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JOVAN DUČIĆ: LIFE, WORK, TIMES

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Academician Vladimir S. Kostić

Editor-in-chief

Academician Zoran Knežević

Editors

Academician Ljubodrag Dimić
SASA Corresponding Member Jovan Delić

Cover design

Dragana Lacmanović-Lekić

English translation

Jelena Mitrić
Tatjana Ćosović
Tatjana Ružin Ivanović

Proofreading and editing

Jelena Mitrić

Expert consultants

Marina Ninić
Miroslav Jovanović

Prepress

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JOVAN DUČIĆ
LIFE, WORK, TIMES



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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



DUČIĆ'S PRAISE OF FOLLY: *KING RADOVAN'S TREASURE*

Vladan BAJČETA

Institute for Literature and Art, Belgrade

Regarding the disproportion between its modest scope and the impact it has had, the opus of Jovan Dučić does not stand alone in Serbian literature of the twentieth century. Like some of his contemporaries, first of all Milan Rakić and Aleksa Šantić, or generationally slightly younger Momčilo Nastasijević, Dučić wrote relatively little. It was, however, owing to his literary restraint as well as to his continual concern for his opus, which he kept improving upon and internally harmonizing, that he was given a special place in the modernist transformation of Serbian poetry in the first decades of the previous century. Building upon the endeavours and literary output of his precursors Laza Kostić and Vojislav Ilić, and creating his work in dynamic (dis)harmony with his abovementioned generational peers Šantić and Rakić, Dučić represented a point of convergence between traditional practices and new tendencies, from which, in combination with radical avant-garde tendencies, were to emerge a number of trends in Serbian poetry forming a whole delta of poetic orientations and affiliations. (It is no coincidence that the writers of avant-garde orientation, and especially authors belonging to Belgrade surrealists' circle, held no other than Dučić to be the personification of all that their poetic generation stood up against with its revolutionary artistic ambitions and novel views on literature.²¹⁸) In this, therefore, rather little but unavoidable literary opus, Dučić's prose, which in fact represents a quantitatively major part of the writer's literary





In the second issue of the magazine *Nadrealizam danas* (1932) Dučić's newly published work came under sharp criticism



Young Milovan Đilas (1911–1995) severely criticized Dučić's book from his Marxist perspective

work as a whole, occupies a special place.²¹⁹ Predominantly comprised of essays and travelogues, a prominent place therein is held by the book *Blago cara Radovana* (*King Radovan's Treasure*), a work in many respects singular in the history of Serbian literature.

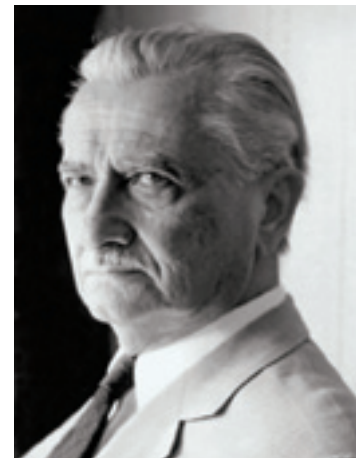
The status of a creator in whose opus merge the literary currents from various epochs, ranging from classical literature, across Western European literature in the broadest sense, to the national literary heritage as a whole, finds its justification and its full expression in Dučić's essayistic prose. Perhaps to an even greater degree, or at least more evidently than his poetry, *King Radovan's Treasure* displays all those influences that Dučić's creation had absorbed and distilled into a new, highly individualized literary language. Dučić's essays collected under the said title represent powerful philosophical-literary meditations of an erudite writer – a true polymath with a thorough knowledge of the central currents of not only Western, but also world humanistic tradition.²²⁰ However, a key feature of this work of Dučić's, which undoubtedly made him so accepted by a widest circle of readers, and at the same time esteemed in not that ample literary criticism of his work, stems from the writer's interest in the immediate existential experience, as well as from cumulated knowledge based on the writer's in-depth studies: from Dučić's capacity to strike a balance between the so-called worldly wisdom and bookish scholarship, for the most part successfully avoiding the trap of ignoble, popular philosophizing, that is to say, holier-than-thou, grandiloquent ponderings. Dučić's reflective prose in its predominant, successful part represents an equilibrium of original mental acuity and thorough scholarliness, for which Cicero, akin to this author in philosophical sensibility, established to represent a formula of the *nobility* of the mind. It is the very label that critics were unanimous in ascribing to Dučić as his essential creative (as well as personal) characteristic, regarding his poetry and prose writings alike.

