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JOVAN DUČIĆ: LIFE, WORK, TIMES

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JOVAN DUČIĆ
LIFE, WORK, TIMES



SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS

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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



JOVAN DUČIĆ:
DIPLOMACY

JOVAN DUČIĆ – A DIPLOMATIC CAREER

Miladin MILOŠEVIĆ

historian

Ljubodrag DIMIĆ

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Pavle Karović noted down in the book *Diplomatija (Diplomacy)* published in Belgrade in 1936, that “prophetesses have to be merciful to a diplomat more than to other individuals pursuing other careers. Nature, family, school, society, nation, state, all together must unite and reward him jointly with numerous gifts at birth. A man excelling in diplomacy and conscientious will return tenfold all the gifts he received from his benefactors”.²

Family upbringing based on morals, traditions and experience that a diplomat should possess, according to the Britons who show an exceptional knowledge in that field of endeavour, is more important than the one acquired at the university, because it “forms a young man”. Nature should grant a future diplomat the “greatness of soul” and numerous competencies that will enable him to responsibly, conscientiously, honorably and honestly serve the nation to whom he belongs and the country he represents. A diplomat should always hold on to the ideal of justice, peace and prosperity for his own country. Even though he must strive for success in his every undertaking, it is wise not to point out successes every time, so that they would not become an obstacle in his further work. Temperance, aloofness, discretion, confidentiality, keeping state secrets, morality, dignity, prominence are some of the desirable features that a diplomat must possess. To be a man of great learning, to respect tradition, to be well-informed and determined to resolve





The Žitomislić monastery, where Dučić worked as a teacher (AY-377, PC)

political, economic, financial, social, religious, security, historical, geographical ... issues is also necessary. Gentility, prudence, right judgment, well-articulated views, rational thought, clear speech, truthfulness, cool-headedness, all this characterizes a gifted diplomat – an expert in history and historical precedents, tradition and scientific thought, international relations and law, political practice, culture and spirit characteristic of the country he comes from, the country in which he carries out all the tasks of the diplomatic mission and the people he meets every day.³

Were the “prophetesses”, at his birth, “merciful” to the great Serbian poet, diplomat, the first ambassador in the history of Yugoslav diplomacy, Jovan Dučić? What did they endow him with? Did he repay his benefactors with good deeds?

Jovan Dučić was born in the village of Podglivlje near Trebinje. The exact year and date of his birth has still been open to dispute, mostly thanks to Dučić himself? 15 June 1872 was entered as the date of Dučić’s birth in the records of the Serbian Teachers School in Sombor. In the materials safeguarded in the University of Geneva Archives, 1 November 1872 was entered as the date of his birth.⁴ Kosta St. Pavlović, who was a diplomat and who authored a book about Dučić in which he recounted the days when they served together as diplomats in Bucharest, draws attention to the fact that in the period between 1869 and 1876, in a number of Serbian and foreign encyclopaedias, almanacs, anthologies, yearbooks, several dates appear as the great poet’s birth date. Pavlović himself believed that in all probability the year 1869 should be considered as the year of Dučić’s birth. Based on the “Birth Certificate” issued by the Serbian Orthodox Parish of Trebinje on 8 April 1938, reading that Jovan Dučić was born on 15 February 1874, we are more inclined to consider that date as the one on which Jovan Dučić’s life began.⁵

Jovan Dučić was born to Andrija Dučić and his wife Joka, née Sušić, who had two children, Rista and Soka, from her first marriage to Šćepan Glogovac. Jovan also had a sister, Mileva, who died young. He lost his father at an early age, too.

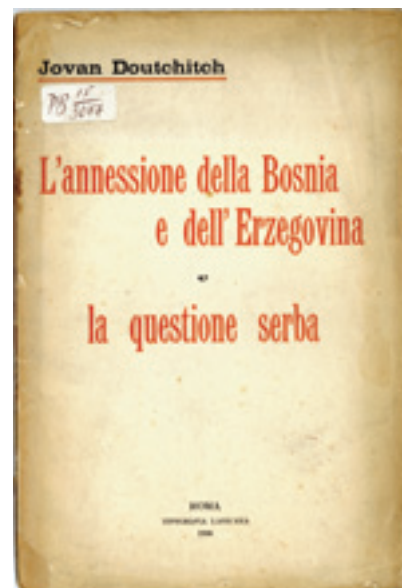
Dučić received his primary education in Trebinje. After completing primary school, he moved to Mostar with his mother and sister, to live with his half-brother Risto Glogovac. He completed a mercantile school in Mostar and continued his education in Sarajevo, where he attended the first grade of teachers school in the school year 1890–1891. He successfully completed the remaining grades of teachers school in Sombor and in 1893 he became a certified Serbian primary school teacher. In the autumn of the same year, he was appointed a teacher at the elementary school in Bijeljina. His patriotism and national fervour did not escape the attention

of the local police authorities, who, in May 1894, arrested, interrogated and accused him of writing the patriotic songs “Oj, Bosno” and “Otadžbina”. In July, in that same year, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo used that as a pretext to ban him from any further work in Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Upon his return to Mostar, Dučić continued writing poetry. In the school year 1895/96, he started working as a teacher at the Serbian Orthodox primary school in the Žitomislić monastery near Mostar. He worked there until 1899, when owing to his ambitions to learn, study and absorb as much as possible, he set out to Geneva to study.

Jovan Dučić became a full-time student of the Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology at the University of Geneva on 15 June 1899.⁶ Modest life circumstances encouraged his unrealistic ambition to complete his four-year studies as soon as possible, within two to two and a half years. Nevertheless, the reality was somewhat different. With the help of a friend, with a scholarship of the Serbian Government, Dučić completed his studies on 31 October 1906. After having passed all prescribed exams in philosophy, philology, political history, history of religion, comparative law and sociology, in the same year he acquired a “licentiate” in social sciences.

During his studies, Dučić often travelled to Paris. It was during those travels that he got acquainted and befriended some of the future leading figures in the field of culture, national development and diplomacy, Jovan Skerlić, Milan Rakić, Kosta Kumanudi, Grgur Jakšić, Momčilo Ninčić.... Those contacts, in addition to the fact that he was already a well-known and renowned poet, who was well educated and ambitious, enabled him to be gladly seen and accepted in Belgrade’s intellectual circles upon his return from studies. The fact that he was a contributor to the influential daily *Politika*, his membership in the editorial board and editing of its literary chronicle, additionally contributed to the aforesaid.

Out of his unquenchable desire to “always look for something new”, as he was saying when his life was nearing its end, to be granted a post in the diplomatic service of the Kingdom of Serbia at that time already became Dučić’s ideal. However, as it turned out, to achieve that goal was not an easy task. The first step on that path was the decision issued by the President of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, Nikola Pašić, of 11 January 1907, that 150 dinars should be paid to Jovan Dučić, “on the condition that he returns to Bosnia and Herzegovina and acts upon the instructions, until he creates a post for himself”.⁷ It was a way to set up conditions for obtaining a permanent position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by proving his patriotism and consistent representation of state interests.



L'annessione della Bosnia e dell'Erzegovina e la questione Serba / Jovan Dučić. – Roma : Tipografia Labicana, 1908. Jovan M. Jovanović's copy of the book with author's inscription (LSASA, catalogue number IIB 15;3077)



Because of the Annexation Crisis that broke out in the autumn of 1908, the Government of the Kingdom of Serbia ordered Jovan Dučić to go to Rome. He was tasked to actively work as a propaganda agent on thwarting Austro-Hungarian politics in the Balkans and preventing the recognition of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His dedicated work resulted in a booklet published in Italian *Annessione della Bosnia e dell'Erzegovina e la questione Serba* (*The Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian Question*) and numerous contacts he made in Rome with potential friends of Serbia. Aiming at strengthening solidarity with Serbia and opposing the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dučić distributed his booklet to Italian MPs. From his letter sent to Jovan M. Jovanović, the then high-ranking official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, in late December 1908, it was evident that Dučić in Rome became aware of the great strength of propaganda and of the fact that under its influence, an already “electric atmosphere” could give rise to numerous unpleasant surprises in Europe in the near future.⁸

By the royal decree of 10 May 1910, Jovan Dučić definitely entered the world of diplomacy. Having “skipped” the posts of the third-class and second-class scribe, he was appointed the first-class scribe at the Serbian Royal Legation in Sofia.⁹ The legation was headed by the experienced diplomat Svetislav Simić, who was replaced by Miroslav Spaljković, after his death in 1911. Dučić’s report from the time when he served in Sofia has been preserved, in which he noted down his impressions about the personality of the Bulgarian King Ferdinand and the political situation in Bulgaria in early 1911. Based on conversations with close associates of the Bulgarian king, Dučić drew the attention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, Milovan Milovanović, to the fact that Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha was “deprived of any sense of loyalty”, “unstable”, “ungrateful”, “without passion”, “sensitive”, prone to secrecy and outbursts, without any sense of proportion, impatient, possessing no skill or feeling to make and keep friends. Dučić



Jovan Dučić's letter to Jovan M. Jovanović, who was chief at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, on the atmosphere in Italy, Rome, 7/20 December 1908 (AY-80-35-180)

believed that the Bulgarian king was filled with hatred towards Russia, had no liking for and was distrustful towards Austria-Hungary and Germany, full of contempt for Montenegro and with a feeling of “horror” and fear when it comes to Serbia. According to Dučić’s sources, Bulgarian King’s greatest ambitions were not directed, as it was usually thought, towards the occupation of Macedonia, but Constantinople, given that he dreamed of entering Constantinople one day like Emperor Constantine “carrying a cross, riding a white horse, in the name of Christianity”. The mistrust that King Ferdinand expressed towards political parties, primarily his hostile attitude towards political leaders, his intention to use parties to serve him as lackeys while independently ruling the country, are some of the observations that Dučić also made.¹⁰ Since it was not usual that scribes, given their rank in the diplomatic mission, write analytical reports, the document sent by Dučić to Minister Milovan Milovanović should be interpreted as a confirmation of his abilities, ambitions, maturity and his denial to reconcile with his position in the diplomatic service.

Among other things, he did not even try to hide it. In late April 1911, in his letter sent to the Chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, Jovan M. Jovanović, Dučić tried to draw his attention to the four years he “lost” as a member of temporary staff, while waiting for the appointment decree, and asked the authorities to promote him to the post of a secretary. Being by nature a vain person, Dučić was certainly not pleased that, although much older, and in his own opinion more capable, he held the position of a scribe, while his peers already had the status of secretary or counselor to the legation. The new head of the legation in Sofia, Miroslav Spaljković himself asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Milovan Milovanović, to appoint the famous poet as a secretary of the legation. In his letter sent to Jovan M. Jovanović, even though Dučić expressed his wish to stay in Sofia in his new position, he also pointed out that he would prefer to perform his diplomatic duty in Rome. He did not want even to consider Cetinje as his new diplomatic post.¹¹ Dučić’s dream of going to the Eternal City as a diplomat came true the

