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JELENA PAUNOVIĆ

University of Belgrade
Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History
jpaunovi@f.bg.ac.rs

THE DEATHS OF THE OBRENOVIĆ FAMILY IN SERBIAN HISTORY AND REMEMBRANCE*

Abstract: The political scene of Serbia is scientifically well studied. Historical literature about Serbia in the 19th century is vast and interesting. This article aims to present the rulers of the Obrenović dynasty in the light of their tragic deaths mostly through memoir historical sources. The lives and deaths of the Serbian rulers affected both the interior and foreign policy of the country. The Obrenović dynasty died out except for their female branches and even those have not been researched enough. This paper will explain the chain of events that led to the end of the Obrenović family.

Keywords: Serbia, Price Miloš Obrenović, Princess Ljubica, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Princess Ljubica Obrenović, King Milan Obrenović, King Aleksandar Obrenović, death, expatriation, conspiracy, assassination.

In ethnological and anthropological research, culture is defined within two different concepts: elite culture and popular culture. Elite culture is that of educated classes, while the popular one is that of popular masses. Historical sources can tell us a lot about the life and death of the Serbian rulers and dynastic family members.

This article will try to depict some aspects of the lives and deaths of the Obrenović dynasty outside the usual political context. The Obrenović family, especially during the rule of Prince Mihailo, 1 was the most prominent family in Serbian growing social elite.

There is one more angle to this paper. Most deaths of the Obrenović family were surrounded with tragedy, prophecies and folk tales. That is why the author decided to

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¹ Mihailo Obrenović (1823–1868) was the Prince of Serbia from 1839 to 1842 and again from 1860 to 1868. His first reign ended when he was deposed in 1842 and his second when he was assassinated in 1868. He is stated as being the most enlightened ruler of modern Serbia. He advocated the idea of a Balkan federation against the Ottoman Empire.

include in this text some of the Serbian folk prophecies and superstitions.

There are many historical sources that can give us insight in to the private lives and deaths of the Obrenović dynasty, usually written by their contemporaries or eye witnesses like Sreten L. Popović, Filip Hristić, Mileva Alimpić, Dragiša Vasić, British consul in Serbia John Augustus Longworth, Vladan Đorđević and others.

The most valuable stories told in this historical manner are those about the private lives and deaths of Prince Miloš, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Princess Ljubica, King Milan Obrenović and King Aleksandar Obrenović.

1. Prince Miloš Obrenović

In his book *The Travels Around New Serbia* published in 1879, Sreten L. Popović notes the following event. The story about Prince Miloš⁷ starts with folk beliefs and superstitions at the time of the First Serbian Uprising. The future Prince Miloš, at that time a servant to a Turkish lord – *subasha* was plowing his field in Brusnica. Around noon they unharnessed the oxen so that they could feed them and give them water. Miloš and his former master also sat down to have lunch together. At that moment, a solar eclipse started. Prince Miloš recalled the story like this: "The Turk saw it and asked: 'What is this, Miloš?' – And I told him: 'It is a solar eclipse, of course.' 'It won't be good,' answered the Turk." And he was right. The Turk would not be Miloš's master and the future Prince would not be his servant anymore. From his father's writings Popović dated this event to 30 January 1804 by the old calendar.⁸

Prince Miloš rarely came to Belgrade between 1820 and 1830, before the Serbian declaration of autonomy. He visited Ostružnica, the monastery in Rakovica and Topčider but did not go to Belgrade. Even after that he preferred to be in Kragujevac. When Prince Miloš finally came to Belgrade in 1830, the citizens saw a uniformed guard and a military orchestra for the first time.⁹

² Sreten L. Popović was a writer, a personal Secretary of Princess Ljubica and later Avram Petronijević, and a judge of the Court of Cassation. He lived from 1820 to 1890. He was a well-known author of stories about old Belgrade (*The Memoirs of a Belgrader*). He spent years collecting old books, maps, letters, deeds and memoirs. His most famous work was a book *The Travels around New Serbia* published in 1879.

³ Filip Hristić (1819–1905) was the Prince's Representative (President of the Government of Serbia), Minister of Education, Governor of the National Bank, kapucehaja and then first Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Minister (ambassador) of Serbia in Constantinople, Vienna, Berlin and London, and an honorary member of the Serbian Royal Academy.

⁴ Mileva Alimpić was the daughter of Princess Ljubica's brother Petar Vukmanović and one of the first Serbian women writers.

⁵ Dragomir "Dragiša" Vasić (1885–1945) was a Serbian lawyer, writer and publicist.

⁶ John Augustus Longworth was a British consul in Serbia from 1867–1875.

Miloš Obrenović (1780–1860) was Prince of Serbia from 1815 to 1839, and again from 1858 to 1860. He participated in the First Serbian Uprising, led Serbs in the Second Serbian Uprising, and founded the House of Obrenović. Under his rule, Serbia became an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire. Prince Miloš ruled autocratically. At the end of his life he shared the power with his son. During his rule, he was the richest man in Serbia and one of the richest in the Balkans.

⁸ Popović 1950: 189.

⁹ *Ibid*. 132.

In 1837 S. L. Popović was a state trainee in Smederevo. His home was in Belgrade. He was allowed only 10 to 15 days of vacation per year. He happened to visit some friends and encountered a fortuneteller. The friends suggested to him to have his fortune told with cards. The fortuneteller foretold him that he would travel home and would never come back to Smederevo again. Popović told the fortune teller: "If your cards are right about everything like they are right about my going home, you can just toss them into the fire." She answered: "You are most certainly going home and with some great man like Prince Miloš who is going to visit Smederevo."

And as the fortune teller predicted, a couple of days later there came a horseman carrying a message that Prince Miloš would be visiting Smederevo. The news that the Prince was coming caused a sensation in the town.

