The Courtyard of Boroughs of Western Serbia in the 19th Century

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Abstract: The courtyard in boroughs of Western Serbia is a result of three sources of influence: planned urbanism, origin and activity of the population. The tradition, the rural background of the settlers, the way of economy and the annual income of the household, have gradually influenced the formation of the courtyard. In the development of the courtyards there are three phases: the stage of a village courtyard, the village boroughs phase and the borough’s phase. The village courtyard occupies a large area, the house is in the center of the plot, the auxiliary facilities satisfy the economic activity of the household (crop farming, cattle breeding). The courtyards of the village borough contains a condensed surface. The agricultural character of production (mostly, but not the only one) affects the number and schedule of auxiliary facilities. The house is located on the border of the plot (on the road/street side), Due to the high price of the land, the plot has a small width towards the street and develops in depth. The borough courtyard contains a small number of facilities, and the agricultural activity is minimal. The activity of the population: crafts, catering and trade, generate new objects on the yard. The plot is divided into two zones: house, commercial or agricultural yard. Auxiliary facilities on the plot are located in two ways: along the side of the plot, and on the back side of the plot. The courtyard gives a character to the settlement. It is necessary to take into account the characteristics of the yard and preserve them through contemporary urban planning.

Key words: courtyards in the Balkans, urbanism of boroughs in Serbia in the 19th century, boroughs in Serbia, plots in western Serbian boroughs, urbanism in Serbia.
Introduction

The boroughs of Western Serbia, originating in specific circumstances during the 19th century, have gained their distinctive visual identity. One of the basic elements of identity is a courtyard. Position of the main and auxiliary facilities on the plot, division of the plot into functional zones, relation of the main building towards the road / street, the ratio of the free and occupied plot area, the volume of the facilities, the number and position of the entrance to the plot, plot geometry, the attitude of the household activity and the structure of the objects on the plot, are only a small part of the necessary knowledge for proper contemporary urban planning. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the development of a courtyard in the boroughs of Western Serbia, through its three basic stages: the stage of the village courtyard, the phase of the village-borough’s courtyard and the phase of the borough’s courtyard.

The aim of the paper is to analyze and specify the characteristics of the borough’s courtyard: geometry of the plot, position of the building on the plot, characteristic zoning of the plot, communication, etc. The result of the paper should help to better understand the functioning of the boroughs in contemporary urban planning. The area is limited to the territory of contemporary municipalities of Kosjerić, Arilje, Čajetina, Bajna Bašta, Požega, Ivanjica and Užice. The historical framework of work begins at the beginning of the 19th century and ends at the beginning of the First World War (1914). The settlements of south-western Serbia were founded in three distinctive ways: the planned (Požega 1832, Rogačica 1839, Bajna Bašta 1858), partly formed settlements that were reconstructed by the urban plan (Ivanjica 1846, Užice 1863) or completely spontaneously formed settlements regulated in the proclamation procedure for the borough (Arilje 1880, Kosjerić 1892, Čajetina 1930).

Population settled in urban areas of western Serbia is rural and without urban experience. The economy in the boroughs was based on trade, catering and craftsmanship, which was engaged by a small number of inhabitants. The food supply system was not developed, therefore, a large number of items on the table had to be provided at the courtyard or in the vicinity. This forced a large proportion of the population in the settlements to deal with agriculture to meet basic living needs. Therefore, the courtyard had to contain vegetables and fruits, growing areas and a livestock breeding area, and sometimes large cattle.

The building experience, which immigrants brought to the settlement, was rural, from the way the buildings were built to the way the house was organized. Knowledge of rural origin (the location of the dirty and clean area of the house in relation to the house, topography and winds) has contributed to avoiding many mistakes in the organization of the garden. At the same time, the rural approach in shaping the urban space has given a rural character to the boroughs. The conditions that influenced the shape and composition of the courtyard in the boroughs make a much clearer picture. Therefore, step by step, according to the elements that compose it and the way of their organization, it is necessary to analyze the three basic phases of the development of the courtyard. In order to understand the boroughs in Serbia in the 19th century and in modern times, we must first analyze the first stage of development - a village borough courtyard.

