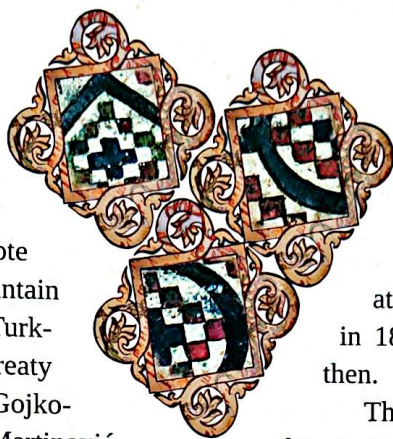


MILOŠ OBRENOVIĆ

Serbian Prince

Miloš Obrenović was born around 1780 in Užice Nahiyah, in the village of Dobrinja. This remote village on the slopes of the mountain of Maljen remained within the Turkish borders after the Požarevac Treaty in 1718. Miloš' mother, Višnja Gojković, was first married to Obren Martinović from the village of Brusnica, Rudnik Nahiyah. She had two sons with him, Milan and Jakov, and a daughter Stana. With her second husband Teša, Teodor Toda Mihajlović from the village of Gornja Trepča, she got sons Miloš, Jovan (1786), and Jefrem (1790). When she got married for the second time, her first two sons remained at their father's estate, whereas Stana went with her to her new husband. It should be added here that Teša Mihajlović had three sons with his first wife – Radoslav, Radonja, and Rada. Apparently, the Obrenovići were the descendants of Herzegovina settlers, and Miloš himself often mentioned that.

In the meantime, Višnja's second husband Teša died, thus, Višnja had to send Miloš to work as a hireling. At that time, Milan managed to acquire some money and began trading pigs on his own. He returned to Brusnica and took Miloš with him. In the following years, Miloš travelled a lot and several times he took the cattle to Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc. Not much is known about this part of Miloš' life. This period is the time of the rule of the dahias and it is almost secret regarding him. The only partially certain thing is that in 1803, Miloš wanted to marry the daughter



ter of Radislav Vukomanović from the village of Srezojevica, called Ljubica. Nevertheless, it could not be done for some reason at that time, and he got married to her in 1806. Karadjordje was his best man then.

This was his situation in 1804 when the uprising began. At that time, he was around twenty four and he was not yet independent. He was with his brother Milan, who was one of the first people invited by Karadjordje to join the uprising. Very soon, Miloš got the rank of a duke. Apparently, he participated in the famous battle of Mišar. There is not any direct testimony thereof, but in regard of the fact that the Rudnik army took part in the battle of Mišar, and that Miloš was its chief commander, it may hardly be believed that he did not lead it. During the battles near Užice in 1807, Miloš almost got killed, because he was badly wounded by a Turkish bullet. When his brother Milan died in Bucharest in 1810, everything changed for Miloš. Immediately after Milan's death, Miloš had a big conflict with Mladen Milovanović. Then he took the side of Petar Dobrnjac and Milenko Stojković, who were Karadjordje's opponents. When these two men fled the country, Miloš had to explain his actions. He could lose his life then. Thanks to Karadjordje, he managed to get out of it.

When the uprising failed, Miloš was the one of rare persons who did not leave the country. In Zabrežje, he met Jakov Nenadović, who was transferring his treasure to Austria: "From there,

all of the Serbian commanders fled to Germany, wherever they chose; however, Miloš did not want to do so but, he went downstream the river Sava and came to Zabrežje only with Dimitrije and with one servant and then they dismounted their horses to have some rest. Jakov Nenadović was in Zabrežje, on the other side, and when he had heard that Miloš was there, he sent him a word to flee to Germany, too; since Miloš refused to do so, then Jakov himself crossed to this side, and began inducing him, telling him that everything failed and that he would die crazily for nothing. Miloš responded him the following: "Brother, I will not go to Germany, and I have nowhere to go: I do not want to run away with a bare head on my shoulders and nothing else to Germany, and let the Turks, while I am still alive, enslave and sell my old mother, wife, and children! God forbid! I shall rather go to my nahiyah and where other people go, I shall go there too; many people died with me so, it will be no harm if I get killed and fail with people". Then, he mounted his horse, and returned home to Brusnica" (Vuk Karadžić).

It seems that at that time, Miloš thought that the war could still be waged with the Turks. When some of the former army members of Mladen Milovanović Army came to him, he decided to occupy the fortress in Užice before the Turks came. Right at that time, a famous event happened, when he distributed his valuables his fellows. In Rudnik nahiyah, Miloš realised everything. All his illusions about any possible resistance vanished there. In the meantime, Hurshid Pasha finally entered Belgrade on 17th October. However, Hurshid Pasha was not too belligerent since he had known that it was only the victory in the battle and that the most difficult task was only to come. Subsequently, in October 1813, he nominated Suleiman Pasha Skopljak as the commander of the Belgrade fortress and the administrator of the Belgrade pashadom. His duty was to settle things in Serbia in order for a normal life to be initiated there. Therefore, on 19th October, the amnesty was announced. However, the amnesty did not relate to all persons. The Metropolitan Leontije as the first and Karadjordje as the second were excluded from it. Thanks to the announced amnesty, the refuged population began returning to their homes from shelters.

The Turks had to select somebody among the remaining upraising chiefs for the negotiations. It was Miloš, who surrendered to Ali aga Sercesma and "placed his arms in front of him; but, he only took his sabres, and returned everything else back, and nominated Miloš as a ruling prince (Obor-knez) of Rudnik nahiyah (Vuk Karadžić). The new ruling princes and other Serbian chiefs were appointed ceremonially with shooting guns in Belgrade on 3rd October. Miloš retained the title of the ruling prince of Rudnik Nahiyah (the one given by Sercesma on the occasion of surrender). But, this was just an illusion that lasted for a while. At first, people settled down and returned to their villages, and there were also many of those who returned from Austria. The situation in Serbia seemed to be calming down and, the Turkish army was gradually retreating. However, the Turks soon began terrorising people, thus, everything again reminded of the era of the dahias. Until then, Miloš imposed himself to Suleiman Pasha Skopljak so that the Vizier gradually began prioritising him in relation to other chiefs. It is quite possible that Skopljak was afraid of him the most. Miloš was actually the only great name from the uprising that was in Serbia. All other princes important in the uprising were outside Serbia. This was probably the reason why on 26th June 1814, Suleiman Pasha, in addition to Rudnik Nahiyah which he had administered so far, also provided Kragujevac and Čačak Nahiyahs under Miloš' leadership. At that moment, he officially became the most prominent among the Serbian chiefs.

On 16th September 1814, news was spread that the rebellion arose in Požega Nahiyah led by Haji Prodan. Miloš refused the invitation to be the rebellion leader and on the contrary, he helped the Turks to suppress the rebellion. In early 1815, during the harshest winter, the Serbs were withdrawing to mountains, hiding and waiting for the spring. When in February 1815, Suleiman Pasha Skopljak began pushing forced labourers to repair the Belgrade ramparts, it was clear that he had no intention to stop. At that time Miloš Obrenović was in Belgrade, where he had already been since early February at the invitation of Suleiman Pasha Skopljak. Namely, the Pasha sent invitations to all of the Nahiyah Princes to come with their most prominent men among people and to bring nec-

essary number of forced labourers. The Pasha did not want to leave him and it was clear that it was a matter of days when Miloš was to be killed. Yet, on 10th March 1815, Miloš cunningly left Belgrade.

Thus, in the early spring of 1815, the second Serbian Uprising began. From the very beginning, Miloš Obrenović was the leader of the Uprising. The numerous battles were led, of which the major ones were those in Ljubić near Čačak (the end of May) and near Požarevac (in the summer). But, at that time Miloš had realised that he did not have power for military supremacy. Therefore, he tried to negotiate with the Turks, for which he immediately got an opportunity. Hurshid Pasha was advancing from Bosnia, and Marshli Ali Pasha was advancing from Macedonia and Albania. First, Miloš began negotiations with Hurshid Pasha, in August, and he even went to his camp. Dissatisfied with negotiations, Miloš again cunningly got out of the camp, and then he continued negotiations with another Turkish Pasha – Marshli. He played on great rivalry between Hurshid and Marshli, each of them endeavoured to get merits for suppressing the uprising. Because of that, Marshli was lenient.

In fact, continuing negotiations between the rebels and Constantinople began then. With respect to that, Miloš sent numerous deputations to the Turkish capital. During negotiations, Miloš was gradually consolidating his power in Serbia. He had his fiercest opponents liquidated (Petar Moler, Melentije Nikšić, Pavle Cukić, etc.) and then, Karadjordje was liquidated in the night between 12th and 13th July 1817 when he was secretly transferred from Russia to Serbia. Several other rebellions were initiated against Miloš' autocracy, but he skilfully suppressed them all. After negotiations which lasted for more than fourteen years, Turkey finally gave in and in the Hatti-Sheriff of 1829, it fulfilled a rather large number of the rebels' requests. Until then, the river of gold flew from Miloš to bribing Turkish viziers and pashas, resulting in the major achievements.

Though the Hatti-Sheriff of 1829 did not result in any rights to the Serbs, but only in the promise of the Porte that, in future negotiations, it would discuss with Serbian delegates, yet, it meant the beginning of the end of the Turkish rule. In the Hatti-Sheriff of 1830, Miloš was given the

right of the succession of the Prince title within his family. Obtained hereditary right in the principality was until then the greatest success of the Miloš' foreign politics. This contributed greatly to subsequent independence of Serbia. Many did not understand that and claimed that Miloš settled the hereditary Prince dignity exclusively due to his family egoism or because of his vanity. It cannot be more incorrect! It actually matters whether the Prince of Serbia will have his throne based on the hereditary title or based on the Porte which may both appoint and replace him. While in the first case, Serbia, with its independent Prince getting the power based on the inheritance priority may be even called semi-independent principality, in the second case, when the Porte determines a prince, Serbia is fully dependent on Turkey, being only at the level of a gubernia.

The peak of the struggle for independence was in 1833, when the new Hatti-Sheriff called "tolkovatelni" i.e. "declarative" was received. It was directly sent to Prince Miloš, indicating his importance. Namely, the Hatti-Sheriff of 1830 was in the name of the Belgrade Vizier, whereas this one of 1833 was directly sent to Miloš. An impression is gained that actually, only then, when this Hatti-Sheriff was received, the Second Serbian Uprising ended. Indeed, Serbia had not become officially independent state, yet, but only one step divided it from its independence. With this Hatti-Sheriff, which was the peak, as well as Miloš' last great political success, Miloš completed what had been started in Karadjordje's uprising.

After the Hatti-Sheriff of 1830, Serbia received its autonomy, and actually turned into the Province of Serbia. This Province had its Prince and the right of self-organisation, which further meant that the Turkish legal system, under which Miloš and national chiefs administered the country, had to be changed. In addition, the tax system was significantly changed, which also impacted Miloš' position. He clearly felt it and in the administration structure, he changed only those things he deemed necessary, which would not hamper his rule. However, it could not last forever. In Serbia, the number of educated people was increasing, who were further unwilling to sustain Miloš' self-will which was increasing in time. In such context, great Mileta's rebellion of January

1835 should be considered, which was initiated by Mileta Radojević, Grand Commander of Rasina, Milisav Zdravković Resavac, Avram Petronijević, and Ranko Majstorović. Princess Ljubica, as well as Miloš' brother Jevrem Obrenović were at terms with this rebellion. Nevertheless, Toma Vučić Perišić managed to stop the rebellion through negotiations. Yet, this rebellion was the milestone, for the first time, both people and the chiefs united against Miloš. His rule had become so arbitrary and that the two so varied parts of the society were finally united. Both were fed up with Miloš. In addition, it must be said that the Porte and Russia were involved in all this, each with its own interests.

The consequence of this rebellion was the enactment of the so-called Candlemas Constitution, in February 1835. It was supposed to curb the Prince's autocracy from which no one was safe anymore. It is the Constitution with which Russia and Turkey, due to its distinguished liberality, were not satisfied at all, which Miloš used to immediately abolish the Candlemas Constitution. Nevertheless, it was the beginning of the end of the Miloš'

absolutism. Finally, in December 1838, the Porte sent Serbia the wording of a new, so-called "Turkish" constitution. According to it, Miloš shared the legislative and executive power with the council and the courts became independent, etc. Now, his numerous opposition, the so-called "Constitutionalists", finally got what they wanted. At that time, Miloš was a bit tired of the rule so that mild attempts of protest like going to Zemun and Austria in May 1839 did not particularly disturb anyone. The revolt of his followers in that year failed, it was suppressed by Toma Vučić Perišić and Miloš had no other choice, but to abdicate on 13th June 1839. He was succeeded by his elder son Milan, but, since he was of the minor age, the regency ruled instead of him. It was the end of the so-called first rule by Prince Miloš Obrenović.

Miloš returned to Serbia in late 1858 when he was 76 years old. Then, he used an opportunity and abolished the hated Constitution of 1838, which made him leave the rule. However, he did not rule for a long time, he died on 27th September 1860. He was succeeded by Prince Mihailo who was assassinated on 11th July 1868.

JOSIF RAJAČIĆ

Serbian Patriarch

Ilija Rajačić was born in Lučani on 20th July 1788. His father Luka was a priest and his mother was from a well-known Serbian family. First, he studied at German public schools, after which he continued his education in Zagreb, Karlovci and Szeged. With “the Piarists” he finished the first two years of philosophy. Then, he went to Vienna, but he did not finish his studies. He was in the war and served in the students’ battalion (1809). Then, he fought against Napoleon who attacked Vienna.

He did not continue his studies, but was ordained as a monk in the Gomirje Monastery on 10th April 1801. For a while, he was a priest-monk there and then as a proto-synkellos, he served at the bishopric court of Plaški. On 20th December 1811, he was promoted to the Archimandrite. For some time, he served as Gomirje Archimandrite and the Administrator of Pakrac diocese. On 24th June 1829, at the Karlovci Cathedral, Karlovci Metropolitan, Stefan Stratimirović, ordained him as the Dalmatia Bishop.

As the Dalmatian Metropolitan, Josif Rajačić had the Clerical School in Šibenik opened. Due to his activity, on a couple occasions he conflicted with the political authorities of that time, which resulted in his transfer to Vršac to serve there as a Bishop on 5th July 1833. Here, Josif Rajačić was meritorious the most for laying the foundation for the grammar school fund. Nevertheless, he did not want to stay in Vršac, thus, he requested to be transferred to Bačka diocese, which he failed to do.

In August 1842, the new Karlovci Metropolitan was elected. There was no agreement at the national and clerical assembly and the Austrian Emperor directly nominated Josif Rajačić:

“This was the last assembly with feudal glory. The noblemen competed in luxury, coaches and servants – above all Petar Čarnojević and Jovan Nako, who came to the assembly as guests. The bishops came to Karlovci with their coaches, with their hussars, hunters, lackeys, mostly with four horses” (Teodor Mandić). This was the first time when the Emperor directly nominated Karlovci Metropolitan according to his own will. The Emperor repeated this precedent in 1881, when he nominated Bačka Bishop German (Andjelić) as the Serbian Patriarch.

Josif Rajačić became the head of the Karlovci Metropolitanate at very difficult times during great conflict between Hungarians and South Slavs but even bigger conflict between the Austrians and the Hungarians in Austro-Hungarian Empire in which the Metropolitan Rajačić took a special part. His long and significant speech held on 9th June 1844 at the Upper House in the Pressburg Assembly was remembered. Then, among other things, he required to open clerical seminary, to upgrade grammar schools in Karlovci and Novi Sad at the level of proper grammar schools, as well as to improve the situation in teachers training colleges of that time: “Since, on the one hand, care must be taken to resolve any threats regarding church and our people, on the other hand, care must be taken that cunningness of Catholicism, and, perhaps even, Protestantism do not outwit” (Jovan Radonić). Out of all things that he had requested, he had to be satisfied with the Metropolitan printing house in Karlovci.

The Great Revolution, which was spreading from Paris in 1848, also affected Austrian areas. On 1st May 1848, Metropolitan Rajačić convoked

the National and Clerical Assembly and all eyes were fixed at him: "Being until that time known as a patriot and dedicated fighter for the rights of people and church, Rajačić enjoyed the sympathy of the Serbian people, who began looking at him as their leader in difficult times. Though agile, clear-sighted, determined, and bold, Rajačić was, at first uncertain. He did not want to take quickly any of the sides although he was, at Garašanin's order induced by Matija Ban to resolutely oppose the Hungarians" (Jovan Radonić).

The Hungarian government required to terminate the assembly activities but they were continued. The representatives of the whole Serbian people took part in it and proclaimed Metropolitan Rajačić for the Patriarch, which was confirmed in the imperial manifesto of 15th December 1848: "We decided to set up the patriarch dignity as the supreme church authority, as it used to exist in the previous times, which was finally settled with the chair of the Karlovci Metropolitan. We shall give the title and the dignity to our faithful and kind Metropolitan Josif Rajačić" (Imperial Patent of 15th December 1848). Under the same manifesto, Major General, Stevan Šupljikac, was recognised as the Serbian Duke.