King Radovan's Treasure was written, according to the note appended to the title, between 1926 and 1930 in Cairo and Belgrade. At the time of its appearance, such a work of a highly reputable author, an eminent lyricist at his creative peak represented an unexpected occurrence – in a both positive and negative sense.²²¹ The advertisement of the Committee for publishing the works of Jovan Dučić announced the book in the advertising exaggeration of flattering praise of its no less than *monumentality*²²², while some critics received it with a very acrid tone and powerfully challenging remarks.²²³ The subsequent, considerably more composed and moderate critical reviews of Dučić's prose raised its appraised value to the level of the author's poetic merits, giving it primacy



Cairo in the 1930s

among similar pieces of national literature. In 1968, Milan Kašanin wrote: “The prestige and brilliance of Dučić’s verse made him be discussed solely, or at least mostly, as a poet. However, he transformed our prose hardly to a lesser extent than poetry in a reflective, lexical, as well as stylistic aspect” (Kašanin 1990: 309); and Jovan Deretić at the turn of the following century: “In the artistic, stylistic, if not in the reflective aspect, it is the ultimate achievement in our philosophical prose” (Deretić 2002: 987).²²⁴ In a broad critical spectrum from negating its artistic value and philosophical achievement to the highest forms of praise and literary-historiographic canonization, from today’s perspective it is quite certain that *King Radovan’s Treasure* holds a prominent position in the hierarchical system of Serbian literature as a whole. What is especially conspicuous, nine decades since the creation of the book, is its stylistic purity, which played an important role in the development of the Serbian language, preserving to this day its original expressive freshness. In that sense, surviving the early negative reception and striving for long to win the affection of the interpretative as well as reading community, *King Radovan’s Treasure* can be said to represent a *classical* work of national literature, in which a number of tendencies from both temporal directions are refracted at the



Milan Kašanin (1895–1981),
a literary critic who positively evaluated
Dučić’s work



Meša Selimović (1910–1982), wrote the preface to one of the editions of *King Radovan's Treasure* (1952) and authored the reflective novel *Death and the Dervish*, relying on the tradition of Dučić's philosophical prose

Vladan Desnica (1905–1967), authored the novel *The Springs of Ivan Galeb*, which is a masterpiece in the domain of the reflective prose written in Serbian

diachronic plane.²²⁵ Raising to a high level the already potentially present linguistic possibilities in a literary domain, Dučić had given a powerful impetus and greatly advanced the trend of reflective prose written in Serbian, which was to attain its highest form of expression in novels such as *Proljeća Ivana Galeba* (*The Springs of Ivan Galeb*) by Vladan Desnica, or *Derviš i smrt* (*Death and the Dervish*) by Meša Selimović.²²⁶ The predominantly *epic* character that it had previously had – in a thematic as well as formal sense – was enriched by Dučić with tonality of distinctly lyrical reflectiveness, which was to suggest a new creative potential to the prospective writers and thus provide them with a great source of support.²²⁷

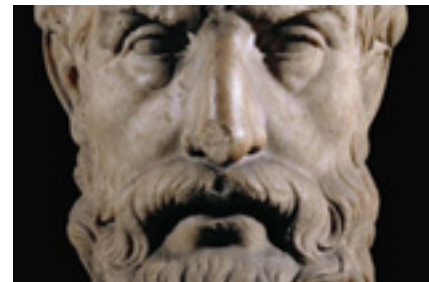
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Opening his collection of reflective essays, consistent in terms of genre, with a slightly differently intoned introduction entitled “On King Radovan’s Treasure”, Dučić implicitly pointed to a significant philosophical tradition which has passed unnoticed in the interpretations of his work to date. Adopting the folk tradition as the basis of his work, Dučić interpreted it in a quite specific literary form.²²⁸ It is already pointed out in critical literature what the diverse roots of Dučić’s philosophical thought are, stretching from Epicurus and Montaigne to Kant, which, along with a great many other authors from various epochs, are the names explicitly invoked by Dučić in his essays.²²⁹ However, the introductory text of the book, different regarding its intonation and more markedly literary character (which is not lacking even in the remaining part of the book in terms of high stylistic qualities of the work, but this here is a matter of a typological difference), develops the metaphor of wisdom in a recognizable, serious-comical register, whose source stems from the worldview formed in the Renaissance. In the description of a symbolic image of the keeper of the *treasure*, for whom the man in Dučić’s book is searching, the writer



The Essays by Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) had a huge influence on Dučić's essays

in the very first sentences points to his carnival-like ambivalent character: “King Radovan wears a paper crown and fools’s bells on his mantle” (Dučić 2017: 11).²³⁰ That it is not an incidental feature in the portrait of the title character of the book, but his main characteristic and a trait shared by all of his followers, can be seen immediately afterwards: “Only the insane, whose sole master, king, autocrat and protector he is, know the pathways to his realm” (Dučić 2017: 11). These pathways to the Holy Grail of wisdom, continues Dučić, lead across the extreme liberty and utter social non-conformity, and imply following the marked path of *madness*: “Liberty means madness, and only the mad are free [...] All men see things more or less the same, but just the insane hold their own counsel” (Dučić 2017: 11–12). Although the thin line between wisdom and madness had been known since antiquity, when it was associated with socially renegade behaviour in the guise of a philosopher whose archetypical embodiment was Diogenes, it was as late as in the Renaissance, founded in its pivotal part upon the renewal of the heritage and movements of ancient philosophy and literature, that madness was discovered and established as the real other side of wisdom in the form of its most brilliant personification – Don Quixote. King Radovan is the Serbian version, some sort of a paraphrase of Cervantes’ hero, but one that is removed from concrete reality into the space of dark-alley fogginess of the collective consciousness, as suggested in the introductory observations looking deeply into the sense of folk



