

## RADOJE DOMANOVIĆ

**R**adoje Domanović was born on 4<sup>th</sup> February 1873 in Ovsišće near Kragujevac. His mother was the daughter of the Uprising leader Pavle Cukić, assassinated at the order of Prince Miloš in 1817, and his father was a teacher, member of the village opposing party, an ardent patriot. Radoje spent his childhood in the village of Jarušice, where his father got the job. He did not get on well with his father since the latter belonged to the Liberal Party. He felt the gentle love to his mother: "I have an illiterate mother, a peasant woman. She gave me her life, and not knowing anything else, she gave me national poetry. She inspired me with it, and I shall eternally, perhaps even after I die, remember such breath, strong and mighty breath."

He finished his primary school in Jarušice, grammar school in Kragujevac in 1894, and the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1898. He published his first short story *Sima the Pensioner* in 1892, after which short story *Birthday* was published in *Javor* in 1893, followed by *The Announcement* and *Grandma Stana*.

Radoje Domanović worked as a teacher in Vranje, Pirot, and Leskovac. He was the member of the Radical Party at the time when it was fiercely persecuted by King Aleksandar Obrenović. During 1895, his political brochure *Note*, intended for the radical youth was published.

It was the time known by very "liberal" rule of the last Obrenović, when the governments were replaced within a short time period – each one was worse than the one before it. As said by Slobodan Jovanović said that it was the time of unprecedented persecutions and freedom curbing,

when the regime was based on the absolute rule of the court, ministers gathered from various sides and were deprived of any independence in decision making. These particular circumstances inspired Domanović to write satire *Demon* in 1898, in the same year he was dismissed from his work. Since then, Domanović solely dealt with literature and journalism. His short story *Abolition of Passion*, in which he also dealt with the current political events, was published. In the introduction, he ironically says that the Serbs have finished all their work, thus, they may have a nap and sleep, and when they get bored, they may see what is up in other "miserable" countries, where people "argue about some rights, about some kind of freedom".

During 1899, his two books of short stories were published in Požarevac, including *The Stamp* and *The Leader*. The short story *The Leader* is about Nikola Pašić and his inglorious role in the history of the Radical Party, whereas *The Stamp* presents "wicked people". It is a very complex short story, which sounds prophetic even today, just as much as it is the case with some Kafka's works though Domanović did not fully devised the contours of despotic political system.

Domanović's satire is always focused to Serbia of his time, certain mentality and certain tradition, relation of government and its subjects; specifically, he always criticised the rule in Serbia and Serbs, like when he says in his *Stradija*: "The main thing here is not to maintain the country, but to maintain the cabinet for as long as possible", and in *The Dead Sea*: "Nouns such as: justice, freedom, gathering, agreement, constitution, law, and

other dangerous treacherous works, teasing people to rebel, should be removed from the Grammar as soon as possible." His words: "Whoever unites the Serbs, he is immediately to be arrested as the sign of national recognition and love" have remained unsurpassed (*The Dead Sea*).

In his satire *Kraljević Marko for the Second Time among Serbs*, Domanović presented Serbia as the country where individual people are so poor and they are only concerned about their survival, whereas higher classes only think of getting richer. In such environment, it is only natural that an epic figure like Kraljević Marko ends up like a cop.

During 1902, he was the registrar at the Ministry of Education, from where, again for political reasons, he was dismissed in the same year, after which he went to Munich.

Since 1905, he worked as a Head Proof-reader of the National Printing Company. It was the time when his famous satiric magazine *Stradija* was published, in which he published his satire *Stradija* in 1902. "It is a real symphony of Domanović's satirical topics, in which his satiric vision of certain social evil is expressed" (Ljubiša Jeremić). In his read, he, once again, describes Serbia of his time, shows it as the country which had "many liberal laws, but no freedom at all, speeches were held and books were written about economy, but no one saw anything, the whole country was full of moral messages and there was no moral, attic was logic in every house, but there was no intellect, saving and country welfare were discussed everywhere, and money was wasted, and any loan shark and scoundrel could buy himself a title of a great national patriot for a few groats".

Since *Stradija*, Domanović has been the most original and fiercest Serbian satirical writer. Further, he published short stories *Uncle Miša* (1902) and *Three Stories for Youth* (1903). They clearly show that Domanović knows and masters almost all satirical forms – invective, irony, sarcasm, caricature, hyperbola, insinuation. In addition, he is loyal to the so-called "objective form", i.e. the satire "which is, without the participation of open author's attacks and mockery, with the

help of fantastic story or allegory, structured in apparently objective and non-biased finding and presentation of funny and disgusting characteristics of his object in the circumstances which light him up in an increasingly mocking manner from all sides" (Lj. Jeremić).

During 1905, the selection of short stories was published by Srpska književna zadruga, which included his best satires: *The Leader*, *The Stamp*, *Kraljević Marko for the Second Time among Serbs*, *The Dead Sea*, etc. During 1920, the edition of this book in Latin alphabet was edited in Zagreb. As said by Skerlić, the publication of Domanović's short stories was always a real political event, they were known by heart, and were read "among all Serbs" (B. Popović).

There is no doubt that Radoje Domanović is one of the followers of the Serbian realism, however, he went further than his predecessors since the main objective of his satire is the criticism of the political and social order in Serbia: "One by one of his satires were used by Domanović to remove the false aureole from the monarchy dictatorship, he revealed its weaknesses and ugliness, perfectly hit at its alienation from people, its betrayal of nice traditions of Serbian people fostering poltroons, lack of attitude, corruption of people, and treatment by cops" (V. Gligorić).

Domanović wrote at the time when a strict censorship prevailed in Serbia, which stimulated the creation of allegorical and satirical short story where he is unparalleled. Domanović's satires were, at the time of terror, a true act of civil courage: "his mockery of the government was already the beginning of rebellion; a regime fell before it, lacked any sense. *Stradija* affected Aleksandar's despotism the most. Aleksandar is a harlequin king whose place is not in the history of a nation, but in a humorous short story" (S. Jovanović).

Before the end of his life, Domanović was very disappointed in the Serbian Radical Party, whose member he was. He led utterly careless, bohemian life, thus, he said that "he felt that increasingly opaque dark was covering him".

Radoje Domanović passed away in Belgrade in 1908.

# NADEŽDA PETROVIĆ

**N**adežda Petrović was born on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1873 to father Dimitrije and mother Mileva. Her father was a drawing teacher, and her mother was a teacher. In the Serbian-Turkish war, in 1879, due to his treatment, they had to move to Karanovac (Kraljevo). Nadežda was the eldest child, she had four more siblings. During 1884, her family moved to Belgrade and lived with Dimitrije's father Maksim (merchant). Nadežda enrolled at the High Women's School in 1885, and Djordje Krstić, at that time a renowned painter and iconographer, taught her painting.

In 1891, Nadežda Petrović graduated, after which she also made her first paintings in oil. Since 1893, she was teaching painting at the High Women's School, the same one where she graduated. She was still studying painting, and, in 1896, she was the first female student at recently opened Painting and Drawing School of Cyril Kultik. With students of this school, she exhibited her works for the first time on St. Vitus Day in 1898.

After that, she studied in Munich at the famous Fine Arts Academy (1898): "As far as the school is concerned, I may only tell you that I am thrilled, happy to spend all day continuingly working. I am among the most industrious, and, by God, as far as it seems according to the revision, I am going to be the best soon. It delights me even more to work, because I see my progress." (Nadežda Petrović). Since 1899, Nadežda made copies of paintings of Van Dyck, Rubens, Veronese. After she had finished the first year of her studies, she was travelling in Italy for some time. Already at that time, she made a decision to fully dedicate her life to painting: "I am not look-

ing for love, husband, man, or heart and respect, I shall live only for myself and my parents. The whole educated west lives like that and it is the smartest thing to do, and I agree with it. I really feel happy for not getting married, because, if I had done so, I would have been just an ordinary woman like my other friends who pay their debt to the nature".

In her second year of studies, she was learning sculpturing. After her finished second year, she came to Belgrade and in August 1900 she had the exhibition at the Hall of the High School. There were 37 paintings, thereof 29 originals and 9 copies.

In the next year of her studies, she made portraits, as well as landscapes, hundreds of sketches, contours. In the spring of 1902, she painted Bavarian landscapes: "The one who has not studied in Bavaria is unaware of nice and romantic motifs from the area where the little river of Amper flows. The air and houses, water, all that is full of poetry, everything is in harmony, and includes much colour and stillness." (Nadežda Petrović)

Upon her return to Belgrade (1903), she worked as the painting teacher at the High Women's School. It is the time when she painted a lot in Topčider, but she also began showing interest in the national issues. She had many discussions with her friend Delfa Ivanić about the position of Serbian people under Turkey: "The discussion was about the evil circumstances experienced by our people in Turkey, about the failed Macedonian uprising, Komitadji action, torture, imprisonment, hanging, and expelling of our people to Asia Minor. Presenting the evil state of our

brethren, such discussion would be ended in such manner that something should be done for miserable people, that Serbia was obligated to hold out its hand to them, provide support, and show that it is together with them in the days of their most difficult ordeal and suffering." (Nadežda Petrović)

Then, in August 1903, she gathered many women at the hall near Kolarac – it was the biggest women's gathering held in Serbia until that time. The Circle of Serbian Sisters was founded. The newly established association organised some events where funds were raised for victims of Ilinden Uprising. Nadežda Petrović was also

in the delegation which brought the funds to Macedonia. Her voluminous manuscript *The Travel throughout Macedonia* originated from that trip. Her main impression was: "My heart ached because of sadness". Under such an impression, she wrote her single theatre play.

From 1904, her actual painting work began. She liked painting landscape for which she used her family estate in Resnik: "With the delight of a fanatic in love with landscape and characters of her native land, she was covering canvas with her powerful and bold strokes, solid painting paste with, so far, unseen coloured chores in Serbia. Powerful, authentic temperament of an inspired colourist erupted from them. Her hand created winding red and brown village roads, with warm shadows of heavy fruits bending over skew village hurdles, spacious light parks, thick forests interwoven with yellow spots of the Sun, golden arable land and indigo gorges over sparkling river, streets with red-roofed houses, hamlets with some poplars, village graveyards, and yards with horses and unharnessed oxen cart. There are also compositions – actually figures interwoven in landscape – of a peasant in a paddock, in the field, threshing, reaping, or in front of house, at the well, dancing round dance. A special group in her Serbian period includes a series of her portraits of village hosts, big grey mous-



tache, and peasant women in shirts with a child in their arms, several heads of dark-faced Gypsy women under white wraps, with colourful necklaces around their neck" (A. Ambrozić).

In that year (1904), she is one of the organisers of the First Yugoslav Exhibition. She also displayed many of her paintings. It is considered that this exhibition marked the beginning of the Serbian modern art. Next year (1905), she organised the activity of the First Yugoslav Colony in Sićevo. Among all, it also included Ivan Meštrović. As the member of Serbian "Lada" section, she organised the first exhibition of the society in 1906 – it was

the first great exhibition of the Serbian fine arts where her works were also displayed. They were also at the exhibition of the First Yugoslav Colony in the premises of the National Museum in 1907 – total of 30 her landscapes and portraits, thereof, the following should be mentioned *Requiem, The Summer Field, Fishermen on the Danube, Autumn, At the Fountain*.

In that year, she was travelling a lot (Vienna, Munich, Verona, Florence, Rome). The canvases originated under the impression of these journeys were displayed in 1908 at the exhibition of the Serbian Art Association (she is the founder thereof): "She is the only secessionist at the exhibition", and the following was added in the review: "Her paintings include something personal, certain defiant belief that it is how painting is done, female stubbornness to critique, which is likable and which may not be dealt with". Certainly, her best canvases included *Morning Walk, Evening, and Autumn Evening on the Sava*.

She was further active at the national level: she became the member of the National Defence, she was going to Dubrovnik, Zagreb, Mostar, Split, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Ljubljana, she organised the rally against Austria after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908).

During 1909, she created her first canvas which could be called Serbian fauvism. Indeed,

she only accepted the principle of fauvism, a new understanding of painting which she achieved based on the logics of her development, not as the role model for literal imitation. There is no doubt that the representative painting from that time is *The Lady with Hat*.

In May 1910, she was in Paris: In this Paris period of her painting, Nadežda Petrović painted with much more passion and a new artistic power. So far, it was her greatest achievement and the zenith in her creation. It was the time of her full artistic maturity, the period of painting in which she left the deepest trace in the Serbian fine arts" (M. Tasić).

She participated in various exhibitions, and the following is about the impact of Paris on her: "Nadežda developed and more definitely specified the concept of her art. Since, due to the nature of her temperament, she was fond of colouristic painting, such development was continued and was even more personalised in Paris, in the atmosphere she found there. She had the time to study, compare. Her individuality was at the full swing in Paris, her artistic identity was fully affirmed. With her exalted creation, unmistakable instinct, powerful expressionistic temperament, she managed to, through vivid transposing of motifs, transform her inner experience through nature and human figure as her stimulation, into a vital pictorial structure. Nadežda was original in

the midst of all that abundance in Paris and painted only her visions of Notre-Dame and the Bois de Boulogne. Painting from this epoch is different from everything she had done so far. Her previous quests fully matured, and her shaped fine arts physiognomy bears the characteristic of colouristic expressionism on her paintings. Nadežda became a great painter" (Katarina Ambrozić).

Then, in 1912, the Balkan War started. Nadežda Petrović voluntarily applied and went to the front as a nurse. She was honoured for her diligent service. She also participated in the Second Balkan War. After the war, she went to Italy. In the World War I, she was the nurse again, but, after she had been infected with typhus, she got very ill and died on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1915.

In addition to painting, Nadežda Petrović also dealt with writing critiques and reviews, which were published in *Delo*, *Bosanska vila*, *Nova iskra*. In her reviews, she specifically dealt with new art movements in Germany and France, and she also wrote a lot about Cézanne. It is considered that as the painter she was the one of the most powerful temperaments who have ever appeared in Serbia. She had a great role in the modernistic movement: "Serbia has never had a painter who has with more inspiration, delight, and passion wandered its landscape and painted its feature who has, at the same time, been enlightener, national wound healer, and soldier" (L. Trifunović).

# JOVAN DUČIĆ

Jovan Dučić is the greatest Serbian poet, recognised and famous during his life, called “the prince of poets”. He was unparalleled: “it was the way of the man who was self-confident and confident in what he served for, both in the public life and in his subjective preoccupations, his career, and in poetry. In our literature, which included unrecognised talents, failed expectations, miserable destinies, he was a true exception” (J. Deretić).

Jovan Dučić was born on 15<sup>th</sup> June in Hrupjeli near Trebinje, to father Andrija, who was killed in the uprising in Herzegovina in 1875 and mother Joka. He had sister Mileva, from his mother’s second marriage with Šćepan Glogovac, brother Rista, and sister Soka. He was educated in Trebinje, then in Mostar where he finished Business School. Since 1891, he was the student of the Teacher College, Sarajevo.

At first, Dučić worked as a teacher in Bijeljina, but, due to some political reasons, he was sent back to Žitomislić by the Austrian authorities. Until then, his first poem was published in the Sombor papers for youth *Golub* (1886). From 1895 to 1899, he worked at the Serbian School, Mostar. He was active at social organisations, and he was also the founder of literary magazine *Zora*. After his arrest in 1899 and lay-off, he went to Genève to study at the Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology.

Going to “the big and intelligent West” was a turn for Dučić. Until then, he had written poems within the frameworks of the national poetry tradition as the follower of Vojislav Ilić, oriented towards Russian and German poets. He was the

poet of joy, pain, murmurs, misgiving, and hope, a subjective lyricist. He was straightforward and sincere. Perhaps, the most beautiful poem from that period is *After Many Years*. After he had met Skerlić, he collaborated with numerous literary magazines, such as *The Matica srpska Chronicle*, *Zora*, *Srpski književni glasnik*. Since then, his poems, influenced by French poetry, changed their shape towards the Parnassism and symbolism.

Dučić strived to reach elegance in the selection of subjects he made poems about. He began taking care a lot about the perfection of form and expression, to appreciate form: “Form in a poem may often replace anything else. Everything is about how it is said” (J. Dučić). Sometimes, it turned out to be something contrary, exaggeration, excess, and, as a result, it was pre-stressed in the forces of power, gentility, and glitter. Though he was a pure Parnassian in his form, he was a symbolist based on his content. His descriptiveness was so emotional, thus, it may not be discerned from his verses whether an emotion resulted in an image or whether it was caused by an image. He said on an occasion: “The most likable are those poets who failed to finally find themselves. Probably, the most talented people are among them.”

In 1901 in Mostar, he published his first book *Poems*, in which he collected the poems previously published in various magazines. The influence of Vojislav Ilić, “the shadow of Vojislav Ilić”, is felt in them, and poem *Autumn Melodies* is dedicated to him. Already at that time, his poems fulfilled all three benchmarks set by Bogdan Popović used for evaluating whether a poem is good or not – all of his poems were written with a

lot of emotions, clearly, and they are aesthetically beautiful.

During 1906, Dučić finished his studies and got the job at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Belgrade. Since 1908, he was an editor of the literary section in the *Politika*. Then his book *Poems* was published by *Srpska književna zadruga*. Now, this is a different Dučić, those are the poems from his so-called "Parnassist stage". At the same time, in his own edition, he published two more collections, *Blue Legends* and *Poems*. The Collection *Blue Legends* is something special, it includes narrative component, poems are transformed into short poetic and symbolic short stories. He kept this manner in his many subsequent poems and he is the best in them: "Wherever Dučić's proneness to reduced narration was increasingly expressed, where it was not silenced with subsequent symbolism, exceptional poems were created as a result, the real narrative medallions, unique in our whole poetry" (J. Deretić).

From 1910, Jovan Dučić was an Attaché in the delegation in Constantinople, and during that year, he was appointed at the same position in Sofia. His new book *Poems* was published in 1911. From 1912 to 1927, he was changing the places of his service, he worked as the secretary, attaché, the chargé d'affaires in Rome, Athens, Madrid, Cairo, he was also the delegate in Geneva at the League of Nations. At that time, Dučić changed his poetic expression. He entered post-symbolism, became fully mature in mental and artistic sense. His poetry in those years is the poetry of great topics. As he said, a lyricist may: "become a great poet when he utters great truths about three greatest and most fatal motifs of life and art: God, Love, Death". He was selected as the correspondent member of the Serbian Royal Academy in 1924.

In 1929, his two books of collected works entitled *The Poems of the Sun* and *The Poems of Love* were published; in 1930 his third book, *Imperial Sonnets* was published, after which *Blue Legends* and *Cities and Chimeras* was published, his best known fiction work, the selection of ten travels which were created for almost forty years – even today, they are among the greatest

art achievements of the Serbian fiction. Those are not the travels in their usual sense, they are rather the travel essays in which the literary and cultural history interlace with poetic images of countries, cities, and people. They were written in a clear, precise, complete manner. Borislav Mihajlović said that Dučić is "perhaps the only complete poet in our whole poetry. From his first verse to the last sentence he wrote, everything is clear. One may far more contest than praise some facts about him – except that he was the poet."