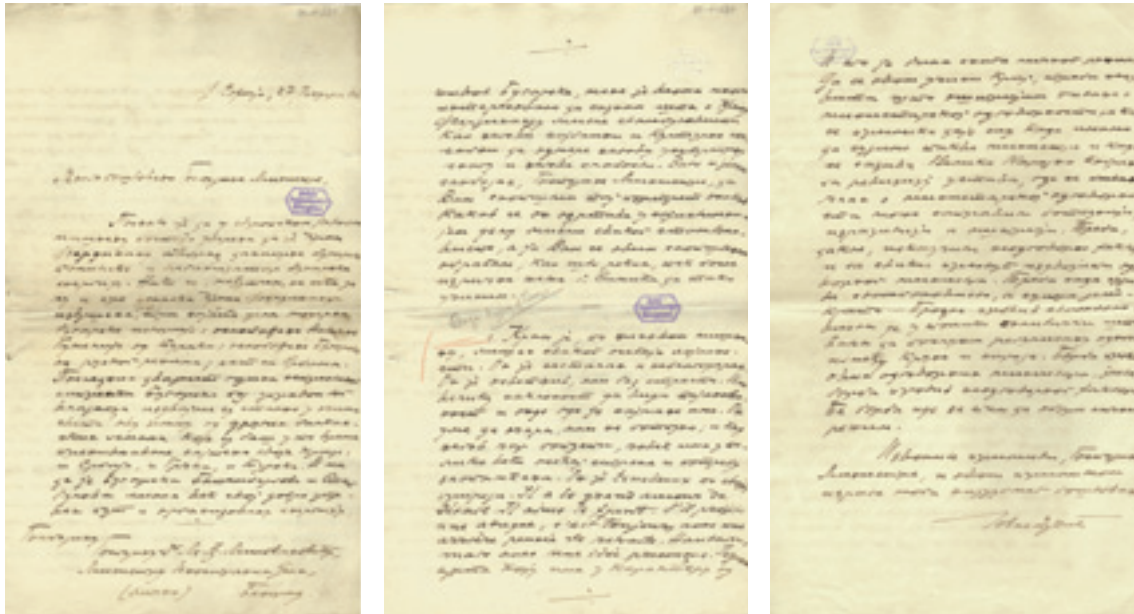


Milovan Milovanović (1863–1912)
(photo owned by the Milovanović-
Zdravković family)

following year. Under the royal decree of 29 June 1912, he was appointed fifth-class secretary of the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbia in Rome.¹²

Dučić found himself in Rome once again in early August 1912, on the eve of the First Balkan War. His assignment again included propaganda efforts – he was tasked to spark the Italian public's interest in the problem of Old Serbia, to dispel all prejudices about the Serbs that were stirred up by Austro-Hungarian propaganda, to contribute to the creation of the “necessary atmosphere” in the public around the idea that the war against Turkey was the “only way out” of the crisis. In performing that important state task, as he reported to Jovan M. Jovanović in October 1912, he hoped for the support of the semi-official organ *La Tribuna*, the largest newspaper in Rome, which was ready to “open its pages for Serbia.” For the purpose of state propaganda and in order to meet the needs of the Italian public to learn as much as possible about the Serbian people, country, army and military operations... Dučić also counted on the press agency “Agenzia Stefani”, which owing to its influence could spread the word about the Serbian truth about Old Serbia and the war with Turkey among the Italians. He notified Jovan M. Jovanović from Rome about the very widespread Bulgarian propaganda and the numerous prejudices that the Italian public had towards Serbia, which no one was even trying to eliminate.¹³

In early May 1913, after the successful completion of the First Balkan War, Dučić had talks in Rome with the Bulgarian ambassador Rizov about “moving the borders” between the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian minister did not want to talk to the official charge d'affaires of the Serbian legation in Italy, Ljubomir Mihailović, about the request of the Bulgarian side to strictly follow the provisions of the secret part of the Serbian-Bulgarian agreement of 13 March 1913, which guaranteed the division of spheres of interest in Macedonia. It was an opportunity for Dučić to get acquainted once again with the standpoints, which served as a basis for the very developed Bulgarian propaganda in Rome.¹⁴ For that very reason he made efforts whenever possible to try to overturn with verifiable arguments the negative attitude of the Italian public towards Serbia, particularly expressed during the First and Second Balkan Wars. Thus, Dučić was actively engaged in presenting the truth about the constant Albanian *kaçak* attacks on the Serbian-Albanian border, established at the London Conference of the Ambassadors in 1913. This is evidenced by an interview he gave to the very influential newspaper *Il Giornale d'Italia*.¹⁵ Rome was also an important observation post from which Dučić observed the Balkans and the game of great powers over that part of Europe. He reported on the Italian pressure on Greece to evacuate Epirus, which was allocated to Albania, and to cede one part



Jovan Dučić's report for the Minister of Foreign Affairs Milovan Milovanović, wherein he depicts the personality of the Bulgarian King Ferdinand Coburg, 27 January / 9 February 1911 (AY-80-1-525)

of the occupied Turkish islands in the Mediterranean, but also on Great Britain's efforts aiming at Italy's withdrawal from the occupied islands in the Dodecanese.¹⁶

In Rome, in early January 1914, Dučić met and had talks with Greece's Prime Minister Eleuthérios Venizélos.¹⁷ His findings about King Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and the political situation in Bulgaria were further expanded in a meeting with one of the leaders of the then international socialist movement, an opponent of the Bulgarian king and his regime, Kosta Rakovsky. During these talks, he obtained some additional information about the attitudes of Bulgarian "political circles" set up after the defeat at Bregalnica in June 1913. Dučić informed the Serbian government about Rakovsky's critical views concerning Macedonia and previously accepted plans according to which Sofia was to take part in the partition of Serbia's territories in the event of the outbreak of war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary during the annexation crisis in 1908.¹⁸

During his stay in Rome, Dučić was well acquainted with the project of the concordat between the Kingdom of Serbia and the Holy See from 1914. In early February 1914, Dučić personally conveyed final instructions for the negotiations of the government of the Kingdom of Serbia to its minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the Holy See and the chief negotiator Luj Bakotić.¹⁹

After less than two years spent in the Legation in Rome, Dučić was appointed fourth-class secretary and in early June 1914 was transferred to the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbia in Athens.²⁰ There he had the opportunity to cooperate with and learn from the experienced Serbian diplomat Živojin Balugdžić. In Athens he met prince regent Aleksandar Karađorđević

for the first time in 1916, who left on Dučić a strong impression of a man with “a dignified royal spirit” and someone who was “an exceptional soldier...”. In the autumn of 1917, together with prince regent, he visited the Salonica front, of which he wrote in his travelogue *Na Solunskom frontu sa Regentom (On the Salonica Front with Prince Regent)*.

The great poet left behind his testimonies about the conversations he had with numerous representatives of political life during his stay “on the divine Athenian soil”, as he noted down. In mid-August 1917, he reported to the Serbian Royal Consulate in Thessaloniki on the concerns of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Greece Politis over the Italian occupation of some Greek areas, Italy’s participation in arming, organization and incitement of the Albanian troops, the allies’ tacit support to such Italy’s politics and the responsibility they would therefore have to bear.²¹ Minister Politis was also a valuable interlocutor when it comes to internal political situation in Greece, the behavior of the royalist forces, the harmful politicization of the military forces, waiting for necessary foreign loans and military mobilization.²² In the manner of a gifted diplomat, Dučić conversed with Italian minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to Greece, Count Bozzardi about the same issues, believing that his “reflections” were important for the Kingdom of Serbia’s policy makers. Owing to these talks, the content of which he forwarded to the Serbian Royal Consulate in Thessaloniki on 20 August 1917, Dučić further clarified Italy’s policy – its determination to keep the occupied territories, its readiness to support Greek independence, but also to curb its territorial strengthening, given that it posed a danger to its own state, the conflict of French and Italian interests in the Balkans, Italian view of politics pursued by E. Venizelos’ government.²³

Dučić also reported on “the display of people’s resentment and indignation” over the shame brought by the previous Greek regime which showed disrespect for traditional friendships, including its betrayal of the alliance with Serbia. In his talks with Prime Minister Venizelos, which he had instead of the absent minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary Balugdžić, he particularly emphasized the readiness of the new authorities to be in tune to people’s moods, to punish the previous policy makers, to eradicate the existing hunger, to be granted new loans and speed up military draft, to purge the army and state apparatus. Dučić also expressed his observations characteristic of the gifted writer when sketching a croquis portrait of the president of the new Greek government. He noticed that numerous difficulties Venizelos was facing made his face “lose its previous softness and smile”, “gain sharpness, pungency and something convulsive and resolute”. He described him as a “moral reformer” of Greek society, a capable organizer, a man with “fanatical faith in dogma and intolerant in discussion” and who, because of his persistence and consistency to bring every business to an end at “any cost” and as it suited him, was perceived by his opponents as a dictator and inquisitor.²⁴

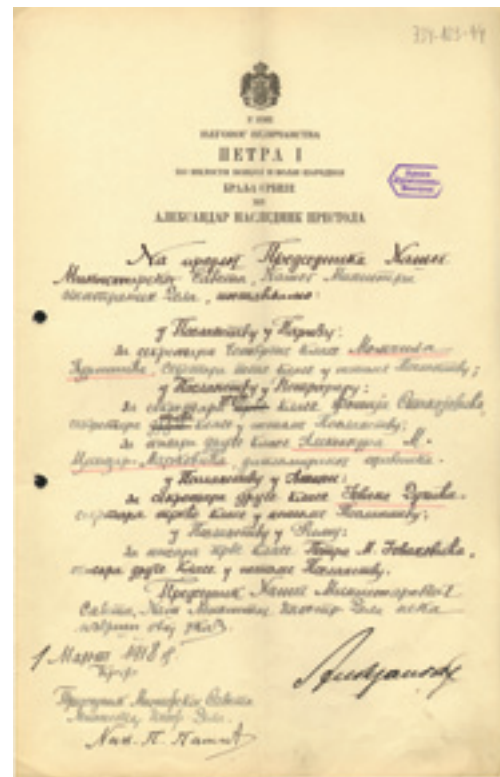
Equally important was a piece of information on the number of soldiers and the strength in technical equipment of the Turkish army, its provision of military supplies from Germany and Austria-Hungary, excessive military casualties, health conditions, morale, relations with allies, war plans, flagging economy, high inflation, political circumstances, the fact that the government unconditionally carried out the orders of Germany and based its stability on that, which Dučić learned from the Greek military attaché in Constantinople, Frantzis. This also applies to the contents of the telegrams he forwarded to Jurišić, which referred to the situation in Russia and military operations in Romania.²⁵

During the years he spent in Athens, Dučić climbed up the diplomatic ladder. Under the decrees of 10 October 1917 and 1 March 1918 he was appointed respectively third-class secretary and second-class secretary.²⁶

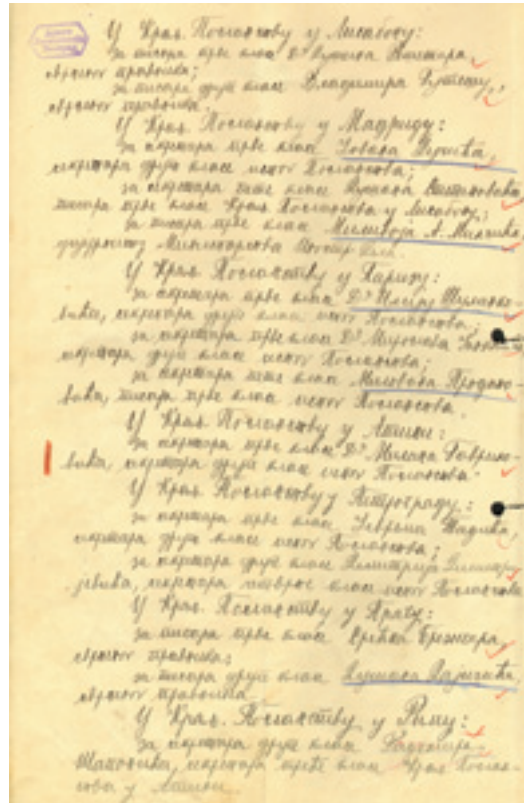
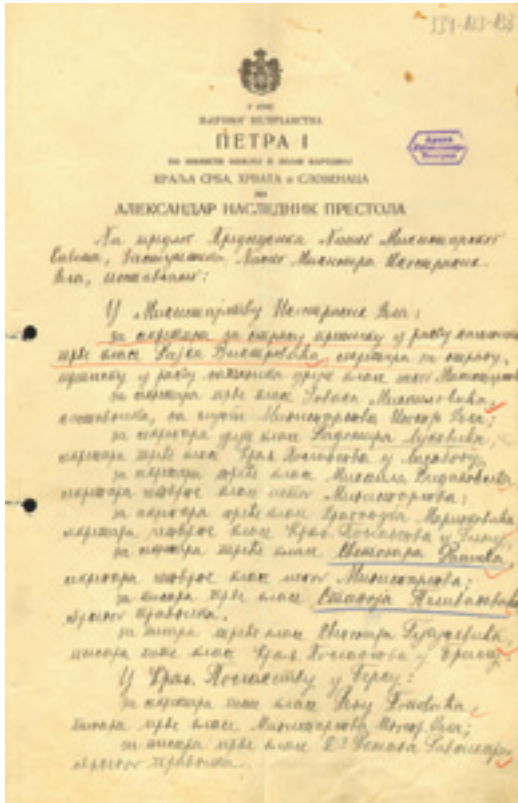
On the proposal of the President of the Ministerial Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs Nikola Pašić, and under the decree of the Crown Prince of 1 July 1918, Jovan Dučić, a second-class secretary at the Legation in Athens, holding the same position, was transferred to the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbia in Madrid.²⁷ He arrived in the capital of Spain, “always Dominican and Orthodox”, as he later noted down, together with the newly appointed minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to Spain, Dragomir Janković. His arrival in Madrid was preceded by a somewhat longer “stay” in Paris, which attracted Dučić, in various ways, ever since his student days. In the capital of Spain, Dučić received the news of the proclamation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.²⁸ As a strong advocate of Yugoslav national and state unity, he enthusiastically accepted the events of 1 December 1918 and considered them an important historical turning point.²⁹

Europe’s new post-war political reality was determined by several factors, among which division into winners and losers that could never be overcome, the parallel existence of states with parliamentary democracy and those with totalitarian regimes, the existence and conflict of two political systems – capitalism and socialism. These contradictions determined the reality of life. The poet and diplomat Dučić, having served in a number of European capitals, could foresee them, understand them well and experience them every day.

