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## THE CHILDHOOD OF MILAN OBRENOVIĆ, THE FIRST KING OF THE SERBIAN RESTORATION: CONTRIBUTIONS TO HIS BIOGRAPHY

**Abstract**: This paper deals with establishing basic biographical information about the Serbian prince and king Milan Obrenović, (1854–1901), which has been very arbitrarily cited in popular and academic publications. The aim is to direct the public to first-rate historical sources that provide information about where he was born, his childhood and education, and the people he encountered before he ascended Serbian throne in 1868. He is an important modern Serbian monarch whose views and actions have become controversial, so it is thus of the utmost importance to ascertain the circumstances surrounding his upbringing and coming-of-age. This is compounded by an ongoing tendency to create myths around his early life based on the content of numerous pamphlets published in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Keywords: Milan Obrenović, Maria Katardži, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Prince Miloš Obrenović, Jaši, François Huet.

ilan Obrenović was born on 22 August 1854<sup>1</sup> and was the second child of Miloš and Elena Maria Obrenović (née Catargiu), during their time in exile (1842–1858). Their firstborn child, Tomanija, died in late 1852 or early 1853 at the age of two before Milan was born, so he never met her.<sup>2</sup>

Miloš, Milan's father, was born in Šabac on 25 November 1829 to Jevrem and Tomanija Obrenović. He was the youngest of nine children and nephew of the reigning prince, Miloš Obrenović. He was schooled in Belgrade until 1840 by Austrian tutors hired by his father, Jevrem. After the Serbian throne changed hands in 1842, he lived with his parents at Manasia, the family estate (*spahiluk*) in Wallachia, and from there he was sent to Russia to be schooled with Emperor Nicholas I's Page Corps (Пажеский корпус). He chose to leave Russia before completing his education so he could continue at military schools in Austria and Prussia. He served in the Prussian military for a time. Financed by his uncle,

All dates given in this article are according to the new calendar unless otherwise specified. Milan Obrenović was born on 10/22 August 1854.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Veselinović, Ljušić 2002: 41.

the former prince Miloš, he traveled to France, England, and Italy with his uncle's brother, the future prince Mihailo. Young Miloš was headstrong but had a pure soul and radiated kindness, and for that Mihailo grew fond of him.

After the 1848/49 revolution, Miloš returned to his regiment in Prussia. Soon after, at the request of his uncle Miloš Obrenović, King Friedrich Wilhelm allowed him to leave his regiment but still maintain his rank as a lieutenant of the guard in Prussia, and also granted him the rank of captain outside of Prussia for as long as he lived. He then toured estates in Romania and Hungary with his uncle's brother, the future prince Mihailo. In around 1850 he settled at the court of Prince Barbu Dimitrie Știrbei of Wallachia, who employed him as adjutant. He was only twenty-one years of age at the time.

While he was there, Miloš married Maria Catargiu, an aristocrat of Moldavian descent, in 1851. Maria was the eldest daughter of Constantin Catargiu (1800–1871), who would serve briefly as minister of interior affairs (1857), and Smaranda Balş. Duchess Cantacuzino, accompanied by the young boyaress Maria, had asked Prince Miloš to consent to the marriage between Maria and his nephew Miloš. Nevertheless, the former prince had serious reservations about his son Mihailo and his nephew Miloš both rushing to marry foreigners.<sup>3</sup> Maria was indeed a Romanian noblewoman, but not from such an "old and distinguished" family as is often claimed. Maria had three sisters and three brothers of whom Giorgi and Alexander were particularly important. They were uncles of the Serbian prince and king, Milan Obrenović, and served as his adjutants and emissaries during many missions abroad. Up until the early 1890s they were among the ruler's most important advisors.