In 1931, Dučić became the regular member of the Serbian Royal Academy and the delegate in Budapest. During 1932, his book *The Treasure of Emperor Radovan*, a popular book of distinguished philosophical fiction, was published. In it, he wrote about some great, almost fateful topics: happiness, friendship, women, old age, etc. In an artistic sense, and also, to a high extent in a reflective sense, it is the top achievement of the Serbian philosophical fiction.

From 1933 to 1941, Jovan Dučić was the delegate in Rome, then in Bucharest, where he was nominated the Ambassador, then, he saw the beginning of the World War II in Madrid. Until 1943, he lived in America, where his monograph *Count Sava Vladislavić* was published. At that time, he also wrote many political texts. His last book was published in 1943 entitled *Lyrics*.

"Nowadays, Dučić is among our greatest poets, moreover, he became one of the cult names of the Serbian literature. However, his greatness is of specific character, rather atypical for our circumstances. It includes perfection, as well as coldness, statuesque marble monuments. But, his poetry, taken as a whole, contains so much beauty of the form, so much style, so much art, that, to such respect, not any other Serbian poet may be compared" (J. Deretić).

Jovan Dučić died and was buried in 1943 in Gary, USA. Subsequently, his remains were transferred to the yard of the Serbian Monastery of St. Sava in Libertyville, and in October 2000, the remains of Jovan Dučić were transferred to the crypt of the church of Herzegovian Gračanica in Crkvine above Trebinje.

## STANOJE STANOJEVIĆ

**S**tanoje Stanojević was born on 12<sup>th</sup> August 1874 in Novi Sad in a wealthy family. His father who was a physician, was the supporter of Svetozar Marković. Stanoje finished his primary and grammar school in his home town. He was early interested in history, and since his young age, he began studying old manuscripts, charters, chronicles, etc. Several of his early historical exhibits and literary experiments were preserved. Also, at that time, he wrote several reviews of the historical books of Stojan Novaković which were published at that time. In his review of the history of M. Ubavkić his standpoint was against writing popular histories in which complete truth is never said and where "other people are blamed for what happened".

Stanoje Stanojević studied in Vienna, where, among all, he was taught by famous historian Konstantin Jireček. For some time, he was in Leipzig, and he got his doctoral degree in Vienna in 1896. The following was from that period – *How Did King Radoslav Die?* (1894), *Sources of Nemanja's Biographies* (1895), and *On the Structure of Nemanja's Biography by Stevan the First-crowned* (1895). He was also further educated in Petersburg and Moscow in 1897, and in the next year, he became the professor of the Serbian Grammar School in Constantinople, the city which inspired him to write his work *Byzantium and the Serbs* in ten volumes, but he managed to write two ( in 1903 and 1906).

He was in Munich in 1900, and in the same year he was selected as the assistant professor of the Serbian history at the High School in Bel-

grade. His thesis *About Pipo Span* was published in 1901. He further dealt with the review of the books in the field of history, he very fiercely criticised *The History of the Serbian People* by M. Vukićević, where he stated that "studying past must not be dealt with in a narrow-minded manner, with patriotic stimulation, so that the complete Serbianship appears good and seamless, and everything which is non-Serbia bad and wicked". He was also very critical to historian Konstantin Jireček, but he also did not miss to write the review of literary critics Pavle Popović and Jovan Skerlić. He insisted on truth: "A historian must suppress any strivings and desires, all of his sympathies and antipathies only serve to one ideal, everlasting and unchangeable, he must only be at service to truth" (Stanoje Stanojević).

Already in 1903, he became the professor of the High School in 1905, when it was transformed into the University, he was selected as the associate professor, and the correspondent member of the Serbian Royal Academy. In the meantime, in 1904, he was among the founders of daily *Politika*.

During 1908, the most significant and popular work of Stanoje Stanojević *The History of the Serbian People* was published. This book was something completely new in relation to the previous histories of the Serbian people. As he says: "it presents the past of our people on a new basis, quite differently than it has been done so far. It, in addition to many details, includes quite new concept and composition, the history is divided based on its important internal and external events

and changes, and the past of the whole people was also presented in parallel" (Stanoje Stanojević).

*The History of Serbian People* by Stanojević experienced exceptional popularity and had several editions. It was forbidden in Austro-Hungary, thus, the Serbs from that area had big problems to get it, which made Stanojević explaining his motives for writing it in the second book edition in 1910: "My history, however, has nothing to do with politics, and it has no political tendencies, it has been written with my deep desire to tell the truth and nothing but the truth in any respect" (Stanoje Stanojević). Until the occurrence of *The History of the Serbs* by Konstantin Jireček, nothing was better than *The History of the Serbs* by Stojanović.

In scientific terms, the peak of Stanojević's creation is study *The Struggle for the Independence of the Catholic Church in the State of the Nemanjićs* from 1912, as well as the beginning of publishing his *Studies on Serbian Diplomacy*, the series of 28 separate studies which were published until 1936.

Stanoje Stanojević took an active part in the First Balkan War and in the World War I. At that time, he initiated the library called *Contemporary Issues*, where the first book was his *What Does Serbia Want?* (1912). He withdrew with the army through Albania, and then went to Italy. During 1916, he was in Petersburg where he worked as the University Professor. Hiding from the Bol-

sheviks, he went to Paris and London to give lectures. At the Peace Conference in Paris, he was the member of the Serbian delegation.

After the war in 1919, he was elected a professor of the University of Belgrade. In that year, he became the regular member of the Serbian Royal Academy.

Stanojević's most important work *The National Encyclopaedia* in four volumes was published in the period 1924–1929. He is the founder of *Historical Society in Novi Sad*, and for some time, he was the head of its magazine *Glasnik*. He wrote numerous works of minor volume, mostly relating to the Serbian medieval history and initiated a series of the books entitled *The Serbian People in XIX Century*. Also, he was the President of Yugoslav-German Society in Belgrade (1930–1937), the President of the Yugoslav Historical Society, and the Director of *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis* (1935–1937).

Stanoje Stanojević is considered one of the most important Serbian historians. Completely influenced by Ilarion Ruvarac and his critical direction", he was studying all of the sources of the Serbian history in a very careful manner including a serious degree of the scientific review of their correctness and authenticity. He has an excellent knowledge about historical material, which makes his works authentic.

Stanoje Stanojević passed away in Vienna on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1937.

## BORISAV STANKOVIĆ

**B**orisav Stanković was born in Vranje in 1876. When he was five, he lost his father, and he lost his mother at the age of seven. He was brought up by his grandmother Zlata. It is considered that she, with her storytelling, developed his love to the past of his home town of Vranje. As he said: "When I was just a little boy, when the sweetest thing for me was to sit in my mother's lap, I was listening to the conversations made in front of me, the child "who understands nothing", by neighbours and relatives of my mother, while having coffee. Indeed, I did not understand anything then, but I was able to remember it, even the slightest details".

First, he was educated in Vranje, then he attended the grammar school in Niš and began publishing his first poems. His initial fiction works were published in 1898, the first one was the short story *Stanoja* in magazine *Iskra* in February 1898. Stanković said: "Not any magazine wanted to print my first short stories. When A. Gavrilović started his *Iskra*, he was the first to print my two things. Not only that, but he invited me and encouraged to further work." His short story *St. George's Day* was printed a couple of months later. His *Secret Aches* were published in the magazine *Nada*, and the short story *At Night* was printed in the same magazine in early 1899.

During 1899, his first collection *From the Old Evangel*, which included five short stories, which were not received well by the reviewers, was published. Yet, their language drew attention: "The following should also be added: the language is very literary, which is very rare with

those writing nowadays. It is said that Mr Stanković is still a student; writing in such young age is very dangerous for him. All of the talents in Serbia have either fully failed or withered, because they appeared too early" (Pavle Marinković, *Zvezda*, 29<sup>th</sup> April 1899).

From 1900, in the magazine *Gradina*, he began publishing the first chapters of his novel *Impure Blood*, which appeared as a whole only in 1910. This novel is the best known Stanković's work. Though he had begun it as the social novel, he gradually transformed it into the novel of personalities. In addition to main characters, Sofka and master Marko, there are no many other characters in it. Everything is about turmoil, conflict of the old and new, and the basic topic is Eros, permeating the characters in its various forms: "In this novel, Stanković showed various forms of sexual deviations occurring as the consequence of non-satisfied passion" (J. Deretić). Nevertheless, it is not lust, brutal and non-restricted, it is delicate yearning and indefinite, somewhat gloomy fantasy about love. More spiritual than bodily.

The year of 1902, was very significant for Bora Stanković: his second collection of short stories, *Olden Days*, was published. As it was the case in his previous book, the topic of this book also included Vranje and its people, love between the members of different classes. In 1902, he also published *God's People*. These, very short stories, even sketches, only hint at, mostly describe, events from the town cemetery, and the characters are always beggars, fools. The following was

said by Stanković about this collection: "I collected and presented specific kind of people, the generation of Vranje before the liberation. Those were beggars, blind people, fortune tellers, healers, herbs collectors, etc. They all lived of mercy. Because, the following was believed: whatever is given to them, they eat it for the peace of the souls of the dead as if it were given to the dead and as if they, the dead, eat it. Among those, there were some who were considered saints, God people".

In the same year of 1902, his drama *Koštana* was played at the National Theatre in Belgrade, after which it was printed.

Also, in 1902, Stanković finished the Faculty of Law in Belgrade and married Angelina Milutinović. In 1903, he began publishing the first parts of novel *Master Mladen*, which he did not finish. 1903–1904, he stayed in Paris, with which he was not delighted. After this travel, he worked as a clerk, customs officer, tax administrator, and controller of the National Excise Duty Administration at Bajloni's brewery. Before the World War I, he was the clerk of the Ministry of Education Clerical Unit.

Contemporary reviewers, personalised in Skerlić, did not recognise the value of Stanković's work: "His short stories are not connected, developed, often lack harmony, episodes are developed at the detriment of the whole, descriptions overwhelm the plot, dialogue is hard and broken, it often resembles muttering, syntax is insecure, lacking general literacy" (Jovan Skerlić).

During the World War I, he withdrew from Belgrade; in October 1915, he left his family in Kraljevo, then he went to Niš, then to Montenegro, where he was captivated in Podgorica. He was interned in Derventa, however, thanks to the fact that he was recognised, he was released and returned to Belgrade. After he had avoided the prison camp, he was accused of lack of patriotism. After the liberation, he was boycotted, because of which he ceased writing. Only in 1920 was he employed at the Ministry of Education Art Unit.

In 1928, his two collections of short stories *From My Area* and *My Acquaintances*, plays *Tašana* and *Jovča* were published, and in 1929 his

book of war memories *Under the Occupation* was published.

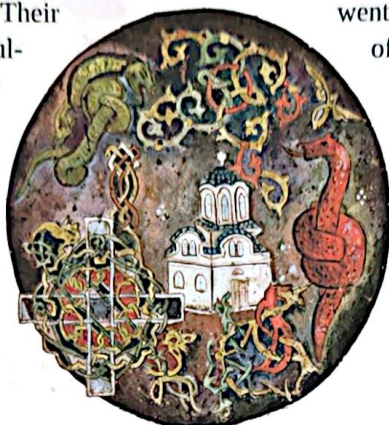
He was writing in a difficult manner, always annoyingly: "No, I do not like working. It is difficult; it is like a man digging" (Bora Stanković). In return, he left behind him the distinguished work, completely oriented to old Vranje and its local oriental ambient, "old Balkan life with a distinguished kind of patriarchy substantially different than patriarchal relations in western, Dinara areas, which were depicted by previous narrators" (J. Deretić).

In Vranje and its surrounding, the Middle East and the Balkan West meet, Serbian epic sediments vanish in Vranje and lyrical waves begin. Stanković deals with and tackles the "feeling of deep longing called 'sevdah' in Turkish, and the feeling of hardship called 'dert'. Indeed, these are the two feelings which remain unknown to other areas of heroic rhapsody, which seem insufficiently Serbian, even insufficiently Slavic" (Jovan Dučić).

Stanković intensely felt life "all beauties and charms of the earthly life, he had the insatiable and delicate senses for receiving sweetness of life, while, at the same time, his enthusiasm was continually darkened by the awareness that everything is earthly, fleshly, subjective to supreme and inexorable, laws of getting old, gradual ugliness, death, decay, and nothing of failed individual beauty may be saved and resist rotting" (Veljko Petrović). For Stanković, patriarchal model is not correct or ideal, on the contrary, imposed by the strongest social group, it burdens, it is predominant, lacks understanding for the exceptional powerful Eros of Stanković's characters. Love, especially between the members of different classes, is never finally achieved – the environment does not allow it. Stanković always describes "buried love, wasted life, and eternal grief for something". As said by Isidora Sekulić: "Here are our roots. They were written by Bora Stanković presenting the environment."

None of our writers has paid so much attention to the destiny of women as Bora Stanković did. They are inhibited, subordinate to patriarchal society, having no possibility to express their feelings and needs. Even when they have a chance to

be released from invisible chains, they are incapable of doing so. Such women's world is called by Stanković "the world intersected with the dense network of boundaries". Their yearnings always remain unfulfilled. But, it was not only the case with women, "there is not any other our writer describ-



ing people craving for each other so much, and, despite of it, they remain introverted, without any power of expressing themselves, as if they went numb. The deepest silence, a kind of cavern, sinister quietness prevails in family relations" (J. Deretić).

Borisav Stanković passed away on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1927.

# ALEKSANDAR OBRENOVIĆ

## Serbian King

The National Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbia met on 15<sup>th</sup> March 1893 and began the endless discussions about who won the mandates at the elections. However, King Aleksandar Obrenović made the coupe already on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1893: though it took him one year and several months until his age of majority, he declared the age of majority, laid-off his regents, and dismissed the (liberal) government. Dr Lazar Dokić, the King's teacher, got the mandate to form the new government. Dokić was the moderate radical. That night, from the first to the second April, new ministers were brought to the court, and the King was visiting military barracks and received the oath of fidelity from the army. It is how this coup was finished: not a drop of blood was spilt and, as far as it is known, there was no violence.

People knew very little about Crown Prince Aleksandar, however, he immediately turned out to be quite a special person. He was a bit older than 16 and was more resourceful than some experienced politicians, especially Ristić.

Until then, Aleksandar had lived at the court under the strict supervision. Completely separated from everything, having been only in the company of officers, under the continuing surveillance, he managed to develop some characteristics which were quite contrary to those a young man of his age should have. His teacher slept with him in the same room, his letters were opened, his diary was stolen, he was accompanied by a group of soldiers whenever he went for a walk. He lived like a captive. He was burdened with learning, he had never had less than six classes a day, he was learning four languages, military science and law, and, on the

top of all this, he was taught various other skills. He spent summers camping with military troops.

He was rarely seen by Serbian people, only on the occasion of some major celebrations. He was very tall and large. Due to his short-sightedness he began wearing glasses early. His behaviour was not lightsome. Having been rather clumsy, he did not have military features. However, he was very intelligent, he had an envious knowledge, good memory, he was interested in philosophical issues, all of his teachers praised his lucidity and acumen.

He was not interested in any passions and parties: he was not interested in hunting, even less in riding, he did not smoke, he did not drink, he rarely played cards, and gambling was unknown to him. He was always gentle and kind, he never demonstrated disdain, even to the servants. In contrast to his father Milan and mother Natalie, he was capable of being funny and joyful. Aleksandar possessed a great self-control.

He had never shown his real feelings and thoughts to anyone. They could not even be revealed to his parents when they, in their mutual fights, endeavoured to win him over. His thoughts and feelings could never be revealed on his face. In the morning, on 1<sup>st</sup> April, he was calm and cool-headed, he took the examination in civil law and made the coupe at night. During the dinner, the ministers did not notice anything though all of them were experienced politicians in Serbia. They were deceived like never before. King Aleksandar acted in a confident and overweening manner. He was even capable of surprising his parents in this manner.

Since he wanted to regain the country of his father, King Milan, King Aleksandar took another unusual move – with his decree of 9<sup>th</sup> (21<sup>st</sup>) May 1894, he repealed the Constitution of 1888 and re-enacted the old Constitution of 1869. Historians state that, within only 14 months, it was the second coupe of King Aleksandar to set the rule, and with the second one, he wanted to return King Milan to Serbia. In this second one, King Aleksandar was supported by the army and a part of the Conservative Party. He did not rely on the governmental bureaucracy, he did not trust it, he saw the only real safety in the army.

In January 1895, King Aleksandar travelled to Paris with his father where they were received by President Faure. After that, he was with his mother, Queen Natalie, in Biarritz. Then, the positions of King Aleksandar were reversed – he fell under the influence of his mother. Perhaps, all this may be understood as the hypocrisy of King Aleksandar, maybe, he, actually, used both his father Milan and his mother Queen Natalie, not vice versa.

When King Milan came to Serbia in 1894, he abolished the Constitution, crashed the radicals, expelled the radical leaders from the country, it seemed that he did so in accordance with Aleksandar's desires. He eliminated the most difficult obstacles for his rule, due to which he was much appreciated by his son. But, at the same time, Aleksandar managed to see many other Milan's characteristics which he disliked. Aleksandar was the King in Serbia, not Milan, which the latter frequently disregarded. In addition, Aleksandar heard that he was called "the junior King" and his father was called "the old ruler". It is known that the actual rule is with the ruler. Of course, it was not pleasing to Aleksandar, but he was always able to be quiet.

At that time, Draga Mašin was the maid of honour at the court of Queen Natalie. From 1895, the love of King Aleksandar and Draga began to be developed. Actually, they were courting for some longer time, but their love was disclosed only in the spring of 1897. In the autumn of that year, she came to Belgrade. That King Aleksandar was fond of Draga was known to many, but no one paid any special attention to it.

Draga Mašin was 12 years older than King Aleksandar (she was born on 23<sup>rd</sup> September

1866). She was married to engineer Svetozar Mašin, who was 15 years her senior and she became the widow after three years of their marriage. She barely survived with a low pension, but she had several rich friends who supported her. She had no children with her husband and it was known that she could not give birth. Actually, she was of the significant origin, her grandfather Nikola Lunjevica, was very close to Prince Miloš Obrenović. In her time, Draga was very educated, she knew several foreign languages, she even translated a foreign novel. It is unknown how she came to the position of Queen Natalie's maid of honour. She had been with her since 1891: "I trusted her honesty more than my own" (Queen Natalie).

Draga Mašin enjoyed rather high reputation, and the majority of subsequent stories about her are not true: "The whole Belgrade knew that Draga Mašin as the widow lived with her siblings, that she was received at the best homes. It is also known that many prominent men, who put an eye on her, wanted to marry the educated widow without any dowry, though they knew that she was barren, that she was burdened with the large family, and that she is very proud of her Lunjevica and Čarapić origin, as well as her kinship with the Obrenović and Vukomanović's" (M. Stojimirović).