The Prince was joyfully welcomed and a lot of people came to pay their respects, kissing his hand and raising their hats. Popović was acquainted with Miloš because he was a member of a *vertep* theatre company. With his friends from the Kragujevac high school – Lyceé he joined a masked processions that made rich people laugh around Christmas time. They also performed before Prince Miloš in the Kragujevac Theatre. The director of the theatre was Joakim Vujić. He Audience was the Prince himself, the members of his court and lower-ranking clerks. The high lords were sitting while the rest of the audience was left standing. Actors and actresses were young apprentices and schoolboys like Popović and his friends Jovan Marinović and Filip Hristić. There were no women participants in the plays and the beardless boys played the women's roles. They were dressed by a female costume designer. The dresses and jewelry were borrowed from rich ladies in Kragujevac, who were not happy about that at all. But when Joakim Vujić complained to the Prince about the lack of costumes, Miloš sent Popović and Stevan Knićanin to go canvassing from door to door to get pretty dresses and jewelry by requisition. Of course, the things were only being borrowed for the play and then returned to their owners.

Prince immediately remembered Popović when he came to Smederevo and asked him: "Why are you so pale?" and Popović replied that he often had nose bleeds. The Prince answered "So does my Mihailo." The Prince told the judge in charge that he did not look after Popović properly and took Popović home with him to his parents. This was the last visit of Prince Miloš to Smederevo because he was soon forced to abdicate and leave Serbia until his return in 1858. 16

Popović's notes contain another prophecy about Prince Miloš around 1845-1846.

¹⁰ F. Hristić 2015: 95, 71.

Joakim Vujić (1772–1847) was a Serbian writer, dramatist (musical stage and theatre), actor, traveler and polyglot. He was one of the most accomplished Serbian dramatists and writers of the 18th century, director of Knjaževsko-srpski teatar (The Royal Serbian Theatre) in Kragujevac 1835/36. He is known as the Father of Serbian Theatre.

¹² Jovan Marinović (1821–1893) was a Serbian politician and diplomat, who introduced several enlightened reforms in the Serbian political system.

¹³ See: Hristić 2015: 71–94; Paunović 2015: 8–14.

¹⁴ Stevan Petrović, known as Stevan Knićanin (1807–1855), was a Serbian voivode (commander) of the Serbian volunteer squads in Serbian Vojvodina during the 1848 revolution.

¹⁵ Popović 1950: 195.

¹⁶ Ibid. 190-193.

After Prince Miloš was forced to leave Serbia in 1839 and Prince Mihailo abdicated in 1842, he did not come back to the Principality until 1858. Miloš sent a friend to another fortuneteller who read cards. She guessed that the reading was not for the friend but for King Miloš himself and then she said that the Prince would not be coming back to Serbia for another ten to twelve years. ¹⁷

When Prince Miloš and Prince Mihailo came back to Serbia and visited Smederevo in 1858 his friend said: "The fortune teller was right! This is the twelfth year since your departure."

There were even some rumours in Serbia that there was a prophecy about Prince Mihailo's death. At the time when Prince Mihailo was born it was foretold that his life would not end well and that it would not be a happy one. 18

The roads in the Serbian Principality were safe for travel back then. It was even safe to travel by night. Popović states that he himself took the same road many times carrying bronze and silver money for state business. Prince Miloš's power was based on the principles of a patriarchal monarchy. The administration in the Principality, after the breakdown of the Turkish power, was left in hands of the local chieftains — pashas appointed by the Prince among the local elders. In his household Prince Miloš ruled with a tyrannical hand. He himself approved all the marriages, decided whose children were to be christened and who he was going to help in their money troubles. Miloš Obrenović had organized homeland security. This situation enabled Serbia to become a desirable route for diplomatic correspondence.

At the time of the first diplomatic relations between Serbia and Great Britain, probably in connection with Colonel Hodges's ¹⁹ consular appointment, there was a story about a passage of couriers from Great Britain through Serbia. They were sent to Constantinople, carrying gifts from Queen Victoria for the Sultan and his harem. Somehow they managed to lose their bags with the costly presents. They had to return to Prince Miloš in Kragujevac, explaining to him what had happened and regretfully admitting the incident. They said that they had lost what they had been supposed to guard with their lives. Prince Miloš listened to their story and then reprimanded them for their poor performance. The Serbian ruler then asked them if maybe they would be able to recognize their bags and took the couriers to a room where their belongings were already safely kept. The British servants declared their enormous admiration for the Prince. Their stuff had been found by the Serbian military national service even before the British realized that they had lost them in the first place.

Prince Miloš recruited his male servants from the wealthiest Serbian houses. After they took good care of him for a few years, the prince would choose those who would be appointed captains. After that, they could advance in the state administration and gain the best positions and wealth. Miloš's recruits became the Special Prince's Red guard.²⁰

The old Prince cared very much for his people. He was even interested in their folk beliefs. The 19th century Serbian people were very superstitious, believing in witches, vampires and werewolves. At some point there was a story about a one-eyed werewolf who

¹⁸ *Ibid*. 190

¹⁷ *Ibid*. 193.

¹⁹ Pavlowich 1961: 32-33.

²⁰ For more about Prince Miloš Special Prince's Red Guard see: Milićević 2018: 87–102.

was appearing, attacking women around Kragujevac. Prince Miloš sent his guard and a masked peasant was caught and punished with beating. Thus, the Prince stopped the fear that was spreading among his farmers and villagers.²¹

2. Princess Ljubica Obrenović

It is said that Princess Ljubica²² was born with two dark marks in the shape of a hand on her back. The marks were visible from her birth until her death.²³

By the time of Miloš's departure from Serbia in 1839 Princess Ljubica joined the opposition against Prince Miloš. Constitutional opposition started to form when Serbia gained autonomy from the Porte. Their goal was for Serbia to become a constitutional state and to restrict Prince Miloš's power. Unhappy with the Prince as a husband and a ruler, the Princess joined the opposition. Prince Miloš's heir to the throne, Prince Milan, while still alive and Jevrem Obrenović, ²⁴ Prince Miloš's brother, supported the opposition trying to restrain Prince Miloš's autocratic rule. When Princess Ljubica joined the conspirators, most of the state officials stopped wavering and declared themselves against the Prince. ²⁵

Prince Miloš did not want to change his despotic reign and he left the country when the Turkish constitution of 1838 was declared. He abdicated on 1/13 June in favor of Prince Milan Obrenović. He took Prince Mihailo with him.

When Prince Miloš was leaving, he said to his wife: "Ljubica, I have made you angry many times, please forgive me. I am taking Mihailo with me and you stay with Milan and see that he gets well soon. If God lets him recover you will be living with him well." Princess Ljubica stayed behind in Belgrade.