Country courtyard

The way of farming in the countryside is that on the courtyard, beside the house, caused a large number of auxiliary facilities (for the preparation, processing and storage of agricultural products). Having in mind the philosophy of the rural household, economic facilities, which are conditionally referred to as subsidiary, are the priority and the most important for the survival of the household. Throughout history, we find many examples in which the host first built a building for a cattle (in a people called “treasure”), then a building for the accommodation of dairy products and eventually, a residential building. The character of the economy and the weather conditions demanded that a part of the agricultural work be done inside the house. A small house, which could not even cover all the housing needs of its family, had already had to accept the function of housekeeping. In addition to residential buildings, on the garden there are: vajats, dairies, barns, stalls, fruit dryers, meat dryers, summer kitchen etc. Outside the courtyard, but its equals are: watermills, huts, cottages, and kućer.
Textual descriptions (by Stojan Obradović) and several sketches (by Jovan Cvijić and Ljubiša Đenić) have been preserved for the village courtyard of western Serbia in the 19th century. Stojan Obradović describes the village house of southwestern Serbia as follows (Obradović, 1858:75).

“The peasants house are usually small, low, with roof covered by bark and grass. There is little or no stone-built house in the house, as they have not yet done it, although there is plenty of good stone for every building. The interior arrangement of the houses, in general, is quite untidy and unclean, because they bring in it in the house or in a room and in a cattle, and they are nourishing it there and protect from the winter.”

Jovan Cvijic brings a sketch of the plot of a wealthy peasant from the village of Gornja Dobrinka. The house occupies the central part of the courtyard and around it there are six vajats, magaza, ambar, corn barn, dairy, etc. On the north-east side, they are vajats for members of the cooperative, beside the house there is a canopy for carriages and agricultural tools. From the south-west there is a barn, wheat, corn cobs, and (at the very border of the plot) a hive and a hen back (Đenić, 1966). (Figure 1a)

A courtyard on the mountain Zlatibor in the center has a house in the center. Below it are all buildings that can endanger the house hygiene or pollute the source or well with water. Below the house are barns, auxiliary buildings, and a fenced garden. The outer frame of the garden forms the pasture (Mićić, 1925). (Figure 01b)

An additional impact on the formation of a courtyard (in villages and boroughs) was the migration of the population (within the region and between the
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Migration began with increased security in the country. Migration influenced the organization of the courtyard, the type and shape of buildings, the order in the construction of buildings, and the steps in completing the courtyard. The migrations have contributed to the impression of the incompleteness of many courtyards in settlements of western Serbia. Migration brought new residents to boroughs. The immigrants, most often, settled on the access roads, from the direction of the village from where they originate, to the boroughs. Ljuba Pavlović (Pavlović, 1925: 330) records the impact of migrations on the contents of the house:

“After the end of the war, individuals continuously descend from their villages along the perimeter of the field and under the roads and permanently inhabit, raise, in the places of old cattle and fields, houses, gardens and all other buildings. Who settles in these places does not return to the village, but rather settles beside the main stream, but from the perimeter and from the road it does not go on ... Due to this sudden descent of peasants into the fields, the need for raising the field buildings has disappeared.”

Village’s courtyard

By increasing the number of inhabitants, and by increasing its densities in the characteristic areas of the settlement (around the church, school, han / mehana), the village gradually acquires the form of a semi-urban environment. The spaces between the parcels are filled with new settlers or a division of a family. The house is reconstructed / built on the border of the plot with the street. Along the side of the plot, ancillary objects are built. At the opposite end of the plot (from the road / street) a garden and orchard is formed. The division of the enclosure between the heirs of the plot is divided in length, (in order each successor to get onto the street) narrowing the width of the street front. In this way, we come to the form of settlements that characterize the courtyards densely placed to one another. The main activity of the household is agriculture (it is no longer the only one, as in the rural garden). Additional activity of the household is catering (mehana, kafana) or craft (cobbler, shoemaker, tailor, chandler, miller, etc.). Due to the presence of agriculture and farming, the appearance of a courtyard (and thus settlements) is rural. The plot is based on a large number of small facilities. A small volume of auxiliary facilities is contributed by two causes: a) the economic progress of the household can not finance large objects, b) the period of peace is not long enough to accumulate the necessary amount of capital for the construction of a large auxiliary building.

