period remained unchanged in Poreč until early September 1831, when the number of days was decreased to fourteen, then seven, and then raised again to fifteen days after cholera had taken firmer hold in Wallachia.

The station near Ćuprija continued to be used to protect the population in the Pashalik of Belgrade from cholera. The issues that had arisen when the quarantine was established in 1829 appeared again, and the Turks once again opposed the quarantine regulations. In order to keep cholera from spreading to the country, the Turks were forced to remain in quarantine for five days. At one point, the Turkish opposition threatened to escalate into an armed rebellion against Zdravković, who was in charge of implementing the quarantine regulations. Zdravković was forced to take refuge in Ravanica due to the mounting tensions. The Turks were most likely forced to comply with the quarantine regulations once the Serbian prince and the Belgrade vizier took action. By the beginning of December, all those entering the Principality of Serbia via Ćuprija were in full compliance with the quarantine decree. 17

By early September, it became evident that quarantining was not particularly successful at preventing the spread of cholera, as was the case in Aleksinac. The quarantine period was

Turks and Albanians not adhering to the quarantine regulations was reported in a letter from Milosav Zdravković to Prince Miloš from mid-August 1931. He said he had warned the Turks about the new epidemics, and that they would have to stop meeting with people from Paraćin. DAS, KK, XXXI, 574; VII, 634; Šešum 2021: 15–16; Mihailović 1937: 20–30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> DAS, KK, XXI, 981, 1010, 1018, 1039, 1052.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Mihailović 1961: 1–37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> DAS, KK, XXI, 1128; Plavšić, Milovanović 2012: 169.

Mihailović 1961: 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> DAS, KK, XXI, 1254.

DAS, KK, XXXI, 574, 575, 576, 577; DAS, KK, Turci sa strane knezu Milošu (=XXX), 773; Marković, Mišković 2010: 529.

soon shortened, and it was decided that in the future the quarantine period would last only twenty-four hours. This was motivated partly by a lack of storage space at the Ćuprija station. <sup>18</sup>

Mitigation of the epidemic of cholera made quarantines and their role less important in the Principality of Serbia. As a result, there is little archival information available about the Ćuprija and Poreč stations after 183. However, it is clear that both stations were active later on. Ilija Čarapić remained in charge of the Poreč station, and after mid-1833 Mateja Hristić was in charge of the one in Ćuprija. <sup>19</sup> Eventually both stations become obsolete after the areas surrounding them become part of the Principality of Serbia following a rebellion, and the nahiyas of Kruševac, Paraćin and Ražanj were annexed to the Principality of Serbia in late 1832 and May 1833, along with a part of the Vidin Sanjak, which was supposed to be annexed to the Principality of Serbia according to the Russian–Turkish commission. <sup>20</sup>

It is important to note that the stations opened in Poreč and Ćuprija in 1829 were among the first founded in the Ottoman Empire. Local authorities had established a quarantine station on the island of Hydra a few years earlier (1818), and there were similar institutions on the islands of Chios, Crete, which were autonomous islands. Two years after the stations were opened in Ćuprija and Poreč, one was established in Constantinople (1831) and around the same time, Mohammed Ali-pasha established stations along the Nile valley and the coast of the Red Sea, and then later in Syria. Inspired by the Austrian practice, Prince Miloš became the first to set up a cordon sanitaire within the Ottoman territory under his control. This area was still fully under Ottoman rule and without autonomy, so these were the first real quarantine stations in the empire. Considering later Ottoman practice, which placed quarantines under the jurisdiction of the local authorities, the stations and the border of the Pashalik of Belgrade were not in opposition. What did cause friction was that the order had been issued by Prince Miloš rather than the vizier of Belgrade. However, after the second *Hatt-i sharif* (1830), the right to impose quarantines became one of the rights of the Serbian people within the autonomous Principality of Serbia, thus fully legalizing the stations opened in 1829.

Austrian sanitary practices and legislation related to it had a greater influence on the establishment and regulation of quarantine stations and quarantine regulations, first in the Pashalik of Belgrade, and then in the Principality of Serbia. In addition, the Austrian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Mihailović 1961: 35–36.

DAS, KK, XXXI, 677; Plavšić, Milovanović 2012: 258–259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ljušić 1984: 30–33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Barlagianis 2020: 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ayalon 2015: 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Hamed-Troyansky 2021: 242–243.

Apart from the quarantines in Ćuprija and Poreč, claims can be found in the literature that in 1831 there were quarantine stations in Belgrade, Golubac and Dobrinja. Of these stations, a similar institution existed only in Belgrade for a short time in 1831 in the second half of August, and it was not a proper quarantine station. It consisted of two warehouses on the Serbian side of the Sava that were used only for storing goods, and travelers from Zemun were not permitted to enter Belgrade during the cholera epidemic. This station was closed in early September. Quarantine stations were never opened at Golubac and Dobra. There was only an order or recommendation issued by Prince Miloš to set up stations in these places after cholera appeared in Belgrade, Smederevo, and Šabac to prevent further transmission to the east, outside the borders of the Principality of Serbia. This order was not implemented, because the cholera epidemic, which was the reason for tightening quarantine measures in the Principality of Serbia, soon subsided. (Mihailović 1961: 10; Stojančević 1968: 111; DAS, KK, Beogradska policija (V), 101; DAS, KK, XXI, 1233).

authorities provided practical assistance to the Serbian authorities in establishing a station in 1829. At the request of Prince Miloš, the head of the station in Zemun sent an experienced officer familiar with quarantine regulations to the Pashalik of Belgrade.<sup>25</sup> The Austrian sanitary authorities were aware that by assisting the Principality of Serbia in organizing quarantine and protections against plague, they were also protecting their own borders.