The circumstances of global situation after the First World War did not make the life of the population any easier, or more beautiful and more humane, and the states any safer. Awareness that international politics, in the future, had to be based on new principles and different diplomatic efforts, clashed with the pragmatic interests of the losers and the winning side in the war. The stringent obligations contained in the provisions of the peace treaties frustrated Germany, made its future uncertain and its political life volatile. Interests directed towards preserving the order established at the end of the First World War put the strength of war-torn France to the test, which at the same time was preoccupied with its unrealistic aspirations to consolidate its military and



King Petar I Karadordević’s decree under which Jovan Dučić was appointed second-class secretary to the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbia in Athens, 1 March 1918 (AY-334-123-44)



Prince Regent Aleksandar's decree under which Jovan Dučić, second-class secretary, was promoted to first-class secretary of the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Madrid, 1 May 1919 (AY-334-123-138)

political supremacy in Europe in the long run. The Proletarian Revolution in the USSR frantically struggled for survival in an atmosphere fraught with lasting hostility, intolerance and mistrust. By turning down leadership positions in international organizations, the United States of America opted for a politics of isolationism, thus retaining the world economic primacy gained during the war. The political strength of Great Britain was also put to the test because of the revolt of national movements in the colonies, which was aware that its world supremacy was rapidly dwindling. Politically unstable Italy and its undisguised ambitions in the Balkans, the Mediterranean and Africa did not contribute to lasting peace. In such a world, the representatives of small states, such as the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, had to find their way around, make do, adapt their own interests to the global conceptions of the great powers, protect their own population and preserve their territories. One part of the task in that complex and responsible undertaking was assumed by the diplomatic representatives of the newly formed Yugoslav state. Dučić was among them.

In the reports he submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Madrid in early 1919, Dučić tried to draw the attention of the state authorities to the “vigorous and well organized”

Italian anti-Yugoslav campaign in the Spanish media and their attempts to impose the thesis on the resistance that allegedly accompanied the unification process, which was forcibly “suppressed by 50,000 Serbian bayonets”. In order to stamp out the lies of Italian propaganda as successfully as possible, Dučić asked the Ministry to forward him on a regular basis all the necessary information so that the retractions of the Yugoslav Legation would be timely and convincing.³⁰

A little more than four years, which Dučić spent in the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Madrid and San Sebastian, the summer capital of the Spanish kings, he dedicated to creative work. This, among other things, resulted in his new promotion. Under the decree of Crown Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević of 1 May 1919, Jovan Dučić was appointed first-class secretary of the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Madrid.³¹ As of March 1920, his superior minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary was Dr Ante Tresić Pavičić, who was a friend of his and a renowned Croatian poet. Working with newly appointed minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary Pavičić, which included mutual respect and appreciation, was filled with undisguised satisfaction. During his diplomatic service in Madrid, Dučić attended ceremonies in Lisbon in the first half of April 1921, as the official representative of his country. The occasion was the unveiling of the Monument to the Unknown Hero, a solemn act which manifested the solidarity of the allies from the First World War.³² At the same time, it was his first contact with the country in which, several years later, he would also perform diplomatic service.

Under the decree of 6 August 1922, Jovan Dučić was transferred to Athens as counsellor of the Legation. This transfer was accompanied by his promotion to the rank of third-class Consul General.³³ His request to spend some more time in Madrid as a counsellor was not granted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.³⁴ Owing to the strict provisions of the financial law, as Minister Momčilo Ninčić noted down in his response to Dučić’s request, that was not possible. He was asked to hand over his duty in Madrid after the arrival of the newly appointed counsellor Đorđe Nastasijević, and then to set out to Athens, his new diplomatic posting.³⁵

After the handover of duty, Dučić left Madrid on 12 October 1922.³⁶ He found himself in Belgrade thirteen days later. On 1 November, he sent a request to the Ministry to grant him a one-month leave during which he would “visit his family in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia”. In the middle of November, he was free to ask the relevant diplomatic authorities to be granted an extension of his leave until 20 December 1922. His request was granted by Minister Ninčić.³⁷



Ante Tresić Pavičić (1867–1949)



Jovan Dučić's identity card for foreign nationals, Athens, 25 May 1923 (ASASA 15068-I-7)

Dučić arrived in Athens in late December 1922, where he found himself once again in the best interest of Yugoslav diplomacy after a little over four years. As early as on 1 March 1923, he was promoted to the rank of second-class counsellor.³⁸ The minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary who was his superior until 1 September 1923, when he handed over his duty, was his old acquaintance Živojin Balugdžić.³⁹

From Athens, Dučić reported on the content of politics pursued by Prime Minister Venizelos and the prominence he enjoyed among the masses, he wrote about the confusing and dangerous situation in the Greek capital, drew attention to the struggles and rivalries among political figures, and pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of the monarchy system of rule. When informing relevant authorities in Belgrade he put a particular focus on Venizelos' "concern" for the Yugoslav state and "conveyed" the views of Greek politicians reading that "what Belgrade thinks is more important" for that country "than everything else that is said by others". Dučić's reports contained precise information obtained "first hand" about the goals of Venizelos' government, the views of opposition politicians and the chances of dynasty's survival. Dučić noticed that the "great strength" of Venizelos lied in the support he enjoyed among the masses, army and bureaucracy. He tried to figure out the nature of his personality, which was at the same time "so precise, determined and completely arbitrary". He drew Belgrade's attention to Venizelos' policy of "avoiding violence", his Republican sentiments, and his efforts to reduce the

The decree issued by King Aleksandar I Karadorđević under which Jovan Dučić was appointed a standing delegate of the government to the League of Nations in Geneva and under which he was promoted from the fourth to the third group of the first category, 9 October 1924 (AY-334-125-145)



political Republican-monarchist division among the people.⁴⁰ Dučić also reported on Athens' efforts to "regulate relations" with Russia, hoping that that would not result in the *de jure* recognition of the Soviets and that Piraeus would not become a base for the Soviet campaign in the Mediterranean area and the Balkans.⁴¹

The plans of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Vojislav Marinković in the third Ljubo Davidović government most directly influenced the termination of Dučić's appointment in Athens.⁴² Marinković's intention to pay more attention to the participation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in the League of Nations, most directly influenced Dučić's further career. By the decree no. 3,432 of 9 October 1924, Jovan Dučić was appointed a standing delegate of the government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the League of Nations in Geneva. He was relieved of his duties in the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Athens on 31 October 1924.⁴³ At the same time when Dučić took up a new appointment, the former delegate, Dr Milutin Jovanović, Nikola Pašić's nephew and as of 1 July 1918 the royal minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to Bern, was dismissed from that position.⁴⁴

Dučić considered his new duty important in the political and organizational sense, but also equally representative, which suited his nature. For these reasons, prior to his assuming the office and setting out to Geneva, he sent a request to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which he requested that a bureau should be established within the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats



The decree issued by King Aleksandar I Karadorjević under which Jovan Dučić, a standing delegate to the League of Nations in Geneva, was appointed third-group first-category Consul General at the Consulate General of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Cairo, 30 August 1925 (AY-334-125-571)

and Slovenes, modelled on the similar institutions set up by other states in the League of Nations. He demanded the appointment of the necessary staff, proposed Ivan Subotić and Stojan Gavrilović as secretaries, and deemed it necessary to hire a typist and a manservant. He opined that the delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the League of Nations should be granted a loan for rental and office expenses, a special allowance for representation and a permanent loan amounting to at least 10,000 francs, similar to the one granted to the Legation in Madrid. Dučić deemed all aforementioned necessary so as to be able to successfully represent the country, ensure good organization of the entire work and necessary preparations for the reception of numerous delegations, which, by virtue of their work, were coming to Geneva.⁴⁵ His request was not met.

Dučić took over the duty of the permanent delegate of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the League of Nations on 3 January 1925.⁴⁶ In mid-January, he presented the letter of credence to the General Secretariat of the League of Nations.⁴⁷ He spent his first months in Geneva studying the documentation, mechanisms of work and the overall performance of the institution he was accredited to as a delegate.⁴⁸ His intention was to thoroughly look into the procedures through which the Kingdom of SCS could gain as important place as possible, as well as reputation and sympathy in the League of Nations. At the same time, he tried to get acquainted with the organization of work concerning the affairs related to the League of Nations in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and to draw the attention of the authorities to

the necessity of eliminating the identified work errors and omissions. From Dučić's report of 20 April 1925 submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, one can see that he assessed the overall situation and the work of his predecessor Jovanović utterly critically. He believed that an opinion was formed among the high-ranking officials of the League of Nations that: the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes "expressed distrust" in the institution, "boycotted" its work "in a subtle fashion", cooperated only periodically when "our domestic issue" was on the agenda, and without due respect for its work and its adopted acts. Dučić reported on the lack of timeliness of his predecessor. He identified several dozen requests of the League to which the Yugoslav delegation had not provided the requested answers, even after several interventions. He noted that the state had done almost nothing to acquaint the relevant organs of the League of Nations with Yugoslav views, issues of key importance for the stability of the country and the protection of its vital interests. He tried to strengthen propaganda efforts of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes at the League of Nations. He put in a great deal of effort to include as many as possible books and materials, which testified to the history, culture, political situation, economy, as well as the vital interests of the Yugoslav state, in the collection of the League of Nations' library. Based on his own insight into the collections of the League of Nations' library, he reported to the Ministry that "not a single written word" about Yugoslav minorities in neighboring countries could be found, whereas other countries submitted memoranda, statistics, legal acts, books on the living circumstances of their minorities living in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Dučić noticed that in the previous period, false news about the position of minorities in the Yugoslav state was not denied. He also opined that the issue of the position of "our experts" in the commissions set up by the League was neglected. He considered such a behavior to be quite the opposite of that exhibited by other European countries, especially the Balkan ones, which strived to "ensure" as many seats as possible for their experts in the bodies of the League of Nations. The fact that the experts of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes occupied no seats in the bodies of the League and that its citizens performed no functions in the League and its bodies, Dučić considered inadmissible and devastating. He was not ready to reconcile with such a situation.⁴⁹