Milan Obrenović, prince (1868–1882) and king of Serbia (1882–1889), was born in Iaşi, his mother Maria's birthplace and residence of her grandparents on her mother's side, the boyar family Catargiu. More precisely, Maria, who was pregnant at the time, lived in Manasia, the feudal holding of her father-in-law, Jevrem Obrenović. Maria herself stated that, during the first few years of her marriage, she and her husband Miloš, Jevrem's son, lived at her husband's estate, and that could only have been Manasia, a feudal property in Wallachia purchased by Jevrem Obrenović in 1839 from Alexander Ypsilantis, the prince of Wallachia.<sup>4</sup> It was also the only foreign property Jevrem owned, so it was the only property where his son Miloš and his daughter-in-law Maria could have lived.<sup>5</sup> After the death of their first child, problems began to arise in the marriage, which are known about only from Maria's telling.6 A letter from Prince Miloš Obrenović to his brother Jevrem dated 9 October 1854 revealed that Maria had left her husband before the birth and gone to her parents in Iași. In this letter he tells his brother that he had received a letter from his nephew Miloš in Iași informing him that "your grandson is healthy," and then says that he cannot describe the child, "but if God grants that you see him, then you will see for yourself." He also consoles him, telling him not to despair because his daughter-in-law left, his grandchild was born outside his home, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Petrović 1939; Leovac 2019.

Kaljević 2006: 34; https://domeniulmanasia.ro/istoric/

The estate was in Ialomiţa County, the most fertile region of Wallachia, and included the villages of Manasia, Uluici, and Racoreci. There Jevrem Obrenović built a residence and a church dedicated to the Ascension of the Lord: Gabriela Alexandru, See Jašin,

https://www.academia.edu/35456222/srpsko\_rumunski\_odnosi\_pdf?email\_work\_card=thumbnail

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kaljević 2006: 34–35; M. Jovanović-Stojimirović 2008: 175–176.

that he had not yet seen him.<sup>7</sup> This means that Miloš, the baby's father, had to have traveled to Iaşi to see his newborn child. This refutes the claim that Milan Obrenović was born in Mărăşeşti, where his father was serving as a captain in the Romanian army.<sup>8</sup>

Milan lived in Iasi from his birth until his father's death in 1860.9 It was only later that his mother, Maria, could have left for the court of the Romanian Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, because, according to sources, in 1860 she accepted an invitation from her husband Miloš in Belgrade to reconcile and live together in Serbia. This was made possible by the return of the Obrenović family to the throne after the decision handed down by the St. Andrew's Day Assembly in 1858. Prince Mihailo Obrenović, who ascended the throne after the death of his father in 1860, took in his cousin Miloš, who had been his childhood companion, as he was already suffering from tuberculosis. With Mihailo's help, the ailing Miloš managed to reconcile with his wife. In the presence of the prince, an agreement was made for them to first travel to Cairo where Miloš would try to recover his health. Maria agreed to a reconciliation and came to Belgrade in September 1860. In the presence of Prince Mihailo, they came to an agreement that starting in the spring of 1861, she and her child would reside permanently in Belgrade with her husband. It is highly unlikely that her husband, Miloš, would make such an offer to his wife if she had been Prince Cuza's mistress at the Romanian court, as is frequently claimed. Grandmother Tomaniia, Miloš's mother, had also moved to Serbia with her daughter Katarina and grandchildren Katarina and Alexander soon after the Obrenović family was restored to the throne. In the summer of 1860, she took it upon herself to find a tutor to instruct her youngest grandchild, Milan's son, at her home in Belgrade. She was unsuccessful in this endeavor. 10

In the meantime, Milan's father died in Belgrade in November of 1860. A fierce struggle then erupted between Grandmother Tomanija, who had taken up residence in Belgrade at the intersection of Krunska and Kneza Miloša streets after the Obrenovićs' return to power, and Milan's mother, Maria, over guardianship of the child. In a letter to Prince Mihailo, Maria complained about her mother-in-law and her scheming and lamented the fact that Tomanija had written to her multiple times in Iaşi, where she and her son were living with her parents, to send her son to Belgrade where she, as his grandmother, would see to his education. Maria did not want to live in her mother-in-law's house after her husband's death, and she also did not wish to be separated from her six-year-old son. Maria proposed to Grandmother Tomanija that she would bring Milan to Belgrade for a few days in May 1861, and even to leave him there for a few months in the fall, but refused to surrender custody, which Romanian law granted to the mother. Thus Milan spent the most of his early life in Iaşi, Romania with his mother and her parents.

