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JOVAN DUČIĆ: LIFE, WORK, TIMES

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JOVAN DUČIĆ
LIFE, WORK, TIMES



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CONTENTS

7 | Editor's Foreword

JOVAN DUČIĆ: BIOGRAPHY

13 | Jovan Delić, *Biography of Jovan Dučić*

JOVAN DUČIĆ: DIPLOMACY

57 | Miladin Milošević and Ljubodrag Dimić, *Jovan Dučić – A Diplomatic Career*

JOVAN DUČIĆ'S LITERARY WORKS

101 | Jovan Delić, *From Personal Pain to Metaphysical Visions*

151 | Mina M. Đurić, *Companions on a Path by the Road: Dučić's Views on Serbian Literature in the Context of World Art and Culture*

175 | Vladimir Gvozden, *Cultural Transfer, Literary System and the Figure of a (Travel) Writer in Jovan Dučić's Cities and Chimeras*

199 | Aleksandar M. Milanović, *The Contribution of Dučić's Travelogues to the Modernization of the Serbian Poetic and Standard Language*

217 | Nedeljka Bjelanović, *Dučić's Abatement: Leutar Mornings*

225 | Vladan Bajčeta, *Dučić's Praise of Folly: King Radovan's Treasure*

245 | Jovan Delić, *Dučić's Historical Portrait of an Ancestor and Alter Ego*

JOVAN DUČIĆ AND THE ACADEMY

281 | Zlata Bojović, *Jovan Dučić in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts*

305 | Endnotes

323 | Abbreviations

JOVAN DUČIĆ: BIBLIOGRAPHY

327 | Dragana Krstić Lukić and Svetlana Simonović Mandić, *Jovan Dučić's Bibliography*

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Praised and commended from the highest and most meritorious place as the greatest Serbian lyric poet (Bogdan Popović, Slobodan Jovanović), and later disputed by avant-garde poets, and posthumously ideologically discredited, one hundred and fifty years after his birth Jovan Dučić still emerges as one of the greatest lyric poets that we have ever had. In about three and a half decades of his diplomatic service, he gained a reputation as one of the most prominent Serbian and Yugoslav diplomats, and was the first one among the heads of the legations of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to be granted the title of ambassador. Therefore, it is quite natural that the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts dedicated the year 2021 and this monograph to him.

He said for himself that he knew neither the day nor the year when he was born, but that he perfectly well knew why he was born. From an orphan fathered by a war insurgent from Podglivlje, Hrupjel, and Trebinje he managed to rise to prominence and became the most distinguished poet and one of the most distinguished diplomatic figures of his time, he met the most influential, most powerful and most talented people of his time: kings, presidents and prime ministers, military leaders, diplomats, sages, poets, writers, critics, journalists, ladies... He travelled a great deal and amassed a wealth of knowledge and experience. He was buried three times on two different continents and in two different millennia, and therefore not only does Dučić's biography portray a rich, exciting, often dramatic, fulfilled and accomplished life, but also his three funerals, that is, his posthumous return to Crkvina above Trebinje. Dučić's biography covers the time span of over one hundred and thirty years.

Special emphasis has been given to Dučić's all-out diplomatic efforts. Owing to the fact that Dučić's *Diplomatski spisi (Diplomatic Documents)* (by Miladin Milošević) came off the press, favorable conditions have been met for this extremely important Dučić's pursuit to be more precisely viewed and evaluated. His assessments of the fascist threat and his justified early fears of genocide against the Serbs, and his premonitions about the genocide, proved to be extremely accurate.

The greatest attention has been devoted to Dučić's poetry. It has been typologically classified into "lyrical circles", but it has also been looked into in reference to its "development", thus making the synchronic and diachronic perspectives intertwined in the process of reflecting on Dučić's poetry.

Given that Dučić believed that poetry was the highest degree of metaphysics, special attention has been devoted to metaphysical qualities of his poetry.

Dučić's contribution to travel writing genre, which has been enormously important for Serbian literature from its very beginnings, is exceptional. Dučić's travelogues can be considered as travel essays, and the travel writer himself described this genre as "a novel of one heart and one mind".

This monograph emphasizes Dučić's huge contribution to the development of essays in Serbian literature. Strong impetus came from French literature, primarily from Montaigne. For Dučić, the essay is a genre of human self-searching, introspection, self-overcoming, self-awareness and self-knowledge. The essay is at the core his travel writing prose (*Cities and Chimeras*), contemplative prose (*Leutar Mornings* and *King Radovan's Treasure*), literary criticism and autopoetic prose (*A Path by the Road* and *My Companions*). Even nowadays, a large number of Dučić's literary criticisms is as relevant as ever, as well as statements on his understanding of the nature of criticism. In this monograph, Dučić's essayistic output has also been viewed in a comparative context.

Miladin Milošević pointed out that history was Dučić's obsession, which is a point of resemblance with Ivo Andrić. By far Dučić's book *Count Sava Vladislavić* ranks among the most original and unusual historiographical works, written as a biography of probably the greatest diplomat among the Serbs, but in the service of the Russian Empire, and as a work on the writer's ancestor and his alter ego.

We tried to present Dučić's oeuvre in its entirety, respecting the individuality of each work. Thus, the reader will get a fuller picture of Jovan Dučić as a poet, diplomat, travel writer, essayist, literary critic and historian, in addition to each of his works individually.

Special attention has been devoted to the academician Jovan Dučić, that is, Jovan Dučić as a fellow of the Serbian Royal Academy. Many documents and findings have been made known to the general scientific public for the first time.

Dučić's bibliography has been necessarily selective. The work on this monograph only showed how much the complete and all-round Dučić's bibliography has actually been lacking.

This monograph was created during the pandemic: much to our regret, two authors were forced to cancel their contributions to the monograph. We are all the more grateful to all the authors for working under difficult conditions. Despite the pandemic, only in part have we managed to repay our debt to the great poet and diplomat Jovan Dučić.

Ljubodrag Dimić and Jovan Delić



JOVAN DUČIĆ:
BIOGRAPHY

BIOGRAPHY OF JOVAN DUČIĆ

Jovan DELIĆ

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

The day, month and year of birth of Jovan Dučić are not known with certainty. This should not be ascribed to anyone's ill will, but to life and historical circumstances. In literature, 1869, 1871, 1872 and 1874 are stated as years of his birth. It is hard to say which date is correct.

In *Narodna enciklopedija SHS (National Encyclopaedia of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes)* (1929), Veljko Petrović states that Jovan Dučić was born on 5 February 1871. This date appears in many other Yugoslav encyclopaedias and lexicons: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije (Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia)*, I-IV, Zagreb, 1955-1972; *Mala enciklopedija (Small Encyclopaedia)* I-II, Belgrade, 1959 and I-III, Belgrade, 1977; *Književni godišnjak – Pisci jugoslovenskih naroda (Annual Yearbook – Writers of Yugoslav Peoples)*, Zagreb, 1961; *Jugoslovenski književni leksikon (Yugoslav Literary Lexicon)*, Novi Sad, 1971; *Opća popularna enciklopedija (General Popular Encyclopaedia)*, BIGZ, Zagreb, 1972; *Leksikon JLZ (Lexicon of the Yugoslav Lexicological Bureau)*, Zagreb, 1974; *Popularna enciklopedija (Popular Encyclopaedia)*, BIGZ, 1976. Todor Kruševac (*Leksikon pisaca Jugoslavije (Lexicon of Yugoslav Writers)*, 1972), takes the same year and month, but corrects the day – instead of 5 February, he gives 17 February as Dučić's day of birth, as a difference between Julian and Gregorian calendars.

The year 1871 was also taken by Jaša Prodanović and, much later, by Vladimir Jovičić. In his *Prilog biografiji (A Contribution to Biography)* of Jovan Dučić, Vojislav Bogićević uses 1871 as the year of Dučić's birth reminding of the ransacking of Dučić's apartment in Bijeljina:

“In May 1894, upon the order of the head of district Czerny, the police authorities ransacked the apartment of Serbian





Trebinje, Jovan Dučić's birthplace (AY-377, Photographs Collection)

teacher Jovan Dučić, aged 23, who had just begun to work as a Serbian teacher in the elementary school in Bijeljina” (БОГИЋЕВИЋ 1939: 154–158).

In his biographical book *Jovan Dučić*, Kosta St. Pavlović, Dučić's secretary, “gives a whole range of dates, i.e. years, from 1869 to 1876”, but opts for 1869 (ПАВЛОВИЋ 1967: 11–17, 161).

As the church books from the time of Dučić's birth and the documentation of the Trebinje elementary school have not been preserved, the exact date is not warranted even by the “Certificate” of the Serbian Orthodox parish of Trebinje of 8 April 1938, according to which Jovan Dučić was born on 15 February 1874.

Almanah hrvatskih i srpskih pesnika i pripovedača (*The Almanach of Croatian and Serbian Poets and Writers*) (Zagreb–Belgrade, 1910) gives 5 February 1874 as Dučić's date of birth. Skerlić also opted for 1874, as did Dragutin Prohaska, A. St. Jotić, Antun Barac, Đorđe Anđelić and Jovan Deretić. The year 1874 is inscribed on Dučić's memorial cross in Libertyville.

The Work Journal of the Serbian Pedagogical School in Sombor, number nine, school year 1891/92 (when Dučić was in the second grade), rubric “Intern's name, day, month and year of birth”, reads: “Jovan Dučić, born on 15 June 1872 in Trebinje, Herzegovina”. This information was copied from the documentation of the same school in Sarajevo, where Jovan Dučić completed

the first grade with the lowest passing mark. The day of birth is now neither 5 nor 17 February, but 15 June. The archive of Geneva University even states 1 November as the day of birth.

Meša Selimović and Živorad Stojković, the editors of Dučić's *Collected Works* agree with Pero Slijepčević: "Dučić was born in a tranquil Herzegovian town of Trebinje, probably in 1872" (ДУЧИЋ VI 1990: 102). Miloš Savković, Miroslav Ravbar and Predrag Palavestra opt for 1872. In his book *Rani Dučić (Early Dučić)*, grammar school teacher from Novi Sad Miloš Milošević elaborates on Dučić's year of birth. He decides on 15 June 1872, reminding of Svetozar Ćorović's recollections. In the course of September 1886, Ćorović would often talk to Dučić: "He was barely three years older than me; both of us subscribed to the Sombor children's journal *Golub* and we almost always spoke about it" (ЋОРОВИЋ 1918: 727). Svetozar Ćorović's date of birth is known – 29 May 1875. "Barely three years older", Dučić should have been born in 1872. The date that Milošević opts for – 15 June, may not be correct and the assumption of Selimović and Stojković that Jovan Dučić was born on 5/17 February 1872 in Trebinje (Hrupjela suburbs) is not ungrounded – according to Miloš Milošević, Dučić was born "in a modest stone house with thick walls and small windows, in front of which a cypress branched and a garden spread out" (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1993: 9). This description is probably based on a drawing of Beta Vukanović which, as far as we know, shows Dučić's original house. Dučić used to say that he had hatched from the piles of Herzegovian stones, probably alluding to Herzegovian horned viper snakes, although he was not of venomous nature. There is also an old photograph of Dučić's house, printed in the books of Miloš Milošević and Radovan Popović. The photograph is unsigned (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1993: 34; ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 5, 10). There is a significant difference between Dučić's house in the photograph and the drawing of Beta Vukanović – the cypress in the drawing is not shown in the photograph. The house in the drawing is small but rather high, while in the photograph it is longer, wider, and lower. These are, in all probability, two houses in two different places. It seems that Beta Vukanović drew the house in Podglivlje, in the foothills of Leutar, where Jovan Dučić was born, whereas the house in the photograph is the one in Hrupjela, from which Dučić was going on foot to the elementary school in Trebinje.

Dučić's father Andrija was a modest merchant and patriot – he was wounded in the Herzegovina Uprising and died from pneumonia in 1878, and was buried in the joint grave of the fallen insurgents in Posat,



Beta Vukanović: a drawing of the Trebinje house in which Jovan Dučić was born



Jovan Dučić as a pupil at the Serbian Orthodox primary school in Trebinje (AY-377, PC)

next to St George's church near Dubrovnik. According to people from Trebinje, it is through these graves that the asphalt road to Dubrovnik goes.

Jovan lost his father in his early age and did not even remember him. He created an idealised picture of his father based on his mother's stories. He took pride in his father and his sacrifice, emphasising his insurgent origins. The date of Andrija's birth is unknown. Severely wounded in the Herzegovina Uprising, he died in 1878. The boy wore around his right arm a wide black armband – the mark of a mourning orphan. The armband is visible in the photograph where Jovan sits next to his mother Joka, between his sisters Soka and Mileva. In 1890, in Mostar, as a young, eighteen-year old boy, Jovan wrote not a particularly successful, but very telling, patriotically inspired poem *Siroče (An Orphan)*, as a dialogue with and an oath to his dead father. Serbdom is the orphan's father and the homeland is his mother.

Jovan Dučić was very close to his mother Jovanka (Joka), born Sušić. Before Andrija Dučić, she was married to a reputable merchant Šćepan Glogovac, and had two children with him – son Risto, who inherited his father's business, and daughter Soka. With Andrija, she gave birth to Jovan and Mileva. Married to Risto Čelović, a mayor of Trebinje, Mileva died aged 22, on 20 March 1890. Mileva and Risto had daughter Leposava, married to Miloje Todorović, a judge from Jagodina. Jovan Dučić mourned the death of his sister Mileva for a long time. In 1895, he published in *Bosanska vila* the poem *Sestri nad grobom (To my Sister over her Grave)*.

Until he was three, i.e. until the Herzegovina Uprising, Jovan lived in his parents' house in Podglivlje, and the following two years, while the war raged, he lived with his mother and sister as a refugee in Dubrovnik. After the Uprising, Jovanka returned with her children to their home in Hrupjela. In 1880/1881, he completed the elementary public school in Trebinje. When at home, the boy spent most of his time on the upper floor, in the part of the house with a view of the garden and yard.

Trebinje has always been a beautiful town. It is Dučić's town, on which he left a permanent and indelible mark. The words "my dear Trebinje", with which he addressed Trebinje, reflect his impression of his hometown. Although he left Trebinje in 1882 and went to Mostar, he occasionally returned to it with, as a rule, precious and timeless gifts, and carried his town in his memory all over the world. While serving as a diplomat in Cairo, he saw Mostar, and probably Trebinje as well, as a mirage – "this small town of my childhood shimmers even today as a mirage which I saw one day while sitting next to a ruined Christian or non-Christian fortress in the Libyan-Egyptian desert" (ДУЧИЋ II 1989: 391). Dučić would forget that his dear Trebinje, during the months of drought,

often remained without water, and the locals had to pay for water and bring it from Bileća – a cart of water cost around three–four Groschen, and in around 1880 nothing was cooked Sundays.

It seems that Trebinje, just like Leutar, attracted Dučić with its mysterious name. According to Ante Figurić, the name of the town originates from the Latin word *trebinus*, which means a *sacrifice*. There are many Yugoslav toponyms with the same morpheme: Trebinovo, Trebina, Trebjesa, Trebević, Tribun, Trebinje (ФИГУРИЋ 1930: 24).

Dučić writes the following about Leutar:

“The large hill Leutar which rises above my native Trebinje as an azure canvas above the sky and the earth carries the Illyrian and Greek name originating from the word *elefteria*, which means freedom.

On a clear day, one can see the Italian shore from this hill, over the nearby sea. This large horizon influenced my hometown and its people...”

For Dučić, Trebinje with Leutar epitomises a sacrifice and freedom (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1993: 15).

At the time when Dučić was a student, the town had 587 and the municipality 923 households, and around 2000, i.e. 5670 inhabitants. There were two churches in the town – the Serbian Orthodox and the Roman Catholic church, with a large park in between. The town had a male and female elementary school, a junior grammar school and two female professional schools. For the poet, his native Trebinje was the truth of the heart and imagination “rather than an earthly truth and general reality”.

After Jovan completed elementary school, in 1882 Jovanka, without secure income, took both of her children to Mostar to live in the home of Risto Glogovac, her older son from her first marriage, who was already a wealthy merchant. She hoped her younger son would continue with the family merchant tradition. Jovan completed a merchant school in Mostar (1884-1887). In his free time, he worked as an apprentice in his half-brother’s store. However, he had no aspirations to trade, but dreamed of becoming a teacher. Being a teacher in Mostar or Trebinje was his professional ideal from childhood years. He grew into a handsome, tall, attractive young man. He came into the limelight when he recited the prologue to Subotić’s drama *Krst i kruna* (*Cross and Crown*). He was increasingly drawn to acting and poetry. As a young man, he socialised with Svetozar Ćorović, who was three years younger than him. Both of them subscribed to Sombor’s *Golub* journal. It was Ćorović in whom he confided his fervent wish to publish a poem in this journal, without being ashamed before his friends.



Jovan Dučić’s mother

He published his poem *Samohrana majka* (*A Single Mother*) in 11th issue of *Golub* for 1886. It was a big day for the 14-year-old boy. At the start of the 1886/87 school year, poet Silvije Strahimir Kranjčević became a teacher of language and literature at the Merchant School. Dučić and Ćorović were thrilled with Kranjčević's courage and liberalism. Kranjčević imbued occupied Mostar with free spirit, reading to students Serbian epic poems of the Kosovo cycle. However, already in late 1886, Kranjčević was punished and transferred to Livno – “the Bosnian Siberia”, which saddened and drew even closer Dučić and Ćorović. In summer 1887, he completed the Merchant School, became practically a permanent associate of *Golub* and began to write for Zmaj's *Neven*. Already in 1888, he became famous all around, from Sombor to Mostar. That year, probably under Zmaj's influence, he wrote his first poem about a poem – *Melem bola* (*A Balm of Pain*). Thus, very early on, the poet's main thematic fields were outlined – death, nature, homeland, poem, and even God. Love soon followed. These are Dučić's six main thematic fields. In 1889, he began to translate German and Russian poets (Uhland, Eichendorff, Heine, Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrasov). His translator's zeal did not last long. He soon became an associate of the most important journals in various Serbian lands – *Golub*, *Neven*, *Javor*, *Bosanska vila*, *Nova Zeta*, *Zora* and *Letopis Matice srpske*.

Mostar was an occupied town, full of Austro-Hungarian soldiers, who spoke German, Hungarian, Italian, Czech. It is in Mostar that he developed his penchant for poetry and recitals, foreign languages, particularly liberal ideas. Mostar offered to Dučić two important and high steps for his development, but it turned out to be both life-saving and too narrow for Dučić's ambitions.

Inspired by the attractiveness of the teaching profession, in 1890/91 Dučić enrolled in the Teaching School in Sarajevo. Already next school year, he moved to Sombor, where he stayed until he completed the well-known *Serbian Teaching School of Sombor*. According to *Školski list* (*School Journal*) for 1893, among “23 graduated interns”, the “teacher's capacity” exam was also passed by “Jovan Dučić from Trebinje with an average grade”, but “due to incomplete knowledge of the Hungarian language, teaching diplomas were withheld from M. Hristić, Hristifor Misita, Jovan Dučić and others. They were referred to take again the oral and written exam in Hungarian, after thorough preparation, in the first half of October, before the state supervisory committee of the Bač–Bodrog Županija”. Though withheld, the diplomas were gained and Jovan Dučić graduated from the Teaching School on 23 June 1893. Already in 1893/94, he became a teacher in Bijeljina.

With around 8000 inhabitants at the time, the little town of Bijeljina was, due to its borderline position, constantly watched by Austria-Hungary, which systematically punished and eliminated all suspicious elements. As an already recognised and reputable poet, Dučić became a teacher full of patriotic fervour. Already in September 1893, he met Magdalina Maga Živanović, a daughter of a wealthy merchant from Bijeljina Jovo Živanović. She was his great love and a fiancée. Imbued with patriotic zeal, Dučić embarked on preparations of the celebration of St Sava's Day in the Drina hotel on 28 January 1894. He prepared and carried out the entire programme, together with selected associates, and also wrote a speech. Owing to his national ideas and engagement, he gained a good reputation among the citizens, but provoked even greater suspicions and animosity of the Austro-Hungarian authorities. Upon the order of the



A panorama of Sarajevo, where Jovan Dučić enrolled in the first class of the Teaching School in 1890/1891 (AY-377, PC)

head of district Czerny, Dučić's apartment was thoroughly ransacked and Dučić was accused of "disturbing public peace and order". Dučić's two poems *Oj, Bosno* (*O, Bosnia*) and *Otađbina* (*Homeland*) were found in the apartment and designated as dangerous for peace and order, which is why Czerny requested that the poet be arrested. The attorney's office rejected the request, unless in the case of Dučić's attempted escape. Dučić defended himself by claiming that under the *homeland*, he meant Old Serbia as the old fatherland of the Serbs. He denied his authorship of the poem *Oj, Bosno*, claiming he had purportedly received it from Nikola Miroslavljević, who died two years before and is today anonymous. The authorities did not accept his defence and Czerny energetically requested that the young teacher be discharged. The request – that teacher Jovan Dučić be forbidden from working in all Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina and be placed under surveillance – was referred, through Tuzla as a district place, to the National Government in Sarajevo. Under the decision of the National Government in Sarajevo, No 1872 C.I.D. of 10 July 1894, teacher Jovan Dučić was banned from working in Serbian elementary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. His teaching post and his fiancée, i.e. the woman he loved, were taken by Dučić's colleague Dušan Kotarač, who married Maga already in 1895. Judging by his letters and *Beležnica* (*Diary*), Dučić



Jovan Dučić as a young man



A panorama of Mostar, where Jovan Dučić worked as a teacher from 1895 to 1899 and was an active member of the “Gusle” Society (AY-377, PC)

suffered a lot and deeply over his lost love. In 1971, Mustafa H. Grabčanović described Maga Živanović as a very well-mannered girl and the first poetess of Bijeljina – three poems were published under her name in *Bosanska vila*. According to Grabčanović, the best among these poems was *Pjesma bez naslova* (*A Poem without a Title*). As Miloš Milošević concludes based on Dučić’s *Diary*, Jovan Dučić was the one who wrote the poem, i.e. he probably wrote all three of them, in 1895, for the woman he loved. Moreover, Milošević brings into the question the girl’s high level of literacy as he inspected the correspondence and Dučić’s *Diary* (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1993: 38). The poignant Dučić’s verse is thus confirmed in authorial terms:

Everything we love we have created on our own.

