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DJAK'S MUTINY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN SECURITY FORCES IN SERBIA

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Summary

The creation of the security forces in Serbia, during its formation and path towards formal recognition of self-government, is an important segment of its state apparatus creation. Djak's Mutiny, with all the social and political characteristics, was an important moment in the comprehension of the necessity of creation of a real state apparatus and security system in it. After Djak's Mutiny, prince Milos formed twelve "companies of enrollment cops", who were the beginning of armed forces, and whom the Turkish authorities addressed as "soldati" (soldiers), and network of suppliers which represented the beginning of the secret police. Although these bodies were part of the state apparatus in its infancy, where executive power was rarely separated from judicial power, and where real legislative authority did not exist, they represented a solid basis for further development of Serbian statehood, with all internal and external elements.

Keywords: Djak's Mutiny, prince Milos, enrollment cops, soldati, police.

Introduction

The beginning of the creation of the modern Serbian state is Serbian revolution 1804–1815, national liberation and anti-feudal struggle of the Serbian people under the Turkish rule in the First (1804–1813) and the Second Serbian Uprising (1815), joined together by Hadzi-Prodan's Revolt in 1814. In the process of building local government apparatus instead of Turkish, which was gradually suppressed, of great significance was

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the establishment of a police authority responsible for ensuring the public and state security. Aware of this, even the leaders of uprisings and creators of modern Serbia devoted great attention to the shapping of the police authority, which with fairly limiting factors (insurrectionist battles, uncertain international status of Serbia) was not easy. During the First Uprising, Serbian state was organized as a fully autonomous, independent state, in which, although still formally under the sovereign authority of Turkey, leaders of uprising formed the domestic central and local authorities. The military collapse of the uprising led to an interruption in the ongoing development and set Serbia back to the level of the Turkish province with reestablished Turkish authorities, but the libertarian tradition and the awareness of the ability of independent national existence survives in the uprising period. Due to the unbearable terror by Suleiman Pasha Skopljak, new vezier of Belgrade, a new revolt happened in 1814 led by Hadzi-Prodan Gligorijevic. This attempt to realize the idea of final liberation from the Turks failed, but the very next year, in 1815, the Serbian people rose again and under the guidance of Milos Obrenovic won specific benefits in the Second Serbian Uprising. Being a skillful negotiator, Prince Milos gradually extended these self-governing privileges based on oral agreement with the new vizier of Belgrade, Marashli Ali Pasha and approved by Sultan's fermans. By pulling out certain functions under the jurisdiction of the Turkish authorities and by their transfer to the newly established local authorities, Prince Milos managed to reach a *de facto* autonomy in Serbia, which was formally recognized by the Hatt-i Sharif of 1830.

Laying the foundations of the modern Serbian state that sprouted under centuries of Turkish slavery was accompanied by a number of internal issues. Centralization of power, which during the uprising, as an emergency, was a necessity, after 1815 had to find a different justification. Electivity of local leaders, the right that Serbian people managed to preserve during the period of Ottoman domination, was suspended during the First Serbian Uprising by setting rural, knezina and nahija leaders by the central government authorities, primarily Karadjordje. After the end of the Second Serbian Uprising, the people rightfully expected that they would again be able to elect their officers. This expectation, in a collision with Milos's absolutist desire, remained unfulfilled. By winning other national leaders in fight for supremacy, Milos has taken measures aimed at centralization of government. Appointing officers who were loyal and accountable to him, Milos presented to the people as their choice, by occasionally summoning assembleies at which he managed to convince "MPs" that those very officers were the only possible choice. This policy required a special maneuvering skill, which Milos obviously fully mastered – it was necessary to eliminate competitors in the struggle for power who during his first reign (1815–1830) always appeared, and at the same time explain to the people such actions in order to provide support "from below". A particularly important factor in this kind of Milos's reign was a good knowledge of the situation in the country and the spirit and movement of the people, in order to timely adopt and implement appropriate decisions. For this purposed, Prince Milos ordered to local officers to notify him of all events within their administrative areas, and if possible, beyond their administrative areas. This method of securing the maintenance of order, however, proved insufficient, as confirmed by the outbreak of Hadzi-Prodan's Revolt, which in 1825 completely surprised the prince. As a consequence,