But Prince Milan Obrenović died shortly after only 25 days of rule from tuberculoses and the power was left in the hands of his brother, a minor, Prince Mihailo Obrenović. Mihailo Obrenović was with Prince Miloš in Vlaška and he came back to Serbia in March 1840. During his absence Serbia was under the First Regency of Jevrem Obrenović, Avram Petronijević and Toma Vučić Perišić.²⁷

After the death of Prince Milan, the Porte declared Mihailo Obrenović the Prince of Serbia on 21 October 1839. Princess Ljubica was sent from Serbia to bring Prince Mihailo back to Belgrade. When the declaration came from the Porte she was already with Prince Miloš on his estates in Vlaška. The Princess then got a new obligation to follow her son to Constantinople. Prince Mihailo came to Constantinople with his mother and his entourage

²¹ Popović 1950: 52.

²² Ljubica Vukomanović (1788–1843) was Princess consort of the Principality of Serbia as the wife of Miloš Obrenović I, Prince of Serbia, and the founder of the Obrenović dynasty, which ruled Serbia in an almost unbroken line from the time of his election as Prince to the May Overthrow in 1903. Ljubica married Miloš in 1805 and became Princess of Serbia on 6 November 1817 until her husband's abdication on 25 June 1839. She had at least seven surviving children.

²³ Ljušić 1997: 33.

²⁴ Jevrem Teodorović (1790–1856) later known as Jevrem Obrenović, was the youngest brother of Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović and was also the youngest of his nine siblings. He was a long term foreman of the Šabac nahiye.

²⁵ Ljušić 1997: 127–128.

²⁶ *Ibid*. 133.

²⁷ Ljušić 1995: 29-37.

in early November 1839. After waiting for an audience with the Sultan for a month, the Prince saw the Sultan on 23 December 1839. The mother and son left Constantinople in February 1840 and came back to Serbia in March of the same year. They were not in good relations with each other because Ljubica changed sides while in Vlaška and became a supporter of the older Prince.

The first ball in Serbia was organized in 1841 during the first rule of Prince Mihailo Obrenović and it was held in a building called Cumrkuk.²⁹ The ball was a public event, a magnificent one, and all the Serbian officers from the neighbouring Austria were invited. On that occasion champagne was served in Serbia for the first time. Three military orchestras were playing.³⁰ This was one of the first signs that a European way of life was starting to be accepted in Serbia.

During the same year Prince Mihailo declared St Sava the Patron of Serbian education and this holiday was celebrated in the Principality for the first time. On 13 January by the old calendar Prince Mihailo set up a school fund.³¹

Sreten L. Popović was an unofficial secretary to Princess Ljubica. He read to her the secret letters of Prince Miloš. He was constantly corresponding with the Princess. At that time a Russian diplomat baron Liven was sent to Serbia to reconcile Prince Mihailo with Vučić's party and Princess Ljubica. 32 When baron Liven came to Serbia, the Princess asked Popović if he was acquainted with the Baron. Popović said that he was too young to know him but he knew his secretary. Then the Princess told him to go and find out from the Baron's secretary if the Baron knew that the Prince's mother lived in Belgrade near her son. Since he came to Belgrade, Baron Liven had been living in the Princess's Residence. He did not make an audience or visit the Princess. Baron Liven did not know about the Prince's mother and nobody told him about her. Two days later Baron scheduled an audience with the Princess. Popović asked the Princess what kind of audience it was going to be when the foreign diplomat did not have where to sit. The Princess's room was decorated in an old fashion way, veiled with carpets. Along the two corners of the room walls there were raised seats, covered with cushions. She used to sit there and those who visited her had to sit on the lower ones. The baron would not be able to sit there in his suit and stretch his legs. So Princess Ljubica ordered two chairs to be brought in. When the Baron came, he kissed Ljubica Obrenović's hand and she kissed his forehead. Popović was ready to interpret the Princess's words but the Baron stopped him and said that he understood the Princess because she spoke quietly and clearly. The Princess tried to persuade the Baron to speak to Prince Mihailo and his advisors, Vučić and Petronijević, to let the old Prince to come back to Serbia so that he could die in his homeland. Finally, the Princess asked the Baron if he would take her letter to the Russian Empress and he agreed that he would. Popović wrote a letter that the Princess dictated. Princess Ljubica did not have a table in her house, so Popović wrote a letter holding a board on top of a cushion on his lap. 33

²⁸ *Ibid*. 144–147.

²⁹ Turkish for costumes. It was first built in 1834.

³⁰ Popović 1950: 74.

³¹ *Ibid*. 136.

³² Ibid. 82-85, 125-126.

³³ *Ibid.* 383–386.

Prince Miloš had an idea to build a family Mausoleum of the Obrenović Family and a church in Kragujevac. The Princess started to collect the material and bricks in 1841. But the idea was not accomplished because Prince Mihailo was also exiled from Serbia in 1842. That was the end of his first rule. Apart from Prince Miloš, no other ruler of the Obrenović dynasty supported the idea about the Mausoleum and the graves of the Obrenović family were scattered all over Serbia and abroad. ³⁴

In the book about her husband *Life and Work of General Ranko Alimpić* Mileva Alimpić described the last moments that Princess Ljubica spent in Serbia. Prince Mihailo left Serbia and crossed over to Zemun on 25 August 1842. Princess Ljubica stayed behind. She was ordered to leave Serbia three days later on 29 August. Even though the two diplomats, the Austrian and the Russian consul, were present in the court Vučić's captain who was ordered to deport the old Princess was rude and insulting to her. The captain and his men came to the Princess's home like a barbarian army. They found the Princess crying for her deceased son Prince Milan Obrenović in the presence of the two consuls. The captain shouted at the Princess: "Take your things and leave the country as soon as possible like your son did. You cannot take anything valuable with you. This is national property." He started to take things out of the suitcases searching for hidden gold. In the cases they found only the Princess's clothes. In the end, the Austrian consul told the captain that the two representatives of the diplomatic corps would escort Princess Ljubica across the Serbian border.