After being dismissed, Dučić lived in Mostar and Žitomislić. He received an ordinance of the National Government in Sarajevo about his official appointment as a teacher of Serbian children in Žitomislić, where he worked from late October 1894 to June 1895. During his engagement in Žitomislić, he lived peacefully in the quarters of the Theological Seminary, but also in the seclusion of monastic life. In early December 1894, the National Government appointed him a teacher in Mostar as of 1895/96. He finally got the post that he dreamed of as a student of the Merchant

School. Though with a broken heart, he could be relatively satisfied. He taught in a school two centuries old and lived with his mother, having achieved his childhood professional dream.

At the time, Mostar was a bustling cultural hub and even a cultural miracle (ТУТЊЕВИЋ 2001). Dučić was in a selected and respectable circle of Serbian writers and intellectuals – Atanasije Šola, the Šantić brothers, Svetozar Ćorović, Hristifor Misita. As of 1888 he was an active member of the *Gusle* Society (ШОЛА 1938). He was one of the initiators of the *Zora* magazine in 1896 and its standing associate, and later its editor-in-chief, first together with Aleksa Šantić and then on his own – during 1898/99, whereafter he went to study in Geneva and Paris. Together with A. Šantić, S. Ćorović and A. Šola, Dučić was in the very epicentre of the Mostar cultural and literary circle, which also gathered Aleksa Šantić's brothers – Jefan and Jakov, and the younger of the Ćorović brothers – Vladimir, as well as Osman Đikić, Jovan Palavestra, Jovan Radulović and Hamza Humo (ТОМИЋ-КОВАЧ 1981). *Mala biblioteka* (*Little Library*) and its *Prijegled* (*Review*) of Paher and Kisić were exceptionally important. Jovan Dučić returned from Bijeljina and Žitomisljić to such a milieu and was at the same time creating it, before he went to Switzerland and France, i.e. Geneva and Paris. These nationally awakened and inspired men were watched by the Austro-Hungarian authorities and conflicted with them. In 1898 after being arrested, Jovan Dučić and Svetozar Ćorović were removed from school.

Feeling that Mostar was too small and narrow for him, in 1899 Dučić went to study in Geneva and Paris, instead of earlier planned Zagreb and Graz, first with the material aid of his friends from *Zora* and later with a scholarship of the Serbian Government. He studied at the Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology of Geneva University – he enrolled on 15 June 1899 and graduated in 1906, “having passed all written and oral exams in philosophy, philology, political history, history of religion, comparative law and sociology”. During his studies, he learned the French language and literature, visited Paris and followed the developments on the contemporary literary scene, particularly poetry. He already knew well German and Russian (from which he was translating). He also knew some Hungarian, and now learned excellent French. The books from his library, kept today in Trebinje, suggest that Dučić also knew other Romance languages. Dučić's secretary Peđa Milosavljević testified that Dučić complained it had taken him ten years to master French, while he learned Italian and Spanish much more quickly. Milosavljević also stated that a reputable Spanish woman had told him that ambassador Dučić spoke perfect Castilian. Dučić returned from Geneva as an intellectual with an extensive knowledge of humanities and several foreign languages.

Dučić's stay in Geneva and Paris and a direct contact with French poetry, criticism and culture shaped his literary taste and sharpened his critical stance towards his own poetry and literature in general.

He cherished a spiritual link with Paris and France over his entire life. For him, in the early 20th century, Paris was “the brain of Europe” and “the glorious holy Jerusalem”, the capital of European culture and art.

Strict with himself and ready to reject everything not worthy of a book and a poet, Dučić developed swiftly and steadily, practically until his last breath, when his last poetic book appeared – *Lirika 1943* (*Lyrics 1943*), believed by many to be his best. There are few poets whose growth was so long-lasting and constant.



Zora's front page – edited by Jovan Dučić

During the fifteen years of his poetic life and work – from his first poem *Samohrana majka* printed in *Golub* in 1886, until the appearance of his first book *Pesme* (*Poems*) in 1901 in Mostar, in fifty copies, Dučić published 212 poems in Serbian periodicals: *Golub*, *Neven*, *Bosanska vila*, *Nova Zeta*, *Javor*, *Stražilovo*, *Zvezda*, *Brankovo kolo*, *Luča*, *Zora*, *Delo*, *Letopis Matice srpske* and *Serbian Literary Gazette*. Out of this impressive number, Dučić selected poems for his first book. He was strict when it came to his rejected poems. He said to Atanasije Šola that he looked at them with shame and considered them “a strange mess”, “without a value”.

In his letter from Belgrade in 1900, he amicably advised Aleksa Šantić to exercise the same kind of austerity:

“I am very glad that your third book will be published. I pin high hopes on it. I would appreciate it if you could send it to me, so that I could read it, as you promised. *Just be free and delete, cut out everything unworthy*” (Italics by J. Delić) (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 36).

The path to a good book goes through shortening, condensing, correcting, cutting and deleting everything deemed unbecoming. Choosing also means rejecting.

It is only strictness that leads to progress. In early September 1902 he wrote a letter to Šantić, explicating the need to make progress in his literary and cultural work. Smaller places, such as Mostar, did not offer or promise a lot, but were, in fact, even decaying. Friends were leaving and Mostar was losing: “It seems that Mostar is on a losing side. He who moves not forward goes backward. (...) It is pitiful that we will all go our separate ways, but staying there would be an enormous sacrifice” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 48).

Owing to dedicated and long-lasting research work of grammar school teacher from Novi Sad Miloš Milošević, we today have an insight into almost the entire early poetry of Jovan

With the help of his friends,
in 1899 Dučić went to study
literature and philosophy
at the University of Geneva



Dučić; there are only few poems that Milošević failed to obtain. The first part of the book *Early Dučić 1872–1900* contains Milošević's study about the "creative biography" of early Dučić, on 176 pages. Pages 177 to 407 contain Dučić's poems ordered chronologically according to the year of publication.

Dučić worked on his first book while preparing his trip to Geneva. He acquainted his friends to whom he dedicated the book with its contents – Aleksa Šantić, Atanasije Šola, and Milan Savić, a long-standing secretary of Matica srpska, whose taste and opinion he valued. He read his verses to Jovan Skerlić in Lausanne and to Milan Rakić in Paris. All these were Dučić's first elite readers. His strictness towards his early poems was also reflected in his first book – he practically renounced it as he did not re-print it during his life. Published in merely fifty copies, this book became a true rarity. It was re-printed after more than a hundred years owing to efforts of professor Radovan Vučković, who wrote the foreword, and is now available to readers and literary historians (ДУЧИЋ 2008). He worked on his first book until late 1899. Already in mid-June, he lived in Geneva as a student, with modest financial means, burdened with his mother's increasingly frequent illnesses. He received the news that his mother died on the eve of 1 May 1900 in Doljani near Metković. Judging by his letter, he mourned his mother's death literally in a fever, from 1 May to 4 June 1900. He went to Doljani, visited his mother's grave and later his father's joint grave, as well as his sister Mila's grave. He entered the 20th century without his dearest – his sister and parents. He was close to his maternal half-brother and half-sister – Risto Glogovac and Soka, married Andrić, whose son Vlado, who became a minister, was his main family support.

Dučić's stay in Geneva and Paris was extremely precious for him not only in terms of his studies and the education he gained in the fields of philosophy, sociology and politicology, but

also in terms of his formation and changing of his literary views and attitudes towards literature and poetry. French poetry and culture exerted a decisive impact on him and it is from this perspective that he viewed differently Vojislav Ilić, his favourite poet, who most strongly influenced him in the first phase of his poetic development. Already in 1902, Dučić saw Ilić as “a pure Westerner”, imbued with a European spirit close to French Parnassians, primarily Théophile Gautier and Leconte de Lisle, as well as symbolists. Dučić wrote for the *Delo* journal an excellent essay *Spomenik Vojislavu (A Monument to Vojislav)*, which is justly considered Dučić’s programme essay, particularly for the first and second phases of his work (ДУЧИЋ 1902).

As it is known and often cited, Ivo Andrić used to say that by betraying others, we betray ourselves. This is why the writers’ essays are always interesting as potential autopoetic statements. Less frequently quoted is Dučić’s earlier, similar attitude from his essay *O pesniku (About a Poet)*: “By judging another person, a poet always somewhat judges himself as well, or always defends primarily his artistic sense”. This is the authorial position of Dučić as the essay writer. Dučić’s motivation for essay writing developed in contact with French literature and culture, through which Dučić felt the allure, power and beauty of essays. He learned from the best classicist – Montaigne. Dučić was a great Serbian essayist, which is something insufficiently emphasised. An essayist is the one “who seeks himself”. Even when about someone else, an essay is a means of exploring oneself. Serbian literature of Dučić’s time did not have essayists, but soon welcomed them – a poet, i.e. a writer in general is someone searching for himself and developing himself over his entire life; he is a poetically self-conscious person who works on himself and his development. This was characteristic of the majority of Serbian writers of the 20th century, but there were very few of them before Dučić. Not every poet is Laza Kostić. Important in this context is Dučić’s sentence explaining the need for a poetic self-consciousness as constant self-development: “The fewest are those who are searching for themselves today, i.e. who are developing themselves over their entire lives”. Dučić was such a man both in terms of his self-consciousness and the programme he espoused (ЧОЛЈАК 2013: 14).

Dučić clearly and accurately saw Ilić’s unusual paradox: his teachers were the Russians – Pushkin and Lermontov above all, but our poet developed his individuality “independently of his models”, and was most similar, which was a true miracle, “to the French Parnassians, who perhaps he did not know of”.

Dučić praises Vojislav’s focus on the form and Beauty – “among us, only Vojislav’s poetry carries most of this element of pure, disinterested Beauty”; “his soul was, early on, enchanted by the Beauty without a homeland”. Dučić compares Vojislav’s mastery with a goldsmith “who makes each [...] little thing with scrupulous attention”, which Dučić considers “a conscientious honesty of an artist”. The artistic morals lie in the poet’s work and “the goldsmith craft”. Although Vojislav did not see “the glorious and rational West”, he “discovered it [...] with his heart and his internal eyes”. Dučić saw in Vojislav’s form “his idea, his feeling and his live imagination”. He was not taught this form, but invented it on his own. For Dučić, Vojislav is a spirit of nuance and finesse, which can also be seen in his form and the sense of beauty. In terms of “content”, “Vojislav often says nothing in his poem. But when nothing is said in a beautiful way, it becomes



Laza Kostić (1841–1910)
(LSASA, F-229/4)

Beauty”. Moreover, “it all depends on how something is said”. The word is the Biblical Word, “which orders the creation of the world out of nothing and the birth of light”. The *nothing* is transformed through the Word into light and the world. Everything is in the Word. According to Dučić, the perfection of the form is the sign of the maturity of art, and the pinnacle of form happened among the French with Parnassianism, and among the Serbs with Vojislav. Dučić could see this essential, typological closeness of Parnassianism and Vojislav only from the perspective of French culture and literature. Dučić implicitly saw his mastering of the form and his first creative phase in the sign of Parnassianism, but already in 1902 he showed a high degree of poetic self-consciousness, the awareness about the shift of poetic paradigms in French and European poetry, showing his unhidden sympathies for and his turn towards Symbolism. Parnassianism brought to poetry the ideal of Beauty, form, painting and sculpture. Symbolism brought “the beauty of music and freedom of feeling”, “the philosophy of *symbols*”, “pure philosophy of poetry”, “the poetry of Idea”. Dučić went along the latter path. He did not invoke only the French, but also the Germans: Dehmel, Hofmannsthal, George. Those were entirely new poetic visions in Serbian poetry. Dučić wrote a far-sighted, prophetic sentence, confirmed by Serbian poets more than half a century later: Ivan V. Lalić, Milovan Đorđević, Rajko Petrović Nogo, Slobodan Rakitić, Milosav Tešić, but primarily Miodrag Pavlović, who wrote both about Vojislav and Dučić. The sentence reads: “Many of our artists will for a long time carry a fortunate influence of an extraordinary writer”. The influence will go through Dučić’s poetry as well (ДУЧИЋ 2013: 423–427).

Such perception of Vojislav Ilić and programme positioning of Dučić’s poetry were possible only in contact with French, i.e. “Western” poetry and culture.

While studying in Switzerland and France, Dučić got familiar and made friends with important personalities of Serbian literature, culture and diplomacy: Milan Rakić, Jovan Skerlić, Kosta Kumanudi, Grgur Jakšić and Momčilo Ninčić. Owing to his poems, he soon gained

permanent sympathies of highly influential men – Bogdan Popović and Slobodan Jovanović. He was an associate of *Serbian Literary Gazette* from its inception. He published there his poems: *Zalazak sunca* (*Sunset*), *Zašto* (*Why*), *Na providnom nebu sjaju mlečni puti* (*The Milky Way Glittering on a Translucent Sky*), *Čežnja* (*Longing*)... As he saw that France engaged writers and reputable persons in the field of culture as diplomats, diplomacy became his new professional ideal – this job would enable him to see the world and gain new experiences, though he used to say it was an arduous, nomadic way of life (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 64).

Obtaining a long-standing and secure post at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not easy. On 11 January 1907, Nikola Pašić, the President of the Ministerial Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, issued the decision that 150 dinars be paid to Jovan Dučić, “on the condition that he returns to Bosnia and Herzegovina and works there according to instructions, until he creates a post for himself”. He became an associate of *Politika*, and in 1908 he became a member of its editorial board and editor of the literary section. The year 1908 was a milestone year for Dučić’s literary work and poetic status. His *Poems* were published in *Circle of the Serbian Literary Cooperative* in six cycles: *Senke po vodi* (*Shadows on Water*), *Jadranski soneti* (*Adriatic Sonnets*), *Dubrovačke poeme* (*Dubrovnik Poems*), *Duša* (*Soul*), *Antički motivi* (*Antique Motifs*) and *Plave legende* (*Blue Legends*). Dučić was becoming increasingly stricter in compiling his books. He gained the reputation of one of the leading Serbian writers, supported by Bogdan Popović, Slobodan Jovanović and Jovan Skerlić. It was soon unambiguously clear that he was the leading poet against whom the epoch of Serbian modernism and the entire Serbian new lyricism were being measured.

Dučić’s letters contain a number of precious autopoietic attitudes towards poetry, concrete poems, criticism, creative work, and literature in general. In his letters to Jovan Skerlić (1902), a literary critic and editor of *Serbian Literary Gazette*, he wrote that the poems he submitted should be printed together as they had common elements, and mutually invoked and supported each other. This was true both for *Blue Legends* and his “symbolic” poems, under which he classified *Jablanovi* (*Poplars*) and *Pod snegom* (*Under Snow*). Dučić showed a pronounced awareness of the context, contextual meaning and values of poems, their stylistic characteristics, and belonging to a concrete “stylistic formation” – symbolism. Dučić also demonstrated his exceptional capacities in the sphere of literary criticism and literary thought in general (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 48–50).

In his letter to Petar Kočić of 8 February 1906 from Geneva, he precisely described his view of literary criticism and his internal urge to engage in it. Since then, he intended to write a book to be called *Književne impresije* (*Literary Impressions*) or *Moji vrsnici* (*My Peers*), but was eventually titled *Moji saputnici* (*My Companions*), with the essays on Bora Stanković, Ivo Ćipiko, Petar Kočić, count Ivo Vojnović, Milan Rakić, and perhaps Svetozar Ćorović and Svetislav Stefanović. He wrote the following about the nature of his criticism:

“[...] My criticism will be neither professorial nor dogmatic. It will also not be pretentious criticism confident that it has said its last word about someone and something. I am writing these essays with love. They are written by someone who does not make his craft out

Milan Savić (1845–1930),
oil painting, by Uroš Predić



Anica Savić Rebac
(1892–1953)



of criticism, at the time when it has become a craft. I pen down my impressions about the people with whom I share a deep, intimate, emotional union, about the books that I made friends with and that have become a part of myself. These writers, diverse in a multitude of ways, give me an immense pleasure to speak about them” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 61).

He wrote about the same matter in his letter to Milan Savić in June 1906:

“[...] These are not academic discussions, but merely an artist’s impressions about the books of his friends. It will be reading material not aimed at resolving any artistic question, but focused on creating a general impression about the creative work of my generation. For me, criticism is not a craft, though to many it is only a craft. I wish to say the things that someone else could not or, rather, would not want to say” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 63).

In the same letter, he complained to his old friend, who supported him, of what a *stickler* and *pedant* he was, and about great many *labour pains* he had while writing. It is an illusion that Dučić wrote “easily”, and such illusion is the result of arduous, meticulous, precise, “stickler-like” work. In 1926, he also wrote to Vladislav Ribnikar about his need to render everything perfect and do so in a precise and meticulous way:

“I care deeply about leaving behind myself each thing done seriously and relying on the utmost facts of, at least, my power and talent” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 116).

His friendship with Milan Savić extended into his friendship with Milan’s daughter Anica Savić (married Rebac), the most distinguished Serbian aesthete not only of her time. In late March 1919, Anica Savić held in the French-Serbian Club in Novi Sad a lecture about Jovan Dučić in French. Among other things, she said: “Dučić expresses another side of our aspiration: beauty...” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 96).



Jovan Dučić and Svetislav Simić
(ASASA 15068–665)

A poetess herself, Anica Savić Rebac sent to Dučić her doctoral dissertation *Predplatoniska erotologija* (*Pre-Platonic Erotology*), one of the best Serbian books in aesthetics. Dučić thanked her and wrote the following (1933):

“[...] I am in awe with your erudition and reasoning. While in Pest, I barely had time to see the enormous path you have passed by creating this beautiful and exceptional work on love. I left it for Rome, where I sublimely felt and understood it, as it is in Rome that those words are read under an entirely different sun.

Love is the mother of philosophy, and the same is ascribed to theology. Were you not capable of loving in the glorious Greek sense, you would not have written these exquisite pages. Our criticism will be silent about your book, but only because there is no one capable of saying the right words about it.

I am the first one to be sincerely happy about such an achievement of yours...” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 146–148).

These sentences were not written only out of courtesy; they are judgments and philosophical-poetic attitudes. Dučić was aware of the importance of such book, which outreached our milieu. He knew the meaning of love, eros – erotology, particularly in the antiquity; he knew that our criticism was out of its depth in respect of this book. All this testifies to Dučić’s personality, his spiritual biography.

In autumn 1908, the Serbian Government sent him to Rome to work on propaganda against the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. To that end, he wrote and published a booklet in Italian *L’annessione della Bosnia e dell’Erzegovina e la questione Serba* (*The Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian Question*), which he distributed to the deputies of the Italian Parliament. In *Politika*, he invited the Belgraders to a large national demonstration, held before the Prince’s monument on 23 September in the afternoon. On the same day, *Politika* launched the subscription of volunteers – 2000 of them subscribed, with Branislav Nušić, Vladislav Ribnikar and Jovan Dučić being among the first.

Having waited for three years, he was granted his first diplomatic post by virtue of the royal decree of 10 May 1910. He became the first-class scribe at the Serbian Royal Legation in Sofia headed by Svetislav Simić. His appointment was supported by recommendations and intercessions of Slobodan Jovanović and Jovan Skerlić with Minister of Foreign Affairs Milovan Đ. Milovanović. Envoy Simić died already in 1911 and was replaced by Miroslav Spaljković (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 9).

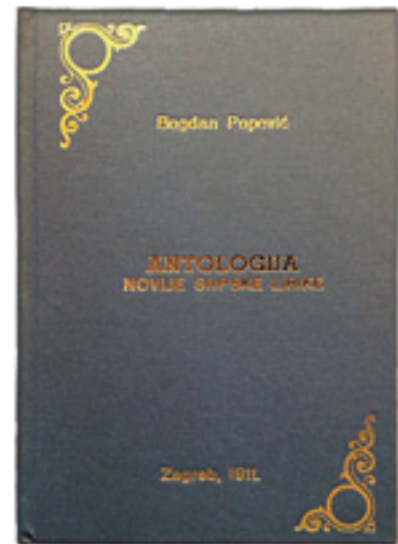


Sofia (ASASA 14776/115)

Dučić wrote a very nice and warm obituary for Svetislav Simić who was his colleague both as a diplomat and a writer. He saw Simić as “an inspiring missionary”, who “made of his craft a mission on earth” and who nurtured “the mysticism of goodness”. In national politics, Simić “followed in the footsteps of Stojan Novaković”. He relied on “the psychological element”, history and tradition, knowing that “traditions live long in the souls of old men and on the lips of young men” and equating tradition with the soul. Svetislav Simić was a writer and man of culture, “standing apart from many of our politicians”. He did not manage to deal with Bulgarian literature as much as he wanted. Dučić ended the obituary with a noteworthy final sentence: “His manners exuded the graciousness of modesty, and his modesty embodied the taste of a prince” (ДУЧИЋ 1989 II: 464-473).

In 1911, he sent a report about his view of the Bulgarian King and circumstances in Bulgaria, which was unusual for someone holding the post of a scribe. Dučić requested promotion to the post of a secretary, stating he had waited too many years to be appointed to his first post (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 10).

That year, he received the highest recognition of literary criticism from the highest place and with the strongest echo. In 1911 Matica hrvatska published in Zagreb *Antologija novije srpske lirike* (*The Anthology of Modern Serbian Lyrics*) by academician and professor of comparative



The Anthology of Modern Serbian Lyrics
(1911)



Bogdan Popović (1864–1944)
(LSASA, F-263)



Veljko Petrović (1884–1967)
(LSASA, F-260)

literature Bogdan Popović. Jovan Dučić's poems – thirty three of them, were the most numerous. Dučić became a model for the vision and style of the epoch, and the leading poet of modern Serbian lyrics. Recognition also came from the Serbian Royal Academy, to which he had sent a book of poems for a competition. In late June, Academy's Secretary Ljuba Kovačević informed Dučić:

“It is an honour to inform you that the Board of Marinović's Endowment has awarded you for your poems with (960) nine hundred and sixty dinars in gold, and that this decision was declared at yesterday's official meeting of the Academy” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 79).