Dučić remained on this new post for a very short time. The affair staged by the former delegate Milutin Jovanović, who was dissatisfied with his demotion and a demerit included in the report submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, distanced him from the undertakings he initiated. At the heart of the affair that the Swiss press wrote about lay a fictional love affair between the newly appointed delegate to the League of Nations and a woman of loose morals. At the urging of Jovanović, the mentioned woman filed a lawsuit against Dučić in a Swiss court, for whom she claimed that he "had dishonoured" her. She sent a letter to Minister Momčilo Ninčić in which she repeated everything that was the content of the lawsuit.⁵⁰ At minister's request to "clarify the case" Dučić obtained persuasive evidence refuting his involvement in the affair. Dučić accused the delegate Jovanović of the whole unpleasant event.⁵¹ The Swiss court, which had jurisdiction over the case, determined that it was a blackmail of a woman who lived on such fictional affairs. Nonetheless, wide media coverage that the affair received and the fact that the Yugoslav authorities wanted to preserve the reputation of the country, made the Ministry "withdraw" Dučić from Geneva. He left Switzerland on 10 August 1925.⁵²



A panorama of Cairo (AY-337, PC)

Some ten days later, under the decree no. 3,433 of King Aleksandar of 30 August 1925, Dučić was appointed third-group first-category Consul General at the Consulate General of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Cairo.⁵³ On the basis of that decree, Dučić was relieved of his duties in the League of Nations on 7 December 1925, just before he set out to Cairo to assume his new duty.⁵⁴ He went to Cairo in early March 1926. He took over the duty of Consul General from Dimitrije Grupčević on 12 March.⁵⁵ The leading Cairo weekly newspaper *Al-Ahram* published the news about his “Geneva affair” just before his arrival in Egypt.⁵⁶ The abolition of the Consulate General and the establishment of the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Egypt contributed to the cover-up of the bad reputation that preceded his arrival. The aforementioned took place on 30 March 1926. Raising the diplomatic relations between the two countries to a higher level was accompanied by Dučić’s appointment as charge d’affaires holding the title of third-group first-category counselor.⁵⁷

Dučić, who developed a very strong liking for history, greatly enjoyed his stay in Egypt, the land of pharaohs and ancient culture. Unfortunately, his stay was interrupted in the summer of 1927, when, while he was on vacation in Belgrade, the denouement of the so-called “Geneva affair” took place. Dučić got into a fight with M. Jovanović, who was an envoy in Warsaw at the time, in the office of Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs Steva Pavlović. In his explanation which he submitted on 2 August to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Vojislav Marinković, Dučić tried to explain his reaction. He explained that the fight with envoy Jovanović was triggered by his feeling

of indignation aroused by Jovanović's dishonorable behavior.⁵⁸ Reacting in the way he "least wanted" distanced him from the diplomatic service for more than two years. Under the royal decree no. 3,799 of 30 August 1927, both Dučić and envoy Jovanović were placed "at the disposal"⁵⁹. After being placed at the disposal, on 10 December 1927, Dučić handed over the duty of charge d'affaires in the Legation in Cairo to secretary Slobodan Gođevac.⁶⁰ The extent of the damage that the "Geneva affair" and the fight in the Ministry inflicted on Dučić was eloquently testified by the Vatican's later refusal to accept his appointment, stating it would be inappropriate for the Holy See to have someone even unjustly accused of adultery as an envoy.⁶¹

A depiction of Dučić as a diplomat dates back to his stay in Cairo and was noted down in February 1927 by the Hungarian journalist Kornél Szenteleky: "His picturesque and strange past encompasses almost entire Europe and almost entire European culture. He lived for years in Rome, Geneva, Paris, Athens and Madrid and breathed the past and art of these metropolises. That is why the trace of foreign and old cultures is very noticeable and palpable in all his behavior and thinking, which is fine and smooth and elegant, as in people who have seen, traveled and enjoyed a lot. Nevertheless, in addition to the aforementioned, those who know the coastal Slavs will find in Dučić their main features. The distinctive Slavic sadness, the romance of the hills and the kindness of the mountain folk, the imagination of coastal shepherds that goes to infinity, instinctive daydreaming and the search for beauty, the lively exhilaration of the people from sunny landscapes – all this can be found in Dučić's gaze, facial movements, ripple of his voice, even when he talks about Paris, even when the conversation is in French."⁶²

During the suspension he was placed under because of the "Geneva affair", in the Yugoslav state, on 6 January 1929, King Aleksandar I Karađorđević introduced a personal dictatorship. The king declared himself a guardian of national unity and state unity and a fighter against "tribal blindness" and "spiritual decay". The king emphasized "national unity" and "state integrity" as the highest goals of his rule and the supreme law of the country. He announced that there would be no more "mediators" between him and the people. He thus justified the suspension of Parliament, the abolition of political parties, as well as the abolition of associations with national and religious



Secretary Slobodan Gođevac's telegram sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which he informed the Ministry that Jovan Dučić had handed over the duty of charge d'affaires in the Legation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Cairo to him, 10 December 1927 (AY-334-151-598)

programs. The main goal of the regime was to solve major state issues in the shortest possible time, which actually led to the introduction of the dictatorship. As the most important tasks, the government pointed out restoring order in the state, ensuring discipline in the state administration, harmonization of legislation, austerity, setting up conditions for ensuring full legal security and order. It was the dictatorship in which political opponents were subject to repression.

In part, the dictatorship was introduced by the ruler because of the complex foreign policy position of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The military operation plans of fascist Italy foresaw, in the event of a conflict, the occupation of the entire Adriatic coast and its turning into an “Italian lake”. At the same time the Comintern adopted plans to break up the Yugoslav state. The Croatian movement tried to internationalize the “Croatian question” in every possible way and to gain Italian and German support for its resolution. The Vatican never sincerely accepted the existence of the Yugoslav state with an Orthodox majority in the Balkans. Neighboring countries, who were the losers of the First World War (Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria), intensified their anti-Yugoslav activities and openly expressed their revisionist and revanchist intentions. The separatist aspirations of national minorities, primarily the Albanians and Hungarians, were also intensified and posed a threat to the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The dictatorship introduced by the ruler was based on the ideology of integral Yugoslavism, which at the time was close to Dučić himself. The regime opined that with the systematic implementation of the Yugoslav state program, all tribal, provincial, and historical differences could be overcome over time. Education, culture and economy, along with a well-devised and active foreign policy were to be employed to that end in the first place.

When his suspension ended, at the initiative of Minister Kosta Kumanudi, Dučić once again entered diplomatic service. Under the royal decree No. 4,732 of 6 December 1929, the counsellor at disposal Jovan Dučić was appointed a chargé d'affaires of the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Cairo.⁶³ He assumed his new duty on 7 February.⁶⁴ The beginning of Dučić's stay in Egypt almost coincided with the New York Stock Market crash and the beginning of the Great Depression, which to a large extent was to determine the future with its contents.⁶⁵ The crisis had the most direct impact on international relations, and thus on the foreign policy that the countries, including Yugoslavia, were suitable to pursue in the new era.

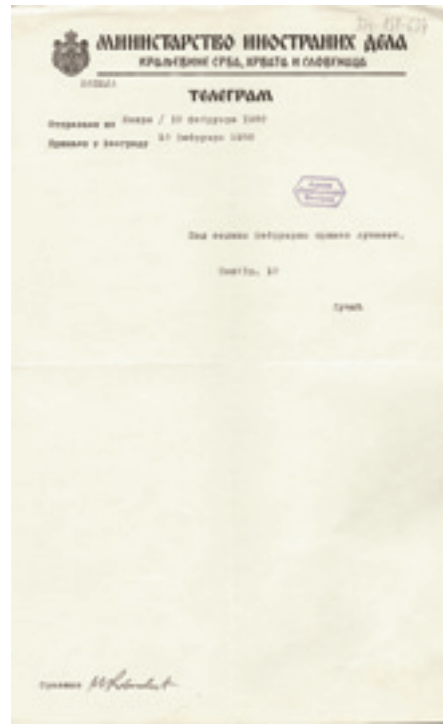
Dučić reported from Egypt on the severe political crisis that shook up the country, the conflicts between the ruler and the parliamentary majority elected by the will of the people, the economic crisis caused by the



Kostantin Kosta Kumanudi
(1874-1962)



The decree issued by King Aleksandar I Karadorđević under which Jovan Dučić was appointed third-group first-category counselor to the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Cairo, 6 December 1929 (AY-334-127-625)



The telegram sent by Jovan Dučić to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which he informed the Ministry that he had assumed the duty of chargé d'affaires of the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Cairo, 10 February 1930 (AY-334-151-634)

fall in cotton prices, the growing gap between the Egyptian nationalists and British politicians.⁶⁶ He noticed the dependence of the ruler on the English, wrote about the struggle of Parliament and the Crown in a country of complete illiteracy, tried to explain the meaning of efforts to achieve political equality in an environment where there was no social justice, assessed the strength of political factors on the scene and the importance of the so-called “Constitutional issue” for the stability of the country. Dučić regularly informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade on the formation and growth of the political patriotic movement, which equated the importance of Egypt’s independence and the protection of the existing Constitution. He was interested in the nature and motives of the political riots that engulfed Egypt. He tried to look carefully at the difficulties that the country was facing, foresee its future, measure the extent of possible anarchy, and explain to the authorities as precisely as possible the causes of the increasingly frequent bloodshed. His reports aimed at pointing to the “moral atmosphere” that characterized political life and the election campaign. He assessed the overall situation in which Egypt found itself as extremely difficult. The topics he reported on were very associative, and partly related to the situation in which the Kingdom of Yugoslavia found itself and the solutions sought in the country.⁶⁷

Dučić paid special attention to the figures of the political life of Egypt. He considered King Fuad a pragmatic spirit, a man of style, a statesman ready to make important decisions, by character spontaneous, sincere, suggestive, energetic, open, kind, cordial. He gave him credit for

the progress of Egypt. He noticed that the ruler “with full contempt” took no notice of his political opponents’ threats, considered his role important, perceived himself as a European, valued political opponents as “bad people”, “obscure”, “personal”, enemies of the dynasty, supporters of illegality, prone to corruption and easily bribed. Dučić opined that the ruler perceived as a great difficulty the fact that he was forced to cater to two interests – an Egyptian national one and an English colonial one, “two nations, two governments, two parliaments, two currents, two different intentions”. He considered the presence of the English fatal, cooperation with them extremely difficult, and the future of Egypt extremely volatile. Dučić saw Prime Minister Sidky Pasha as a man of moral integrity, displaying noble irony and disparaging tolerance. He depicted him and the Egyptian nationalists in his reports as “people of passion”. He emphasized Sidky Pasha’s merits in the struggle for Egyptian independence, considered him a good economist and financier educated in France, an excellent orator and a “man of letters”, a reformer capable of getting Egypt out of the “foggy ideology and demagogic policy” of his predecessors.⁶⁸

In early 1932, Jovan Dučić was finally granted the long-coveted title of envoy, which every diplomat aspired to. He was appointed to the vacant position of envoy in Budapest by the royal decree no. 59 of 3 January 1932, and was bestowed the title of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, second group, second degree.⁶⁹

During the 1930s relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary were fraught with hostility. In the entire interwar period, Hungary was not ready to do away with the extreme revanchism, which was additionally encouraged by Rome and Berlin. When it comes to the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, there was no will in Budapest to establish good-neighborly relations. The Hungarian government was behind many Ustasha actions prepared in the Hungarian territory, which additionally burdened the relations between the two countries. During Dučić’s term of office, there was a fierce campaign against Yugoslavia orchestrated in the press, and the Gömbös regime led Hungary towards totalitarianism. This further actualized the requests for the revision of the peace treaties and most directly affected the deterioration of the already bad relations that the state had with the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

In such circumstances, the task assigned to envoy Dučić, to try to establish more or less tolerable relations between the two neighboring countries, was not easy to accomplish. He took office in Budapest from the charge d’affaires of the Legation Josip Bernot on 15 February 1932.⁷⁰ His predecessor, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary Radomir Luković, retired in early 1930.