There are very few sources about how the first quarantines operated. It is known that the Poreč quarantine was run by Stefan Stefanović Tenka. In late August, Ilija Čarapić assisted him and later took over and remained as its head until the station was closed. The only known head of the Ćuprija station was Mateja Hristić, who held the position in the middle of 1833, soon before it was closed. Anta Stepanović is mentioned as being the secretary in 1831. The rules and duties of the officials that were applied during quarantine were prescribed by a temporary decree promulgated by Prince Miloš on August 29, 1831, but its content is unknown. All that is certain is that it relied on similar Austrian regulations, as were later sanitary regulations. The Ćuprija station was intended exclusively for monitoring land traffic, and Poreč was the station for boats sailing along the Danube. Along with fumigating goods and providing people with lodging, the officials of the Poreč and Ćuprija stations were required to issue certificates confirming people had completed the required quarantine period. These certificates facilitated movement within the Pashalik of Belgrade and the Principality of Serbia and also reduced the number of quarantine days required of travelers at the Zemun station, which was the reason the Austrian authorities proposed they be issued.

### 2. A Permanent Cordon Sanitaire on the Border

#### 2. 1. Establishing Quarantine Stations and Sastanci

The establishment of a clearly defined border for the Principality of Serbia was directly related to the issue of the so-called detached *nahiyas*, and until it was resolved, the border could not be demarcated nor could new quarantines be established. After the Russian–Turkish commission completed its work at the end of 1830/1831 and lengthy negotiations, this issue was resolved by the third *Hatt-i sharif* (1833), which, among other things, conceded the disputed territories to Serbia, and a new border was demarcated in late 1833 and early 1834 by the Serbian–Turkish commission. A clear definition, marking, and setup enabled new possibilities for establishing a more permanent sanitary system based on quarantine stations, which were the most important institutions for protecting public health at the border.<sup>30</sup>

When the border was moved south of Aleksinac to Supovac and to Timok, the previously established Ćuprija and Poreč stations were no longer necessary and became just places within the borders of the Principality of Serbia. The new border also required new

<sup>26</sup> Plavšić, Milovanović 2012: 258–259.

<sup>29</sup> DAS, KK, VII, 636; DAS, KK, XXXI, 574.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> DAS, KK, VII, 636.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> DAS, KK, XXI, 1228; DAS, KK, XXXI, 677; Marković, Mišković 2010: 538.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Mihailović 1961: 29.

For more on this and a detailed direction of the border line, see: Ilić 2022: 283-330.

stations. The first and, until 1836, the only established quarantine station was located in Aleksinac. Considering that one of the most important trade routes through the Balkan peninsula passed through there and that most people traveled this way, it is clear why the construction of the Aleksinac quarantine station began as early as the second half of 1834. Correspondence from 1836 mentions equipping the 'old' station, so it is completely clear that construction had been completed by the end of 1834 and the station was operational, but no information about its operations has been found. The quarantine buildings were built at the end of 1834, but the institution itself as a measure of sanitary protection was not established at the border. This is confirmed by a letter from the administrator in Aleksinac from mid-July 1836, which indicates there were buildings for quarantining travelers there, but there was no administration nor was it operating according to its intended purpose.<sup>31</sup>

As is often mentioned in the historiography, the primary instigation behind the establishment of a quarantine and cordon system along the principality's border was the threat of plague, which began slowing approaching its borders in mid-1836.<sup>32</sup> This infectious disease had come to Kavala from Egypt, and from there began spreading toward the Balkan interior in almost every direction along the main roads. 33 Considering the plague first approached Serbia from the southeast, it is obvious why the Aleksinac station was a priority. The outfitting of the old station started in early August. 34 After construction began in the summer of 1836, the Aleksinac station included a mechanic, three barns, an office for officials, four cabins with eight rooms each, a well, storage space for cotton and wool, and a stable for horses. 35 The Belgrade vizier Yusuf Pasha was also interested in establishing a station on the border of the principality, and he received approval from the Porte granting the Serbian prince the right to establish stations along the border. The approval came a month and a half after it opened.<sup>36</sup> The station in Aleksinac officially commenced operations on August 23, 1836<sup>37</sup> according to a proclamation by Prince Miloš, which, in addition to establishing the station, also appointed Nikola Ćefala as the director, Mateja Hristić, the former manager of the Ćuprija quarantine, as the supervisor, and Dimitrije Andrejević, the former secretary of the Aleksinac district, as the quarantine's secretary.<sup>38</sup>

The danger of plague reaching the principality became increasingly likely during the renovations and adaptations of the Aleksinac station, and it became necessary to take further measures to secure the border from all sides. This was done by placing guards and building

DAS, State Council (=DS), Del. protokol br. 1296; DAS, KK, Aleksinačka nahija (=I), 21; Marković, Mišković 2010: 683. In a letter to the State Council, the official at Aleksinac stated that the rooms for the clerks were very small, and therefore he suggests their offices be moved to Aleksinac customs station, and the customs station be moved to the quarantine building. This indicates that the quarantine station was not independently organized. (Stojančević 1952: 68).

For more about the plague epidemic in the late 1830s and its occurrence in the Principality of Serbia, see: Dorđević 1938: 33–38; Mihailović 1937; Milojević 2023: 56–73.

<sup>33</sup> Mihailović 1937: 27; Stojančević 1952: 62–63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> DAS, KK, I, 94, 100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> DAS, KK, I, 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> DAS, KK, Beogradski konak (=VI), 746, 748, 751, 759.

All dates in body of the paper are according to the Gregorian calendar.