S. B. Cvijanović published the awarded book in “a special edition”. Dučić was upset over the news that Osman Đikić died in Mostar aged 34. He highly esteemed Đikić's poetic and particularly human qualities. They were great friends. Dučić wrote an obituary to Đikić in *Politika*, outlining “several instances of the life of a great man”.

Dučić's diplomatic career was shaken by love affairs, the real and “set-up” ones. At the celebration of St Sava's Day in 1908, Simeon Rokсандić and Jovan Cvijić acquainted Dučić with Jovanka, a beautiful wife of engineer Tanasije Todorović and a mother of two children. Their relationship flourished even after Dučić went to Sofia. The Todorović family moved to Vranje, which enabled Dučić to maintain the relationship. In all probability, Jovanka's third child – son Jovica, was born in this adulterous relationship. The affair became public and on 12 December 1910 it was recounted in *Mali žurnal*. Dučić split up with Jovanka. She divorced Todorović, returned to Novi Sad and then went to Zagreb, where she became an actress at the Croatian National Theatre, and married doctor Vladimir Dvorniković. Dučić and Jovanka's unfortunate son Jovica completed an acting school and in the mid-1930s shot himself in a moment of nervous breakdown. Dučić was saved from graver consequences of this love affair by his reputable and faithful friends: Bogdan Popović, one of the most eminent university professors, and writer Veljko Petrović, who was always loyal to Dučić.

While in Sofia, Dučić requested promotion to the post of a secretary. Under the royal decree of 29 June 1912, he was appointed fifth-class secretary of the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbia in Rome. He achieved his greatest professional dream – he became a Serbian diplomat in “the eternal city”. He tried to overturn the negative attitude of the Italian public towards Serbia in the First and Second Balkan Wars. At the London Conference of the Ambassadors, he presented the truth about the Shqiptar attacks on the Serbian-Albanian border, and gave an interview for the widely

read paper *Il Giornale d'Italia*. In early January 1914 he talked to Greek Prime Minister Venizelos. He learned from Khristian Rakovsky, one of the leaders of the international Socialist movement and an opponent of the Bulgarian King and the regime, about the opinion of Bulgarian political circles after the Battle of Bregalnica and about Bulgarian plans from the period of the Annexation Crisis concerning the division of Serbia between Vienna and Sofia. He familiarised himself with the project of the Concordat between Serbia and the Vatican from 1914 and the negotiation instructions for the envoy at the Holy See Lujo Bakotić. He brought the diplomatic credentials to Rome in person (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 11).

Jovan Skerlić, aged 37, died in 1914. He was Dučić's friend from his Swiss and French years, and someone who did a lot for Dučić, though they had very different temperaments and viewed poetry differently, which Bogdan Popović did not miss to point out in the *Narod* magazine:

“It seems to me that he [Skerlić] never did full justice to Dučić, he did not appreciate the true value of some particularly gentle and gentlemanly features of Dučić's poetry, the crystal purity and velvet softness of Dučić's tone” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 89).

Dučić was ready to support young writers, particularly if they were educated and talented. Just after he met Todor Manojlović, a PhD student at Basel University, he recommended him to Tihomir Ostojić as an associate for *Letopis Matice srpske*, qualifying him as *a writer of the first rank*. Milutin Bojić sent to him in Rome his first book with a dedication. Dučić complimented him, particularly for the poems *Molitva Majke Jugovića* (*The Prayer of the Jugovićs' Mother*) and *Severni bogovi* (*Northern Gods*).

In early June 1914, he was transferred to the Legation in Athens led by envoy Živojin Balugdžić. He spent the First World War “on the divine Athenian soil” and was granted three secretarial promotions. He met there regent Aleksandar for the first time. He left on Dučić a strong impression of a man with “a dignified royal spirit” and someone who was “an exceptional soldier”. Together with the regent, he visited the Salonica front in 1917, of which he wrote in his travelogue *Na Solunskom frontu sa Regentom* (*On the Salonica Front with the Regent*). He engaged in a lively diplomatic activity in Athens. He left the testimonies of his talks with Greek Prime Minister Venizelos, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Politis, Italian envoy De Bosdari, Greek military attaché in Constantinople Frantzis.

Dučić's poem *Krila* (*Wings*) gained great popularity in the First World War. He wrote one of his best patriotic poems *Ave Serbia* and published it first in *Srpske novine* (*Serbian Newspaper*) and later in *Serbian*



Jovan Skerlić (1877–1914)
(LSASA, F-404/3)

Literary Gazette in Thessaloniki. He wrote for *Krfski zabavnik (Corfu Magazine)* – a literary appendix to *Srpske novine*, and enjoyed enormous respect of the editor-in-chief, aesthetician and critic Branko Lazarević.

On the proposal of the President of the Ministerial Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs Nikola Pašić, and under the decree of the Crown Prince of 1 December 1918, he was transferred to Madrid, where Dragomir Janković served as the envoy and was replaced by Dučić's friend, poet Ante Tresić Pavičić. He liked Madrid also because of the proximity of Paris and Lisbon – it was a magic triangle.

In late 1922 he was transferred again to Athens and was promoted. On 9 October 1924, he was appointed a standing delegate at the League of Nations in Geneva and assumed office on 3 January 1925.

Before the promotion, he received a great recognition for his literary work – in February 1924 he was elected a corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy.

His first report on Serbia's position in the League of Nations was unfavourable (ДУЧИЋ 1991: 79–89). He remained on this interesting post for a short time due to a “set-up” love affair. Dissatisfied with his demotion and Dučić's report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, his predecessor Milutin Jovanović, a nephew of Nikola Pašić, made sure that articles be published in Switzerland about Dučić's love affair with a woman of loose morals. The woman sued Dučić before a court, stating he had disgraced her, and sent a letter to Minister Momčilo Ninčić. Dučić obtained evidence refuting his involvement in the deceitful case. The court determined that it was a blackmail of a dishonourable woman who lived on such blackmails. Nonetheless, Dučić had to withdraw from his post of a delegate at the League of Nations. Under the decree of King Aleksandar of 30 August 1925, he was appointed Consul General at the Consulate General of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Cairo (МИЛЮШЕВИЋ 1991: 14).

He went to Cairo only in March 1926 and the *Al-Ahram* weekly published the news about his Geneva affair just before his arrival. It seems that Milutin Jovanović was pretty successful. Despite this, after the abolishment of the Consulate General and opening of the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Cairo, Dučić became a chargé d'affaires on 30 March 1926. Dučić, as a history lover, greatly enjoyed being in Egypt, though his stay was short-lived. The denouement of his Geneva affair took place in Belgrade. In summer 1927, he got into a fight with Milutin Jovanović, who was an envoy in Warsaw at the time, in the cabinet of assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs Stevan Pavlović. Before he conflicted with Dučić, Jovanović was at loggerheads with the Serbian military attaché in Bern. Under the royal decree of 30 August 1927, Dučić was placed “at the disposal”. The affair did not cost Dučić only his two-year diplomatic career, but also his future position of an envoy. His friend Kosta Kumanudi, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, wanted to promote him and appoint him an envoy at the Holy See in Rome. However, the Vatican did not approve, stating it would be inappropriate to have someone even unjustly accused of adultery as an envoy.

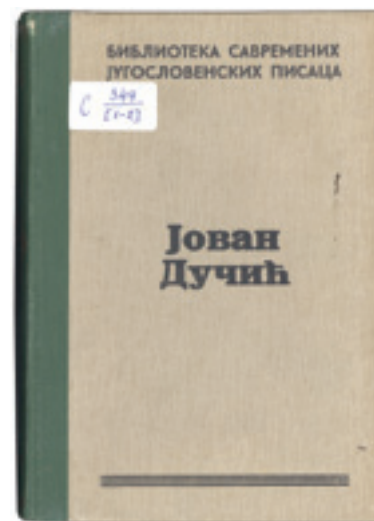
Dučić used the standstill in his diplomatic activity and his stay in Belgrade to prepare his *Collected Works I-V*, which were published by *Narodna prosveta*, edition: *Library of Contemporary*

Yugoslav Writers. Dučić strove to prepare during his life an ultimate, “canonical” edition of his works, particularly poetry, though he considered all his works included in *The Collected Works* issued in 1929–1930 the poetic works, including his travelogue *Cities and Chimeras*. This is why Dučić requested, almost in a testamentary way, that “his manuscripts be edited without a single amendment and supplement in later editions”, reiterating and underlining his explicit prohibition that “nothing be changed or supplemented in his writings”. Dučić did not adhere to his own pledge as *Cities and Chimeras* were published in 1940 by *Serbian Literary Cooperative* as an amended and supplemented edition, while *Lirika* from 1943 took the envisaged place in the cycle *Evening Poems*. He did not change the existing poems. The activities concerning the publication of *Collected Works* were led by the editorial board, presided by Dučić and consisting of Veljko Petrović, Dragiša Vasić and Milan Kašarin – illustrious writers and Dučić’s old friends. His *Collected Works* included four books of poems and one book of travelogues: *Pesme sunca* (I) (*Poems of the Sun*) and *Cities and Chimeras* (V). First, four “books” of poems appeared in three paperback volumes as *Blue Legends* and *Imperial Sonnets* were printed within the same covers (III–IV), while the travelogue *Cities and Chimeras* appeared separately, as the fifth book (V). All five books, designated in such way, were then published in two volumes – the first contained *Pesme sunca* (I) i *Pesme ljubavi i smrti* (II) (*Poems of Love and Death*), and the second contained *Imperial Sonnets* (III), *Blue Legends* (IV) and *Cities and Chimeras* (V).

The first book of Dučić’s *Collected Works* was issued in spring 1929, with a foreword of Bogdan Popović: *Topics and Thoughts in Dučić’s Poetry*. Dučić dedicated it to his closest friends from Mostar – Aleksa Šantić and Atanasije Šola. He dedicated his second book to his Belgrade friend Slobodan Jovanović. Isidora Sekulić wrote a review of his *Collected Works* in *Serbian Literary Gazette*, highlighting as a precious rarity among our poets Dučić’s discipline which, in her opinion, came through French poetry. She also emphasised Dučić’s restraint to talk about his poetic work: “He keeps silent about his work and creativity” (СЕКУЛИЋ 1929: 111–113).

He dedicated the third book to dr Vojislav Marinović, his friend and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the fourth book to his late friend Ivo Ćipiko, and *Gradovi i himere* to his friend dr Kosta Kumanudi.

Nikola Mirković defended a doctoral dissertation about the poetry of Jovan Dučić at Vienna University, which was noted by Milan Bogdanović in *Serbian Literary Gazette*. Bogdanović emphasised the importance of this event – the defence of the doctoral dissertation at a prestigious



Jovan Dučić, *Collected Works*, Vols. 1–2 (LSASA, catalogue number C 349; 1–2)



Ivo Vojnović (1857–1929)
(LSASA, F-309/4)

European university confirmed the reputation of poet Jovan Dučić and was a recognition of our literature since it was “the first case that a European university accepted a thesis about a living poet of the Balkan peoples” (БОГДАНОВИЋ 1929: 153–154).

In late August 1929, count Ivo Vojnović, whom Dučić greatly loved and respected, died. Dučić was a member of the State Board for the funeral – after Branislav Nušić, he bid farewell to the reputable writer. In an obituary in *Politika*, he wrote the following noteworthy sentences:

“A Serb, grandfather of poet Ivo Vojnović lies in an Orthodox cemetery in the Bay of Kotor. A great Yugoslav, the poet’s father, lies in a Catholic cemetery in Zagreb. This tired man, who is not only a great Yugoslav writer, but also epitomises a historical word directed at our consciousness, will lie tomorrow in the old Dubrovnik cemetery by St Michael’s church, in the place where under the dark cypresses our graves are not divided into Serbian and Croatian” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 121–122).

Under the royal decree of 6 December 1929, at the initiative of Kosta Kumanudi, Dučić was appointed a chargé d’affaires at the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Cairo, where he assumed duty on 7 February 1930 and thus returned to an active diplomatic life.

Between his appointment and assumption of duty, Dučić wrote his first testament on 16 January 1930 in Belgrade, and designated the following persons as executors: Atanasije Šola from Mostar, dr Vlado Andrić from Trebinje, Ljubo Mihajlović from Belgrade, and Branislav Milenković, a lawyer from Belgrade. He wanted to be buried in his native Trebinje, in a tomb covered in concrete and with a large black granite plate, and only his name – Jovan Dučić inscribed on it. He asked the Trebinje municipality to be in charge of maintaining the grave and a small cypress forest around it.

He bequeathed his movables to the Trebinje municipality for the Serbian national museum of the town of Trebinje, confident that these items had a museological value.

He ceded his royalties to the Trebinje municipality “for the purely cultural and national Serbian purposes”.

He left precisely defined amounts of money to the daughter of his sister Mileva and the children of his half-brother Risto Glogovac and half-sister Soka Andrić.

He left the rest of the cash to the Trebinje municipality which was to have an Orthodox boy from the Dučić family educated from the interest yield, as long as the family lived; if the family died out, any boy,

regardless of his origins, should be educated. The only criteria were the best academic results.

Dučić lived on and wrote two more testaments.

On 16 February, Veljko Petrović sent him a letter congratulating him on his being elected a full member of the Serbian Royal Academy (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 133).

On 3 April 1931, Bogdan Popović wrote to him on the same occasion:

“[...] I congratulate you on your election and I congratulate the Academy.

The Academy is joined by those who need it and those whom the Academy needs. Those who need the Academy always find underground ways to enter it; and once they enter it, they prevent from entering those whom the Academy needs. It thus turned out that you had to wait longer.

I am glad not only because justice was done and the Academy got richer with an exceptional member, but also because, later, once you return here, we will have for honest things one honest vote more.

As regards the belated recognition of your merits at the Academy and outside it, you should bear in mind that the more distinguished one is, the more time he needs to be recognised according to his right measure. [...]“

Bogdan Popović reminded Dučić of his obligation to give an inaugural speech lasting from thirty to forty five minutes on the topic of his liking (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 135).

Dučić held his inaugural speech about Ivo Vojnović only on 7 March 1939 at Kolarac People’s University. Ivo Andrić came to the ceremony together with Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Stojadinović. In his speech, Aleksandar Belić, the President of the Academy, called Dučić a great and ingenious poet and vested him with all the rights of a full member.

On 3 January 1932, he was appointed an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the second group, second degree. He was deployed to a delicate post in Budapest, when Hungary did not show a wish for sincere and friendly neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia, but was instead inclined to revanchism, encouraged first by Rome and, later, more vigorously, by Berlin. Many Ustaša actions were prepared in the Hungarian territory. The press ran a fierce campaign against Yugoslavia,



Branislav Nušić (1864–1938)
(LSASA, F-252/3)



Njegoš's monument in Trebinje
 authored by Toma Rosandić

mainly with the intention to endorse separatist tendencies of Croatian politicians and actions of the Ustaša emigration. Dučić was frequently visiting Belgrade to report to the Minister. In the course of one and a half years of his diplomatic service in Budapest, he was absent for more than three months because of holidays, sick leaves, a private visit to Vienna and participation in the congress of PEN Clubs in Dubrovnik. He attended the PEN congress as a member of the Belgrade delegation, together with Ivo Andrić, Isidora Sekulić, Milan Grol, Svetislav Stefanović, Desanka Maksimović, Todor Manojlović, Momčilo Nastasijević, Rastko Petrović, Dragiša Vasić, Stanislav Vinaver and others. He was one of the “stars” of the congress. It was at this time that Filippo Marinetti, the founder of the Futurist movement, praised Dučić as the greatest poet among the Yugoslavs, while John Galsworthy, who knew Dučić as a member of the Central Board of twelve PEN Clubs in London, considered him one of the greatest poets of Europe. Leaving Budapest for a two-month leave, he handed over his duty to the Legion’s advisor Fran Cvetiša (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 17).

While on holiday, on 10 August 1933 Dučić was transferred to Rome and appointed an envoy of the second group, second degree. He assumed the duty in Rome on 1 October 1933, amid strained relations between Rome and Belgrade. Rome strongly supported all actions aimed at breaking up the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – Croatian separatism and the Ustaša emigration, aspirations to a Greater Albania, Bulgarian revanchism. Italy was increasingly openly showing pretensions to parts of the Yugoslav territory (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 18).

Dučić’s love of Njegoš was so great that it verged on awe. He carried with himself, wherever he worked, Njegoš’s bust, a work of Ivan Meštrović. It was his company in times of fortune and misfortune. He wished to adorn his dear Trebinje with a monument dedicated to the greatest Serbian poet, and thus erect a manifold endowment – to Njegoš, to Trebinje, and to his appreciation of poetry and freedom. He asked eminent sculptor Toma Rosandić to make a statue of Njegoš for Trebinje. Rosandić worked on the sculpture “with religious awe”. In March 1934, Njegoš’s sculpture was placed in Dučić’s Trebinje. Both Rosandić and Dučić were benefactors and both were highly satisfied with the outcome. The sculptor “invested all his effort”, as he writes in a letter to Dučić, “to please the two great poets” – Njegoš and Dučić. Having already visited Trebinje and delighted with the town and the place designated for the monument, architect Dragiša Brašovan ordered that preparatory works be carried out (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 152).

Dučić stayed in Trebinje on 28 and 29 May 1934 and unveiled Njegoš's sculpture, in the presence of a royal envoy. On that occasion he said:

“Robed in lightness, Njegoš appears today in his iron armour, the work of our great sculptor Toma Rosandić. This morning, Njegoš has become an honourable citizen of Nemanjićs’ Trebinje. I am happy that the municipality of my hometown has received from my hands this gift, which I also owe personally to the great teacher in our literature, a great prophet in our current history, and a great protagonist in our Yugoslav ideology. Today’s celebration shows that Trebinje is, at the current moment, a single place gazed by all those who believe in the ideals of enlightenment which should be the main motif of a nation’s life and which Njegoš had in his solitude in Cetinje while he was disseminating, in abundance and in all directions, as a God’s sower, the seeds of his religious spirit and his heart that cherished the most sublime motifs and the highest value of life”.

Dučić then brought the King’s gift – a book containing “a reproduced, authentic manuscript of the entire *Gorski vijenac* (*The Mountain Wreath*), the text as it looked like when it went to print”, with the King’s dedication:

“To the municipality of the town of Trebinje on the occasion of unveiling of the monument to our poet Njegoš, 23 May 1934.

Aleksandar”

Dučić then gifted to his dear Trebinje the so-called “golden book of the town of Trebinje”, as his present to his homeland. On the front page, the King also wrote the following two sentences, read publicly by Dučić: “Trebinje has been giving birth to heroes, scientists and poets, the three purest types of man. This historical town has always been a small, but proud outpost of our Homeland and a steadfast keeper of the faith in our ideal and our mission”.

He was happy when he returned to Rome – he repaid a great debt to Njegoš, Trebinje, poetry, and his people. It was the first monument to the author of *Gorski vijenac*, a gift and work of two great masters – Dučić and Rosandić.

He built and donated monuments to his town, he left his books and manuscripts, and thus obliged his town to have a good library, to which he was the largest contributor. He sent to his town sculptures and museum valuables from all over the world, in order to ensure that Trebinje had a solid museum, where it would display its own and Herzegovian tradition, as well as artefacts with universal value. He bequeathed to the museum his books, paintings and items according to inventory. The Trebinje municipality gratefully displayed the gifts in the municipal hall in autumn 1935: marble statues, three stone fountains, two memorial plaques. Further gifts and monuments were yet to come.

Dučić spent in Rome almost four years, engaged in a lively diplomatic activity with ambassadors and envoys accredited in Rome, as well as with Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Galeazzo Ciano, and even Musolini. He prepared with Ciano the negotiations with Milan

Stojadinović, which ended in the Stojadinović–Ciano agreement signed in March 1937 in Belgrade. Stojadinović requested that Dučić be excluded from the final negotiations, and requested for his Roman ambassador the agrément in Bucharest. Dučić paid farewell visits to Italian King Vittorio Emanuele (29 July), Minister Ciano (20 September) and Musolini (22 September). On 28 September, he cheerlessly went to Belgrade, leaving “the most beautiful city on earth” and feeling that his transfer from Rome was motivated by “someone’s caprices and personal interest”. He travelled slowly by his car, bidding farewell to Italy while admiring its monuments, works of art and cities.

On 4 October, he arrived in Belgrade and learned of rumours of his retirement. His future secretary Kosta Pavlović avoided meeting him. Dučić did not think highly of his secretary and future biographer (!), and considered him “a young speculator”. Judging by Dučić’s biography written by Pavlović, Dučić was not wrong. Two days after his audience with Prince Pavle (1 November), he went to Bucharest, where on 5 November he assumed a new duty. He delivered his diplomatic credentials to King Carol II on 12 November.

The relations with Romania were neighbourly and friendly, based on alliances and dynastic links, but pressured by Berlin, the country was in internal turmoil, of which Dučić meticulously and regularly reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1939, on Christmas Eve, he received a true diplomatic Christmas gift – he was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to Bucharest. He became the first ambassador in the history of Yugoslav diplomacy, which he considered a great and particular honour.

In late January 1938, he accepted the invitation of Milan Kašanin to write an article about Renaissance for *Umetnički pregled* (*Art Review*), on the occasion of the exhibition of Italian art in the Museum of Prince Pavle in Belgrade. Both the exhibition and Dučić’s article were a resounding success.

In early July, he received news that deeply perturbed him – Milan Rakić died. In *Serbian Literary Gazette*, Dučić sketched a brief portrait of a diplomat and man:

“While being even the kindest man on earth, Rakić was in fact a great recluse. It seemed to me that no one was so much covered by a hat or buttoned by a coat. The entire world used to say that Rakić was the gentlest of men, but no one truly knew him...” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 189).