Belgrade’s proximity to Budapest enabled Dučić to provide the Minister with frequent briefings in person, of which, unfortunately, there are no preserved written traces.⁷¹ However, a very important report from Budapest has been preserved, dated 13 July 1932, which provides insight into Hungary’s hostile attitude towards the Yugoslav state, Serbia and the Serbs. Dučić witnessed “an increase in optimism” in Budapest, which he put down to the renewed interest of the great powers in that state. In part, the news of the imminent revolutionary disintegration of Yugoslavia, a state considered by Hungarian aristocratic circles to be the result of a “compromise” of great powers at the end of the Great War, a hardly viable creation and an “impossible” political

experiment, also contributed to good political mood, especially in military circles. Such malice was hard for Dučić – a patriot and a civil servant. The Hungarian public was much interested in the political activities of the Croatian Peasant Party and its leader Vlatko Maček. The “Croatian problem” was considered in political and diplomatic circles in Budapest an important political and ethnic issue and a heavy burden for the Yugoslav state. Hungarian support to the policy of Croatian nationalists who, in stages, managed to establish Yugoslavia instead of a Greater Serbia, to achieve a federation instead of a centralized state, and finally to put forward demands for the dual organization of the state, was universal and public. The Hungarians believed, as Dučić noted down, that the Serbs either did not understand or did not want to understand Croats’ political demands (“two countries, two peoples, two states within a state, two destinies”), who, having lived in the Yugoslav state, became aware of themselves as a separate nation striving for freedom and their independent state. The views of the Hungarian public that Croatia was forcibly torn away from the Monarchy and that Hungary should help the Croats in their fight against the Serbs carried a considerable weight. The fact that Maček never distanced himself from such attitudes, as Dučić reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, most directly strengthened “Hungarian optimism”. He also wrote that Hungary did not hide its malice towards Yugoslavia and the Serbs, that it strengthened its army and believed that the misfortune of the enemy “will be a source of its happiness”. From Budapest, he kept informing the authorities in Belgrade that Italy, Austria and Hungary were trying to take hundredfold advantage of the mistakes that Yugoslavia was making. He deemed it necessary that the ideology of Yugoslavia should finally be shaped, and that the propaganda narrative of Serbs as a barbaric nation capable only of warfare should be rendered meaningless and dismissed. Dučić suggested that all the values that Serbia brought into Yugoslavia should be reaffirmed, such as its independent state, national dynasty, modern army, folk literature as the basis of the language, moral credibility, international ties and alliances with the most powerful powers in the world. He believed that the crumbling of Yugoslavia should no longer be allowed, by presenting the Serbs as an “ignorant crowd”, and expressed readiness to “devise a special program” that would effectively oppose such a politics of the enemies of the Yugoslav state and the Serbian people. Having heard of the events in Germany, in the summer of 1932, Dučić almost prophetically pointed out to the competent authorities in Belgrade that not only did Adolf Hitler pose a danger to Germany, but to the whole world as well.⁷²

Dučić’s report sent from Budapest to Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Jevtić on 8 September 1932 is also important, in which he stated that the Hungarians considered the idea of “the Danube Conference” a “political absurdity” and a French imperialist idea, whereas the expansion of Little Entente by including the Hungarian state was an “irony of Hungarian votive thought” and Edvard Benes’ political intrigue. Among the goals of Hungarian politics, Dučić identified aspirations to establish “healthier international ties” that would enable economic cooperation, free trade, increased exports, recovery and increase in agricultural production, control over borrowing and lending.⁷³ Even though his efforts to ensure at least a modest place for the Yugoslav state in such Hungary foreign policy absorbed a great deal of energy, they yielded modest results.

During the time he spent as an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Budapest, a little less than a year and a half, Dučić was absent for more than three months. Namely,



Jovan Dučić during a moment of leisure (ASASA 15068–673)

he was absent due to vacation, his private trip to Vienna, sick leave and participation in the congress of the Pen Club in Dubrovnik.⁷⁴ On 30 July 1933, he handed over the duty of minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the counselor of the Legation, Frano Cvetiša.⁷⁵ By the decree no. 3,419 of 10 August 1933, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary of the second group, second degree, in the Yugoslav Legation in Rome.⁷⁶

When German envoy von Hassell touched on Dučić's diplomatic performance in Budapest, he noted down on 23 August 1933 that even though the Yugoslav envoy, during his stay in Hungary, "did not really stand out" and his political ability in Hungarian official circles "was not highly appreciated", he was "considered as a man of a solid character". Hassell recalled that Dučić once declared "that diplomacy is boring to him", and that he emphasized that he was very active "in the field of literature". The German diplomat saw Dučić's relations with the Hungarian government as "correct". Given that two volumes of Dučić's poems were published in German in 1932, he concluded that his "clearly demonstrated aspirations" to establish contact with "German cultural circles" should be supported. The envoy also noticed Dučić's sincere efforts "to maintain friendly relations with the German Legation", but also noted that he spoke "German with difficulty", and that "due to his political view" he showed "little interest" in the events in the Reich.⁷⁷

Dučić officially found himself in Rome for the third time on 1 October 1933.⁷⁸ He assumed the duty from Dragomir Kasidolac, the temporary charge d'affaires, who performed this function as of April 1933 when the minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary Milan Rakić returned to Belgrade. With the arrival of Dučić, the Legation in Rome once again got a great poet

as its envoy. Like that of his predecessor, his tenure in Rome was also marked by strained relations between Italy and Yugoslavia. His stay in Rome coincided with the beginning of the process of overcoming the Great Economic Crisis, both in Germany and Japan, primarily due to the strengthening of military industry and the introduction of effective state measures in the economy preparing for war. The implications of the crisis were numerous, unregulated and long-term. The economic crisis disturbed the political balance and relations among the states. Nationalist sentiments were particularly strong in the countries that were dissatisfied with the provisions of the peace treaties, such as Germany and Italy. Nationalism and revanchism provided fertile ground for the spread of fascist and Nazi ideas. The crisis strengthened expansionist aspirations in Italy, weakened the authority of the League of Nations and shattered the illusion of the existence of “collective security”.

Italy, which as of 1918 began to represent the “nemesis” of the Yugoslav state, instructed Ustasha terrorists and Croatian emigrants during the 1930s, supported Hungarian and Bulgarian revisionism, aided Albanian aspirations towards the creation of a greater Albania. It supported all activities which directly threatened the state foundations of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia. When open Italian pretensions over certain parts of the Yugoslav state territory are added to that, then it is clear that it was not at all easy to be a Yugoslav envoy under such circumstances. Throughout Milan Rakić’s tenure circumstances were similar as that during Jovan Dučić’s tenure. Daily contacts with the most important personalities in the Palace of Chigi, cooperation with ambassadors and envoys of other countries accredited in Rome, meetings with Mussolini and the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Ciano, were part of the responsible work that Dučić successfully performed.

Rome was an important observation post from which envoy Dučić viewed the nature of relations between fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In his reports sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Jevtić, he drew his attention to the fact that Italian fascist officials and diplomats considered Hitler an extremely strong personality, “an absolute master of the situation” in Germany, an ideologue obsessed with race, “a German genius”, a bearer of Germany’s mission in Europe.⁷⁹ The Yugoslav envoy closely monitored the frequent visits of foreign diplomats to Rome and tried to be as informed as possible about the topics of their conversation with Mussolini and



Jovan Dučić’s business card as the permanent delegate of the Kingdom of SCS to the League of Nations (ASASA 15068–634–3)

Count Ciano. He saw through the deception of Italian diplomats, which was practiced so as to form the opinion that Rome was becoming the center of the world again because of the constant visits of state officials of other countries.⁸⁰

Dučić did not miss the opportunity to inform Belgrade that the Italian press showed a keen interest in reporting on the activities of Aleksandar I Karađorđević, while the Legation in Rome registered the hostile reactions of the Italian media and their propaganda messages. To that end, he tried to issue official denials and, in addition to protests, to inform the competent ministries of the Kingdom of Italy about the lies appearing every day in the press and the media. At the same time, he put in a great deal of effort to inform very precisely the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the situation in Yugoslavia, its diplomatic actions in the service of peace, events in the Balkans, the rapprochement of the Balkan peoples and efforts to form a "Balkan bloc".⁸¹

Information that Dučić collected, which referred to the issues of disarmament, Italian views on the activities of the League of Nations, contacts and agreements that Italy concluded with Austria, Hungary and Germany, was also useful. Dučić obtained a good deal of information regarding the political events in Rome, but also on the views of London and Paris on key issues of European peace, disarmament policy, mutual relations with Italy, Germany's plans, views on the issues concerning the Balkans, the issue of navigation on the Danube, from the diplomatic representatives of those states in Rome.⁸² According to him, Italian provocation in Abyssinia was a herald of the imminent outbreak of the war.⁸³

In telegrams sent to the Ministry, the envoy from Rome reported on the planned meeting between Hitler and Mussolini, the upcoming Saar plebiscite, attempts aiming at bringing Italy and France closer, the policy of regional agreements, the French delusion of Germany's eternal inferiority, Italian views on the policy of European pacts.⁸⁴ Dučić reported on these world history burning issues from Rome, as a well-informed witness and a true expert in the past.

In addition to the aforementioned, he was especially interested in everything concerning the Balkans and European powers' politics referring to that region. From Rome, he regularly caught up on political events in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, reported on Italian views on the assassination in Marseilles and the country's attitude towards the Ustasha emigration, and kept informing foreign ambassadors on the ideology of Ustashism.⁸⁵ Belgrade benefited from the information he gained on the conflict between Italy and England, the British attitude towards the war that Mussolini waged in Abyssinia, significant differences over the issue of the League of Nations and collective security, and Franco-Italian relations.⁸⁶

The information that Dučić obtained during his meeting with Mussolini in late March 1935, was especially relevant and important. The envoy informed Belgrade on Mussolini's stand that the "rapprochement" between Italy and Yugoslavia was an important question of "the European balance and a factor of general peace" and that it should not be postponed as such. As an obstacle to a faster "rapprochement", Mussolini pointed out the issue of about 400 "Croatian emigrants", which he did not perceive as terrorists, and the "Marseilles trial". Having summed up his impressions after the meeting, Dučić advised Prime Minister Bogoljub Jevtić that the

Yugoslav side should “take Mussolini at his word” and insist on “winding up Croatian terrorist camps” in Italian territory, as a precondition for any “serious rapprochement” between Italy and Yugoslavia. Dučić also suggested that Yugoslav diplomacy should make use of the interests of European countries which were on good terms with Yugoslavia, primarily France, and force Italy to give up its “terrorism policy towards us”. This included finding an adequate “form” and “final measures” through which the sensitive question of Ustasha emigration, which most directly alienated Italy from Yugoslavia, would be winded up.⁸⁷

During Dučić’s term in office in Rome, the events in Abyssinia additionally complicated the relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, given that the two countries had opposing stands on the matter. The sanctions imposed by the League of Nations against Italy, which Yugoslavia had to adhere to, and which affected the economies of both countries, also contributed to the aforementioned.⁸⁸ In such circumstances, Dučić “was attentive” to the reactions of London and Paris on a daily basis, reported on the contents of conversations with foreign envoys in Rome, he also conveyed to his interlocutors the official views of the regime in Belgrade, and acted strictly as instructed by the Ministry. He shared the opinion of many politicians and intellectuals that Germany’s entry into demilitarized areas along the Rhine further complicated, “aggravated”, made worse the already strained relations among European states, accelerated the existing historical processes, put the existing relations in Europe to the test, and forced Yugoslav diplomacy to reconsider its hitherto firm stands. The attention he paid to this issue suggested that he saw these events as a significant historical turning point.