Since the captain continued with his threats, Princess Ljubica answered: "It will be hard for Serbian people when they see their Princess under guards and defended from her sons and brothers by foreigners." She also said that Vučić would live to pay his respects at her grave if she was buried abroad.

This turned out to be true. In 1855 when Vučić traveled to Vienna for an eye treatment, he first went to the monastery of Krušedol where he kissed the Princess's grave and prayed to God. He also went to see old Prince Miloš in Vienna but he could not face young Prince Mihailo.³⁵

Vučić's messenger left the Princess's room with his gang. They started to break and destroy expensive things around the court. In the yard they found barrels with wine and oil and smashed them. The Princess said goodbye to the room where her first son died and left the Serbian Principality never to come back.³⁶

The supporters of the Obrenović dynasty settled themselves on the Austrian side near the Serbian border, mostly in Zemun. But the new government in the Principality was not comfortable with that situation. They insisted that the Obrenović family and their followers move further into the Austrian land. In the end, Prince Mihailo moved to Banat to his sister's estate and Princes Ljubica went to Novi Sad. All the former government servants that crossed over to Austria with Princes Ljubica and Prince Mihailo lived there with a support of Prince Miloš's money.³⁷

The main pillar of the Obrenović dynasty collapsed suddenly. Princes Ljubica died

³⁴ Ljušić 1997: 157–158.

³⁵ Alimpić 1892: 36-37.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 36–37.

³⁷ *Ibid*. 55.

at the age of 58. She was sick for a short time when she moved to Novi Sad but she quickly recovered. The weakness came over her again and she died from a sickness to her stomach. This was the biggest blow to the Obrenović followers. They all counted on Princess Ljubica's energy to return the Serbian throne to Prince Mihailo. The young Prince was sent by his father back to Novi Sad and he managed to say goodbye to his mother before she died. The Princess was buried, as it was already mentioned, in the monastery of Krušedol.

The Prince stayed in Novi Sad and gave his mother another proper church service after 40 days. Only then were the Princess's family members who remained in Serbia allowed to visit her grave. Prince Mihailo was weak and sad. His aunts and their daughters were very worried about him. After the service, the family had a minute with the Prince alone. Princess Ljubica's sisters asked the Prince: "What was my sister's illness?" and the Prince answered: "Didn't you know? She was probably poisoned." The opposition did not succeed in their plan to poison the young and old Obrenovićs but there was a possibility that they did it to Princess Ljubica.³⁸

3. Prince Mihailo Obrenović

When Prince Miloš came back to Serbia in 1858 and settled in Belgrade, a lot of people came to visit him. He was always glad to receive them and talk to them. The Prince was already old and forgetful and at some point he thought that a man, whom he forbade to come because he had visited him too many times, came to see him once again. He got angry and chased him away. His son Mihailo, at that time already ruling along with his ageing father, went to see him and asked: "Why did you chase that man away? He was Stojan Veljković, an Appellate Court judge; he is your friend from a long time ago!" Prince Miloš did not recognize his friend. Prince Mihailo found the judge and took him back to his father. After that the Prince had a long talk with his friend about the old days.³⁹

When Prince Miloš returned to Serbia, he had the same kind of work energy that he had had during his first rule. He himself looked for work and created it. When he saw that his secretaries or ministers did not have work or were doing nothing, he would tell them "Make your own work." He would go out to Košutnjak to see how things were going. He could never get over the fact that one of his favourite meadows was ruined and made into Topčider Park. He said that there was enough woods in Košutnjak and wanted to cut down trees in Topčider Park. ⁴⁰

Prince Miloš's health worsened in 1859. His secretary and one of the best friends of Prince Mihailo from his youth, Filip Hristić, took care of the old Prince. Hristić read to him papers and attended to his every need. The old Prince went to the spa in Aleksinac 30 km from Niš trying to get well. The treatment did not work and he only got worse. He went to another spa in the far east of Serbia, the Brestovac spa. The spa was 272 km east of Belgrade and the journey was difficult. When the old Prince got to Brestovac he stayed in a residence built by Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević. The Prince could not get out of bed any more.

³⁸ Ibid. 61-66.

³⁹ Popović 1950: 222–223.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*. 234–235.

Filip Hristić telegraphed Prince Mihailo to come quickly to Brestovac. The young prince came to the spa the next day. Fillip Hristić in his Memoirs already addressed Mihailo Obrenović as a Serbian Prince. Prince Miloš wanted to die in Belgrade. He asked his son to take him to the Serbian capital. Prince Mihailo did what his father had asked him to. In Negotin, the settlement 237 km away from Belgrade, Prince Miloš rested in the church residence. He could not climb to the second floor so he stayed on the ground floor.

At the same time, during the night, a telegram came from Belgrade that fighting had started between Turks and Serbs on the Sava river in Belgrade. Fillip Hristić woke Prince Mihailo up and informed him about the news. Prince Mihailo said: "Go, tell my father, he will know what to do." So Hristić went to wake up the old Prince. Prince Miloš was awake and a candle was burning. He asked who was coming. Filip announced himself. He told Prince Miloš about the fighting between Serbs and Turks. The old Prince was not interested anymore. All his life-long energy had already drained. He sad to Hristić: "Go, tell Mihailo, I will die in a few days. Mihailo will know what to do." Hristić, not really listening to the old Prince, automatically answered "God's will, master, God's will." Hristić understood what he had said the moment he left the old Prince's room. He unintentionally said that he was praying for the old master to die. He got very scared and ran to Prince Mihailo to tell him what he had done. Prince Michel said to Hristić: "I have never seen you frightened like this. I thought that something had happened to my father. We have already ordered what was necessary."

From Radujevac, a place near Negotin, the two Obrenović Princes travelled by boat to Belgrade. By the time they got to the residence in Topčider, the old Prince was so sick that Prince Mihailo had to carry him upstairs in his arms. Prince Miloš died on the Holy Cross Day, 27 September 1860.⁴¹

At the beginning of his travels, Popović gave a beautiful description of Banovo Brdo. Writing about his travels towards the end of the 19th century, he said that the landscape was especially picturesque, wild looking and desolated. On the foothill there were two Matija Ban's ⁴² houses built of brick and beautifully looking with a view that spread all the way to the rivers Sava and the Danube with their new bridges and steamboats passing by. The view from the houses covered both Zemun and Belgrade.