King Aleksandar fell in love with Draga so much, thus, he wanted her to be with him all the time, Biarritz was far away to him. His desire could be fulfilled if Queen Natalie with her court and Draga Mašin came to Belgrade. However, the Queen did not want to do so as long as King Milan was in Serbia. It was another motive for King Aleksandar to become independent and remove King Milan from Serbia, who began bothering him in executing his rule. He did it masterly.

Queen Natalie did not want to separate Aleksandar from his father Milan at low cost, her idea was that her son married Montenegrin princess, though, the relation with the Montenegrin dynasty of the Petrović's would be the worst of any possible insults to King Milan. She chose Ksenija, the youngest daughter of Prince Nikola.

Queen Natalie was rather active in it. In April, King Aleksandar went to Cetinje to see the girl. He did not like her, thus, he began making a scandal, openly courting Ksenija's elder sister

Ana, who had already been proposed. Actually, at that time, King Aleksandar had already, to a high extent, planned his marriage with Draga Mašin. All this was just a show for him.

On the other hand, King Milan wanted Aleksandar to marry some of German princesses. First, he put an eye on Sibil, Hessen Princess, then he drew attention to Feodora, the Princess of Saxe-Meiningen. Milan's negotiations failed, then he made an attempt regarding Marie, the daughter of the Greek King. Nevertheless, before King Aleksandar came to Greece, Marie had been engaged to a Russian Grand Prince.

The engagement of King Aleksandar and Draga Mašin was announced in July 1900. It was a shock for many, especially for King Milan and the Government President, Djordjević, who were not in Serbia, but abroad, at spas. The wedding was performed in Belgrade at the Cathedral on 23<sup>rd</sup> July. Not one month had passed, and the King, fully satisfied, announced that Queen Draga Mašin was pregnant. In December 1900, at the opening of the National Assembly in Niš, King Aleksandar proudly repeated that the Queen would give birth: "Dear MPs, I am pleased to announce the news you will also be happy about, that I am blessed by God, and H.M. the Queen is already pregnant."

During his speech, King Aleksandar criticised his father: "because, King Milan has been removed from Serbia once and for all, accordingly, the causes hampering the situation have been eliminated, thus, any relation with the political fallacies from the past time has been ended". Actually, in such manner, the exile of King Milan from Serbia was officially declared. Unofficially, the son was much cruel to his father: "He is a rag", shouted King Aleksandar about his father in front of MPs, and then he added: "You might be afraid of him, but he will not enter this country. He will rather see that I appoint Petar Karadjordjević as a general in Niš, than having him coming back here." The MPs were notified that King Milan was rather ill, that he was dying, but King Aleksandar was reassuring them that his "papa" was only simulating.

He did not have better relations with Queen Natalie either: he threatened her with legal action due to high treason. She intentionally wrote the worst things about Draga Mašin to her friends throughout Serbia on open cards, post-cards, and

picture post-cards. In one such card, she says: "I hear that the drunkard's daughter is ill with an unusual illness. May it be that she aborts the child because of whom she has cheated her lover." Because of that, an official communication was published which stated that whoever spoke like that about the Queen, even Queen Mother Natalie, may be tried.

All this affected King Milan a lot. He survived barely six months after the wedding of his son Aleksandar and Draga Mašin. He passed away in Vienna on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1901.

On 1<sup>st</sup> April 1901, Serbia got new, the so-called "First of April" i.e. "Octroyed Constitution". It was the fifth constitution since the establishment of the new Serbian state (1835, 1838, 1869, 1888, and 1901). When it was declared, the King said that "by its solemn Royal Oath, he has made a firm decision to be an exemplary of obeying all of its provisions and to preserve it from any breach with all might of the Serbian Royal rule".

Though the pregnancy of Queen Draga was announced in August 1900, April 1901 was beginning, but there was no child birth. Foreign doctors began arriving in Belgrade, including French doctor Kole, who was the Queen's doctor and had already said that the Queen was pregnant. Since Queen Natalie immediately had suspicions about the authenticity of Draga's pregnancy, she insisted that Draga was checked by a doctor from Russia. Natalie even wrote to the Russian Tsar that it might happen that she was the god mother of a planted child. Indeed, during April 1901, the Russian Tsar sent his doctor Snegirev, who found that Draga Mašin was not pregnant at all. Then, it was also set by some other doctors. Thus, on 5<sup>th</sup> May, it was officially found out in Serbia that there was no child birth, the Queen was not pregnant.

All this was a shock to King Aleksandar, but he was not angry with Draga because of the cheat. She was lethargically lying in her bed, and he stood next to her pillow speaking her the words of love. Draga was angry with the doctors, and she was convincing everyone around her that she was pregnant, and King Aleksandar required the Government to expel those doctors from Serbia as foreign "liars". Then, Russian doctor Snegirev got angry with the King and told him that she could give birth as much as he could, that she was barren.

The King believed that Draga was pregnant. Perhaps, because of his too big desire to have a child since he did not grow up in the family environment. He was willing to believe in everything, in his letters to Draga, he stated: "Send me the baby, my baby, because you, my beautiful and white life, got to give it to me., Just imagine, when we put it in the cradle, and it smiles at us and reaches its arms towards us". Some claim that, during her relationship with Aleksandar, Draga managed to convince him that she was pregnant three times, the third time was when he married her. It is seen from some of her letters that she aborted twice, and the third time, he did not want to allow it, therefore, they were married.

It resulted in shame throughout Serbia. The official explanation, aimed at hushing it all up was not helpful. Everything indicated that Draga quite consciously lied about her pregnancy. She claimed that she was pregnant minimum twice, but Aleksandar was smarter than he did not publish such news. It was known to everyone that the position of the Serbian Queen exclusively depended on whether she would give birth to the Crown Prince. Unless she had done so, all of her faults, that she was older than the King, that she had been married, that she is of suspicious moral, etc., would be even more visible. If she had tried to make a cheat, which she, apparently, did, she did so in despair. After all this, her position was not easy at all. It was officially confirmed that she was barren, which has always been the biggest disadvantage of a queen. Draga could not fulfil her only task, to give birth to successor to the throne.

The scandal was spread throughout Europe. In almost all foreign newspapers, verses, texts, caricatures were published, everyone was mocking Draga's false pregnancy, her cheat, secret illnesses. King Aleksandar was called a mug who was caught by a whore. No one believed in King Aleksandar any more, as well as in Serbia the throne of which is occupied by such a man. The reputation of the dynasty and the state was degraded.



Yet, the most important question was who would succeed the royal throne in Serbia? It became clear that Draga could not give birth. Russia recommended King Aleksandar to wait for two or three more years, and then to consider adopting the Crown Prince. This might be the exact motive of the subsequent assassination of the royal couple. Namely, some rumours occurred that King Aleksandar made a decision to adopt Nikola Lunjevica, younger brother of Queen Draga. In such manner, the latter would be the future king of Serbia. Though King Aleksandar denied these rumours, it was rumoured in Belgrade that the date of the adoption had already been determined. The King's denial was rather non-convincible. Nikola Lunjevica himself had already been called "Highness" by some crawlers – he did not object to this, neither did King Aleksandar.

The King's denial "that now it is not appropriate to discuss the issue of the succession or that it will be necessary to discuss it for a long time" was not so convincing to anyone. It was the situation which prevailed, and rumours continued.

All of these events were the inspiration to Radoje Domanović to write his famous short stories *Stradija* and *The Stamp* in which he presented the satirical picture of Serbia and its ruler. Actually, Domanović presented the King as a drunkard who does not deserve to be at the throne, but only in these short stories. In his short story *The Leader*, Domanović, also satirically, described Nikola Pašić.

A group of people dissatisfied with such situation at the court became the group of conspirators, which included many known persons. The King's dictatorship was not a problem to any of them. Genčić was even the advocate of personal regime. The situation was similar with other citizens. No one advocated for republic or constitutional regime to restrict the King's rule. Almost all of them were, actually, the Obrenovići, no supporters of the Karadjordjević dynasty were among them. The conspiracy was exclusively focused to King Aleksandar and Queen Draga. Genčić was considered their enemy, because he was not opposing the King in any manner whatsoever.

Most probably, the Karadjordjevićs took part in the conspiracy from the beginning, it is certain that they were aware of it, approved it, and were willing to use it. Petar Karadjordjević sent the letter to the conspirators in which he was bound to the following: "I, Petar Karadjordjević, swear with my honour, that as long as I and my antecedents will be at the Serbian throne, the conspirators and their descendants will not be prosecuted, on the contrary, the top positions will be ensured for them." A half of Belgrade people knew that the conspiracy was being developed, the impression is gained that only the royal couple was unaware of that: "It is certain that not any conspiracy to kill a king and queen was familiar to so many people in advance" (Vivian). It was obviously the sign of the extent to which the royal couple was hated, no one cared what would actually happen to them.

The conspiracy was being developed for a long time: the whole 1902 was spent in various agreements and plans. It is a real miracle that it was not detected. It was participated by over one hundred and twenty officers from Belgrade and central Serbia. Some gave it up, but no one revealed the secret. The officers were recruited by Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis and several of his closest associates. On two or three occasions it seemed as if the conspiracy was revealed, but, finally, it turned out that the police was not even close. Though the Defence Minister, Cincar Marković and the court general Lazar Petrović got some insights about the preparation of the conspiracy by the officers, none of them believed that any of the officers would break their oath given to the King and the dynasty.

King Aleksandar was also active then. He created the so-called "general" government with as many as three generals. It took 15 days to make its first move, it was obvious that he was reconsidering and planning something. Later, Pera Todorović wrote that the King, through the new Government President, Cincar Marković, wanted to effect the divorce of his marriage with Queen Draga. It is possible that it was actually the King's intention. Even some of his previous actions were changeable, no one could ever rely on his feelings and views. Why would the relation to Draga be an exception? The great love to her could, at one mo-

ment, disappear, just like it had appeared. According to such plan, Queen Draga should have travelled to Franzesbad, after which she would have been prohibited to return to Serbia.

If the King did want to get rid of Draga, were the conspirators aware of it? Their sudden decision to commit the assassination makes a confusion. Why did they suddenly make a haste since they were developing plans for almost two years, how come that such a sudden turn happened? Since they had been rather inactive until then, it seemed as if everything would remain just a rumour. Even Genčić was doubtful and criticised them for their slow action. Perhaps, Apis, through Russian, Austrian, or German secret services, found out about the King's intention, because of which he hurried up. Many years later, he was suspicious of being the German spy.

Perhaps, a great role was played by Apis' cousin, Živan Živanović, who was aware of the preparation of the conspiracy. He was the man of confidence of King Aleksandar, the conspirators could find out from him that the King was preparing to expel Queen Draga. If it had been done by Aleksandar, the conspirators would have had no excuse to remove him from the throne. The King's move of expelling Draga Mašin could have a decisive impact to the political scene of Serbia. It would have been a failure for many, above all, for the officers who were the conspirators, as well as for many politicians.

Perhaps, the great role was played by the foreign policy. There are some opinions that the King wanted to wage war with Bulgaria regarding Macedonia, perhaps, even more with Turkey. Such wars would have not suited Russia or Austria, and, to some further extent, also to Germany. Therefore, King Aleksandar was the problem for them. Their inactivity regarding the conspiracy, though they were aware of it, was not by chance. All of the sides had some of their interests in eliminating the Obrenovićs from Serbia.

Overall, it is not probable that Draga Mašin had a decisive impact to the creation of the conspiracy, she could only be one of the reasons. It is not probable that the issue of the King's wife could have such a great impact onto more than one hundred officers, numerous Serbian politi-

cians, Russia, Austria, Germany, and that all of them were involved in the assassination, and then in the turn. The Obrenović dynasty should have been replaced with the Karadjordjević dynasty. Draga Mašin was just a good cause for that.

On 1<sup>st</sup> April 1903, at his court, the King solemnly celebrated ten years since he had gained the rule, and on 19<sup>th</sup> May, the elections for the National Assembly were held. Five days later the King and the Queen were assassinated. It seemed as if the royal couple apprehended something, thus, they infrequently went to the city. Queen Draga did not leave the court for full six weeks before the assassination. The Queen was continually crying, she almost did not sleep at all. Yet, it did not even occur to them that the conspirators were there, among the officers who took care of them.

Who was the main person behind the assassination? The majority was convinced that colonel Mašin was one of the initial conspirators. Pašić thought so, and he was never wrong, or he was wrong on rare occasions. The Austrians thought the same. Less important officers who supported Mašin included Atanacković, Damnjan Popović, and Petar Mišić.

There was a long prevailing belief that the whole conspiracy was the creation of Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis, but it was, as many things in the history of Serbia, only a legend. He was, perhaps, the most influential among young officers, but nothing more than that. He was one of those who intruded the court that night, but his role was not big. He fell wounded already at the beginning, thus, he did not take part in the most important moments. When the Karadjordjevićs overtook the rule, the European forces required to eliminate the conspirators, it was the so-called "conspiracy issue". None of the European forces mentioned Apis among the conspirators, he was not even mentioned at all by Russians. Only after the World War I, to justify the Thessaloniki process and his shooting, did he become one of the main persons in the conspiracy against King Aleksandar.

At night on 29<sup>th</sup> May (11<sup>th</sup> June) 1903, a group of twenty eight officers intruded the court and assassinated King Aleksandar and Queen Dra-

ga. That night, the Government President, general Cincar Marković and the Defence Minister, Milovan Pavlović, were assassinated. It was directly ordered by colonel Mašin. Both Lunjevica brothers, Nikola and Nikodije were shot, it was personally done by Vojislav Tankosić Šilja, one of the most courageous, but also ruthless young officers. In the meantime, the army seized the key points in Belgrade: Post Office, Telegraph, City Administration. Dimitrije Nikolić, the commander of the Danube Division, was of special concern for the conspirators, since he was a loyal King's man, he adhered to his military oath. His house was surrounded by the conspirators, but he escaped them. The assassination of the Minister of Internal Affairs was not planned, but, it was, at own discretion, committed by Mašin. Todorović was only wounded, he survived.

Thirty bullets in the body of King Aleksandar and eighteen bullets in the body of Queen Draga were found. It was three o'clock and fifty minutes a.m. when they were riddled. It was not sufficient to the conspirators, they slayed the dead bodies with stabs and their sabres. The body of Queen Draga was especially the target: "Everyone stabbed his weapon into her body" (Žan de Nonfon), it was almost in pieces. From the opened court window, the army heard that the tyrant was dead. After they were thrown through the window, the corpses were moved to a room, the autopsy was made, then they were placed in the metal coffins which were transferred to one of the court lobbies. At 1 a.m. on 30<sup>th</sup> May, the metal coffins were soldered. Soldering was made at the court, and next to the coffins of King Aleksandar and Queen Draga, there were coffins in which the bodies of Laza Petrović and another assassinated officer were placed. The King's coffin was too large to be placed in hearse, thus, it was driven using the cards of the fire brigade of the Municipality of Belgrade. All this was participated by only four or five officials.

Around half past one a.m., through the barren streets of Belgrade, the coffins were transferred to the Church of St. Mark, which was surrounded by the gendarmerie. The conspirators were monitoring. The service was performed by three archpriests, one priest, and one protodea-

con, and the undertakers were digging the grave for a long time. Exactly at 3 a.m. the coffins with King Aleksandar and Queen Draga were placed in the tomb of Anka Obrenović. Thus, twenty four hours after the assassination, the royal couple was buried.

It was the successful military coupe exclusively focused to the shift of the dynasties at the Serbian throne. It is worth noticing that Prince Mihailo was assassinated on the same date as King Aleksandar. The conspirators were degraded, because they robbed deceased Laza Petrović, colonel Naumović, etc. Many things in the court were

damaged by their bayonets, especially wardrobes, beds, several expensive paintings. Subsequently, a number of the plundered things was found in London at the auction in 1904, among all, the King's uniform, the wedding dress of Queen Draga, some jewellery, even two King's medals (Turkish and Persian). It was a huge shame, and Čedomilj Mijatović wrote: "I exited the hall shaken and ashamed that I experienced to participate in the auction sales of the things of a Serbian Queen." In 1905 in Vienna, some more personal things of the royal couple plundered by the conspirators at the night of the assassination were sold.

## MILAN RAKIĆ

**M**ilan Rakić was born in 1876 in Belgrade, in a family which cherished literary tradition. His father translated Hugo, and his mother was the daughter of Milan Dj. Milićević, an academic. He completed his primary education and grammar school in Belgrade. During 1891 he published a poem *He* was in the grammar school magazine, dedicated to his late father. He enrolled faculty of law in Belgrade, and from 1898 he continued his education in Paris. He graduated in 1901 and returned to Belgrade. By then, signed by "Z", he had already published three poems in the *Književni glasnik* (1902) – a literary journal.

It was immediately obvious that the poet was formed under the influence of the French Parnassians and symbolists. He inherited aspirations towards the form perfection from them, a precision in the expression, clear expression and artistic discipline: "When it comes to the clear poetical form, he is today number one, and in the Serbian poetry there are no more mature, perfect verses than his" (Jovan Skerlić). He was and remained the poet of death, love, and patriotism, and some critics called him "the poet of thought and silence" (M. Pešić).

He was employed as a clerk in the Ministry of finance in 1903, but already the next year he transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His first poem collection was published in 1903 – *Poems*, which was received with great praise: "In the Serbian literature, since Jovan St. Popović we did not have a more intellectual poet than Rakić. Only Rakić has one great power over our old reflexive

poets; the old ones were stone cold, wise like old men, stiffly correct and highly ceremonial, while he is at the same time thoughtful and warm, literary and direct, wordy and natural, and his basically very personal and very lyrical poetry is at the same time simply human and also reflexive in a complex way." (J. Skerlić).

There is a lot of pessimism in Rakić's verses, he wrote about burden, emptiness, lack of meaning in life, spiritual and mental sadness of every person pressed by fate: "Life was, according to Rakić, sad, dark and empty, paradoxical because a man is torn between the thirst for life, for live beauty, and thoughts of death and fading. Life is full of suffering, strain and burden, robbery, and it is all in vain, passing, bloody, painful – it all falls into the depths of sadness, despair, and death" (M. Savković).

He married Milica Kovačević in 1905, the daughter of an academic and historian, Ljubomir Kovačević. That was the time when Rakić's diplomatic career began. First, he was a vice consul in Priština, and then a vice consul in Skopje and Thessaloniki, and in 1910 he returned to Priština, as the consul. In the Balkan wars he was a volunteer, and he was decorated.

His book *The New Poems* was published in 1912, after which he did not publish anything. Among his poems there are no weak ones. "He polished his verse linguistically, emotionally and thoughtfully. He did not have a weak poetry phase" (M. Milošević). He introduced new motives into the Serbian poetry, completely new lyrical moods, new style and new poetical tone: "His

verses were impeccable in their peaceful rhythm and marble beauty, and when it comes to the technique, it is the most contemporary one of artistic perfection in our poetry so far" (J. Skerlić)

Isidora Sekulić appreciated Milan Rakić's poetry very much. About his poetry, among the rest, she wrote: "Those poems are completely human; they cannot be unclear or foreign to anyone, not with their content and not with the expression. The content is healthy in every detail and humane, it praises pain, but it also praises the life happiness. The form is intuitive and educated. Rakić's poem is clear with its rhythm and plastic with its language" (I. Sekulić).