DAS, KK, Raspisi i objave (=XXV), 169.

a watchtower. However, since it was also necessary to ensure the movement of people and goods, in early September 1836, Prince Miloš decided to open a quarantine station at Mokra Gora, Bregovo, and at the mouth of the Drina.<sup>39</sup>

Ilija Popović, a member of the State Council, who was responsible for the construction of the station at Mokra Gora, was tasked with finding a place to build it and to present a building plan to the superior whom he considered the most suitable to oversee the construction. He recommended Jovan Mićić for the position. 40 Construction for the Mokra Gora quarantine began in September 1836. The local population was required to provide supplies through a corvée (*kuluk*) system, and only skilled craftsmen were paid. 41 Most of the construction was completed by early October. It was located not far from Mokra Gora in an area called Belo Polje, and it had one large space divided into six rooms, a warehouse for storage, an office for the director, and a guardhouse. 42

In response to reports of the emergence of a 'sudden' disease, which was almost certainly cholera, in Sarajevo, the Mokra Gora quarantine station began operations even before construction was completed. In reaction to the news, on September 20, 1836, Prince Miloš ordered all traffic near the border with Bosnia be directed to this station and all merchants arriving from the Bosnian side should be quarantined at Mokra Gora for twenty-four hours. At this time, the staff that would run this station were appointed. Mateja Hristić, who already had some experience with running a station, was named director, and another five assistants were appointed. <sup>43</sup> The station at Mokra Gora opened its doors in the second half of September 1836, while minor work continued.

While Ilija Popović was establishing the station, Stojan Jovanović, also a member of the State Council, was doing the same but on the opposite side of the border. He was ordered to open a station at Bregovo on another important road to Vidin. Construction for this quarantine station lasted until the second half of November 1836. The Bregovo station operated until November 1837, when the Bregovo and Radujevac stations were merged and the Bregovo station was closed. 44

The fourth quarantine station for road traffic, and the first for river traffic, were opened simultaneously at Rača, through which roads connecting the northern part of Bosnia to the Principality of Serbia crossed and vessels passed by on the Sava. These projects were supervised by Lazar Teodorović, a military colonel, and they were also completed by mid-November 1836.<sup>45</sup>

Once four stations had been built on four sides surrounding the Principality of Serbia to prevent uncontrolled movement along the mainland border, and because the Danube and the Sava were on the Serbian state's northern border, the river traffic on the Danube had to be regulated. The original idea was to establish a quarantine station at Kusjak. 46 However,

42 Radosavljević 2006: 531; Milojević 2023: 97–104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 2063, 2071; Mihailović 1937: 40.

DAS, KK, Jovan Obrenović (=XIV), 1246; DAS, ZMP, 6937.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Radosavljević 2006: 530.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Mihailović 1961: 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> DAS, KK, Negotinska nahija (=XIX), 380, 576; DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 2935.

DAS, KK, Šabačka nahija (=XXXVII), 1533.

On the right bank of the Danube, 10 km north of Negotin.

following a suggestion from Prince Miloš, a lazaret was instead built at Radujevac. It began operating as early as late December 1836.<sup>47</sup>

In 1837, there were three quarantine stations in the Principality of Serbia located along the main land routes, another for both water and land traffic, and one exclusively for river traffic. The increasing danger of plague looming over the Principality of Serbia from the east and south in early 1837 led to another quarantine station opening in 1837. In fact, the *sastanak* in Ljubovija was upgraded to a quarantine station. The directive was given at the end of May 1837, and the work on the construction of cabins and the officials' houses was completed at the end of June when the quarantine station opened.<sup>48</sup>

Despite positive effects for public health, the deployment of guards along the Serbian border, additional fortifications, and placing obstacles to prevent the movement of people and animals, could also have negative economic consequences, especially on those living in the principality's border districts. Accordingly, it was necessary to establish sanitary and economic institutions that would facilitate trade for residents of the Ottoman Empire and the Principality of Serbia while the border was closed. <sup>49</sup> Considering the distances between them, the five quarantine stations established during 1836 could not remain the only locations where goods could be exchanged. Alongside a directive from the beginning of September 1836 to open a quarantine station, a directive was also given to establish two *sastanci*: one at Vrška Čuka and on the Pazar road (near Raška). <sup>50</sup> Although there is no mention of the establishment of a *sastanak* at a location called Vasilijina česma on the Javor mountain, it was yet another task for council member Ilija Popović. Construction of the *sastanak* at Vrška Čuka on the eastern side of the border were completed by the end of November 1836. Approximately at the same time, a *sastanak* on the southwestern part of the border on the Javor mountain, was also completed. <sup>51</sup>

It seems that the construction of the *sastanak* at Raška did not begin immediately after a directive to open a quarantine station and *sastanci* was given. The original directive was also modified to some extent. Instead of building a *sastanak*, at first a sort of quarantine station with nine cabins was built not far from the guardhouse that was meant for the quarantine of merchants and their goods exclusively. Only after these buildings were completed, further construction of the *sastanak* began, and it was completed in mid-March 1837, which is when it began operating.<sup>52</sup> It seems that, from the very beginning, the *sastanak* at Raška would exceed the original plans because construction of a quarantine station began immediately. However, the quarantine station did not start operating at this time, although the buildings were built, and the *sastanak* was soon closed, but this will be addressed later on.

In addition to the decision in mid-1836 about the establishment of two *sastanci* along the Serbian border, the Katun parlatory was abolished in the beginning of December 1836,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 3109, 3178, 3329.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> DAS, KK, Kruševačka nahija (=XVII), 1675, 1776, 1679, 1701; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 2132; Stojančević 1975: 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Stojančević 1951: 29–40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> DAS, DS, 1836, Del. Protokol br. 2063; DAS, KK, XIV, 1246.