This was the favourite hunting area of Prince Mihailo and his friends. In 1866 the Prince went hunting with the last Belgrade Vizier, Ali Riza Pasha. They went hunting in winter. Even though there were no flowers or green leaves, the Prince was delighted by the winter idyll of the forest. The Belgrade Vizier was also surprised by the beauty of the place and asked the Prince if he could come back again with his harem in the spring. In the summer of 1867 the Grand Vizier was forced to give up the keys of the Turkish fortresses in Serbia to Prince Mihailo and the Turks and their wives left Serbian lands for good. 43

According to the British consul in Serbia John Augustus Longworth, Pan-Slavic ideas in the Principality had existed long before 1867. The idea was fully accepted during

⁴¹ By the new calendar; Hristić 2015: 140–141

⁴² Matija Ban (1818–1903) was a Serbian poet, dramatist, and playwright, born in the city of Dubrovnik, who became known as one of the first Catholics from Dubrovnik who declared a Serbian nationality. He settled in Serbia in 1844 and engaged in various diplomatic missions in service of the Principality of Serbia. Ban was a strong advocate of Serbian unity and independence, but was also a pan-Slavic.

⁴³ Popović 1950: 113.

the first rule of Prince Mihailo in 1841-42.

Near the end of Prince Mihailo's second rule and his unfortunate life in Serbia, Pan-Slavism was fully accepted in the Principality. By that time Prince himself was not in favour of those ideas anymore. According to some English sources published in a Serbian semiofficial paper called "Vidovdan" on 20 January 1867, Prince Mihailo declared himself against the Yugoslav or South Slavic idea. He had bigger plans. His idea was a Confederation between Turkey and Austria. The idea probably came from Count Andrassy. 44 It originated from Prince Eugen of Savoy as a barrier against the Turks. But Prince Mihailo took it further. He wanted to unite all the Slavs of the Danube region into one federation regardless of their faith. 45

Soon came another report from Consul Longworth: "Prince Mihailo was assassinated this evening, at five past six in Topčider Park, while taking a walk with the ladies of his family. His cousin, Madame Konstantinović was also killed." British Consul Longworth also happened to be present in Topčider, taking a walk at the same time. Topčider Park was three miles from the city centre of Belgrade. Longworth walked all the way to the gates of Košutnjak, a Belgrade forest, where he was informed that Prince Mihailo Obrenović was murdered. Longworth was met by Milutin Garašanin, a son of an ex-minister Ilija Garašanin, who usually accompanied the Prince on his walks as his semiofficial guard. He was wounded as well.

Shortly after that, Longworth ran into Tomanija Obrenović, the oldest member of the Obrenović family and Prince Mihailo's aunt. She was disoriented and scared. She told the British consul that Prince Mihailo was killed together with her daughter Anka Konstantinović and her granddaughter Katarina Konstantinović. Fortunately, Katarina was not killed, only wounded.

Longworth was soon joined by his French colleague Engelhardt and they quickly ran to the spot where the Prince was killed together with his aunt. The Prince was lying down on the ground "extended, stiff and lifeless, on the path with his face shockingly mangled by sword cuts, and his body with bullet holes in several places from shots from a revolver." ⁴⁷

His cousin Anka Konstantinović was lying by his side mortally wounded through her head. It may be assumed that Anka Konstantinović was shot first. Her plans to marry her daughter Katarina Kostantinović to Prince Mihailo and to finally destroy his already non-existing marriage with Julija Obrenović was not well accepted in the Serbian political circles. Maybe Prince Mihailo tried to defend his cousin. Because of that he was killed. He might have lived and ruled Serbia much longer if he had not accepted his sister's offer. The Topčider walk was an opportune moment and an occasion for the planned conspiracy.

The Prince's body was not disposed of until midnight the same day. He was left out in the woods for six hours. Consul Longworth reported to the British Minister that the greatest two mysteries surrounding the murder of Prince Mihailo were: why his dead body was left so long in the woods and why the woods in Košutnjak and Topčider Park were so poorly guarded.

⁴⁴ Count Gyula Andrássy de Csíkszentkirály et Krasznahorka (1823–1890) was a Hungarian statesman, Prime Minister of Hungary (1867–1871), Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary (1871–1879).

⁴⁵ TNA, 782033, Longworth to Palmeston 31 December 1867.

⁴⁶ TNA, 78033, Longworth to lord Stanford, 11 June 1868; According to new calendar the date was 29 May.

⁴⁷ TNA, 78033, Longworth to lord Stanford, 11 June 1868, Belgrade, Serbia.

The ministers who were devoted to the Prince and were believers in his foreign policy were certainly confused at the time of Prince Mihailo's untimely death. Those two ministers were Jovan Marinović and Prince Mihailo's greatest adviser, ex-minister Ilija Garašanin. 48

Finally, Prince Mihailo was succeeded by Prince Milan Obrenović, a son of Miloš Obrenović, who was a son of Jevrem Obrenović, brother of Miloš Obrenović. This means that Milan Obrenović was a grandnephew to Miloš Obrenović. Regency was arranged to rule in place of the minor prince, consisting of Jovan Ristić, Milivoje Petrović Blaznavac and Jovan Gavrilović.

Soon enough, the British and French consuls were joined by the representatives of the Serbian government but nobody knew what protocol to implement at the scene of the crime. They waited for almost an hour and a half for the disposal of the bodies. In the end, Longworth suggested that the bodies should be placed in the prince's carriages and transported to the old residence of the late Prince Miloš (*Milošev konak*). At that moment British and French consuls were joined by their Russian and Italian colleagues. The conclusion of the English diplomat was that this was Prince Mihailo's faith and that it could not be avoided. Serbian politicians were shocked by the event.

4. Prince and King Milan Obrenović

There are many accounts of prince Milan's life in Serbian historical sources and literature, but more research is to be expected. The Prince and the first King of Serbia was a controversial royal figure. He divorced his wife, abdicated his throne and left the country in the hands of his under-aged son Aleksandar Obrenović. Prince Milan grew up without his parents and was actually an abandoned child. That fact affected his whole life. One of the reports about the end of King Milan's life and his death was left by doctor Vladan Đorđević.