Since 1914 Rakić was the Consul General in Shkoder, and then in 1915 advisor to the mission in Bucharest, chargé d'affaires in Stockholm (1917), a Minister in Copenhagen (1918) and a Minister in Sofia (1921–1927).

He published the new collection *Poems* in 1924.

During 1927 he was transferred to Rome, where he also retired in 1933. He became a regu-

lar member of the Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences in 1934.

The new publication of the collection *Poems* was published in 1936.



Although Rakić's works are not rich in number – only two poem collections and a couple of theatre critiques – he is one of the most prominent Serbian poets. In his time, but also today, people gladly read his words, and his poetry awakens honest emotions, it is clear even today, always beautiful, always contemporary: "While reading his poems,

the musicality is so overwhelming, that

it can, very often, seduce with its tones, so that one thinks more of a tone unit and the musical expression than the purely lyrical-verbal expression. Sometimes, especially in the earlier poems, the tones are so harmonized that the poem is no longer read, but, it could be said that it is musically experienced" (B. Lazarević).

Milan Rakić passed away on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1938 and he was buried at the New Graveyard in Belgrade. At Isidora Sekulić's initiative, a monument was set for him on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1938.

## ISIDORA SEKULIĆ

Isidora Sekulić was born on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1877 in Mošorin in Bačka. She spent almost all of her childhood in Ruma and in Zemun. Her father had a great influence on her as she grew up without a mother. However, he also died quickly. In Novi Sad, she studied at the High School for girls, and in Sombor, at the Serbian teachers' college. She studied at the Higher Education faculty in Budapest. After she graduated she got a job as a teacher at the Serbian Higher School for girls in Pančevo. During 1909 she moved to the Kingdom of Serbia, where she worked as a teacher at the Higher School for girls in Šabac. During 1911 she taught in Belgrade as a teacher at the Girls' Grammar School. From 1919 she worked in the Second Grammar School for girls.

She published her collection of short stories *Travel Companions* in 1913. The famous Skerlić immediately reacted negatively: "Who can in the year of 1913 – one of our most deciding years of the whole history, at the moment when, ever since we exist, the most of the Serbian blood has been spilt, in this scary whirlpool of events – think of farewell crisis, spinning and flipping of a small I, and the artistic composition of phrase cobwebs? The exotic book of Miss Isidora Sekulić has arrived at the most inconvenient hour possible, so inconvenient that it seems profane even to write about it". Skerlić could never understand Isidora. On the other hand, Antun Gustav Matoš had nothing but praise for her work: "The play and poem style, the nerve and nerve endings style, full of unexpected details, the microscopic style and the harsh, critical, and nervous female eye, the words dancing like the female flies and capris. With such style, nothing becomes something."

The book itself is crucial for the further creative path of Isidora Sekulić. She wrote about loneliness, longing, headache, and actually, she was asking questions about herself and the phenomena around herself. Her sentence was even then all made of "breath, hearing, and temperament. It is fighting with the language and immediate creation of language, and not only with the means of communication. She expanded the functions of language, gave it meaning which comes out of itself, from the inner energy of the sum of the characteristics and features of the native culture, which is added and layered in such language" (Živorad Stojković).

Isidora Sekulić was a great traveller: in 1913 she travelled through Norway, after which she published a travelogue *Letters from Norway* (1914), a long essay about the country and the people, which expressed her thought aspirations as a writer, who does not only present her experience of nature and images of the landscapes she passes through, but also her thoughts on the people and their lives, and the unbreakable connection between nature and people's fate" (Jovan Deretić).

Her books attracted the attention of her contemporaries, such as Matoš and Skerlić. Skerlić was not nice at some moments; he called her style brilliant, but bizarre. Matoš was especially inspired, describing Isidora's style and language as virtuoso: "The play and poem style, the nerve and nerve endings style, full of unexpected details, the microscopic style and the harsh, critical, and nervous female eye, the words dancing like the female flies and capris. With such style, nothing becomes something." These works are lyrical

meditative literature with topics of a general character (titles *Longing, Loneliness, Nostalgia* etc.). There is a complete lack of subjectivity, emotions and any kind of directness; it is all intellectual self-analysis and generalisation.

From 1915, Isidora Sekulić lived in Skopje. During the World War I she lived in Soko Banja and in Belgrade. Since 1919 she was a teacher at the Second Grammar School for girls. During 1920 she published a novel *The Deacon of Virgin Mary Church*, and a collection of short stories *From the Past*, telling about the events from the World War I.

She obtained her PhD in Germany in 1922. From 1926 she worked at the Yugoslav embassy in London. Until then, she travelled through several European countries. As a representative of the national female organisations, she participated at the international female congresses.

A short story collection *The Chronicle of a Small Town Cemetery*, possibly her best work, was published in 1940, and the second part was published in 1958. The collection has seven short stories in total, some of which are, by their size, novels in fact. All of them speak about the fate of transience and decay. In fact, it is a sad, but also a peaceful history about large but unfinished lives which crossed hers at one point. "It is her highest reach towards philosophical serenity" (Dragoljub Jovanović). Isidora Sekulić shows a special understanding and sensitivity for ethical and moral issues of humans, and especially for human feeling of one's own mortality and the consciousness that with the effort of the spirit, traces can remain. Every short story, chronicle, is in fact a variation on the theme of death. In the foreword to the first book dedicated it to her father, she says: "two of us, although both still young – each with their own youth – noticed the chronicles of our small towns, villages and cemeteries, probably under the hunch that we will be forgotten in the third generation of a civilized family and in the second generation of an educated one."

After the World War II Isidora Sekulić was the first President of the Association of Writers of Serbia. She was chosen at that time to be a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences. In 1948, she published the book *Records of my People*, which is about the events from both wars. She

cherished the national pride in these short stories; she narrates about the ordinary man and his heroism. They are more of a historical document.

Isidora Sekulić's book *Speech and language cultural review of the nation* was published in 1956 and after that one, the famous *To Njegoš – a Book of Deep Devotion*, and *Peace and Restlessness*, were published in 1957. In the book *To Njegoš – a Book of Deep Devotion* Isidora remained consistent with her ideas and principles: "For her, Njegoš is Serbian, the Montenegrins are Serbian, the word God deserves to be capitalized, and Orthodox Christianity is the best one, if not the only right religion. But her power was so big that even communists appreciated her like that. Who else could write such a piece about our greatest writer?" (Dragoljub Jovanović).

Isidora Sekulić was a translator and a literary critic as well. In fact, she entered literature with translations and articles about foreign writers. Her first critique was published in 1910 and since then, she wrote numerous critiques, which were collected in three books in 1940, under the name of *Analytical Moments and Themes*.

Without doubt, Isidora Sekulić is the first great woman of the Serbian literature. Furthermore, she is one of the most unique writers of the Serbian literature: "Isidora Sekulić constantly confronted her own word with herself, proved it on herself, sometimes proved a couple of truths, or messages, or worry – and in such ordinariness, such simplicity, in fact, she looked for the real worth of her profession" (Živorad Stojković). She thought of art as the highest possibility of spiritual expression – only through art can a human surpass the limits of his own existence. She thought of it as a religion and a tragedy at the same time: "Without the mystic adventures of the spirit, there is no great art", she wrote. Also, she understood that "in order to be a proper writer, it is necessary not to be rich, not to be famous, and not to have much happiness".

Isidora Sekulić passed away on April 5<sup>th</sup> 1958. She was ill for a long time but she ordered not to be put in a hospital while conscious, to be buried in an uncoloured wooden casket, wrapped in white linen, without flowers, without speeches. She gifted all her books to the University Library of Belgrade.

## PETAR KOČIĆ

**P**etar Kočić was born on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1877 in the village of Stričići in Zmijanje near Banja Luka. His father was a priest. After the death of his wife, he became a monk and soon became a prior of Gomionica monastery, where Petar went to primary school. He continued his studies at the grammar school in Sarajevo, but because of his nationalistic views and ideas, he was expelled from the third grade. After that, he went to Belgrade for further education (1899). He finished his studies in Vienna in 1904.

His life was so hard in Vienna that he did not eat for days, but he was happy, independent and able "not to give a dime about other's opinion". He was a diligent student. He was writing and publishing short stories in the magazines *Bosanska vila*, *Brankovo kolo*, etc. The first of them was *Tube* from 1901.

His short stories, collected in the book *From the Top of a Mountain and under the Mountain* were published in 1902.

He attracted the critics' attention immediately, so the journal *Bosanska vila*, (n. 23 from 1902) says: "Whoever reads two stories from that collection: *Lombardy Poplar*, and *Sweet Soul's Grave*, he will run to get the first book of although young, our best writer from this Serbian region". Skerlić spared no praise either: "... these bright, bold and full of life stories reveal a talented writer, with a real and original talent".

In 1904 his second collection of short stories was published, under the same title as the previous one: *From the Top of a Mountain and under the Mountain*. He devoted it in the "memory of Djura Jakšić, a genius". This very collection in-

cludes *Badger before the Court*, the short story which was made into a play later, and, within a short time period it was played in almost all Serbian theatres and obtained a huge success. Skerlić did not praise the *Badger* very much, he did not understand it, but he really appreciated the language style in which the short stories were written: "well-chosen, clear, liquid vernacular language". On the other hand, Pavle Lagarić could not praise it enough: "Kočić. Doesn't the name sound strong, powerful, like the sound of an axe hitting an old, strong cornel tree? I imagine him, a tall, strong, powerful as the mountain wind, ready to struggle with our poor culture with his full, robust, unexhausted force?"

In the fall of 1904 he secretly married Milka Vukmanović. He spent some time in Belgrade, without a job, living a "really poor and miserable life" (Pavle Lagarić). From 1905 he worked as a teacher of the Serbian language and literature at a Serbian grammar school in Skopje, where, because of his text *A Smashing Wedding*, published in *The Politka*, he had a conflict with Archimandrite Sava, an administrator of the Serbian Skopje Diocese, so he was transferred to Bitola. He rejected this punishment, which he considered undeserved, so he went to Sarajevo.

During 1905 he published the third collection of short stories under the title of *From the Top of a Mountain and under the Mountain*.

From 1906 he worked in Sarajevo as an officer at Sarajevo's *Prosvjeta* (publishing house). He was fired under the accusation of organising the villagers into a rebellion, and when he was convicted as the organiser of a general strike in

1906, he was expelled from Sarajevo to Banja Luka.

In 1907 in Sarajevo he started publishing a journal called *Otadžbina*. A group gathered around this journal was soon named "Kočić's group". They supported Serbian, anti-Austrian ideology; they demanded an agrarian reform, the liberation of the serfs etc. That is how Kočić came into a conflict not only with rich Muslim families, but the Serbian ones as well. His journal was suffocated. Not long after that, Kočić spent two months chained in a dungeon because of a proclamation against the imperial governor. He was sentenced to fifteen more months there because of his article *Gunpowder Smells*.

From the beginning, Kočić was against the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. In 1909 he was chosen to be a member of the Bosnian parliament. As a politician, Kočić did not advance further than the village tribune, full of national and social energy, passionate, impetuous and very abstruse, but above all, honest and selfless, he was not able to let go of anything. He was often misused by others. Because of politics, he was less concerned with literature, although Skerlić told him "Don't do politics; anyone can do it. Do literature, which only you can do in your country".

In 1910 in Sarajevo he started publishing a journal called *Otadžbina*. In Banja Luka he published an entertaining journal of fiction *Razvitak*. The same year, he published the fourth collection of short stories, *Howls from Zmijanje*. While in the previous short stories he included tradition occasionally and as secondary to other things, this book is full of it; while he used to idealise it and dress it up, here he includes it without barriers, closer to the life of that time. The writer considered that book to be the history of his homeland, while the literary critics saw it as a literary work and gave it a bad rating. However, nobody could diminish the value of the beautiful language and style: "When it comes to the clarity of the language and freshness of the style, beautiful local language, without forced and excessive provin-

cialisms, Kočić can serve as an example to his fellow writers, who happily and very frequently misuse both the local colour and the local language" (*Srpski književni glasnik*, vol. XXIV, n. 4/1910).

In 1912, his larger short story, *Trials* was published, which had been published in parts in several literature journals, and then collected in a book. During his stay at the hospital, he was thinking of making a play out of this political satire about the state of the society in Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time (mostly about the court), but he never did so. *Trials* was the last major literary work of Petar Kočić.

Kočić's short stories are the first of all passionate national and social protests, directed to the economical subjugation of the Serbian peasants in Bosnia. That is why they can never be separated from his political work: "Love for the fatherland, for the Serbian culture, homeland and the Bosnian people, tragic experience of slavery under the foreign rule, the relationship with nature, in which a deep connection and love towards the Bosnian landscapes, towards the wild homeland mountains, mixes with the fear from dull chaos – those are some of the issues which connect all the works of this writer" (J. Deretić). However, there was so much poetry in them that they could withstand all the tests of time, even when, because they belong to issues history, all the social allusions disappear out of them. Describing nature and life at the countryside, Kočić writes his best lines. With Bora Stanković, he is the pioneer of the Serbian lyric writing. He is considered the founder of the so-called "subjective short story". Some of his short stories are quite prominent: *Lombardy Poplar*, *Wolf's Meadow*, *In the Fog*, *Through the Fog*, *Through the Blizzard*, *Through the Light*, *Sweet Soul's Grave*, *Archpriest from Mračaj*.

As years passed by, Kočić was becoming mentally ill, and that is why he had to go to Belgrade in 1914. He was put in a psychiatric hospital, where during the war and Austrian occupation, on 28<sup>th</sup> August 1916, he passed away. The last that he wrote was "In slavery I was born, in slavery I lived, in slavery, I died".

# JOVAN SKERLIĆ

Jovan Skerlić was born on 8 August 1877 in Belgrade, in a family of craftsmen, where he completed elementary school and grammar school. He graduated from the Higher School in 1899 in the French Language and Literature and Theory of Literature. From 1899 to 1901 he studied in Lausanne and Paris, and during 1901 he obtained his doctorate from the Sorbonne. From 1899 he worked as a trainee grammar school teacher at a grammar school in Belgrade, but the following year he was fired for a short time for political reasons. He was quickly returned to the same position. From 1901 he was an Assistant Professor at the Higher School in French Language and Literature and Theory of Literature. Again in 1902 he was fired, so he went to Zaječar, but soon returned to Belgrade, where he was elected the Assistant Professor at the Higher School, and during 1903/04 academic year, he was in Munich and Paris to study. During 1905 he was elected the Associate Professor of the Theory of Literature at the Higher School, but, as he was not confirmed, he was elected the Associate Professor of Serbian literature at Belgrade University.

From his early days Skerlić tried to pursue literature, he used to write light literary works of satiric character (verse and prose) mainly, and published them in newspapers *Šaljivčina*, *Geđa*, *Zvezda* and some other. He used to translate French poetry, mostly of Victor Hugo. He was said to write love poems as well, but nothing was preserved, nor published, probably Skerlić himself destroyed everything. He also wrote several

short stories depicting life in Belgrade – some of them were printed in the *Serbian Literary Gazette*. He signed them as “Belgrader.”

Skerlić early realized that he belonged more to literary reviews and history than to pure literature. His first works are *A Realistic Novel* (1898) and *On Semi centennial of Zmaj* (1899), followed by *On Jovan Dučić's Poems* (1902), etc., and in 1901 he published his PhD dissertation *French Public Opinion about Political and Social Poetry from 1890 to 1848*.

Skerlić left several published books: *Jakov Ignjatović, A Literary Study* (1904), *Youth and its Literature, Study of National and Literary Romanticism of the Serbs* (1906), *Serbian Literature in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (1909), *Svetozar Marković, his Life, Work and Ideas* (1909), *Historical Overview of Serbian Press* (1911).

The book *History of New Serbian Literature*, published in 1914 is considered to be the synthesis of his entire work. It is extraordinary, capital work, at the time a critical synthesis of the Serbian history of literature. Skerlić failed to include a large number of writers in it, who had hitherto been worth as recognized poets, novelists and storytellers (Vladan Djordjević, Matija Ban, Dragutin Ilić). Guided by purely aesthetic criteria and a sense of pure intellectual values, he made many enemies. It was a real rolling of literary heads, for what one should have the courage.

In addition to the above-mentioned books, his scattered articles that deal with literary reviews of books and writers, were gathered into 9 books and entitled *Writers and Books*.

As of his youth Skerlić was a member of the Serbian Social Democratic Party, so that he published his articles in the *Journal of Craftsmen*, the *Social Democrat*, the *Workers' Newspapers*, as well as in pure party newspapers *Forward*, *Labours' Newspapers*, etc., but in 1904 he was expelled from the party. Upon setting up the Independent Radical Party he became its member and editor of the *Daily Newspaper* (1904–1912). During 1912 he was elected people's deputy in the Kragujevac district. As of 1912 Skerlić was a leader of the left group within the Radical Party, and his speech at the Assembly against "bankocracy" used to be mentioned many times (1914).

Skerlić pursued politics almost as much as literature. Unless he died young, it is possible that he would completely have committed himself to politics. He began as a socialist, and finished as one of the parliamentary leaders of independent radicals. In his writings he often expressed appreciation for Karl Marx, however, he was not a Marxist. In his political writings he preaches moral liberation and social blessing of an individual. He was a democrat and he believed in the progress of mankind. He saw historical process as a great movement of the masses of people towards the increasing liberation, but also towards increasing enlightenment.

Many times Skerlić was named an apostle of modern Yugoslav nationalism, so that younger political groups in the areas under Austro-Hungary saw him as an ideologue and leader. He used to travel and teach a lot. In the *Serbian Literary Gazette* he initiated a large operation to replace the Cyrillic script with the Latin one, so as to, as he would say, "have desegregated and formal confluence of Serbo-Croatian literature into one".

Without any doubt, Jovan Skerlić is one of the greatest names in Serbian literature. More than any other literary critic before and after him, he worked on a concrete study and critical evaluation of Serbian literature. Besides Jovan Cvijić, he is our most prolific cultural worker; he managed to resurrect the entire Serbian literature of the eighteenth century from oblivion, to remind readers of a forgotten Jacob Ignjatović, etc. He remained a consistent supporter of the idea of "democratization of art". As he used to say: "Art is a plant that

sprouts from people. If it wants to live, it ought to return to its true source, to wide and fresh mass of people. Like to everything else, people are entitled to the flower of human thought, to art."

During the two full decades of work he was the bearer of national literature: "The development of Serbian literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century moves between the two epochal events, the First Uprising, and the World War I, between the two personalities, Vuk Karadžić and Jovan Skerlić, and between the two books of milestone significance, Vuk's *Serbian Folk Poems*, whose first essay was released in 1814, and Skerlić's *History of New Serbian Literature*, which appeared exactly one hundred years later" (Jovan Deretić).