DAS, Presents and Pruchases (PO), 38–178; DAS, KK, XXV, 198; DAS, KK, Crnorečka nahija (=XXXVI), 121; DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 2324, 2182; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 660.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> DAS, KK, XIV, 1462, 1503, 1659.

and two new *sastanci* were recorded: one at Gramada and one at Supovac.<sup>53</sup> Early the following year, Prince Miloš issued an order for the official establishment of *sastanci* along the Serbian border, although *sastanci* had already been established in some places. On the basis of that order, the guards at Pandiral and Jankova Klisura could allow merchants and wares to pass, but *sastanci* were also established there.<sup>54</sup> Although it was not stated in this order, a *sastanak* was also established at Loznica's Ada Ciganlija on the Drina, but it was soon moved to Smrdan (now Banja Koviljača).<sup>55</sup> The plan for the *sastanci* was completed, and by March 1837, after the *sastanak* was moved to Banja Koviljača, there were nine altogether. Apart from Vrška Čuka and the *sastanak* at the Raška border watchtower, there were also *sastanci* along the Serbian border at Ljubovija, Banja Koviljača, Vasilijina česma, Gramada, Pandiral, Supovac, and Jankova Klisura.

The first *sastanci* established in late 1836 and early 1837 did not last long. The worsening epidemic in the surrounding areas of the Ottoman Empire in the middle of 1837 and an increasing number of reports about plague in places not far from the Serbian border led to the complete closing of all *sastanci* on the border of the Principality of Serbia. Most officials who were serving at the *sastanci* were assigned to quarantine stations, which became the only places where the Serbian state border could be crossed.<sup>56</sup>

Closing sastanci was certainly a necessary measure with plague approaching the principality's borders. Nevertheless, with trade being one of the important elements for the economy in the border nahiyas, this also had an impact on the financial situation of the population. As the plague epidemic in the Principality of Serbia eased, the sastanak was reopened in Gramada in early November 1837, only a few months after its closure. In comparison to the previous period, the only products that could be sold were those from Serbia to Turkey but not vice versa. <sup>57</sup> The decision to open a quarantine station was certainly prompted by the economic needs of the population, and soon the Serbian authorities began receiving requests to reopen others, with economic reasons clearly emphasized.<sup>58</sup> In mid-March 1838, the Vasilijina Česma sastanak on the Javor mountain<sup>59</sup> reopened. Instead of reopening the sastanci on the Drina and at Banja Koviljača and Ljubovija, a new sastanak was established in early April 1838 on Šepačka Ada, opposite Loznica, although it did formally open until early November 1838.<sup>60</sup> It is not known exactly when the Vrška Čuka sastanak was reopened, but it was certainly operational in the first half of 1838, since it was mentioned in a list of expenses from November 1838 for quarantine stations and sastanci in the Principality of Serbia for the previous six months. 61 In April 1838, worsening health and widespread plague in the vicinity of Niš and in the town itself prompted a directive to

DAS, KK, I-126. The reason for establishing a *sastanak* at Gramada was the necessity of trade between Svrljig and other settlements bordering the Nahiye of Pirot and Niš, which was one of the important marketplaces for the those living in these settlements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> DAS, KK, XVII, 137; DAS, DS, 1836, Del. protokol br. 3359.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> DAS, KK, XXXVII, 1646; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 754.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> DAS, KK, XIV, 1755, 1779; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 3955.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> DAS, KK, I, 324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> DAS, KK, XIV, 2018, 2298.

DAS, KK, XIV, 2123; DAS, Ministry of Internal Affairs – Sanitary Department (MUD-S), 1838, II, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> DAS, DS, 1838, Del. protokol br. 952.

<sup>61</sup> DAS, ZMP, 7232, 7817.

close all *sastanci* along the Serbian state border in mid-June 1838.<sup>62</sup> This did not last long, and in early July 1838 livestock trade was again permitted at Gramada, but the trade system remained the same as before—only goods from Serbia could be sold. The station at Vasilija Česma reopened in early August and at Šepačka Ada in early November. It is not known exactly when the *sastanak* at Vrška Čuka reopened or if it had even been shut down in June 1838, because reports were sent from there later that month.<sup>63</sup> These were the only open *sastanci* until September 1839, when the *sastanak* on the Pazar road near Raška reopened.<sup>64</sup> Soon, a directive was issued to build a quarantine station instead of a *sastanak*, but internal conditions in the Principality of Serbia and the situation in the Ottoman Empire postponed construction until 1846.<sup>65</sup>

A total of eight *sastanci* were established along the principality's border at the end of 1836 and in the spring of 1837, which operated until mid-1837 when they were all abolished. After reopening in 1837, closing again, and then reopening in mid-1838, there were a total of four *sastanci* along the border—Vrška Čuka, Gramada, Vasilijina česma, Šepačka Ada—and from September 1839, a fifth at Raška.

#### 2. 2. Legal Framework: Regulating Quarantine Stations and Sastanci

As part of a country where almost no attention was given to sanitary regulations, the principality turned to its northern neighbor, the Habsburg Monarchy, and its old legal practice for assistance with sanitary regulations. So in 1829 when the very first quarantine station was to be established in Ćuprija, Prince Miloš asked the director of the Zemun station to send him an experienced expert to supervise the work. <sup>66</sup> Although there were quarantine stations before 1836, how they were meant to operate was not clearly defined. The greatest attention was given to this after increasing numbers of reports of plague spreading not far from the principality's borders.