Not many sources mention that from his birth up until the Obrenovićs were returned to Serbian throne (1854–1858), Milan also spent time at the estate in Manasia with his paternal grandparents. There he played with the children of his aunt Anka, Jevrem, and Tomanija's

Letter from Miloš Obrenović to his brother Jevrem dated 27 September/9 October 1854, Crnjanski 1927a: 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Kralj Milan 2019: 13.

The year of Miloš (Jevrem) Obrenović's death is often erroneously cited as 1861. See the announcement of Miloš J. Obrenović's death, *Srpske novine*, br. 136, 10/22. 11. 1860.

Letter from Maria Obrenović to Prince Mihailo, Crnjanski 1927b: 3; Krstić 2005: 27, 124.

Letter from Smaranda Catargiu, Milan Obrenović's maternal grandmother, to Prince Milan, 1872, Crnjanski 1927c: 9.

daughter. Milan was the youngest grandchild and enjoyed being in the company of his cousins Aleksandar and Katarina. According to the recollections of Katarina, who was three years older than Milan, the future prince and king, all three of Jevrem's grandchildren, Milan, Aleksandar, and Katarina, grew up together at the Manasia estate, alongside governesses and teachers. This could explain their later closeness, and especially between Milan and Katarina. She had a very important place in Milan's life. Grandfather Jevrem died in 1856, and his wife, Tomanija, became the head of the family. She was an elderly, domineering woman and, judging by her relationships with her daughter Anka and granddaughter Katarina, possessed some truly bizarre habits and practices regarding the family.

Milan's mother, Maria, was young and beautiful widow who found herself with many suitors. When exactly she became the mistress of the Romanian prince is hard to determine. Judging by the illegitimate sons she had with Prince Cuza in 1865 and 1866, she moved to his court sometime after had taken Milan to be schooled in Paris, as Prince Mihailo had agreed, which was after 1863. There is also another fact pointing to this. The Austrian writer and playwright Arthur Schnitzler remembers playing with young Milan, the future king, on Hauptstrasse, located in what was then the Viennese suburb of Döbling. The house, most likely rented, was directly across from a villa owned by Prince Cuza. There is no doubt that the Maria and the Romanian prince had rented the house so they could see each other and continue their relationship far away from Bucharest. Maria took her son and his governess with her, which shows that she saw to Milan's upbringing as conscientiously as her circumstances allowed.

Young Milan had a governess, a Scottish woman named Miss Allen, who was also his teacher, at his grandparent's home in Iaşi and later at his mother's home in Vienna. She frequently told her friends all about Milan's animated nature, and about his antics and rambunctiousness that were characteristic of spoiled children, but she also spoke of her charge's good and noble heart. Milan's memories of Miss Allen never faded. When he found himself visiting the Romanian prince Carol in Bucharest in 1874, the twenty-year-old Milan exited the carriage that had brought him to the palace. Among the crowd of curious people who came to see and greet the Serbian ruler, he spied his teacher, whom he had not seen since he was nine. Just as he was about to climb the steps up to the palace accompanied by his officers, Prince Milan suddenly turned, pushed past his officers, and approach this dear woman with a bow, saying, "Are you not Miss Allen? I am sure you are. I could not forget your face even after all these years. I have never forgotten you..." This anecdote alone

<sup>12</sup> Ivanić 2012: 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ibid.: 76.

Jovanović-Stojimirović 2008: 179; Milanović 2011: 117–122.

Zlatan Stojadinović, in his book Dinastija Obrenović u javnim zbirkama Beča (Stojadinović 2016: 316), states that Milan's mother Maria owned a house at Hirschengasse 29 in this Viennese neighborhood, according to an entry in the Viennese Lehmann directory of 1871. However, this is not the same house. The timeframe Schnitzler refers to preceded the time when she owned the house on Hirschengasse. Milan was not, his mother at the time, nor could he have been because he had ascended the throne in 1868. His first visit to Vienna after his ascension was in 1873 when he was nineteen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Schnitzler 1971: 15–16.