When a very respectable Serbian politician Vladan Đorđević came back to Serbia at the beginning of the 20th century he was immediately accused of planning a coup against the Obrenović family, against King Aleksandar Obrenović and his, in Serbia very hated wife, Draga Obrenović. Đorđević was first accused of working for King Milan, but by that time King Milan had been very sick and angry with his son for not having an heir to the Serbian throne. His abdication was unconditional. Đorđević was also accused of preparing Prince Milan's assassination in 1876, when he was in his greatest favour.

Vladan Dorđević pretended to be so honest that he actually expected an honest trial for the mentioned accusations but King Aleksandar did not want to grant him one. In another place in his writings, Đorđević said that when King Aleksandar took from him his military privileges and recognitions from Serbo-Turkish wars and the Serbo-Bulgarian war, he was immediately accused of infiltrating in the Principality of Serbia. Đorđević noted that the King did not have enough decency to marry a lady of reputation but he married a simple peasant laundry-woman.⁴⁹

At the same time Prince Milan was near his death in Vienna but he was also preparing to take a trip to Egypt. Vladan Đorđević went back to Vienna, wishing still to be near his

⁴⁸ TNA, 78033, Longworth to Stanford, 23 June Belgrade, Serbia.

⁴⁹ Đorđević 1906: 705-717

elected king in case he suddenly died. Unfortunately, Vladan Đorđević got sick himself and he forgot to take two Russian letters that declared that King Milan's accommodation in Vienna might have been paid by the Russians. So when the Prince decided to travel to Cairo, Vladan Đorđević was warned that the old Serbian king could completely lose his ruling quarters in the Austrian capital. From the writings of Vladan Đorđević it can be presumed that Aleksandar Karađorđević approved of this arrangement.

When King Milan Obrenović heard this in a Jockey Club in Vienna he fainted, saying: "Je suis un homme fini" ("I am finished"). In his writings Đorđević cites the old king saying that he had declared that his own son King Aleksandar had killed him morally. 50

When Vladan Đorđević went to see King Milan again, he found him in his cabinet in Vienna, identical to that in Belgrade, reading the *Serbian Paper (Srpske novine)*, the official state paper in Serbia, and crying. Even in his illness, Vladan Đorđević visited his old King. He noted that the king's condition changed in a couple of days. He was a completely changed man.

It has to be noted that Vladan Đorđević was first of all a doctor and then a politician, so he diagnosed King Milan's condition immediately. King Milan looked 10 years older. Vladan Đorđević noted that before King Milan had always looked his best. King Milan was ten years older than Vladan Đorđević.

There were some thick rugs on the floor and the king did not hear Đorđević enter his rooms. In those moments before the King noticed Đorđević, Đorđević looked around the room and noticed that King Milan had all the pictures of his family on his walls: Miloš, Jovan and Jevrem Obrenović, including the pictures of all the members of Vladan Đorđević's government.

When the King saw Vladan Đorđević in his quarters, he first complimented him on the behaviour of his son Milan Đorđević. Vladan Đorđević was already aware that Milan Obrenović was a disappointed and sad father. The King complimented Đorđević on his sons, but he did not want to talk about his own son.

Then Vladan Đorđević said: "You are not well, Your Majesty. After all these years, let me be what I had been from the start, your doctor. Let me take your pulse." King Milan refused saying that he had better doctors in Vienna and that he was recovering from influenza. King Milan had already been diagnosed with pneumonia and had a high fever. King Milan told Vladan Đorđević that all the doctors could not cure the sickness that he had and he banged his fist on the *Serbian Paper* that he had been reading when Vladan Đorđević walked into his cabinet. King Milan also said that he was alone and had no one in his life any more. It was also true that he could never go back to his homeland, Serbia. But he also noted that Đorđević had beautiful and smart children and had something to live for. King Milan did not have the same in his life since his own son King Aleksandar Obrenović did not morally respect him.

The king said: "I cannot live this traveller's life any more. I have only one son and even he wants to kill me. I had a homeland that my forefathers freed from the Ottoman Empire and I made it a Kingdom but I am banished even from there. The same people that

⁵⁰ *Ibid*. 720–723.

supported us, you and me, Vladan, now support my son who is a patricidal."51

Vladan Đorđević tried to pull King Milan away from those black thoughts of his, but the king asked Đorđević to let him get all his problems off his chest. King Milan also said that Vladan Đorđević was the only one he could talk to. Everybody else was far away. As a highly intelligent man, King Milan asked Đorđević how the Serbian state-educated intelligence (for most of them King Milan himself approved their education) could turn against him.

During his visit to King Milan, Đorđević concluded that even if the old King was confused and hypertensive because of his sickness, he could be completely right about his son and completely sane. King Milan suffered from chills. His flu was back again. Doctor Vladan Đorđević's diagnosis was correct. A council of physicians that convened that afternoon put the same diagnosis as Vladan Đorđević, that King Milan was suffering from pneumonia.

In the end, Vladan Đorđević said to King Milan what the whole Kingdom of Serbia thought that by abdicating on the night of 21-22 February 1889 he threw his Kingdom into a new political turmoil once again, giving his power to his uneducated and underage child, his son Aleksandar. His entire cabinet spent the whole night begging Milan Obrenović not to abdicate. Vladan Đorđević told King Milan that he was betraying his Kingdom wishing to marry Artemiza Hristić, the wife of Milan Hristić, son of the aforementioned Fillip Hristić, one of the best friends of Prince Mihailo Obrenović.

Dorđević described the last thoughts and acts of King Milan saying that he believed that every man was respectful until proven otherwise. King Milan believed differently. The king believed that every man had the right to be *a bohemian*, a unique individual and that every man could enjoy his own private happiness. King Milan as a father and a king was actually teaching his son that love was more important than the dynasty and King Aleksandar followed such directions. King Aleksandar married, for love and devotion, Draga Mašin, later Obrenović, a barren woman who could not produce an heir to the throne. Vladan Đorđević blamed Milan Obrenović for setting a bad example to his son.