Soon afterwards, the Emperor passed the Octroyed Constitution (4th March 1849), which, among all, guaranteed the future structure of the Dukedom of Serbia, but, at the same time, the option of its connection with some other kingdoms was provided. Finally, under the Imperial Patent of 18th November 1849, the Duchy of Serbia and Banat of Tamish were established. However, Rajačić was very cautious and rightfully warned: "Do not haste to do something you could be ashamed of or which would harm our sanctities, the church and nation, outshine the national glory and honour and besmirch our dignity. Whatever you do, do it as a glorious nation, as free people, as nation clever, mature and wise, as courageous, faithful people worthy of the Serbian glory."

Vienna considered that the Duchy of Serbia and Banat of Tamish were the reward and great

gift of mercy to the Serbs for their participation in the Revolution in 1848/49, at the side of the court. However, the Serbs were not satisfied with such a solution, because the new independence greatly deviated from the Duchy of Serbia proclaimed at the May Assembly in 1848.

Patriarch Rajačić achieved a lot at the culture level. He founded several primary schools, and during his time, education in Karlovci Grammar School was expanded from six to eight grades and the Metropolitanate and Grammar School Printing House was established. In 1854, Patriarch Rajačić tried to open Serbian University in Sremski Karlovci, but he did not manage to do so.

The Austrian imperial court of the Emperor Franz Joseph I was not inclined towards Patriarch Rajačić and there were often some conflicts. Especially difficult conflicts occurred when the court tried to take over the nomination of Serbian bishops. The Patriarch Rajačić was persistent in his position that bishops could be nominated only by the Karlovci Metropolitanate Holy Archbishop-Synod.

The last blow that Patriarch Josif Rajačić had to sustain was the cancellation of the Duchy of Serbia and Banat of Tamish in 1861. He presented the protest to the Austrian Emperor, but he only managed to obtain the meeting of the National and Clerical Assembly, which began on 2nd April 1861. Patriarch Rajačić passed away on 1st December 1861. He was buried at the Cathedral in Sremski Karlovci: "Rajačić was an extraordinary man, as well the circumstances in which he lived. His firm character did not give in to any pressures, from above or from below, which could neither break him nor bent him, as well as he never retreated back when some of the bishops publicly or secretly criticised him" (Teodor Mandić).

In history, he remained remembered the most by his nomination as the Serbian Patriarch at the May Assembly in 1848: "it was the action, which was in clerical and canonical terms, quite arbitrary though it had a great significance in national and political terms" (Djoko Slijepčević).

VUK KARADŽIĆ

Vuk Karadžić was born on 26th October 1787 in Tršić near Loznica, as the sixth child in the family that had moved from Herzegovina (Drobnjaci). He was first educated at the Tronoša Monastery, and then, during the First Serbian Uprising, he was a scribe with the Jadar Duke, Ćurčija. In 1804, he went to Sremski Karlovci where he continued his education with a teacher Lukijan Mušicki. He did not stay there long and he moved to Petrinja, Croatia and then, in 1807, he returned to Serbia. He worked as a Secretary with Duke Jakov Nenadović in 1807 and later for the first Serbian government in 1809. In 1810, he worked as a teacher in Belgrade, and then as the customs and juridical clerk in Kladovo, Brza Palanka, and some other places. After the failure of the Uprising in 1813, he went to Vienna.

In Vienna, Vuk Karadžić met Jernej Kopitar who became interested in the former after he had read his document describing the failure of the Serbian Uprising. This document was intended for the *Novine Serbske* issued by Dimitrije Davidović and Dimitrije Frušić at that time. Kopitar was a censor and he had to read it. Jernej Kopitar was well aware of the Serbian literary situation and he himself wrote about some Serbian writers, especially about Dositej Obradović. In Vuk's text, he was attracted by an unusual language: "Kopitar wanted to see me and we become friends. Among other discussions, we talked about Ser-



bian folk poems. Having realised that I knew many of them, Kopitar began inducing me to write them down – the more, the better – and afterwards to print them, for the sake of God" (Vuk Karadžić).

Under Kopitar's influence, Vuk began working on the *Serbian book*. In 1814, by memory and with many faults he issued *Serbian Poems*. In the same year, his first grammar book was issued: *The Grammar Book of the Serbian Language, according to the Speech of Ordinary People*. Kopitar liked these books a lot, and he said for Vuk then that he was a grammar genius. In 1815, Vuk went to Srem, where he stayed at the Šišatovac Monastery with Lukijan Mušicki for a while. In Sremski Karlovci, he discovered Tešan Podrugović. He had heard and wrote down numerous Serbian folk poems from him.

Already in 1815, Vuk issued *The Book of Serbian Folk Poems with 100 female and 17 male folk poems*. In 1818, his *Serbian Dictionary* was published and in that year, the second edition of *The Grammar Book* was published. Then, he decided to undertake orthographic reform of the Serbian alphabet. Vuk's *Serbian Dictionary* "is a turning point in the development of our literary language and orthography" (A. Belić). Even at that time, Vuk said that the literary language had to be the pure vernacular language. Such a language was most purely spoken between the rivers Drina and Morava and Vuk wanted to use this

language in his literary works. The orthographic reform based on the principle that each sound has one symbol was performed in this *Dictionary*. For the first time, the letters: њ, њ, њ, њ and j were used, as well as the famous principle: Write as you speak and read as it is written.

The special attention was raised by his critique of two novels by Milovan Vidaković: *A Lonely Hero* (1815) and *Ljubomir in Elysium* (1817). In both of his texts, published in *Novine Serbske*, Vuk polemicised about the issues of language and literature.

On 16th January 1818, Vuk got married to Anna Kraus. Apart from daughter Mina and son Dimitrije, all of their children died. In 1858, Mina got married to Aleksa Vukomanović whereas his son was nothing but a problem, and after Vuk's death, he was expelled from the Serbian army (1868) because of his drunkenness.

In the course of 1819, Vuk Karadžić went to Russia where he met historian Karamzin, writer Zhukovsky then, Shishkov, Count Rumyantsev and others. In Petersburg, he got in contact with the London Bible Society and was offered to translate *The New Testament* into Serbian for them. Although Vuk finished the translation in time, the translation of Atanasije Stojković, the Professor in Kharkov, was published, and Vuk's translation would be published in 1847.

Vuk stayed in Serbia for only two years, from 1820 to 1822 due to constant conflicts with Prince Miloš Obrenović. He went to Germany, where he planned to study medicine but he gave up the idea. Instead, with the support of Jacob Grimm, he published *The Book of Serbian Folk Poems* and met Goethe and some other significant artists. By that time, his *Serbian Folk Fairy Tales* (1821), *Serbian Folk Poems in Four Books* (three were published in 1823, and the fourth in 1833) were published in Leipzig. Even at that time, Vuk was a well-known scientist in the field of language and literature and he was granted pension by the Russian Emperor in 1826. This was the time when his almanac *Danica* began to be issued, the first in 1826, and then on a regular basis for every year.

Now, Vuk was almost constantly settled in Vienna, and only occasionally went on some journeys. He was in Serbia from 1828 to 1831 when

he supported the translation of the famous Napoleon's Civil Code. He got the position at the Belgrade Court, but after a serious insult by those who were close to Miloš, in 1832, he left Serbia for good and returned to Vienna. His famous *Letter to Prince Miloš* was written then, in which he indignantly expressed his exaggerated attitudes due to his personal resentment. In *Danica*, he published several historiographical articles about the First Serbian Uprising, as well as monograph *Miloš Obrenović, the Prince of Serbia* (1828). At the same time, in 1831, he started writing his secret document, the so-called *Secret Book*, which has not yet been published.

In the years 1834–1836, Vuk travelled around south-east areas (Dalmatia, Boka Kotorska and Montenegro), and during all that time, he lived from the support received from the Russian Academy of Science. Then, his *Serbian Folk Proverbs and other Commonly used Sayings* was published (1836), dedicated to P. P. Njegoš. In the preface of this book, Vuk explained his linguistic and orthographic reform, which would be supplemented in the first polemic with Jovan Hadžić in 1839.

During all this time, Vuk had some fierce opposition because he believed that Slavic-Serbian should not be used in writing but the vernacular language because he insisted on the use of phonetic orthography and introduced new letters. He was especially attacked, because he took the letter “j” from the Catholics. Metropolitan Stratimirović was one of his fiercest opponents and Vuk did not have many of his followers. The part of this polemic was published in the *Letters on the Serbian Orthography and Language* in 1845.

He travelled throughout Srem, Slavonia and Croatia in 1837/1838, and in 1841, he went to Dalmatia again. He went shortly to Serbia (in 1848 and in 1852). During that time, his three books of the final edition of *Serbian Folk Poems* were published (in 1841, in 1845 and in 1846) and the translation of the *New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ* also appeared (1847), followed by the second edition of the *Serbian Dictionary* (1852), the second edition of *Serbian Folk Proverbs* (1849), *Serbian Fairy Tales* (1853), and *Examples of the Serbian-Slavic Language* (1857).

Also, in the course of 1849, he started the magazine, *The Compilation for History, Language, and Customs of the Serbs of all Three Religions* but only one issue was published containing mostly texts about ethnography.

In the period from 1859 to 1861, he went to Serbia again and this time, his family was with him. Then his book *About the Government* was published (1860) and then, the fourth book of the Vienna issue of *The Serbian Folk Poems* (1862).

In the 1830s, Vuk was received permanent support from the Serbian Orthodox Municipality in Trieste and in 1835, he received the pension from Prince Miloš. Vuk's financial situation was fully improved when Prince Miloš moved to Vienna after he had resigned from the throne. At that time, Vuk maintained constant connections with Prince Miloš and his son Mihajlo who supported him.

Vuk died on 26th January 1864 and his human remains were transferred from Vienna to Belgrade and buried with great honours in the churchyard of the Cathedral next to Dositej Obradović in 1897.

The collections of the *Serbian Folk Poems*, totally 4 books with 1045 poems (793 lyric and

252 epic), the *Serbian Folk l Proverbs*, and the *Serbian Fairy Tales* are, as said by J. Deretić: "the canon of our folk literature. Thanks to them, our folk literature is given the status of literature and the literature of high and the highest rank representing national classics."

In philology, Vuk also left an indelible trace. He wrote the first grammar and the first dictionary of the Serbian language, he made two reforms – alphabetic and orthographic and literary and linguistic resulting in the current Serbian alphabet and modern Serbian literary language: "These are four basic achievements of the activity of Vuk Karadžić in the linguistic domain and his significance as a philologist is based on them" (J. Deretić).

Vuk Karadžić created the alphabet in its final form with thirty letters of which six are new: њ, ј, љ, њ, ѣ and ђ. The phonetic principle is consistently applied here and each sound is written with one letter and each letter designates one sound. Thus, the famous principle is implemented: Write as you speak, and read as it is written. Vuk's Cyrillic alphabet is not only easy and elegant, but it is easily learned, as well.

GLIGORIJE VOZAREVIĆ

Gligorije Vozarević was born on 1st August 1790 in a small Fruška gora village of Ležimir. It is not known how he spent his years until 1812, when he moved to Zemun. There, in Zemun, he worked as a server in an inn. He was not satisfied with this work and he wanted to be a “bookbinder and bookseller” so, in 1816, he moved to Belgrade. He managed to get some money from the daughter of Prince Miloš – Perka (Bajić) and he went to school to get education in “foreign more advanced countries”. He was also educated in Vienna where he worked as an apprentice at the bookbinding shop of Jacob Herman and in 1826, he became a journeyman. Then he wrote to Vuk Karadžić and asked him to find him some other job in Vienna even in “haberdashery”. After that, he worked as a bookbinder with several masters in Vienna for some time.

He returned to Belgrade in 1828 (perhaps even in 1827) and opened a craft bookbinding shop. At that time, Belgrade was still a Turkish mahala with many Turks. Bookbinding tools were brought by his friends in Vienna. First, he rented a small shop opposite the today’s Cathedral and then, he moved his shop somewhat farther. The new building was different and it was entered from the street over several stone stairs: “shop windows had glass panes, not “paper windows” as others in the town. The book hanging above the entrance, marking Vozarevićs occupation and glass windows on the shop were confusing for the Turks, who entered to see whether it was a barber shop or watch repair shop” (Milica Cvrčanin).

This was the first Serbian bookbinding shop in Belgrade and although small, it was big enough

to be noticed by a German writer Otto Dubislav Pirch: “...I have found something else, which is a real treasure for a foreigner – a bookbinder, master – Gavriilo, a Serb, who speaks German very well, he works nicely, he knows all of the prominent people in the town and he is very complaisant. For the time being, he must be considered as the only one representative of literature, in his little shop, there are Serbian, German and French books.”

Even at that time, Vozarević was thinking of publishing books. When the state printing machine was purchased in Serbia on 21st May 1831, Vozarević, a bookbinder and bookseller until that time decided to become a publisher, as well. The first book he published was the *Serbian Verses* by Gavriilo Kovačević. This was the first book printed by the state printing house. It was printed in August 1832 in 500 copies.

After his first book, Gligorije Vozarević published the calendar *Belgrade Lyre* in three books (1833–1835), followed by Davidovićs *Almanac* (1833–1836), *The Life of St. Alexius in verses*, *The Life of Wonderful Joseph* (1836 and 1843), *The Battle of a Dragon with Eagles* (1839), *Karavasija* (1843), almanac *Dove* in five books (1839–1844), *The Battle of Kosovo* in verses (1836 and 1843), *The Poem to Brave Serbs* (1844), *Greetings to Serbia from Croatia* by O. Ostrožinski (1845) and he began printing the collection of Davidovićs works (1846) but only *The History of the Serbian People* was published.

The most important books published by Vozarević are considered to be the complete works of Dositej Obradović, published from 1833 to 1836, and the tenth book in 1845. In the preface of the

first book, Vozarević says: "These books are not such that a man may be fed up with them after one reading and even if he read them hundred times, the desire remains and the books urge for reading and one shall take this or that wonderful thing in them or read them again and again for himself or to another. They are a real treasure and a pleasure to any Serb or like a rich store in which at any time and in any case, something nice, gentle, and useful may be found for someone's mind and soul."

It is known that between 1832 and 1839 around ninety books were printed in the state printing house of which Gligorije Vozarević published twenty. He had been publishing books for fourteen years and he published around thirty in total, and some of them had two or three editions. His example influenced many and not only that other publishers appeared but also many writers: "having done his craft, he was, at the same time, the motivator for numerous literary enterprises" (Milan Milićević).

At the time when by the order of Prince Miloš the printing house was relocated to Kragujevac, "Gligorije Vozarević, the bookbinder and bookseller from Belgrade, also moved with his tools, journeymen, apprentices, for the purpose of binding the books of the State Printing House", and "he left his bookbinding and bookselling shop in Belgrade at the same place where it used to be and to be managed by his wife." He stayed in Kragujevac until 1835.

Vozarević was exceptionally appreciated in Belgrade and was called "the reading fan", "literature zealot", etc. Though he himself did not write, he liked to socialise with writers: "All of the intelligential of that time used to gather in his house. His hospitality, kindness and the tidiness of his wife were attractive to everybody" (*Srpske Ilustrovane Novine*, 1881, Novi Sad). He was visited by Vuk Karadžić, Dimitrije Davidović, Dimitrije Isajlović, Cvetko Rajović, Lazar Arsenijević Batalaka, etc. Newspapers were read at his bookstore, discussions were led and according to many, the idea of establishing the today's National Library was born there. It was established on 15th February 1832. It was financially supported by many but Jevrem Obrenović is mentioned the

most whereas Lukijan Mužicki donated his personal library of around one thousand books. The National Library was also donated by Sava Tekelija and Matice Srpska, followed by Dimitrije Davidović, Jovan Hadžić, Jovan Milovuk, etc. At the beginning, the library was located in Vozarević's flat then, in his house and finally, it was moved to a special building.

During the construction of the current Cathedral in Belgrade, Prince Miloš ordered that relatives had their dead buried around the old church excavated, and Vozarević had the grave of Dositej Obradović excavated: "he had Dositej's bones near the old church, which was demolished to make the room for the new one, collected and having washed them in wine and put in a silken bag, he placed them in a small chest and after the service, they were re-buried near the western door of the new church, where the old plate with a new inscription was built in" (*Serbian Illustrated Paper*, 1881, Novi Sad). On that occasion, Vozarević, almost piously put all of Dositej's bones in a small chest and put a small letter in a bottle full of oil according to which on 15th September 1897 when Dositej's bones were buried for the third time, they recognised that those were Dositej's bones. Then, he kept a bone from Dositej's pointer finger for himself and had it bound in gold and built in his snuffbox like a precious stone. He was buried with this snuffbox.

It is claimed that Vozarević was a very modest man, he rarely went to the ruler's court or to the Metropolitan and he was not engaged in politics. He was a friend with Sima Milutinović Sarajlija and he was his best man and baptised both of his sons (Milutin and Dragiša).

He died on 10th January 1848 and was buried near the St. Mark Church. In 1927, at the order of the Municipality, the place where the graveyard used to be was ploughed, and his grave disappeared since there was no one to take his bones out and bury them in some other place. Thus, the grave of the first bookseller in Belgrade, the first publisher in Serbia, the founder of the first public library in Belgrade and the one who was the first to publish the collection of Dositej Obradović's works, disappeared.