On 29 October 1936, envoy Dučić had the first of several meetings with the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Galeazzo Ciano. In the report he sent to Belgrade on that occasion, he especially pointed out the statement of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs that “there is nothing that divides” Rome and Belgrade, as well as his intention to resolve all disputable issues. Ciano considered the question of “the sea that separates our two shores” to be the least disputable. He opined that economic and trade ties between the two countries should be further strengthened. He advocated the “liquidation of the past” that stood in the way of “rapprochement” and “progress” as key interests of both, Italy and Yugoslavia. “All opponent sentiments”, said Ciano on that occasion, “have to fall like a house of cards, and everything that is in common to rise ... and to make Italy and Yugoslavia not to be two friends but two sisters”. He asked envoy



Aleksandar I Karadordević
(1888–1934)



Palace of Chigi, the seat of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome (AY-377, PC)

Dučić not to convey the content of their conversation by using ciphers, but rather to travel to Belgrade and inform Prime Minister Stojadinović orally about everything.⁸⁹

After his conversation with Ciano, envoy Dučić, on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' order, found himself in Belgrade and thanks to the information he had obtained, he most directly contributed to the formulation of the answer that Milan Stojadinović sent to Count Ciano.⁹⁰ During his stay in Belgrade, Dučić was promoted by decree no. 5,317 of 7 November 1936 to the position of "minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary", second group, first class.⁹¹

Upon his return to Rome, on 18 November 1936, envoy Dučić had his second meeting with the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Ciano. In the report he made about that meeting, he especially emphasized the readiness of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs to start the negotiations between Rome and Belgrade as soon as possible and in "absolute discretion". Dučić drew the attention of his superiors in Belgrade to how quickly Count Ciano "promised and gave everything". He especially emphasized Ciano's intention to conclude an "honest and deep and versatile" alliance with Yugoslavia, to the "mutual benefit" of both countries, as well as his readiness to conclude a "customs union" with Yugoslavia. In his visions, as Dučić pointed out, Ciano deemed it important that Yugoslavia should inevitably be part of an alliance that would consist of "Italy, Germany, Japan, Hungary, Austria ... as well as General Franco sometime in the future." Ciano saw Stojadinović as "a man with a bright future, broad-minded, and bursting with some distinctive energy and masculinity", and the Yugoslavs as the people "who have history, but also who have all the rights to the future". As Dučić

reported, Ciano planned to conduct all affairs with Yugoslavia “quickly and honorably”.⁹²

The third meeting between Ciano and Dučić took place in the Palace of Chigi on 20 November 1936. On that occasion, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs pointed out Mussolini’s satisfaction with the views of M. Stojadinović and expressed hope that future negotiations would be successful. While enumerating the names of experts who were to represent the interests of Italy, as Dučić noted down, Ciano also said the following: “We need to get to the bottom of things ... to the very end. It is either all or nothing”. The envoy also quoted the count when he said that Yugoslavia should be “one of the pillars of Italy” and that instead of focusing on small issues, some issues that were to “forever” determine the relations between the two countries should be put on the negotiation agenda.⁹³ In his letter sent to Stojadinović on 21 November 1936, Dučić especially underlined that Ciano openly stated that he wanted an alliance with Yugoslavia on the principle of the “Berlin–Rome axis”. He considered such a “hasty and catching-off-guard” approach to resolving the existing problems entirely “in the spirit of fascism and in line with Mussolini’s nature”. It seemed especially strange to him that Italy, which had had no alliance with any country until that moment, now wanted to conclude an alliance with Yugoslavia, with which it shared a history of strained relations. Dučić viewed it as a consequence of the disturbed relations in Europe and regarded the whole Ciano’s performance as aiming at “catching the other side off guard”, which was yet to be “analysed so as to determine to which extent it is actually in the interest of the homeland”.⁹⁴

In mid-December 1936, Dučić submitted to the Prime Minister M. Stojadinović a report on his new meeting with Count Ciano. It was noted in the report that the Italian side believed that future negotiations should begin between Christmas and New Year, or immediately after the New Year. According to Dučić, Ciano opined that Yugoslavia, as an independent state, should not wait for the outcome of the negotiations between Italy and England. On that occasion, they also touched on the Ustasha terrorists, who, according to Dučić, numbered between 1,000 and 2,000, the joint solution of the Albanian question, situation in Dalmatia, and discretion that was to accompany future negotiations.⁹⁵

The Rome negotiations, from which Dučić was excluded at Stojadinović’s request, ended on 25 March 1937, with the signing of the so-called Belgrade Agreement. After the ceremonial signing of the agreement, which he himself attended, Dučić noted down in his diary: “Today I received a letter from Stojadinović, the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which he informed me that he decided to seek an agrément for me in Bucharest, hoping that I will be able to be up to the task, which is expected



Milan Stojadinović (1888–1961)

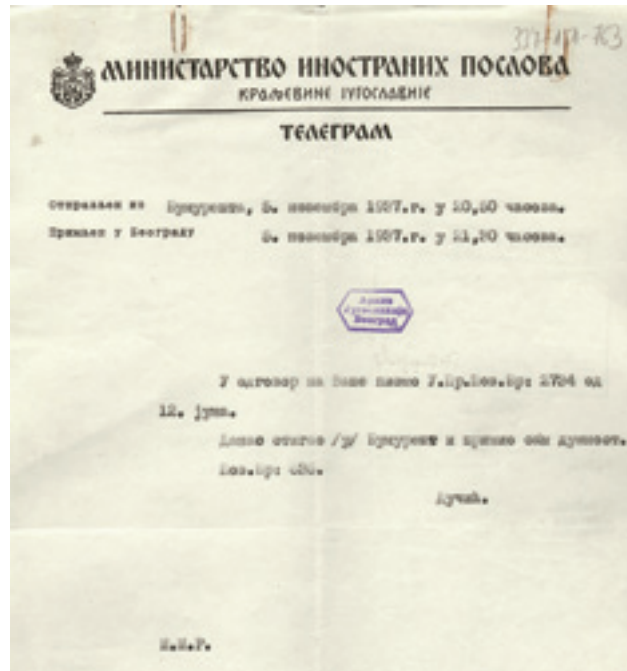
from me. Thus, my last hope that I will be able to extend my mission in Rome dashed”⁹⁶ The agrément that Stojadinović requested for envoy Dučić through the Legation in Bucharest was given on 20 May 1937.⁹⁷ After a few days, by decree No. 2,734 of 8 June, Jovan Dučić, minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary second-group, first-degree, of the Royal Legation in Rome, was transferred holding the same position of royal envoy to Bucharest⁹⁸. Dučić was informed about everything on 12 June 1937.⁹⁹ Dučić paid farewell visits to Italian King on 29 July 1937¹⁰⁰, Count Ciano on 20 September 1937 and Benito Mussolini on 22 September 1937.¹⁰¹ On 25 September, he handed over the duty of envoy to Pavle Beljanski, counsellor of the Legation.¹⁰²

A trace of sadness which he felt when leaving “the most beautiful city on earth” and the country whose culture, history and beauty he admired, remained written in his Diary. Dučić did not believe that he was needed in Romania, but that rather his presence was superfluous in Rome. He was convinced that Stojadinović had plans he was standing in their way. Leaving Rome and setting out to Belgrade, on 28 September 1937, he noted down: “Something great and the greatest that I could experience has been completed. I withdraw because of someone’s caprices and personal interest. If Louis XIV or Marcus Aurelius had ruled my country, they would have kept me in Rome until the last day of my life”¹⁰³ Apparently, Dučić was right.

A justification for the action taken against the diplomat Dučić, whom he considered “a fine mind, a highly esteemed literary author and a great gentleman”, M. Stojadinović provided in his memoirs entitled *Ni rat ni pakt (Neither War nor Pact)*, stating the following: “Dučić was not thrilled with being left aside in these direct negotiations, and this was only due to the issues that the delegates had to discuss, which required the engagement of professionals, experts in the field. After all, he had completed the initial, main and introductory part with a lot of skill, diplomatic tact and competence, owing to his innate intelligence and the poise bearing semblance to that of some Dubrovnik emissary. I soon expressed my appreciation and gratitude to him by promoting him to the position of the first ambassador of Yugoslavia abroad (in Bucharest). Hitherto we only had ministers, without any representatives in the rank of ambassador.”¹⁰⁴

Much more sincere memory of Dučić’s departure from Rome was that noted down by Count Ciano on 20 September 1937: “Dučić came to pay me a farewell visit. That pompous and vain poet never believed in the agreement between Rome and Belgrade. Now he is pretending to be an old friend. However, Stojadinović knows his chickens. He removed him and did a good thing”¹⁰⁵

There is a piece of writing that, at the same time, was authored by the Yugoslav ambassador in Rome, which testifies to how well Ciano and Dučić “knew” each other: “As much as I believe that Mussolini regrets my departure from Rome, I am very sure that Count Ciano is either indifferent or even pleased. The reasons behind that attitude are both physical and spiritual. I have been in Rome ever since the time of evil memories and I have remembered a lot; he may believe that I cherish these memories with too much care; and finally there is also the need for change...”¹⁰⁶ In addition, Dučić was very sceptical about the agreement concluded with Italy. This is evidenced by the following entry from his *Diary*: “Italy is holding five irons in the fire; each of them takes seriously. The only question is whether in its own time it will make a move in our favour or in the favour of our enemies, because it is an opportunist.”¹⁰⁷



The telegram sent by Jovan Dučić to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in which he informed the Ministry that he had assumed the duty of envoy to the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Bucharest, 5 November 1937 (AY-334-151-763)

Dučić's bidding farewell to King Victor Emanuel sheds some additional light on his impressions about Italy: "When I met the king it seemed to me that he looked better than four years ago during my first audience. The empire rejuvenated him. He is short and bow-legged, not a single piece of suit fits him other than as if being put on a hanger: his hat falls on his ears, his sleeves fall to his fingernails, he draws his sword with nothing to hold on to, his cloak seems to be tailored for his older brother. Due to some facial nerve defect, his smile stretches into one sad grimace as if he grew up in orphanage. – Nevertheless, he looks smart, sober, is said to be an educated numismatist, which is almost a historian. – The late King Aleksandar told me that he was heartless, quite cynical, dry and icy..."¹⁰⁸

Dučić's bidding farewell to Italy was touching, and his arrival in Belgrade was filled with worrisome news. He travelled by his own car from Rome to Siena, then through Tuscany to Florence, Padua, Bologna ... admiring Renaissance cities and monuments of culture and history. He arrived in Belgrade on 4 October 1937, and immediately learned of rumours of his retirement spread at the Ministry. The fact that his future secretary Kosta Pavlović was in Belgrade and did not want to visit him, only heightened his suspicion in the following days. "I have a bad feeling. This young speculator is surely convinced that I will not go, otherwise he would have visited me several times already, which means that the Ministry is working to that end. This morning he came, because I asked him to come through Ivo Andrić. He admitted that the news reached Bucharest that I would not come".¹⁰⁹



Jovan Dučić on one of his walks (ASASA 15068–650)

Two days after his audience with Prince Pavle Karađorđević on 1 November 1937, Dučić set out to Bucharest. He assumed a new duty on 5 November 1937¹¹⁰ and delivered his diplomatic credentials to Romanian King Carol II on 12 November 1937 during his audience with the king.¹¹¹

Romania, the country in which Dučić continued his diplomatic mission, was a good neighbour and friendly country to Yugoslavia. Both countries were members of the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact. They were also linked by dynastic ties. Contrary to his stay in Italy, where he spent four years fraught with crises and challenges, Dučić's stay in Romania coincided with its great domestic political turmoil, the emergence and rise of fascism, and Romania's foreign policy shift towards Berlin. Those were also the issues of which Dučić meticulously and on a daily basis reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade. He had talks with the king, prime ministers, ministers, politicians, diplomats and prominent figures of public and cultural life.