Skerlić was a disciple of the French school, he knew how to, using clear and consistent style, bring enthusiasm, strength and fiery boldness in his texts, in a beautiful, harmonious, and logical manner. There is no logical rigor and scientific exactness, nor the dryness and harshness of the expression in his work: "By his fate and talent and ambition, Skerlić was the bedrock, therefore the ideas and taste of his, were primarily the ideas and taste of racial bedrock, and only then the ideas and taste of modern facade, luxury and variations." In the same way "he did not like literature that strives only to excite and arouse interest. His aesthetic was the aesthetics of bedrock, the aesthetics accountable to a higher goal, and being as such, he defended this aesthetics from all infections and charlatanism with all the forces." (Isidora Sekulić).

He was an excellent writer, though not exactly a model stylist. Although a French disciple, in his reviews, he left its strictly artistic viewpoint. He managed to make the literary review of his time "become far more literary than it had ever been", become "an independent and developed literary genre".

Skerlić required more intrinsic value from literary works, the perfect form and expression were less important to him. Bogdan Popović particularly highlighted Skerlić's "ability to find a compacted and witty phrase for expressing his grade or opinion that clearly characterizes the trait, and the matter is immediately classified, and carved in the mind as a label of thoughts" that

## JOVAN SKERLIĆ

“with a few magisterial critical strokes, abstracts the core of the work and determines a precise artistic character, the physiognomy of the writer and the work.” Because of all this, Skerlić managed to become a “kind of supreme literary judge and undisputed director of developing course of Serbian literature of his time and had a great con-

tribution in making Serbian prose closer to the European level” (G. Mladenović).

Jovan Skerlić passed away on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1914. B. Popović then wrote that Jovan Skerlić was such a critic “that we have never lost a more significant one than him, and that, all in all, we will never have a more significant one than him”.



# MILUTIN MILANKOVIĆ

**M**ilutin Milanković was born on 16 May 1879 in Dalj in Slavonia, to father Milan and mother Jelisaveta. In his native town he completed primary school, Grammar School in Osijek, a polytechnic in Vienna, where in 1904, as the first Serb who obtained a doctorate degree in technics, was promoted to Doctor of Technical Sciences: «That year of doctorate was a crucial point for my spiritual development and subsequent scientific development. During the year I became acquainted with the vastness of sciences and their beauties. First of all, I saw that the statics which I had then mastered, is a space for a great deeds, as Macedonia had been for Alexander, so I used to have a persistent look beyond the borders» (Milutin Milanković).

Even during his studies, he entered the circle around the Serbian association "Zora" and became a member of the Slovenian Glee in Vienna. Upon completing his studies, he began to work in a Viennese company dealing with concrete structures. Working on constructing dams, bridges, viaducts, etc., he gained a lot of building experience. His first works were related to derivation of basic equations to determine the reinforcement of concrete girders. At the same time, Milanković's technical inventions and patents in the field of application of reinforced concrete were supreme in Europe.

Upon annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908, Milanković decided to leave Austria: "I felt that I was not at the right place. I feel that I have been in a hostile country." He came to Belgrade in 1909, and with the support of Professor Mihailo Petrović Alas and Jovan Cvijić, PhD, he was elected an associate professor

of applied mathematics at the Faculty of Philosophy: "On 1<sup>st</sup> October 1909, I sat down in a train and set out to Belgrade. On that day a thirty-year period of my life ended in the former Habsburg monarchy, as well as the time of my youth. I felt it clearly and painfully, probably because the first, light, autumn rain began to sip on my way" (Milutin Milanković).

By 1908 he was mainly engaged in technics, and as of then in applied mathematics, astronomy and climatology. His calculations on the moon surface temperature, the origin of planetary downpour and climatology on Mars were fascinating.

He interrupted his scientific work due to the Balkan wars. In 1914 he married Hristina Topuzović from Sarajevo, and the beginning of the First World War found him honeymooning in Dalj. Austrians arrested and interned him first to the general camp, and then to Budapest where he was placed in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences where he spent four years.

While being interned, he completed manuscript *Theorie Mathématique Des Phénomènes Thermiques Produits Par La Radiation Solaire* and he published this book in Paris in 1920. The main idea of this paper is to determine the temperatures of the earth and planets and their temporal changes from the intensity of solar rays, on daily, annual and centurial basis: "I strained my eyes as much as I could and looked over there, far, far, far away. It seemed to me that I saw what was going on there" (Milutin Milanković). It is this theory of his that was the main subject of discussion at the congress of scientists – naturalists in September 1924 in Innsbruck.

Milanković put forward the theory that life on Earth will gradually fade, but then a similar one would develop on Venus. He also gave a theory of ice ages and interesting calculations about how the Egyptian pyramids were constructed. He clarified his theory of the solar radiation in the book *Canon of the Earth Insolation and its Application to the Ice Age Problem* in 1941. At the end of the twentieth century, the book was voted one of the wisest books of the century. Largely thanks to this book NASA ranked Milanković among the fifteen most brilliant minds of the world who “made a revolution in understanding climate, atmosphere, oceans and environment.”

As of 1920, Milanković became a corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy, and from 1924 an ordinary one: “I gave an inauguration speech (...) on 7<sup>th</sup> March 1925 at the celebration of his Academy. Over three decades I have participated in the work of the Academy as its first member... “(Milutin Milanković)

During 1923 he made a reform of calendar year. He did this upon the request of the state, and along with Patriarch Gavriilo Dožić, he went to the Congress of Orthodox churches in Istanbul. Milanković was supposed to, as a delegate and together with the Metropolitan of Montenegro and the Littoral, Gavriilo Dožić, the Patriarch to be, participate in the Orthodox Congress and expose the reform proposal which was approved by the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Milutin Milanković thoroughly planned this project. He collected all the available literature on the calendars and carefully studied Trpković’s proposal. The reform he proposed to Constantinople was unanimously adopted, and upon his return

to Belgrade he received acknowledgements from Patriarch Meletios. Presentation of the calendar caused the delight of patriarch and delegates present, so the Orthodox Churches accepted Milanković’s or Revised Julian calendar as of 1924 onwards (the Bulgaria Orthodox Church only as of 1963). The Calendar has been adopted by 10 out of the 14 autocephalous Orthodox churches so far and they are: Constantinople (Ecumenical) Patriarchate (according to the “priority of honour” among the Orthodox churches it was the first), Patriarchate of Alexandria (second), Patriarchate of Antioch (third), Greek Orthodox Church (11), Cyprus Church (10), Bulgarian Orthodox Church (eighth), Romanian Orthodox church (seventh), etc. *The Serbian Church* did not accept the calendar, even though it practically “delegated” it to the Orthodox.

Regarding the rest of his works, some one hundred of them, the textbooks worth mentioning are: *The Celestial Mechanics*, *The Fundamentals of Celestial Mechanics*, *The History of Astronomy*, etc., whereas his most well-known scientific papers are: *The Position and Movement of the Earth in the Cosmos*, *The Rotary Movement of the Earth*, *The Secular Movements Polar*, etc.

Milutin Milanković died on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1958 in Belgrade. During 1966, his posthumous remains were transferred into the family tomb in Dalj. It is not possible to overestimate his importance: “Milutin Milanković, having come from the epicentre of European science – Vienna to Belgrade, managed with the help of a pen, paper and logarithms, to reach the deepest secrets of nature and to impress the entire world with his scientific work”.

# SAINT NIKOLAJ VELIMIROVIĆ

## Bishop of Žiča

**B**ishop Nikolaj Velimirović was born on 23 December 1881 in the village of Lelić, to father Dragomir and mother Katarina. First education he acquired in the monastery Čelije, and primary school and gymnasium in Valjevo. After the sixth grade of primary school he tried to enrol in a military academy, but failed, so he enrolled in seminary in Belgrade. Upon completing it, he worked for a while as a teacher in the villages Dračić and Leskovice. He then enrolled on the Old Catholic Theological Faculty in Bern (Switzerland), where, in 1908, he defended his doctoral thesis on *Faith in the Resurrection of Christ as a Fundamental Dogma of the Apostolic Church*. The following year he defended his doctoral thesis at Oxford on the topic *The Philosophy of Berkeley*, and he defended the same subject in Geneva, too in the French language.

With higher education and knowledge of foreign languages, Nikolaj Velimirović became supplant in Belgrade seminary, but after a serious illness, he became a monk in the monastery of Rakovica; on 20 December 1909 – he was ordained to the rank of hierodeacon and hieromonk. The Metropolitan of Serbia, Dimitrije, sent him to Russia to become more proficient, from where he returned to the seminary. During World War I Serbian government sent him to England and to America to acquaint these countries with the suffering Serbia was experiencing during the war. He, himself, wrote best about his strivings: "Five



years ago I was in America. I was sent by the Serbian government to visit many of the Yugoslav colonies in this country, to explain to our people the importance of titanic struggle of small Serbia against the large Austrian empire. With its numerous resolutions the Yugoslav nation declared themselves then for Serbia and its ideals."

The Holy Archpriest Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbia ordained him as Bishop of Žiča in 1919, and the following year, at his sole discretion, he was moved to Ohrid to be the Bishop of Ohrid. There, in 1931, he united Ohrid and Bitola dioceses in a single diocese of Ohrid-Bitola diocese with the seat in Bitola.

Thanks to Bishop Nikolaj, the nunnery Kalište became a very strong nunnery and, besides Kuveždin and Hopovo on Fruška Gora, it became a nursery of nunnery of the Serbian Orthodox Church at that time. Bishop Nikolaj also administered Oratory Movement in Serbia, and with their help, he renewed deserted monastic life in the Ovčar-Kablar monasteries.

He was designated for Bishop of Žiča again on 21 June 1936. At that time, this diocese experienced its sudden ascent, too: several monasteries were restored and a lot of parish churches were built.

Bishop Nikolaj was regarded as the best orator in the history of Serbian Orthodox Church, and he did a lot to elevate the church oratory. He gave his first sermon at the Cathedral Church in

Belgrade, on Vidovdan in 1913: "At the high pulpit, shrouded in opal fragrant veil of smoke of incense, without any paper, black as a raven, with a pleasant and skilfully managed baritone, he kept and surely led his listeners. As an artist, not as a Christian fanatic." (Dragoljub Jovanović).

In addition, Bishop Nikolaj was a rare prolific writer, of a very diverse oeuvre so, in that respect, many compare him with Saint Sava.

Between the two world wars, he used to travel a lot, mostly to England and to America, and to all countries in the Balkans. He would go to Constantinople, often to Greece, regularly to Mount Athos, where he put a lot of effort to introduce coenobium in the Hilandar monastery. He participated in numerous international and interecclesiastic gatherings. In such a way he gained plenty of friends within Anglican and Episcopal churches. His humanitarian work is also indispensable particularly in establishing children's homes and feeding places, from Bitola to Čačak, Gornji Milanovac, Kraljevo and Kragujevac.

At the very beginning of World War II Germans interned him in the Ljubostinja monastery, later on in Vojlovica; on 14 September 1944 he was taken to the Dachau concentration camp, from where he was liberated by American troops on May 8, 1945. The new communist authorities banned him from returning to Yugoslavia.

For a while Bishop Nikolaj lived in England, then in America. He used to work as a professor

in Orthodox seminaries: Serbian St. Sava in Libertyville, Russia's St. Vladimir's in New York, Holy Trinity in Jordanville, St. Tikhon in the South Canaan.

A lot of his books were created during this period, such as: *Neverland Country* (1950), *The Harvests of the Lord* (1952), *Cassian* (1952), *Songs of Prayer* (1952), *Divan* (1953), and posthumously were published *The Only Philanthropist* (1958), *The First God's Law* (1959), *The Paradise Pyramid* (1959).

Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović died on 5 March 1956 in South Canaan Township, Wayne County, Pennsylvania (PA). He was buried at St. Sava Serbian monastery in Libertyville. He was carried to his native Lelić on 12 May 1991.

At the session of the Archierach Convocation of the Serbian Orthodox Church, on 19 May 2003, by unanimous decision of the Convocation, the Bishop of Ohrid and of Žiča, Nikolaj (Velimirović), was entered in the calendar of Saints of our holy Serbian Orthodox Church. By canonization the Convocation, in fact, solemnly confirmed the general convocation awareness of his holiness among the people of God, not only in our local Church but also in all other local Churches. The day of his blessed presentation to the Lord, 5 March and the date of the transferring his holy relics from America to Serbia, 20 April were determined for the dates of the liturgical remembrance and celebration of this Holy Hierarch.

# ALEKSANDAR KARADJORDJEVIĆ

## Serbian King

**K**ing Aleksandar Karadjordjević was born on 17<sup>th</sup> December 1888 in Cetinje. His godfather was Alexander III, the Russian Emperor. When he was fifteen months old, his mother died. His health was not very good. His father was usually very strict, although he rarely saw him because of his frequent travels. Queen consort Milena, his grandmother, mostly took care of him while he was growing up. He was a tranquil child. Although skinny, he was very strong. He went to Geneva in 1894 with his father, and attended elementary school there. Many citizens of Geneva remembered him as a child later, wearing a dark blue suit with a school bag under his arm, going to school.

Starting in 1899, he attended a law school in Saint Petersburg, the so-called Pravovedeniye. He returned to Serbia in 1903, and from January 1904 his education was conducted by domestic teachers. Just like his brother Djordje, Aleksandar did not put up with discipline, so he had conflicts with his teacher. Because of that, King Petar ordered him to go back to Saint Petersburg and continue his education there, at the imperial Page Corps, an elite unit where only children from highly noble families were educated. Nicholas II of Russia, the Russian emperor, received him personally, and gave him an apartment in the Winter Palace, despite the fact that all the rules said he should have lived with the rest of the cadets, in the boarding school.

Aleksandar completed the 7<sup>th</sup> grade successfully, but the troubles started when he started the specialisation course. At that time, lieutenant Suljmenov gave up on him. Pašić went to Saint Petersburg in the autumn of 1908, when the princi-

pal of the Page Corps told him that “so much has been missed in his education that it is impossible for him to finish this year, no matter how much he tried”. So, the education of Prince Aleksandar was not completed.

From 28<sup>th</sup> March 1909, Aleksandar was formally the Crown Prince. As a young man, he excellently played the role of an obedient son; visiting his father at the court, having walks with him, and even asking him for permission to watch some theatre shows at the National Theatre. He also played cards with his brother and sister, but, from time to time, without any permission of his father, he had secret meetings with the “Black Arm”. King Petar did not know his son at all, and he was just starting to meet his character. Surprised, he commented “he is not better than Djordje at all, but he has been careful, he has been pretending and making sure that his youthful sins do not reach the public”. Sometimes, King Petar was even tougher and said that his son’s character was “insidious and covert – just like his grandpa’s, Prince Nikola”. Jaša Prodanović used to say for Aleksandar that he was easily offended, resentful, and quite revengeful. King Peter said something similar, “that he is a turncoat that pays too much attention to his own interests”.

He was incredibly intelligent, very skilful and always thought ahead. It took him little time to become close to the leading scientists and artists in Serbia, he visited the Serbian scientific academy frequently as well as the National Library and the National Archive. He visited many places in Serbia and entered peasant houses. He paid special attention to the army. He spent time at military bar-

racks, overlooking military exercises and manoeuvres. Besides, he had officers Petar Živković and Josif Kostić by his side, and some other officers joined them later. At one point, he even managed to attract Apis and the "Black Arm".

During 1910 he was suffering from typhoid fever, which he contracted at manoeuvres in Niš. The public speculated about his disease quite a lot. It was thought that the "Black Arm" members infected him with typhoid bacillus. After the illness, the Crown Prince appeared in the public for the first time on 17<sup>th</sup> December 1910. He had good relations with the "Black Arm" at that time. There are some indications that Apis visited King Petar, asking him to abdicate for his son Aleksandar, but Petar declined. At that time Prince Djordje and Prince Aleksandar were constantly fighting. Apparently, Djordje abdicated in Aleksandar's favour (the background of his abdication is not clear), but then he made up his mind.

Just before the Balkan wars, Crown Prince Aleksandar was 24 years old. He knew the Serbian army well by then. He was starting to know the population, which he dealt with pretty well. There is an anecdote about how, in the end of December 1911, he visited a meeting of the National defence in the village of Viševci near Rača. Prince Pavle, sculptor Ivan Meštrović and General Janković were with him. Their car got stuck on a muddy road, and peasants were standing on the side, laughing quietly and observing the situation. Nobody wanted to help. Aleksandar stepped out immediately and walked through the thick mud to the place of meeting. It was cold, his followers were cold, he was cold, but he did not show it. All the time, he was sitting or standing, firmly and carefully following the situation. He was obviously freezing, but he listened to the peasants complaining about the tax for the upcoming war. Having nothing to say to that, he simply invited them to dance. So, a round dance was started, where everyone was dancing, except for Meštrović and Prince Pavle. There was a second "check": the peasants offered homemade bread to the Crown Prince in a local tavern. It was so black and hard that Prince Pavle and Meštrović did not have a bite. Aleksandar ate everything, praising the meal, especially the bread. Of course, that could only leave a good impression. "He is really a proper Crown Prince", Meštrović said later.

During the Balkan wars, Crown Prince Aleksandar grew into a soldier and a politician as well. Intelligent, with a great intention to rule, but to learn as well, he advanced very quickly. He had impressive qualities of a ruler, and he could not take being under anyone's shadow, nor depending on anyone. He had his officers – the "White Arm", including Petar Živković, Josif Kostić, Pavle Jurišić Šturm, Petar Mišić, Milan Dunjić, and Mirko Milosavljević.

In the World War I, he showed determination, persistence, courage and other qualities. He crossed Albania in only two days. He rode on a skinny horse, with eyes downcast, face twisted and stiff. He was in severe pains and had to go through a surgery. He arrived in Scutari on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1915 and in Corfu on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1916. He reorganized the army on Corfu, and the year of 1916 was full of diplomatic activities for the Regent, related to the organization of the Macedonian Front. Nevertheless, he related his activities mostly to the dismissal of Nikola Pašić as the Prime Minister, in which he failed.

Lieutenant Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis and nine more senior officers, all members of the "Black Arm" were arrested on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1916. A total of 124 officers and some civilians were under investigation. The Thessaloniki process lasted from 20<sup>th</sup> March to 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1917, while on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1917, in early morning hours, Apis, Vulović and Malobabić were executed. In this way, the "Black Arm" was eliminated.

The break of the Macedonian Front followed, as well as the liberation of Serbia. The First Army arrived in Belgrade on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1918, and with it, Crown Prince Aleksandar in the general's uniform entered the city: "In front of everyone, kind of separated, a young but, at the same time, not so young officer, alone. His heavy overcoat, rough around the edges, does not lie on him; rough boots; old hat; hands without gloves; and his face, tanned, handsome face, an expression of a man exhausted and excited, a man of a short temper" (Isidora Sekulić). This was the first time when Serbia saw him in a general's uniform. On his head, he had an old military cap, which he did not separate from. The only difference was that there were general tags sewn on it.