SIMA MILUTINOVIĆ SARAJLIJA

Sima Milutinović was born on 3rd October 1791 in Sarajevo to father Milutin, a well-off merchant, and mother Andjelija. Their origin is from the place below the mountain Durmitor. Due to the plague, they moved twice, the first time from Serbia to Sarajevo (when Sima was born), then to Zemun (1793), and to Belgrade again. Sima's father Milutin managed in Belgrade during the time of the Turks (Mustafa Pasha) to become very rich from cattle and grain trade. However, when the dahias killed Mustafa Pasha (1799), the Milutinovići fled to Zemun, Austria. While they had been in Belgrade, Sima started school. His father tried to convince Sima to continue the family business but he rejected it and continued his education. First, in Szeged for two years with a teacher Damjan Alargić and then for two years at the Latin School. In 1806, Sima continued his education at the Grammar School in Sremski Karlovci but in the third grade, he was expelled because he wrote jokes about Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović. Thus, the regular education of Sima Milutinović was put to an end.

In 1807, Sima Milutinović studied with a Greek in Zemun, from whom he had heard a lot about Greek mythology and started to like it sincerely. At the time of Karadjordje's Uprising in 1808, he moved to Serbia and then, he crossed the river Drina and joined Zeka Buljubaša where he worked as a clerk. In 1809, he was a clerk in Belgrade in the new government.

He was able to evaluate the time in which he lived and recorded events which he had seen or which he had heard about. In the course of 1811, he had an opportunity to meet Vuk Karadžić and

he had a privilege to put down the coffin of Dositej Obradović into his grave. Even at that time, he wrote his first poems. In early 1813, he returned to Zeka Buljubaša at the river Drina for a while and from that place he was sent by Mladen Milovanović to Timisoara to a diplomatic mission. After the breakdown of the uprising, Sima began to wander, first to Zemun, then to Arad over Pančevo. Sava Tekelija helped him to get in touch with captured Karadjordje's dukes and after that, he went to Vienna to ask for their release.

After Vienna, he went to Dalmatia, where he worked as a private tutor in the village of Strmica for a while. In the course of 1814, he was in Sarajevo again, from where he returned to Serbia and got a position with Metropolitan Dionisije at the Monastery of the Annunciation. However, due to a conspiracy against the Turks, he fled to Užice and Šabac Metropolitan Deli Papaz (Greek Danilo).

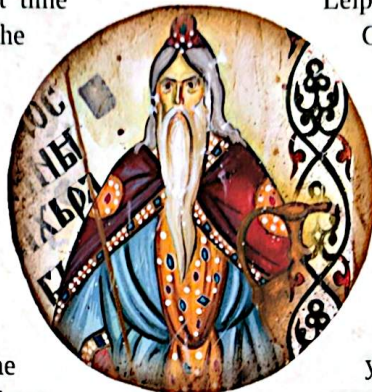
At the beginning of the second Serbian Uprising, Sarajlija returned to Serbia and worked as a clerk for several prominent people of whom the most prominent was certainly Jovan Obrenović. For a while, he was a clerk at the National Office.

Then, he went to Russia since his parents had moved there before because of the Turks. However, he did not have enough money for the whole journey, he stopped in Vidin, where he kept melons with a Turk and then he worked as a teacher at a school. At that time he had already completed the draft of *The Sisterhood among Three Sisters* and sixty five lyric and cosmic poems. Today, they are considered to be his most beautiful poems: according to their spirit these

poems belong to romanticism and greatly differ from poems written in the spirit of then prevailing sentimentalism and classicism. They are written in almost pure vernacular language: "Yet, they do not imitate folk poems but they are a distinct expression of the poet with a powerful imaginative strength who, for the first time in our poetry, strives to achieve the synthesis of domestic and foreign, national folk poetry and classic traditions, Slavic and Ancient mythology" (Jovan Deretić). The majority of the poems were found in the manuscripts only after the poet's death. If they had been published when they were written, they would confirm that the Serbian lyrical romanticism was born more than thirty years earlier.

Then, Sima Milutinović was put in dungeons by the Turks who accused him of participating in the conspiracy of the Greeks ("the heterists") against the Turks. He left the dungeons in 1818 and went to Belgrade in the service of Jovan Obrenović. Finally, in 1819, he went to Russia again. He found his father in Chisenau, where he met many Karadjordje's dukes. In the meantime, his mother died.

He stayed in Russia for four years. During that time, he was writing *A Serbian Woman*, which was with the support of Prince Miloš, printed in Leipzig in 1826. This is the chronicle of the First Serbian Uprising in verses. These verses have a special value and some decasyllabic verses were the direct inspiration to Petar II Petrović Njegoš for *The Mountain Wreath*: "to such an extent that they, by their mental acoustic and internal capacity, do not differ from the best Njegoš verses" (V. Petrović). With this, a bit odd poetry book, Sima Milutinović became a famous Serbian poet. Some even consider it to be the Serbian Iliad. "The Serbian Bible, as it was called, is a rather unreadable, more historical than poetic work. It seems that this does not say everything about it. It still waits for its interpreter, writer and historian of literature who will deeply read it, find in it not only the summary of historical events, but also poetry. For one hundred years, and even longer, it is discussed as a poetic piece but no one



seems to have made an effort to fully read and interpret its faint, but inspired points" (Miodrag Popović).

Sima Milutinović stayed in Leipzig for one year (1825–1826) and, during that time, he attended various lectures at the University of Leipzig. He met German writers Jacob Grimm, Goethe, Herder, Uhland, etc. In the same year, his book *Few Short Poems* was published. In 1827, his collection of poems *Zorica* was published.

At the invitation of Prince Miloš, he went to Serbia but he suddenly changed his plan and headed to Cetinje. In the next four years, he dealt with the education of young Rade Petrović, the future Petar II Petrović Njegoš. He came back to Serbia in 1831. He had many jobs and among others he was a historiographer. Then he was commissioned to do the history of the Second Serbian Uprising. The Montenegrin and Herzegovian Poems were published in 1833 and *The History of Montenegro from the Ancient Times to the Recent Time* in 1835.

In Leipzig in 1836, he published *The History of Serbia from the Beginning of 1813 to the End of 1815* commissioned by Prince Miloš and *The Sisterhood among Three Sisters or Three Serbian Pleasures* (1837). Upon the completion of the activities regarding these editions, he went back to Serbia in 1839. On his way there, he spent some time in Buda where he met Marija Popović Punktatorka and got married to her. He was well known and popular to such an extent that Serbian students in Pest crowned him with a wreath and proclaimed him the best Serbian poet. Just at that time, he met young Jakov Ignjatović: "...personally, he must have been a very strong and suggestive man because all his contemporaries, except Vuk, and, among them there were geniuses and much more educated people than him, were enchanted with him and he was their role model" (V. Petrović). But, there were some opposite opinions, as well. Vuk Karadžić proclaimed him "a half mad man" and Goethe says about him: "True naivety and honesty typical for his people is the characteristic of his and of his poetry."

Upon his return to Serbia, he became an Administrator of primary schools. However, he had a quarrel with Prince Mihailo and he left Serbia in 1840. In 1844, *The Brotherhood of Three Brothers* was published. After the Obrenovićs were overturned from the rule in 1846, he returned to Serbia and became the Secretary of the Ministry of Education and then Appellate Judge. Soon afterwards, on 30th December 1847, he died.

In addition to the works mentioned so far, Sima Milutinović wrote two dramas: *The Pride of Montenegro* (1831) and *Obilić* (1837). *The Tragedy of Duke Karadjordje* and *Odžaklija Zubanova* remained unfinished. *Tragedy of the Duke Karadjordje* with its 34 acts is something special: "the whole processions of wraiths, devils, hobgoblins and various other forces of the dark headed by Satan appear at the stage. In the first two acts of the drama, the main character is Karadjordje himself, and in the last act, where events after his assassination are shown, the role of the main character is taken by the cut Karadjordje's head" (Jovan Deretić). The assassination is presented by Sarajlija as the consequence of activities of cosmic and historical forces and all that with the support of the forces of the dark. Karadjordje's guilt is in the fact that he left Serbia at the time when it was in the biggest danger.

All the time, he is some supreme being, holder of great ideas but constantly under the burden of such requirements.

In his time, Sima Milutinović was best known as a poet. He was considered the best Serbian poet of that time. His, a bit blurred style, was considered ingenious and in addition, he impassioned the fantasy using some strange phrases and unknown compounds. The unrestricted imagination, wild phantasy and inclination to bizarre and strange permeate his works. "However, within Milutinović's verses, there are some which are so powerful, fantastic and dashing that it must be recognised that he possessed some kind of raw, or loosened, or rudimentary talent. Milutinović was rather imaginative, he had an extraordinary breadth of mind but, he absolutely lacked selectivity" (V. Petrović).

The significance of Sima Milutinović Sarajlija is in something else. He was the role model to all future poets and he encouraged them and showed them how to create their original works, without excessive compiling or imitations, which is perhaps his greatest merit. He was the teacher to Petar II Petrović Njegoš, the greatest Serbian and Montenegrin poet, the forerunner of the so-called "heroic poetry" and only Njegoš and Djura Jakšić could match with him in this kind of poetry.

LAZAR ARSENIJEVIĆ BATALAKA

Lazar Arsenijević Batalaka was born in 1793 in Bukovnik near Kragujevac. He is the nephew of famous Atanasije Antonijević, an Archpriest from Bukovnik, the one who had the uprising members taken oath in Orašac in 1804. He was educated at the High School during the First Serbian Uprising. It is possible that he was at the lectures of great Dositej Obradović there. When the uprising failed, in 1813, he moved to Austria. For a while, he was in Novi Sad, and then he went to Russia. In Khotyn and Chisinau he spent more than ten years. During his exile, he socialised with Karadjordje, priest Luka Lazarević, Vulo Ilić and other exiled leaders of the First Serbian Uprising. He sustained himself teaching children of rich Serbian refugees.

In 1827, Batalaka returned to Serbia and immediately got government service, first in Požarevac, then in Kladovo, Kragujevac, Belgrade, and in Smederevo. During his service in Kragujevac, he was nicknamed Batalaka by Dimitrije Davidović. From 1842, when the Karadjordjevićs got to power, he was suddenly promoted in his service, first, he became a government advisor, then a diplomatic representative in Constantinople in (1846), and in 1848, he became the Minister of Education and Justice, and again during 1852–1854, he was the Minister of Education and Justice in. Upon the return of the Obrenovićs to the power, Batalaka fell into disgrace. He even spent some time in prison.

He was retired in 1858 and he had been writing his memoirs since then (1858–1864), which gradually turned into *The History of the Serbian Uprising* due to which Arsenijević is included in

this book. His *History* is the first, splendid attempt to present the complete history of the First Serbian Uprising based on voluminous documentation and using critical background.

Skilfully and knowingly, Batalaka used authentic historical materials available to him. However, his book is at the same time the memoir since he experienced the majority of the events and he knew personally the participants of the uprising due to which Arsenijević could not avoid personal attitudes. First, he showed his inclination towards Karadjordje, he did not conceal that he could not stand Vuk Karadžić, he had no good words about a Russia delegate Rodofinikin whom he called evil Serbian ghost.

It can be said that Batalaka's memoirs are the most important national work dealing with the First Serbian Uprising. The book was written in a "vivid, descriptive, and clear manner though in a bit old-fashioned style of XIX century literary before Vuk in which scientific and literary terminology had not been created for many notions and reflective tones. It was written in a sincere and open manner, based on many first-class historical documents and verified narrations, composed quite well and extensively conceived" (Vladimir Stojančević).

In his memoirs, Arsenijević generalised several major topics and issues from the First Serbian Uprising. In such a way, he showed an exceptional capability to connect occurrences and facts, which is the characteristic of a real historical method. He tried to explain the real sense and meaning of the Uprising, as well as the issue of

the liberation of Serbian people from the Turks, but not only within Belgrade Pashadom. He went a step further and studied the possibility of liberating all Serbs under Turkey, which led him to an unavoidable question of relations between the Serbs and the Turks and between Turkey and Russia. All this led him to the issue of the politics of the relation of the uprising participants with Russia regarding which he presented some very interesting attitudes. Batalaka is not anti-Russian oriented, but he criticised this empire and overstated the role of Russian delegate Rodofinikin giving him too much significance and space in his book.

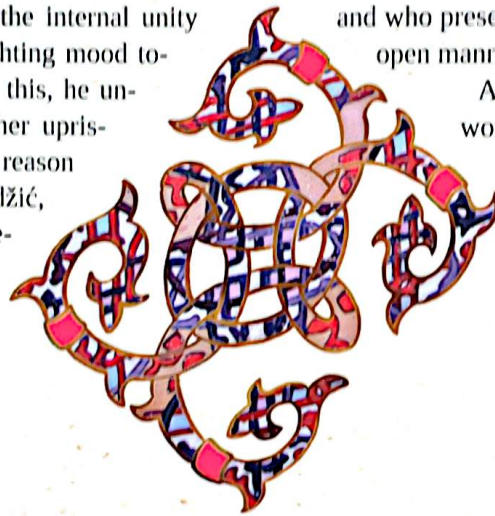
All Batalaka's sympathies are focused on Karadjordje. For him, he was the only person who was capable of maintaining the internal unity among people, as well as fighting mood towards the Turks. Because of this, he underestimated activities of other uprising leaders. It was the actual reason of his conflict with Vuk Karadžić, and his polemics could be-

come biased interpretation of the Uprising and its leaders.

While he was writing his memoirs Arsenjević perhaps did not have any great scientific ambitions. He tried to write them fluently and clearly so that they teach readers not entertain them and to write them so that they could be read by a wide circle of readers in which he fully succeeded. His work was exceptionally popular during XIX century. At the same time, it is a serious historiographical work, "because I think that it will be able to clarify the darkness existing in many things of our history of the relevant time", he said. His History "is a whole and it expresses a concept of a writer who had something to say and who presented his thoughts in a free and open manner" (Vladimir Stojančević).

Arsenjević also wrote a short work *The Characteristic of Black Djordje* (1854).

He died in Belgrade in January 1869.



JOVAN STERIJA POPOVIĆ

Jovan Sterija Popović was born in Vršac on 1st January 1806. His father was a Greek, a Tsintsar and accordingly, he was nicknamed Sterija, and his mother was Serbian, very educated, the daughter of a painter, Nikola Nešković. He finished Lower Grammar School in Vršac, but his education was constantly interrupted because his father persistently tried to convince him to become a merchant. In Sremski Karlovci, Timisoara, and Pest, he studied at Upper Grammar School. At that time, he started writing, and in 1823, he published his historical poem in Church Slavonic Language *Slezi imiže Bolgarija, naščastie ljeta 1374, obivšejsja opalivat*. In 1825, he published the collection of translated poems. Under the influence of Vidaković's novels, he published the novel *The Battle of Kosovo or Milan Toplica and Zoraida*.

In the same year, his first plays *Innocence or Svetislav and Mileva* (1827) and *Miloš Obilić* (1828) were performed in the theatre. These were his youthful, very naïve attempts full of sentimental sensitivity. Later, he wrote that these works had "traces of his immaturity not only regarding the plot, but also in terms of dialogues".

In the course of 1830, he began working as a teacher in Vršac (later he became an attorney at law). At that time, he published his second historical novel: *Dejan and Damjanka or the Fall of the Bosnian Kingdom*, and his play *Foundling Simeon or an Unhappy Marriage* was performed in the theatre.

Those were the last Sterija's literary novels with historical themes. Since then, he exclusively wrote dramas. In 1830, his famous comedy *Lies and Para-lies* was played, with which he was very satisfied. He wrote the following to Vuk Karadžić: "So, after long wandering and winding, ambigui-

ties, I have finally found my way and hopefully, I shall not turn from it." It was followed by *The Reconciliation* and *The Novel without the Novel*. He wrote that it was the first "book of such kind we have in the Serbian language". It is the humorous novel, an attempt to create Don Quixote in the Serbian literature.

His comedies: *A Miser or Kir Janja* (1837), *An Evil Woman* (1838), and *A Stuck up Woman* (1838) date back from the same period.

In 1840, he was invited to Serbia to teach "Orthodox sciences" at the newly founded Lyceum in Kragujevac. After two years, he became the Commissioner of Education, which he was until March 1848, when he resigned. While he was working in Serbia, he wrote the plays *Deceit for Deceit*, *A Mysterious Ass*, *A Grumpy Husband*, *The Destiny of a Reason*, *Sympathy and Antipathy or a Strange Illness* and, *Terancija*. They were not performed and the manuscripts of the last two mentioned above were lost.

At that time, he also wrote tragedies for the theatre in Kragujevac, thus, *The Death of Stefan of Dečani* (1841), *The Haiduks* (1842), *Vladislav* (1842), *Lahan and Skenderbeg* (1842) were created. The tragedy *The Death of Stefan of Dečani* is rather successful as the scenes are well placed, dialogues almost constantly vivid and convincing and the dynamics is fully harmonised with historical background. However, there are too many patriotic statements with which Sterija indulged the sentimental taste of audience.

In his literary activity (excluding comedies), Sterija was not fully original. On the contrary, he would take over some ideas from foreign role models and adjusted them to himself. Therefore, he must be considered more as an educator than

an original creator. It is known that he read a lot and that he took the whole plots and summaries from Molière and Shakespeare.