The issue of the approaching war, which seemed inevitable, was one of those issues that Dučić began to intensively think about and report on from Bucharest. He carefully caught up on the growing Japanese militarism in the Far East, looked into economic, political, military relations among the great powers in Asia, drew parallels between Japan and Germany, drew attention to the growing importance of geopolitics, analysed the views of Rome, London, Berlin, Madrid and Moscow concerning the future of the world, expressed fear of the "contagion of Bolshevism" spreading from the East.¹¹²

Dučić reported from Bucharest on the situation in Romania on a regular basis. He carefully caught up on the bitter political struggle between the government and the opposition, identified reform attempts and looked into their political, economic, moral and spiritual dimensions. He was especially interested in the performance of intellectuals in Romanian politics, who perceived their entire engagement as a mission, and defined nationalism in the same way as the Nazis in Germany and the fascists in Italy. Dučić analysed the ideological positions of political opponents. He was interested in the programs of parties and individuals, who strived to reform Romania, enrich everyday life with new ideas, advocated the "moral unity" of the nation, tried to prevent further straying of Romania and find a place for both the state and the nation in new times and take a stand towards their neighbours, great powers and dominant ideologies. In that context, he was especially fascinated by the exceptional political figure Octavian Goga, whom he had the opportunity to meet often – a Romanian academician, one of the most prominent writers, thinkers, a man of great knowledge and culture, having personal integrity, a good

orator and exceptional polemicist, a patriot who believed in his own capabilities and ideas. From his talks with Goga, which they had during the months when Goga served as Romanian Prime Minister, Dučić learned a lot about the goals and standpoints of the Romanian government, how much energy was invested in not letting anyone manage the country from abroad, efforts devoted to make the Romanian village civilized, aspirations to make Christianity the basis of statehood and popular thought, the strengthening of the institution of the monarchy, which was best suited for the psychology of the Romanians, anti-Semitism that took hold of the Romanian elite and the belief that Jews were the bearers of corruption, debauchery, scandals and “evil” that needed to be eradicated.¹¹²

In Romania, Dučić became obsessed with the issues of genocide and racism. It seems as if some of his reports from Bucharest were genuine diplomatic analyses to which his assistants were not accustomed, who were trained and educated to convey information and correctly interpret conversations, but not to freely contemplate historical events or interpret them in accordance with their own beliefs. Hence, according to them, Dučić’s reports were off-topic, whereas to today’s reader they serve as evidence of the benefits that such diplomatic reporting could bring to the state that Dučić represented in Bucharest. The poet foresaw the catastrophe that was looming over Europe. Even though it was clear to him very early that Hitler was preparing an assault on the USSR, he opined that in line with the historical agenda, prior to that assault, an attempt at economic, political, and then military, occupation of the Danube countries was to take place. Xenophobia and the persecution of Jews were phenomena that he noticed in Bucharest and of which he frequently reported. He drew the attention of the authorities in Belgrade to the fact that for some prominent Romanian politicians a state without Jews was an ideal state.¹¹⁴

Dučić also regularly reported from Bucharest on the emergence of fascism and Nazism in Romania. He was interested in the ideology, organization and activities of the “Iron Guard” and its leader Codreanu, he took notice of the destructive work of German agents, wrote about the deception practiced by one part of the Romanian political public claiming that fascism and Nazism represented some sort of salvation. He believed that curbing negative tendencies could be done either by applying state laws, or by using force, or by greater involvement of the church. From his conversations with the Italian envoy, he became aware that Italy supported bringing down democracy in Romania.¹¹⁵ At the same time, the Yugoslav envoy maintained contacts with a great number of liberal-oriented politicians who were convinced that “neither fascism nor Bolshevism nor Nazism were in Romanians’ nature”. That circle of politicians and intellectuals expressed strong pessimism towards the situation in the country and dissatisfaction with the dictatorship that was tacitly introduced in it.¹¹⁶

From Bucharest, Dučić meticulously caught up on the politics of the European powers. He tried hard to fathom out the relations between Italy and England, looked into the fate of the Little Entente, frequently reported on Romania’s foreign policy, emphasizing that the public of that country supported cooperation with France and England. When it comes to Yugoslavia, he was inclined to notice a certain reserve of both diplomats and the public, caused by the Yugoslav-Bulgarian rapprochement. Nevertheless, he was sure that this would not lead to the deterioration of relations between the two countries.¹¹⁷

Dučić was well informed about all the matters concerning Romania owing to his constant meetings and talks with prime ministers, ministers, prominent figures of political life and foreign diplomats. Like his interlocutors, he also considered the internal situation in Romania, as very “complex”, “obscure”, “volatile”. The activities of about ten thousand legionnaires of pro-Nazi orientation in particular had given rise to uneasiness. The situation was further complicated by the monarch, who tried to set up a new Nazi-type party out of the wreckage of the old parties, with Tătărescu as the “Führer”. The confrontation with the Codreanu’s movement, which was preparing the uprising, gave rise to new divisions and enmities. The situation was additionally burdened by the position of minorities, especially German and Hungarian ones, which influenced the internal and external position of the country. Dučić passed on information on Codreanu’s trial and some confidential information about the efforts devoted to ensuring victory over Nazism in Romania to Belgrade as a matter of urgency.¹¹⁸

The main focus of the reports he sent from Bucharest was on information concerning Bulgaria’s accession to the Balkan Pact and the manner in which the Romanian political public caught up on and interpreted M. Stojadinović’s visit to Rome. Dučić informed Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stojadinović about Bucharest’s negotiations with Budapest, Poland’s growing vulnerability, the politics of European powers, the situation in Czechoslovakia, the consequences of the Anschluss, the pretensions of Germany and Italy, fear of the USSR, expectations from Great Britain and France... He became increasingly interested in the significance of space for history, he paid attention to long-lasting historical phenomena, he contemplated the nature and significance of wars, and he analyzed the politics of the great powers. His reflections are worthy of attention, whereas the argumentation he provided to support his views was convincing. The reports he submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade contained associative “historical verticals” that encouraged thinking, as well as the analyses based on rich factography, and unveiled his propensity for comparing phenomena and processes that marked the European reality in the late 1930s. The analyses made by Dučić were clear, precise, accurate, based on highly credible sources and his daily insights into the latest news articles, his good knowledge of scientific literature, frequent conversations with prominent representatives of Romanian political life and the members of the state apparatus. By gaining insight into the contents of Dučić’s reports one may learn that he knew to listen to his interlocutors, to carefully measure the meaning of their words, to detect topics that bore a particular relevance, and that he exhibited high reflexivity.

Italian envoy’s views did not come as a surprise to Dučić, such as that for example, that for Italy, democracy “does not exist as a principle of life”. After the Anschluss, he made a remark that “with the German invasion of the Brenner Pass, that country’s situation has become similar to that of Hungary, and if some unexpected surprises eventually do not occur, it is to be ranked among endangered peoples, and in terms of the very mechanical relationship, it is to be ranked among the second-class powers”.¹¹⁹ His views acquired in Rome concerning the Italian views on London were also very valuable: “I acquired a view in Rome that fascist Italy considered England incapable of any resistance, firstly because it was not sufficiently armed, and secondly because it was led by people who not only were physically decrepit, but were also old-school politicians who could not get along in the new age, and finally because the Englishmen shared a complicated

life with their dominions, colonies, parties and traditions, which all together hampered quick decisions, bold ideas, dynamism, the affirmation of force.”¹²⁰

In his reports from Bucharest, one may come across some psychological and historical judgments about certain countries and peoples. Dučić perceives their actions somewhat stereotypically and in line with their formed mentality and tradition. Thus, he said for Hungary the following: “Hungary is by nature a megalomaniac, as a typical Mongol nation, obsessed with space and everlasting move, like all peoples who used to be nomads”.¹²¹ He said the following for our revisionist-oriented eastern neighbour: “Never have the Bulgarians moved away from their restless mentality of a horde to acquire that of an army: always setting out to conquer and plunder, and never becoming masters of the conquered territory and always failing to organize, which is why Bulgaria has always perished whenever its army has been defeated. Contrary to the Serbs, who have always, and after their military defeat, from the very beginning, including the battles of Marica and Kosovo, managed to preserve their states longer than their military strength”.¹²² We believe that here it is worth mentioning how Dučić expressed his doubt about and how he commented in his Diary, the eternal pact of friendship concluded between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on 24 January 1937. “Today, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria concluded a pact of friendship and dubbed it eternal. It is likely that our side believes more in that eternity. Nevertheless, it is even more likely that both sides find the matter absurd. The Serbs are aware that the Bulgarians were defeated in the battle of Bregalnica as soldiers, but also as traitors, just like the Russians in the 1914–1918 war saw the Bulgarians (whom they liberated from the Turks) going against them at Dobrudzha siding with the Turks. The Bulgarians consider Macedonia, which the Serbs lost in the battles of Marica and Kosovo, as their territory, even when the Serbs shed blood for it again, having regained it once again: at Kumanovo, Breg.[alnica] and Dobro polje. The Bulgarians consider the Balkans as their garden. What kind of eternal friendship can we talk about?”.¹²³

During his service in Romania, Dučić carefully observed the elite and the masses, the introduction of the so-called “royal fascism”, an increasingly visible dictatorship, and eventually at one point he described the situation in the country as a “new age” fraught with “enraged vanities” and “suspicious compromises”. When analyzing the relationship between the leader of the fascist organization Codreanu and the authorities, he reported the following to the minister: “What did Codreanu preach? He advocated the idea of dictatorship, the persecution of Jews, meting out punishments for corruption, agrarian justice, and now when the dictatorship has been introduced, the official government has already laid claims on all those attributes. Therefore, there is no word of his that he set as a new truth, a new suggestion, a new promise. Thus, this Romanian Mussolini and Hitler, a man of mediocre spirit and poorly educated, a fanatic and mystic, but also a conspirator and murderer who personally shot people with a handgun, has ended the first period of his public action today, and has started a second and a new one. I personally believe that he has led so far, but that in the future he will be led by people stronger and more convinced than him”.¹²⁴ Those other people, because of whom Dučić was in particular worried about, given the more than evident Yugoslavia encircling policy, were Italy and the Italian fascists.

Owing to the fact that Dučić reported in a timely, exhaustive and analytically precise manner on the policy shifts of the great powers – the Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy

– Dučić provided a lot of information and valid analyses to the political factors in the country, which might be found of use in determining the coordinates of the Yugoslav foreign policy. Even though suggestions keep popping up through his reports, he does not give a word of advice. Even though he suggests political moves, he leaves the authorities to choose and decide. His obsession with the events in the country impelled him to grasp and observe the global political trends more attentively and from different perspectives, to search for warning “signals” coming from European capitals, and to analyse with special persistence the internal political situation and foreign policy initiatives of Rome, Paris, London and Berlin. In his reports, Dučić seemed to be trying to timely fathom out the plans that were being made there, and for which he was sure they would have a most direct impact on the fate of the Kingdom of Yugoslav.

Some Dučić’s reports have been still relevant in some aspects because they touch on the constants of political behaviour (revisionism, revanchism, separatism, unitarism, totalitarianism, the law of the stronger in world politics, the “right” to violate the international order, which is the privilege of great powers ...), which are so characteristic of our reality, too. In a number of his reports, Dučić is an analyst who reflects on the past and the present and the future. He looks into the complex and multi-layered relations among European countries, measures the strength of the influence of great powers, observes the extent of the struggle for the Mediterranean hinterland in the Balkans, detects historical turning points, tries to see the big picture of processes that give meaning to certain events, makes an effort to foresee the future. He is interested in space and its burdens. He tries to make judgments about the mutual relations of the Balkan states on the basis of the fact that he is well acquainted with historical processes. Attentively follows the events in Central Europe. Does his best to learn as much as possible about the position of minorities and some unresolved European issues. Identifies numerous types of pressures to which the Balkan states are exposed. The information he obtains about the military strength of certain European countries, the content of pacts concluded in Europe, neutrality as a possible foreign policy option for countries like Yugoslavia, serve a function of getting as more accurate view of European reality as possible, as well as of its precedents and the position of Yugoslavia at the time. Dučić’s portrayals of certain statesmen, politicians, ideologues, and diplomats are also important, because they further explain the direction in which history is moving.