Judging by this description and Andrić’s statements about Rakić, Andrić may have looked up to Milan Rakić in terms of diplomatic and gentlemanly demeanour, particularly seclusion and mysteriousness towards the world.

Dučić highly esteemed Rakić’s use of rhymed verse and his perfect versification. “Rakić brought dodecasyllable to perfection”, wrote Dučić. Rakić also brought his rhyme to perfection, and created his type of iambic hendecasyllable, as shown by recent research (L. Koen, M. Tešić). Dučić emphasised both Rakić’s and his virtue of remaining consistent and not following the trends of their time:

“Rakić and myself have followed the pattern of the strictest rhymed stanzas and balanced lines at the very time when free verse flourished (1895-1915). We have not followed the trends of the time! But the time has followed the good old poetic testimonies – free verse is already out of fashion today and, in recent years, the best poets are returning to the old aesthetics, strict stanza, rhythm and rhyme, just as at the time of the most dedicated Parnassians” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 189).

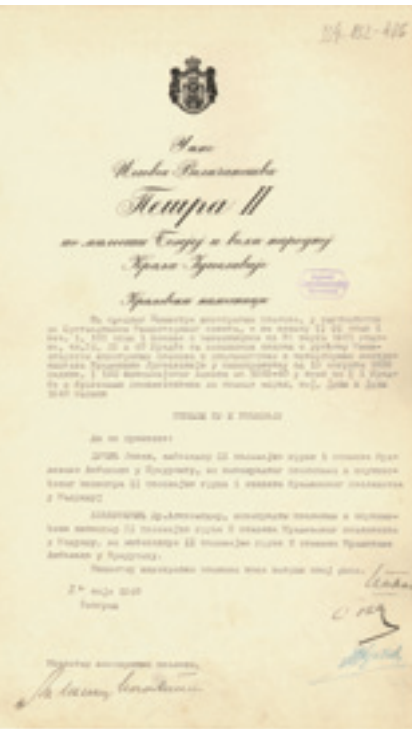
Dučić did not measure the time of flourishing of free verse according to our, but according to European circumstances (1895-1915) – this was the time of our Parnassian-symbolism.

In August, he attended the Little Entente conference in Bled and acted “as a monument”, enjoying the conversation, his eloquence and physical appearance; he was still healthy and strong, despite the already written testament. However, he did not manage to come to Trebinje, where an official ceremony was held on 5 August 1938 on the occasion of unveiling of the monument “To heroes and martyrs of freedom”. His were the idea and concept. The monument was erected at a place of sacrifice – “Under the Plane Trees”, where 77 Serbian men and two Serbian women were hanged in the First World War. The main ceremony took place in early September, when the foundations of the new grammar school were consecrated and the monument to heroes fallen in the First World War was officially unveiled. The main guest was Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović. This was Dučić’s last visit to his dear Trebinje. He returned only in 2000 for his third funeral.

Dučić had a highly developed feeling for monument culture and respect for sacrifices. The monument was erected to the heroes who had fought for the liberation of Trebinje and to sacrifices and martyrs who were killed or lost their lives for the sake of freedom. Professor Danilo Sikimić gave precise data concerning the struggle against the Austro-Hungarian occupier – there were 481 volunteers, 131 of them lost their lives, 79 persons were hanged under the plane trees, i.e. at least 210 of them perished. During the Ustaša occupation in the Second World War, all inscriptions on Dučić’s monument were erased. Based on the report in *Politika* of 6 August 1938, Danilo Sikimić learned of the contents of four inscriptions on the monument’s pedestal. The inscription on the front read: **To the heroes of freedom**; on the right side: **To the Liberation Army of Serbia and Montenegro that on 13 November 1918 brought to Trebinje its flags of victory and glory**; on the left side: **To the Serbs, the martyrs of Trebinje (1914-1918) who died for the freedom of Yugoslavia**. The back of the monument contained Dučić’s verses:

“Only by torches does one speak through darkness,
The future is created in the glitter of the sword,
The paths of fame go through graves
Glory is a formidable sun of martyrs.”

(ДУЧИЋ 1990 VI: 542-543)



The decree by which Jovan Dučić, ambassador extraordinary of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to Bucharest, was transferred to serve as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Madrid, 22 May 1940 (AY-334-132-486)

As a man devoted to monument culture, Dučić applauded the erection of the monument to Svetozar Miletić.

Dučić was offered the post of president of the PEN Club, but he politely refused it.

After the Serbian-Romanian diplomatic relations were raised to the level of embassies, ambassador Dučić organised his first audience, “unprecedented in the country’s capital”.

The relations between Prince Pavle and Prime Minister Stojadinović got strained in Belgrade. Stojadinović saw himself in the new time as the Yugoslav leader, as an *Il Duce*. Dragiša Cvetković became the Prime Minister and Aleksandar Cincar-Marković, the hitherto envoy in Berlin, became the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dučić’s opinion of Dragiša Cvetković was by no means high. He considered the Cvetković–Maček Agreement unlawful and detrimental both to Serbia and Yugoslavia. These are the views he unambiguously stated while in America.

On Easter, he travelled to Turkey together with Dragiša Vasić. He was thrilled both with the journey and his companion. Pavle Popović, a professor and literary historian, died in Belgrade. Dučić was grief-stricken over his friends’ deaths. He sent a short, cordial telegram to Bogdan Popović. An in-depth essay could be written about Dučić’s relationships with his friends.

He received exceptional literary honours and awards in Bucharest. He became an honorary member of the Writers’ Union of Romania. His three books were published in Romanian: *Cities and Chimeras*, *Tsar Radovan’s Treasure* and *Blue Legends*.

He was collecting material for the book *Grof Sava Vladislavić* (*Count Sava Vladislavić*); he asked the parish priest from Kotor Jovan Bućin to help and was looking for the book *Zmajevići* (*Zmajevićs*) by Pavao Butorac.

He published *Cities and Chimeras*, updated and supplemented with his letters from Palestine and Egypt, in the 53th circle of *Srpska književna zadruga*.

Under the decree of 22 May 1940, the new Minister transferred Dučić to Madrid to serve as the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Royal Legation. He flew to Madrid via Rome on 31 May and assumed duty on 3 June. He represented the Royal Government at the ceremony marking the 800th anniversary of the Portuguese state. He presented to Portuguese officials the idea about the establishment of diplomatic



Madrid, the Royal Palace (AY-377, PC)

relations between Yugoslavia and Portugal, which was well received. By the decision of 15 November, the envoy in Madrid Jovan Dučić was accredited as the Yugoslav envoy in Portugal. Dučić went to Lisbon and delivered the credentials to the Portuguese President.

In the April War of 1941, Serbia was quickly defeated. The Government fled the country. Dučić requested from Minister Ninčić a three-month leave in order to treat his heart disease, after being advised complete rest and treatment. The Minister, who was with other Government members in Jerusalem, approved it immediately. From 18 to 26 June 1941, he was in Lisbon. He asked the Minister to send him to a special mission to the USA, feeling that Franco's recognition of the Independent State of Croatia was only a matter of days. The recognition took place on 26 June. Dučić handed over his post in Madrid to First Secretary Višacki. In Lisbon, he was replaced by chargé d'affaires Slavko Kojić. The attitude of the Legation's staff towards Dučić was inappropriate both in Madrid and Lisbon. In Madrid, Secretary Višacki drove him out of his office. In Lisbon, the staff did not inform him about the arrival of Deputy Prime Minister Slobodan Jovanović and Juraj Krnjević, and he had to go on his own to the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to obtain an exit visa as the staff of the Legation which he led refused to help. In late July 1941, Jovan Dučić left Lisbon and went to the USA, Indiana, the city of Gary. He stayed in the villa of his cousin Mihailo Dučić, on the banks of Michigan Lake. Mihailo was an industrialist and president of the Serbian National Defence in America.

Dučić's journey from Lisbon to New York marked the end of his diplomatic career, but not of all his political activities. As a diplomat, he represented his country for more than thirty years, first the Kingdom of Serbia, then the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He served as a mission head during a half of this period. Despite this, his personality as a diplomat and his diplomatic career had not been adequately described up until Miladin Milošević compiled and published the book: Jovan Dučić, *Diplomatski spisi* (Jovan Dučić, *Diplomatic Documents*), with a solid, accurate, comprehensive, 38-page foreword divided into four sections, which we have heavily relied on. Milošević reminds of the poet's biographies written by Dučić's secretaries Kosta Pavlović and Peđa Milosavljević. While Milosavljević shows high respect of Dučić as a poet and shares artistic solidarity with him, Kosta Pavlović's book *Jovan Dučić* is neither objective nor critical, but is overtly personal. It is written from the perspective of a younger contemporary and is often tendentious and malicious. The author demonstrates unsubstantiated superiority and a slant towards caricaturing and denigrating an irrefutably great personality in the sphere of diplomacy. Let us not forget that before he left for Bucharest, Dučić called Pavlović "a young speculator"!

One thing is certain – without diplomacy, Dučić's life would have been incomparably poorer and even unthinkable. The richness of everything he saw and experienced, created and remained silent on, everything he relished and was in pain about, while staying in large cities such as Sofia, Rome, Athens, Madrid, Athens again, Geneva, Cairo, Budapest, Rome again, Bucharest, Madrid again and Lisbon, while visiting Belgrade in the meantime – filled the life of a boy from Hrupjela near Trebinje, a boy who met many rulers, statesmen, diplomats, scientists, writers, generals, artists, ladies. Even Dučić got discouraged when he remembered the fullness of his life and experiences:

"I dare not even remember what I have seen, lived, learned, embraced or rejected over so much time of eternal restlessness and eternal search for something new. I have not experienced only those things experienced by someone to whom life unfolded as he wished. I have personally experienced as much as an entire dynasty, while being in largest towns, highest circles of society, most prestigious universities, museums, libraries, galleries..." (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 26).

Miladin Milošević reminds of Dučić's statement about what makes a writer, and considers it illustrative of Dučić both as a poet and diplomat: "The form and style make a writer". He was brilliant on both fronts. His status of a great poet and full member of the Academy also helped him in diplomacy, while reputable writers and critics who were loyal to him saved him from troubles. Of his colleagues in diplomacy, German ambassador Hassell gave the most beautiful and adequate statement – he said that Dučić "excelled a little" as a politician and diplomat in Budapest, but that "he is a man of a solid character". Dučić's relations with the Hungarian Government were good and the transfer to Rome was something that Dučić wished for and was granted "as he was favourite at the Belgrade court". His writing made him close to French cultural circles. "In October last year, he expressed his wish to become part of German cultural circles and be well-known in Germany. Last year, two volumes of his poems were translated into

German for the first time, and he intended to ask Gerhart Hauptmann to write a foreword to his first poems in German. I do not know whether this has taken place. From a German point of view, I believe it would be worthwhile to support his clearly articulated wishes to make contact with German cultural circles.” Hassell supported him and believed it was in German interest to encourage Dučić’s links with German literature and culture. As Dučić’s counterpart in Budapest, Hassell knew well the Serbian envoy, his biography and literary aspirations, and wrote about his literature with sympathies:

“Mister Dučić belongs to the modern category of poets – diplomats, who are particularly prominent in French diplomacy. He is by far the greatest living Yugoslav poet and the main associate of the most important Yugoslav literary magazine *Serbian Literary Gazette*. He has already published several volumes of lyric and epic poems, and his works are indubitably the most substantive and most brilliant in modern Yugoslav literature. He has also dealt with criticism and his prose has exerted a great influence on contemporary Yugoslav literature. His numerous pieces of criticism and travelogues are imbued with southern zeal and are bathed in all colours of the modern art of the word” (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 29-30).

Hassell was transferred from Budapest to Belgrade, then to Rome, where he maintained contact with Dučić. Dučić saw him as an excellent German and European, a friend of Yugoslavia, someone who respected Serbia and Belgrade.

Miladin Milošević gave the shortest and probably the most accurate estimate of Dučić as a diplomat: “Dučić’s mission was to promote us as a nation of culture, a nation of European traditions” (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 36).

Already in the early 1930s, Dučić saw the true face of Fascism, primarily Hitler and Mussolini, who pursued a policy of aggression and conquest with unscrupulous ultimata. In 1932, while in Budapest, he saw Hitler as “a danger for Germany and the entire world” (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 34).

Miladin Milošević makes a precious observation that Dučić, while he was in Romania, became obsessed with the questions of genocide and racism. His Yugoslav colleagues were surprised and considered Dučić’s interests “unworthy topics”. The poet sensed that horrific disasters were to come, and painfully witnessed to the great suffering of his people in particular (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 34).

These very topics dramatically obsessed Dučić in the USA. The genocide against the Serbs in the newly created Independent State of Croatia, the Serbian corpses floating in rivers, and the absence of any response of the Yugoslav Government in exile to the Ustaša crimes against the Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Srem, prompted Dučić’s activities in two directions – he wrote patriotic poetry on current, topical issues, and engaged in polemics with members of the Yugoslav Government, i.e. members of the Croatian Peasant Party, because of whom the Government de facto concealed the Serbian sacrifices and the Ustaša genocide. He published articles in *Amerikanski Srbobran* (*The American Srbobran*) and contributed to the creation of a combat

attitude of the American Serbs. He considered Government members Juraj Krnjević and Juraj Šutej a Trojan horse in the Yugoslav Government. He accused the entire Croatian nation of the slaughter of the Serbs, substantiating his attitude with the list of Croatian officers who joined Pavelić. He lived with the feeling that he was “a stranger in his own body and in the world”. The Croats were relentlessly accusing Dučić of nationalism and chauvinism, both publicly and secretly – by sending reports and complaints to the Yugoslav Government. Milan Grol accused Dučić of destroying Yugoslavia with his attitudes. The outcry reached a climax when Dučić answered Grga Anđelinović, who, in the status of a member of the Royal Government, requested to meet him. Dučić resolutely refused the meeting, without a bit of diplomatic tone: “I cannot shake hands with someone who has blood on his hands, because you are a Croat...” (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 203).

Dučić probably never found out about the Ustaša crime against his family: Veljko Glogovac, the son of Dučić’s half-brother Risto Glogovac, and two Veljko’s sons were killed by the Ustaša near Veljko’s home. This information is contained in Aleksandar Petrov’s bilingual book *Manje poznati Dučić (A Less Known Dučić)*, in which he elucidates Dučić’s life and work in the USA (ПЕТРОВ 1994).

The news about his friends’ deaths made him mournful in the last years of his life, and deepened the pain he felt over the slaughter of his people and the collapse of his country. In his letter to Government member Radoje Knežević, Dučić expressed his condolences on the passing of his brother, adding that he was deeply sorrowful about Balugdžić’s death, “while the news that Vladimir Ćorović departed without a trace petrified me”. The death of the younger brother of Dučić’s friend and colleague Svetozar, mysterious and terrible, i.e. the death of one of the greatest historians we have had – Vladimir Ćorović, are those types of deaths that can truly petrify.

In the second half of June 1942, King Petar II Karađorđević arrived in Washington. Bishop Dionisije and Jovan Dučić welcomed him. Dučić was received in a special audience with the King.

In 1942, after seven years of work, Dučić published his book *Count Sava Vladislavić*. The book was printed and published in Pittsburgh although, probably as an expression of wishful thinking, the words “Belgrade–Pittsburgh” were written on the front page as the places of publication. For Dučić, the publication of the book was an act of patriotism, as seen in the note at its beginning – the book was a gift for the part of the people whom he could still address:

“This book is a gift of writer Mr Jovan Dučić to the Serbian National Council seated in Pittsburgh, the United States of America.



King Petar II Karađorđević
(1923–1970)

The city of Gary, Indiana, USA, where Jovan Dučić, the first ambassador of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, ended his life on 7 April 1943 (AY-337, PC)



The pure profit from this book goes to the benefit of the Educational Fund of the Serbian National Council”

In general, this short period of Dučić’s stay in America was highly prolific, and it has remained insufficiently known. A number of patriotic poems, which were not published as a whole during his lifetime were well received at the time, as are today: *Vrbas* (*Vrbas*), *Na Carev Arandjelovdan* (*On Emperor’s St Archangel’s Day*), *Lički mučenici* (*The Martyrs of Lika*), *Bosna* (*Bosnia*), *Molitva* (*Prayer*), *Na obali Neretve* (*On the Bank of Neretva*), *Večnoj Srbiji* (*To Eternal Serbia*). Slobodan Jovanović wrote the following about the poem *Vrbas*:

“His poem *Vrbas*, composed on the occasion of the slaughter of the Serbs in Bosnia, will be included in every anthology of our patriotic poetry as it is on a par with Zmaj’s *Vila* (*Fairy*), Jakšić’s *Padajte braćo* (*Die, Brothers*), Vojislav’s *Na Vardaru* (*On Vardar*), Rakić’s *Na Gazimestanu* (*On Gazimestan*)... In the days of great Serbian suffering and martyrdom, Dučić found the words that could relieve the national pain...”

Dučić also published three brochures of his publicist treatises that are little known or are entirely unknown in our country: *Dr Vlatko Maček i Jugoslavija* (*Dr Vlatko Maček and Yugoslavia*), *Jugoslovenska ideologija* (*Yugoslav Ideology*) and *Federalizam i centralizam* (*Federalism and Centralism*), and a number of usually unsigned articles in *Amerikanski Srbobran*. On the day of his funeral, his last book of poems was issued – *Lirika*, which the poet included in the cycle *Večernje pesme* (*Evening Poems*). A copy of the book was placed on the chest of the deceased poet, and he was buried with it. *Lirika* contains metaphysical poems where the themes of death and God dominate. In this rather uniform, high-quality book, there are several outstanding poems.

On 1 April 1943, Dučić fell terminally ill with Spanish flu (according to one version) or influenza (according to another version). The illness progressed rapidly and was accompanied with severe pneumonia, of which Mihailo Dučić informed the Government in London. On Wednesday, 7 April 1943, on the Feast of the Annunciation, at 1.30 a.m., poet and diplomat Jovan Dučić passed away. The Orthodox funeral service took place on Saturday evening, 10 April. The requiem was held by Bishop Dionisije and several priests at the Serbian Orthodox church of St Sava. According to Dučić's explicit wish, the money for flowers was to be redirected for Serbian war orphans. Apart from the family wreath, the King's wreath was also laid, with the inscription: "To Jovan Dučić – Petar II". The Government offered to cover the funeral costs, but Mihailo Dučić refused it, reminding of Dučić's last wish to be buried in Trebinje, which the Government, once the time was ripe, could attend to.

Eulogies were delivered by Bishop Dionisije, protosyncellus Danilo Kozomora, Consul General in Chicago V. M. Vukmirović, secretary of the Serbian National Defence Luka Pejović, and colonel Dragutin Savić on behalf of Draža Mihailović and his četniks (ПОПОВИЋ 2009: 206-207).

That was Dučić's first funeral.

The second funeral took place on 13 September 1946, when the poet's remains were translated to the yard of the Serbian monastery of St Sava in Libertyville. The lower part of the memorial cross reads:

JOVAN DUČIĆ

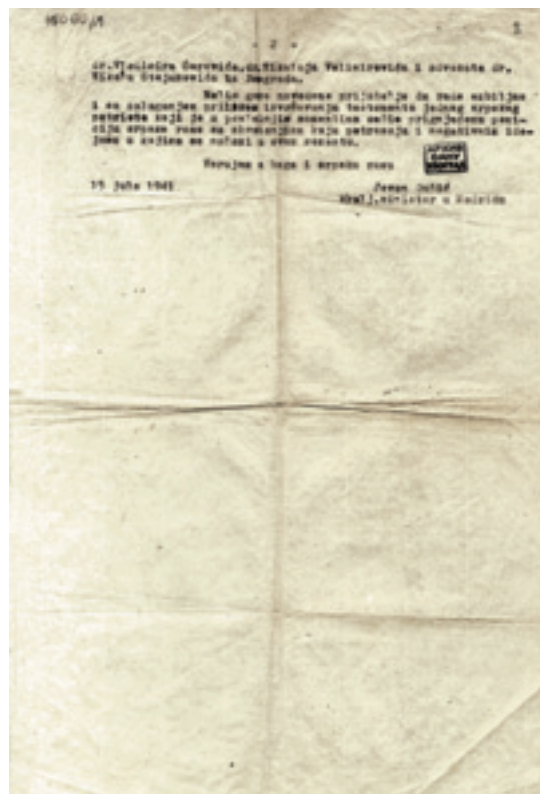
Poet

1874–1943

After Dučić's death and many impediments, Dučić's great testamentary gift arrived in Trebinje only in 1961 – it was a scaled-down, but still an exceptionally rich library with books and magazines in several languages, with many first editions and dedications of the then young and today distinguished deceased writers, including encyclopaedias and dictionaries. The library was dispatched by ship from the USA and was received by a commission consisting of professor Nikola Kovač, editor of *Glas Trebinja* (*Trebinje Gazette*) Brato Pavlović, and librarian Meho Bakšić. Thousands of books were placed in an inaccessible, dark room of the library in Trebinje. In the 1990s, activities were undertaken to organise and open Jovan Dučić's library, which is today accessible to the public.

Dučić bequeathed to his dear Trebinje and its Museum a solid art collection of which he himself made an inventory. This inventory, stated in Dučić's testament, never arrived in the Trebinje Museum. Only remnants arrived of his meticulously collected and carefully designed collection. It is not known where the inventory and the major part of the collection were taken. Dučić's archeographic collection fared somewhat better.

All three "collections" – the library, the art and archaeological collections, exude a universal spirit embracing the world and cultures of different peoples and epochs. Dučić always had in mind his hometown and made effort to make it not only a literary, but also an artistic, archeographic, historical and, in general, a cultural and spiritual centre. He wanted Trebinje to



Jovan Dučić' last will and testament, Gary, 15 July 1941 (ASASA 15060/1)

be in a lively and intensive dialogue with cultures of the world, to the benefit of Serbian culture. He wished it became a small Serbian Weimar.