Vacaresco 1904. The part pertaining to the Obrenović family, translated by Ivan Radosavljević, was published in *Književni list*, January - March 2020: 22–23.

reveals Milan Obrenović's subtlety and depth of feeling, which have never been explored, despite the amount of interest in his life.

Milan was six years old when his father died. There are many incredible stories about his father, but what is indisputable is that he was a talented man and an intellectual force. Young Miloš never had trouble in school. He studied economics and political science in Vienna, and attended military academies. In other words, Milan's father, who was barely older than thirty when he died, was a talented man. His kindness was well appreciated by Prince Mihailo. This was one of the reasons that he took over young Milan's education in 1863. He took care of him and prepared him as a possible heir to the throne. 18

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As was previously mentioned, after the death of his father, Miloš, his mother, Maria, was their child's sole guardian. Prince Mihailo had no intention of taking custody away from his mother. On the contrary, his intention was for her to be included in every aspect of his upbringing. This was evidenced by Article 17 of the 1859 Act of Succession, which states that prince's upbringing was to be entrusted to his mother and two other individuals designated by the highest civilian court, in agreement with her. 19 The three of them together would be the child's guardians, with the mother taking precedence. However, after the assassination of Prince Mihailo in Topčider, the regent Milivoj Blaznavac did all he could to exclude his mother from her son's upbringing and education and to separate her from the future prince. Five days after the assassination, the Russian consul Nikolai Shishkin notified Petersburg that the regents were not permitting Maria Obrenović to be the minor prince's legal guardian, despite what the law stated. "They are even ready," the dispatch further stated, "to forbid her from coming to Belgrade because they know the prince is very attached to his mother and that he is of an age in which it is difficult to explain to him why his mother is being kept from him and what the plans are for his future."20 The prince's grandmother, Tomanija, had always been openly antagonistic to her daughter-in-law, but this time she tried to help Maria. However, she relented when, under very strange circumstances, she agreed to marry her granddaughter Katarina to Blaznavac, who was twenty-seven years her senior.<sup>21</sup>

Petrović 1939; M. Jovanović-Stojimirović 2008: 175–178; Komandant aktivne vojske, a typed manuscript of Svetolik Grebenac, private collection of Ilija Mrkobrad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Act of succession 1859, article 17.

AVPRI, F. 161-1, op. 181-2, d. 254 b, l. 334, Shishkin's dispatch from Belgrade, 3/15 June 1868. Maria Obrenović, accompanied by her elderly Lady Catargiu, came to Belgrade on 24 April 1869. She announced her arrival five months in advance. Her arrival was an added complication for the regents because they feared the influence Maria had over her son since the minor prince was extremely attached to her. Maria then demanded that her legal right to custody over her son be honored. Russia supported her because Maria had objections to his tutor, Huet, who taught the Serbian prince western values. However, the regent Blaznavac, a staunch opponent of Russian influence in Serbia, succeeded in removing the prince's mother from the country. The National Archives, Foreign Office, 78, 2088, Longworth's reports from Belgrade, April to October 1869, especially those from 6 and 11 May. Maria occasionally contacted the other regent, Ristić, to congratulate him on his name day of St. John but did not return to Serbia until the prince's wedding in 1875.

At the time, Milan's grandmother was in a precarious financial situation because the house and estate in Manasia, Romania were deeply in debt. Prince Mihailo personally resolved her financial troubles by providing legal assistance and his own funds. After his assassination, the property was in jeopardy and could easily have be seized by lawyers and creditors. Tomanija decided to cooperate with the regents for practical reasons.

In late 1863, with the permission of his mother and the will of his uncle Prince Mihailo, nine-year-old Milan was sent to be schooled in Paris. At the age of nine, Milan and his mother had never been apart. During his first few years in Paris, Milan longed for his mother. His letters were full of sadness for her.