The following day the council of physicians convened again and concluded that the King's life was in danger. Vladan Đorđević believed that King Aleksandar Obrenović would take the first fast train to Vienna to come and kiss his father's hand before his death, but Aleksandar Obrenović did not even come up with that idea. Đorđević said that it was possible that Queen Draga was against it.

King Milan died from pneumonia on 11 February 1901 without saying goodbye to his son and that was the only thing that he wanted to do before he died. Prince Miloš at least managed to die in his Serbia with his son standing by his bed. King Milan Obrenović did not get that luxury. His son Aleksandar Obrenović did not even give him that courtesy. 52

5. King Aleksandar and Queen Draga Obrenović

After King Milan's abdication in 1889, the number of soldiers and officers doubled. Most of them were schooled in Russia. King Aleksandar favoured Russia more than his

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⁵¹ *Ibid.* 725–727.

⁵² Ibid. 719-736.

father, King Milan.

At the time of the Third Regency in Serbia⁵³ disorder and disobedience in the Serbian army was seen for the first time. Queen Natalija, King Milan's ex-wife, noticed that solder bands marched through the streets of Belgrade without their commanders. Divorced ex King and Queen stayed in the country after King Milan renounced his throne. Their constant fighting disturbed the first years of King Aleksandar's reign. He sought comfort and peace in the arms of his future wife Draga Mašin.

Soon after King Aleksandar's wedding on 16 August 1900, a regulation was implemented that prescribed that the whole military administration was to be put under the Minister of the Serbian Army. Having military education, King Aleksandar tried to put the entire army under his command. Unfortunately, younger officers were against King Aleksandar's marriage to the future queen of Serbia, Draga Mašin, later Obrenović. ⁵⁴ King Milan was (even though he later accused King Aleksandar of patricide) ready to kill his own only son if he married the future Serbian queen, Draga Mašin. That is why he left Serbia never to return.

King Aleksandar cancelled his trip to Russia because the Russian Tsar was not ready to receive the King's fiancée. The rumours that Nikodije Lunjevica was the next heir to the throne and the scandalous articles in the Habsburg papers about King Aleksandar's private life were harmful to the king's wedding.

The unrest in the army started after Queen Draga Obrenović announced her false pregnancy on 1 May 1901. Riots on the streets directed against Aleksandar and Draga started on the date when Draga Obrenović was due to deliver the baby and lasted from the 1 January 1902 until 29 May 1903.

One of the main political conspirators against the royal couple was a politician Đorđe Genčić. 55 Military "leadership" under Genčić's command conspired against Aleksandar and Draga Obrenović. 56 Genčić was the Minister of the Interior at the time of Aleksandar and Draga Obrenović's wedding. Genčić's role in the mentioned events could not be denied. He was opposed to the King since the time the King took away Genčić's army position. He was arrested in 1900. His challenging position against the King cost him his army service but his political influence remained intact.

The nucleus of the Serbian army conspirators were Đorđe Genčić's nephew Antonije Antić⁵⁷ and Dimitrije Dragutinović Apis.⁵⁸ They agreed about the conspiracy on 19 September 1901. The conspiracy was planned for almost two years. When the rumours started about the King's divorce, the conspirators decided to speed up their plans. There

⁵³ See: Vlade Srbije 2005: 159.

⁵⁴ Rajić 2011: 291–313.

⁵⁵ Đorđe Genčić (1861–1938) started as an industrialist, an owner of a mine. He was the Minister of Interior at the time of King Aleksandar's wedding under the government of doctor Vladan Đorđević. Genčić was also a Mayor of Niš, the new Serbian territories (1894–1899).

⁵⁶ Rajić 2011: 331–339.

⁵⁷ Antonije Antić (1878–1953) was a colonel in the cavalry and a nephew of Đorđe Genčić.

⁵⁸ Dragutin T. Dimitrijević 'Apis' (1876–1917) was a high ranking officer in the army of the Kingdom of Serbia, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He was one of the main organizers of the assassination of King Aleksandar Obrenović and his wife Queen Draga.

was also a chance that the plot against King Aleksandar and his wife could be discovered. A definite plan for the attack on the Court was made on 9 June 1903, ⁵⁹ a day before it was put into motion. Forty officers from the capital and ten from the interior of Serbia took part in the assassination of the King and Queen, the last members of the Obrenović Dynasty.

The attack was carried out at night between 10 and 11 June.⁶⁰ It was on the same date that Prince Mihailo Obrenović was killed in 1868. Right before the attack on the Court was executed, the officers who were involved in the conspiracy against the King and Queen gathered in the Officers' Chamber. There were already armed with explosives and dynamite. Somebody asked for the Queen's dance and soldiers danced like they had the outmost respect for their female ruler. A raid was launched at 1.45 AM. The cavalry was also included in the plot. Two military horseback regiments joined the officers and surrounded the Royal Court.

Officers stormed the Palace and killed everybody who resisted them. They set up dynamite in front of the door of the Arabian Salon adjoining the Royal couple's bedroom. The explosion was huge and shook up the Palace to its foundation. The conspirators marched through the salon and entered the King and Queen's bedroom. It was empty with only a warm cover lying on the floor. That was the evidence that the Serbian rulers had escaped.

While the officer searched the Court trying to find the King and the Queen, the battle started between the attackers and the King's guard. The cavalry stopped the King's guard and they laid down their weapons.

Searching the Court, officers engaged in the plot came back to the royal bedroom. They took with them the King's adjutant, who was not involved in the conspiracy. Looking around the bedroom one of the officers spotted a hidden door and realized that the King and the Queen must have been hiding there the whole time.

One of the officers immediately asked for an axe to break down the door but the adjutant asked his Majesty the King to come out peacefully. The officers lied that they were still respecting the oath they gave to the King and he came out of the secret chamber in his wife's boudoir. It is said that the King and the Queen looked like two white shadows clinging to each other. The officers opened fire immediately. The King died from the first shot and it took ten shots to kill the Queen.