Sterija is original in his comedies which were written the best. Some foreign role models were only his inspiration. He created a series of the unforgettable characters, from Kir Janja to all those which are to parade in front of the audience in *The Patriots*.

This comedigrapher also wrote two historical plays: *The Celebration of Serbia* and *The Dream of Kraljević Marko*, both in 1847. He wrote them for special occasions, the holidays at the court of Prince Aleksandar.

Jovan Popović is considered to be the initiator of the establishment of theatre companies throughout Serbia. He reformed to a great extent, school curricula in Serbia. The foundation of the Serbian Academy of Science (1841) and the National Museum was originated by him.

In 1848, Sterija returned to Vršac where he stayed until his death dealing with literature. Then, he wrote his famous play, *The Patriots* (1849) and *Belgrade Now and Then* (1853). In *The Patriots*, he created the national comedy, "or the comedy of a nation, the comedy of Serbian-ship. The nationalism of its heroes, at the surface and evanescent, insufficiently founded and easily going into extremes, euphoric enthusiasm regarding national ideals is easily replaced by complete disbelief and dejection, instead of megalomaniac plans, there is blind imitation of something foreign, national praising turns into the shameful defamation of own people, and the struggle for national emancipation ends up in open betrayal" (Jovan Deretić).

In 1854, he published the book of lyrical and epic verses called *Davorije Selected Poetic Products*. Those are very reflective poems in which Sterija melancholically reflects as a disappointed and ill man who withdrew from the public life: "This is, therefore, the poetry of a mature man. Reflection prevails in them, they lack passion, and there are no love poems" (Tihomir Ostojić). Everything is passable, without any sense, emptiness, havoc, degradation and death are everywhere. In any case, this is his most intimate work. As if the poet wandered off into the present time to which he did not belong. He does not conceal it, he even

printed the book in church Cyrillic script which had not been used in printing for a long time.

In his lifetime, Sterija also published several textbooks of which the most important is, *The Rhetoric*. He also tried to write some historical articles, but without much success. He wrote his *Autobiography* until 1848. A series of his short texts published in various newspapers under the pseudonym Milobruke should not be forgotten either.

Nowadays, Jovan Sterija Popović is considered the first Serbian classical comedigrapher. He managed to create some exceptional comedies which do not rely on word puns but on cleverly guided and derived situations that logically develop from the psychology of types and characters. Perhaps, the plots themselves are not always convincing, nevertheless, the characters are utterly authentic and rather recognisable even today. The basic writer's desire is not only to entertain the audience, on the contrary, he always endeavoured to make it better, to teach it. He believed that "truth told in a joke is more effective than dry matter". A man can be improved the best "when he laughs at his own follies". Because of that, he is more of a satirist and an educator than a comedigrapher: "Theatre is a cure for moral diseases; every nation has its own diseases" said Sterija in the text *On Theatre and Theatre Works* (1852) where he explained that foreign writers should not be supported but it is necessary to create original Serbian drama.

Živan Milisavac did not call Sterija "the conscience of the epoch" by chance. Perhaps, because of this, his comedies were not accepted during his lifetime but much later. Everything is so truthful in them to be recognised in the time when they were originally written. In the preface to *The Patriots*, he said: "I did not invent the current play but everything happening in it, even the expressions and words, I have collected either from life or from newspapers and readers from various municipalities will be surprised when they find their Smrdićs, Šerbulićs, Žitilovs, etc. in themselves."

Jovan Sterija Popović died in Vršac on 26th February 1856. His death was preceded by a long lasting illness. He was dissatisfied and grumpy and used to say: "I twist the mind and brain to entertain people and when I look at what it is, there is nothing, nothing, nothing." The triple "nothing" were the last words of this Serbian comedigrapher.

ALEKSANDAR KARADJORDJEVIĆ

Serbian Prince

Prince Karadjordjević was born on 29th September 1806 in Topola to father Djordje (Karadjordje) Petrović and mother Jelena. He did not have any special education and on 30th May 1830 in Khotyn, he got married to Persida Nenadović, the daughter of Jevrem Nenadović and had ten children with her. Until 1831, he was in Bessarabia and then he moved to Vlachia, where he stayed until 1839. While Prince Miloš Obrenović ruled in Serbia, the Karadjordjevićs were not allowed to return to Serbia. But, when Prince Mihailo came to power, the situation changed and Aleksandar Karadjordjević returned to Serbia in 1840. From 21st September 1840, he was the member of the Belgrade County Court and on 15th April 1841, Prince Mihailo took him as his adjutant and gave him the rank of a lieutenant. He was at this position until the famous Vučić's rebellion, which led to the change of the dynasty in Serbia.

On the Holy Cross Day, on 14th September 1842, the Assembly was held in Belgrade which "solemnly elected Aleksandar as the Prince". Already on 7th October, a Charter was received from Constantinople under which the Sultan acknowledged this election. Thus, after almost seven years of fighting (1835–1842), three rebellions, two exiles of rulers, enactment of two constitutions (Candlemas and Turkish), the Defenders of the Constitution and Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjević finally got the power. The Obrenovićs were expelled from Serbia for some longer period of time. In all respects, Avram Petronijević was the

basic political person and the most important support of the Prince.

For the general public, as well as for many chiefs, Prince Aleksandar was not so known. He lived reservedly and mostly absent from the politics. Stevča Mihailović wrote about the meeting with the new Prince at Vučić's camp at Vračar in a tent: "There, on a bench, Vučić and Resavac were sitting, and the Prince sat on a chair and we approached to greet each other, he was rather flustered and rose up from the chair and we immediately lip kissed each other as usual and he showed the chair with his hand and said: sit down, Mr Stevča. Then, Vučić said: sit down, Master, at your place; and he showed us another bench to sit down" (Stevča Mihailović).

In the following year, Vučić was the absolute master of Serbia because it was him whom brought Aleksandar Karadjordjević to the throne. He behaved in such manner that no one could oppose him without being punished. In his rule, he relied a lot on Avram Petronijević, actually, the two of them ruled Serbia at that time. In Constantinople, Baron Liven commented that Serbia was ruled by Vučić and Petronijević as the princes, not by Aleksandar Karadjordjević. How close Vučić got to the Karadjordjevićs is seen in the fact that two daughters of the Prince Aleksandar used to say: "Our daddy is the prince, our mammy is the princess, and Vučić is the ruler, and daddy told Vučić to have the gates of the city opened all night long, so that he may flee if necessary." Of course, Prince Aleksandar was not pleased with this as noticed by everyone. Being angry because

of all this, Prince Aleksandar allegedly beat both his daughters and did not give them to eat anything all day.

The position of Prince Aleksandar and of the defenders of the Constitution was complicated due to the disagreement of Russia about the manner in which Karadjordjević got to the throne. The Russian Tsar Nicholas wrote a letter to the Sultan personally condemning the coup which occurred in Serbia and sent his personal delegate, Baron Liven, there but due to the persistence of the Porte, not much could be done. Actually, everything ended in a bit humiliating manner. Due to the pressure of Russia, the Porte annulled the election of Aleksandar Karadjordjević and Prince Aleksandar formally resigned. The Assembly was repeated on 27th June 1843 and Aleksandar Karadjordjević was elected the Prince again. One of the conditions for holding the Assembly again was that Petronijević and Vučić were not allowed to participate so they went to Kragujevac from Belgrade and were listening to what was happening in Belgrade.

In September 1843, the Porte definitely recognised Aleksandar Karadjordjević as the Prince of Serbia. Thus, the Karadjordjevićs got the official ruler of Serbia for the first time. At the time when he sat on the throne, Aleksandar was 36 years old. From the very beginning, his constitutional position was very weak, he was not an inherited but elected Prince. Not any document coming from the Porte referred the Karadjordjević family as entitled to the succession to the throne, actually, the Prince's home was not considered to be the ruler's court, but only the first noble home in Serbia. In addition, his characteristics were also not those of a ruler. As a man, Aleksandar Karadjordjević was very pliable, too burdened with his surroundings, especially with his favourites whom he allowed almost everything. No one was ever certain in anything that had been agreed with him. His closest associate, Ilija Garašanin, wrote the following in May 1844 about him: "Something is started to be implemented with the best will but, at the very beginning, due to the instability, it is chilled out, so that no one even wanted to speak about it, not to mention to act upon it." On the other hand, Princess Persida, who was from

the Nenadović family, had a great influence on Prince Aleksandar.

In addition, Prince Aleksandar was not tactful in relations with people. When he was angry, he used to say nasty words and he was not capable of solving some major problems. Then, he would become grumpy and many times unreasonably cruel. In difficult situations, he would despond and fully surrender to the influence of his surroundings. He had no political talent. He had some good moments when he successfully solved problems, but it was rather the result of that moment rather than of his political genius. Overall, he was incapable of winning supporters and the number of those who respected him decreased in time and he never managed to win over the new ones. He did not know how to deal with people and he was too stiff and self-contained. Many criticised him for involving too much privacy into the state affairs and for permitting his private life to be his sole guidance.

It is interesting that people did not like Prince Aleksandar much, but they did not hate him either. They considered him as a weak man whom no one feared and no one respected. His major capital was his great family name Karadjordjević and everyone knew him only by it and, no one by his personal qualities. Though the Turks brought him to power and he owed them everything, he was not inclined to them. He avoided Russia and was afraid of it but, having known that the Obrenovićs were supported by it, he was very cautious. Only when Russia was defeated in the Crimean War did Aleksandar Karadjordjević turn to Austria. He did it very carefully so that even today, his relations with this empire were not clarified. Perhaps, he was advised from Austria to keep the army firmly close that helped him to maintain his rule for such a long time. He had never been popular at foreign courts as he was suspicious to everyone, both to the Porte and France but, most of all to Russia. Only Austria had some understanding for him.

The situation was not easy at all for Prince Aleksandar. From the very beginning, Prince Mihailo was in Zemun and, on the other side of the border, the former persistently acted against him. There were some conspiracies even in the autumn

of 1842, but they were harmless. Much more direct conspiracy was that of Stojan Jovanović Cukić which occurred right before the National Assembly on 27th June 1843. Even more serious was the conspiracy in early 1844, called Smederevo or Rajović's conspiracy. The so-called Katan Rebellion was much more serious and it was suppressed by Vučić with such a cruelty that it indirectly led to the Prince's fall. There was sharp division between Prince Aleksandar, on the one side and Vučić on the other.

It seems that Prince Aleksandar's deeper relations with Austria date back from that time. Perhaps, this could also explain the removal of pronounced Russian supporters, Paun Janković and Pavle Stanišić, from the government.

In 1844, the Civil Code was enacted, which was as stated, "the major legal document of the Karadjordjević's government and of the whole Constitution defenders; period". It was made under the influence of the Austrian Civil Code and it is, in all respects, an exceptional legal act protecting private property that is proclaimed unlimited and absolute. In the same year, Ilija Garašanin wrote the famous Draft of Serbian National Interests.

In these e years, Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjević was externally loyal to the Porte, his Minister Petronijević, too. However, during his rule, an active, but concealed, national politics was led. Relations with Illyrian Movement in Croatia, Polish emigration struggling against Russia, Albanian Catholics Mirdites, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Old Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, etc., were maintained. The relations with these territories were maintained in different ways. Sometimes, books were sent or agents held in some places and somewhere support was given in money, weapons, etc.

All this affected the development of the bad mood against the Turks in the course of 1848. There were some proposals for the Turks to move out from the town of Belgrade and pamphlets were distributed calling for the creation of Illyrian

and Serbian state from Austrian and Turkish provinces. The idea about uniting Serbia and Bulgaria also occurred. Garašanin went the furthest as he had an idea that the Turkey should voluntarily attach Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, Old Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria to Serbia. All this created an additional chaos in Serbia.

At the Saint Peter's Day Assembly on 11th July 1848, the Prince planned to replace Vučić but this did not happen. The Assembly was attended by exceptionally many people and according to some historians, the whole Vučić's Gruža was there (the Assembly was held in Kragujevac). Everyone cheered up to Vučić. The people were so powerfully supporting him, so that the Prince himself was in danger. Even Vučić himself had to protect the Prince and his opponents and to secure their way through ferocious people. It was a complete breakdown of the Prince's illusions about the people's support and supremacy over Vučić.

In the midst of such mutual tensions, the so-called Tenka's conspiracy occurred. Namely, at the end of 1857, the President of the Government Council, Stefan Stefanović Tenka, three more councillors and the President of the Supreme Court found a conspirator who was supposed to assassinate the Prince. It was never finally revealed what the conspirators actually wanted. After the conspiracy had been revealed, a huge disagreement between Prince Aleksandar and the State Council became visible, which was so big that it resulted in the attempt of the assassination of the Prince. During the investigation, the major attention was actually focused on the relation between the Prince and the Council. Prince Aleksandar got very afraid because of this conspiracy and he used the army to arrest the conspirators. Every single conspirator was sentenced to death. Prince Aleksandar wanted to reject their appeals for pardon and that all of them were killed, but upon the intervention of the Porte, he changed his mind and turned the death sentence to life imprisonment in heavy iron, in the Gurgusovac Tower.



When the prisoners were escorted to Gurgusovac Tower, the guards escorted them through Belgrade on a very cold day, on sleet, while they were barefoot and shackled, so that everyone could see them. The prisoners were not treated any better in jail. They were shackled, in convict suites, cells were not heated and windows were riveted with boards. They were very poorly fed and were beaten. Everything was significantly exaggerated in stories throughout Belgrade, and Prince Aleksandar was gradually turned into the man who had no mercy to anyone. The Turkish commission arrived on 17th March, and already on the next day, the news was spread that Radovan Damjanović died in Gurgusovac Tower. The rumours were spread throughout Belgrade that he was poisoned at the Prince's order.

Ten years passed after the Saint Peter's Day Assembly in 1848 and under the impression of his treatment at that assembly, the Prince persistently rejected to convoke the new one. Yet, under pressure, he had to give in, and the Assembly met on 30th November 1858. It was held in the building

of the so-called Big Brewery, i.e. in a separate house where there was a big oval room. This was the first Assembly that was held indoors, all others before that had been held outdoors.

The gravest accusations against the Prince were presented at the Assembly by Mihailo Barlovac, the delegate from Belgrade. The text, from which he read numerous accusations, was written by Garašanin and Grujić. After his presentation, the President of the Assembly, Anatasijević asked the participants whether they considered the Prince guilty of the above presented allegations. The Assembly confirmed that three times and decided to require the Prince to resign. The Prince was panic stricken and fled to the Belgrade fortress under the Turks' protection. On 11th December 1858, the Assembly made the official decision that Prince Aleksandar was dethroned as a traitor because he fled to the Turks.

It was the end of the rule of Aleksandar Karadjordjević. After that, he lived with his family on his estates in Vlachia, Hungary and Vienna. He died in Timisoara on 3rd May 1885.

ILIJA GARAŠANIN

Ilija Garašanin was born on 18th January 1812 in the village of Garaši, Kragujevac Nahiyah. His father, Milutin Savić, was a very rich cattle merchant, which enabled him to have private teachers and education at home. He continued his education in Zemun and he studied the German language in Orahovica. After that, he worked with his father in trade but in 1837, Prince Miloš took him in his service. First, he was customs officer in the village of Višnjica on the Danube and then, he moved to Belgrade. At that time, Serbia got regular army and Garašanin immediately got the rank of a lieutenant.

When the Karadjordjevićs got in the power, Garašanin retreated to Vlachia. In 1842, in Vučić's rebellion, his father and brother were killed by the followers of Prince Mihailo Obrenović. When Vučić left Serbia in 1843, Garašanin became the Minister of Internal Affairs. He remained at that position until 1852.

In 1844, Garašanin wrote his famous Draft of Serbian National Interests. It indicates the unity of all Serbs and possible unity of South Slavs in one state, which is set as the national objective. It became the most significant programme for the Serbian foreign politics during the whole XIX century. In this programme, Garašanin is an ardent advocate of Serbia's reliance on its own, which means, Serbia without Russia and without Austria. Perhaps, with the partial support of England or France because these two countries are so far away from Serbia and cannot directly jeopardise it. Such a document was something special, something really new. While Vučić and Petronjević were not interested in the national

expansion, Garašanin was of a quite contrary opinion. Assuming the final breakdown of Turkey, Garašanin expected that Serbia (partly also Montenegro) would be the centre around which all of the Serbs, as well as South Slavs under the Turkish rule would gather.

There are many assumptions and suppositions in literature whether and to what extent Polish and Czech contemporaries such as Adam Czartoryski and Frantisek Zak influenced Garašanin and whether Garašanin's ideas were his or borrowed. Czartoryski and Zak considered not only Turkey, but also Russia and Austria as the common enemies of the Poles, Czechs, and Serbs. However, Garašanin set it all in a different manner: the main opponent of these nations is Austria. On the other hand, the old enemy, Turkey, was about to leave and someone had to replace it in the Balkans. This would be Serbia. He did not consider Russia as an enemy but, he thought that because of Bulgaria, a misunderstanding could arise between Russia and Serbia: "An alliance between Serbia and Russia would actually be the most natural, but it should be set up by Russia itself, and Serbia should accept it with its arms wide open only after it had been convinced that Russia wholeheartedly and sincerely proposed it and if it had deviated from its current systems, that is, if it, even slightly ++ admitted that the alliance with Serbia was more natural than with Austria in order to protect Western Slavs." Garašanin did not reject the idea that all South Slavs should be united in Yugoslavia, but he thought that it would not happen soon. He was, above all,

interested in strong Serbia, strengthened with the Serbs who were, at that time, within Turkey.