Before Milan was sent away, his aunt Anka's son Aleksandar had been sent to Pest in 1860 to be tutored by a Lutheran pastor named Sekač, and his cousin Katarina had been sent to an academy for girls in Paris. Her brother joined her there later, and in 1863, Milan joined them as well. In Paris the children regularly saw each other almost every weekend. Aleksandar was in a men's boarding house, Katarina in a women's, and Milan was taught by a private tutor with whom he lived as a member of the family. These weekend outings were eventful and well organized. Visits to museums, art exhibitions, the zoo, boating trips, and tours of the city were an integral part of the children and their companions' time together. One of the most enthusiastic organizers of these pleasant moments spent together was Milan's mother, Maria. She visited him in Paris, and Milan saw these meetings as some of the loveliest of his young life. In his letters to his uncle Mihailo, he wrote of waiting impatiently for his mother's next visit and how sad he was when his mother left Paris. That he wrote so freely and opening to his uncle of his warm feelings toward his mother strongly suggests that Prince Mihailo supported maintaining and strengthening this close bond between mother and son, which later, after Mihailo's assassination, was no longer the case.<sup>22</sup> The forceful alienation of this child from his mother that the regents Blaznavac and Ristić both pursued caused Milan Obrenović irreparable damage during his formative years and when it was necessary to secure his emotional stability.

Milan remained incredibly attached to his mother up until he arrived in Serbia, as can be seen in both local and foreign sources. The claim that Milan did not care for his mother and that he was not an affectionate son has been repeated many times,<sup>23</sup> but this could not have been further from the truth. He adored his beautiful and caring mother. In her struggle with Tomanija over the custody of her only child, Maria demonstrated considerable devotion to her son. In her fight to the end, she demonstrated that her motherly affection for her child came before anything else in life. She was right to fear that her son would be "poisoned by evil tongues." She acknowledged her mistakes, but she did not understand why she had to pay such a high price and be forever separated from her son.<sup>24</sup> The true cause of the cold and strained relationship between mother and son lies in the systematic alienation of Milan from Maria orchestrated after he ascended the throne in 1868. The first one to point this out was Miloš Crnjanski, although he did not go into detail.<sup>25</sup>

It is clear from communication with Professor François Huet, initiated by Jovan Marinović on behalf of the boy's guardian, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, that the prince had insisted Professor Huet cooperate with Maria so the boy's "upbringing and education" could

The letters of Milan Obrenović to prince Mihailu from Pariza, 1863 to 1867, Građa 1965: 339–397.

Kaljević 2006: 33; Jovanović-Stojimirović 2008: 176; Obrenović 1999: 75. His wife Natalia from the moment of their marriage greatly contributed to the separation of prince Milan from his mother. Later, in her memoirs, she hypocritically faulted him for his arrogance to his mother

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Kaljević 2006: 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> "This is how this beautiful, frivolous, and tired woman, who was otherwise very confident of social norms being upheld, was completely torn away from her child...," Crnjanski 1927b: 3.

be done successfully in concert. The goal was to facilitate the young Milan's moral and intellectual development gradually and systematically under the close care of his tutor. When analyzing the details and precision of the negotiations with Huet, it can be discerned how much interest Prince Mihailo took in this. In particular, he insisted on instruction in Serbian language and religion, which became a key part of the curriculum the French professor prepared for Milan.<sup>26</sup>

François Huet, a Frenchman and retired professor of French literature and Latin writers who had taught at the University of Ghent in Belgium, was a prominent and respected educator.<sup>27</sup> When his mother brought Milan to the professor's house in September 1863, the professor's first impressions were negative. The fact was that the young Milan's education up until the age of nine had lacked structure. In Paris in 1863 it was determined that there had been considerable omissions in the child's upbringing and education.