the formation of more serious security bodies begun, both permanent military-police units, and a network of trusted informants, who, in addition to the developments among the Turks, thoroughly informed Milos on what the people do, speak, think and feel. This introduction of special military-police authorities for ensuring the protection of the established situation in the country represented the beginning of the formation of modern security forces in Serbia.

The Djak's Revolt showed the prince that he could not rely only on inadequately trained and poorly armed policemen as guardians of order, and thus he commenced the organization of the first serious military-police unit. Since Serbia as a Turkish province could not have its own army, the prince disguised it as "registered policemen" but soon after its members, even publicly, were called "soldats". At the same time, in order to not get surprised by another revolt, Prince formed the first network of informants that informed him on the mood of people. These informants were in the personal service of the prince, and were very well paid. Although perhaps rudimentary, these state bodies, regular police units and secret police were fully in line with the state development of Serbia. Also, it was a reliable basis for the creation of a developed and branched state apparatus that will follow after the departure of Milos from Serbia in 1839 under the reign of "defenders of the Constitution" (1842–1858). A more detailed state organization and precise separation of powers, on one side, of the court from the executive (police), and on the other side, of military from police, have created a reliable basis for the creation of a more permanent police force, which in Serbia during the reign of "defenders of the Constitution" was introduced, based on the model of a modern European state. Special attention deserve efforts of "defenders of the Constitution" to, in accordance with such models, introduce control and accountability in the work of the Serbian police.

1. Government in Serbia during Djak's Mutiny

Mutiny that broke out in Serbia in 1825, known as the Djak's Mutiny, with all its social, political, economic and other characteristics and causes, also represents one of the crucial moments in the development of Serbian statehood, the beginning of the process of creating a modern state institutions and their functioning. One of the segments of its consequences is the beginning of the creation of modern security forces.

Serbia at the time of Djak's Mutiny, territorially limited inside Sanjak of Smederevo borders (better known in history by the name Pashaluk of Belgrade) was loosely defined form of the state, based on an oral agreement between Milos Obrenovic and Maras Ali Pasha, after the end of the Second Serbian Uprising, with the duality of power and specific relationship of its factual and formal qualities.

Agreement between Milos Obrenovic and Marshli Ali Pasha presented a compromise. It brought back self-governing benefits to Serbs, but it also enabled the establishment of collective organ of supreme authority in the form of the People's Office. Milos Obrenovic became president of the People's Office, and Peter Nikolajevic Moler became its supervisor. This agreement was a very solid base to start with the actual creation of the government apparatus.

Milos faced a two-sided fight. On one side, the construction of the factual power was meant to be used for scrambling as many concessions from Turkey as possible, in order for the factual situation grow into the formally recognized full self-government. On the other hand, he needed to confront the inert competitors who pretended to share power with him. Liquidation of the most dangerous competitors (Pavle Cukic, Petar Moler), and Karadjordje himself, after his illegal return to the country in 1817, Milos created the conditions to concentrate all power in his own hands. Usurping the authority of the People's Office and confirming princes of "nahija" districts, he turned the electoral authorities into executive and devoted to himself local authorities. This way he truncated the national self-government's rights, but was able to centralize power and become the absolute master of the situation in Serbia, which was still limited to the Pashaluk of Belgrade.

By implementing these measures Milos mostly concealed himself behind the decisions of supervisors assembly. Freed from the main contenders he created the conditions to legitimize his supreme authority. It happened on the Assembly in Belgrade on November 6th 1817. The only remaining thing was that the Porta confirm the factual situation thus created. Formal confirmation from Porta was waited upon for another thirteen years. During this time, Milos continued with the construction of factual self-government, gradually supplanting the Turkish influence out of the internal administration of Serbia.