The assassination of the last Serbian ruler from the Obrenović dynasty and his wife took an hour and a half to execute. The assault was finished at exactly at 3.50 AM. Shortly after the murders, two younger officers threw the naked dead bodies of the King and the Queen out of the window to the yard of the Royal Palace so the rest of the troops could see that the tragic deed had been done. ⁶¹

The new Serbian Kingdom demanded a more stable king than Aleksandar Obrenović had been. The Obrenović family could not provide a successor to the dynasty. The last rulers of the Obrenović dynasty could not offer or deliver what was asked and demanded from them. The Serbian historical stage needed a successor. The Obrenović family could not provide one under any circumstances. King Aleksandar Obrenović, born

⁵⁹ According to the new calendar.

⁶⁰ According to the old calendar on 29 May 1903.

⁶¹ Vasić 2003: 65-86.

and raised in Serbia, represented a typical personality of his homeland. He was the last light of the Obrenović family and the last representative of the Obrenović Dynasty.

The Serbian official newspaper, the *Serbian Paper* proclaimed that the murder of King Aleksandar Obrenović was a fortunate event. The paper published various congratulations to the new Government of the Kingdom of Serbia from all over the country. The death of King Aleksandar announced a new era in the Serbian history.

After the horrible events of 11 June, two days later, on 13 June at 1 AM, the bodies of Aleksandar and Draga Obrenović were taken to the graveyard of the Church of St Marko, the newest Belgrade church, and were buried on the church cemetery. Before the burial, King Aleksandar and his Queen Draga had an Orthodox Church burial service. They were buried in the grave of Anka Obrenović, Prince Mihailo's sister and King Aleksandar's grandmother, who was killed in 1868 alongside Mihailo Obrenović. 62

The first memorial service was held for Prince Mihailo on 11 June 1904 and for Aleksandar and Draga Obrenović the memorial service was held immediately after that. The most interesting fact and an absurdity in the Serbian history was the fact that the Austrians raised a monument for the last members of the Obrenović family in 1917. When the remains of the last of the Obrenovićs were finally placed in the renovated church of St. Marko in 1942, they were put in a very small crypt and it is how their remains are kept even today.

6. Conclusion

The Obrenović Dynasty ruled Serbia for seventy-two years. Most deaths of the rulers and their family members were tragic and caused the country to sink into turmoil. There were four assassination attempts on King Milan's life even though in the end he died of an illness. The tragedies in the Obrenović Dynasty culminated with the murders of the King and the Queen, the last representatives of the family that gave Serbia its independence and expansion of its territories. In the words of one of the Serbian most prominent intellectuals, Milan Piroćanac, at the end of the 19th century the destiny of Serbia and its rulers was indeed sad. The first of the country's rulers, Karadorde (a founder of the other Serbian ruling dynasty, the Karađorđević family), was killed, Miloš was expatriated, Mihailo expatriated and killed, Milan abdicated and Aleksandar was murdered along with his wife. Another member of the Serbian educated elite, already quoted in this article, Dragiša Vasić, concluded that when Prince Mihailo was assassinated, the whole of Serbia was in mourning. Contrary to that fact, the Kingdom of Serbia was excited and satisfied with a prospect of bringing a new dynasty to the throne, the so-called national dynasty. Unfortunately the history showed that the rulers of the Karadordević Dynasty had a similar faith as their predecessors. Still, it must be indicated that two of the rulers in the Obrenović Dynasty were executed, all political reasons aside, because they failed to secure an heir to the Serbian throne.

⁶² Vasić 2003: 88-89.

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TNA – The National Archives, London UK

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ЈЕЛЕНА ПАУНОВИЋ

Универзитет у Београду Филозофски факултет

СМРТИ ЧЛАНОВА ПОРОДИЦЕ ОБРЕНОВИЋ У ИСТОРИЈИ И СЕЋАЊИМА

Резиме

Српска владарска породица Обреновић имала је трагичну судбину. Иако је државотворни допринос владара ове династије развоју српске државе неспоран, кнежеви и краљеви из поменуте породице су имали несрећне животе.

Родоначелник Обреновића кнез Милош Обреновић предводио је Други српски устанак и успео да се избори за аутономни статус Србије у оквиру Османског царства. Живот му међутим није био лак. Протеран је из сопсвене Кнежевине због аутократског начина владавине, најстаријег сина и наследника изгубио је због туберкулозе, имао је мноштво љубавница због чега је стално био у сукобу са својом законитом женом, првом српском кнегињом, Љубицом. Ипак доживео је да се после дванаест година изгнанства врати у домовину и мирно оконча свој живот уз свог другог сина и наследника кнеза Михаила.

Кнегињу Љубицу је изгнаство кнеза Милоша 1839. године и Михаилово 1842. године коштало живота. Кнегиња је прво своју подршку дала Уставобранитељима против кнеза Милоша и Михаила али је затим променила стране поново се приклонивши кнезу Милошу. Уставобранитељи су јој наредили да напусти земљу три дана на после сина. Ускоро је преминула у Новом Саду могуће од последица отрова.

Кнез Милош и будући кнез Михаило, сада већ на неки начин вршећи функцију савладара, вратили су се у земљу 1858. године. Већ 1860. године на Крстовдан преминуо је стари кнез.

Смрт кнеза Михаила је била трагичнија. Иако најпросвећенији српски владар до тада са најобимнијим и добро осмишљеним спољнополитичким планом није стекао у потпуности поверење српске образоване елите. Због несрећног брака са књегином Јулијом, могућношћу другог брака са рођаком Катарином Константиновић и недостатка наследника у Србији су преовладале патријархалне вредности и Михаило Обреновић је убијен приликом шетње у Топчидерском парку. Убиство никада није разјашњено.

Кнез Милан је као малолетан наследио кнеза Михаила. Милан Обреновић је такође имао тежак живот, несрећан брак који се завршио разводом и мноштво љубавница. Иако је имао успеха у спољној политици Србије, проширио је њене границе и обезбедио јој статус Краљевине, Краљ Милан је после развода абдицирао и предао српски престо свом сину, малолетном кнезу Александру.

Александар Обреновић је наставио да влада на начин на који је то чинио и његов отац. Војска је била под његовом контролом али кнез није обезбедио њено поверење. Веридба и женидба са Драгом Машин, касније Обреновић и немогућност да обезбеди наследство српског престола династији Обреновић довело је до војно — политичке завере и убиства краљевског пара. То је уједно био и крај владарске породице Обреновић.

Кључне речи: Србија, династија Обреновић, смрти, народ, сећања.

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