Despite having a substantial salary and a contract with the Serbian prince, after a month Huet was ready to quit. The boy simply would not follow the professor's orders and instructions. However, after only half a year of patient and persistent work, the professor's reports on the boy's progress were favorable. Along with acquiring necessary knowledge and comportment, the boy also developed physically, since the French professor placed considerable emphasis on gymnastics and swimming, as well as the boy's overall health and physical condition. Professor Huet engaged a veritable army of respectable tutors, from calligraphists who taught Milan proper penmanship to artists and teachers of piano and music. In December 1863, after only six months, he noted that steady progress was being made. In early January 1864, Huet wrote that Milan was a sweet and gentle child who showed promise. Although he required much more work, the professor noted that his charge was extremely intelligent and had already declared himself a Legitimist at the age of ten. He praised him for studying each subject equally and reported that he would be assessed every three months with a general recapitulation of what he had learned. Later, in his numerous reports to Prince Mihailo, Huet would stress that his pupil was achieving excellent marks, but he was struggling with his scores in subjects such as Latin and mathematics, which required more patience and attention to detail.<sup>28</sup>

As soon as he arrived in Paris, Milan was given Serbian lessons in addition to those in French, German, and Latin. Within two years he had completely mastered the Serbian language, although he still spoke with a slight French accent. Starting in November 1865, a doctor named Sava Petrović, a French student who had also quickly obtained his doctorate in Paris, served as both Milan's Serbian tutor and the doctor who took the necessary care of Milan's health. He quickly formed a close relationship with the young Milan, who simply adored him. Prince Mihailo now had an indirect source of reliable information about his young protégé.

For the next four years, from the fall of 1863 to the summer of 1868, the young Milan demonstrated considerable progress. In Paris in 1867, just before he was to enroll at the Lycée, Prince Mihailo introduced Milan to his friend, the Grand Duke Constantine of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> DAS, MID, Hartije Jovana Marinovića, k. 1, br. 16.

François Huet (1814–1869) was a student of an even more eminent professor in Belgium, the philosopher and sociologist Jean-Guillaume-César-Alexandre-Hippolyte de Colins de Ham (1783–1859), the founder of rational socialism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> DAS, PO, k. 26, br. 131, Huet's reports to Prince Mihailo Obrenović.

Russia.<sup>29</sup> In Prince Mihailo's journal, currently in private possession, there is a note from 1863 that Milan (Miloš) Obrenović was a *possible* heir to the throne.<sup>30</sup> There were some indications that his wife, Princess Júlia, had proposed to Prince Mihailo that they adopt the young Milan, but that he declined.<sup>31</sup>

The reports of Milan's exams promised continued success at the Lycée Louis de Grand, in which he had just enrolled. In June 1868 he was living in the school's dormitory and completing his third year. He was ranked seventh in his class, a respectable result, as he boasted for what would be the last time to his "dear uncle and prince" in a letter from 3 June 1868.

In a letter to his uncle in the summer of 1866, Milan expressed a desire to visit Serbia during the school holidays. This, however, did not occur. The following year, the priority was to prepare for the Lycée, so no mention was made of his visit to Belgrade. Only a week before the prince's tragic death, Milan wrote from Paris, "I hope, dear uncle and prince, that this year I will have the good fortune to visit Belgrade, where you and all of my family are." That 3 June, as he expressed his wishes to Prince Mihailo, little did fourteen-year-old Milan know that within a few days' time, a delegation would arrive to take him to Belgrade to assume a throne splattered with the blood of his uncle and benefactor. <sup>32</sup>

Jovan Ristić, along with the delegation and Milan, the future prince, set off from Paris on 19 June 1868. Milan Obrenović set foot on the dock of the Sava on 23 June 1868, at five o'clock in the morning. Also disembarking with him was his cousin, Aleksandar Konstantinović, whose mother had died bravely defending the prince from his assassins. Despite the early hour, a curious crowd had flooded the streets from the dock to St. Michael's Cathedral and all the way to Teraziie. On the Sava dock, the honor guard for the reception consisted of a company of liveried infantry soldiers and a detachment from the people's cavalry, led by a military band. Milan Obrenović was greeted on the deck of the steamboat by the war minister, Milivoje Petrović Blaznavac, a significant number of senior bureaucrats from the district, the State Council, and the courts, along with many distinguished citizens. The prince exited the steamship followed by Jovan Ristić and the first adjutant to the late prince, Dragutin Žabarac. Blaznavac met him with open arms and embraced him, while the military greeted him with calls of "Long may he live!" and "Welcome!" Most of those in attendance doffed their hats when Milan Obrenović appeared but remained silent. Accompanied by Blaznavac, he passed through the ranks of the standing army and throngs of people and stepped into an open carriage along with Blaznavac, Ristić, and Colonel Žabarac. Ahead of them rode the people's cavalry and a unit of the royal guard, and behind them followed the prince's guardsmen and adjutants. The more prominent citizens followed