Milos Obrenovic, with his notions of power, sought to govern the emerging Serbian state "like a pasha of Serbian nationality". In the beginning of the creation of factual power he did not differ the state apparatus from his own entourage. The center of the exercise of power was located wherever he would be located. He found that this was the only way that could allow him the absolute power for which he strove. Nuisance to the realization of his absolute power were constant pursuits of the supervisors to limit his power with one collective body (council). Defending himself against attacks that he grabbed all the power, Milos promised at the assembly meeting in the fall of 1824, the establishment of the Council. Even some acts were brought which would establish the Council's work (1826.), but this body did not come to life until the Sultan's written orders on self-government.

The establishment of the administrative authorities begun according to the oral agreement that Milos made with Marshli Ali-Pasha. However, the development of these authorities had multiple functions. This process has been in the service of the increasing displacement of Turkish interference in the internal administration of Serbia, but also the strengthening of Milos's personal power. Milos was realizing all that despite the oligarchical tendencies of supervisors and pass the spirit of the agreement he made with Marshli Ali-Pasha and the organization of the People's Office.

The origins of Serbian administrative authorities initially were "nahija" districts and "knezina" sections princes. Each "nahija" district had its own "nahija" prince, who, along with musellim, participated in the adjudication of minor offenses. People's Office had the jurisdiction for major crimes. If there was a conclusion that a offense committed by a certain defendant should be punished by the death penalty, the defendant would be handed over to the Belgrade Vizier for execution or pardon.

Lower administrative units were “knezina” sections, which were governed by “knezina” princes. Duties of nahija and knezina princes unified administrative and lower judicial functions, from the collection of taxes, police work, to the adjudication of disputes for offenses that are not under the jurisdiction of the People's Office. They are more accurately determined by the decrees that prince Milos was directing to some or all of the officers.

2. Djak's Mutiny – Causes and Social Circumstances

Such social and political circumstances lead to an outbreak of Djak's Mutiny in 1825. The actual cause for the revolt was almost meaningless. Tipped off that a farmer was involved in illegal activities, the prince of Smederevo' nahija Petar Vulicevic ordered that the villager is to be arrested at night, binded and brought to him. “When villagers heard of that – as this event is described by historian Mihailo Gavrilovic – they sprang to arms, surrounded the house where prince Peter was together with the bounded man, and yelling that is not rightful to catch and tie a man at night like haiduks, than if one's guilty he (Petar) should come during the day to catch him, or ask the village to turn him over, so the village would catch him and hand him over to the court”. This event, however, was only an inducement for the people's discontent to turn into a mutiny, on whose head was Miloje Popovic, called by the people Djak (pupil). Prince Milos, after being informed of the rebellion, sent Milutin Savic Garasanin to the field, with a detachment of Jasenica and Lepenica service members and some of his men, to investigate the causes of the mutiny and to calm the unrest. Milutin Savic's report was short. Milos has been informed that “people are a boiling pot”. Aware of the seriousness of the situation, prince Miloš sent Toma Vucic Perisic and his brother Jovan, and well-armed Vici's Gruza Fighters to quell the mutiny. The mutiny was suppressed, and Miloje Popovic Djak, previously wounded in battle, was captured, sentenced to death and executed.

However, this short-life and effectively stifled mutiny, had serious causes and important consequences for the development of Serbian statehood and its state authorities. This is after the Uprising first rebellion of the Serbian people, but now directed not against Turkey, but against their own, Serbian authorities. Its social and political aspects indicate the nature and the anomaly of Milos's government, and especially the nature of the exercise of power by the head supervisors and their rapid enrichment. The essence of the political agenda of Djak's mutiny was in the protest against these anomalies.