Garašanin sent his Draft to Prince Aleksandar but this document remained secret for a long time. Only the closest circle of Garašanin's friends and the changing rulers in Serbia had known for it. It was fully published by the paper *Delo* as late as in 1906. Since then, this document has been studied and some believe that Garašanin spoke about Yugoslavia, some of Great Serbia, that he omitted the Croats, Bulgarians, Slovenes from the future state, that he considered Bosnia as fully Serbian, etc. Indeed, Garašanin was a great nationalist, he advocated Great Serbia as the core of its concept but he was also inspired by Yugoslav ideals.

Perhaps, Garašanin was the most prominent representative of the political group in Serbia which would subsequently be called the defenders of the constitution. He created police and bureaucracy in Serbia that administered the state. Since 1852, he was the Minister of Foreign Affairs but only for a year. Russia, which suspected that he was not inclined to it and that he tried to tie Serbia to European forces, above all, France, was against him.

He held a relatively calm position in the Council until 1858, when he suddenly turned against the Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjević because of his pro-Austrian politics. He went to such an extreme that he started to cooperate with Turkey, Russia, and France. After the Tenka's conspiracy in 1857, he was almost imprisoned since Prince Aleksandar accused him of participating in the conspiracy. He was protected by France, and since then he was actively involved in removing the Karadjordjevićs from the rule.

In 1858, with the help of Turkey, Garašanin became the Minister of Internal Affairs. His activity against the Prince was so obvious that he was also accused of wanting the Prince's throne for himself. It has never been proven but has not been excluded either. At the time of the St. Andrew's Assembly, he convinced Prince Aleksandar to hide from the people and to go to the Turks in the Belgrade Fortress and even drove him in his cart and then, he accused him for treason, because of that. Thus, the Karadjordjevićs had to leave

Serbia, and the Prince Miloš and his son Mihailo Obrenović returned to the throne. Garašanin was not pleased with this as he had some other plans. He wanted to have Regency where he himself would be included, but the National Assembly was faster and voted for the Obrenovićs. Garašanin could have prevented it only if he had wanted. However, any he did not want bloodshed.

While Miloš was alive, Garašanin was inactive. But, after Prince Mihailo had come to the throne, he invited Garašanin and offered him the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the position of the President of the Ministerial Council (the Prime Minister). Garašanin accepted the offer and, since 1861, he was the closest associate of Prince Mihailo. This was the time when Garašanin exclusively dealt with the foreign politics. He wanted the war with Turkey and worked on the alliance of Serbia with Montenegro and Greece. He swamped the whole Balkans with the Serbian propaganda since he wanted that, after Serbia started the war with Turkey, all nations rose up and attacked Turkey. He partially succeeded in that and during his time, Turkish garrisons finally left all fortresses throughout Serbia.

In 1867, Garašanin came into conflict with Prince Mihailo and because of that, he was dismissed by Prince Mihailo in October of that year: "One evening, while I was sitting in the office finishing the activities of that day, the Prince's adjutant on duty that day came in and gave me his letter. I found in it that I was dismissed. I was very surprised, because nothing indicated that it would happen. I only laughed at the manner in which I was dismissed from the service" (Ilija Garašanin). Some see the reason for such a dismissal in Garašanin's opposition to the Prince's marriage. Something similar about that was also mentioned in some Austrian reports: "People in Belgrade still investigate the reasons which resulted in a sudden removal of Minister Garašanin. Some claim that he worked behind the Prince's back regarding some far-reaching political combinations; others think that his downfall was the consequence of intrigues of his enemies connected with the Prince's relatives. Anyway, Mrs Anka Kostantinović had the leading role and doubtlessly, gave her contribution, because, she believes now that she has

removed the biggest obstacle of the forthcoming marriage of her daughter to the Prince."

Others say that the reason was because Garašanin was under the great influence of Russia. The Prince himself said that the removal of Garašanin was "a purely political act". Further, he claimed that Garašanin was fully under the Russian influence, whose requests were increasingly unreasonable and they could result in a disaster for the country. Perhaps, the reason was because the Prince gave up the active foreign policy and decided to economically build Serbia, where Garašanin could be of no help. At that time, Garašanin was angry with the Prince's lack of decisiveness to start war with Turkey and bothered him in that respect: "For several years now, I have deceived people about the beginning of the war from spring to spring, and such an activity has to be stopped. The Prince will have to choose between me and the Defence Minister; because, I think that the time has come when the war cannot be delayed any more."

In retrospective, the dismissal of Garašanin was one of better Mihailo's political moves. Garašanin was pushing Serbia in the war against Turkey, induced by Russia. Serbia had no chances in the war with Turkey and allies would be of no help and great powers even less. Such a war could be only a disaster for Serbia: "In 1868, Serbia was on the verge of the war. The armed actions were delayed for an indefinite period of time when Serbia got fortresses" (Jovan Ristić). Anyway, Prince Mihailo had decided to lead a more peaceful politics and the time of romantic enthusiasm was behind him.

At the time when Prince Mihailo was assassinated in 1868, Garašanin saved the state from chaos. Though he had no position in the government, he activated the whole government apparatus and prevented possible attempts of a coup d'état.

Ilija Garašanin spent the last years of his life at his estate in Grocka. He died in Belgrade on 10th June 1874.

PETAR II PETROVIĆ NJEKOŠ

Metropolitan of Montenegro, Saint

Petar II Petrović Njegoš was born on 1st November 1813 in Njeguši, on the slopes of the Mountain

Lovćen, to father Toma Marković Petrović and a mother Ivana, from the Proroković family. At his birth he was given the name of Radivoje, Rade. In 1824, his uncle, Metropolitan Petar I Cetinski brought him to the monastery in Cetinje. Next year, Rade went to Topla near Herzeg Novi where he studied with a monk from the Savina Monastery. He did not stay there for a long time and in January 1827, he returned to Cetinje. There, he was taught by famous Sima Milutinović Sarajlija from 1827 to 1830.

A bit suddenly, Metropolitan Petar I Cetinski chose Rade as his successor. Originally, he chose his nephew, Mitar Stijepov, but he died young. Then he selected another nephew Djordje, but he liked the life of an officer while he was educated in Russia and he did not want to return to Montenegro. Thus, on 20th October 1830, after the death of Metropolitan Petar I, Rade Petrović became the new ruler of Montenegro. He was only 17. Many were surprised by the Cetinje Metropolitan's choice regarding young Rade, and Governor Vuk Radonjić even contested the authenticity of the Metropolitan's legacy.

Soon afterwards, the Archimandrite of the Monastery from the island of Vranjina ordained Rade as the monk and gave him the monastic name Petar: "Upon the order of the ruler and people, I was ordained as the Archimandrite on 31st



January 1831" (Njegoš). At that time, Rade entered the history under the name of Petar II Petrović Njegoš. He did not have

any institutional religious education: "other activities do not let me deal with this science as necessary" Njegoš wrote to Vuk Karadžić. Even Milorad Medaković was rather critical about that: "he did not know much of religious science, and he drew upon knowledge and science of those teachers who not only opposed to our religion, but who also had little faith". On one occasion, he did not want to perform the funeral service to a grand Russian Princess: "Who, me? It is not for me."

It was not easy to rule in Montenegro as this was only the beginning of the state. Njegoš first removed his greatest opponent Governor Vuk Radonjić. In 1832, Radonjić was accused for secret negotiations with Austria and he was sentenced to execution, but was pardoned by Njegoš. Afterwards, the numerous family, the Radonjićs were expelled from Montenegro. The Senate was established which comprised of ten most prominent religious leaders from Montenegro who were the judges at major cases taxes were introduced and the so-called "guard", a kind of police who could also be judges, comprising of 160 people, was formed. They were paid and those were the first paid civil servants in Montenegro. Njegoš was surrounded by thirty guards, i.e. bodyguards.

He travelled to Russia in 1833 and on his way he stopped in Vienna where he met Vuk Karadžić who wrote down: "Six weeks ago, the

Montenegrin ruler, Archimandrite and the Metropolitan to be, Petar Petrović was here, he is not even twenty, and he is taller and more handsome than any grenadier in Vienna. Not only that he reads and writes Serbian very well, but he also makes some nice verses." In Russia, Njegoš was ordained as the Bishop on 6 (18) August 1833. The ordaining was also attended by Russian Tsar Nicholas I. He was the first Montenegrin Metropolitan who was ordained in Russia, in the presence of the Russian Tsar.

This was the first out of several Njegoš' journeys. He liked getting to know Europe, and in his lifetime, he visited many countries and cities. Njegoš did not wage wars and his foreign politics was rather peaceable. Many criticised him for that but he finally determined borders towards Austria. He brought a little printing machine from Russia to Montenegro and the first book printed there was *The Medicine for Turkish Wrath*, followed by *The Hermit of Cetinje* (1834). At that time, the first school was established in Montenegro, it was in Cetinje Monastery, and the first students, around thirty of them, were grown-up young men. Until 1842, he had established six such schools in Montenegro. This was the beginning just for the purpose of making the people literate: "Occasionally, I shall also strive to establish colleges because I am convinced that they are the most reliable means for a nation to be educated and enlightened and consequently reach true happiness" (Njegoš).

There is no doubt, Njegoš made the state out of Montenegro the state but it should not be considered that he was an enthralled. On the contrary, "the means he (Njegoš) used in consolidating his power were often more cruel than the means which would have been used by the former Metropolitan" (colonel Tatjanov, the letter of 1842). The number of those who moved out of Montenegro at that time was not small and among them there were even some of his close associates. At the beginning, he lived in the Cetinje Monastery, until the residence was built in 1838, the famous Billiard named after the main room where there was a billiard. "The most notable of all rooms was the one for the billiard, which was at the same time used for receptions, as a dining room, as well as an ordinary room for guests. Next to this room,

there was a smaller one, called a library" (German traveller Rasch). Gradually, some other government buildings were built around the Billiard, followed by the whole settlement – Cetinje.

However, Njegoš became what he was primarily thanks to the literary works he wrote, poems *The Ray of Microcosm*, *The Mountain Wreath*, and *The False Tsar Stephen the Little*. It is almost unanimously considered that Njegoš was the greatest Serbian poet: "There is no one else in the Serbian literature who would be so complete representative of the deepest sensitivity and reflection of our nation like Njegoš. With his greatest power, he expressed the inner uncontrolled forces of the Serbian people. Njegoš is an ingenious spiritual representative of the Dinaric national type raising him to the heights of our national spirit" (Jovan Cvijić). He accomplished in poetry, "what seemed impossible in philology, to connect the old and the new and to join what used to be separated and opposed, Thus, in his work, our history and our spirituality obtained the fullness of expression which has been left by any writer before or after him" (Jovan Deretić).

Until the above mentioned epic poems, Njegoš published poems. First, there were five poems (1833) including *The Battle of Martinići*, *The Bjelicas*, *Kavajka*, etc. Then, in 1834, the collection of poems *The Hermit of Cetinje* was published (1834), an epic poem *Liberty* (written in 1835, published in 1851), and individual poems were published in various newspapers and books. The three above-mentioned great epic poems, as well as other poems comprise two topics – the cosmic destiny of a man and historical destiny of Montenegro. Njegoš' huge correspondence with over 1,700 letters should also not be forgotten. It is mostly official, political correspondence, but there is much correspondence with his friends, Vuk Karadžić, Stanko Vraz, Tomaze, etc.

The Ray of Microcosm was written in 1845: "during the first four weeks of pious and great lent". As stated, this work is: "the final work, the summary of cosmic, metaphysical and religious flow of Njegoš' poetry" (Vido Latković). In this epic poem, Njegoš presented the concept of a human destiny "in the pre-existence during earthly life and after death" (Dimitrije Mašanović). *The Ray* is divided into six poems: the epic plot in *The*

Ray does not make up a single story, there are, actually, several such stories of which each has its protagonists and its space-time framework. But, all these stories are interconnected, they are understood as different stages in the development of the same idea; the poet's personal cognitive drama is transferred into the cosmic drama, which is transferred into the drama of the mankind" (Jovan Deretić).

The Mountain Wreath was written in 1846. Basically, this epic poem relies on a real historical event – the investigation of the converts (Poturitsa) in Montenegro at the time of the Bishop Danilo I. However, Njegoš went far beyond the description of the historical event, he gave sense to the century-long struggle of Montenegro against the Turks and Venice. It includes descriptions of a series of distinguished characters, but, also, quite an unusual character occurs – people. Thus, people as a character are a very important factor that moves the action. The people are presented in kolos; people dance and sing and, through songs, express their desires and thoughts. In the first kolo, they motivate their ruler to decide, in the next three, they oppose the rulers, and in the fifth, when everything has already been over, through their songs, they give their judgement about everything that has happened: "In the kolos, in a special, utterly summarised manner, the comprehensions of the nationally awoken part of people are presented, the awareness of people themselves, of their position, and the tasks ahead of them" (Vido Latković). Pavle Popović added: "There is everything in the "Wreath"; pictures, tenderness, lyricism, all types of lyricism, almost all types of poetry. All this dances, trembles, and twinkles in the diction of the "Wreath", just like the picture of our people, and that of almost whole Serbian lands, twinkles, trembles, and dances."

The Mountain Wreath is especially distinguished by its very rich, compact and enthusiastic language. It presents the picture of life and struggle, especially the sense of all that: "it is a series of pearls one never gets bored while looking at them. These are holy poetic rosaries for moments when the soul gets into solitude with poetry. Every bead is holy and each is made of the miraculous national tree of life" (Svetislav Vulović).

In the epic poem, the events themselves are not as important as the sayings following them, and the characters in such events are more famous by their speech than by their actions. What the main characters say follows actual situation, but these words go beyond their objective assumptions and get individual significance for themselves. Overall, *The Mountain Wreath* is, according to many literary historians "the best work and, so far, unreached artistic range in the poetry of all South Slavic peoples" (Dimitrije Mašanović). Svetislav Vulović says that it is the "Serbian Iliad". It does not describe destiny, but the Serbian heart and soul. All of the feelings of the selected people, desires, thoughts about the world and society and their phenomena, moods, vigour, and weaknesses – are there. Starting from heroism, the supreme idol of liberated people, up to small, everyday ideas – everything was spoken about there" (1877).

The epic poem *The False Tsar Stephen the Little* originated in 1847. It is also based on a historical event, i.e. on the character of a mysterious foreigner who appeared in Montenegro in 1767 and presented himself as deceased Russian Tsar Peter III, who managed to avoid death. Based on this, he ruled Montenegro until 1774 when he was assassinated. He is very important for Montenegro, namely, he was the first to make some kind of order and introduce the first seeds of a state. Njegoš' epic poem is a kind of drama. The text is divided into five acts. There is not much of an actual drama plot but it is mostly presented at some moments in lengthy dialogues. Yet, this epic poem is neither drama nor theatre play because the epic poem has prevailed. According to M. Popović, it is a kind of a transitional form "between ancient epopee and a modern historical novel". Also, while people were poetised in *The Mountain Wreath*, here, an individual is the main character. However, Šćepan is portrayed in a bit comical manner, in some places even as a caricature, but some other characters are much more important, such as Prior Teodosije Mrkojević, Russian Prince Dolgorukov, etc. There is much less poetry in the epic poem, and there is far more actual reality interwoven with everyday life. In relation to *The Mountain Wreath* written based on national poems and verbal sagas, *Šćepan the Little* originated

based on the archival materials and written sources. Therefore, it may be said that it is a realistic work with a high dose of criticism in portraying the behaviours of individuals and the collective.

Njegoš does not have any successors and his poetry did not result in the creation of a poetry school. He was and remained an exceptional poetry phenomenon, but he has never been a starting point in the Serbian literature. He managed "with his unique venture to create on purely national foundations great poetry which will be at the same time deeply national and universal by its meaning, traditional and modern" (Jovan Deretić). His influence may be noticed the most in Ivo Andrić and Mihailo Lalić.

Njegoš died young. In 1846, he felt the first symptoms of his illness and went on treatment in Italy for the first time in 1850: "The Montenegrin Metropolitan is a bit weak, he cannot stop cough-

ing for already two months and it is said that he has lost a lot of weight" (Vuk Popović). Subsequently, he looked for the cure in some other places, but failed. He passed away on 19th October 1851, on the same day when he took over the rule in Montenegro 21 years ago. He was buried at Cetinje, and four years later, he was moved to Lovćen to a little chapel he had built in 1845. In mid-1916, Austria-Hungary mined the chapel and Njegoš' bones were transferred to the Cetinje Monastery again. After the World War I, the chapel was renewed and Njegoš' bones were transferred on 12th September 1925. In the World War II, the chapel was damaged by Italians, but the actual vandalism was made by the government of the SFRY when the chapel was demolished in 1972 and an inappropriate mausoleum was erected on its place. It was not the end. Not only was the chapel demolished, but the very peak of Lovćen was reduced.