From the very start, the priority for the Serbian authorities was to open a quarantine station at Aleksinac, since it was among the most important in the country. Accordingly, attention was primarily aimed at defining the basic tasks of this quarantine station and its officials. Aside from Prince Miloš's directives from earlier years, this is also the first known regulation concerning the operation of a quarantine station in the Principality of Serbia. This task was assigned to Avram Petronijević and Stefan Stefanović, who were authorized by Prince Miloš to enact regulations to prevent plague from entering the Principality of Serbia and establish a cordon sanitaire along its border. The main goal of these regulations, which inevitably served as a template for all other quarantine stations opened that same year, was to outline the officials' duties within the quarantine station, how to accommodate people and goods, and what measures should be taken to prevent the spread of the plague in the Principality of Serbia. The regulations also referred to the tasks and duties of the officials

64 Savić 2021: 42.

<sup>62</sup> DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 140.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 380.

<sup>65</sup> Savić 2021a: 221.

<sup>66</sup> DAS, KK, VII, 636, 637.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Popović 2012: 96.

at the seven stastanci that had already been established along the Serbian border, which will be discussed later on.  $^{68}$ 

As plague approached the Serbian state border, and also later on as it spread throughout the Serbian 'fatherland,' regulations for the stations and their officials were determined as needed, mainly on orders from Prince Miloš and later from the health commissioner Avram Petronijević and Doctor Karl Nagy. Dr. Nagy had been the physician at the Zemun station and came to the Principality of Serbia in early September to assist in fighting the plague. <sup>69</sup> The duties of clerks at the stations were once again officially defined at the end of December 1837. Regulations were drawn up based on Austrian quarantine legislation, and specifically the 1727 decree on cleaning quarantine stations and the 1738 decree on the duties of clerks. Quarantine stations and sastanci were institutions with strong hierarchies, and every official's clearly defined tasks enabled the quarantine system in the Principality of Serbia to operate smoothly. <sup>70</sup>

The establishment of the High Office for Education and Sanitation in May 1838 was very important for further organization and improvement of the quarantine service in the Principality of Serbia. The High Office became in fact a sort of sixth ministry within the Ministerial Deliberation. As minister of education and chief supervisor for quarantine stations, Stefan Stefanović became the head of this office. The newly formed ministry was to oversee quarantine stations and *sastanci*, the order and prevention of plague being reintroduced into the Principality of Serbia. During its short time, Stefanović visited the Rača quarantine station and, motivated by the 'disorder' he found there and due to the danger of plague near the Serbian border, he issued a new directive regarding the measures that needed to be taken at the station and how the officials should conduct themselves. The principality of Serbian and how the officials should conduct themselves.

Quarantine stations remained under the jurisdiction of the High Office of Education and Sanitation until the 1839 Constitution of the Central Government of the Principality of Serbia was adopted and came into force on June 10, 1839. The Ministry of the Interior had jurisdiction over stations as defined by the constitution. The Law on Government defined the Quarantine-Sanitary Department, later renamed the Sanitary Department, within the Ministry of the Interior.<sup>73</sup>

From the time the *sastanci* were established until 1839, more regulations for quarantine stations than *sastanci* were issued, which was to be expected given that quarantine stations were more complex and important than the *sastanci*. After November 1836, when the regulation on the duties of customs officers (*latovi*) and supervisors (*nadziratelji*) at the *sastanci* was introduced, there were no more such detailed regulations until the middle of 1839. A document from 1836 mainly defines the tasks of officials. A step forward was made in November 1839, when the Organization of *Sastanci* was adopted. First it defined a *sastanak* as a certain place on the border where people from the border areas met for trade and conversation. Also, the *sastanci* were envisaged as independent *sastanci* for those within the quarantine and branch *sastanci*, meaning those separated from the

69 DAS, KK, I, 148, 158; DAS, KK, XVII, 137.

<sup>68</sup> DAS, KK, I, 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> DAS, ZMP, 4933; Mihailović 1937: 33–38; Milojević 2023: 128–133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> DAS, KK, Vojska (=X), 764; DAS, DS, 1838, Del. protokol br. 1400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> DAS, KK, Škola (XXXVIII), 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Jagodić 2021: 57; Savić 2021: 42.

station but under its authority, as they were all in Serbia. Further regulations defined how the *sastanci* would operate, which will be discussed later on. Finally, the functioning and role of stations and *sastanci* were regulated in 1841 by the Sanitary-Police Regulation for Quarantine Stations and Border *Sastanci*, and it replaced all previous regulations. This legal regulation, drafted by Jovan Stejić, a physician and head of the Sanitary Department, extensively incorporates provisions from the Austrian *Pest-Polizei-Ordnung für die k.k. öesterreichischen Staaten*, enacted in June 1837. The regulation itself shaped and unified all the above-mentioned regulations concerning how the stations and *sastanci* operatied, their procedures, and how they were organized.

### 2.3. In the Quarantine Stations and at the Sastanci

The task of these institutions was to protect the public, so a clearly organized structure and hierarchy were essential. All quarantines in the Principality of Serbia were placed under the authority of primary superintendent (*nadziratelj*). The first was Avram Petronijević, who served in this position from mid-1837 until his departure for Constantinople in April 1838. The position was then taken over by Stefan Stefanović, who later became the Minister of Education and the quarantine superintendent. The highest position in the hierarchy of officials at the quarantine station was the director, who supervised and was responsible for the work of all other officials and ensured a smooth workflow within the station. All quarantine stations in the Principality of Serbia had a director. Only the Radujevac quarantine station was also run by its physician. The basic duties of the director were clearly defined by Prince Miloš directive from December 1837.