Balance of power in Serbia at the time is perhaps best described in the letter that Vuk Karadzic sent to prince Milos, after receiving the written order by which the sultan recognized its autonomy. The letter came from Zemun, where Vuk was located, because the unpleasant truth could not be presented to Milos otherwise. With the description of Milos's entourage, which with all the depravity of its actions still constituted the beginning of the state apparatus Serbia, Vuk writing the letter as a prince's supporter, called upon Milos to give up self-will in order to avoid “excessive damage and the eternal shame to himself and his family”. “We ought to give the people justice – stands in Vuk's letter – or as they generally say it in Europe today, constitution. I'm not thinking

of the French constitution, or English, or the new Greek; but perchance to determine the form of government and that the government be set (by the ferman or atisherif, because ones who tell You or who approve that may otherwise be, those are cheating You and induce You to evil)... Corvee should be abolished and no one should be for anything for free". "We ought to regulate schools", the letter goes on, and do not be afraid of the scholars raising rebellions, "not to despise schools for it", because "the scholars are most willing to obey wise and just governments". "It is necessary that every man can be free to manage his private affairs on his own way" and that "every man is a master of his God-given" property, and that the purpose of the "constitution" is that "every man knows what he should do and not to fear nor you, nor anyone else".

This letter was a picture of Milos's modes of governance, but pragmatic Milos was able to learn from the situation created by the mutiny and after it. Apparently he did that reluctantly, but certainly aware of the necessity of the moves that followed. Shortly after choking the mutiny, on May 5th 1825. the assembly was convened in Kragujevac (also known as Djurdjevdan Assembly), where the prince Milos condemned the perpetrators of mutiny "those who, deceived by corrupted, were aimed to eradicate our government... and blinded the mindless youngsters so much that they did not see that it was heading precipitously to its own downfall". But at the same time, Milos demanded for the convention of nahija assemblies of the serfs and the people "where the people would state on what they want, what were their difficulties and what should be done in order for these difficulties, if there are any, to be eliminated". And at the next unscheduled assembly meeting in Kragujevac, held on May 27th of the same year, Milos and head supervisors condemned Djak's Mutiny, and took the opportunity to typify the people's revolt to Russia and Turkey as dissatisfaction with the avoidance of the application of the eight point of Bucharest agreement by Turkey and disposal of the formal recognition of Serbia's self-government.

These, however, were external manifestations and Milos's wish to present the situation in Serbia before the great powers in a different light. What was quite obviously concerned the necessity of creating a serious state apparatus and system of coercion that would ensure its functioning. This apparatus was to protect the people from tyranny, ensure the further development of Serbian statehood, but also to ensure Milos's personal power.

3. Consequences of the Djak's Mutiny and Government and Security Services in Emerging

Djak's Mutiny showed both prince Milos and head supervisors' layer all the shortcomings of their government and the need for a certain limiting that would actually be strengthening. The lack of a functioning state apparatus was a fact, but what was particularly important for prince Milos was the finding that the security of the state in the making, as well as his own absolute power, could not be kept by the former way.

Armed forces which were at Milos's disposal had elements of armed people and elements of the police. These were not police officers and soldiers by call, nor their head supervisors were civil servants. The first step toward correcting these deficiencies was the creation of "twelve companies of enrollment cops", or twelve armed troops that

were in constant composition. That was the beginning of the regular armed forces, that were neither police nor militia. Serbia, which in that time still not received edict that formally recognizes her self-government, could not have a regular standing army. Thus the term “enrollment cops”, so that the created formations would not be openly called the army. But the Turkish authorities themselves became aware of the apparent necessity to create an apparatus of coercion in Serbia, is the necessity of creating an armed force which would maintain internal order in the emerging self-governing principality. The very Turkish authorities addressed the newly formed armed units as the “soldati” (soldiers), or the army and supported their existence.