The concentration of a large number of households on an unusually small surface (for this part of Serbia) produces a form of settlement known as a village borough. The household builds objects as much as their permitting annual or two-year income. The house is next to the road or is slightly pulled towards the
yard. In addition to the house there is a passage towards the back part of the
courtyard where there are magaza, vajats, barns and even deeper in the pitches,
hen, garden, and - in the deepest part of the plot - orchard. The area of the gar-
den is considerably less than in the rural household. The plot is clearly sepa-
rated from the green area. The plots are enclosed by a fence. The introduction of
new plants (plums) and products (brandy, dried plum) into the economy of the
household contributes to the emergence of new objects on the garden: quarries,
beer, dryers. The configuration of the soil, the construction restrictions during
due to length of construction season, the economic power of the household, the
possibility of import and the necessity for local materials as well as the builder
skills of the local population are just some of the causes of such a phenomenon.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, numerous families had frequent oc-
currences in the settlements of the central part of western Serbia. Family coop-
eratives in the villages during the 19th century counted several dozen members.
During the 20th century, the number of household members is constantly de-
creasing, which produces a new garden in the settlement, and a reduction in the
area of the plot (due to the division of households among the descendants). This
is best evidenced by censuses of the average number of household members:
1866-6.82; 1874-6.56; 1884-6.35; 1890-6.28; 1895-6.29, etc. (Grupa autora, 1989)

A courtyard in the plan of reorganizing the village of Rogačica from 1839
is organized similarly to the boroughs: there are a main and auxiliary building.
The main building is on the border of the plot, close to the street. The building
covers just a part of the width of the street front. The entrance to the plot is on
one of the sides of the main building. Auxiliary facilities in the plot are built
along one of the sides. In the depths, behind the main courtyard, the plot con-
tinues to develop in the garden and further into the orchard. According to the
description of Jelisej Vukajlović, the buildings built before the Plan were made
in a wooden skeleton covered with a shingle / stone roof tiles. The area of the
buildings, found on the site, (the list of surfaces is given in the list of plots with
the urban plan) is expressed in square footages: 110, 120, 130, 150, 196, 264, 450
and 700 (Živković, 1984: 34-44) . In the drawing of Feliks Kanic, Rogačica was
shown in 1888. It is a settlement of one and two floor houses, in a traditional
spirit. The vista, which is provided from the public space in front of the Town
hall, ends at the church (Kanic, 1987: 375). (Figure 2)

In contemporary rural towns, similar tendencies from the 19th century were
maintained. The activity of the population is similar: mainly agriculture with
the engagement of few household members in companies or state institutions.

There are tensions between the urban regulations and conditional freedom
of location of rural facilities in the village. Residential buildings are at the border
of the plot toward the road. Auxiliary facilities are behind the residential build-
ing (looking from the street). This rule was also applied to parcels on a slope, or
where the house is located topographically lower than the auxiliary facilities. In rural lands, for hygienic reasons, such cases are forbidden (common law). The plot width is limited by the available street front, and is smaller than in the rural household. Also, while village borough formed at crossing points of two roads (Godovik, Gornja Dobrinja, Prilipac), there is a greater number of irregular and unfavorable plots (triangular, trapezoidal, extremely low / high depth, etc.), but in settlements formed along the roads (Velika Ježevica). The area around the intersection has the largest dwelling density, the plots are the least surface and the most irregular (the attractiveness of the location). Groups of relatives in the periphery of the settlement are formed. (Figures 3, 4, 5]
Figure 4. Gornja Dobrinja, Požega (2000)

Figure 5. Godovik, Požega (2000)
The courtyard lot of rural borough, formed along the roads, have more regular geometry, rational use of the street front, the ratio of width to the depth of the plot is 1:1 to 1:3, the building is located to the boundary of the plot towards the street (but not at the border), one side of the road is more inhabited, the center of settlement is close to the place where the school or church is located, in the depth of the plot there is a small part of the agricultural holding, due to spontaneous development, narrow (residential) and large (agricultural) plots, are intertwined. Most often, the settler buys a large agricultural parcel; on it in the corner, close to the road, sets the surface for the courtyard and builds a house on it. (Figure 6)
A courtyard in the boroughs