Epicurus (341–270 BC), an ancient Greek philosopher whose philosophical thought Dučić adopted

tradition. This is the reason why he differs greatly from a traditional image, as here it is not a matter of a lost horseman from an oral tale that finds himself in the dark before a well-known dilemma whether to “take it or leave it” out of the virtually inexhaustible riches of comprehension, but a wise fool that philosophically relativizes that dilemma of everyday life in constant confrontation with its mysteries. The early critical objections addressed at Dučić for his peculiar philosophical eclecticism find in this a convincing refutation: the writer demonstrated a high artistic ability to unite two trends – one of which is of European and the other of national literary heritage – and provided a specific framework for his work which in terms of tradition anchors it more deeply and solidly on the horizon of a clearly delimited heritage.

And while Dučić’s king Radovan characterologically relies on Cervantes’ knight-errant, from the aspect of its genre features this book is related to another seminal work from the same era – a brilliant treatise to which the author undoubtedly alludes in his introduction – *The Praise of Folly* by Erasmus of Rotterdam. Even a cursory comparative evaluation of Dučić’s essays and Erasmus’ philosophical treatise shows the depth of his rootedness in the said traditional vein of Western European thought. This connection is reflected primarily in the writer’s relationship towards classical antiquity, based on the philosophical commentary of those important teachings of the Greco-Roman past, which represent the solid foundation of the Western European culture. Various legends, beliefs and their interpretations, anecdotes about prominent personages and other salient topics of ancient Greek and Roman mythology and philosophy are brought back to life by Dučić following the example of Erasmus himself. Considerations as to why Cupid is eternally young, what Plato thought about women, how Cicero, otherwise brave at the battlefield, had been shaking from nervousness before his rhetorical performances (Еразмо 1979: 50; 52; 60) and many other details of that kind are recalled by Dučić following closely in the footsteps of the Dutch philosopher. The musings of Erasmus’ *Folly* on happiness, old age, prophets and poets are only some of the topics that take pride of place in Dučić’s philosophical-literary essays. The difference, of course, lies in the conception of Dučić’s work as compared with Erasmus’, in whose book the basic organizational principle of *prosopopoeia* set the whole tone and meaning of the writing in a serious-comical register, whereas in several places in *King Radovan’s Treasure* can be found directly communicated identification of the personality of the writer with the implicit author of the book. Nevertheless, Dučić’s work obliges us



The title page of the first edition of *King Radovan's Treasure*

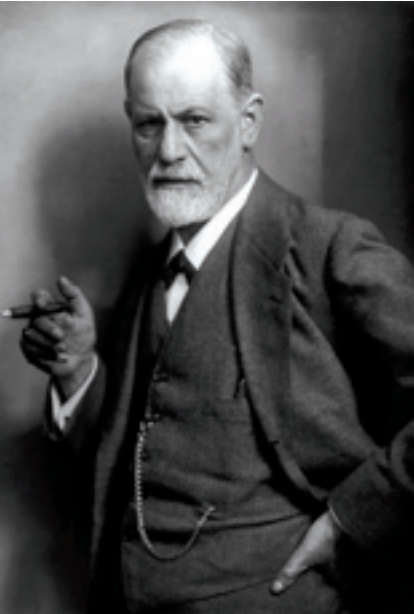
by the aforementioned introductory allusions and other unquestionable similarities to be regarded as some sort of an echoed dialogue with one of the key texts of the Renaissance era, especially with regard to its renewal of the classical heritage and the emergence of a new humanistic spirit as opposed to the dogmatism of the previous centuries. While Erasmus boldly and unabashedly launched against the popes, scholastic theology and lower clergy's bigotry and hypocrisy, Dučić's orientation towards the classical sources is not directly opposed to some already timeworn spirit of an era, but it is, probably, implicitly juxtaposed to the avant-garde tendencies of relinquishing all faith in the autonomy of art and the classical ideal of beauty, which Dučić's poetic generation still cultivated, albeit in a slightly old-fashioned manner. *King Radovan's Treasure* is a work of eminently modernist sensibility, which at the beginning of the twentieth century still upheld establishing creative continuity with the earlier eras, unlike the avant-garde, which took a decidedly negative stance towards such an artistic concept. Even though he did not insist upon it, Dučić stated explicitly in one passage that after the World War One art had been "roaming", quite certainly having in mind the said aspirations, conceptions and practices. It is undoubtedly not insignificant that the publication of this work of Dučić coincided with the last year of the third decade, which in the histories of literature and art is oftentimes taken as a point of reference marking the whole duration of the key three decades of the century that include the historical avant-garde.