JOSIF PANČIĆ

Josif Pančić was born on 5th April 1814 in the village of Ugrine, in Bribir (Lika) below the mountain Velebit. He came from a poor family and his parents were peasants. His father Pavel and mother Margareta had five children, three sons and two daughters. His real name was Josip and he changed it later. He attended primary school in Gospić where he learned the German language very well. He attended grammar school in Rijeka and the college in Zagreb in 1830. In 1832, he studied medicine in Pest. Botany Professor Sadler had great influence on Pančić. Josif said: "From the first botany class, I got to like botany and decided to become a botanist, thus, I vigorously began botanising and collecting plants around Pest and Buda, subsequently, I gave lessons to some beginners in botany." He got his doctoral degree in 1842 with the thesis in the Latin language *Taxilogia Botanica*. Thus, he acquired classical education, and during his life, he got proficient in German and further learnt Italian and French.

For some time, Pančić worked in medical practice in Buda and then moved to Banat to the place of Ruska Banja where he worked as a private tutor and private physician at some rich families. In 1845, he was in Vienna again, where he attended botany lectures of Professor Endlicher: "having done so, I felt that my future is in science" (Pančić). In Vienna, Pančić met Vuk Karadžić who convinced him to go to Serbia where he lived from 1846 to his death. In Serbia, he first worked as a physician in Jagodina Glass Factory owned by Avram Petronijević. Since 3rd February

1847, he worked as a county physician, first in Jagodina, afterwards in Kragujevac. Already at that time, he became famous as a distinguished plant expert. Thus, on 8th January 1850, he was elected for a "corresponding member of the Serbian Learning Society at the Science Division".

In 1849 Josif Pančić was converted to orthodox religion and in 1854, he changed his name into – Josif. At that time, he also received Serbian nationality. On 30th January 1849, while he was in Kragujevac, he got married to Ljudmila (Milka), the daughter of Baron Franc Kordon, an engineer who used to work in Serbia at that time. He had seven children with her, three sons and four daughters.

In 1853, Pančić became the Professor at the Lyceum in Belgrade as a full time professor of the newly established department of the history of nature and agronomy. He taught botany, zoology, mineralogy including geology and agronomy. Subsequently, he taught meteorology and physical geography. Then, he started working on things that made him famous later: "he was dedicated to studying Serbia in terms of nature" (N. Kašanin). For his subjects, Pančić had to translate foreign textbooks, but he also included what he researched in the nature of Serbia. He founded the "Nature Cabinet" with abundant natural and botanical collections, as well as the first Botanical Garden in Belgrade in 1874. At the Higher School later the University of Belgrade, he worked for thirty five years. He stayed in European science centres of Pest, Vienna, Paris, etc. on several occasions.

Pančić's greatest work was in the field of botany. Out of totally forty two scientific works that he had written, twenty eight relate to botany, floristry, and taxonomy (higher plants systematics). Further six papers relate to zoology, four to geology and other works to popular science. Out of sixteen articles of monograph character, ten related to botany, and six to zoology. At the beginning, he wrote his articles in German and Latin and subsequently in the Serbian language.

Out of botany articles, *The List of Wild Flowering Plants Grown in Serbia, with Descriptions of Some New Species from 1856* should be particularly mentioned. It covers 1,806 species of wild plants at the territory of the Principality of Serbia. Then, the following are worth mentioning *Flora in Belgrade Surroundings Forest Trees and Bushes in Serbia* from 1871 which is the first national dendrology describing 189 tree and brush species of which 174 species are autochthonic for Serbia, and 15 are of foreign origin. The *Flora of the Principality of Serbia* (1874) and the *Addendum to the Flora of the Principality of Serbia* (1884) are considered to be his most significant books. In these two books, Pančić presented totally 2,422 autochthonic plant species.

Serbia was a real mine for natural studies, because of which Pančić spent most of his time registering plant forms in Serbia: "The flora of the Principality of Serbia is unusually rich, not only in the number of species about which nothing can be specifically said now, but with its monotypes and plants belonging only to it and with numerous subspecies which come from eastern and southern parts of Serbia" (Pančić).

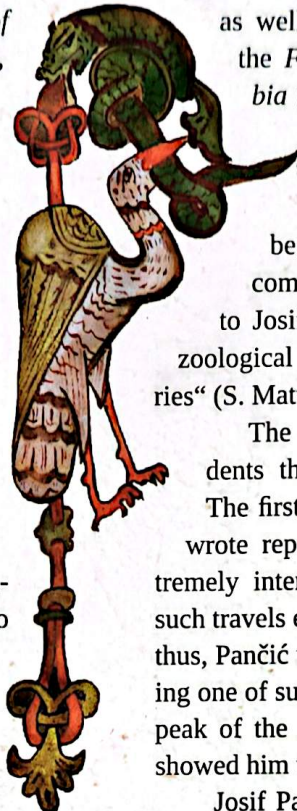
In his work, Pančić created exceptionally valuable collections of plants, animals, fossils, minerals, and rocks. Certainly, his greatest discovery is the relic and endemic plant species *Picea omorika* Purk, the so called Pančić's spruce. He had been searching for it for almost twenty years: "For the first time in 1855, when I travelled throughout Užice County, I heard about the

spruce and that it grew somewhere in that area, but no one could show me the tree" (Pančić). In 1865, in Bajina Bašta, he was given two branches of such spruce, but no one could tell him where it exactly grew. Only in 1875 did he find several trees on the Tara mountain near the village of Zaovine. He published a special book *The Spruce – A New Kind of Conifers in Serbia*.

Though the flora of Serbia is Pančić's lifetime work, he left various articles on fauna, as well. Some of the best known include the *Fish in Serbia* (1860), *Birds in Serbia* (1867), *Fauna Structure of the Principality of Serbia* (1869), etc. In this field, Pančić's contribution is also exceptional: "Before the beginning of his activities, Serbia was completely unknown in zoological terms to Josif Pančić. Until that time, no expert zoological studies had been made at its territories" (S. Matvejev).

The travels he took with the lyceum students throughout Serbia remained famous. The first was in 1856. From such travels, he wrote reports which are, by themselves, extremely interesting texts. He proposed to have such travels every third year, which was accepted, thus, Pančić went on totally six such travels. During one of such travels, he took King Milan to the peak of the mountain Kopaonik from where he showed him the Old Serbia.

Josif Pančić was the most prominent scientist of his time in Serbia, thus, he received numerous recognitions. In 1853, he was elected as the full member of the Zoology and Botany Society, Vienna and he became the full member of the Serbian Science Society and its president in 1878 and in 1868, the correspondent member of the Hungarian Science Academy. He also became the member of the Serbian Archaeology Society in 1869. He was elected as the correspondent member of the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts in Zagreb in 1867, etc. On 1st November 1886, when the Royal Serbian Academy was founded (Serbian Academy of Science after the World War II), he was elected as its first President. He became the member of the National Council in 1884. As many as six times in a row (1866–1872),



he was elected as the Rector of the Higher School (the University of Belgrade since 1905).

Perhaps, Josif Pančić was best described in 1888 by the Austrian botanist H. Braun: "he gave his people an exhaustive natural and scientific nomenclature. The diligent and resourceful Serbian nation should be thankful to him for the first elementary textbooks about the three kingdoms of nature in the national language. He made efforts to scientifically research so far almost unknown fauna and flora of his country". Pančić was exceptionally popular and appreciated, and he had almost no enemies at all. Being very modest, he almost had no real estate, the only thing he had, as he said himself, was the tomb near the church of St. Mark. His lectures were attended by everyone, philosophy students, technicians, lawyers and theologians. He was swarthy, greyish, bony, tall with bent forward shoulders, always humorous and open, and he was not vain.

Josif Pančić died on 8th March 1888. He had been ill for some longer time and two months before his death, he neither ate nor slept. He was buried on the graveyard near the Church of St. Mark and his coffin, according to his own desire, was made of spruce boards. His funeral was exceptionally ceremonial. He was buried by the Metropolitan and six priests with four deacons. All of them followed his coffin from his house to the Cathedral. The funeral was attended by the King Milan, as well who said after the requiem: "The whole Serbia and the whole Serbian nation mourn for Mr Pančić, whom I also loved and respected." Pančić's desire was to be buried in the Botanical Garden or at the mountain Kopaonik. After the World War I, his mortal remains were transferred to the New Cemetery where they were until 5th July 1951, when they were moved to the highest peak of Kopaonik (2,017 m), the so-called Pančić's Peak, where the stone mausoleum was built in his honour in 1951.

KATARINA IVANOVIĆ

Katarina Ivanović was born in 1817 in Szekesfehervar, Hungary. She was the daughter of a poor merchant and her father did not have any money to pay for her drawing lessons. Therefore, a rich merchant Djordje Stanković financed her education in Pest where she studied at the painting workshop of Josif Peški and then with Remaj's. Her *Self-portrait* dates back from that period. This is a very nice picture where Katarina presented herself in an expensive dress made of silver brocade with a swaying wrap over her shoulders and her head slightly thrown back: "It is obvious that Katarina has known the craft well, and this will, by the way, be one of the major virtues of her further painting. The flesh on her face is pale, rather indeterminable, with a touch of some firm, non-bodily matter – ivory or marble – but, the material of the dress is made so certainly and so knowingly that the young artist can already be recognised as the master of painting silk, brocade, fur, velour, and jewellery" (Miodrag Kolarić).

Her talent was noticed by Countess Chaki who supported Katarina to go to Vienna and around 1835 enrol at the Academy of Painting Academy. She advanced quickly and in 1837, *The Serbian National Paper (Srpski narodni list)* had a very complimentary note about her, as well as the photo of her *Self-portrait*. In the same year, Sima Milutinović Sarajlija dedicated his book *The Sisterhood among Three Sisters or Three Serbian Pleasures* to her and one poem is only about her. The dedication reads as follows: "Dedicated to an honourable and extraordinary devotee to beautiful knowledge, Serbian Lady Katarina Ivanović, the

first female Serbian painter from Szekesfehervar who is studying arts here at the Vienna Academy".

Under the influence of Vuk Karadžić, Katarina Ivanović painted the *Serbian Omir* that is blind fiddler. Subsequently, this picture was lithographed. She also made the portrait of Marija Punktatorka, the spouse of Sima Milutinović Sarajlija.

In 1840, she painted one of the most important paintings in the Serbian fine arts, her first still life *A Basket with Grapes*: "which, even today, amazes with its mastery of execution, coloristic definitions, the firmness of the composition and indubitable tactile values" (Miodrag Kolarić). This painting means a lot, because "with Djura Jakšić starts serious and studious painting of composition, with Katarina Ivanović starts genre painting and still life and with Djordje Krstić starts landscape, thus, Serbian painting gets a complete scope and becomes comparable with European painting" (Zora Simić Marković).

Further on, Katarina Ivanović was the most confident when she painted still life: "Only when painting still life did Katarina Ivanović manage to provide her absolute straightforwardness and sincerity. At the same time, her still life expresses the full fineness of her brush and her warm heart. She could feel and subtly paint the matter of still life, because of which we feel that it vibrates in front of our eyes and lives; a mature leaf of late autumn reddishly gilds on her paintings, grapes are fresh, just picked up, juicy, and misty, and sweet, because, a little bee, painted to a very detail, snugs up with all her odd little strength and drinks" (Zora Simić Milovanović).

For a while, Katarina Ivanović, during her education, stayed in Munich, then in Paris (1842), where she made some extraordinary paintings: *Throwing Cards* and *An Old Woman Prays before her Meal*. In the same year of 1842, she went to Italy where she painted *A Winegrower*.

Upon the completion of her education, Katarina returned to Pest, and in 1846, she was the guest of Sima Milutinović Sarajlija in Belgrade.

In Belgrade, she painted historical canvases, including *The Conquest of Belgrade* in 1806, however, neither she nor the critique were satisfied with it: "Ivanović was forced by the spirit of the time to paint historical scenes, compositions, genre characters and scenes but she was not gifted at all for such composing, what is more, her portraits lack stronger expression and power of individualism. However, she was an expert in creating matter and painting colours" (V. Petrović).

She was aware of the fact that she was a good portrait painter and she called herself "the cheek painter". In her portraits, her fine feeling of matter, of various softness and hardness, smoothness and roughness, glare and dimness, speed cloth and silk, velvet or metal, gold or glass, fresh fruit, vegetation and dead and dumb wood and stone are the most precious. Therefore, she painted the portraits which suited her much more. She painted *Princess Persida*, *Stevan Knićanin*, *Kalina Hadži Roša*, *Young Dinić*, *A Woman in Serbian Clothes*.

After her stay in Belgrade, in late 1847, she went to Zagreb, where she aroused great attention as a female painter: "A Serbian female artist!

Quite rare!" (General Zah). Yet, she did not stay in Zagreb and she immediately returned home to Szekesfehervar.

From that moment as if her painting skills decreased. She was becoming increasingly insecure, she worked on historical canvases and portraits, but it was not the power she used to have. She sent her works to the exhibition in Pest, where the National Museum bought her portrait of Emperor Ferdinand.

In 1847, she gave several of her paintings framed in rich frames, as well as pecuniary legacy for their maintenance to the National Museum in Belgrade. These include: *The Conquest of Belgrade in 1806*, *The Oath by King Matthias Corvinus*, *The Death of a Rich Lady* and *A Love Letter*.

On 13th June 1876, she was elected as the member of the Serbian Scholastic Society. Katarina was the only Serbian woman who was the member of the forerunner of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

During 1879, she presented another seven of her pictures to the National Museum. Those were *Eudocia Greek Empress*, *Jelena, Serbian Queen of Hungary* and *Mileva, Serbian Empress of Turkey*. Those were also the portraits of *Sima Milutinović Sarajlija*, *Duke Stevan Knićanin*, as well as her *Self-portrait in her studio*, etc. The pictures were followed by her desire: "I hope that the Serbs would pay respect to my works and keep memory of me."

Until the end of her life, Katarina Ivanović, without any specific upheavals, lived in Székesfehérvár, where she died in 1882.

JAKOV IGNJATOVIĆ

Jakov Ignjatović was born on 12th December 1824 in Szentendre, near Budapest, in an impoverished Serbian family. He finished his primary school there and attended grammar school in Vac, Esztergom, and Budapest and studied law in Pest. Since he was of the restless spirit, he conflicted with his professors and because of that he had to abandon his studies. He joined the army where he served as a hussar (horseman). However, he did not abandon law and finished it in Kecskemet. He immediately began his legal practice but because of the revolution in 1848, he stopped work and took part in the war on the side of Lajos Kossuth and the Hungarians against Vienna. When the revolutionaries capitulated, he fled to Belgrade.

In Serbia, he was among the editorial staff of *Novine Serpske* until 1850, when any trace of him was lost. In 1853, he was in Pest. He never said anything clearly about the unknown and unclear part of his life, thus, some stories started that he was in French Foreign Legion, where he lost his eye in a fight.

In 1859, he was nominated as the National Secretary at the Patriarchate in Sremski Karlovci. In 1860, Ignjatović, a Hungarophile, as the opponent of Vienna, followed Svetozar Miletić. Thus, on two occasions, in 1861 and 1864, he was elected as a national deputy. In his further politics, Ignjatović did not follow Miletić any more as he suddenly turned against the Hungarians. At that time, Ignjatović left the National Party and until the end of his life he had to sustain attacks that

he was a Hungarian. At that time, he lived almost isolated from the Serbian society.

He had dealt with literature since his youth. First he wrote poems, and from 1854 to 1856, he edited the *Matica srpska Chronicle* in which he published his first work, a historical novel *Djuradj Branković*. Also, he dealt with literary issues, thus, until 1860, he published several texts. After the break, he continued his literary activities in 1879 and, at that time, he was also interested in the issues of the relation between literature and culture, even broader, literature and society. From the very beginning of his literary activity, Ignjatović was the opponent of classicism and imitation of ancient and foreign literatures. His basic requirements were that literature was a true presentation of the society in the language of which it is written. Because of that, he is considered the one of the first representatives of naturalism in the Serbian literature. He was often compared to Balzac.

He wrote several national short stories, for example *Manzora and Džemila* (1862), *Blood for the People* (1862), *Djuradj Branković*, *The King's Daughters in Law*, and unfinished *Deli Bakić*. Nevertheless, those were only a bit more than an ordinary exercise, because Ignjatović lacked fantasy, knowledge, and historical sense for such literature. He had a special opinion about historical works: "In a historical novel, a writer narrates history to his nation in a poetic manner, it enjoys its wonderful past, and his spirit does not succumb, but gets elevated."

Ignjatović also wrote several historical works of scientific nature. These specifically re-

late to the unfinished *The Reflections about the Serbian People and its Past* were being published in the *Matica srpska Chronicle* from 1889 to 1892. In his *Reflections...* Ignjatović relied on Rajić's *History*, thus, his final conclusions had to be like those of Rajić. The most valuable in this work is, perhaps, a series of Ignjatović's humorous reflections.

His biography, called *The Rhapsody from the Previous Serbian Life* has the similar style, which is more important to get to know Ignjatović than the time he lived in. It was first noticed by Momčilo Ivanić when he, in 1900, started writing the biography of Ignjatović: "To understand Ignjatović's works as they should be valued, and to be valued, both individually and as a whole, by justice, which should be an overall purpose in any trial, it is necessary – more than ever before, as it is the case with many other writers – to get to know his life and work". Indeed, it seems that Ignjatović was more ambitious since he says the following in his introduction: "I am holding a mirror of the past time in my hand and, at the end of the pictures I see in the mirror, I must see its holder". Sima Milutinović, Branko Radičević, Petofi, Djordje Marković, etc., meet in his book. Today, his biography enjoys a great reputation: "It is the most holistic, the best written book and, unless the memoirs are, as the type, of much lower rank in the hierarchy of literary forms, they would be, perhaps, his major work" (J. Deretić).