Somewhat more than fifty seven years elapsed from Dučić's passing away and his third funeral, i.e. the fulfilment of his last will. Dučić's return to Trebinje was prepared for a long time. Several initiatives were undertaken and reinstated, and a long-lasting, exhausting and futile correspondence was maintained between Trebinje, Sarajevo, Belgrade and the USA. When it seemed that all necessary steps were taken, political and party-related arguments were brought up to delay Dučić's return time and again. The probate proceedings ended back in 1946. The first-named executors died. In 1971 new executors were designated, with Marko Dučić as the main executor. Marko Dučić visited Trebinje in 1984/85 and later made futile telephone calls, reminding of agreements, talks and promises. Efforts were made to avoid full execution of the testament, particularly the building of a church above Trebinje. Everything with a religious and ideological connotation was simply repudiated. The translation of Dučić's remains was officially supported, but secret efforts were made to have him stay in the USA – for half a century, de-

ceased Dučić remained ideologically controversial and undesirable in his homeland, which he represented in the world for a third of the century.

Dučić was vindicated by his work. He was also defended by a great name of Serbian literature – Meša Selimović. Already in 1952, Selimović published a selection of Dučić's works, titled *Stihovi i proza* (*Verses and Prose*), and accompanied it with his foreword, thus reviving Dučić in Serbian literature after the Second World War (ДУЧИЋ 1952). Marking Dučić's 25th death anniversary, *Svjetlost* from Sarajevo, whose editor-in-chief was Meša Selimović, started in 1968 and completed in 1969 the publication of *Jovan Dučić's Collected Works* in six volumes, within *Biblioteka kulturno nasljeđe* (*Cultural Heritage Library*). The editors were Meša Selimović and Živorad Stojković (ДУЧИЋ 1968-69). It was a publishing and editorial feat, all the more so as Selimović believed that the "cultural heritage" framework allowed him to include several Dučić's texts that were contested at the time, aware of the watchfulness of ideological criticism. Selimović had a polemic with Eli Finci and Marko Ristić over this book, and emerged from it as a morally and intellectually superior person and writer. The second, somewhat changed edition of *Collected Works*, prepared by the same editors, appeared after Selimović's death, in 1990. It was published by *Prosveta* and *BIGZ* from Belgrade and *Svjetlost* from Sarajevo (ДУЧИЋ 1990). In the meantime, Stojan Đorđić prepared *Izabrana dela Jovana Dučića* (*The Selected Works of Jovan Dučić*) in five books (ДУЧИЋ 1982). In 2000, Novica Petković led the editorial team that prepared an edition to mark Dučić's definitive return to his homeland – *Dela Jovana Dučića* (*The Works of Jovan Dučić*). It was a joint effort of three publishers – from Serbia (*Rad*, Belgrade), Montenegro (*Oktoih*, Podgorica) and the Republic of Srpska (*Dučićeve večeri poezije* (*Dučić's Poetry Evenings*), Trebinje) (ДУЧИЋ 2000).

The 25th anniversary of Dučić's death was an occasion to revive Dučić's name and to bring up the question of his testamentary return.

Dučić's Poetry Evenings were established in 1968 and were renamed into *Trebinjske večeri poezije* (*Trebinje Poetry Evenings*) in the 1970s. Since 1990 they have been held under their only, authentic name. As of 1991, the initiatives for Dučić's return were stepped up. The grammar school in Trebinje was named "Jovan Dučić". Within *Dučić's Poetry Evenings*, literary talks *Čekajući povratak Dučićev* (*Waiting for Dučić's Return*) were held. A street in Trebinje was named after Dučić. In Belgrade, on the Feast of the Annunciation of 7 April 1993, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Ćosić unveiled Dučić's bust in Kalemegdan, the work of Risto Stijović. In 1996, President of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Aleksandar Despić unveiled Dučić's monument, the work of Drinka



A bust of Jovan Dučić in Kalemegdan, made by Risto Stijović

Radovanović, in Dučić's Park in Trebinje. To mark the 50th anniversary of poet's death, on 6 and 7 December 1993, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts held the conference *O Jovanu Dučiću* (*About Jovan Dučić*). The conference proceedings were published in 1996. The editor-in-chief was academician Predrag Palavestra (ПАЛАВЕСТРА, ed. 1996). The decision to build a memorial in the Trebinje cemetery was abandoned and the idea was embraced to fulfil Dučić's testament, i.e. to build the Herzegovian Gračanica church on Crkvina, a hill above Trebinje, and place in it Dučić's grave. Those most responsible for this endeavour were the Zahumlje-Herzegovina Eparchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church and its bishops Atanasije and Grigorije. Architect Peđa Ristić designed the concept and oversaw the construction. Branko Tupanjac, a Herzegovian from America, was the donor and ktetor of the church. The cornerstone was laid on the day of Dučić's death, on the Feast of the Annunciation, 7 April 1999, and the church was completed in 2000, ready to receive the poet who, for more than half a century, waited for it next to St Sava's church in Libertyville. The church was consecrated on the day of Dučić's third funeral, 22 October 2000.

Poets Dragomir Brajković and Rajko Petrov Nogo have written about the exhumation of Dučić's remains, their translation and return to his homeland. By using their literary works as sources, we shall give only the main details. The Serbs in the USA established their Farewell Committee, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Srpska set up the joint Committee for the Return of Jovan Dučić. The exhumation began on 12 October 2000, somewhat before 10 o'clock, and was unexpectedly complicated. It was started by hieromonk of St Sava's monastery in Libertyville Serafim with four monks and theology students, in the presence of authorised persons, members of the Farewell Committee, Branko Tupanjac, Metropolitan of Central America Hristifor and President of the Serbian Cultural Society "Jovan Dučić" Stevo Dobrijević. Dučić lay beneath three panels which were opened and removed with difficulty before the glass coffin was reached. Brajković testified:

"Dučić's body lay beneath the glass; he was intact as if still on his deathbed. At the bottom, along his legs, at the level of his knees, there was a laurel wreath. On the glass, at the level of his chest, there was a copy of Dučić's collection *Lirika*, which, as noted, was published on the day of the poet's first funeral. Those present gazed at the spectacle in wonder and disbelief: Dučić lay as if on his deathbed. Everything was just like in the photograph taken before his funeral. His moustache, eyebrows, a high forehead, his characteristic hands with long fingers, some hair. A robust figure" (БРАЈКОВИЋ 2001: 50).

The coffin was very heavy. It was pulled out by an excavator and Dučić's body was transferred to the coffin intended for the Herzegovian Gračanica church. A stone cross remained above the empty grave, with the inscribed poet's name, questionable year of birth and correct year of death. It was subsequently inscribed that he had laid there from 1946 to 2000, and the first stanza of Dučić's famous poem *Povratak* (*Return*) was added:

"After my dust quietly becomes
A lump of rancid clay thoroughly,
There'll be no more dividing lines
Between You, O Lord, and between me.¹

On 14 October, the Feast of the Intercession of the Theotokos, Dučić's body was translated from St Sava's monastery in Libertyville to the American Gračanica church, where the Serbs in the diaspora bid him farewell. Bishop of Nova Gračanica Longin performed the service. The poet who died fifty seven years before was returning home, to the country under sanctions, via Moscow. He arrived in Belgrade on 20 October. Patriarch Pavle, together with bishops and priests, performed a religious ceremony in the Belgrade Cathedral Church. Belgrade paid tribute to the poet. Three volumes of the new edition *The Works of Jovan Dučić* were promoted. At the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, a joint session was held of the Serbian, Montenegrin and Republic of Srpska Academies. Speeches were held by Dragutin Vukotić, President of the Montenegrin Academy, Dejan Medaković, President of the Serbian Academy, and Novica Petković on behalf of the Academy of the Republic of Srpska.

Dučić's coffin was taken from Belgrade to Podgorica, to the Temple of Christ's Resurrection, where it stayed one night – prayers and sermons accompanied its arrival and departure. The next stop was St Basil of Ostrog church in Nikšić, where Patriarch Pavle and Metropolitan Amfilohije served, together with bishops and the clergy. The coffin was then escorted from Nikšić by young men and girls wearing national costumes, who symbolically handed it to the Herzegovians in Trebinje. Between the monuments to Njegoš and Dučić, Montenegrin Minister of Religious Affairs Budimir Dubak delivered to Trebinje mayor Mihajlo Mijanović a commemorative book on Dučić's stay in Montenegro, and Mijanović symbolically placed the keys to the town of Trebinje on Dučić's coffin. The funeral procession went from the Trebinje Cathedral Church to Herzegovian Gračanica.

The funeral ceremonies were accompanied with diverse cultural events: the exhibition *Dučić i Trebinje (Dučić and Trebinje)*, an official ceremony at which Rajko Petrov Nogo held a speech and Dučić's verses were recited by the recipients of Dučić's Award Stevan Raičković, Slobodan Rakitić, Rajko Petrov Nogo and Milosav Tešić. The Byzantine Choir of Lycourgos Angelopoulos, the Serbian Male Choir from Belgrade, and the *Jedinstvo* choir from Banjaluka chanted Dučić's verses composed by Svetislav Božić. The golden and silver coins with Dučić's image were presented. In his inspiring speech, Nogo uttered a sentence which has remained remembered and reflects Dučić's spirit: "If Petar Petrović Njegoš is our epic paradigm, and he truly is, then Jovan Dučić is our lyrical paradigm". He also reiterated the famous statement of Pero Slijepčević: "Jovan Dučić reminds of the mythic king Midas who was cursed to turn everything he touched into gold", and accentuated Dučić's attitude that *lyrics is the highest degree of metaphysics and that a lyric poem is the only art genre where the mediocre means inferior and where nothing is good unless it is perfect* (НОГО 2015: 186-191; СЛИЈЕПЧЕВИЋ 1956: 93-148).

On the funeral day, Sunday, 22 October, Gojko Šantić recited Dučić's verses in the cultural programme, and Greek and Serbian choirs sang. In the presence of President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Vojislav Koštunica, high dignitaries of the Republic of Srpska, highest church dignitaries and representatives of the international community, speeches before Dučić's coffin were held by President of the Republic of Srpska Mirko Šarović, His Holiness Serbian Patriarch Pavle and recipient of Dučić's Award Matija Bečković. Bečković stated it was a day when Dučić's "behest was fulfilled and came to fruition":



Jovan Dučić (LSASA, F-205)

“Jovan Dučić’s last words were *I believe in God and Serbdom*. He wrote them with an already feeble hand in the times of adversity, when only Jovan Dučić could believe both in God and Serbdom. Those were the times of tribulation, when God, Serbdom and Dučić were the incriminated notions of his language, *spoken*, as was the case with tsar Radovan, *only by those who went insane*. [...] But, what a miracle! Jovan Dučić is being buried for the third time and born for the second time. His second birth seems to be more truthful, more important and more glorious than the first one in Hrupjela. [...] Dučić has drowned his detractors in a drop of ink. He has been elevated today to the horizon which no one can obscure” (БЕЋКОВИЋ 2001: 310-314).

Never has any Serbian writer been so ceremoniously laid to rest as Dučić was during his third funeral. He waited for over half a century for the entire Serbdom to pay tribute to him, both in the Serbian lands and the diaspora. Even the sanctions under which and due to which his coffin flew via Moscow have a symbolic meaning today and evoke his poem *Krila* (*Wings*). Even dead, Dučić shared the destiny of his people.

Jovan Dučić had an exciting, rich and accomplished life both as a writer and a diplomat. He was not only a poet, but also a travel writer, critic, essayist, author of contemplative and historical prose. He was doubtless one of the most significant and most influential Serbian poets of the 20th century, one of our best travel writers and an outstanding essayist. Highly demanding and strict with himself, Dučić constantly developed. In his *Lirika* of 1943, he fully achieved his ideal of lyrics as metaphysics. In diplomacy, he became the first ambassador of his country and its highly eminent representative in the course of many years. He saw a lot and experienced even more.

The story about his three funerals is exciting, particularly his return from Libertyville to Trebinje. This story is an inalienable part of his biography. The account of Dučić's return reflects the epoch of its controversy. Dučić's stay in America, his relations with the Government in exile, his non-fiction work and polemics could be subject to an invaluable historical, sociological and political research. The war orphan from Podglivlje and Hrupjela had an exceptional destiny. He became the most reputable poet of the most important anthology of modern Serbian lyrics (of Bogdan Popović) and one of the most distinguished diplomats of his country. Among the Serbs, he was buried for the third time as no one before him and, probably, as no one after him would be buried. This is by no means a coincidence.

Translated by Tatjana Čosović

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КРАЉЕВИНА СРБИЈА

ROYAUME DE SERBIE

ПУТНА ИСПРАВА

PASSEPORT

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Издао се
Владајућу

ENDNOTES

- 1 Translated by Vasa D. Mihailovich.
- 2 П. Каровић, *Дефиниција дигломације*, Дипломатија, Зборник радова (приредио др Ђорђе Н. Лопичић), Београд 2006, 80.
- 3 *Истџо*, 80–82.
- 4 *Сабрана дела Јована Дучића*, књига VI, *О Јовану Дучићу 1900–1989*, Београд–Сарајево 1990, 102.
- 5 К. Ст. Павловић, *Јован Дучић*, Милано 1967, 11–17, 161.
Radovan Popović, one of Dučić's biographers, also mentions the year 1874 as the most credible one.
- 6 In his letter of 12 July 1899, sent to Milan Savić, Matica Srpska secretary, Dučić notified him that he had arrived in Geneva a few weeks ago, which refutes the opinion of Kosta St. Pavlović that he started his studies three years earlier, in 1896 (See Р. Поповић, *нав. дело*, 21).
- 7 The Archives of Serbia (AS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia (MFF KS), PP, 1907, row 165.
- 8 The Archives of Yugoslavia (AY), Jovan Jovanović Pižon's Collection (80), box 35, sheet 180.
- 9 Kosta St. Pavlović noted down that Dučić's friends Jovan Skerlić and Slobodan Jovanović put in a word for him to be given his first diplomatic post. In the certificate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, issued at the request of J. Dučić, No. 3,754, of 28 October 1924, it was stated that Jovan Dučić was a non-accredited official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia from 1 June 1907 to 1 May 1910, when he was appointed an accredited clerk.
К. Ст. Павловић, *нав. дело*, 36–38; AY, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (MFA KY) – Administrative Department – Human Resources Section (AD – HRS), 1924, f. V, Jovan Dučić's file.
- 10 А. Митровић, *Дучићев опис краља Фердинанда*, Историјски часопис, volume XIX, 1972, 320–325; AY, Jovan Jovanović Pižon's Collection (80), J. Dučić – to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sofia 27 January/9 February 1911.
- 11 Р. Поповић, *нав. дело*, 76–77, Dučić's letter to Jovanović of 19 April/1 May 1911.
- 12 AS, MFA KS, PO, 1913, P/2–1, f. IV.
- 13 AY, Jovan Jovanović Pižon's Collection (80), box-35, sheet-182, Jovan Dučić – to Jovan M. Jovanović, Rome, 2 October 1912.
- 14 *Документи о сјољној њолийици Краљевине Србије* (hereinafter *Документи*) 1903–1914, 1913, књ. VI, св. 2, док. бр. 174, the report of the charge d'affaires from Rome of 28 April/11 May 1913, 257–258.
- 15 *Документи*, 1913, књ. VI, св. 3, document no. 324, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 13/26 September 1913, 366; document no. 333, *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 15/28 September 1913, 375–375; document no. 534. The report of the charge d'affaires from Rome Lj. Mihailović of 22 November/5 December 1913, 547–548.
- 16 The Archives of Serbia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, PP, 1913, f-24, no. 304, Rome 22 December 1913, Dučić – to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade.
- 17 *Документи*, 1913, књ. VI, св. 3, document no. 565, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 28 December 1913/10 January 1914, 575.
- 18 *Документи*, 1914, књ. VII, св. 1, document no. 30, the report of charge d'affaires Lj. Mihailović of 7/20 January 1914, 145–147.
- 19 *Документи*, 1914, књ. VII, св. 1, document no. 162, 291.
- 20 Р. Поповић, *нав. дело*, 89.

- 21 AY, King's Office (KO), f-1, no. 533, Secretary of the Legation J. Dučić – to the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbia in Greece, 14 July 1917 (according to the new calendar); AY, KO, f-2, document no. 605, Secretary of the Legation J. Dučić – to the Serbian Royal General Legation in Thessaloniki (for Jurišić), 16 August 1917 (according to the new calendar).
- 22 AY, KO, f-2, no. 606, Secretary of the Legation J. Dučić – to the Serbian Royal General Legation in Thessaloniki (for Jurišić), 17 August 1917 (according to the new calendar).
- 23 AY, KO, f-2, no. 604 and 607, Secretary of the Legation J. Dučić – to the Serbian Royal General Legation in Thessaloniki (for Jurišić), 7/ 21 August 1917.
- 24 AY, KO, f-2, document no number, Secretary of the Legation J. Dučić – to the Serbian Royal General Consulate in Thessaloniki (for Jurišić), 29 August 1917 (according to the new calendar).
- 25 AY, KO, f-2, document no. 603, Secretary of the Legation J. Dučić – to the Serbian Royal General Consulate in Thessaloniki (for Jurišić), 19 August 1917 (according to the new calendar); AY, KO, f-2, document no. 625 and document no number, Secretary of the Legation J. Dučić – to the Serbian Royal General Consulate in Thessaloniki (for Jurišić), 29 and 30 August 1917 (according to the new calendar).
- 26 AY, MFA KY AD – decrees of 1918, f. 1
- 27 AY, MFA KY AD – decrees of 1918, f. 1.
- 28 The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on 1 December 1918 in Belgrade with the consent of the legitimate representatives of the internationally recognized Kingdom of Serbia and the internationally unrecognized State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. The new state encompassed the administrative territories of the Kingdom of Serbia, the Kingdom of Montenegro, Dalmatia and Slovenia, which were Austrian imperial possessions, Croatia, Slavonia, Vojvodina and Srem, which were for centuries under the Hungarian crown, Bosnia and Herzegovina, which after the annexation had the status of Austro-Hungarian state property. Different historical experiences had left a strong imprint in the minds of citizens who in 1918 began living together in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
- 29 Over 20,000,000 people were killed in battle or died in the war, and the same number of individuals was wounded or permanently disabled. About 8,000,000 people experienced the horrors of the camp or prison. France lost 16.8% of its population in the war, Germany 15.4%, Great Britain 12.5%, Russia 11.5%, Italy 10.5%, and the United States 2%. Serbia lost over 25% of its total population.
- 30 AY, Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in France, no. 294 of 14 February 1919, Deciphered telegram forwarded to the Delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes at the Paris Peace Conference; AY, Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in France, no. 202 of 3 March 1919, Deciphered telegram forwarded to the Delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes at the Paris Peace Conference.
- 31 AY, MFA KY AD – decrees of 1919, Political Department no 6384, of 22 May 1919, f. I.
- 32 AY, MFA KY AD – telegram from Madrid no. 234, of 17 April 1921, f. VII, Madrid Legation file.
- 33 AY, MFA KY AD – Human Resources Section (HRS), no. 3,308, of 19 August 1922, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 34 *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram from San Sebastian of 15 August 1922, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 35 *Ibidem*, no. 3,333 of 20 August 1922, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 36 *Ibidem*, the telegram from Madrid no. 207 of 12 October 1922, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 37 *Ibidem*, no. 4,844 of 7 November 1922 and no. 5,040 of 17 November 1922, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 38 *Ibidem*, the act issued by the Political Department no. 910 of 7 March 1923, the decree no. 860, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 39 Jovan Dučić's Library (JDL), Trebinje, the telegram of the Legation in Athens of 1 September 1923, X-B-1.
- 40 AY, Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in France, no. 44 of 25 January 1924, f-X, Dučić's report drafted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and submitted to the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Paris.
- 41 AY, Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Bucharest, f-XI, Dučić's report submitted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Ninčić, 21 January 1924.
- 42 This was the third government led by Lj. Davidović, which lasted from 27 July to early November 1924.
- 43 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, no. 3,432 of 22 October 1924, f. V, Dučić's file; *Ibidem*, 1922 Envoy Marković's report from Athens, no. 855 of 26 September and no. 797 of 7 November 1924, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 44 *Ibidem*, 1922, f. IV, Milutin Jovanović's file.
- 45 *Ibidem*, Dučić's request of 25 October, no. 1,605 of 8 November 1924, f. XXI, file 19.