*

Based on the first chapter "On Happiness" we can note a number of important features of Dučić's philosophical-literary meditations. Emphasizing that the nature of man's thought is founded upon comparing things and that people always think in terms of analogies, the writer justified his dominant focus on the problem of man's *misery* – on the incessant and mostly futile search for a shelter from his immanently tragic existence in temporary oases of real or fictitious *happiness*. It is interesting to note that Dučić finds the crux of the problem not in the eternal human wondering about the (non-)existence of the meaning of life and the inscrutability of the mystery of death, but in the human *relationship* to concrete life situations which is characterized by a paradoxical inclination towards a shadowy side of existence: "It is a huge mistake, a curse, to consider sorrow profounder than joy, and not draw courage from felicity as we would despair from disaster" (Dučić 2017: 48). Dučić sees man as a tragically



Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), a humanistic thinker and writer, whose work *The Praise of Folly* influenced Dučić's work *King Radovan's Treasure*



Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the founder of psychoanalysis and an anthropological theorist, whose works Dučić might have read

inclined solipsist, by his nature more drawn towards (thinking about) his misfortunes. This anthropological disposition is juxtaposed by the writer with a vast array of philosophical / religious concepts, which stand at one's disposal as a potential corrective of that aspect of human nature – that is to say, his *relationship* towards the one or the other fact of life. (In this implicit emphasis on avoiding displeasure in favour of the principle of pure pleasure Dučić is certainly on Freud's trail.)²³¹ Various traditions ranging from stoicism, across Christianity and Eastern religions, to particular authors of classical German philosophy, which in one way or another advocated and preached renunciation, restraint and modesty as the sole way towards happiness, are contrasted by Dučić with the misleading circumvention of misfortunes through the agency of wealth, fame and small pleasures in life. It is important to point out that in doing so Dučić does not take a markedly moralistic stand, but rather points in a philosophically neutral manner to the achievements of humanistic endeavours that identified man's *nature* as the true source of his suffering. What is more, the writer's worldview leaves room for all the blessings that the reality of physical and corporeal existence may bestow on us, even in the sense of superficially and erroneously understood Epicureanism (which represents a stereotype, as Dučić himself suggested in one passage), but he sees man's *natural* propensity for his own misfortune as the root cause of his tragic doom.²³²

Although Dučić's list of privileged themes does not include the "ultimate" questions of Death and God, the writer had given them adequate room precisely in the chapter on happiness. Thus, Dučić quite intentionally avoided deep metaphysical speculations, opting for devoting himself to pondering the issues that can lead to tangible, verifiable answers. In that sense, his philosophy reveals to have distinctly pragmatic intentions and it is of great significance that he made what is only seemingly a cursory note saying that "all the *books* in the world should serve only to *console the wretched*" (Dučić 2017: 21; cursive by V. B.) This injunction applies to a great extent to *King Radovan's Treasure* as well, and could stand on equal footing as a second signification alongside the subtitle of Dučić's *book on fate*.²³³

On Death as well as God Dučić speaks from the perspective of man's *relationship* towards those concepts, searching for their relational constants that determine the human condition, rather than for the immanent essence of these two fundamentally unknowable categories. Death is the crown evidence of man's earthly "curse", but not so much for its absolute inexorability as for the unseemliness of its appearance:

“People, thus, are not so sure whether to despise or fear death, seeing it as hideous rather than terrible for disfiguring the body as well as the face, and turning even the luckiest and happiest men into shapeless lumps” (Dučić 2017: 46). Those and similar thanatological variations imply the writer’s singular metaphysical optimism, based on a peculiar Manichaeism of a pronounced aesthete: the bodily, material aspect of being is a perishable one, and therefore death in itself does not pose much of a threat for man. That is the reason why death is “hideous rather than terrible”, as Dučić points out, insisting on its aesthetic repugnance. This is a view that is naturally compatible with the writer’s view on God, founded upon a specific pan-theistic (not *pantheistic*) religiosity:

“Some can say that nothing exists, including us, yet to insist that both the world and humanity exist, but not God, is absurd. The hands on a clock follow the sun, just as we follow the deity of our choice. Regardless of how we rendered God, we never ceased imagining or imaging Him” (Dučić 2017: 41).

Even though Dučić’s general philosophical viewpoint is crucially marked by the Christian idea, his theological excursions do not represent literary variations of some of his dogmas. Dučić thinks along the lines of the tradition according to which the sheer *idea* of God, regardless of the form of its manifestation, represents the crown evidence of God’s existence.²³⁴ Nevertheless, despite its origin in Western Christian scholasticism, Dučić develops this idea in a notably literary form. “People fear God more than they can love Him” (Dučić 2017: 40), he wrote, alluding to the fact that, as with Death, it is the outcome of another facet of the same human fallacy: revulsion against being mortal should give way to being resigned to one’s own finite existence, just as the fear of God should recede in favour of love for Him.