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were not of a much lower rank in the hierarchy of literary forms, this would be, perhaps, his major work" (J. Deretić).

His novels are about contemporary life. They are called "social novels" by Skerlić. They contain sufficient true life to be maintained even today and to clearly feel the moment of that time in present reading: "Ignjatović is ranked as one of our top narrators. Such abundance and fruitfulness was, among all, caused by his very frequent narrating about the true memories from his life, he was portraying the people whom he had known and the events he had seen. Many of his novels and the greatest ones are only the fragments of true life, they are nothing but booked, still raw reality" (Jovan Skerlić). Almost all of his heroes are from the very bottom of the society, most often adventurers, and almost always immoral types. He was capable of portraying them in a very authentic and relief-like manner. He was skilful in setting the so-called "thesis" in his novels (even before French naturalists), and he was capable of utterly developing such set issue and presenting it in a powerful and concrete manner.

Nevertheless, he was also capable of exaggerating, he intentionally simplified expressions to such extent so that they would become banal and brutal: "his narration is too summarised, accelerated, and the more a novel advances, it gets more barren, thus, at the end it is only the "telegram" sequence of events, as if the writer, tired of working, was in a hurry to finish the novel as soon as possible" (J. Deretić). Of course, his composition is affected, it gets "cranky". All this may be related to Ignjatović himself, he was untidy, sloppy, lazy and he spent most of his time in a pub and the least in his study. He had difficulties to start writing, and even when he started, he would quickly do it, lacking any persistence and system: "As in his life, he was also untidy in his writing. He did nothing in many months and years and when editors of literary papers needed a short story, they closed him in a room, fed him like a prisoner, did not give him any drinks and let him go only when the short story or novel sequel was finished."

Rare slackness of both language and style is present with him: "His phrase is coarse, short, often like a telegraphic statement, full of linguistic

errors; set of such phrases, awkwardly connected, results in non-harmonised sections, lacking fluency" (Branislav Miljković). Yet, Ignjatović's works "provide not only the full illusion of our life in Hungarian colonies in Vojvodina one century ago, but also the most precious documents about uncontrolled cruelty of our race, even human race in general" (V. Petrović), and "he is a powerful writer, clear-sighted observer of life and exceptional expert of people" (J. Deretić).

Ignjatović wrote seven novels: *Thirty Years in the Life of Milan Nerandžić* (part one 1860, two in 1862), *The Strange World* (1869), *The Suffered Saved* (unfinished novel from 1874, subsequently adapted to drama *Adam and the Barber* 1881),

Basil the Respectable (1875), *The Groom Forever* (1878), *Old and New Masters* (1883), *A Burdened Woman* (1885).

Out of totally dozen short stories, two should be emphasised: *Little Withered Leaf* (1878), *A Poet and A Lawyer* (1882). They are mostly of autobiographic nature, sentimental, they narrate about the conflict of a romantic idealist and cruel reality. Other short stories are vivacious and humorous.

Jakov Ignjatović died in Novi Sad on 5th July 1889 "from illness in his lungs". He was forgotten very soon, perhaps, partly due to his pro-Hungarian attitude. However, Jovan Skerlić saved him from oblivion.



MIHAILO OBRENOVIĆ

Serbian Prince

Prince Mihailo Obrenović was born on 4th September 1822 to father Miloš Obrenović and mother Princess Ljubica. He came to the Serbian throne as the Prince for the first time on 9th July 1839, when the Prince Miloš abdicated in his favour. At the time he came to the throne of the principality Mihailo was 16 years and 5 months old. The charter under which the Sultan granted Mihailo the dignity of the "Grand Prince" was issued in Constantinople on 3rd February 1840. It is very important how the Porte interpreted the manner in which Mihailo became the Prince of Serbia. The Charter to Mihailo's predecessor, Milan, clearly stipulated that he was entitled to the throne based on the right which had been granted to his father Miloš, i.e. based on the hereditary, dynastic right. Mihailo, according to the interpretation of the Porte, did not inherit the throne but he was rather elected to it. As he was elected, he could equally be replaced, and the throne did not necessarily belong to the Obrenović family but to someone else.

In those first months, as well as subsequently, the basic rule in the state was executed by the State Council. As early as eighteen days after coming to the power, Mihailo wrote to Russian delegate Butenyev in Constantinople about his problems as the ruler in Serbia. He complained that the State Council restricted his rights, and he also presented some bitter truths about seventeen Council members: "there are only two members who can write something and the five of them who can write less than the first two and others can neither write nor read." Indubitably, the main opponent of Prince Mihailo was Toma Vučić Perišić. He did not show

even formal signs of respect towards the Prince. Since he was very skilful in his contacts with people and the army, he was an exceptionally dangerous opponent. He continually had only one thing on his mind, to remove the Obrenovićs from Serbia. Finally, he managed to do so, when he initiated the so-called Vučić's rebellion in September 1842. Prince Mihailo had to flee and Aleksandar Karadjordjević came to power. He reigned until 11th December 1858 when the Assembly removed him from power and invited Miloš and Mihailo Obrenović from abroad. The two of them ruled together for two years.

Mihailo did not support the manner in which Miloš ruled but he was patient as he had known that he could not influence his father much. During Miloš' rule, Mihailo mostly dealt with the relations of Serbia with the outside world. Even then, he showed his abilities which would be especially manifested when he started his independent reign. Mihailo advocated powerful but enlightened absolutist internal rule internally whereas towards the outside world, he wanted above all, active Pan-Serbian foreign politics. In addition, he was inclined to the South Slavic uniting. He was the first Serbian ruler who realised that Serbia could become the South Slavic Piedmont, i.e. the leader of united South Slavs. Indeed, Mihailo was not the author of such an idea but he was the first Serbian Prince who actively worked in that direction. However, what he had found in the country did not provide him much room for that either financially or even less biologically.

At that time, the population of Serbia was hardly one million and the country lacked any in-

dustry. A typical backward agricultural country, Serbia could not provide what Mihailo strived for. Mihailo grew up in wealth and he was educated abroad. He travelled throughout the world and had seen and learned many things which opened up his spirit and turned him into a sophisticated aristocrat. In contrast to his father, Prince Miloš, he was a mannerly man. In accordance with his ideas, he introduced many, at that time quite unknown, things in the life of Belgrade. Among other things, he threw balls.

Prince Miloš died on the Holy Cross Day on 14th September 1860. The second arrival of Prince Mihailo to the throne did not include any major problems. On 7th October 1860, he was issued the Charter by the Porte that he was legal successor of the principality's throne in Serbia and one month later, on 7th November, this document was ceremonially read in Belgrade. Even at the very beginning of his rule, Mihailo demonstrated his hostility towards the Turks.

From the beginning, Mihailo ruled bureaucratically, too closed in his cabinet. His views of the most important things were such, without any real touch with reality. He endeavoured to achieve general reconciliation among various political parties, various dynastic interests, etc. He considered political and inter-dynastic quarrels the greatest evil in Serbia. His words to the delegates at the Assembly on the Holy Transfiguration Day are famous: "Brothers, Serbia is like a glass of clear water and only three drops are sufficient to make it muddy."

From the very beginning, Mihailo was irreconcilable with the Turks but his intention was not only to liberate Serbia from them. His desire was that the whole Balkans rose against the Turks. Therefore, he was hardly interested in the internal conflicts in Serbia. Mihailo's first Assembly was the so-called the Holy Transfiguration Day Assembly held in Kragujevac on 20th August 1861. There, he gave the speech when he came to the throne, where he presented several important ideas. The main point of his whole politics was the struggle with the Turks, i.e. the liberation of Serbia. At that time, he notified the Assembly that, somewhat earlier, he had sent Garašanin to Constantinople, to finally ask for the Turks to move out of Serbia. The mission failed, but when Mihailo said that

his reign would strive to expand Serbian national rights, everyone stood up and applauded. Actually, everyone had seen that the war with Turkey was forthcoming. Indeed, the Prince dared not to publicly say, but, he started preparing the country for the war. At the Assembly, he announced the necessity of the establishment of a national army.

In 1861, the army was established by Prince Mihailo which was armed in an accelerated manner. It was the first regular national army in Serbia. At that time, the National Army Law was enacted. During the rule of Prince Mihailo, the foundation of the modern Serbian legislation was created. The extensive legislation activity lasted during all the time of his reign. Gradually, the order and discipline were established in the complete internal life in the state. From 14th September 1860 to 29th May 1868, when the Prince was assassinated, around four hundred laws and various other regulations were enacted. Considering the fact that during Miloš' second rule around two hundred more laws were enacted, it turns out that during the time of the Obrenovići, i.e. during some ten years, around six hundred legislative documents were enacted in Serbia.

When he had got necessary laws permitting him an extensive rule, Mihailo needed capable government, as well. Therefore, he dismissed the old government and invited Ilija Garašanin who showed him his Draft and accepted to prepare the new government provided the state would adhere to the principles stated therein. Prince Mihailo accepted it and on 9th December 1861, Garašanin established the new government.

Serbia had never fully accepted Prince Mihailo. He was a cabinet man and he wanted to have the most capable politicians in his government and just the conservatives. Perhaps, this was the politics which justified itself, which could help the state, but which could be of no use to the dynasty and Prince Mihailo himself. His politics was quite incomprehensible to ordinary people and Mihailo was too rational for them, distant and cold. As a ruler, Mihailo never hated anyone and he appreciated skilful people regardless of their political views. It was something quite new for Serbia.

Prince Mihailo was a very handsome man "quite tall, brown and slim, with brown, expressive eyes and full short beard divided in the mid-

dle. His voice was deep, and his walk was steady and elastic. When addressing someone, he was always serious, but also gentle, not any banal or rude joke could be heard from him. He was very patient, he liked to be told truth and if he had anything to say, he told truth to everyone. He was a noble host and he hospitably invited to the parties at the Court not only dignitaries, government and foreign representatives but also prominent people from all classes of citizens and some well-known ordinary people" (Kosta Hristić).

The picture of Mihailo is only spoiled by the fact that he was an autocrat. His ministers had almost never met at joint meetings and each of them went to personal consultancy with the Prince. Even if they had met, the Prince was always present. He considered them as capable officers implementing his will.

Prince Mihailo focused his activity mostly to the foreign politics whereas the internal affairs were of lower significance to him and should be his support for the implementation of his intentions in foreign politics. Everything else was of less importance to him and he was fully dedicated to such goals. An open question remained in the Serbian historiography of who was the creator of this foreign politics: Prince Mihailo or Ilija Garašanin? The opinion prevails that it was Ilija Garašanin though a Serbian delegate in Constantinople, Jovan Ristić, wrote quite the opposite in his documents: "Though Ilija Garašanin with his talents, his experience and his loyal government service of six years was a useful associate to Prince Mihailo, he was only the associate, and though his activity was under the complete influence, he was neither the leader nor the initiator. Prince Mihailo gave directions which he subsequently did not hesitate to openly request."

Prince Mihailo and his ministers considered that the conflict with the Turks could more probably occur around Sokol, where the most dangerous Turks were concentrated, than in Belgrade. Therefore, in June 1862, the Prince started visiting the counties in the north west. During his tour, the riots broke out in Belgrade, the cause of which was a fight at the Čukur Fountain. There was always some crowd of people at this fountain, the only one in that area. On 3rd June 1862, in the

early evening, at around 6.00 p.m., an apprentice from the grocery store of Aleksa Nikolić tried to pour him some water before three Turkish soldiers. In such a mess, the sixteen year old apprentice broke the Turks' jug, who began viciously beating him then. They almost killed him, when the surrounding people interfered. The next day, on 4th June, some foreign consuls made great efforts and achieved a kind of truce between the two parties. However, it did not last for a long time. Only a day later, on 5th June 1862, during the funeral of the dead, Sima Nešić and Colonel Ivko Prokić, and the funeral procession went from the Cathedral, the Turks started cannon fire from the fortress onto the town. The people scattered away, and the coffins with the dead remained in the middle of the street.

When he arrived in Belgrade, Prince Mihailo was faced with a bad situation. Opposite the Serbian forces of 1,500 soldiers and 4 cannons there were around 4,000 Turkish soldiers with 200 cannons. Therefore, he declared the stage of siege, and a lot of new army members arrived from the inner part of the country and the Serbian forces soon comprised over 13,000 soldiers. A great number the Turkish army heaped up on the borders of Serbia, and on 11th June 1862, they were warned by Garašanin: "Unless the Porte wants to complicate things, it should immediately stop with such demonstrations; otherwise, though we live in peace with our Suzerain, we shall be forced to take some offensive measures at all of the affected points." At that time, Prince Mihailo even thought of waging a war with the Turks, but he was stopped by cautious Garašanin. They turned to the diplomacy.

With the support of the foreign forces, at least he considered that he had it, Prince Mihailo tried to finally move the Turks out of Serbia. The warranty forces convened the conference which began in Constantinople, in the suburb Kanliji, in late July of 1862. It is clear that the two sides appeared. Whereas Russia and France were on the Serbian side, Austria and England were on Turkish side. During the conference, England sent its Ambassador, Bulwer, to convince Prince Mihailo to accept the decisions of the conference which were not very favourable for Serbia.

The conference was completed in late September, and Prince Mihailo was not so pleased with its results. At first, he did not want to accept them, but Garašanin convinced him to do the opposite. The decision was made to demolish the fortresses of Soko and Užice, and to move the whole civil Turkish population out of Serbia. However, the fortresses in Belgrade, Šabac, Smederevo, and Adakale further remained under the control of the Turkish military crews. Overall, the Prince failed to completely move the Turks out of Serbia, but the unbearable dual rule in Belgrade was ended.

The Turks finally left Serbia in 1867, which was the major success of Prince Mihailo's foreign politics. Their last military crews left Serbia in May.

Afterwards, the Topčider disaster happened on 29th May according to the old and on 11th June according to the new calendar in 1868, at around 6.00 p.m., when Prince Mihailo Obrenović was walking in Topčider with three women – Katarina, whom he intended to marry, her mother Anka Konstantinović, and Anka's mother Tomanija – the adjutant on duty, Svetozar Garašanin, the son of Ilija Garašanin, and the court servant, Mita Timarčević, on an uphill path cleared according to his order, which was unknown to almost everyone. In the middle of the forest, three men waited for him: Kosta Radovanović, Lazar Marić, and Stanoje Rogić, all of them armed with revolvers and big knives. They approached him without any word and all three of them shot at him. Anka ran to defend him, but the conspirators also killed her. The Prince fell on his knees stumbling. He was approached by Kosta Radovanović who hit him with a big knife. The adjutant, Garašanin was also wounded. Tomanija, Katarina, and servant Timarčević ran away, and the fourth conspirator, Djordje Radovanović, ran after them. He wounded Katarina and Timarčević, but they managed to escape.

The body of Prince Mihailo was exposed at the court, and he was buried at the Cathedral

in Belgrade. Fourteen people were sentenced to death for the conspiracy and assassination first and two more were sentenced before the military court, and one was sentenced at a subsequent trial – total of seventeen people. Even Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjević and his Secretary Pavle

Tripković were sentenced to twenty-year long prison. All of the sentenced were shot in Karaburma on 16th July 1868. "It was raining heavily in the morning, like never before, the very sky cried, because so many just people had to suffer", said Ana Dabić, the daughter of Svetozar Nenadović. The sentence had never been executed over Aleksandar Karadjordjević, Tripković, and Stanković, who were not in Serbia.

Prince Mihailo did not leave any legal offspring. He had an illegitimate son. On St. Elias Day, on 20th July 1853 in the Russian chapel in Vienna, he got married to Julia, Countess Hunyadi after her mother from Zichy family. Perhaps, at the beginning, it seemed that the marriage could be a success: "There are not many people who have respected the marriage union and the love of a spouse more than me" (Prince Mihailo). However, Prince Miloš did not like Julia, above all, because she could not have children – she was not "a hen with many chicks", and because she was a Catholic. People in Serbia did not like her either, which she took care of by going to the mass, escorted by Prince Mihailo, at the Catholic Church in Belgrade every Sunday. On the other hand, many saw a political mistake in such a marriage since they wished for a Russian princess instead of Julia.

The relations between the spouses suddenly worsened in 1862 when Prince Mihailo suspected that Julia had a love affair with Prince Karl Arenberg. Finally, he found Julia's letter in which she wrote to Prince Arenberg about her desire to live with him in Venice, about her separation with Prince Mihailo, etc. There were no explanations between the spouses and it is quite possible that



the Prince Mihailo had never mentioned anything to her. Generally, he was fully separated from Julia then. Because of the bombardment of Belgrade, their marriage dispute was of the secondary significance, and then Mihailo sent her to a diplomatic mission in London in 1863.

During her stay abroad, Julia was meeting with Prince Arenberg and sent a message to Mihailo that she did not want to return to Serbia, and that she wanted a divorce. Their abundant correspondence is preserved and it can be seen that Mihailo did not want a divorce. She, in return wrote, that she could be brought back only by gendarmes. It lasted for two years.