- 46 *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram no. 10 of 3 January 1925, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 47 AY, the Permanent Delegation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the League of Nations (Delegation), the 1925 register, the telegram of 15 January 1925 sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 48 The decision to establish the League of Nations was made in January 1919 at the first plenary session of the Paris Peace Conference. The organization began its activities in January 1920. Its seat was in Geneva. The main task of the organization was to preserve world peace, and its main goal was to encourage peaceful international cooperation. The League employed the principles of "collective security". Thus, each member of the League was obligated and responsible for the safety and security of all other members. The establishment of the League of Nations, one of the founders of which was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, was the first attempt to create a system of collective security in Europe and the world.
- 49 Jovan Dučić's Library, Trebinje (JDL), H – B – 2, Our situation in the League of Nations, Geneva, 20 April 1925.
- 50 Momčilo Ninčić again served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the governments led by Nikola Pašić – the eighth one of 6 December 1924, the ninth one of 29 April 1925 and the tenth one of 18 July 1925, and then in the first and the second government led by Nikola Uzunović from 8 April to December 1926.
- 51 Jovan Dučić's Library, Dučić's letter to Ninčić; the letter sent by the most famous Swiss lawyer, a member of Parliament; letters sent by prominent Yugoslav citizens from Geneva, X–B–3: On the same see K. Ст. Павловић, *нав. дело*, 50–51.
- 52 AY, Delegation, the 1925 registry, Dučić's telegram no. 57 of 10 August 1925.
- 53 AY, MFA KY AD – 1925 decrees, f. 1.
- 54 *Ibidem*, AD – PD, decision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs no. 4,653 of 10 December 1925, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 55 AY, MFA KY AD, no. 844 of 16 March 1926, f. XVI, Dučić's file.
- 56 *Ibidem*, consul Grupčević's telegram, f. XVI, Dučić's file.
- 57 *Ibidem*, no. 1,175 of 21 April 1926, f. V, Dučić's file. Under the decree no. 1,057 of 30 March 1926 the Consulate General was abolished, and the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established. Under the decree no. 1,060 of 30 March 1926 Dučić was appointed counselor to the Legation as a chargé d'affaires. By the way, diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Serbia and Egypt were established on 1 February 1908 when the Diplomatic Agency was set up in Cairo, which was for a time raised to the rank of consulate, and then regained the status of agency, which was definitively abolished on 4 October 1922 when the Consulate General was established. The first diplomatic agent of the Kingdom of Serbia in Cairo was Boško Čolak Antić, who later became the Minister of the Court.
- 58 AY, MFA KY AD, no. 8 of 31 August 1927. – In his explanation of 2 August Dučić says that the conflict with M. Jovanović dates back to the time of his appointment as a permanent delegate to the League of Nations. According to Dučić, envoy Jovanović wanted to prevent this appointment at all costs, because it put an end to "numerous and large-scale chicaneries unprecedented in the history of our missions abroad". Having wanted to keep the posting of the delegate, Jovanović engaged in numerous intrigues that culminated in a fabricated affair with a failed girl and her illegitimate child. In these dishonorable actions, Jovanović also had the support of two clerks from his Legation in Bern (Spiro Mijić and Dragoljub Miletić), who were tasked to deliver "some kind of compromising material", directed against Dučić, to the addresses of some prominent personalities and editorial boards of newspapers in the country and abroad. Dučić explained the fight in the following manner: "when I unexpectedly happened to meet Mr. Milutin Jovanović for the first time, I could not refrain from expressing that indignation in the way I least wanted". Miloš Crnjanski made a reference to the fight at the Ministry (*Ембахаге*, I–III, 381–382.)
- 59 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, no. 3,799 of 8 September 1927, f. III, Dučić's file.
Upon learning of the punishment that ensued, Dučić wrote a letter to Assistant Minister S. Pavlović in which he attributed the blame for the whole affair to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its lack of diligence to, despite the fact that it was aware of envoy Jovanović's dishonorable actions, restrain his activities, which also damaged the reputation of the state. Insulted for receiving the same treatment as Jovanović, Dučić finished his letter as follows: "But as a public figure, I have to declare that the laws of my homeland will not be obeyed as long as they are not preceded by the laws of conscience in our lives".
K. Ст. Павловић, *нав. дело*, 57–61. R. Popović quoted an excerpt from the letter in the aforementioned book, 111–113.

- 60 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, no. 5,060 of 13 December 1927, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 61 K. Павловић, *нав. дело*, 62.
- 62 Jovan Dučić's Library, a translation into the Serbo-Croatian language: "The Hungarians about Jovan Dučić – a visit to Jovan Dučić, the greatest Serbian poet", Cairo, February 1927, X–B–5.
- 63 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, no. 4,732 of 7 December 1929, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 64 *Ibidem*, no. 553 of 14 February 1930, Dučić's telegram from Cairo, no. 10, of 10 February 1930, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 65 The New York Stock Exchange crash, which occurred in October 1929, further dramatized the already smoldering economic crisis. The interconnection among the global capital, the economy and the market made the sudden fall of the shares on the New York Stock Exchange produce a chain collapse of the world banking system. In Europe, Germany was most affected by the crisis. The collapse was first experienced by saving banks, credit unions and then banks, which were closed one after another. In a short period of time, industrial production, which there was no one to finance, fell in the leading industrialized countries by over 50%. The number of unemployed ranged between 20 and 30 million. The standard of living dropped dramatically. The economic depression changed people's perceptions of the economy but also of politics.
- 66 AY, Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in London (LL), no. 648, of 14 July 1930, f. I, file I-11
- 67 AY, LL, no. 627 of 26 July 1930, f-I, file I-11; no. 702 of 7 August 1930, f-I, file I-11 and no. 749 of 11 November 1930, f-I, file I-11.
- 68 AY, LL, no. 767 of 22 September 1930, f-I, file I-11; AY, LL, no. 328 of 7 July 1931, f-I, file I-11.
- 69 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, no. 1932, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 70 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, Dučić's telegram from Budapest no. 78 of 16 February 1932 in which he informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that he assumed the duty on 15 February 1932, f. V, Dučić's file. Dučić returned from Egypt in December 1931, and on 17 December 1931, he asked the Ministry to grant him a two-month sick leave, at doctor's suggestion, which was approved – no. 450 of 1 February 1932, f. V. Due to the urgency of taking office in Budapest, according to the decision of the Deputy Minister (No. 515 of 8 February 1932, f. V, Dučić's file), he did not travel to Cairo to hand over his duty.
- 71 *Ibidem*, Dučić held a briefing at the Ministry from 13 to 19 March, No. 136 of 28 May up to 13 June, No. 322 of 27 November, f. V, Dučić's file, then in 1933 from 21 March to 4 April, No. 1,432 from 7 up to 12 May V, No. 2,147, 1933, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 72 Jovan Dučić's Library, H-V-7, Hungarian pessimism about Yugoslavia, Lawlessness of Serbia as a barbaric country, Jovan Dučić's report sent from Budapest to Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Jevtić, 13 July 1932.
- 73 AY, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, f-31, Jovan Dučić's report submitted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Jevtić, 8 September 1932.
- 74 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, Dučić was on leave from 15 July to 1 September 1932, in Vienna in the period 14–20 October, no. 588, on sick leave from late November to 20 December 1932, f. V, Dučić's file, attended the congress of the Pen Club in Dubrovnik from 21 May to 12 June 1933, no. 2,535, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 75 *Ibidem*, "Protocol on the handover of duties at the Royal Legation in Budapest", no. 750/33 of 30 July 1933, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 76 *Ibidem*, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 77 Андреј Митровић, „Дучићев опис краља Фердинанда Кобуршког и прилика у Бугарској почетком 1911. године”, *Историјски часопис*, књ. XIX, 1972, 318–319.
Dučić left the following memory about von Hassell, who served in Belgrade after Budapest, and after that in Rome: "An ambassador who carries a French bullet in one part of his heart. A great man, husband, father, German and a European. A sincere friend of Yugoslavia, which he got to know through the heroism of Serbia and the kindness of Belgrade, where he served as a German ambassador for two years before he was transferred to Rome. Both he in Rome and we in Belgrade do not miss the chance to express our mutual affection..."
Јован Дучић, *Дневник*, dated 4 February 1937.
- 78 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, Dučić's telegram from Rome, no. 1,444, in which he informed the Ministry that he assumed the duty on 1 October 1933, f. V, Dučić's file.

- 79 AY, Permanent Delegation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the League of Nations in Geneva (Delegation), no. 15, f-22, file 10, What did Italy know about Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nation, 18 October 1933; *Ibidem*, no. 139, f-22, file 10, Conversation with undersecretary of state for foreign affairs Suvich and his impressions from Berlin.
- 80 AY, Delegation, no. 20, f-22, file 10, Conversation with the Turkish ambassador on Litvinov's visit to Mussolini, 7 December 1933.
- 81 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-18, Italian press about His Majesty's visit to Zagreb and my letter to Mr. Suvich, 30 December 1933; AY, Aleksandar Cincar Marković's collection, f-2, a copy, My response to Suvich regarding the latest events in the Balkans, Rome, 2 January 1934.
- 82 AY, Legation in London, no. 269 of 25 March 1934, f-I, file I-2; *Ibidem*, no. 276 of 28 March 1934, f-I, file I-2; *Ibidem*, no. 286 of 31 March 1934, f-I, file I-6; *Ibidem*, no. 394 of 28 January 1934, f-I, file I-2; *Ibidem*, no. 448 of 17 May 1934, f-I, file I-10; AY, Delegation, no. 461 of 12 June 1934, f-22, file I-10;
- 83 AY, Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Turkey, f-22, no. 2,522, Report submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 24 December 1934.
- 84 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-14, Jovan Dučić's encrypted letter sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no. 1,171 of 11 June 1934; *Ibidem*, H-V-31, Report sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no. 1,197 of 12 June 1934; *Ibidem*, H-B-31, Encrypted telegram sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no. 1,513 of 13 July 1934; *Ibidem*, H-V-31, Italian commentary on the Eastern Pact and why they agree to it, no. 1,515 of 14 July 1934; AY, Legation in London, no. 564 of 1 August 1934, f-I, file I-2;
- 85 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-31, Report sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no. 1,559 of 17 July 1934; AY, Legation in London, no. 1,004 of 11 December 1934, f-I, file I-2; *Ibidem*, no. 207 of 9 March 1935, f-I, file I-9;
- 86 AY, Delegation, f-22, no. 32/II, Italy – encrypted letter of 5 July 1935, no. 16,341; AY, Legation in London, no. 632 of 20 August 1935, f-I, file I-2; AY, Delegation, no. 1,348 of 31 December 1935, f-47, file 22, France-Italy relations, 15 November 1935.
- 87 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-31, My visit to Mussolini – talks on the rapprochement and terrorists, no. 729 of 24 March 1935.
- 88 AY, Delegation, no. 1,386 of 31 December 1935, f-47, file 22, Talks with Suvich on Abyssinia of 27 August 1935; AY, Legation in London, no. 912 of 8 November 1935, f-I, file I-2, Talks on the British-Italian war held on 16 October 1935;
- 89 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-15, Dučić's report on his first talks with Count Ciano in the Palace of Chigi, 29 October 1936.
- 90 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, Political Department's act no. 3,030 of 1 November, by which Dučić was ordered to come to Belgrade. Dučić spent some time in Belgrade from 2 to 15 November, when he returned to Rome. No. 6,049 of 29 December 1936, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 91 *Ibidem*, decree, 1936, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 92 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-15, New message of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Galeazzo Ciano after receiving the response of the Prime Minister M. Stojadinović, 18 November 1936.
- 93 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-15, Dučić's second meeting with Ciano held on 20 November 1936.
- 94 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-15, Dučić's letter sent to M. Stojadinović of 21 November 1936.
- 95 M. Стојадиновић, Ни рат ни пакт, Ријека 1970, 412–417.
- 96 Jovan Dučić's library, Rome Diary (*Diary*), dated 17 May, H–A–34. Some excerpts from the Diary were published in P. Поповић, *нав. дело*, 157–181 and Слободан Витановић, *Јован Дучић у знаку ероса*, Београд 1990, 306–311.
- 97 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, telegram from Bucharest no. 520 of 20 May 1937 in which envoy D. Kasidolac informed the Ministry that the agrément was given; f. II, Dučić's file.
- 98 *Ibidem*, a decree, 1937, f. II, Dučić's file.
- 99 *Ibidem*, a letter of 15 June 1937, f. II, Dučić's file.

- 100 J. Дучић, *Дневник*, dated 29 July 1937.
- 101 J. Дучић, *Дневник*, dated 20 and 22 September 1937.
- 102 АУ, МФА КУ АД – ПД, no. 4,601 of 14 September 1937, f. II, Dučić's file; АУ, МФА КУ АД – ПД, the telegram from Rome no. 1,402 of 25 September 1937, f. II, Dučić's file.
- 103 J. Дучић, *Дневник*, dated 25 and 28 September.
- 104 М. Стојадиновић, *нав. дело*, 417.
- 105 Проф Галеацо Ђано, *Дневник 1937–1938*, Загреб 1954, 19.
- 106 J. Дучић, *Дневник*, dated 20 September 1937.
- 107 *Истио*, dated 1 September 1937.
- 108 *Истио*, dated 29 July 1937.
- 109 *Ibidem*, dated 7 October 1937.
- 110 АУ, МФА КУ АД – ПД, Dučić's telegram no. 636 of 15 November 1937, f. II, Dučić's file.
- 111 *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram no. 1,240 of 12 November 1937, f. II, Dučić's file; Dučić noted down in his Diary that he delivered his diplomatic credentials on 5 November 1937.
- 112 АУ, Legation in London, no. 1,993 of 28 December 1937, f-I, file I-7.
- 113 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-31, Dučić's report from Bucharest sent on 7 January 1938 to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Stojadinović; *Ibidem*, H-V-31, conversation with Italian envoy on the situation in Romania of 22 January 1938; *Ibidem*, H-V-29, Dučić's report sent on 22 January 1938 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the difficult situation of O. Goga's government; *Ibidem*, H-V-29, Dučić's report sent on 23 January 1938 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the difficult situation of O. Goga's government; *Ibidem*, H-V-29, Dučić's report sent on 28 January 1938 about the odds of O. Goga's government, 28 January 1938; The diary entry of 30 December 1937, in which he provided a vivid description of the new Prime Minister Octavian Goga and his future tasks, bore witness to the then situation in Romania: "By nature very temperament, sanguine, a violent type, brawler, but also a warrior. He now has to save the corrupt Romania in the way that Mussolini saved the degenerated Italy and Hitler the overrun and communist Reich..."
- J. Дучић, *Дневник*, dated 30 December 1937.
- 114 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-29, Jewish uprising and the signs of xenophobia, 26 January 1938; *Ibidem*, H-V-31, Talks with the Minister of Interior Călinescu, that is of the Romanian Jews, 4 February 1938; *Ibidem*, H-V-31, Internal situation in Romania. Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović, 17 April 1938.
- 115 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-31, Romania's views towards fascism and Nazism, 9 February 1938; *Ibidem*, H-V-31, On the new government and patriarch's position, 13 February 1938.
- 116 *Ibidem*, H-V-31, A view of the head of the Liberal Party Mr. D. Brătianu on the new government led by Patriarch Miron and on the dictatorship, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović of 4 April 1938.
- 117 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-31, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović of 13 March 1938; *Ibidem*, H-V-31, Current Romanian foreign policy, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović of 23 March 1938.
- 118 *Ibidem*, H-V-31, Internal situation in Romania, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović, 17 April 1938; *Ibidem*, H-V-29, The discovery of Codreanu's preparations for the uprising and assault on Bucharest, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović, 17 April 1938; *Ibidem*, H-B-31, Dučić's conversation with German envoy Fabricius, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović, 14 May 1938; *Ibidem*, H-V-31, Talks with Interior Minister Călinescu about the Codreanu's trial and German participation, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović, 2 June 1938.
- 119 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-31, On the treaty negotiations between Hungary and Romania, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović, 30 March 1938.
- 120 *Ibidem*, H-V-31, Conversation with Italian envoy regarding the negotiations between Italy and England, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović, 13 March 1938.
- 121 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-31, On the treaty negotiations between Hungary and Romania, Dučić's report sent to M. Stojadinović, 30 March 1938.
- 122 *Ibidem*.
- 123 J. Дучић, *Дневник*, dated 24 January 1937.
- 124 Jovan Dučić's library, H-V-29, Codreanu's escape and the collapse of the "Iron Guard", Dučić's report sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 28 February 1938.

- 125 K. St. Pavloviћ, *нав. дело*, 289.
- 126 K. St. Pavloviћ, *нав. дело*, 276–285.
- 127 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, no. 524 of 8 February 1939, f. III, Dučić's file.
- 128 The issue of raising diplomatic relations between Romania and Yugoslavia to a higher level was resolved at the Conference of the Little Entente on 5 May 1938. By a decree of 17 December, as of 1 January 1939, Romania raised its legation in Belgrade to the level of embassy, whereas the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did the same by issuing a decree of 22 December 1938.
- 129 The ambitions of Germany, Italy and Japan to become great states in the territorial and political sense, to annul the provisions of the peace treaties concluded at the end of the First World War and to impose their “new world order”, resulted in military alliances. The “Anti-Comintern Pact”, concluded in November 1936, was the result of the political and military rapprochement of Germany and Japan. In 1937, Italy joined the Pact. That is how the alliance of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis was formed. A few years later, when the war had already begun, those countries strengthened their alliance in Berlin on 20 September 1940, by concluding a military alliance known as the “Tripartite Pact”. With this pact, Japan acknowledged the right of Germany and Italy to make decisions “when establishing a new order in Europe”. At the same time, Germany and Italy acknowledged “Japan's leadership in the establishment of a new order in Greater Asia”. The pact would provide for the accession of other states. Thus, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia acceded to the Tripartite Pact in 1940, whereas Bulgaria acceded in March 1941, as well as Yugoslavia.
- 130 K. Pavloviћ, *нав. дело*, 220–221, a facsimile of letter from A. Cincar Marković to Dučić.
- 131 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, by the same decree, the royal envoy in Madrid, Aleksandar Avakumović (who a year earlier served as a counselor of the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Bucharest and was transferred at Dučić's request), was appointed the new ambassador to Bucharest in 1940, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 132 *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram from Bucharest, no. 753 of 31 May 1940, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 133 *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram from Madrid, no. 431 of 3 June 1940, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 134 AY, Legation in London, no. 1,409 of 16 October 1940, f-I, file I-10, Situation in Spain, Dučić's report sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Cincar-Marković; AY, Ministerial Council of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (138), f-4, AY 22, Situation in Spain and its view on the war, Dučić's report sent to A. Cincar-Marković, 25 July 1940; AY, Ministerial Council of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (138), f-4, AY 22, the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty. Dučić's report sent to A. Cincar-Marković, 4 August 1940.
- 135 *Ibidem*.
- 136 *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram from Madrid, no. 498 of 9 July 1940, f. V, Dučić's file; AY, Ministerial Council of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, MFA's Political Department's act, no number, 138–4–22.
- 137 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, no. 5,579 of 30 October 1940, f. XXV.
- 138 *Ibidem*, no. 6,566 of 24 December 1940, f. XXV.
- 139 *Ibidem*.
- 140 *Ibidem*, 1940, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 141 *Ibidem*, Dučić's report of 5 November, no. 30,765 of 7 November 1940, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 142 *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram no. 920 of 20 December 1940, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 143 *Ibidem*, Dučić to Ninčić, no. 227 of 6 May 1941, f. V, Dučić's file; The royal government left the country on 15 April and set out to Egypt via Greece, and thence to Jerusalem, where it arrived on 18 April 1941.
- 144 AY, Government in exile, (103), f- 63, AY 283, Dučić's report sent to Minister Ninčić, 18 June 1941.
- 145 AY, MFA KY in London, AD, no. 5,236 of 28 July 1941, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 146 AY, Government in exile, (103) Madrid Legation's report, no. 142/41 of 5 July 1941 to Minister Ninčić, who was based in London, f. 63–283. The report reads that “the head of the diplomatic cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain announced at a press conference that the Spanish government *de iure* recognized the new Kingdom of Croatia on 26 June 1941”. A month later, on 1 August, Franco appointed his envoy in Zagreb, Don Vicente González Arnao and de Amar de la Torre; the report of the charge d'affaires in Madrid no. 156/41 of 31 August 1941, 103–63–283. The following year, on 4 February, the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested the closure of the offices of the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to Madrid and the honorary consulates in Barcelona and Valencia; the report of the charge d'affaires from Madrid no. 9/42 of 10 February 1942, 103–63–283.