However, regarding love, Dučić is primarily concerned with earthly, erotic love, rather than the divine one, the former being presented only vaguely and in outlines as a specific, if not the most intense, emanation of the latter. What is indicative in that respect is the order of Dučić’s themes, among which the essay “On Happiness”, which also delves into ontological issues, is followed by chapters “On Love” and “On Women”. Mutually tightly connected, as indeed all the other chapters of the book, by the writer’s incessant mental leaps from one leitmotif to another, these essays actually develop a number of ideas to do with Dučić’s greatest obsession – the secret of male-female relationships. Much more than a philosopher and metaphysician, Dučić is an erotologist in his reflections, and that is the eminent orientation of his thought. It is duly noted that Dučić’s worldview is predominantly characterized by the notion of his – in the literal sense of the word – *bipolarism*, and that he sees the world through such lens from an exclusively masculine point of view.²³⁵ However, inasmuch as this viewpoint predetermines the inevitability of certain generalizations in drawing conclusions and sometimes crude stereotypization as their direct consequence (which in the hypersensitive gender-related interpretive horizon of today’s world was met with expected, though typically excessive reactions²³⁶), Dučić’s book in the spirit of taking a charitable view of man’s intrinsically tragic existence exhibits the equivalent, sometimes even deeper benevolence towards women. Listing on the very first pages of the first chapter all the potential hurdles to human happiness, the writer concludes: “Two such curses

are enough to ruin anyone and turn his life into hell. Some women have to suffer, beside their own shrewishness, their husbands' oppression, or, worse, oppression by their children, no matter how smart and cute the others may find them" (Dučić 2017: 21). Not only greater callousness of nature, but also a stricter treatment of women on the part of social institutions is regarded by Dučić as their even more unbearable burden in the general human predicament: "Women often fight immorality with more heart and perseverance than men do, since they are aware of being watched over not by one person only, but by their families, their religion, their history, and all the other watchdogs that men have set upon them" (Dučić 2017: 108). The author is also reproachful of the humanities regarding their neglect of specifically women's issues and problems: "There are few good books on women. When we are young, we love the ladies and suffer without bothering to study them; when we grow old, their quirks interest us no more" (Dučić 2017: 65–66). If one was to look for allegedly systematic misogyny in Dučić's work by using the infallible reductionist method of carefully selecting quotations, thereby intentionally ignoring the dialectic nature of the author's thought, one could equally defend a thesis on his seeming misandry: "Out of a dozen men one is wise, and out of an equal number of women just one is stupid" (Dučić 2017: 113). This aphorism, like many other sayings of this writer, can be assigned various, sometimes even opposite meanings when it is taken out of context, primarily owing to Dučić's distinct preference for the similar kind of poetically rather than philosophically impregnated generalizations: "To lie in order to be liked, thus, is the women's main tactic. Still, their female lies are often quite innocuous compared to our male sincerities" (Dučić 2017: 98). Based on only the few quotations given above, it is evident that Dučić sees the tragedy of existence as general doom, and that he regards the fateful predispositions of women in such a world as far more unfavourable than those of men. Since he does not pose as an ideologist of any sort of religious or political concept, but as a phenomenologist of the points in which foundations set in nature converge with a universal cultural context of man's existence, Dučić does not *prescribe* but tries to *describe* – he does not proclaim but strives to comprehend the phenomenon of human life, oscillating along the vertical axis between nature and culture, and along the horizontal one between biologically distinguished genders. Those are the axiomatic contrasts through which Dučić views the phenomena of reality, but they had been pondered outside of the philosophical radicalism for which he was criticized on different occasions and in various forms.²³⁷

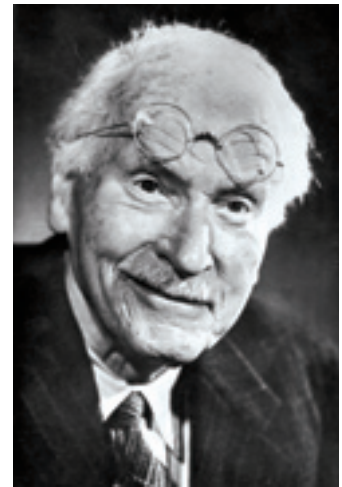
Relying for the most part, as has already been mentioned, on the philosophy and literature of classical authors, to whom, unlike many of his role models, he directly referred, Dučić expressed in his musings some of the commonplaces of the humanistic tradition as a whole, as well as of the teachings of his time without directly citing the sources. In such places the writer's reflections vary the topics of long-standing poetic and philosophical heritage, especially when it comes to the ideas of Romantic provenience, from which Dučić, quite certainly, in his slightly messianic modernist self-perception tacitly wanted to keep at a distance and thereby affirm himself. A spatially and temporally widespread notion of a man's inborn ideal image of the female principle whose incarnation every male individual seeks, especially actualized in the literature of

the nineteenth century, but also in some anthropological theories to come, occupies a central place in the writer's conceptual system:

“For, I believe that we carry within us the exact type of woman that is our match. And though we never, or seldom, meet her, still this mistress of our fancy enchants us, unrecognised but active as we seek her in all our loves. Never quite embodied, she courses, burning, through our veins, marking the difference between our infatuation with a woman, and love” (Dučić 2017: 86).