Crown Prince Aleksandar was a great supporter of the Yugoslav idea, under the strong

influence of Jovan Cvijić and Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović, he worked a lot towards the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Only a month after he entered Belgrade with the army, the unified Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes has been proclaimed on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1918. It was done by a symbolic act when an address was read out to the Regent by one of the delegation of the National Council, and the Regent made an address to the National Council, in acceptance. The old King Petar said for himself then: "I am already in the past".

The ambition of the father, King Petar, becomes prominent at this time, and even more, the ambition of the son, Regent Aleksandar. King Petar was still in Greece, sending telegrams and letters to his son, asking him for the easiest way to return to Serbia. Aleksandar either did not answer, or he sent his answers rarely, warning his father of the impassable roads, food supply difficulties and the like. Also, he apparently worried about his father: "When you come to Belgrade, you would need to receive a large number of continually incoming deputations, delegations, and individuals coming from all the parts of Yugoslavia that need to be received" (from the Regent's message to King Petar from 15<sup>th</sup> December 1918). The final conclusion was that it was best for King Petar to remain in Athens. King Petar did not receive replies from his son to the letters he sent between 25<sup>th</sup> November and 15<sup>th</sup> December 1918. The aforementioned was the first one after a long time. In the meantime, the unification was proclaimed, the centre of which was Regent Aleksandar. If King Petar had been in Serbia, he would have been the one to proclaim the unification, not the Regent. Nikola Pašić was also not present at the proclamation of the unification, as he arrived to Belgrade on 10<sup>th</sup> December. Many think that it was exclusively the wish of Regent Aleksandar that he wanted to be the one to accept and proclaim the unification. There was no room in this event either for King Petar, or for Pašić.

In the summer months of 1921, King Petar's health worsened. In June, he suffered from pneumonia. After a short health improvement, on 16<sup>th</sup> August, he lost consciousness and passed away on the same day at 5:30 pm. Crown Prince Aleksandar became the King.

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King Aleksandar married Princess Marija. She was the third child of the Romanian Crown Prince Ferdinand, and the English Princess Marie, the daughter of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, and Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna of Russia. They were married on Thursday, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1922 in the Cathedral Church of St. Michael the Archangel in Belgrade. In the autumn of 1923 the royal family Karadjordjević got a new member, and Serbia got the new Crown Prince, Petar II. The Crown Prince was born on 6<sup>th</sup> September 1923. The second son, prince Tomislav, was born on the Epiphany day, on 19<sup>th</sup> January 1928, in Belgrade, and the third, Andrej, on St. Vitus Day on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1929.

During his reign, King Aleksandar made various political steps, in the national and in the international politics. The most important ones are the St. Vitus Day Constitution, from 28<sup>th</sup> June 1921, and the Law on the Protection of the Public Safety and the Order of the Country from 4<sup>th</sup> August of the same year. However, the most problematic step he made was the so-called 6<sup>th</sup> January Dictatorship, the cause of which was when Puniša Račić fired shots at Stjepan Radić and some members of the Croatian peasant party in the National Assembly on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1928. One of the first laws to shape the dictatorship was the Law on the King's Power and the Supreme State Administration from 6<sup>th</sup> January 1929. That law defined the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a hereditary monarchy where the King has all the powers in the country: to declare war and make peace, represent the country, to have legal immunity and not to be subject to liability, etc. The King promulgates laws, chooses civil servants and awards military ranks, commands the armed forces, and appoints ministers to directly report to him for their work. The judicial power is defined with only a single sentence: "The judicial power in the country shall be carried out in the name of the King." In short, all the power is with the King, he can do everything, however he wants, how much and when he wants.

An annex was made to the infamous Law on the King's Power and the Supreme State Ad-

ministration. It prohibits all associations and political parties which "spread propaganda or persuade people to change the existing regime of the country. Also, all political parties which carry a religious or a tribal symbol shall be forbidden and destroyed". It was the beginning of the compulsory enforcement of the full national Unitarianism and the integral Yugoslavhood. Besides that one, annexes were made to the Law on Municipalities and District Authorities, Criminal Law, the Criminal Court Proceedings Law, etc.

The most important one, the Law on the Subdivision of the Kingdom into Provinces, was established on 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1929. The country was now named the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and it was subdivided into nine provinces, called Banovinas. Those are: Drava Banovina, capital: Ljubljana, Sava Banovina, capital: Zagreb, Vrbas Banovina (Banja Luka), Primorska Banovina, capital: Split, Drina Banovina (Sarajevo), Zeta Banovina (Cetinje), Danube Banovina (Novi Sad), Morava Banovina (Niš), Vardar Banovina (Skopje). Belgrade, with Zemun and Pančevo, was an administrative unit independent of the Banovinas. With the subdivision of the Kingdom, the King tried to surmount the historical and national issues (Serbia was divided into five Banovinas, Croatia into three, and so on). Montenegro was almost undivided, as well as Slovenia, and Vojvodina, partly: "As I was forced to abolish the Vidovdan constitution, due to some unfortunate circumstances, I was also given an opportunity to reorganize the country into Banovinas, and change the name of the country on a Yugoslavian basis. My goal was to stop the provincial chauvinism developing as before and doing enormous damage to the national and state unity" (King Aleksandar).

The new, Octroyed constitution (1931 Yugoslav Constitution) was established on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1931. The King was basically forced to establish it.

King Aleksandar was assassinated in Marseilles on 9<sup>th</sup> October 1934. Kerin, a terrorist from the Bulgarian terrorist organization IMRO, was joined by some Ustaša terrorists. The Ustašas were blamed for the assassination. According to the circumstances, the assassination was organised by Göring at the German secret service, and Italy and Hungary in the least, although they were accused of the assassination immediately. In the

assassination, the French foreign minister Barthou was also hurt and died from the wounds, and he was, perhaps, also a target. The trial for the captured Ustašas was itself scandalous, as if the court was least interested in the truth. During the trial "Almost immediately some secretive feeling was around. The issue was covered up" (K. Todorov). Also, perhaps someone from Yugoslavia itself was involved in the assassination.

Prince Tomislav testified later: "Little was known about my father's severe illness. Mother later told me about his cancer and that he was given six more months to live by the doctors. When he was assassinated, the pathologist's report evidenced that the diagnosis was correct. He was only fifty kilograms heavy when he went to Marseilles" (Prince Tomislav Karadjordjević). However, it was a secret, only the doctors and the nearest family knew about the illness". Not even the King's closest associates knew anything about it. The King had a prepared testament.

Prince Tomislav has also made the following claim: "It was said that my father was a mason. Some books mention it as well. I have never managed to find out whether he was really a mason, or whether it was just the masons' propaganda. What's more, it was said that, apparently, a mason law betrayed him, so that is why they murdered him. I believe that this version was created by the anti-mason part. I think that Prince Pavle and his son were masons" (Prince Tomislav Karadjordjević).

As the time went by, legends were created about King Aleksandar. There is no doubt that he was a very capable politician, very skillful when it comes to remaining in power. His dictatorship from 1929 to 1934 is one of his biggest mistakes. Milan Stojadinović in his memoirs wrote that his government pardoned as many as 18,000 political prisoners, who were convicted by the previous governments. It is a really huge number of people. Really, what kind of country has 18,000 political prisoners? Can such a country prevail at all? Besides, as many as 38 respectable politicians, ex ministers or members of the parliament were interned. Foreign countries were full of political emigrants, and the Ustaša movement was created and growing stronger thanks to the King's dictatorship.

Even the idea of integral Yugoslavhood, though well thought out in theory, was hardly able

to make it in reality. The King intended to solve the Serbo-Croatian conflict with it. There had to be many prerequisites for it, the success was uncertain, and failure leads to a catastrophe. Was it all worth the risk? The final result was that it was not: "The idea was simple, too simple. The Gordian knot, the Serbo-Croatian conflict, could only be cut by the King with his dictatorship. And so he did it. He forbid all political freedoms, and with them, the parties and the parliament. The goal was for everyone, Serbs and Croats, under great a pressure, to be cooked into a unique Yugoslavian nation in an iron pot. The theory could prevail and the experiment could succeed only in an impossible case where the peace would truly persist inside and outside for a number of years, for half a century, maybe even one century. Who could guarantee that? Nobody could. That is why the theory was wrong. That is why the experiment had to fail. Inside, the dictatorship struck both Serbs and Croats, and both of them were its opponents. Outside, it was fatal. As soon as the King simplified the country to himself alone, both inside and outside enemies of the countries had only one thought in mind, that if they assassinated King Aleksandar, they assassinated the country as well. And that is what happened. A bullet in Marseilles was deadly for Yugoslavia. And it was meant for that" (Milan Gavrilović).

Many accused King Aleksandar of Nikola Pašić's death. On 9<sup>th</sup> December 1926, Pašić visited King Aleksandar and asked for a mandate to create the new government. The King reminded Pašić that he is under investigation and until "you do not clear your name from accusations of being involved in your son's affairs, you cannot lead the government". Pašić was really shaken because of this, and that is how he left the King's cabinet: "This outburst hurt the old statesman and loyal friend of the Karadjordjević dynasty. The King knew very well that the scandals were partly exaggerated and partly fake. They were thrown in the face of the man who was due great gratitude for the King being on the throne of this great country, and they were a great humiliation and insult to Pašić. It is not even necessary to mention gratitude. Completely disappointed, upset and, shaken, Pašić silently exited. When he arrived in his apartment, in Francuska street, below the building of

the National theatre, where his family expected him for dinner, he silently said – You should dine, and I need to lie down. I don't feel well." (Milan Stojadinović). After that, he got sick and died on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1926.

With the death of Pašić, King Aleksandar lost the only worthy political opponent. On the political scene of the Kingdom, there was no person who could oppose him in any way. From then on, King Aleksandar was the only and the deciding political factor in the country. He carelessly gave mandates for government formation to anyone he wanted to, and he toppled them even easier. He was not held responsible to anyone, and he was not afraid of anyone.

The main mistake of King Aleksandar was that his political talent, which he had, was not aimed towards political goals only, but towards political games. "He was blamed for his lack of flexibility, the wish to impose his authority, to surround himself with associates who are easy to manipulate; in this way he kept his manners as a dictator, with a difference, that he listened to opinions and accepted advice from experienced people, even when they came from the opposition. A number of opposition members told him: "The King was happy to discuss his opinions, but he did not allow his orders to be discussed" (Claude Eland).

A part of the public had the opinion that King Aleksandar was fickle and pliable, and so were those around him. He did not "know how to surround himself with honest and capable people, only with spies and intriguers as well as bootlickers and those who approve everything, and who praise him in front of his face" (Dragutin Milutinović). His promises were not reliable; he even broke the oath he gave on the date of the St. Vitus Day constitution. He said then that he would respect it and "stay true to the great constitutional, parliamentary, and widely democratic rules... But he did not stay true to that promise, and he did not fulfil it. He destroyed parliamentarism, the constitution he vowed for he also abolished, he scattered the parties, ruined freedom, and utterly humiliated the people. He rejected the most respectable and deserving people, and he ruled with war providers, shirkers, traitors and deserters" (Dragoljub Stojanović). He was even worse described by Svetozar Pribičević, who called him

a "megalomaniac, imbued with the spirit of a Tsarist", "a man whose word is not worthy", "and the head of the regime which uses murder and lies". Besides, he was always nervous, frantic: "whoever found themselves at least once near the King, he immediately saw that he was very nervous. He could not stay in one place for a long time. And he was always holding a grudge and was not of good will" (Dragutin Milutinović).

Many describe the King as a humble man, perhaps, because he always wore an army uniform, although he was not a soldier. Also, he was very self-interested, and some notes testify about that. He got large sums of money from the country as his so-called "citizen account". In the current currency, it was about sixty million dinars per year, which was, at that time, more than a million US dollars. The money was given to him in Swiss francs. He put around 60,000 Swiss francs on his accounts in foreign banks per month. This could be explained by his insecurity about his throne and the need to secure himself in case he gets overthrown. Milorad Pavlović says "One of his worse characteristics was his money grubbing. No loan sharks were as greedy as he was. I noticed this in 1905 and 1908 when I was in Russia for business, that is, in Saint Petersburg, where I spent whole days in his company, especially in the evenings in the Winter Castle. A whole discussion could be written on how his greed for wealth was perpetually growing. However, as it was not even thought that he would be the Crown Prince, nobody ever tried to cure this bad characteristic. And when he came to the throne, the greed came into power. While his father, King Petar, was saving money and being frugal, this one was greedy and moneygrubbing. He showed this greed unconsciously and accidentally in a number of events in front of me, and I was not hiding my intentions to show him that everything can be joked about and lost – but not money. He could not understand that. Even as the Crown Prince, he had in his mind to become a very rich man. Even then, he dreamed about a quarry of gold, which he almost reached before his death, of course, in an unfair and undignified manner. It was a known unfamiliarity. There is a plenty of documented cases which witness of the King's greed for immense wealth. He could not stop this ugly passion, hide or mask it in some way".

A letter of Prince Pavle witnesses of the King's financial misdeeds, when the King was already assassinated. The Prince had to deal with the King's financial tasks and it was not easy: "At the very beginning I have to make known one fact, and it is the fact that Sandro left his business in quite a messy state, and it took years to clear it up and to make ends meet. He was a very dynamic person, and when he wanted to do something, it had to be done immediately no matter the cost. Frequently, he would start numerous works and ventures at the same time. At the time of his death, the White Palace was being built, and he had a huge castle built in Bled. He personally paid for the Monument to the Unknown Hero to be built, and millions of dinars were spent on that through the years. He paid for a granite quarry in Dalmatia to function, and a whole troop of soldiers was stationed at Avala, assisting the works. It is also necessary for me to mention Miločer. These are only a couple of things which I remember at this current moment, but there were many others. Sandro's embellishment of the church in Topola, where the mosaics cost a fortune, the purchase of the Demir-Kapija and the works that happened there (the huge estate in Macedonia). Sources of income are great, but not infinite" (Prince Pavle).

The King himself was not a pleasant company, as only those who really had to, spent time with him: "After lunch, I visited the King frequently to have a coffee and to tell him many anecdotes, even the dirty ones. He liked dramatic stories, I knew them, and I even made some up. King Aleksandar, although he held the highest position in the country, had numerous bad characteristics and weaknesses he could avoid. The people who were close to him knew about most of those flaws, and, instead of making sure to fix them, they supported him, and they surmounted them while flattering the King. Very few people from his surroundings, were able to, and were allowed to tell him a few sharp and honest words. Some of those were Žika Balugdžić, Jaša Prodanović, and a couple of times – me. Žika was protected by his friendship with old King Petar, Jaša by his position, and I was thrown out of the castle a couple of times accompanied with the roughest swearing upon my father and mother" (Milorad Pavlović).

# GAVRILO PRINCIP\*

**G**avrilo Princip was born on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1894 in the village of Obljaj, Grahovo, to father Pero and mother Marija. They had nine children, but all of them died except three sons: Jova, Gavrilo, and Nikola. Gavrilo started the elementary school in Grahovo in 1903, when he was nine years old. He was a good pupil, he read a lot. He completed the first four classes with all A's and therefore his father took him to Sarajevo and handed him to his brother Jova who had a sawmill. Jova made a fortune, in the sawmill and on the farm he kept thirty horses for work and, he could afford to fund his brothers' education, first Gavrilo and then Nikola's. Nikola completed medical school and worked as a doctor in Čapljina. During 1941, the Usthas caught him on a street in Sarajevo and took him to Jasenovac where he was executed.

At first, Jova's idea was to enrol Gavrilo in cadet school for officers in the Austrian army, but made up his mind and enrolled him at trade school. After three years spent at the trade school Gavrilo, along with his brother's consent, transferred to the grammar school in Tuzla. Although



he successfully passed the make-up examinations, he was not particularly good at school, and soon after he gathered a lot of trancies, he returned to his brother Jova in Sarajevo, where he re-enrolled at the grammar school. It was the grammar school where he met Trifko Grabež. They began to take an interest in politics. They were interested in the events and news from Serbia, about which the Sarajevo newspapers hardly wrote anything.

Young people were first stunned by Žerajić's trial regarding the assassination, then they were impressed. In the autumn of 1911, Princip transferred to the fifth grade of the grammar school. He was short, but with broad hunched shoulders, rugged and sturdy, his face was long and swarthy, his hair was thick and black, his forehead was high and lightly wrinkled, he was bony, with very protruding jaws and developed cheekbones, his nose was slightly distorted, a consequence of falling down the flight of stairs at the grammar school. The sombre looks were alleviated by the deep light blue eyes, soft and warm. Mostly, he was quiet and silent, but when beginning to dis-

\* The part pertaining to Gavrilo Princip is a little longer. There are reasons for it. Strictly speaking this is not only a story about Mr. Princip but also about all of his companions with whom he committed the assassination. There is no event in the history of the Serbian nation (except the conversion into Christianity), that is more significant for the Serbian history. The consequences of the bullets, fired from Princip's revolver, can be felt by the Serbian nation even today. It was that bullet that made the

Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, the German Empire, the Turkish Empire crumble, while the map of Europe after the World War I changed as never before or afterwards. Several countries disappeared, whereas several were formed. On the grounds of Princip's bullet, the World War II broke, and also much of what we endure today in Serbia is the aftermath of the event. I must say immediately, that it can be felt in the text how much I admire these young men, Princip, in particular. I did not even try to hide it.

cuss, he would become cynical and rude, always stubborn. He was neat and well dressed. Being ill, Princip did not do well at the grammar school, and failed in mathematics in the first semester. He stopped attending school on a regular basis and attended private tutoring.

All of a sudden Princip, without his brother, Jova, being aware of it, along with Jevtić, left for Belgrade, which was full of Komitas from Macedonia at that time. They used to go to the café "Zlatna Moruna" and to some other around Zeleni Venac where students from Bosnia used to come as well. Princip met some of them there; people used to play billiards, they used to discuss a lot... "Besides Komitas' beards and daggers, there were beardless students' faces; harsh and difficult guys, accustomed to evil and blood, next to young dreamy physiognomies" (Jevtic). Princip used to live a harsh life at that first time, only later, when they reconciled, his brother sent him money on a regular basis.

In the summer of 1912, Gaćinović also came to Belgrade and they spent more time together. "There is no doubt that it was then when turmoil began in Princip, out of which, two years later, a specific, brief idea was born. Gaćinović made a profound impact on him" (Jevtic). So, it was a turning point: "He met Princip in Belgrade in 1912; he prepared Princip for the action and sacrifice" (Sergej Kibaljić). Later on, at the trial, Princip, said that the idea of the assassination came two years earlier. At the same time, Princip met Nedeljko Čabrinović in Belgrade, whom he knew from Sarajevo

It was the time when the Balkan wars commenced. Princip volunteered for military service. He was admitted to practice in the squad of Vojislav Tankosić in Prokuplje. Pupils were not taken to the war. Princip was, together with other pupils, due to their juvenility, discharged from the Army, upon which he returned to Bosnia, to his brother in Hadžići. He resumed preparing examinations, and during the breaks he went a couple of times to Sarajevo, where he met his friends and also met a lot of different people.