The next step that Milos made in the process of establishing of security forces was the creation of an organized network of suppliers, which was the beginning of the Serbian secret police. Lack of information and its slow flow during eruption and course of Djak's Mutiny showed the prince and head supervisors that the rebellious movement amongst people can not be prevented or controlled without the state authorities and their networks, for which the collection and dissemination of information would be the main task. In addition to the internal aspect of the creation of such bodies, there is also their exterior aspect. For Serbia's upcoming diplomatic battle on her path from the factual to the formal self-government, and then to full independence, kapucehajas (diplomatic representatives) in Constantinople were not sufficient, nor were the ad hoc representatives at foreign courts, which were supposed to deal with diplomacy, economic cooperation and intelligence at the same time. The tasks for the beginnings of the secret police were internal and external security, but also ensuring Milos's personal power.

The units that conducted the police and other security affairs and official correspondence were already in 1827. called “soldati” (soldiers). By the order of 1829, made according the Russian model, prince Milos began to create another military unit, which was supposed to function as a personal sentinel and a guard, and to perform other duties related to security. He then asked for “a number of fine young men to be enrolled and sent to Pozarevac by the next Djurdjevdan celebration”, so that they become enrolled guards, who will “go through school to learn reading and writing and prepare themselves for future officers and supervisors of the people”. With all the problems that the beginning of a state authority with the elements of the security forces brings, these units presented something closest looking like real armed forces, with mundirs and national insignia, for which Serbia still had no official right to use.

The creation of this apparatus of coercion, officially exclusively with elements of internal security, in fact with all the elements of security structures necessary for emerging country, fit into current process of development of Serbian statehood. This was actually a specific relationship between formal and factual features of emerging state, where his de facto attributes excelled over formal. Serbia had, after the collapse of one uprising, with another uprising which broke out and completed in one year, and based on an oral agreement, created de facto government out of self-government benefits, which was inevitably followed by formal recognition edict of 1830, and then moved towards de facto independence formally recognized at the Congress of Berlin. Such was the creation of the state apparatus and security forces within it as well. Formally approved the existence of some kind of national army and police gradually (even extorted

by Djak's Mutiny) became officially recognized formation of "soldats", with which the establishment of regular police forces and secret police came along.

According to some theorists and historians of law, rudimentary, these state authorities provided a solid foundation for the developed state apparatus, which was brought by "constitution-defending times". The origins of these state authorities initially consolidated both executive and judicial powers. Real legislative power and written laws were still not brought. Prince Milos ruled "nastavlenijima" (decrees) who were directed to "ispravnačenstva" (administration offices), but they actually were public authorities. Alongside these bodies borough princes were also set, who, as former serfs, were administrative and police authorities. In addition to maintaining order, they started to exercise some forms of indicting function, with the obligation to deliver offenders to magistrate and "to inform about idle revelers and that kind of people in general, with whom the magistrate won't put up in town without good guarantors". The magistrates themselves, with judicial, partly carried out police and administrative functions as well. They also performed the function of controlling the apparatus of coercion, and under their jurisdiction was the protection of the rights of the people. The increasing need to control the holders of administrative and police authorities was also resolved by "nastavlenija" decrees. The decree of February 2nd 1829. required that "the monitors of people's goods are left to the supervision of the nahija or knezina princes, since they oppress the people. If they were to ignore this duty and report to the People's Court of the oppression of the people by these monitors, the prince would be called to the People's Court for the response same as the monitor."

Conclusion

Although in many features rudimentary, these public authorities and the beginnings of the security forces inside them, were a solid foundation for what will follow after the formal recognition of self-government of the Principality of Serbia by Sultan's edict of 1830. The edict itself recognized Serbia's right to hold the armed forces and all forms of security forces. Postulate already given in the First Serbian Uprising in Načertanije devices of police authorities in Belgrade and further fatherland places "Like army authority differs from police one, so this one differs from judicial one, since the police one stops at the court threshold, and can only be used on its call. That is why the following is considered: police authorities are first invited to protect order, without which both general and individual interests are violated, and restore disturbed peace. After the rebellion, large or small, damaged are considered by the court, and the power of judgment belongs exclusively to it," found the embodiment in the factual creation of the state apparatus and the apparatus of coercion in it, or the inception of security forces.