The director was responsible for hygiene and order in the station, as well as the work of the employees. They were also in charge of the station's finances, were required to send reports, collect about public health in the neighboring areas across the border, and keep the keys to the auxiliary buildings within the station (such as the cabin, barn, and courtyards) during the night. A secretary was appointed to assist the director with daily tasks. In addition to handling official correspondence, the secretary was responsible for the station's bookkeeping and inventory. The rest of the station's staff included an overseer, a warehouse keeper, a customs officer, and the guards.

Due to a lack of trained doctors, only the stations at Aleksinac and Radujevo/Bregovo, the two most important quarantines in the country which direct contact with plague-infected areas for long periods, had their own physicians, as did the one at Mokra Gora for a short period in late 1836. The quarantine physician was responsible for examining the 'foreigners' upon their arrival in the quarantine's reception area. Anyone who did not display visible signs of plague would be fumigated by the physician and then assigned to a cabin for quarantine. Those who did show symptoms would immediately be sent back across the border. The physician would

Sbornik zakona i uredba i uredbenih ukaza izdanih u Knjažestvu Srbskom od vremene obnarodovanog Ustava zemaljskog (13. febr. 1839. do apr. Mes. 1840), I, Beograd, 1840, 163–176; Mirković 2022: 1212–1213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> DAS, MUD-S, 1838, IV, 26; Jagodić 2021: 57; Savić 2021: 42; Mirković 2022: 1218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> DAS, ZMP, 4933.

For more on this, see: Milojević 2023: 131–135.

visit those in quarantine daily and fumigate them. The physician would also treat those entering quarantine who were ill with a non-contagious disease. Wealthy individuals were charged for the treatment, while those with less money were treated at the state's expense. Once the quarantine period was completed, the doctor would supervise the cleaning of the rooms.

The main purpose of every quarantine station was to prevent infectious diseases from spreading into the Principality of Serbia. These stations thus needed to build on the main roads that connected the surrounding areas of the Ottoman Empire with the Serbian state. Therefore, anyone entering the Principality of Serbia after crossing a border had to continue by a shorter route to a quarantine station. There was a guardhouse in front of the station gate to monitor every entry and exit from these places. Once travelers arrived, the first person they came into contact with was a customs officer, who informed the quarantine physician that there were new travelers who would need to enter quarantine. After entering the station, the travelers were taken to a reception room and asked basic questions by the physician, including their name and surname, occupation, where they had come from, which areas they had passed through during their journey, the health of those in those areas, and whether they had unopened letters with them. After that, the physician would then take them to an examination room for inspection, and if the travelers displayed no visible signs of plague, they would continue with the rest of the quarantine procedure. After the physician completed his examination, a personal protocol would be created for each traveler while in quarantine, and travel documents would be confiscated. At the station entrance, money would be taken to be disinfected in vinegar and then returned to the owner. When the registration procedure was complete, they would be housed in a cabin where they would spend the rest of the quarantine period before entering the Principality of Serbia.

Before the Aleksinac station was expanded in mid-1837, it had four cabins, each with four rooms, and a fenced-in yard in front. In each cabin, there was a servant who took care of the travelers' needs and was restricted to the cabin and the yard. During the initial phase, the cabins were closed every three days. For those who came on Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, the first day of quarantine was Wednesday. Storehouses were also closed according to the same principle.<sup>79</sup> After the quarantine was completed, the individual or the family was issued a *feda* or *teskera*. These were documents certifying that these travelers entering the Principality of Serbia had completed their quarantine and could continue on their journey. This was also the practice during the first quarantines between 1829 and 1833, and it continued after 1836. A fee of twenty *paras* was paid for the issuance of each *feda*. In addition to the *teskera* for individuals, a certificate was also issued for goods, and the fee for this was five *paras*.<sup>80</sup> In addition, when entering the quarantine, a fee was paid for fumigation (cleaning), and fees of this type were also paid for goods, animals, and many other items.<sup>81</sup> The *meyhanas* provided meals for those in quarantine. They were held by private owners until October 1838 when they were abolished, and state-run ones were rented out.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> DAS, ZMP, 4933; DAS, KK, I, 126, 148; XV, 2192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> DAS, ZMP, 7007, 7026, 7069, 7098.

A quarantine tax of one grosch was applied per load of goods. Cleaning of horses was ten paras and for one *oka* (1.28 kg) of silver it was ten paras. DAS, KK, Kragujevačka nahija (=XV), 2192; Radosavljević 2006: 596.

B2 DAS, KK, I, 214; DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 751; Marković, Mišković 2010: 907; Mihailović 1937: 75–76.

During quarantine for ships, the boatmen were quarantined in purpose-built cabins, and goods were removed from the holds, aired out, and returned to the ships every day. Any ship without a certificate for the completed quarantine period in Radujevac or Rača was forbidden to dock on the banks of the Sava and the Danube that formed the border of the Principality of Serbia.<sup>83</sup>