- 147 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, the telegram from Madrid no. 280/41 of 2 July 1941, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 148 At the government session held in Jerusalem on 16 May 1941, it was decided that a certain number of ministers was to be deployed to the United States and Canada on a propaganda mission. In addition, it was decided that the seat of the government was to be in London. (See: Б. Кризман, *Југословенске владе у избеглиштву 1941–1943*, Загреб 1985, 134–135)
- 149 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, Ninčić's letter of 9 July 1940, no. 5,236, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 150 AY, MFA KY in London, the report of the press attaché of the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Lisbon M. Popović addressed to Deputy Prime Minister Miha Krek, no. 2,538 of 16 August 1942, f. III.
- 151 Пеђа Милосављевић, „Био сам Дучићев секретар”, in: *Сабрана дела...*, VI, 489.
- 152 Перо Слијепчевић, „Јован Дучић”, in: *Сабрана дела Јована Дучића*, књ. VI, Београд–Сарајево 1999, 108.
- 153 Милан Стојадиновић, *Ни рай ни пакл*, Ријека 1970; Милан Грол, *Лондонски дневник 1941–1945*, Београд 1990; Гроф Галеацо Ђано, *Дневник 1937–1938*, Загреб 1954; *Тајни архиви грофа Ђана (1936–1942)*, Загреб 1952; Милош Црњански, *Ембахаде*, Београд 1983.
- 154 Богдан Кризман, *Вањска полиција Југословенске државе 1918–1941*, Загреб 1975; Вук Винавер, *Југославија и Мађарска 1918–1933*, Београд 1979; *Југославија и Мађарска 1933–1941*, Београд 1976; Милан Ванку, *Мала Анђанија 1920–1935*, Титово Ужице 1969; Глигор Попи, *Југословенско-румунски односи 1918–1941*, Вршац 1984, Енес Милак, *Италија и Југославија 1931–1937*, Београд 1987 etc.
- Radovan Samardžić defines Dučić as follows: “Without expressing the slightest repugnance for the entire Serbian peasant nation, in whose history, beliefs, morals and mentality he found features worthy of ancient peoples, a poet of brilliant expression and refined feelings who wrote the most beautiful essays on Petar Kočić and Borisav Stanković, writers who undoubtedly were not cut from the same cloth as him, being dignifiedly benevolent towards individuals and movements he otherwise would not have to concur with, Jovan Dučić, the first ambassador in the history of Yugoslav diplomacy, proud of his origin, prodigal as a cosmopolitan scholar, above all a man who knew how to carry himself, for decades left the impression of vain attitude and gallant elegance in his appearance. But it wasn't just his appearance. The nature of his soul was also exquisite.”
- Р. Самарџић, „Сој Јована Дучића”, in: *Сабрана дела...*, VI, 510.
- 155 Р. Поповић, *Истина о Дучићу*, Београд 1982; Р. Поповић, *Жудња за фрактом*, Београд 1985. Authors who wrote about the literary endeavours of Jovan Dučić, only incidentally wrote about his service in Yugoslav diplomacy (*Сабрана дела Јована Дучића*, *О делу Јована Дучића 1900–1989*, Додатак издању, Перо Слијепчевић, Славко Леовац, Радован Самарџић).
- 156 Dučić's published diplomatic reports can be found in: „Историјски гласник”, књ. XIX, 1972, 317–325, „Дучићев извештај из Софије 1911”, приредио Андреј Митровић; „Документа о спољној политици Краљевине Србије 1912”, књ. V, св. 3, 1913, књ. VI, св. 2, 1914, књ. VII, св. 1 (in which several Dučić's reports were published, whereas in several others some references to his reports have been made); „Књижевност” 1–2, 1991, 108–129, „Дипломатски извештаји – Јован Дучић”, приредио Миладин Милошевић; Богдан Кризман, *Југословенске владе у избеглиштву 1941–1943*, Загреб 1985, 134–135 (a Madrid report from 1941). М. Милошевић, *Јован Дучић, Дипломатски списи*, Београд 2015. Some excerpts from reports appear in the book by R. Popović *Истина о Дучићу*.
- 157 On Dučić's views expressed in his books of essays *Blago cara Radovana: knjiga o sudbini* (*King Radovan's Treasure: a Book on Fate*) and/or *Jutra sa Leutara: misli o čoveku* (*Leutar Mornings: Musings on Man*) and the possibilities for their comparative and interdisciplinary contextualizations within the framework of world cultural heritage see for example, Коларић 2001: 17–23; Јовановић 2008: 18–31; Гвозден 2017: 175–184 etc. On the prospects of comparative approaches within the framework of Dučić's travelogue-essayistic writings see for example, Леовац 1990: 375–399; Делић 2001: 119–167; Gvozden 2003 etc. On the status of the examined topics of works *My Companions: Literary Forms* or *A Path by the Road: Essays and Articles* within Jovan Dučić's entire oeuvre see for example, Panić 2007: 79–87; Стакић Савковић 2012: 255–266; Стакић Савковић 2016: 493–510. On the prospects of different types of research of Dučić's essays see for example, Милићевић 1965: 229–243; Витановић 1994; Егерић 2000: 215–220; Иванишевић 2009; Радуловић 2009: 39–67 etc.
- 158 To a certain extent, at times somewhat similar critical strongholds of Jovan Dučić and Jovan Skerlić could be looked into. It seems as if Skerlić's essay “Tri mlada pisca” (“Three Young Writers”), whose first part is dedicated to Milićević's work *Bespuće* (*Middle of Nowhere*), the second one to *Pripovetke* (*The Stories*) authored by

Nikola Janković, and the third one to *Priče koje su izgubile ravnotežu* (*The Stories That Have Lost Their Balance*) by Stanislav Vinaver (cf. Скерлић 1922: 137–149), in terms of its title, is a continuation of Dučić's essay “Naši najmlađi pisci” (“Our Youngest Writers”), published in 1908, and in part dedicated to Veljko Miličević (Дучић 1908a: 3; Дучић 2008b: 215–222). The extent to which Skerlić's essays directly rely on Dučić's observations is also reflected in the fact concerning, for example, their similar formation of insights regarding “the youngest generation of writers” which “has a penchant for pessimism” (Дучић 1908a; Дучић 2008a: 215), which Dučić made mention of in his essay from 1908, by saying the following: “Their books bear the following incredibly sinister titles: *Bespuće* (*Middle of Nowhere*), *Pod životom* (*Under Life*), *Živi mrtvaci* (*The Living Dead*), *Golgota* (*Golgotha*), *Pod žrvnjem* (*Under the Grindstone*), and all these books tend to embody one great tragedy of demolition and desolation, and one desperate poetry of powerlessness and nirvana. The verses authored by our youngest writers, wherein, unfortunately, there is not as much art and talent as in some of the above mentioned books bearing the above titles, complement that dark tone, and indeed quite meticulously do so” (Дучић 1908a; Дучић 2008a: 215). It seems as if Skerlić's perception of Pandurović's collection *Posmrtna počasti* (*Posthumous Honors*) in his article “Jedna književna zaraza” (“A Literary Contagion”) is a direct continuation of Dučić's previous comments: “In Serbian literature, we have lately become quite accustomed to come across titles that seem as if being copied from tombstones, and book covers that bear some semblance to the blackness of obituaries or depict a wreath of thorns with blood tears dripping beneath. Our youngest generation of poets sings songs whose titles speak volumes about their contents: *Jedan plač* (*A Cry*), *Rani uvelak* (*Early Withered Away*), *Tužne pesme* (*Sad Songs*), *Tužan dan* (*A Sad Day*), *Na groblju* (*At the Cemetery*), *Mračno je i pusto* (*It is Dark and Desolate*), *Plać* (*Cry*), *Pogreb* (*A Burial*), *Suze* (*Tears*), *Nirvana*, *De Profundis*, and there is almost no younger poet who does not have his *Finale*” (Скерлић 1909: 97–98). Such parallels also raise the question regarding the extent to which, in fact, Dučić's view of the canonical in Serbian literature from the beginning of the 20th century was considered a stronghold of Skerlić's literary critical decisions and his literary historical choices. By the way, it is in the period 1908–1909 that Dučić spoke very highly of Skerlić's approach while he worked on his book *Srpska književnost u XVIII veku* (*Serbian Literature in the 18th Century*) and the fourth volume of the book *Pisci i knjige* (*Writers and Books*) (Дучић 1908b: 3; Дучић 1909; Дучић 2008b: 115–119).

159 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 166.

160 Cf. Дучић 2008b: 140.

161 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 124, 125.

162 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 152.

163 Дучић 2008b: 80.

164 Cf. Дучић 1929: 4; Дучић 2008b: 152.

165 See: <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/lists/all-nobel-prizes-in-literature/>; the website last accessed on 4 June 2021.

166 See: <https://www.nobelprize.org/nomination/archive/list.php?prize=4&year=1901>; the website last accessed on 4 June 2021.

167 See: <https://www.nobelprize.org/nomination/archive/list.php?prize=4&year=1903>; the website last accessed on 4 June 2021.

168 Dučić provides almost identical observations in his essay “The Culture of our Peasant” (Дучић 1930: 530–532; Дучић 2008b: 252).

169 First published in 1930 as the fifth volume of the *Collected Works* by Narodna prosveta from Belgrade, and secondly as an independent and expanded edition, published in 1940 by Srpska književna zadruga.

170 In the words of Slobodanka Peković, “the entire textual corpus of Dučić's travelogues is some sort of a decadent intertext of a structurally defined and long-lived tradition of the genre” (Пековић 2001: 23).

171 In this matter we rely on Bakhtin: “An especially important meaning of genres. Genres (literary and speech genres) have been accumulating for centuries the forms of visions and ideas of certain countries of the world. For an author-artist genre serves as an external pattern, but a great artist, however, triggers its semantic potential” (Бахтин 1997: 48). A travelogue that transposes literary traditions and activates their semantic potential represents a dialogue between cultures to a much greater extent than a monologue of the members of one culture (Бахтин 1997: 59).

- 172 On literary travels and literary travellers see Гвозден 2006.
- 173 “Besides, I could hear the river Nile, which does not make the slightest sound, everywhere in Egypt where there was above me even one palm-leaf fan, or a dark twig of sycamore. This means that the Nile also flows in the air like music, while on land it flows like the light” (Дучић 1940: 313).
- 174 In the same passage, Dučić wrote that Chateaubriand “had never seen the Mississippi, whose waterfalls he described in his eternal account” (Дучић 1940: 275). It is common knowledge, however, that the French author stayed in the United States and had an opportunity to see the Mississippi river.
- 175 “He had a car, which he dubbed ‘my Egyptian’, and which always had Egyptian license plates” (Павловић 1967: 64).
- 176 Dučić’s approach to history was outlined by I. Stojanović in a short review of *Cities and Chimeras*: “All things emanate the spirit of the centuries, the scent of sacred apparitions and despair of old fame, which appeals to us due to our innate curiosity about the things of the past. The writer speaks about the present only in so far as he mentions a nice area, the sky, the east and sunsets, the poetry of a wonderful day” (Стојановић 1932: 366).
- 177 Stressing the importance of travel as a higher form of learning occurs as early as in Herodotus’ *History*. Solon set out upon his travels, in the course of which he came to the immensely rich Croesus, who addressed this question to him: “Stranger of Athens, we have heard much of thy wisdom and of thy travels through many lands, from love of knowledge and a wish to see the world. I am curious therefore to inquire of thee, whom, of all the men that thou hast seen, thou deemest the most happy?” (Herodotus 1996: I, 30)
- 178 Citations of this work of Jovan Dučić are given according to its English edition (see Dučić 2017; translator’s note).
- 179 “The nation, like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion [...] To have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present [...] – these are the essential conditions for being a people. One loves in proportion to the sacrifices to which one has consented and in proportion to the ills that one has suffered” (Renan 1990: 19).
- 180 The relation between these two authors was first indicated by Nikola Mirković, noting that Dučić’s account of the characteristics of the national temperament is completely in accordance with its exquisite presentation given by Vladimir Dvorniković in the book *The Psychology of Yugoslav Melancholy*, published in 1925 (Мирковић 1936: 340).
- 181 It can be safely assumed that Dučić knew many of them in person (Le Bon and Taine above all), but it is certain that in the text “Literary Cosmopolitanism” he referred to Wundt, who had created the “psychology of races” (Дучић 1969б: 260).
- 182 According to le Goff, in the history of mentalities the crucial role is not played, as in the history of ideas, by the ideas of individual thinkers, but by a “mental fog in which the distorted echos of their doctrines, the impoverished remnants of a failed word devoid of context played a certain role” (Ле Гоф 2002: 24).
- 183 “A nation does not need a great many principal character traits. Soundly fixed, they chart its destiny. Let us look at the English, for instance. The elements that determine their history can be summarized in a few strokes: the cult of persevering effort that prevents one from desisting before a hurdle and thinking that some misfortune is impossible to overcome; a religious observance of customs and all other time-honoured things; the urge to act and contempt of weakness and vacuous mental speculations; a very heightened sense of duty; self-control, which is considered to be the supreme quality and which is carefully maintained by a particular style of upbringing” (Ле Бон 1920: 53).
- 184 In the text “On Literary Education” dating from 1908 Dučić asserts that literary education, in the case of reading public and authors alike, is acquired by reading acclaimed writers, and first of all the foreign ones (Дучић 1969а: 249–252). A similar view had been aired by Dučić before in a letter to Milan Savić from Geneva: “I am definitely in favour of translation, extensive, universal translation, an era of translation, to refine our taste, or, at least, regenerate it” (1963: 478; Geneva, 2 May 1900).
- 185 It is in *Cities and Chimeras* that Dučić wrote: “A poet is always an island unto himself; among people, he is invariably just a precursor and harbinger of another age” (Дучић 1940: 132).
- 186 Cf. also the viewpoint on Dučić’s language in the context of the interpretation of his travelogues: “Dučić’s literary language was evolving in line with the best traditions of the Belgrade language style of nurtured spirituality, headed by Jovan Skerlić and Slobodan Jovanović” (Магарашевић 1996: 251).

- 187 Jovan Delić also published his essay on Dučić's travelogues in the book *O poeziji i poetici srpske moderne* (*On the Poetry and Poetics of Serbian Moderna*), with a comment placed in the footnote that the essay was included in the book "because it sheds precious light on Dučić's poetry and poetics" (Делић 2008: 101). In the same book, he provided a detailed reference list, pointing at the connection between Dučić's poems and travelogues. In the recent literature, this connection is recognized in *lyricism*: "In Dučić's works, lyricism primarily appears in poems, and in travelogues, and even in his essays." (Леовац 1996: 9). Pavle Zorić (1996: 178) points at an *ecstatic tone* as a feature which links Dučić's poetic expression and his prose expression in travelogues: "The ecstatic tone is expressed in prose form, but we experience it as a song whose language, with its supreme, final tranquility, its mature beauty, which heralds a flash of a single moment of happiness – encourages our joyful excitement".
- 188 The 1940 edition served as a base for another edition from which the material for this paper was excerpted. Despite the shortcomings of the editorial procedure (Dučić's spelling and even his punctuation were changed), we opted for the 2008 edition, because it is easily accessible to modern readers due to its large circulation and year of publication.
- 189 Unfortunately, the descriptions of the linguistic and stylistic characteristics of Dučić's work often contain insufficiently precise formulations, and literary criticism and history did not leave too many illustrations for the presented standpoints. Thus, for example, it is stated that the "ornate style" of Dučić's early poetry was taken from Vojislav Ilić's poetry (Деретић 2007: 946), but without stating any examples or pointing at any features of such a style. At the same time, more concrete descriptions of the language of Dučić's poems appear: "One can constantly feel Dučić's effort to be up to the task he set himself, to sing about great things like the great poets sing. Hence, there is a certain tension in his poetic language" (Деретић 2007: 949). The aforementioned accurate and well-argued viewpoint about "tension" also fully applies to the language of Dučić's travelogues. Dučić's poetry also puts an emphasis on the "aspirations towards a sublime style and a solemn, pathetic diction" (Деретић 2007: 949), which also correlates with the linguistic and stylistic characteristics of the poet's travelogues.
- 190 We concur with the view of Jovan Delić (2008: 102) when he commented Boško Novaković's assessment, who saw the travel writer Dučić as "a poet and a causeur, a witty author who writes with ease": "It can't be true that Dučić was just a mere 'author who writes with ease,' as he seemed to Novaković." On the contrary, one can notice Dučić's great effort, in terms of his vocabulary and syntax, to bring every sentence, but also the text as a whole, to linguistic and stylistic perfection through their numerous revisions.
- 191 Cf. a good description of Dučić's poetic vocabulary: "With his polished language and exquisite vocabulary, the poet systematically eliminates all stylistic 'scratches,' such as brutisms, dialectisms, provincialisms, archaisms, Turkisms in particular, and all the traces of the East in the Serbian language and culture" (Нерришорац 2009: 19).
- 192 The context in which the lexeme *soldat* appears is also interesting: Spartanci su bili soldati (GH, 160), Hristos je bio strašni soldat svoje crkve (GH, 290). It can be seen from the example that there is no specific actualization of this Germanism in them, nor any pejorative connotation.
- 193 The low frequency of Slavicisms was probably influenced by the fact that Dučić was "very little attracted to Serbian literature written before the second half of the 19th century" (Витановић 1996: 51).
- 194 Naturally, verbs ending with competing suffixes also appear in the language of Dučić's travelogues, *-isa* (karminisanim GH, 108, psihologisati GH, 220, spirituališe GH, 247, dokumentariše GH, 256 etc.) and *-ova* (diskutovali GH, 237 etc.).
- 195 It is possible that Dučić introduced the word form *pedanterija* in the second example, to avoid two lexemes formed with the suffix *-izam* (*još više pedantizma i konceptizma) to be in direct contact and side-by-side relation. By the way, derivatives with the abovementioned suffix are not rare in Dučić's travelogues (pedantizma GH, 84, konceptizma GH, 85, rigorizam GH, 149, doktrinarizam GH, 220).
- 196 It is interesting that in his travelogues there is no today's word form *penzioner*, although two nouns ending with this suffix have been found, *vizioner* (vizioneri GH, 102) and *misioner* (misioneri GH, 121, 139). The lexeme *milionar* (milionare GH, 317) in Dučić's travelogues also illustrates the interesting distribution of the suffixes *-er* and *-ar*.
- 197 Milan Radulović (2009: 61–62) provided an excellent description and interpretation of Dučić's understanding of poetic language and his attitude towards syntax.

- 198 Variations in attribute placement are not regular. Examples with consistent postposition of attributes are not uncommon either: sa očima zelenim kao lišće lovorovo (GH, 56); onih koje nam daje doba cezarsko i onih iz doba papskog (GH, 153) etc.
- 199 Cf.: Ako siđem u doline koje su ovde tako duboke, meni se čini da sam utonuo (GH, 6).
- 200 In the description of Dučić's essay on happiness, Miron Flašar (1996: 24) notes that examples are "not only mentioned and cited as testimonies, but are also coming one after another in a series – almost to say: like in a catalogue", creating a "string or chain" and connecting this stylistic characteristic with ancient rhetorical means.
- 201 Dučić most gladly repeated and thus highlighted the attribute *svoj*: Ne treba mnogo govoriti, ni govoriti o sebi: o svojoj ličnosti, svojim ukusima, svojim navikama, svojim opažanjima (GH, 89); i koji daje svakoj našoj strasti svoje magije i svoje istine (GH, 138); To duhovno carstvo i kad je gubilo svoju snagu, nije gubilo svoj kontinuitet (GH, 139); Ima drugih zemalja koje su čuvene zbog svojih šuma, svojih snegova, svoga cveća ili svojih životinja (GH, 178); da je ona za svagda duboko paganska, i po svojim reljefima i po svojem blistanju (GH, 178); ispunila sve svoje besanice i sve svoje namere (GH, 210); pokazujući nam svoje katastrofe i svoje trijumfe, svoja građenja i razgrađivanja, svoje oblake što sve pobiju gradom a ožive suncem; svoju neprekidnu igru smrti i života (GH, 230), etc.
- 202 Special attention here is drawn to a different example, in which in three parallel constructions of variations, i.e. the introduction of a synonymous preposition, intersects with the repetition of a newly introduced word: Učimo zbog društva, bogatimo se radi društva, ženimo se radi društva (GH, 122).
- 203 Dučić also uses the pronoun *to* to achieve the multi-word subject doubling: Zagonetnost njene ličnosti, dvosmislenost njene prave unutrašnje egzistencije, to je ono što nju prati do kraja mladosti (GH, 212); Prostor i samoća, to su često dve utopije (GH, 309). However, the first example can also be interpreted as an example with an apposition.
- 204 "Dučić purified and ennobled the Serbian literary language, freed its inner and hidden, unused semantic fields, restored its liveliness, fullness, picturesqueness and acoustic lightness" (Палавестра 1996: 2).
- 205 Kašanin wrote about Dučić, among other things, that he was a "mixture of a child and a seasoned diplomat", as well as that "as a man he took everything life had to offer, just like as a writer he took everything words had to offer" (Кашанин 2004: 225).
- 206 Vladimir Gvozden rightly noticed, and illustrated with quotations selected from relevant literature, that Dučić is even in our expert public perceived mostly as a poet, the reason for which lies "in the idea expressed early on that his verse surpasses everything else that he wrote" (Гвозден 2006: 88). Even though we generally tend to agree with this assessment long since made, that does not entail that Dučić's work, versatile in terms of style, is unworthy of scientific study – in the first place, at least because of the valid context that seeing the whole picture can provide. Secondly, we maintain that the benefit for the history of literature is not the sole purpose of the renewed critical analysis of Dučić's, often highly lyrical, meditative-reflective prose writings. Confronting Dučić's poetics with that of his contemporaries, examining his traditional-poetic choices and his persistence in applying them breathes new life into already vivid images of the cultural context of our literature, particularly that of the interwar period. Apart from that, it also strengthens Dučić's position, which tends to be overlooked, with respect to his improving and modernizing our language in the modern age, subsequent to Vuk Karadžić's language reform, and continuing to have an evident impact even in the second half of the twentieth century and to the present day.
- 207 "It is not ruled out that Dučić with 'A Path by the Roadside' encouraged Andrić to write reflective vignettes entitled 'Signs by the Roadside', as it is also probable that both of them had merely been building upon the moralistic tradition of the renowned French essayists and Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy's 'Path of Life'" (Коларић 1995: 515). We could hardly agree with this statement completely. First of all, it seems as an offhand claim that the lines of our authors are a *mere continuation of the French and Tolstoy's moralistic tradition*. Even the most superficial glance at the topics, as well as at the development of lines of thought or argumentation, shows that both authors are undeniably anchored in personal and collective tradition of their own nation, which refutes the said view. Furthermore – in our view – Andrić would, according to the character of his meditative thought, already apparent in his early works – *Ex Ponto (From the Bridge)* and *Nemiri (Unrest)*, quite certainly come up with this form

without any direct stimulus. This, of course, does not exclude some sort of an indirect impact, a subtle influence of the older writer on the younger, especially in view of the fact that the two of them were known to have been exchanging books. Nevertheless, the *form* of the presented writings of the two authors is distinctly different. Andrić presents his reflections in the form of notes, sometimes reduced to a gnome; whereas all of Dučić's essays – let us call them so for want of a better term – are diversified, and in both collections carefully considered. While *King Radovan's Treasure* and *Leutar Mornings* could not be labelled as “fragmentary” and “cursory”, in the case of Andrić's *Signs by the Roadside* these labels have become part and parcel of the language of criticism. In brief, just for the sake of argument, this branch of Andrić's opus resembles far more M. Nastasijević's journal entries, aphoristic and reflective (as well as very fragmentary) notes from the fourth volume of his *Collected Works – Eseji, beleške, misli (Essays, Notes, Thoughts)*. A serious assumption has been made that Andrić could have been familiar with these writings of Nastasijević, considering the (earlier) Vinaver's edition of Nastasijević's collected works, as well as at least one occasion in which Andrić took part in the discussion regarding Nastasijević's work. However, whether these writings of Nastasijević had a direct impact on Andrić's poetics – represents a question for further study.