Djak's Mutiny, with all its social and political causes and consequences, represented an incentive and a reason for the rapid creation and development of the state apparatus. Inability to prevent it, and then problems with its suppression indicated to prince Milos and supervisors, that previous manner can no longer be used to govern, and that it was necessary to secure the state using the state apparatus, with all its limitations. Knowing that without an effective apparatus of coercion there is no order in the state they were creating, nor can it be the state, accelerated the creation of the security forces. They

grew, from the constitution-defending government, the authoritarian regime of prince Mihailo, to the Serbian-Turkish wars and gaining independence, into a respected force in the Balkans. They became the basis and support of the latter regimes, but also the dam against usurpation and protector of order in the country. Their creation sometimes untimely, sometimes coerced, sometimes in a timely manner, always had a feature of an upward trajectory.

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ĐAKOVA BUNA I ZAČETAK SAVREMENIH SNAGA BEZBEDNOSTI U SRBIJI

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Sažetak

Stvaranje snaga bezbednosti u Srbiji, tokom njenog nastajanja i hoda ka formalnom priznanju samouprave, važan je segment stvaranja njenog državnog aparata. Đakova buna, sa svim socijalnim i političkim karakteristikama, bila je važan momenat u spoznaji da je neophodno stvaranje pravog državnog aparata i sistema bezbednosti u njemu. Nakon Đakove bune, knez Miloš je formirao dvanaest „kumpanija upisnih pandura“, koji su bili začetak oružanih snaga, i koje su same turske vlasti nazivale „soldatima“, i mreže dostavljača koja je predstavljala začetak tajne policije. Iako su ovi organi bili deo državnog aparata u početku, u kome najčešće nije odvajana izvršna od sudske vlasti i gde prava zakonodavna

vlast nije postojala, oni su predstavljali solidnu osnovu za dalji razvoj srpske državnosti, sa svim unutrašnjim i spoljnim elementima.

Ustanički vođi su veliku pažnju posvećivali javnoj bezbednosti na oslobođenoj teritoriji, radi čega su formirali i odgovarajuće organe i poveravali im vršenje policijske vlasti. U ovom periodu su zadaci policije poglavito bili usmereni na održavanje uspostavljenog poretka vlasti, na očuvanje bezbednosti granice, na zaštitu ustaničke države od špijunskih i sličnih aktivnosti koje su mogle ugroziti njenu bezbednost, na vođenje propagande u cilju dobijanja podrške i eventualno širenja ustanka u srpskim oblastima izvan Beogradskog pašaluka, i najzad, na staranje o ličnoj i imovinskoj bezbednosti građana. U uslovima neizgrađene državne organizacije u ustaničkom periodu nije mogla biti izvedena ni potpuna policijska organizacija, niti su njene funkcije mogle biti u dovoljnoj diferencirane od ostalih upravnih nadležnosti. Policija je ne samo tokom Prvog srpskog ustanka, već i u dugom vremenskom periodu nakon njega ostala gotovo izjednačena sa celokupnom unutrašnjom upravom.

Vojnim slomom ustanka 1813. godine poništeni su svi rezultati u izgradnji državnog aparata, ali kratkotrajno vaspostavljanje turskog upravnog sistema nije moglo poništiti državničko iskustvo stečeno u ustaničkom vremenu. Upravo je to iskustvo doprinelo da se po uspešnom okončanju Drugog srpskog ustanka relativno lako oforme domaći organi koji su obavljali i policijsku funkciju. Naredni korak u razvoju državnog aparata bila je dalja diferencijacija upravnih i sudskih funkcija, započeta još za vreme Miloševe vladavine, a konačno i dovršena pod ustavobraniteljima.