In March 1913, he returned to Belgrade and by August he passed the fifth and sixth grade examinations of the grammar school. It is unclear whether he passed the seventh grade examinations. He returned to Bosnia, and, as a corre-

spondent for a newspaper, he participated in the elections in Hadžići. At that time he had already read a lot of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Herzen, etc. He tried to read some of these books in German. In his spare time, he was going for walks, had conversations, visited Žerajić's grave.

In January 1914, he visited his parents in Bosansko Grahovo. By then, he had already had some ideas about the assassination, but did not know who to shoot. In February he was already in Belgrade, while in March, he learned that Crown Prince Ferdinand was to come to Sarajevo. Then he made a decision: Franz Ferdinand is his target. He needed a partner, and then remembered Čabrinović.

At that time, young people in Bosnia were fascinated by the idea of assassination. The idea was constantly being discussed, and who was going to be assassinated was the least important. The most important was that this person was the holder of authority, and who the person actually was, was less important. There were additional six assassinations after Žerajić's assassination up to the one committed by Princip. Many more assassinations were prepared but were never executed.

The question, whose idea was to shoot Archduke Franz Ferdinand when he arrived in Sarajevo, remained open. In March 1914, *Srbobran* from Zagreb published the news that Austria would carry out manoeuvres during the summer of that year on the ground from Sarajevo to Romanija and to Han Pijesak. As the border with Serbia was close, this field manoeuvres were seen as the provocation, especially when it became known that Franz Ferdinand, the successor to the throne of Austria-Hungary, would command these manoeuvres. The Sarajevo youth circle, Čabrinović belonged to, became interested in the news. Poet Jovan Varagić, also a member of the circle, sent a newspapers clipping to Čabrinović in Belgrade, where Princip was, too. Čabrinović received the clipping, read it, and then a little later showed it to Princip: "He read it and said nothing. I did not attach any importance to the news although the assassination was on my mind" (Čabrinović). Princip did not react either, but at the dinner in Zeleni Venac, Princip invited Čabrinović to go out of the cafe to talk: "When Princip and I went out, we went to the park in Obilićev Venac where Princip suggested that the two of us executed the assassi-

nation of the successor to the throne. After a short reluctance, I accepted it. We gave each other our word of honour, shook hands, and parted" (Čabrinović). It is clear that the idea of the assassination was not Čabrinović's although he received the newspaper clipping. It was Princip who proposed to shoot Ferdinand, not Čabrinović. So, even before the conversation with Čabrinović, Princip had the idea, and it occurred to him: "A few days before. Then, later, I spoke to him, because I knew we were of like mind. I said, "How about committing an assassination?" - After which he showed me a newspaper clipping" (Gavrilo Princip). How did Princip come to this idea?

The other version of the assassination initiative is much more interesting. Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis, during the trial in Thessaloniki in April 1917, in a confidential report stated that he ordered Rado Malobabić to organise the assassination of Franz Ferdinand when the successor came to Sarajevo: "His main participants were in my service and had a small fee, which I used to send to them via Malobabić." Furthermore, Malobabić "assisted by border officers transferred bombs, guns and ammunition for the assassination to Bosnia" (Apis). Later on, it would turn out that Apis organised the transfer of four guns and four hundred bullets across the border to Bosnia. A suitcase with the bombs, which was also handed over to Malobabić, was brought to the frontier. Apis admitted that he had organized the transfer of guns, but not of bombs. The revolvers were sent to Apis' spies in Bosnia and were not supposed to be used for the assassination, but for the defence of Apis' men. Besides, these revolvers were "Nagant" revolvers, and Princip and the comrades had the "Browning". In the end, it turned out that Malobabić self-willingly carried the bombs or by order of someone else, but not Apis'. It is possible that the initiative came from other side.

During the autumn of 1913, Mustafa Golubić came to Switzerland; he was a member of Young Bosnians and the "Black Arm" (much later he was also a member of the KGB). By no means was he an extremely intriguing personality. Vladimir Gaćinović, Bastajić, and Jovan Živanović were also in Switzerland. While still in Belgrade, Golubić received clear instructions from Vojislav Tankosić: "You will work independently from what we are going to do in Belgrade." The Black

Arm groups which were in the territory of Austria were allowed to operate independently; they did not have to ask the headquarters for permission for their actions. This was the possibility that Golubić and Gaćinović wanted to seize completely. It may be that it was Switzerland where the idea of the assassination of Ferdinand was begotten as well as Gaćinović's decision to engage Danilo Ilić and Gavrilo Princip for the assassination of Ferdinand. He met Princip in Sarajevo in the spring of 1912, and in the summer of that year, they saw each other in Belgrade and Gaćinović considered Princip capable of carrying out this act. Gaćinović sent Princip a letter in which he wrote about the assassination and proposed him to carry it out: "When Princip received Gaćinović's letter, it was the morale of a revolutionary that obliged him to accept the choice of being the leader of Bosnia's revolutionary youth, who befell him" (Drago Ljubibratić).

Ilić wanted Princip to procure weapons for five-six participants. During that time, Princip, Čabrinović, and Grabež were in Belgrade. Princip and Grabež learnt how to shoot there. Vojin Tankosić instructed them how to shoot and he had two new "Browning" with several boxes of ammunition on the shooting range. The practice lasted a few days, "and when it was successfully completed, the instructors to be bid me farewell. Then I did not even suspect anything, nor could I imagine that the real aim of this training was the Austrian successor Franz Ferdinand" (Dragiša Stojadinović). Another shooter, who was not recognised by Stojadinović, was likely to have been Trifko Grabež; Čabrinović was foreseen for a bomb. He was much more confident of shooting than Princip, which annoyed Gavrilo. As all of them laughed at him, "he was on the verge of tears."

Soon afterwards, Princip arrived in Sarajevo from Belgrade, and Ilić notified Mehmedbašić to come to Sarajevo, which he did on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1914. Ilić wanted more perpetrators of the assassination and managed to persuade Vaso Čubrilović, who brought Cvjetko Popović. Gaćinović already then lost all the strings; maybe he wanted even to give it up because the political momentum was not good, and the focus of the entire organisation of the assassination fell on Princip and Ilić.

The Archduke was awaited by several groups of assassins: seven in total, all of them were at

some distance from each other. The first group included Nedeljko Čabrinović, Gavrilo Princip, and Trifko Grabež. In the second group, there were Cvetko Popović, Vaso Čubrilović, and Muhamed Mehmedbašić. There was also the seventh assassin – Pušara. Danilo Ilić was there, too. They all knew that there were six assassins, but they did not know each other. The only one, who knew it, was Danilo Ilić. Those were the ones who were directly involved, but there were more members of the Young Bosnia who knew about this intent and who participated in it. Lazar Djukić knew what was going on; Ivan Kranjčević was supposed to conceal the weapon after the assassination, and everything was also known to Branko Zagorac, Marko Perin, Dragan Kalembur, Nikola Forkapić, etc. When Štadler, the Archbishop of Sarajevo, heard how many associates there were, immediately said that Franz Ferdinand would not have escaped being assassinated even if Princip had missed him. He was to pass through “the whole row of assassins,” and one would have shot him.

So, everything was ready, and then, all of a sudden, Danilo Ilić heard that Djura Šarac was looking for him. They had to meet in Brod because Šarac, as Komita, was not allowed to come to Sarajevo. Šarac was sent by Apis to dissuade the Young Bosnians from the assassination. Ilić buckled under news, wavered, but Princip did not even want to hear about it. Then they decided to write to Gaćinović to make the decision. However, the assassination had been carried out before the answer arrived.

The planned military manoeuvres were held southeast of Sarajevo on 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> June 1914. The manoeuvres were directly commanded by the Head of Bosnia and Herzegovina, General Oskar Potiorek. These were the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Corps, precisely the units which would attack Serbia in August that year. Franz Ferdinand did not need to come to Sarajevo for the manoeuvres. He made a decision to come in the capacity of the supreme supervisor of the army in September 1913. He announced that Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, would be with him. The intention of his visit was exclusively of military nature. Potiorek supported Ferdinand's decision to come to Sarajevo, because he was of the opinion that it was a political need

of the moment. Since there were hints that there might be an assassination of the Crown Prince, Sarajevo was asked for an opinion on this visit. Those opinions were mostly negative; the civil authorities eliminated any responsibility from themselves. It even more encouraged Ferdinand to come to Sarajevo – he wanted to show that he was not scared of anything.

The day of Ferdinand's visit was 28<sup>th</sup> June – St. Vitus Day. Namely, a gala celebration of the St. Vitus Day in free Serbia was planned that year, because for the first time, after five centuries, after the Balkan wars, Kosovo was restored. Ferdinand's arrival on the St. Vitus Day might be understood only as a provocation. Franz Ferdinand may not have had any knowledge about it, but it was certain that Potiorek knew it and also some hawks from the Austro-Hungarian military hierarchy. They, in fact, hoped for a military showdown with Serbia, so, they welcomed such provocation.

The day before the assassination the perpetrators were relatively calm. On Saturday afternoon, Danilo Ilić distributed weapons to them. Vasa Čubrilović and Cvjetko Popović got a revolver and a bomb at Bembaša. Around midnight, Danilo Ilić gave Muhamed Mehmedbašić a bomb in Franz Joseph Street. On the very day of the assassination in Djuro Vlanić's candy shop in Čumurija Street, he gave a bomb to Čabrinović. He took Trifko Grabež to his home and gave him a bomb and a revolver. Princip took a revolver and a bomb by himself that morning. Princip and Ilić divided the procured cyanide into six parts, packed it in the papers, and distributed to the assassins to poison themselves after the assassination.

The assassination took place on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1914. The day was sunny, bright, and full of gentle warmth and flickering light. Franz Ferdinand set out with Sofia Hohenberg from Ilidža in a special train and arrived in the tobacco factory at exactly 10:5 a.m. A procession of six cars was formed there: the commander of the police was in the first car, Fehim Ćurčić, the city mayor, was in the second, Franz Ferdinand and his wife were in the third. Potiorek, the driver, and the car owner, Count Harrach, were seated in the front seat. The assassins were already deployed on their sites. Muhamed Mehmedbašić was waiting in front of

the building of the Austro-Hungarian Bank. Vaso Čubrilović was in front of Higher Girls' School. On the bank of the Miljacka River, slightly lower than the Čumurija Bridge, Nedeljko Čabrinović was waiting. At the corner of Čumurija Street and the quay, Cvjetko Popović was waiting. Gavri- lo Princip was next to the Latin Bridge. Between the Latin Bridge and the Emperor's Bridge, Trifko Grabež was waiting; the six of them were at the total distance of about 300 meters. Without any weapons at the corner of Čumurija Street and quay, nearby Cvjetko Popović, was Danilo Ilić. Everyone knew that there were more assassins, but they did not know how many, who they were and where they were. Danilo Ilić was the only one who knew it.

None of the assassins knew in which car Ferdinand would be; they were supposed to determine it on the basis of the acclamation of the crowd. Ilić vaguely told them that Ferdi- nand would be driven in the second or third car. They could recognise him only when the car ap- proached them at the distance of about 20-30 meters.

When the procession with the Crown Prince was passing by Muhamed Mehmedbašić, he did not move. He probably did not recognise Ferdi- nand. Then they passed by Vasa Čubrilović, who did not react, either. At the trial, he said that he had seen Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, and he had been sorry for her. But not for Ferdinand, no, only for her: "I did not spare him. A month and a half ago I was prepared for the assassina- tion." (Vasa Čubrilović).

The next assassin towards whom the pro- cession came was Nedeljko Čabrinović. He was standing by the street light pole which he planned to use for detonating the bomb. First, he un- screwed it and put it in his waistband. When he caught sight of Ferdinand, he hit the detonator against the electric pole and activated the bomb and then a small explosion resounded; the driv- er of Ferdinand's car heard it and instinctively stopped driving for a moment. Čabrinović threw a bomb into the lap of Crown Prince, or on the rest of the car, Ferdinand grabbed it and threw it behind him. Ferdinand's car immediately rushed forward and advanced nearly 100 meters away

from the place where the bomb was to explode. It took the bomb 10-12 seconds to explode. During that time it fell in front of the car that was behind Ferdinand's. It exploded and wounded Colonel von Mericia in that car, but also several observers. Ferdinand's car slightly slowed down after the ex- plosion. Immediately after the explosion, Čabri- nović swallowed the poison from the paper in his left hand, climbed on the wall of the bank of the Miljacka River and jumped down. When jumping into shallow water, he hurt his leg.

At that moment Ferdinand's car was passing by Cvjetko Popović, but he did not shoot, "I did not have the courage. I do not know what came over me". (Cvjetko Popović). Trifko Grabež did not react either since he changed his position.

During that time Čabrinović was walking through the shallow Miljacka River, the waned poison did not work, there was stinging in his stomach, he was trying to drink water. Complete- ly confused he did not think of running away, and from the river bank, from a high wall, policemen were watching him and hesitating whether to jump from that height.

Josip Vrinjanin was with Princip when Ča- brinović's bomb exploded: "Princip jumped off the wall, raised his hand above his eyes, the ex- plosion disrupted his hitherto peace, his arm was shaking, he hastily pushed me to the side, he nervously pushed through the thick row of the audi- ence, and started running on the pavement to- wards the Čumurija Bridge" (Josip Vrinjanin).

The car in which Franz Ferdinand was, pro- ceeded and arrived at the City Hall. Ferdinand was furious and did not allow Mayor Čurčić to say anything, but shouted: "Mr Mayor, I am com- ing to visit you, and you welcome me with bombs, it is appalling! Now you are allowed to talk." So- phie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, tried to calm him down and Ferdinand soothed a little: "Well, print your speech." A formal reception was somehow unravelled, and Sophie, the Duchess of Hohen- berg, went upstairs with Muslim women who had been waiting for her. Ferdinand asked Potiorek whether they could continue driving according to the program or another bomb was likely to be thrown. The Governor and the police chief were of the opinion that there would be no more attacks

and that they should immediately go to the Konak which was few hundred meters across the river, or to take the side streets to get to the National Museum. According to the program the procession was supposed to go down the main street of Francis Joseph, but Potiorek feared another assassination, so he proposed to change the route and immediately go to Ilidža or Konak; by doing so he wanted to "punish citizens" who would be deprived of seeing the Crown Prince.

Ferdinand, however, wanted to go to the hospital to visit wounded Colonel von Merici before going to the National Museum. Count Harrach was of the opinion that it was not a good idea, but Potiorek interjected: "Do you think Sarajevo is full of assassins?" Duchess Sofia supported her husband. The decision was made: they would set out, but they would not to take the main street of Franz Joseph, but Apell Quay. Once again, not the main street of Franz Joseph! Well thought out, but the drivers were not informed on the new route. They resumed driving according to the original plan and were going down the main street. It was a fatal mistake. Franz Ferdinand and Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, were in the car, and general Potiorek was with them. Brave Count Harrach stood on the left step of the car in order to guard the Crown Prince. But Ferdinand seemed to have a premonition: "It appears to me, we will receive a few more balls." The first car, in which the chief of police was, went along the Apell Quay, but by the Latin Bridge it turned right into a narrow alley that led to the main street of the city. A tragic confusion took place. Franz Ferdinand's car was driven by a soldier who did not know Sarajevo and automatically followed the first car. Potiorek shouted to him to stop, the driver did it and, since he had already entered into the ally, he started driving in reverse to the river bank, in order to return to the right way.

At that moment the bullets flew down. They were fired by a young man who had, until that moment, been standing on the bank. It was Gavrilo Princip. He watched Čabrinović being caught, hesitating whether to murder him, and at that moment a procession of cars with the officials came into his view. While Ferdinand's car was trying

to manoeuvre in order to return to the right way, Princip approached him and fired bullets.

"At that moment, I heard a bomb blast. I hoped one of ours did it, but I did not know who it was. The crowd started running, the cars stopped, I thought, it's all over. At that moment I saw the police taking Čabrinović. Then, I was thinking of murdering him in order to prevent spreading of the information, after which I would commit suicide. But I gave up the idea when I saw that cars approaching. The cars were passing, but I did not see the Archduke. I started walking to the Latin Bridge and there I heard that the Archduke was in a car, and that the bomb had not injured him. Now, I was thinking where to place myself. In the newspaper I read the program where the procession was supposed to go. Then, a well-known gentleman approached me and mentioned that someone had tried to commit the assassination, and added: "What I can see here! What a nonsense this is!" I said nothing. He invited me to the side. I thought he was a spy who wanted to search me. Then the car came. I took out the revolver and shot the Archduke, twice "(Gavrilo Princip).

Princip's motives were clear: "I did not think I would be sentenced for doing this. I did that because I had been convinced that evil would be removed. I meant well. Here I am accused of high treason in addition to being accused of murder. But high treason is not the greatest evil yet. I have done all this because our people suffer." (Gavrilo Princip).

At the office of the investigating judge, Princip described everything in detail. He saw a car coming and recognised Ferdinand on the basis of photographs in the newspaper; a lady was sitting next to Ferdinand, so Princip wavered for a moment: "A strange emotion came over me, and from the pavement I aimed at Archduke; what made the situation even easier was that the car, at the turn, went more slowly. What I was thinking at that moment, I do not know, I just know that I was aiming at him. I think, I shot twice, and maybe more, because I was very upset; whether I hit the victim, or not, I cannot say, because at that moment people started beating me." (L. Pfeffer).

The car immediately continued driving towards the Konak which was two or three minutes

away. By then, Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, was already dead. She was shot by accident. When Princip was asked at the court whether he wanted to murder her, he replied: "I did not. I only saw somebody else was sitting in the car. I wanted also to murder the head of the country, Potiorek" (Gavrilo Princip).

This was true. Princip first targeted Ferdinand, it was the first shot, and, having seen that Ferdinand was hit, he decided to shoot Potiorek. However, at that moment, Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, heard the gunshot, stood up from her seat; she wanted something, perhaps to shield her husband. At the same time, someone from the crowd was trying to catch Princip's arm, which changed the position of the gun and the effect was that the Duchess was hit by the bullet that first passed through the car door. She was hit in the waist and her intestines were torn.

Ferdinand and Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, were alive for a while, they even talked to each other, and the Count Harrach later said that the Crown Prince spoke to his wife: "Little Sophie, don't die, you have to live for our children." She asked him if he was in pain and he replied: "It is nothing." He repeated the same words several times and his voice faded, then he shuddered and his cap fell off his head. They were still upright in the car, and then Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, fell onto Ferdinand. Everyone thought that she lost consciousness due to the shock, but she was dead. Although wounded in the vein in the neck, Franz Ferdinand was still alive. He was carried out from the car in front of the Konak, unconscious. About fifteen minutes later, he died. By that time neither doctor nor a priest arrived.