Grand Duke Constantine Nikolayevich, brother of the Russian Czar Alexander II and a personal friend of Prince Mihailo, claimed that, in 1867, the prince had personally presented Milan to him as his heir. He showed his esteemed friend the boy's curriculum, which Mihailo closely supervised. GARF, F. 828, op. 1, d. 1147, l. 16.

I am very grateful to my colleague and collaborator Danko Leovac, for the access to information from the prince's private journal.

According to Princess Júlia, who proposed they adopt the young Milan and prepare him for his reign, the prince replied that it was still possible for them to have children. And if not, by law the throne would pass to Milan. That is why Piroćanac's claim, based on hearsay, that Prince Mihailo resisted the proposal that Milan become his heir should be dismissed, Ristić 1895: 53; Piroćanac 1895: 48–49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> ASANU, br. 8818, Milan Obrenović – knezu Mihailu, Pariz, 3 June 1868.

the prince's carriage in fiacres. The procession made its way to St. Michael's Cathedral and stopped at the church gate. Milan Obrenović quickly jumped out of the carriage and hurried into the church. The people gathered there gave him a livelier reception.

The young prince wore a hat and an unadorned black suit. The audience gazed in curiosity at the handsome, well-developed boy with thinly pursed lips, a wide forehead, and large expressive eyes. Brown hair, combed to the side with a part above his left sideburn framed his pale, round face.

After prayers of thanksgiving in the church, during which he knelt at the grave of his great-uncle, buried only a few days earlier, Milan Obrenović returned to the carriage and drove toward Terazija and his palace with Blaznavac and Ristić. The others who saw him concluded that Milan was a "lively and intelligent child," but nonetheless just a child. One moment he would have the reasoning of an adult when it came to serious matters, and then the next he would again act like a boy.<sup>33</sup> It was very odd for those around him to have such high expectations of such a young creature of barely fourteen. He was criticized for being a child, for "running around the garden, muddy and dirty, chasing sparrows."<sup>34</sup>

His young age was one of the reasons Milan was not accepted at the time by many politicians. A great deal of effort, investment, and patience was needed for him to grow into a proper monarch. Many compared him to his uncle Mihailo, his reputation in the world, his commitment to the affairs of state, and his kindness and open nature. As a child, Milan possessed none of these qualities, so no one was pleased or satisfied with his ascension to the throne. Doubts, fears, negative predictions, and a complete lack of trust in this newly arrived young man characterized the mood in the country at the time of his ascension and for quite a long time to come. "Today we know fear, yet have nothing to place our trust in," wrote one insightful observer of these events.<sup>35</sup> In truth, few in the country had even heard of Milan Obrenović. The interim government issued instructions to all authorities that, until the assembly met, they were to inform the public that Milan, a descendant of the Obrenović dynasty, was alive, was thirteen to fourteen years of age, and that the late prince had sent him to Paris for schooling. Following instructions from Jovan Ristić, Huet had taken young Milan to be photographed in Paris, and so the young prince set foot on Serbian soil for the first time with a package of photographs. These were distributed to representatives of the local state authorities, who were tasked with introducing the people to their new ruler.<sup>36</sup>

Milan arrived in Serbia while it was under martial law, with arrests, interrogations, and executions of those convicted of the assassination. Huet also came to Serbia with Milan on 23 June 1868. He was never apart from Milan and lived with him at the royal residence. Blaznavac moved to the small residence next door to Prince Milan and his surveillance of the young prince became constant.<sup>37</sup> Professor Huet, to Milan's great sorrow, died suddenly

ASANU, Istorijska zbirka, 14556/134, Printouts from the Garašanin archives, note from December 1868 on impressions by the prince's adjutant, Tihomilj Nikolić; Todorović 1997: 130–131; Kalaj 1976: 43.