- 208 The equivalent poetic impulse is identifiable in Andrić's *Signs by the Roadside*. Striking a balance, but also an occasional imbalance, unmitigated tension between broadly envisaged topics and micropoints are the features apparent in both works. However, even though their respective lines of reasoning are identical, they move in opposite directions: Dučić writes in order to step out of himself, to deduce, to pierce through the bubble of individuality so as to reach the impulse of the universal, whereas Andrić, starting from the perceived patterns, potential generalized truths, strives to get closer to his core, to get as close as possible to his inner existential vibration, to examine it and interpret (for himself). If we are inclined to pronounce all three books (*Treasure, Mornings, Signs*) as reflective-meditative pieces, we are under the impression that the former contain more reflection, while the latter more meditation. In other words, Dučić spreads his word like a preacher, and Andrić like a hermit-sage.
- What holds great significance in relation to this is a seemingly cursory note made by Novica Petković regarding the similarity of principles underlying Dučić's and Andrić's sentences, as well as regarding the far-reaching consequences and importance of the changes that they both had introduced in our linguistic culture and its accelerated modernization, particularly after the World War One. Petković noted: “It [Dučić's sentence; noted by N. B.] can already be said to represent a linguistic legacy that is broader than the poetic one, since it participated in stabilizing more elaborate syntactic structures, just like Andrić's sentence did some time later and in a different manner” (Петковић 2007: 82).
- 209 Despite the fact that in *Leutar Mornings* we come across the sophists, Socrates, Homer, wise Solomon, Peter the Apostle, Nemanjić dynasty, Borgias, Voltaire, Rousseau, Pushkin, Goethe, Hugo, Heine, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, French and German kings, Obrenović dynasty, etc., their characters are not overly striking, they do not demand our attention so loudly and unconditionally as in the earlier volume. In *Mornings*, namely, they are reduced to a dynamic illustration, and as such they represent a very functional element of the book's composition.
- 210 Other essays are devoted to calm, dance, patriotism, character and civility.
- 211 Milan Kašanin and Meša Selimović share the impression concerning the direction of Dučić's travel writing, essayistic and in part philosophical thought. Writing about various editions of *Cities and Chimeras*, Meša noted that Dučić turns more expansive, humorous, generous, provides the digressive passages about the classical authors and history on a smaller scale (Селимовић 1969: 334), whereas Kašanin, comparing the older and more recent collection of essays, wrote: “Regarding the style of writing, there is a notable difference between the two volumes. *Leutar Mornings* contain fewer quotations and demonstrations of erudition, and more original thoughts and personal experience. The text, unencumbered by examples and anecdotes from antiquity, is a calm weave of short and simple sentences, without superfluous comparisons and elevated tone” (Кашанин 2004: 242).
- 212 Using the method of random selection, since both *Treasure* and *Mornings* are replete with such passages, let us quote an excerpt from the essay “On Hate”. Dučić noted: “People do not hate unless afraid, and that is why fear and hate go together. If, on the other hand, men have no fear of their opponents they just despise them. That is why haters are usually cowards, possessed of a feminine sensibility, whereas the brave are manly and proud” (Dučić 2017: 305). Moreover, this is not the only passage which could represent the point of focus for those

scholars who tend to accuse Dučić of subtly concealed misogyny, especially regarding his essays. In the essay “On Character”, where the power of indignation is explicitly linked with moral chastity and health, Dučić would say the following: “It is the women who usually feel no indignation, only insult, being vain rather than proud, and valuing the formal rather than the crucial. Therefore, the feeling of indignation is predominantly male” (2017: 373). Nevertheless, here, as well as in the passages where Dučić is wont to make bold generalizations (as when he passes judgement on the English, Bulgarians, Croats) the question from the beginning of the text comes back around – how deeply did inherent, compositional irony as a principle penetrate across all layers of the text under consideration?

- 213 All citations of this work are presented according to its English edition (see Dučić 2017; translator’s note).
- 214 It is interesting to note, however, that regarding the issue of suffering and misery Dučić the Christian and Dučić the classicist do not see eye to eye, that is to say, the latter evidently prevails over the former. As a confirmed hedonist, Dučić does not lay great store by suffering, nor does he assert its power of catharsis. Corporeal health means almost as much to him as the spiritual one. The ideal of harmony, a lingering vision of kalokagathia, permeates, let us say, from Dučić’s note that “good-natured and great-hearted people generally live longer” (Dučić 2017: 376).
- 215 The essay “On Character” opens with one such saying. Surprises occasioned by Dučić go in two directions – they either lead to profound disagreements with the author or, quite unexpectedly, cause genuine reconsideration. Dučić’s almost cursory note that follows takes us in the latter direction. It reads: “One of the noblest human sentiments is indignation” (2017: 373). First of all, naturally, a question arises of itself from an evident paradox – why are bitterness, repudiation, scorn, indignation – proclaimed noble human sentiments? A little further, Dučić the inimitable stylist gradually reveals that the paradox is resolved at the level of binary oppositions – enthusiasm and disgust as complementary reactions indicate human beings ready for a noble endeavour, or reaction, people with an aspiration to make the world a better place. “Their power of outrage”, the essayist points out, “derives from their moral purity” (2017: 373).
- 216 And generally it is extremely interesting to witness how this composed and sensible character views almost with (aforementioned) indignation the heightened emotional states of love and passion. In the essay on disappointment Dučić wrote the following: “Most people are susceptible to disappointment by temperament rather than by intellect, for chagrin is always closer to our sentiment than mind. This may best be observed in *lovers inhabiting the realm of feverish fancy and wrought-up nerves*, seldom aware of the reasons for their exaltation” (2017: 355; underlined by N. B.).
- 217 It is widely known that not even goddesses are spared from being assaulted, let alone mortal women.
- 218 There is a characteristic note of the surrealist Đorđe Jovanović in the issue of the magazine *Nadrealizam danas i ovde (Surrealism Here and Now)* of 1932, concerning the first edition of Dučić’s collected works, in which remarkably negative criticism was levelled at the book *King Radovan’s Treasure*, which had just been released at the time: “The poetry of that gentleman (Mr Jovan Dučić) lingers on only at occasional St. Sava fiest day celebrations or as part of ‘concert music’ at some Serbian small-town entertainment. Those who used to be enthralled by Dučić now have children who read Crnjanski, Drainac or Dekobra [...] The talent which had begun to manifest itself with these short poems of mediocre provincial standard, was now (1926–1930) realized in a cumbersome cake made of stale cookies called *King Radovan’s Treasure*. Jovo Dučić of the previous century turned into Jovan Dučić of this century, and if by some miracle he were to transfer to the next century, he would become Ovan (‘ram’) Dučić, a poet yet again, a sparkling spirit and so on and so forth, without any other changes whatsoever” (Јовановић 1932: 41).
- 219 Jovan Deretić pointed to that fact in his *History of Serbian Literature*, highlighting specific features of Dučić as a prose writer: “Dučić’s prose, much more voluminous than his poetry (out of the five volumes of his collected works only one contains poems, while all others are prose works), remained nevertheless in its shadow. Although he had demonstrated narrative affinities in poetry, in prose he did not venture into the forms of fiction, he did not write stories or novels, he realized himself as a prose writer in marginal, non-functional forms: travelogues, philosophical maxims and essays, literary criticism and essay literature, history, art criticism, journalism. As an artist, in these genres he comes across as the same as in his poems: a patient and indefatigable worker, a

- craftsman who takes care that every detail is executed to perfection, that the whole is harmoniously composed, a perfectionist in matters of style, a jeweller. For that reason, he had been working for a long time on his main works, as well as on his poems” (Деретић 2002: 986).
- 220 Hence his book was justifiably said to be “a philosophical piece just as much as a literary one” (Кашанин 1990: 315).
- 221 “When it appeared, ceremoniously announced, as the sixth volume of the *Collected Works*, it caught the reading public and critics by surprise” (Леовац 1985: 212).
- 222 “As these are the musings of a meditative poet, and a prose work of our most prominent and greatest stylist, the Committee considered it an honor to take upon themselves the duty of distributing this work in the greatest circulation possible, it being a monumental piece of our literature” (Поповић 2009: 132).
- 223 Velibor Gligorić objected to this work because of its overly bookish philosophizing: “This book was written in one’s leisure among the scattered books about antiquity, after a prolonged melancholy gazing into the statue of Cupid, whose pointed arrow had been chipped by some naughty children” (*Ibid.*, 143); whereas Milovan Đilas criticized Dučić from his doctrinary Marxist perspective for his exclusion from real life: “Dučić is an unofficial thinker of a particular class of people. His themes are often salon-type coseries (On Love, On Women ..., on everything after all), rather than actual scientific and spiritual investigations. He looks at things through the framework of a salon; through the glass on its door or a silk curtain on its windows; as if the external world does not exist and as if there is no air that does not smell of perfume” (Ђилас 1932: 7). In a similar vein Meša Selimović would write twenty years later, commenting on his essays with a single sentence in his “Foreword” to Dučić’s selected *Verses and Prose* along the same lines: “In *King Radovan’s Treasure* and some other works, Dučić is an advocate of the bourgeoisie, their spokesman, a cynical representative of their interests” (Селимовић 1952: 13).
- 224 There are divergent terminological vacillations in relation to defining the type of discourse to which *King Radovan’s Treasure* belongs. An aesthetician Sveta Lukić produced, on the basis of the teachings of a Spanish philosopher Julián Marias, a theoretical overview of a peculiar and long-standing tradition of literary creation that he named *philosophical literature*. It is a current of reflective-artistic prose that ranges from classical dialogues, across medieval theological commentaries, Renaissance essays, French moralistic treatises and texts of most diverse types dating from the nineteenth century, to the works of authors of the first half of the twentieth century whose opus contains a dominant reflective component. It is the last of these phases that Lukić referred to as specific in relation to the earlier stages of development of the philosophical literature, labelling it as “essayistic or intellectual” (Лукић 1981: 218). The essay genre, in that respect, represents probably the most adequate terminological definition of this body of Dučić’s prose, which belongs to one of the main trends in Western European literature of the time.
- 225 There is an interesting piece of information concerning a surge of interest in *King Radovan’s Treasure* at the late twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century: “Searching the *online* catalogue of the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad (<http://bmsalf.ns.ac.yu/cobiss/>) in March 2002 has shown that more copies of particular Dučić’s works have been published over the last ten years than throughout the preceding period. Some publishers even boasted of having sold as many as 100,000 copies of *King Radovan’s Treasure*. Thus it would be no exaggeration to say that Dučić’s prose represented a bestseller of the last decade. It is, therefore, hardly the case that, at least as far as the readership is concerned, prose remained overshadowed by poetry” (Гвозден 2003: 11). The perennial readers’ interest in books of “wisdom”, handbooks of easily accessible knowledge and quotations suitable for every occasion undoubtedly made this work of Dučić’s more popular with the advent of new and affordable editions. This is not to be understood as a sign of its triviality of thought, but rather as an instance of the phenomenon that broad popularity may deprive such a book of a more scrupulous critical reception than the one it had previously merited.
- 226 It is with good reason assumed that this Dučić’s work influenced the similar in kind *Znakovi pored puta* (*Signs by the Roadside*) by Ivo Andrić: “It is not ruled out that Dučić himself, with his ‘A Path by the Roadside’ encouraged Andrić to write reflective vignettes entitled ‘Signs by the Roadside’, as it is also probable that both of them had merely been building upon the moralistic tradition of the renowned French essayists [...]” (Коларић 1995: 515).

- 227 The place of this work of Dučić in the said artistic area is appraised by the critics to be at the highest scale of merit: “Dučić’s meditations stand at the very summit of our meditative prose; what is more, they even surpass it in their inimitable elegance and paradoxical wittiness of its expression, conciseness of their intensity of thought, depth of anticipation and far-reaching recognition or creation of the patterns of thought for the world that was yet to come – that they impose as the standard and criterion for the meditative prose form” (Глушчевић 1990: 418).
- 228 The creation of the legend is related to a concrete geographical area, but all of its elements suggest that it is evidently a migratory motif, well-known in various traditions and cultures worldwide: “In the Timok Valley, thus in the eastern part of today’s Serbia, many men and women profesy about a vast treasure of certain *King Radovan*. This treasure is said to be extraordinarily huge. But one cannot discover it until one finds a plant called *Laserwort*, and opens the locks and padlocks on the door behind which the treasure is kept. And that auspicious *Laserwort* is nowhere to be found” (Веснић 1894: 172).
- 229 The most obvious influence, long since confirmed in the studies to date, represents primarily the entire classical humanistic heritage: “Dučić is largely oriented towards the classical, ancient Greek and Roman heritage, Greek and Roman philosophy, literature, historiography” (Леовац 1985: 215). In the majority of texts – from early reviews to later studies – searching for individual models of Dučić’s philosophical-literary reflections, the name that quite justifiably appears most frequently is that of Michel de Montaigne, but there are also other authors that undoubtedly exerted their influence regarding some of the writer’s poetic preferences and directions of thought: “According to the subjects he focused on and his loosely connected narrative, as well as to the anecdotal form of presentation, Dučić’s work is greatly reminiscent of Montaigne’s *Essays*, only, while Montaigne had formed his worldview on his knowledge of classical culture, with which he was familiar to the last detail, our poet, who also knew it very well and devoted himself to studying it, especially during his stay in Athens and Cairo for a number of years, added to it the huge experience and knowledge of all the great minds since the Renaissance, when Montaigne lived, to the present day. Thus he was familiar with the teachings of Socrates, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Cicero and Seneca, just as much as with those of Montaigne, Rousseau, Locke, Carlyle, Emerson” (Лебл-Албала 1938: 271–272); “Dučić belongs to the tradition of the essayistic manner of writing that marks its true beginning with Montaigne in the 16th century, but its followers are to be found among writers much closer to Dučić in time, such as the American Ralph Waldo Emerson, author of the book *The Conduct of Life*; Maurice Maeterlinck, the writer of *Wisdom and Destiny*; or Carlyle with his essays on heroes” (Гвозден 2006: 89).
- 230 All further citations of *King Radovan’s Treasure* are only marked by the page number of this edition in parentheses (author’s note). Furthermore, all citations of this work are presented according to its English edition (see Dučić 2017; translator’s note).
- 231 Freud’s treatise “Beyond the Pleasure Principle” was published in 1920 and Dučić might have known of it. Cf. “In the psycho-analytical theory of the mind we take it for granted that the course of mental processes is automatically regulated by the ‘pleasure principle’: that is to say, we believe that any given process originates in an unpleasant state of tension and thereupon determines for itself such a path that its ultimate issue coincides with a relaxation of this tension, i.e. with avoidance of ‘pain’ or with production of pleasure” (Freud 1922: 1).
- 232 What stands completely in accordance with the foregoing remarks is an earlier attempt at outlining Dučić’s philosophical profile: “He is, if we may say so, a discrete Stoic and a mild Epicurean, who dreams about age-old Greek and Christian ideals, about grand ideas and truths” (Леовац 1985: 218).
- 233 Cf. “This synthesis of Christian philosophy and contemporary Christian pragmatics that Dučić made was executed quite naturally and plausibly, in the style of classical philosophers of characterological and moralistic orientation” (Глушчевић 1990: 425).
- 234 Its exponent is Saint Anselm, a medieval theologian who put forward the following argument: “The being than which nothing greater can be conceived to exist cannot be conceived not to exist” (Крешенцо 2003: 102). Dučić relied on the heritage of Christian thinkers in many of his considerations, drawn equally to the authors of Eastern and Western traditions.
- 235 “It should also be added that, considering the fact that it is based on personal experience in its principal inspiration, Dučić’s point of view is exclusively masculine. Even in the linguistic aspect, the pair of opposites in his texts is almost invariably that of woman – man, and not woman – (a) male. As in the most illustrious examples

- of courtly, platonic, utopian love, to which, as we shall see, Dučić frequently refers, admiring a woman is founded upon the objectivization of her personality; she is an object of admiration, but not a subject in that relationship. She might become a subject only in a sensual and earthly love game” (Витановић 1990: 24).
- 236 The title of one text speaks volumes about the degree of such analytical sharpening of tensions: “The Ideology of Misogyny in Dučić’s *King Radovan’s Treasure*” (Стефановић 2008).
- 237 It is an in-depth study of the linguistic corpus of Dučić’s work that suggested some of the presented hypotheses, largely ignored in favour of ideologically orientated interpretations: “The basic principle of Dučić’s essay is in the last analysis neither poetic nor scientific – but one that represents a principle of polarity. All the opposites contain one another when they refer to any significant entity. The structural and conceptual primacy of the philosophical system still has to be acknowledged. In the conception of scientific elements that affirm the common sense Dučić leaves compositional room for a rational spirit directing the course of events” (Јовановић 2008: 29).
- 238 Such exclusivism in promoting national historical and cultural legacy in Dučić’s opus is adequately noted in literature: “Dučić’s turning to ancient Slavic and Serbian mythology is incompatible with his ‘Mediterranean’ affiliation. In poetry, for instance, if he were to mention Serbian legends and historical facts, then he most frequently mentioned the legends and facts dating from the ‘imperial’ era, from the medieval feudal history” (Леовац 1985: 213).
- 239 Jung had by then already developed his theory of a number of central archetypes of the human psyche, among which the entity of *Anima* was to stand out in his view as the one that is energetically the most potent: “This image is the ‘mistress of spirits’ as Spitteler called it. I suggested the term *Anima*, because it was supposed to denote something concrete, for which the word ‘soul’ is too general and vague. The state of affairs that the concept of *Anima* underlies is an extremely dramatic unconscious content. It can be described in rational, scientific terms which, however, fall far short of expressing its nature” (Јунг 2006: 270).
- 240 Attention has already been drawn to that aspect in relation to his *Cities and Chimeras*: “Dučić could, nevertheless, also be reproached for his tendency towards stereotypes and platitudes” (Делић 2001: 164).
- 241 The influence of La Rochefoucauld, to whom the author explicitly refers once in the book, is undoubtedly present in Dučić’s essays. Apart from the affinity of key themes and the aphoristic way of elaborating on them, one aspect of Dučić’s thought, devoted to shedding light on the true nature of people’s spiritual impulses – genuine motivation of their “noble” acts – is eternally indebted to the philosopher obsessively brooding over the question of “the falseness of the traits we call virtues” (Ларошфукко 2020: 89). Many paragraphs of Dučić’s work look like the elaborations of particular *Maxims* of La Rochefoucauld.
- 242 “For this author, the subject of comparison is almost regularly an abstract concept or a phenomenon from the moral sphere” (Јовановић 2008: 20).
- 243 Founded upon a positivistic basis, a related observation on such an attitude of this writer is noted in literature: “As a subject of a regime in which wealth is the yardstick for many other values, Dučić expressed thoughts that show him at times to be conceited, non-democratic and narrow-mindedly ambitious, a man that turns his spiritual aristocratism into individualistically selfish aristocratism” (Леовац 1985: 218).
- 244 It is interesting to note that in the first out of the two novels presupposed at the beginning of the study to belong to a possible tradition derived from Dučić’s work – *The Springs of Ivan Galeb* – considerable room is given to this obsessive theme of Dučić’s: to Prometheus as one of the most universal and profound symbols of man’s imagination (Десница 1990: 82).
- 245 The other novel mentioned in the outlined tradition of prose relying on *King Radovan’s Treasure* – *Death and the Dervish* – represents an indicative example primarily as a work of profound religious doubt (Селимовић 1966). In the same sense, we also find illustrative what is now an almost forgotten novel *Ponornica (An Underground River)* by Skender Kulenović, which in the noted horizon also presents a characteristic battle of the hero caught between the “insensitive senses of religion and the religion of senses themselves” (Куленовић 1977: 24). Similar to the most significant literary interpreters of the Islamic world in Serbian literature, who naturally mostly originate from the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina (like Andrić himself), Dučić also greatly contributed to the understanding of the areas of Serbian cultural-historical experience with Islamic component that are firmly rooted therein and constitute its manifoldly dynamic element.

- 246 The archival materials on Jovan Dučić housed at the SASA Archives, as well as those materials contained in Jovan Dučić's legacy, which reached the Archives in recent times (2007 and 2013), and therefore has hitherto been little used, was reviewed and expertly arranged by Mile Stanić.
- 247 Nikola J. Marinović Endowment archival materials are housed within the Административна архива СКА (SRA Archives); Дучићево писмо: р. бр. 193.
- 248 Even though works submitted to calls for submissions varied in their literary value and were mainly authored by lesser-known authors, the award retained its prominence in later years as well. After Dučić, there were several laureates who left a deep mark in Serbian literature – Milan Rakić for *New Poems*, Ivo Ćipiko for his writing *From the Salonica Fights*, again Jovan Dučić for his *Collected Works*; one of the laureates was August Krklec for his collection *Love of Birds*, published by S. Cvijanović.
- 249 This report was published in: *Реферати њ.др Владана Ђорђевића о њесмама Јована Дучића*, Ново време, Београд, 1911, VII, 3–9, 179–183.
- 250 Ljubomir Nikić was the first researcher to look into the entire material included in this edition. Based on the found Dučić's manuscript that the poet sent to Cvijanović and Cvijanović's corrections, he explained Dučić's act in detail, corrected inaccuracies and misconceptions that hitherto existed in the literature and critically published poems that the writer did not plan for shortlist. More on that see: Љ. Никић, *Интегрално издање Дучићевих њесма*, Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор, Београд, 1974, XL, 3–4, 249–267.
- 251 Архив САНУ (SASA Archives), 108341/3.
- 252 Српски књижевни гласник, *Јуџиро* (1902, V, 25), *Дубровачко вече* (VII, 187), *Сјаванье воде* (188), *Брачна њесма* (1903, IX, 594), *Свет* (1904, XII, 1060); *Бдење* (1902, VI, 832–833), *Прошлост* (1904, XI, 38).
- 253 Љ. Никић, *над. дело*, 159–176.
- 254 Архив САНУ (SASA Archives), 10831/4.
- 255 The Belgrade University Library, Isidora Sekulić's legacy... In addition to this copy, Nikić made a mention of two other copies housed in the National Library of Serbia and the Belgrade City Library.
- 256 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), 46/1922. The proposal was written by Slobodan Jovanović, with the signatures of both proposers.
- 257 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), 94/1924.
- 258 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), бр. 226, 339.
- 259 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), бр. 145/1930, 106/1930.
- 260 Out of nine candidates, who were proposed for new members of all departments of the Academy, besides Dučić, only Ivan Ćaja won the required 15 votes.
- 261 Административна архива СКА (SRA Administrative Archives), бр. 1941/1937; 1056/1938.
- 262 *Ibidem*.
- 263 Политика, Belgrade, 8 March 1939, 6.
- 264 Административна архива СКА (SRA Administrative Archives), бр. 93/1942.
- 265 Годишњак, 1946, LI, 11941–1944, 240–241.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ASASA – Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
- LSASA – Library of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
- AY – Archives of Yugoslavia
- AY, PC – Archives of Yugoslavia, Photographs Collection
- ACCHPF – Archives of “The House of the Pavlović Family” Cultural Center