How long travelers had to be quarantined before entering the Principality of Serbia depended on the health conditions in the surrounding areas of the Ottoman Empire. It was determined on the basis of information about the proximity of the plague to the Serbian border collected by the directors of the quarantine stations. Considering the principle by which the number of quarantine days was determined, it is clear that there could not have been a uniform isolation period at all stations along the principality's border. The first quarantine station to require a three-day period in October 1836 was the station at Aleksinac, after reports of plague in Dupnica. When the news from 'informants' from the Ottoman Empire about infections in Vranje and the surrounding villages became increasingly frequent, the quarantine period was extended to five days at the beginning of December, and eight days after that to ten days. Since there was no plague in the border regions west and east of the Principality of Serbia, there was no mandatory quarantine at the other quarantine stations that opened later in 1836. This began to change in the spring of 1837, when an outbreak of plague began ravaging the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The news that reached Serbia from the Habsburg Monarchy about the emergence of plague in Bosnia led to an independent directive from the military commander Lazar Todorović to establish a twenty-one-day quarantine at Rača, but this did not last long and was soon reduced to three days. At the end of July 1837, the quarantine was increased to seven days. In early May, a three-day quarantine was required in Mokra Gora, and soon after that in Ljubovija as well. In early June, the quarantine at Aleksinac was extended to fifteen days, and on August 24th to twenty-one days. As soon as it became known that plague had entered the Principality of Serbia,84 on August 30, 1837, the quarantine at Aleksinac was extended to six weeks, and shortly thereafter quarantines in Mokra Gora, Ljubovia, Rača, Bregovo, and Radujevac were extended to twenty days.85

As the plague epidemic began to abate in the Principality of Serbia at the end of September, and there were fewer places under quarantine, Prince Miloš issued a directive on September 30, 1837, to shorten the period at the Aleksinac station from forty-two days to twenty-one. The same number of quarantine days was required in April 1838. Increasingly frequent reports of plague near the Serbian border, and especially in Niš, led to the quarantine being extended to thirty-one days for people and forty-one days for goods at the end of June 1838. This quarantine period as a requirement for entry into the Principality of Serbia remained in force until the end of August 1838, when it was shortened first to twenty-one days, then to fourteen, and finally on July 15, 1839, with no new reports of plague in the surrounding areas of the Ottoman Empire, the number of days required for entry through

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> DAS, KK, I, 423; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 4472.

<sup>84</sup> Mihailović 1937.

BAS, KK, I, 140, 148, 152, 206, 286, 291; XIV, 1549, 1764, 1771; XIX, 553, 557; XXXVII, 637, 976, 996, 1717; DAS, DS, 1837, Del. protokol br. 4472; Radosavljević 2006: 568, 582; Mihailović 1937: 101–102.

Aleksinac was reduced to ten. <sup>86</sup> Unlike Aleksinac, the quarantine period at other stations was generally shorter. In early December 1837, the quarantine period at Ljubovija and Rača was reduced to ten days, and at Mokra Gora it was twenty days in May 1838, which was certainly due to the epidemic ravaging the areas south of the Serbian border. <sup>87</sup> At the end of June, the quarantine period at Radujevac, Mokra Gora, Ljubovija, and Rača was increased to twenty-one days. There were no changes until early December, when it was shortened to fourteen days in Radujevac and ten days at Mokra Gora, Rača, and Ljubovija. This remained in place until July 15, 1839, when it was again shortened from ten days to seven at Rača, Ljubovija, Mokra Gora, and Radujevac. <sup>88</sup> With the exception of Aleksinac, a uniform period was established in four of the five stations along the Serbian border.

Unlike the stations, which were always open, the *sastanci* were generally open only twice a week. At a certain time on a certain day, subjects of the Principality of Serbia and the Ottoman Empire gathered at a particular *sastanak* and traded goods. The *sastanak* was simple in appearance and consisted of two fences separating the traders with a space in the middle for the customs officers in charge of disinfecting money. They would remove the money from the vinegar and hand it over to the seller. How the transaction was carried out depended on the sale items. Corn and other grains were transferred from the Serbian side to the Turkish side using pipes or planks. Hay, wood, and other similar items were left in at a particular spot by the sellers to be collected by the buyers after they left. During a plague epidemic there was a restriction on which products that could enter the Principality of Serbia from the Turkish side. The items Serbian subjects were permitted to buy were those made of materials that were not believed to carry contagion: wine, brandy, glass, leather, vegetables, wood, iron, silver, copper, and animals. However, the purchase of leather goods, wool, cotton, silk, and paper was strictly prohibited. There were no such restrictions on goods from the Serbian side.<sup>89</sup>

#### 3. Across the Border

Quarantine-like institutions in Constantinople, Adrianopolis, and on the shores of the Black Sea can be traced to the second half of the eighteenth century. However, there was no organized quarantine system in the Ottoman Empire until the late 1830s. This was due to a religious belief that these means of combating disease were a form of betrayal of God's will. Nevertheless, over time, increasingly more was written about the measures that needed to be taken against the scourge. As part of Sultan Mahmud II modernizing reforms, a lazaret was established in Constantinople in 1831 for all incoming ships to prevent the spread of cholera. More serious work in that field followed during 1838, when the plague was still raging in the Ottoman provinces in the Balkans. The first step in that direction was the formation of the High Council of Health, and a position in it was given to Avram

DAS, KK, I, 409; DAS, ZMP, 7831; DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 197, 522, 906.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> DAS, KK, XXXVII, 996; Radosavljević 2006: 659; Stojančević 1952: 61–62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 522, 906, 194; DAS, ZMP, 7831.

<sup>89</sup> DAS, KK, I, 126; Mihailović 1937: 61–68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Ayalon 2015: 183.

<sup>91</sup> See: Bulmus 2012: 13–35, 98–112; Hamed-Troyansky 2021: 235–243.

Petronijević, a former quarantine supervisor from the Principality of Serbia who was in Constantinople at the time leading the Serbian deputation during the drafting of the 1838 Constitution. Petronijević first proposed determining whether stations should be established along the entire border, or if only Constantinople should be secured. Prevailing opinion was that the entire border should be secured, not due to Petronijević's influence but rather to the positions held by the European powers—primarily Great Britain and France. A directive was issued to institute a quarantine period along the entire border, and fifty-nine quarantine stations were opened, of which thirteen were along the European and Asian coasts, sixteen in the interior along the inland part of the border, eight in Syria, seven in the Aegean islands, and two in Libya.