<sup>34</sup> Krstić 2006: 107.

<sup>35</sup> Krstić 2006: 40, 47–49, 66.

MGB, II 2839, Pregled izdavanja kneza Mihaila 1865–1868, Huet was paid by the late prince's estate a sum of 710 francs for the portraits of Milan O; Krstić 2006: 39, 43–44; Vasiljević 1990: 93; Hristić 2006: 526; DAS, PO, k. 68, br. 8, Confidential correspondence of Radivoj Milojković.

<sup>37</sup> Krstić 2006: 86–87.

in Paris in June 1869. The second person, after his mother, whom he trusted and was close to, had disappeared from his life. What followed were heavy challenges for his young shoulders that necessitated a constant struggle for sheer survival.

Translated by Elizabeth Salmore

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## СУЗАНА РАЈИЋ

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# ДЕТИЊСТВО ПРВОГ КРАЉА ОБНОВЉЕНЕ СРБИЈЕ МИЛАНА ОБРЕНОВИЋА. ПРИЛОЗИ ЗА БИОГРАФИЈУ

#### Резиме

Милан Обреновић кнез (1868–1882) и краљ Србије (1882–1889) рођен је у граду Јаши (Румунија) 22. августа 1854. године као друго дете у браку Милоша и Елене Марије Обреновић, рођене Катарџи. Отац Милош рођен је у Шапцу, 25. новембар 1829, као најмлађе од деветоро лепе Јеврема и Томаније Обреновић и синован талашњег кнеза Милоша Обреновића. После смрти прворођеног детета, кренули су и први брачни проблеми између Миланових родитеља. Мајка Марија је 1854. године напустила мужа и отишла у Јаши родитељима где се и породила. Милан је име добио по прерано преминулом најстариме сину кнеза Милоша, који је кратко време седео на српском престолу. До девете године живота није се раздвајао од мајке Марије. Изгубивши у шестој години живота опа, мајка је постада и његов једини старатељ. У договору са Милановим стрицем, кнезом Михаилом Обреновићем, 1863. године послат је на школовање у Париз. Првих година по одласку, јако је патио за мајком. Захваљујући вештини и компетенцијама профеора Франсоа Хиета, у чијој је кући мали Милан живео, за релативно кратко време прилагодио се новонасталим околностима. После само пола године стрпљивог и упорног рада, професор је са задовољством извештавао о дечаковом напредовању. Милан се лепо и физички и умно развијао и био је здраво и интелигентно дете. Српски језик је учио од десете године живота и до ступања на престо изузетно добро се њиме служио.

У Србији није боравио пре него што је, Законом о наследству престола из 1859. године, постао кнез. То је било након атентата на његовог стрица кнеза Михаила. Имао је тада непуних четрнаест година. Милан Обреновић крочио је по први пут на српско тле, на савском пристаништу, 23. јуна 1868. године у пет сати ујутру. Дочекан је уз све владареве почасти. Упркос томе, владало је велико незадовољство у политичким круговима због његовог ступања на престо. Његове младе године један су од разлога за незадовољство. Требало је пуно труда, улагања и стрпљења да би он заиста израстао у владарску личност. Многи су га поредили са стрицем Михаилом, његовим угледом у свету, преданошћу државним пословима, ширини духа и доброти. Пошто, као дете, ништа од тога није поседовао, његовим доласком на престо нико није био искрено обрадован, нити задовољан. Сумње, страхови, лоша предвиђања и потпуно одсуство поверења у то тек пристигло младо биће, какартерисали су главно расположење у земљи у време ступања на престо.

**Кључне речи**: Милан Обреновић, Марија Катарџи, кнез Михаило Обреновић, кнез Милош Обреновић, Јаши, François Huet.

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