During that time, the role of the court's hostess was taken over by the daughter of Jevrem Obrenović, Anka Kostantinović, the Prince's cousin. She did everything to please her cousin. It was the time when various court parties were organised almost on a regular basis which begun to be participated by, until then, very reserved Prince Mihailo. Anka had a sixteen year old daughter Katarina and Mihailo was very fond of her. At that time, Princess Julia was in a monastery in Paris from which she had regular correspondence with the Prince. They finally reached an agreement two years later. Julia returned to Belgrade in November 1864. At the court, she found Anka Kostantinović whom she could neither stand nor expel. During all this time, Anka was gradually abetting Mihailo to turn against Julia. Already in 1865, their conflicts began again. Now, Mihailo wanted a divorce, but Julia did not. In the summer of that year, Julia went to consult with her family and she did not come back to Serbia.

The marriage between Prince Mihailo and Julia was divorced but only in terms of "bed and table" under the written agreement on 18th November 1865. Both of them said that they divorced due to motives which did absolutely not offend the honour or diminish their mutual respect. The Prince gave the Princess his palace in Vienna and the annual rent of 5,500 ducats. On the other hand, Julia waived the title of Serbian Princess, but she kept the title of Princess Julia Obrenović, with the maiden name Hunyadi. After the divorce, the Princess lived in Paris, Brussels and Vienna. She got married to Count of Arenberg

as late as in 1879 but he died soon. She did not marry again and she died in Vienna in 1919.

Prince Mihailo remained in many respects a mysterious person. He had always been reserved and lonely and when Princess Julia finally left Serbia in 1865, he became even more reserved. He had dinner and supper on his own. He was regularly visited by Moja Gavrilović who was probably his only friend, with whom he had long discussions or played billiard. He held ministerial meetings at the court once a week during which smoking was not allowed and there were no refreshments.

He is mentioned by everyone as a tidy man with exactly set habits: "he usually had receptions at 11 a.m., when he was always punctual and short. In the afternoon, he went for a walk in Topčider or in surroundings. He regularly wore a civil suit and always an officer hat on his head. He wore the uniform of infantry or cavalry colonel when he went to church or during military inspections or parades and on ceremonial occasions he would put on rich, old-fashioned aristocrat suit. On all these occasions, he was an impressive appearance. He was sincerely pious and went to church on every Sunday and on holidays, most often to the Cathedral. Motionlessly turned towards the altar, he stood during the service at his table, from which he would come down in solemn moments of the liturgy. Then, he would receive consecrated bread from Metropolitan Mihailo and kissed him on his hand. He would exit the church making large, elastic steps through the audience lane, which followed him with deep respect and love" (Kosta Hristić).

He loved theatre, and he often went there but he mostly chose comedies. At that time, there was no lodge in the theatre so two armchairs and a sofa were placed in front of all seats for the Prince and his relatives. After that, there was the row of chairs for ministers, etc. Actually, he was not much separated from the audience and he did not have any strong personal security. The Prince never believed that there could be someone in Serbia who wanted to assassinate him, therefore, he rejected any police escort: "He did not believe that there would be a Serbian hand that would lay on him. Therefore, he categorically ordered the

Minister of Internal Affairs to immediately remove gendarmes, who would be present where he used to go for a walk. And when the Minister, instead of the gendarmes in uniforms, sent disguised gendarmes with an explicit order to hide and move away in order not to be noticed by the Prince but since the Prince noticed them, he angrily told the Minister that he was not a prisoner sentenced to live under surveillance and that he would not move out of his house if he saw police agents once again" (Kosta Hristić).

Prince Mihailo never had any hostile feelings towards the Karadjordjevićs. He always mentioned Karadjordje and his merits with respect. Even during his first rule, he accepted the Prince to be Aleksandar Karadjordjević as his ad-

jutant and in the second rule, he accepted Captain Mladen Nenadović, who was the brother of the wife of Prince Aleksandar's wife, Princess Persida, as his adjutant. He always gladly received the parents of Princess Persida, Duke Jevrem Nenadović and his wife. When Jelena, the daughter of the Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjević, suddenly died on her trip to Switzerland, it was the question whether she could be buried in the family tomb of her husband Djoka Simić in Belgrade. At that moment, Prince Mihailo was in Paris, but he immediately sent the message that he did not have anything against that and even ordered to pay respects to the deceased as to the Princes' daughter. Personal adjutant of Prince Mihailo, Colonel Dragutin Žabarac, attended the funeral.

BRANKO RADIČEVIĆ

Branko Radičević was born on 15th March 1824 in Slavonski brod in the clerk's family. His given name was Aleksije. His father Todor was a customs clerk, because of which, they were constantly moving. Todor liked literature and he probably transferred that love to his son Branko. Branko began attending primary school in Zemun in 1830. At that time, he got in touch with Dubrovnik poetry. In 1835, he started attending grammar school in Sremski Karlovci where he got to know the complete recent Serbian poetry.

In Sremski Karlovci, he finished six grades of the grammar school, when he moved to Timisoara with his father in 1841. Thus, in Sremski Karlovci for which he was so personally and poetically attached to, he lived only for six years. His two oldest essays in verses are from that period. One is the *Hail to Karlovci Metropolitan, Stefan Stanković*, and the other one is *The Farewell to Karlovci*. It is assumed that both originated from 1841.

In the autumn of 1843, Branko went to study in Vienna. He was interested in painting, and his father wanted his son to study law or foreign languages. Because of that, Branko enrolled at the faculty of law which he did not finish. In the same year, 1843, his poetic activity began and it lasted very shortly until 1849.

In Vienna, Branko met Vuk Karadžić and first became his follower and then his friend, as well. Besides Djura Daničić whom he took as a blood brother, he was the most prominent member of the so-called Vuk's Circle. In 1847, he published his first collection of *Poems*, made up of twenty shorter and two longer poems of which the best known

are *The Parting of School friends* and *A Journey*. Those two poems are "right those poems with topics and lyrical moods suited to the age of a twenty-year old Vuk's romanticist of that time, whose romanticism is reflected in creating the cult of his boyish, sympathetic animal vitality and the delight for whatever is natural, spontaneous, original, sincere, and non-complicated, above all, everything which is national, i.e. vernacular" (V. Petrović).

One of the most favourite Branko's poems for the youth is *The Parting of the School friends*. In it, the poet bids farewell to Sremski Karlovci, its closest and intimate circle. Two main lyrical topics, parting and memory, musically interchange in the poem. *The Parting of the School friends* is a real playful and songful Srem rhapsody. Comparing it to music, Laza Kostić called it "a graceful symphony". Branko's prophetic distich from the introductory part of the poem is unforgettable: "Wanted a lot, began a lot / alas, he was hindered by a dying hour."

During the rebellion in Vienna 1848-1849, Branko was in Zagreb, Sremska Mitrovica, twice in Zemun, Belgrade, and Timisoara. After the Revolution, he returned to Vienna, as the cadet of Prince Mihailo Obrenović, who was also in this city in exile. He enrolled at the faculty of medicine, but he never finished it, because of his too early death.

In the course of 1851, his second book of poems was published under the same title as the first - *Poems*. Among other poems it also includes two epic poems: *Gojko* and *The Brigand's Grave*. Both published collections indicate that Branko Radičević was under great influence of Vuk.

In 1851, Branko got sick with tuberculosis. He died in Vienna hospital on 18th June 1853. Since he was poor, he was buried at the Saint Mark's Cemetery for the poor people. A few friends, including Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, were at his funeral. Not even one Serbian paper of that time reported of his death. At the time of his death, he was not known as a poet and marginalised, but only when his mortal remains were ceremoniously transferred to Stražilovo near Sremski Karlovci in 1883 did his name become a cult. Since then "Branko has become the great beginning of our poetry, the beginning of its basic, lyrical flow in the new literature. However, this is not the beginning in one but rather in several directions. It is another reason of Branko's eternal youth and constant return of the Serbian poetry to Branko as its inexhaustible source" (J. Deretić). The transfer of Branko's mortal remains turned to be a great national, all-Serbian event.

In 1862, Branko's father Todor published yet another book of his poems. It included fourteen short, five longer epic poems, as well as a long lyrical composition *Sorrow* and *Admonition*. Now, those were different poems, but Branko was still authentic and personal in them.

The influence of German romanticism and Serbian national poetry are interwoven in Branko's poetry; the echoes of idyllic, pastoral, Anacreontic and love poetry of German rococo and sentimentalism can be heard. In time, his numerous poems have been composed and sung, even to such an extent that many of us think that those are original national poems. These are *A Girl at the Fountain*, *Merry Shepherd*, *Poor Darling* (Horejšek); *The End of Journey*, *Round Dance at Harvest*, *Round*

Dance from the Parting of the School friends (J. Marinković, Paču); *Prayer* (Milčinski), *Round Dance at Harvest* (Tolinger), etc.

In Branko's poetry, his language is especially valuable, before him "not any learned Serb wrote poetry in such a way", and his language is "pure like a tear" (Djura Daničić). Besides: "two most significant features of his fairy include: fear of death and vivid desire to enjoy, avidity for the sweetness of this world" (Laza Kostić). Overall, Branko Radičević is a lyrical poet though some of his poems are epic. But, they are, by their inspiration, always of a lyrical type. Everything valuable in these epic poems is what is lyrical in them. Today, the following are considered to be the most successful *A Girl at the Fountain*, *Calico*, *The Brigand*, *Night after Night*, *Mischiefs*, *A Merry Shepherd*, *Prayer*, *Poor Darling*, *Let the Sun*, *Admonition*.

Of course, the best known ones are *The Parting of the School friends* and *When I Die Young*. It should be especially emphasised that *When I Die Young* is one of the greatest poems of the Serbian poetry in general. This is the poem about death and eternal parting. In it, Branko Radičević forebodes his death and bids farewell from the world and poetry. *The Parting of the School friends* is different. In it, the poet's lyricism in 737 verses had its purest possible form. Every verse is full of inner life, enthusiasm, it is playful and striking. This is: "the poetic synthesis of juvenile independence, which, with its legs and arms, singing and dancing, language and reason, hard-headed reason and reason inspired by vine – ferments and boils" (Isidora Sekulić).

DJURO DANIČIĆ

Also, at the same time, his priceless *Dictionary of Old Serbian Words* was published in three volumes (1863-1864). Today, it is the only dictionary of the old Serbian language. After the *Dictionary*, he published *The History of Forms, Roots, Accent Studies*, etc. It should be noted that Daničić also dealt with literary criticism, but not in a standard sense. He dealt with the writer's language, i.e. philological critique of a literary work.

For a short time, he worked as a clerk at the postal administration, and then, in 1866, he went

to Zagreb and became the Secretary of just founded Yugoslav Academy. He returned to Belgrade in 1873, and accepted the professorship at the High School, where he taught the Serbian language. He returned to Zagreb in 1877 and worked on a big *Dictionary*. He did not finish it, only the first volume was published titled *Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language* (1882). Djuro Daničić passed away in Zagreb on 17th November 1882. His remains were transferred to Belgrade and he was buried on the Mark's Graveyard.

SVETOZAR MILETIĆ

Svetozar Miletić was born on 10th February 1826 in Mošorin, Bačka. His original name was Avram but his mother chose the name of Svetozar possibly after her late brother. In Mošorin, Svetozar finished the lower grades of primary school in the Serbian language and he was the best pupil there. He finished middle school in German in Titel. At first, he studied at the grammar school in Novi Sad, afterwards, in the place of Modra, and, finally, in Pressburg where he graduated in 1846.

In Vienna, Miletić studied law and in his student days he started to write political texts. In the poetic almanac *Sjavjanka* (Buda, 1847), of which he was the editor in chief, he published several poems, where the most notable was allegorical drama *The Salvation Night*, in three parts (*Evening, In the Dead of Night and Dawn*). His first political texts appeared in the magazines *Vesnik* and *Napredak* in 1848. At that time, he had already written the nationally intoned song *The Serbian Flag Is Publicly Flying Everywhere* (1848). It relates to Serbian Duke Stevan Šupljikac and his volunteers. At that time, it was sung as the hymn throughout Vojvodina, and Serbia and Miletić himself said how it originated: "When the Duke had already been elected, I was visited by Sava Davidovac, who was then the lieutenant in the national army, early in the morning. He told me that the Duke would come to Karlovci. When I had heard that, I thought of writing a song, which could be sung on that occasion, not only as the hymn, but also as a martial song. I immediately got up while Davidovac was still with

me and wrote the song and had it printed in the printing house."

In Vienna, Miletić was promoted as the doctor of Law in 1854, and in the next year, he passed the bar exam. First, he worked as a court clerk, and in 1857, he opened his Law Office in Novi Sad. At that time, he was writing newspaper articles for *Srbski Dnevnik*. In 1858, he got married, but this was not a happy marriage: "Yet, it seems that he did not find what a public activist needed in marriage, a warm home where he could rest and forget the blows without which there was no struggle" (Vasa Stajić).

On the Annunciation Day in 1861, the national and clerical assembly was held, apart from the Timisoara Assembly (1790) and the May Assembly (1848), the most important Assembly of the Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The discussions on the position of the Serbs in the Monarchy were renewed there, and it was especially significant, because, in the opinion of Jovan Djordjević, it was "the first occurrence of the parliamentary activities on this side". Three groups were distinguished at the Assembly, the Austrophiles led by Djordje Stojaković, the second included the Hungarophiles headed by Svetozar Miletić, and the third were Yugoslavs led by Jovan Subotić and Djordje Stratimirović: "I saw Miletić for the first time there; he was at the age of full male strength and vigour, full of enthusiasm and delighted willingness; inspired by the hope of success and faith in his vocation, he seemed to me as a young eagle, who had just spread mighty wings; his whole appearance was characterised by

humour, energy, and the impulsive individualism which could not only speak and bend, be only a response and the result of strivings and feelings of his social environment but he gave himself to the collective reflective content, creatively processing the impressions of his environment, preceded and led. We, the young people at the gallery, looked at him as if he were a new apostle, a new planet in the Serbian sight, which would, with its rays, light up the path towards the national progress" (Giga Geršić). Exceptionally important political role of Svetozar Miletic began after the Assembly on the Annunciation Day.

In 1861, Miletic was elected for the Mayor of Novi Sad. It is interesting that Jakov Ignjatović was appointed as a Senior Notary, and Jovan Jovanović Zmaj as a Sub-Notary. Miletic was the first statutory mayor of the city of Novi Sad.

He was elected as the representative of the National and Clerical Assembly in 1864, and in the following 1865, as the representative for the Croatian and Hungarian Assemblies. However, he was not able to do all that and he waived his mandate at the Croatian Assembly. He focused his whole energy to activities at the Hungarian Assembly as well as within the Serbian national and clerical assemblies. He became an undisputable leader of the Serbian people in Vojvodina. In Pest in 1866, he started the newspaper *Zastava*, where he was the first editor in chief. Already in May 1867, he transferred the newspaper to Novi Sad. Since that time, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Laza Kostić, Doctor Mihailo Polit Desančić, Giga Geršić, Milovan Janković, Vladimir Jovanović, etc. were around him. The paper *Zastava* mostly dealt with Serbian national issues, above all by obtaining the autonomy and expanding already acquired rights and privileges in the Monarchy. Also, through this newspaper, the blade of Miletic's pen swooped down on Serbia and the regime of Prince Mihailo Obrenović, the Constitution of 1869, etc. many times. This newspaper, very appreciated at that time, Zmaj described as follows: "It is worth seeing such a flag which will not blow by the wind but it waves in its own direction, regardless of

whether the wind is blowing from the east, west, or any other side".

Miletic played the main role in the creation of the so-called youth movement that was transformed into the United Serbian Youth (1866). When the Serbian National Liberal Party was founded, Miletic drafted its political programme and headed it until 1883: "The Serbian National Liberal Party was not an ordinary political party, it was rather the party which represented the whole people, the people who, while living in the foreign, hostile country, under very difficult circumstances, had its political organisation, its political bodies, its political ideology, and its fearless and undisputed leader – Svetozar Miletic" (K. N. Milutinović). The party acted upon the so-called Bečkerek Programme (1869) which was, according to some contemporaries, the "announcement of the war to the Hungarians", because of item 4 of the Programme setting out that "in the interest of full independence and constitutionality in the countries under the Hungarian crown, as well as in the interest of the equality of peoples, contest Article XII of the Law of 1867 on the settlement with Austria, as the creation of the hostile spirit towards the Slavs."

Due to his political activities, Miletic was also in trouble, thus, in 1870, he was sentenced to one year in prison. In 1876, he was sued for a high treason, thus, he spent almost two years in custody. Finally, in 1878, he was sentenced to five years in prison. Nevertheless, he did not serve his sentence since he was pardoned in 1879.

Svetozar Miletic had a very exuberant nature, above all, belligerent, sometimes too bold, always powerful, with mighty energy. No one could contest his political talent. He was willing to sacrifice for his ideas. In addition, he was an absolute authority, harsh, and decisive, a true leader of the Serbian people in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

His political activity was suddenly stopped when he got seriously ill in 1883. After partial recovery, he was not able for political engagement any more. He died in Vršac on 22nd January 1901.