Proceeding, then, to refer to the examples from Orpheus to Dante and Petrarch, Dučić conspicuously ignores the legacy of Western European Romanticism, as well as the representatives of domestic literature of that period, such as Branko Radičević and Laza Kostić, who had given the said notion a more than exemplary artistic form. Generally speaking, Dučić's view has in a slightly elitist manner a penchant for ancient epochs, or at the least centuries that from his perspective acquired through the passage of time the prestigious status of classical values. (Even when he refers to Serbian literature, it is mostly that of oral tradition and folk epic, which he pathetically calls a *rhapsody*, possibly with an occasional, incidental reference to Njegoš.)²³⁸ Dučić's Parnassian-neoclassical self-complacency, and in a certain sense even haughtiness, were also strongly manifested in his *King Radovan's Treasure*, but his essays in the aforementioned and similar cases unmistakably resonate with the spirit of the era, recognizing those epistemological coordinates which were at the moment of their emergence scientifically codified in the anthropological works of C. G. Jung himself.²³⁹ Regardless of their predominantly artistic character, and even certain poetic selectiveness and partiality, Dučić's essays are in gnoseological accordance with the scientific currents of his time, which has always been a characteristic of major literary works from different historical epochs.

A prominent feature of Dučić's prose, present in his philosophical essays to a slightly lesser extent than in his travelogues, is the writer's weakness for national stereotypization.²⁴⁰ Despite being an unquestionably knowledgeable ethno-characterologist of European Mediterranean civilization encompassing the area from Spain to Egypt, which he had got to know from first-hand experience serving as a diplomatic officer in those countries as well as through his extensive reading, Dučić nevertheless succumbed to some petrified notions that represent at a very abstract level what he would himself term *racial* characteristics. He even goes a step



Karl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), the founder of analytic psychology. Dučić's understanding of a woman is compatible with Jung's idea of Animus and Anima

further in dividing certain, in the imagological terms, hackneyed *hetero-images* into some sort of *micro-stereotypes*, thereby transforming widespread notions into individually marked characterological clichés:

“Still, the most cruel in love are the Latins – that is, the Italians and the Spaniards [...] the Russians, in comparison, would kill themselves rather than the adulteress. Among the Serbs, however, only the uneducated are jealous, while jealous Turks act like apes, and jealous Arabs like cobras. But, to the Germans jealousy serves just as a pretext to duel and cut each others’ ears and noses off, whereas the Englishmen are seldom jealous since they see their women not only as lovers, but as someone’s sisters or mothers as well. On the other hand, the Americans value their time and wellbeing more than their wives” (Dučić 2017: 79–80).

These are the weaker parts of Dučić’s essays, the writer’s due paid for his overambitious urge to make sweeping generalizations, which mark a decline in the otherwise very high level of mental discipline and concentration. Dučić’s essay literature suffers most from the discrepancy between the writer’s profound dialogue with the humanistic heritage and measured philosophical-literary balancing of personal experience on the one hand, and swift, insufficiently considered generalizations, on the other. In contrast, a special quality of his meditations lies in the segments which narratively vividly concretize his deductions. In the essay “On Friendship”, Dučić, among other, wrote as follows:

“Whoever touches filth soils himself, just as merely mentioning evil pollutes the soul. Thus, if a man utters a bad opinion of someone in front of say, five people, at least one is a friend and another an instinctive ally of the person in mention. And usually everyone sympathizes with the man under attack rather than with an evil tongue” (Dučić 2017: 141).

Dučić in the best tradition of his masters, such as, for instance, La Rochefoucauld, verifies the perceived regularity with the cool precision of a surgeon, giving his insight even a certain charm of anecdotally shrewd unpretentiousness. The appeal and plausibility of such insights are furnished by didactic wittiness – a discrete humour that purports to instruct – rather than by the expected level of cynicism, peculiar to the writer’s rationalistic exemplars.²⁴¹

The realizations concerning the quintessence of some of the most elevated human affections Dučić expresses in a specific and indicative manner. Being endowed with a social or metaphysical sensibility – the capacity for an authentic friendship or for profound religiosity – is regarded in *King Radovan’s Treasure* from the identical, stylistically marked lens: “There are people bereft of the religious sense, just as some are tone-deaf”



Francois La Rochefoucauld (1613–1680), authored *Maxims*, which Dučić as a reader and thinker found appealing

(Dučić 2017: 40–41); “Some people have no sense of friendship, just as others are tone-deaf” (Dučić 2017: 145). These two quotations serve as examples of one of the general formulas of Dučić’s stylistics, already described in literature²⁴², which on a semantic plane as well reflects certain implications of such constructions. By explaining, namely, two almost totally abstract spiritual categories such as religiosity and sociability by way of comparing them to a specific talent related to the most abstract art, Dučić subtly expresses his understanding of the entire human spirituality in its highest registers as an indivisible, unique and elusive phenomenon. The most supreme manifestations of the human spirit, as can be inferred from the foregoing, are unfathomable and can only be tautologically explained with one another, which is what in this case the author actually did.