The courtyard in the boroughs is the third step of development. Many of the functions present in the courtyard of the village boroughs are reduced, new functions appear, the occupancy of the plot and the density of dwelling increases. The architecture of the house changes (form, volume and partially construction). The organization of the house, remains very similar to the developed forms of the vernacular one. The reason should be sought in a slow change in the way of family life and household economy, which in the house finds its physical frame. The very nature of life in the 19th century towns imposed a family of several sources for eating and storing food (garden, orchard, magaza, etc.) (Kojić, 1973: 103). (Figure 7)

Figure 7. The position of the main building (darkened) in the courtyard of spontaneously formed boroughs Arilje and Kosjerić (state of the beginning of the 20th century)

Figure 8. The position of the main building (darkened) in the courtyard of planned formed boroughs Požega and Bajina Bašta (state of the beginning of the 20th century)
In the boroughs there are two groups of courtyards: the courtyard of the old families and the immigrant’s one. Old family courtyards: occupy the central parts of the settlement, the plot is elongated (due to the previous division of the family), the house is located on the border of the plot towards the street, alongside one side of the side there is a row with additional facilities, the yard is divided into two zones: commercial yard, in the depth of the plot there is a garden. (Figures 9, 10)

There is no room for an orchard in the courtyard of the borough. Due to the high density of housing, livestock breeding on the plot (stall) is no longer permitted. The auxiliary facilities are located on the north side of the plot to open up to the parcel to the south. The buildings were built according to the experience and knowledge brought by immigrants from their earlier living places (villages, village boroughs, etc.). About the appearance of settlements in southwest Serbia Lj. Pavlović notes (Pavlović, 1925: 169):

“..Kosjerići, Požega and Užice before 1870 were not our northern towns and palaces, but real Herzegovina old towns, not only with houses, but with other qualities.”

There is a similar impression by J. Cvijic (Cvijic, 1966):

“Thus, for example, in Kosjerić and Kremna, (Užice region) there are large two-storey houses, where there is a house or a warehouse, and above flats, and this is a Herzegovinian kind of two-storey house.”
Figure 10. Courtyard in spontaneously formed boroughs, Kosjerić, Karađorđeva street (1934)

Functional zones of the courtyard

In the first stages of settlement development, the largest number of households were engaged in agriculture, which had a decisive influence on the design and organization of the courtyard. In the later stages of the development of the boroughs, mixed households are present: agricultural-administrative, agricultural-craft and agricultural-industrial. The physical change of the village borough into a small town, from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban settlement, does not happen at some point, it lasts for several decades. In the mentioned period, in the settlement there is an increase in the cooperation of households (in relation to rural towns), and then the organization of the house is changed.

Figure 11. The house occupies part of the street front, the entrance to the plot is through the building
The courtyard of the borough is characterized by a small width of the street front, a large plot depth, a clear separated zone with residential and zonal economic facilities, little greenery and a good connection to the public space (street, market, square). For hygienic (and cultural requirements), the garden contains clearly separated zones: residential (to the street), and commercial (in the back part of the plot). The space that is not occupied with the facilities is the courtyard partly decorated (garden, paved paths, flowers, trees, etc.) and partly as a grassy surface. The plot is characterized by division into two functional units: home yard, and commercial yard. The relationship between neighboring households is clearly defined: the commercial yard coincides with the position of the commercial yard of the neighboring household. The design of buildings is essentially in the spirit of the Vernacular architecture, but with the details taken from the Classical one (street facade, decoration, processing around the openings, facade corners design, etc.). (Figure 12)