There are mentions of quarantine stations in 1838 across from the Principality of Serbia on the Ottoman side of the border. They were located opposite the border post on the Javor mountain, then near Višegrad, and on the other side of the border across from the quarantine stations at Ljubovija and Rača. The quarantine period lasted seven days. In addition to the Ottoman quarantine stations west and southwest of the border with the Principality of Serbia, at the time of an outbreak of plague in June 1838, there was also a twenty-one-day quarantine at the Kaza of Berkovac, and guards were posted along its border. At that time, there was also a ten-day quarantine on the way to Vidin. Although a cordon sanitaire along the border was established after the reform of 1838, public health in a given territory was the responsibility of the local pashas. They were responsible for the quarantine stations, and firmans for their establishment were sent to the sandjakbegs in Sarajevo, Niš, Sofia, Skopje, Pristina, Thessaloniki, and other places. 95 This was to be expected, since in the Ottoman Empire, unlike in most other European countries, it was almost impossible to establish a sanitary system along every boarder. The reason for this was that there were areas within the Ottoman Empire where plague was endemic. Consequently, the implementation of quarantine measures had to be limited to the level of local authorities. 96 According to the historian A. Savić, unlike the Serbian quarantine stations that operated until the 1880s, the Ottoman quarantine stations along the border with the Principality of Serbia were short-lived and were abolished shortly after the plague epidemic subsided in 1840.97

There were quarantine stations in the Habsburg Monarchy north of the border with the Principality of Serbia. They were located at Pančevo, Zemun, and Sremska Mitrovica. <sup>98</sup> A quarantine station was also opened in 1830 across from Kladovo in Černec (Cerenet), not far from the Serbian state border as an integral part of the Danube cordon sanitaire in Wallachia. <sup>99</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Popović 2012: 105–115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> DAS, PO, 26–58.

<sup>94</sup> Hamed-Troyansky 2021: 242.

<sup>95</sup> Ayalon: 186.

Promitzer 2021: 88–89.

<sup>97</sup> DAS, MUD-S, 1838, Del. protokol br. 228; Savić 2021a: 222.

<sup>98</sup> Promitzer 2021: 84.

<sup>99</sup> Taki 2021: 240-242.

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## ЖАРКО Д. ИЛИЋ

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## КАРАНТИНИ И САСТАНЦИ У СРБИЈИ (1829–1839)

#### Резиме

Смештена у централном делу Балканског полуострва дуж којег су водиле главне саобраћајнице, Србија је унапред предодређена да носи бреме свог географског положаја, како у прошлости тако и данас. Осим позитивних, такво географско позиционирање имало је и своје негативне стране, које су се испољавале у честим проласцима војски и сукобима вођеним на територији Србији. Исто тако, стални промет људи и добара носио је увек са собом опасност од заразних болести, о чему сведоче и бројне епидемије на простору Србије почевши од 15. па све до 30-их година 19. века. Србија је била у саставу Османског царства, државе у којој пажња готово да није била посвећивана организацији карантинског система. Сходно томе, предуслов за изградњу карантина на територији Београдског пашалука, односно касније Кнежевине Србије, било је управо добијање аутономије. Свестан положаја своје државе, кнез Милош већ одмах по издавању Првог хатишерифа 1829. године, који је наговестио скорашње решење питања српске аутономије, оснива прве карантине у Ћуприји и Поречу, који су били у функцији до припајања "отргнутих предела" крајем 1832. и почетком 1833. године.

Након дефинитивног разграничења Кнежевине Србије и Османског царства почетком 1834. године, предузети су радови на изградњи Алексиначког карантина, али он све до 1836. није званично отворен. Нови подстицај уређењу сталног пограничног кордона Кнежевине Србије дала је епидемија куге која се током 1836. године све више примицала границама српске државе. Тада је донета одлука да се поред Алексиначког успоставе и карантини на Брегову, Мокрој Гори, Љубовији, Рачи и Радујевцу, као и девет састанака. Након укидања бреговског карантина у новембру 1837. број карантина је смањен на пет и тако је остало све до 1846. године, када је рашки састанак уздигнут на ниво карантина. Након укидања свих састанака средином 1837. више никада сви нису били обновљени, већ их је 1839. године, након отварања рашког састанка било укупно пет и то: Вршка Чука, Грамада, Рашка, Василијина чесма, Шепачка ада.

У организацији карантина и доношењу карантински прописа, власти у Кнежевини Србији готово у потпуности су се ослањале на праксу северног суседа — Хабзбуршке монархије, која је имала иза себе озбиљно искуство у спровођењу карантинских мера. Законски прописи и устројство карантина су преузимани и у врло малој мери прилагођавани устројству Кнежевине Србије, а аустријски лекари су водили главну реч у организацији санитарне службе младе српске државе. Хабзбуршка монархије је пружала несебичну помоћ Кнежевини Србију у борби против куге током 1836. и 1837. године, свесна да штитећи границе Србије штити и себе.

На крају, неопходно је истаћи да је тек формирана српска држава успела да за свега две године од званичног успостављања граничне линије изгради погранични кордон и организује карантине и састанке који су се показали врло успешни у борби против куге и заштитили српски народ, односно у великој мери ублажили последице куге из 1837. и потпуно сачували становништво од епидемије исте болести из 1838. године, када је на само пар сати од српске границе, у Нишу, дневно умирало преко 100 људи.

**Кључне речи**: Кнежевина Србија, кнез Милош, карантини, састанци, куга, граница, санитарни кордон.

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