One of the most inspiring themes for this author is treated in the essay “On Youth and Old Age”. Unquestionably more productive as a thinker pondering man’s concrete, tangible problems, related to his biological and social existence, Dučić is more lucid when he speaks about old age than about death. There is almost nothing that can be claimed with certainty about death, but old age represents a finality with different facets, which in nearly every individual life signifies an unfortunate turn of events. Accompanied by illness and poverty, it represents for the author a supreme expression of man’s perishability and the ultimate misfortune. In this chapter the author recounted and commented on a great number of anecdotes about human efforts in trying to overcome their last life’s challenge, ranging from antiquity to the nineteenth century, which illustrate the utter powerlessness before the final disagreeable fact of life. Drawing conclusions from a set of examples, Dučić shows himself to be more convincing in his inductions unencumbered by a self-imposed need to sometimes even forcibly supply evidence for overly spontaneous poetic aphorisms. In that sense, Dučić’s thought is more engaging when the author reasonably assesses his impressive and comprehensive reading (especially – as in this case – when in doing so he is not poetically tendentiously selective), than in slightly pretentious abstractions of concrete examples that can hardly aspire to universality. Striving to comprehend the battle of the great historical personages with old age, from Socrates to Victor Hugo, Dučić proves to be a talented anthropologist, who thinks deeply about a phenomenon through its metamorphoses in different cultures and epochs. With regard to the scientific-artistic character of the writer’s essays underlined before, it is here outweighed by the first part of the compound, which gives the book in all such cases the power of a higher law over the occasionally impressionistic observations on matters of human nature. The most consistent segments of the book are those in which argumentation is gradually developed concerning the possibilities for a man’s temper to change with the cultural paradigm shifts over the course of its millennium-long duration. Dučić is in all likelihood yet more successful as a writer of reflections based on erudition, as a philosopher of dialogues, than as an author of authentic, original reflection.

In the chapter “On Poets” the author strongly affirmed a centuries-old idea of the quintessential bard as the most direct link between the divine and earthly planes. Dučić considers a poet a divine associate and denies the possibility of authentic poetry writing outside of these relations, even emphasizing that poets are “religious, being the inventors of religion” (Dučić 2017: 196). The artistic creation as a whole plays the same intermediary role, so therefore “the best



Jovan Dučić, an avid reader and erudite

poems always seem like prayers, and the best paintings like icons” (Dučić 2017: 208). Far from formulating any original theory of poetry, Dučić merely elaborates on just a few commonplaces taken over from the poetic views typical of different epochs, as when he asserts that a lyricist will “attain greatness only if he succeeds in expressing the truth about the three transcendent subjects of life and art, that is, about Love, God, and Death” (Dučić 2017: 219). Continuing to exhibit the aesthetic radicalism manifested earlier regarding the evaluation of the entire artistic heritage, Dučić persists in being restrictive when he talks about the *absolutely beautiful*: “Nevertheless, the most universal formula of beauty was bequeathed to us by the Greeks, for even today we see the beautiful just as they did: as a harmony of the material and the ideal” (Dučić 2017: 210). In this essay, Dučić could not resist to unite his a bit snobbish fascination with antiquity with some kind of excessive confidence of a writer, thereby lowering the original momentum of his thought from the philosophical heights to the level of a quotidian literary dispute. Dedicating comparatively ample space in his reflections to the *criticism* of poetry, Dučić descended from the domain of poetic topics to the area of disguised literary confrontation, which in its overall conclusions about the sense of that metaliterary discipline conceals certain vindictiveness of a conceited poet and demonstrates an arrogant attitude, to say the least, towards literary criticism in general.²⁴³ What we find indicative is the lexis appearing frequently in Dučić’s observations about a critic: “A critic [...] is just a qualified reader, vain enough to note down his own impressions and publish them” (Dučić 2017: 211); “Books of literary criticism inevitably turn into autobiographies of vanity” (Dučić 2017: 211). Those observations are characterized by simplifications lying far outside the framework of theoretically founded reasoning: “Critics [...] seeing everything in the context of a particular period, generation, genre, aesthetics, or a principle” (Dučić 2017: 211); “[...] always considering themselves more learned or profound than the authors under their review” (Dučić 2017: 212). Concluding that criticism is simply “unnecessary” (Dučić 2017: 204), Dučić reduced his aesthetic thought to banality when he absolutely relativized the reception of a work of art, and relegated evaluative appraisal and analysis to the domain of pure arbitrariness:

“Certainly, what we discover in a painting or a poem becomes intimately ours, acquiring a personal poignancy and beauty that often seem banal to others. For, what we love or hate in a work of art, or in its creator, needs no interpretation by anyone but us” (Dučić 2017: 204).

Contrasts of this kind best illustrate the range and character of Dučić’s meditations: in the amplitude between a scrupulous philosophical



Prometheus, one of Dučić's philosophical obsessions

dialogue of a well-informed author with the highest achievements in the history of philosophy and literature on the one hand, and superficial literary discussions of certain issues on the other, lies the possibility of an objective assessment of his essayistic work.