The home yard is a space right around the building. It consists of a house with a specially worked out parterre. The main purpose of this part of the yard is to connect the surfaces that need to be clean: the main residential building (house), auxiliary housing facilities (summer houses, flats for the workers, etc.), and economic facilities. In this part of the parcel there are warehouses for goods or workshops that are part of the business premises (in the house) and it is oriented towards the street. The width of the street front is 10-15 and the depth is up to 25 meters. The house is on the plot boundary or is slightly pulled. The house occupies a part of the street front, leaning on one of the side borders of the plot (the rest of the street front is used to enter the plot). In this part of the
yard there is a storage room for wood and a summer kitchen. Because of its large number of buildings it contains the least green areas. If it contains trees, it is usually cherry or walnut. (Figures 11, 13)
The commercial yard is located behind the house yard, away from the street. It contains all facilities for household, cattle breeding and accommodation for her. Some households (which still have elements of agricultural production) contain milk, amber, basket, fruit storage, pub, etc. The boundary line between the two functional zones of the yard is accentuated by a fence. It is accessed through the house yard. In this part of the yard there is no special parterre processing. In the case of younger households, a change has been made so that, instead of several small objects, multiple purposes are combined in one larger object. Within this part of the yard, in the case of younger households, instead of the buildings, there are agricultural areas, vegetable and fruit trees (Figures 14, 15)

Location of auxiliary facilities on the yard

The position of the auxiliary facilities on the yard is dependant on the age of the household (older households have a larger number of facilities), the topography of the terrain (flat or on the slopes), the activity of the family (shop - warehouses, catering - kitchen, sanitary facilities, craftwork - workshops, warehouses, workers) and the traffic connection of the town hall. According to the position of auxiliary facilities on the yard, two basic groups can be identified: 1. Courtyards with auxiliary facilities along the side of the plot, 2. Courtyards with auxiliary facilities on the back side of the plot.

Figure 14. Auxiliary facilities along the side of the plot (Užice)

A courtyard with auxiliary facilities along the side of the plot. In this group there are objects that are built on a plot with elongated geometry. This geometry caused the auxiliary buildings to be lower one after the other along one of the lateral boundaries of the plot. In most places, the auxiliary facilities occupy the (north) side of the plot, taking into account the insulation and ventilation of the yard. (Figure 14)
The courtyard with auxiliary facilities on the back of the plot. Characteristics are for parts of the settlement with dense dwelling. In addition, the auxiliary facilities are located on the back of the plot and the yard is formed between the two facades of the auxiliary and the main building. Most often, they are courtyards in boroughs where the urban plan has foresees their position (Figure 15).

**Conclusion**

The courtyard of the boroughs in Western Serbia is a result of three groups of influences: planned urbanism (which defines geometry of the plot), the origin of the population and the activity of the household. The tradition of rural life, the way of economy and the annual income of the household influenced the development of the courtyard and its construction gradually. In the development of the courtyard there are three phases: the stage of a village courtyard, the village borough phase and the borough’s phase. The village courtyard contains all the elements that the householder in the village has. It occupies a large area, the house is in the center and the buildings are accompanied by the dominant economic activity of the household (farming, cattle breeding). The village borough courtyard is condensed over the surface. Dominant household activity is still agriculture, which defines the number and arrangement of facilities. The house is oriented towards the street, and the plot develops in depth and not in width. The courtyard of the town is the first urban form and contains a reduced number of auxiliary and economic buildings (following the reduction of the household’s agricultural activity). Canteens, catering and stores generate new auxiliary facilities, and occupy the courtyard at its depth. The garden of the borough is divided into two zones (yards): house, economy / agriculture. The division of the plot between the heirs is done in length, dividing the width of the street front. On the garden there are houses, auxiliary facilities, magaza (often also a stable), well, garden and plum. In addition to the house there is
a passage to the part of the courtyard where there are: magaza, vajats, ambar, and stall. Orchards or gardens are in the deepest part of the plot. Boundaries between individual yards and enclosures. Auxiliary facilities on the plot are located in two ways: along the side of the plot, and on the back side of the plot. The neighborhood of Western Serbia is characterized by a settlement. It is necessary to take into account the value of a garden during modern planning, and to preserve them through urban plans.

**Origin of figures**

Figure 1a. Mićić, LJ., (1925) *Zlatibor*, Beograd.
Figure 1b. Cvijić, J., (1931) *Balkansko poluostrvo*, Beograd
Figures 2-15. D. Mićić and Author (according to: SKN, stanje 1934)

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