After the second shot, a policeman ran into Gavrilo Princip. Mihailo Pušara was nearby, he ran into the police officer, which gave time to Princip to retrieve cyanide and simultaneously to raise the gun to the forehead to commit suicide. However, several police officers had already surrounded him, seized his revolver and started beating him. The revolver was seized from him by Ante Veli. The crowd approached and started hitting him. Ferdo Ber, a student, came to his rescue, grabbing an officer by hand, who was hitting Princip on the head with his sword, shouting

to him: "Let him go!" Now everyone jumped on Ber, hitting him with swords, sticks, fists.

Princip and Ber were dragged to the police station. The photo showing the arresting of Ber, is often mistakenly thought to show arresting of Princip since the two of them looked alike. No, such photo does not exist. That was that wonderful Ferdo Ber. The way Princip was arrested was testified by Mato Dabac, a policeman: "After that I saw a uniformed policeman, a Muslim, he was more than a civilian, dragging Princip; some people attacked Princip wanting to lynch him; therefore, a few of us defended him from the frenzied crowd," Princip managed to swallow cyanide, but the poison did not work, it only made his mouth sore.

L. Pfeffer described Princip upon being brought to the police station: "The young man was small in stature, puny, with longer yellow white face; it was difficult to imagine him, being so short, quiet, and unassuming, to be able to decide to commit this assassination. And his eyes! These light blue, bright eyes are by no means savage, criminal eyes, but vivid and piercing eyes, otherwise calm; innate intelligence protruded from them, as well as some balance and ultimate energy" (L. Pfeffer).

An unprecedented panic came over Sarajevo that day. Great fear crept into every part of the city. Various tidings arrived: that the assassins placed bombs all over the place, even under the desk of Franz Ferdinand. That night mob smashed all the assets of prominent Serbs in Sarajevo and the next day holding pictures of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, they pillaged Sarajevo, using axes and pickaxes to annihilate everything that was Serbian. The police did not react. That evening Potiorek declared a state of emergency. Vandalism spread to entire Bosnia. Many photographs were taken of the barbarism. Although Potiorek ordered that those photographs be collected and destroyed, many of them remained preserved.

Potiorek was in fear until the end of his life. That evening, after the assassination, he was stooped, completely drooped, with dangling arms, pale, with dishevelled hair, his blouse was unbuttoned. It was the genuine image of a desperate person. During the following month, he went out

of the Konak only twice. The first time when the dead bodies of Francis Ferdinand and Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenberg, were carried to the train station Bistrik. The second time when the Requiem mass at the Catholic Church was held for the murdered couple; these short distances were secured by the army. The streets were empty; houses and shops were closed, blinds drawn down, no one was allowed to be at windows.

The third time he came out of the Konak was when the war with Serbia began. It was late, dark night. Never did he return to Sarajevo.

### EPILOGUE

The trial of the assassins was completed on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1914, and the sentence was read out on 28<sup>th</sup> October. When reading the sentence, the judges were dressed in black suits - a sign of death sentences.

The sentenced were:

Sentence to death: Danilo Ilić, Veljko Čubrilo-  
vić, Nedjo Kerović, Miško Jovanović, and Ja-  
kov Milović;

Life imprisonment Mitar Kerović;

Gavrilo Princip was sentenced to tough dun-  
geon for twenty years, aggravated by one month  
of fast, and each year, on 28<sup>th</sup> June, to lie on a  
hard bed in solitary confinement in a dark room;

Nedeljko Čabrinović, the same punishment,  
but without fast;

Trifko Grabež to twenty years in tough pris-  
on, and fasting every third month;

Vaso Čubrilo-  
vić to sixteen years and fast-  
ing every six months; Cvjetko Popović to thirteen  
years; Lazar Djurkić to ten years; Ivo Kranjčević  
to ten years in tough dungeon; Cvitko Stjepanović  
to seven years; Branko Zagorac and Marko Cerin  
to three years;

The following were acquitted: Nikola Forka-  
pić, Dragan Kalember, Ivan Momčilović, Franjo  
and Angela Sadia, Mići Mičić, Obren Milošević,  
Jovo, and Blagoje Kerović.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1915, from 9 am to 10 am  
in the courtyard of the military prison in Sarajevo,  
Danilo Ilić, Miško Jovanović, and Veljko Čubrilo-  
vić were hanged.

Five survived the prison: Čubrilo-  
vić, Kranjčević, Popović, Stjepanovic, and Zagorac,  
and eight died: Perin 1914 Čabrinović, Kerović  
father and son, Milović and Grabež, all died of  
tuberculosis in 1916, Djukić became insane due  
to hunger and died in 1918, Princip died on 28<sup>th</sup>  
April 1918.

They all did the term in Terezin prison. The  
Terezin prison was a terrifying structure, "The old  
fort, built by the order of Empress Maria Theresa,  
as it is said, is on an artificially erected hill of the  
brought soil. The fortress was built of stone and  
brick, in front of it there is a deep moat full of wa-  
ter, and earth strata on the roof. The thickness of  
the outer wall is more than one meter, whereas the  
inner walls are of normal thickness. Rooms were  
mostly built in arch shape. Former loopholes were  
extended only to the extent that outer side is even  
with the inner, and those were the windows to the  
outside. The windows to the courtyard are normal.  
Casemates are larger rooms, which accommo-  
dated 12-15 people, and between the casemates,  
solitary confinement cells were rebuilt. This old  
military prison was divided into three parts. Be-  
tween the second and third part, there was a road,  
and the first part was separated from the other by  
a wall. In the first part, prominent Czechs, MPs,  
and leaders of the nation were closed. Grapple,  
Čabrinović and Djukić were in the second part,  
and Princip, Stjepanović and I were in the third."  
(Ivo Kranjčević).

The convicts were not allowed to look out of  
the window, and the guards had orders to shoot.  
However, Princip did not pay much attention  
to it, thus, he was seen a couple of times: "The  
yard overlooked the cells where the assassins  
lived. But they could not make any contact, and  
if whoever showed himself, guards had orders to  
shoot. But, upon being sentenced, Princip was fre-  
quently seen, briefly, for a moment, like a flash,  
occasionally nodding his head, cloudy, with a  
cryptic smile. That morning, as if he had a pre-  
monition that we would part, he showed up on the  
window twice, and stayed there longer than usual.  
He was not afraid of the aimed rifles; he knew  
that he would not be killed in this way; he was  
determined on a long and slow death. The second  
time he nodded his head for a long period; then he

raised his hand to us and waved it in greeting. He was very thin, ragged, and bitter. After it he disappeared in the depths, he himself became an obscure smile, and he never reappeared to my eyes again" (Borivoje Jevtić).

Nedeljko Čabrinović was first to die. He suffered from hunger, but also from mental torment. He did not know anything about his family, and he doubted the ideals he sacrificed for. As he was ill, he was taken to hospital, but before his death; since prisoners must not die in the hospital, he was returned to his prison cell. Austrian writer Franz Verfel left a remarkable description about his final moments. Nedeljko Čabrinović died on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1916, completely alone.

Trifko Grabež was extremely persistent. Not once, when he was in Terezin, did he go to the hospital. He was in the same section with Čabrinović, so with a little help from the guards, he could contact him. They even saw each other a couple of times and talked. Upon hearing that Čabrinović died, Grabež suffered a heavy attack. He hardly ate anything, did not want to come out of the cell at all, and did not want to talk to anyone. During the last few days of his life, he did not get up out of bed, they thought he was being defiant. And then, one day he was found cold in bed. It was 21<sup>st</sup> October 1916.

Gavrilo Princip was one of the toughest; he lived through until 28<sup>th</sup> April 1918. His torments began in the prison in Sarajevo and they only increased in Terezin. Kranjčević, again, met him the most. He said that Princip remained spiritually fresh until the end. After hearing that Romania entered the war on the side of the Entente, he hoped that the war would soon be over. Through the window of his cells, he showed Kranjčević a small piece of bread and told him that he was so excited that, although extremely hungry, he was not able to eat. A doctor, a Jew (a convict, too), visited sick Princip. He would bring him some chocolate or a better meal, but soon he committed suicide, so Princip was left without this aid.

Dr Anton Marsch treated Princip in the hospital and left some records about it: "Who has ever looked into the casemates of the Terezin fortress, must ascertain, to their horror, that they expected the imminent end of each one, who was

sentenced to serving the sentence in these wet rooms, in which sunlight never penetrates. When, in the summer of 1916, I began to treat Princip at the surgical department of the garrison hospital, he was already a death's candidate, a living corpse; his body drained to the bone was covered with many tuberculosis sores of a plate size.

It is certain that even before his arrest, Princip carried the germs of tuberculosis in himself, but two years in the casemates of Terezin fortress were sufficient to instigate the hotbed of the disease so much that the death of the patient could be expected in the shortest time. But official factors in Terezin garrison need to be acknowledged, who bore the responsibility for Princip's personality, who, as soon as first serious symptoms of tuberculosis appeared, transferred the patient to garrison hospital, where he had the same care as wounded or sick soldiers. Monitoring was very strict, though; a soldier with a fixed bayonet was standing in his room, two men were standing outside the door, and two others were keeping watch under the window, although the escape attempt by the patient was completely out of question because he could barely walk for two hundred meters.

Despite the strict ban on any kind of conversation with him, I still found the opportunity to talk to him for a short time on several occasions during his treatment. Since he was not allowed to write or to read, and even to talk with anyone, it was a relief to him when at least he could talk to someone. When he committed his fatal act, Princip was the grammar school student, who was not even 20 years old, and who, in his youthful idealism and national fanaticism, was ready to sacrifice even life for his idea and people of his country. When talking to me, he was never regretful about what he did, and that he somewhat had a sense of foreboding of terrible consequences of the assassination - the outbreak of the World War. On his facial features, almost solemn seriousness lay; the eyes, which lay deep in their hollows, lost their glow and flames, and they would glitter for a moment only when he began talking about the liberation of the nation. Committed patiently to his fate, he had put an end to all earthly things and expected his imminent end with stoic calm. In good German he would talk to me a lot about his fam-

## GAVRILO PRINCIP

ily and his short life, but he never mentioned the Black Arm people, who, according to the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian secret police, induced him to this act.

During his two-year term in the prison, a long beard had grown, so that he looked ten years older. When he had his beard removed, an intelligent, youthful face, full of expression appeared before me. Slender and gently Princip's body had a typical habitus of tuberculosis. As I mentioned earlier, his chest was covered with a large tuberculosis purulent sores. Joint in his right elbow was so destroyed by tuberculosis that the upper and lower part of the arm had to be bound with silver wire.

Why the doctors were forbidden to amputate the lower part of the arm, which was completely useless, I have not been able to explain to myself even until today. Princip would usually come to the operating theatre every other day for bandaging. Since we had to bandage his entire upper body, I had to spend more material for his bandaging than for five wounded soldiers. The tuberculosis rapidly progressed. Princip's days were numbered."

At the beginning of 1917 an amputation of Princip's right arm took place and the amputation was high above the armpit. Today it is thought that Princip died of tuberculosis of bones. He died on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

# SAVA ŠUMANOVIĆ

Sava Šumanović was born in a respectable bourgeois family on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1896 in Vinkovci, where his father Milutin, forestry engineer, was the manager of the Forest Estate of Srem. After his father's early retirement, the family, with their four year old son, returned to Šid, to manage the family estate. The members of this respectable family from Šid were mostly educated. The most reputable among them was the brother of Sava's father, Svetislav Šumanović, a lawyer from Zagreb, the MP in all convocations of the Croatian Parliament, President of the Management Board of Serbian Savings. Sava, as the only male heir in the family, was meant to follow his uncle's steps. His mother Persida was a daughter of a reputable trader, Sava Tubić, a man of prominent advanced opinions, whose children were educated in Austria. Persida graduated from a girl's lyceum in Vienna and Pécs.

In his search for knowledge in 1906, Sava Šumanović enrolled the Grammar School in Zemun with a focus on social sciences, which he graduated from in 1914, and then he enrolled the Art College in Zagreb, where he was taught by Oton Iveković. During the second year of studies, he transferred to Professor Menciije Klement Crnčić's class. He graduated from the Art College in 1918, and the final grade said: "Mr Sava Šumanović, a very talented, especially hard working and conscientious in his work, has been exceptionally successful in the figural drawing and painting. He is knowledgeable in all techniques of graphic art. As a candidate for teaching drawing, with the acquired skills, he will be a particularly good and conscientious teacher".

He remained in Zagreb until September 1920, when he went to Paris. He spent three months in the atelier of André Lhote, a painter and art teacher. At Montparnasse, he met and spent time with many artists of his time: Derain, Kisling, Papazofuo, Fugituo... This was the time when his friendship with a writer and art critic Rastko Petrović started. After he returned from Paris, he had a solo exhibition in Zagreb the same year. The conservative part of the public and the critics did not show understanding for Šumanović's new, and, as they thought, too modern artwork.

Antonija Koščević Tkalčić, a sculpture student, with whom he had a special friendship, spoke very nicely about Sava Šumanović: "There was no 'having fun' for him, he was serious. He did not party with the rest. When he found an atelier, after Paris, at the Prilaz, he went to his atelier early in the morning and worked there until one o'clock. He would go to the atelier no matter how unwilling he was to work, or even sick, he would at least tidy up and clean it, nothing could distract him. At one o'clock he would go to have lunch. After lunch, he would go to the Theatre bar, and back to the atelier. He would not miss his time at the atelier irrespective of people or issues involved. In the evening, after dinner, he would go back to the bar [Theatre] again, and he did not stay longer than half past 10. He was very precise with his daily schedule. He would sit there with his school friends and with young writers and artists in endless debates. They did not think him insane but 'talented', because of his excitement about the contemporary European cubism. True, he would say a lot, 'pour epater les bourgeois' (to

impress the bourgeois), when it was necessary to get rid of any important, pushy man. But, – why did they, there, in his town, in Šid, proclaim him to be insane. Or was it someone's intention!"

Sava went back to Paris in 1925. For unknown reasons, he only got a six month visa, which was a great pressure on the artist. However, after a break, his father started helping him financially again. Life in Paris was not easy for Sava: "My whole life in Paris from 1925 was a tough inner fight, against sorrow, sentimentalism, so I painted joyful, colourful paintings. But none of that helped, the life was so ugly, so disgusting and sorrowful that I was one heavy fever away from destroying me", the artist described his life.

Šumanović lived a rich artistic life. His artwork was exhibited at the Salon d'Automne (Autumn Salon) in Paris, and he sold the painting *The Bathers* then, which was a great success. The following year he painted *Breakfast on Grass* and a significant composition *The Drunken Ship*, which he presented at the Salon des Indépendants exhibition. In the same year, 1927, as one of the young artists, he painted one of the pillars in an iconic bar in Paris, "La Coupole".

The following year, 1928, his painting, *The Drunken Ship*, was featured on the cover of the February issue of art magazine *La Crapeuillet*.

In early 1928, Sava started being disturbed inside, like all exceptional artists are. His mother Persida arrived in Paris then, and they returned to Šid together.

During the spring and summer of 1928 he painted landscapes from the surroundings of Šid. In September he prepared a solo exhibition at the New University in Belgrade, when he sold 44 out of the 47 paintings he exhibited. Critics wrote about the exhibition "The newest Sava Šumanović's art shows sprouts, out of which a completely original art style will grow. Sava Šumanović is a born colourist. The content of his compositions, landscapes, and aquarelle does not interest us at all, because in all of his paintings, the story does not matter, but the art does, as he, as a born colourist, is not the least interested in literary but in artistic thoughts. A person feels that from all of his paintings, a real colourist speaks, and some of his exhibited art shows specific coloristic

qualities, that all his female nudes are bulky, tacky, indelicate, but beautiful as a ton of meat. Sava Šumanović quite clearly, violently, and strongly suggests a gospel of colours, but as a colourist he still does not feel the atmosphere of colour, he is still not ready to create completed, rounded artwork but puts layers of beautiful, fresh, juicy and strong colours, which are chaos for an ordinary brain, but a chaos of a strong decorative impact".

In October 1928, Sava Šumanović returned to Paris, where he remained until March 1930. While he was in the City of Light, he spent time in the company of Gilles Pasquina, Seiji Koyanagi, and Pierre Crogue. He belonged to an artistic stream that wanted the return of realism, the so-called new realism. The last artwork made in Paris had Paris motives: *Luxembourg Park*, *La Seine Bridge*, and nudes. That year in Paris he spent in the company of cheerful artists which were led at Montparnasse by the muse of many artists, a model, an artist, a singer and actress, famous Kiki. A couple of nudes, for which she posed in 1929, *The Red Carpet* and *Morning*, are considered to be the most beautiful ones in the Serbian art.

Sava Šumanović returned from Paris in 1930. It was the time of his heightened disturbance, but he also had bowel inflammation, so the following two years almost did not exist for him, because he was not able to paint. He was treated in Belgrade for three months, and then he returned to Šid.

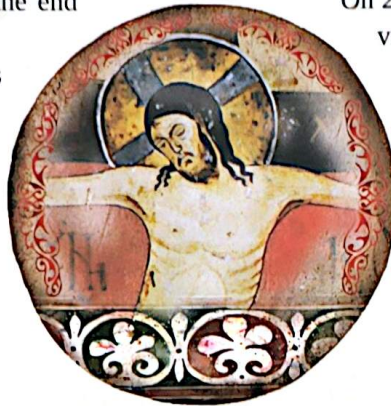
Sava Šumanović was then a completely formed personality, and an affirmed artist. In his parents' home, where he had ideal working conditions, he spent his last decade, in an incredible artistic mood. After the two-year break, from 1932, he painted the landscapes of Šid and nudes based on the drafts he brought from Paris. "That part of Šid is the most picturesque one and the most beautiful one for me (after that, the surroundings of Paris). (...) That land, the sun and light made my art cheerful and painted with clear tones, just like at the Belgrade exhibition in 1928".

In the last decade of his life, the period which is rightfully thought to be the most mature and the most important one, Šumanović painted about 600 paintings. He was completely devoted to his work, he created, was fully focused, to the

end, he mastered the colour mixing technology, he arrived to his own artistic expression which he humbly called "to the best of my ability".

The sixth solo exhibition, when he exhibited 410 of his paintings, Sava Šumanović made on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1939, again at the New University in Belgrade. The foreword to the *Catalogue* includes an important autobiographical text. The exhibition, opened on the day when the World War II started, was successful. Šumanović sold over 100 paintings, and gave away plenty. He returned to Šid full of energy, and continued painting with equal passion to the end of his life.

From April 1941 Šid was under the rule of Independent State of Croatia. Šumanović stopped signing his artwork.



He painted to the last day of his life. When Ustaša agents came for him in the early morning of 28<sup>th</sup> August 1942, the freshly completed painting *The Harvesters* was left on the easel, the last one in the line from the triptych of the same name. Two days later he was shot in Sremska Mitrovica, together with one hundred and twenty people from Šid, with whom he was buried in a common grave at the graveyard of Sremska Mitrovica.

Persida Šumanović donated 417 of his paintings and the family house in which the art is exhibited to the city of Šid ten days later.

On 21<sup>st</sup> September 1952, "Sava Šumanović" gallery was founded. According to Persida's story, that was her and Sava's mutual wish, for the paintings to be exhibited in the place where they came into existence.