A similar example presents itself in the essay “On Heroes”. Expounding on the heroic exemplars of various cultures and periods ranging from the biblical and classical, across Indian legends, to Serbian Kosovo “epic”, Dučić had been seeking and finally found the essence of the *heroic* in the myth of Prometheus, especially in the form and meaning assigned to it by the Greek tragedian Aeschylus: “In general, heroes challenge the natural order and, consequently, the divinity itself: they conquer opponents mightier than themselves, and put the happiness of the weak above that of the strong, thereby upsetting the principles of the universe” (Dučić 2017: 240).²⁴⁴ Dučić mainly deploys this method in order to gain his most profound insights – by comparing samples of certain sociocultural paradigms so as to find the common, that is, substantial manifestation or definition of a phenomenon under consideration. The opposite pole of his reflections represents the effort to find proof of a priori judgements by an inverse method, mostly founded upon the confirmed faults in the author’s reasoning and writing joined together in stereotypization and unresolved artistic narcissism. Thus, in one passage the writer varies the same topic in the register of extreme essayistic license, even arbitrariness up to a point, considering *nobility* as a kind of *heroism*: “A true gentleman is more than a noble, since nobility is a matter of blood, not class” (Dučić 2017: 246). Introducing in an insidious way his overwhelming urge to confirm using any means at

his disposal that he had been fatefully preordained to be a great man and poet, which had always worked to the detriment of his unquestionable, albeit often overestimated, literary talent, Dučić placed his local patriotic eugenics between a nobleman's self-identification with count Sava Vladislavjević and being *racially* privileged by his regional background:

“And though gentlemen and ladies, the products of enlightenment and breeding, may be found in all classes, within the Serb nation aristocracy is best articulated in Herzegovina. That region is also the fountainhead of the Serb language and a land of the bards, which explains its great creative power – since, without the aristocratic feeling, nothing of value can be created by anyone, least of all in the arts” (Dučić 2017: 246).

Turning from typified *hetero-images* to the same sort of *auto-images*, Dučić merely replaced one form of stereotypical thinking with another, in both cases undermining his aspiration for the validity of his own conclusions. High selectiveness in the choice of the interlocutor and the same level of philosophical ambitions fall far below the mark in instances of such generalizations, holding at their core a concealed self-portrait of the writer with inappropriately universalistic pretensions. The writer's inability to personally retreat in favour of the desired general credibility represents the feature of *King Radovan's Treasure* that produces a permanent impression of a certain lack of balance, even when its clear articulation eludes the readers' consciousness. That is, of course, the result of Dučić's literary quickness of mind, which, apart from the noted reflective imbalance, paradoxically gives the text the opposite connotation from the intended one. If, namely, the said passage is understood as an attempt at introducing Serbian culture by way of one of its segments into what is imagined as a higher culturological context, the writer's intention turns in on itself as a result of ignoring the fact that even at the time prior to the production of his book all Serbian regions had already attained the highest creative achievements, especially in the field of literature, which could be corroborated by numerous names originating from even the furthest points of the national geographical spread. Therefore, this is a matter of another sublevel of stereotypization, a specifically biased self-perception, which produces a certain cacophony in a book of such high philosophical standards.

A striking and highly humanistic feature of Dučić's book is reflected in the writer's truly empathetic and deep acceptance and understanding of spirituality in all its manifestations, regardless of their culturological differences – authentic open-mindedness towards the universal values of oftentimes opposing cultural codes. Apart from other abovementioned objections addressed at Dučić for certain forms of exclusiveness, he was frequently taxed with national-chauvinism and religious intolerance, because of which after the World War Two the writer's opus was quite arbitrarily dismissed with disdain by the official ideological current of thought, along with the works of many other acclaimed authors. However, the last chapter of *King Radovan's Treasure* (“On Prophets”), the essay which is superimposed over his literary-philosophical construction, contains one of the greatest praises of Islam, or more precisely of its prophet, unprecedented in Serbian literature even among the most prominent writers of Muslim provenience.²⁴⁵ About Muhammad Dučić, among other things, says the following: “In time, he became one of



Criticism considers *Signs by the Roadside* by Ivo Andrić (1892–1975) as typologically akin to *King Radovan's Treasure*

the greatest upholders of life by uniting into a huge religious family the innumerable, thereto feuding pagan tribes” (Dučić 2017: 268) and he deems him equal only to Christ his predecessor. Moses and Zoroaster stand side by side with Jesus and Muhammad and their gathering in the last pages of the book determines, that is, underlines its overall meaning: Dučić regards all holders of *divine revelation*, founders of religions and great poets, as well as all accomplishments in art, philosophy, and generally in culture in the broadest sense of its global geographical and historical spread – as an emanation of the same spirit – divine, creative principle, one and indivisible for all people. This makes *King Radovan's Treasure* a work of markedly cosmopolitan orientation, which along with numerous related and synchronically published books based on universalistic worldview and achievement, the foremost of which are the prose works of Ivo Andrić, Miloš Crnjanski and Rastko Petrović, outlines a horizon that was to become dominant in Serbian literature in the years to come, but also sheds light on the earlier works that had set the ground and made it possible for all of this to develop. That characteristic, along with other noted qualities of *King Radovan's Treasure*, is conducive to the high literary and artistic merit of this work that was greatly instrumental in directing the course of particular trends of the pertaining literature, being simultaneously its exemplary representative.

Translated by Tatjana Ružin Ivanović

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Belgrade in the 1930s

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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 Дуцић 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 фраком*, 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. Skerlić 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*), *Plač* (*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), *Сјаване 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 Đaja 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