Kosta St. Pavlović, who served as the secretary of the Legation in Bucharest for several years (1937-1940), said that “Dučić in diplomacy, Dučić on stage, played a role that did not suit him”.¹²⁵ He described him as impulsive, personal, vain, and straightforward when expressing his thoughts. He opined that, as a diplomat, Dučić was always led by his first reaction “considering it the voice of truth and the flash of light”, which was more characteristic of a poet. He noticed that even though Dučić as a poet showed a perfect sense of finesse and nuances, he lost sight of those features in diplomacy. Pavlović testified that Dučić “could enchant you with his speech and that he was incredibly interesting in conversations on all occasions”. His exceptional eloquence, as Pavlović noted down, “had both the power of seduction and the power of persuasion”, so that he left his interlocutor very little room for questions, and if there were any, they were suggested to him by his performance. Pavlović boldly claims that Dučić “expressed no will or interest in diplomacy”, and that he needed success in his career because

his vanity demanded it and that he managed to achieve an exceptionally great career as a diplomat owing to his poetry.¹²⁶

In early 1939, the diplomat Dučić won special recognition. Under the decree No. 524 of 6 January, Jovan Dučić, an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, second group, first degree, was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to Bucharest.¹²⁷ Thus, the great poet became the first ambassador in the history of Yugoslav diplomacy¹²⁸ – for a man of his sensibility, that honour was a great satisfaction, compliment, and pleasure that appealed to his accentuated personal vanity.

The fall of the government led by M. Stojadinović, which took place in February 1939, brought about significant changes in the domestic and foreign policy of the Yugoslav state. Dragiša Cvetković, a little-known radical from Niš, became the Prime Minister. It was Prince Pavle Karađorđević that was behind the confidential negotiations that the Cvetković government began with the leadership of the Croatian movement in April, and ended on 26 August 1939, and which resulted in the Cvetković-Maček agreement. Singling out the solution of the “Croatian question” from the context of general democratization of the country and offering the overall solution of constitutional and legal issues, the territorial scope of the new administrative unit of the Banovina of Croatia and very broad competencies that were granted to it, were contrary to the fundamental political standpoints of the Serbian democratic opposition. Despite the fact that foreign policy affairs and state security remained in the domain of the common state, the changes that took place in the country left a visible mark in the Yugoslav foreign policy and its diplomatic service. The new government entrusted the management of foreign policy affairs to Aleksandar Cincar-Marković, the hitherto envoy in Berlin.

Only a few days after the conclusion of the Cvetković-Maček agreement, the Second World War began with the German invasion of Poland. In such circumstances, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in every way tried to preserve its independence and neutrality, which put the convictions, abilities and patriotism of its diplomats to the test. It turned out that these challenges were not easy at all, whereas the protection of the state at the international level was not even possible at all.¹²⁹

The way in which international events unfolded, which was especially fast and difficult to predict in 1939, most directly determined the fate of Yugoslav diplomacy and Yugoslav diplomats, including that of Jovan Dučić. Under new circumstances, it was necessary to face the fact that Yugoslavia, as of 1939, got a new neighbour – Germany, as well as that it began to share borders with Italy, which once shared with Albania. When France capitulated in 1940, Yugoslavia was left without its



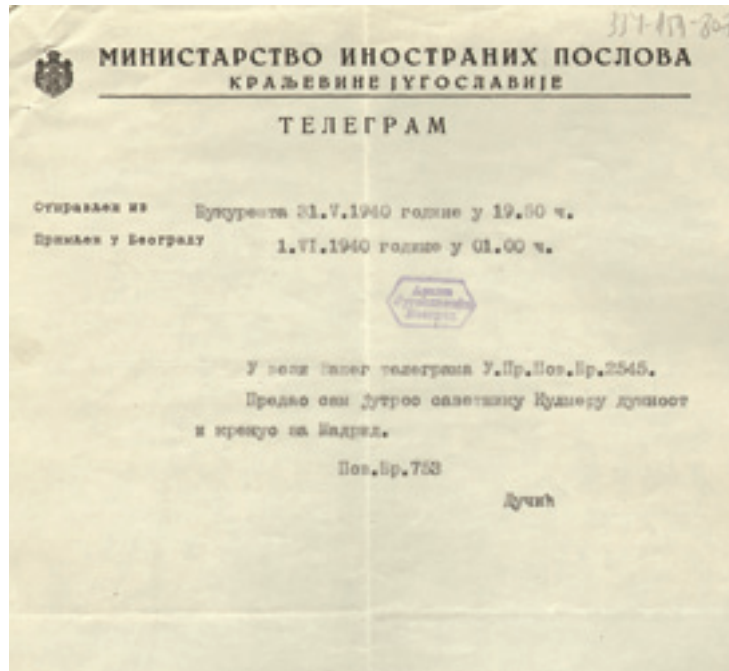
Kosta St. Pavlović (1905–1988),
a diplomat (ACCHPF)

important foreign policy stronghold. Contrary to strong anti-communism, which characterized the regime in Belgrade, under the agreement signed with the Soviet Union in Ankara in June 1940, the two countries exchanged diplomats, and thus, as one of the last European states, Yugoslavia recognized the First Country of Socialism.

Once the Triple Alliance was established by Germany, Italy and Japan in the autumn of 1940, and Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria later joined that military alliance, pressures on Yugoslavia in foreign policy further intensified. As of that moment, Yugoslavia, with the exception of its border with Greece, was surrounded by fascist countries. As of 1940, German troops were deployed in Romania and were ready to invade Greece from there, through the territory of Bulgaria. In Hungary, Admiral Horthy did not want to renounce his revisionist and revanchist convictions. In such circumstances, the “Hungarian-Yugoslav Treaty on Perpetual Peace and Everlasting Friendship”, concluded in December 1940, was not worth much. The country’s position was destabilized by the activities of foreign intelligence services. The Italian intelligence officers were active among Croatian separatists, as well as among Kosovo and Montenegrin nationalists. In its border areas towards Albania, inhabited by the Albanians, the activities of the Kaçak movement “reopened” the territorial issue. The territory of Kosovo and Metohija, western Macedonia and eastern Montenegro appeared as an integral part of the “Greater Albania” project. The Germanophiles’ rise to power in Bulgaria considerably boosted the revisionist sentiments in that country. Aspirations towards Macedonia were explained by the expansion of “living space”, its unification with the “motherland Bulgaria” and the protection of “brothers”.

Yugoslavia was also included in the plans of the Great Britain, which advocated the establishment of an anti-German and anti-Italian front in the Balkans. To that end, the British supported a strong anti-German faction in the army and Serbian economic circles and strived to strengthen their intelligence staff in the Balkans. Nevertheless, faced with the existential danger to its own survival, the Great Britain had neither enough capability nor strength to materially and militarily support the opposition to Germany in the Balkans. The strengthening of the Balkan resistance to Hitler was also strongly supported by the United States of America. Germany aimed to “amicably” include Yugoslavia in the projects of the new order. Nevertheless, given the politics that Germany pursued in Europe at the time, its promises of respecting the territorial integrity and the status of neutrality did not seem convincing. Over time, diplomatic pressures only grew in intensity.

In early May 1940, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed Dučić in an official letter from the Minister about the changes it intended to make in diplomatic missions. In those combinations, the former ambassador of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Bucharest was intended to become the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Spain. Even though it was a state that had just emerged from a three-year civil war, in war-torn Europe it played an extremely important role for Yugoslavia.¹³⁰ Shortly after receiving the letter, under the decree no. 2,545 of 22 May 1940, Ambassador Dučić was transferred to Madrid to serve as the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Royal Legation.¹³¹ A few days after the new appointment, Dučić handed over his duty to the Legation’s counsellor Dr Dragutin Kulmer.



The telegram sent by Jovan Dučić to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which he informed the Ministry that he handed over his post in Bucharest to counselor to the Legation Dr Dragutin Kulmer, 31 May 1940 (AY-334-151-807)

He left Bucharest on 31 May 1940.¹³² He assumed duty in Madrid on 3 June from Legation's secretary Jovan Đurašković.¹³³

The reports that Dučić sent to the Ministry from Madrid read that Spain would eventually enter the European war only if it was forced to defend its own territory. He considered the question of the status of Gibraltar as “purely doctrinal”. He opined that the demands for the “Spanish” Gibraltar were a sign of support and solidarity with the allies and an expression of “Spanish revisionism”. Dučić was convinced that Spain, even if England was to lose its colony in the war, did not have enough strength to keep for oneself “the key to the Mediterranean Sea and the first door to India”.¹³⁴

Dučić paid special attention to Spain's relations with Germany and Italy, noticing that they were “commensurate” with the assistance that those countries provided to General Franco during the years of the civil war. He noticed the affection of the Spanish public towards Germany and certain reservations towards the Italian politics. General Franco's frequent reiteration of the view that Spain had not yet “finished its work” was interpreted by the ambassador in Madrid as a way of resolving internal issues with an aim to “discipline the people”. Dučić deemed important the improvement of relations between Spain and Portugal, which, in early August 1940, was made official by the signing of a special interstate Protocol.¹³⁵

Shortly after his arrival in Madrid, Dučić was appointed by the royal government in Belgrade to represent Yugoslavia at the ceremony marking the 800th anniversary of the Portuguese state. Dučić's tenure of office in Portugal lasted from 23 June to 6 July 1940. During his tenure, he

had talks with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs about the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Portugal. According to him, this idea was very well received in Portuguese official circles. On that occasion, he was informed that the diplomatic representative of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia would be received with great pleasure.¹³⁶

The reasons behind establishing diplomatic relations with Portugal were important. The well-informed envoy to London, Dr Ivan Subotić, elaborated on these reasons by saying that “in order to ensure connections for our diplomatic and court mail between Belgrade and London (and America, too), as well as when taking into consideration potential unfolding events in Spain, we should set up a legation in Lisbon as soon as possible.”¹³⁷ In addition, because of the war, the port of Lisbon became one of the most important ports for the ships of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which, among other things, especially in wartime, needed the help and protection of diplomatic representatives.¹³⁸ These reasons, which proved to be crucial for the establishment of the Legation in Lisbon, were also put forward by Minister Cincar Marković in his address to the Council of Ministers. Consequently, the consent was granted.¹³⁹ Thus, by the decision No. 5,913 of 15 November 1940, issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the envoy in Madrid, Jovan Dučić, was also accredited to Portugal, with the seat in Madrid.¹⁴⁰ Dučić received the news that the Portuguese government had given the necessary agrément for conducting diplomatic affairs in the territory of that country on 5 November 1940.¹⁴¹ In late November, letters of credence were sent to Dučić from Belgrade, with the remark that he should hand them over at his own discretion. He set out to Lisbon on 20 December 1940, and soon handed over his letters of credence to the Portuguese president.¹⁴²

The April war and the military collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia further aggravated the situation in which Dučić found himself. He became a diplomat who represented his homeland that no longer existed, in an enemy state that celebrated the successes of its Nazi and fascist allies, the Germans and the Italians.

All that negatively affected his health. It was difficult to him to face the dissolution of the state he had served for decades. In early May 1941, Dučić asked Minister of Foreign Affairs Ninčić to grant him a three-month leave in order to treat his heart disease, after being advised “complete rest and treatment”. The Minister, who was with other Government members in Jerusalem, approved Dučić’s request.¹⁴³

Dučić kept sending his reports from Madrid up to 18 June 1941. He reported to the government that left the country and was based in Jerusalem about the intentions of the United States of America, which he learned from diplomatic sources, to engage in the protection and salvation of “endangered democracy” using all means possible. He attentively caught up on battlefield news and put a great deal of effort into gaining the best possible insight into the reasons behind Spain’s “solidarity” with and its recognition of the Independent State of Croatia. He considered this act of Madrid as an “act of hostility” and “aggression” against Yugoslavia and opined that Spain, the future ally of the Axis powers, did so in panic and fear of Germany. He also considered the act of the recognition of the Independent State of Croatia as a concession of the Franco’s regime to the Roman Catholic Church. Dučić noted down that the aforementioned called the survival of the

Yugoslav Legation in Madrid into question. He believed that the recognition of the “supposedly independent Montenegro”, the “new Greater Bulgaria”, as well as Albania, whose territory was to be expanded by adding to it the “amputated” parts of the territory of Serbia, was imminent. Dučić suggested to the members of the Royal Government in Jerusalem that in the event that the aforementioned was to take place, the Legation in Madrid should be abolished with dignity, whereas the Spanish Government should be notified that it acted “unscrupulously” towards Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁴

On 18 June 1941, Dučić forwarded his last report from Madrid. He stayed in Lisbon until 26 June 1941. From the capital of Portugal he asked Minister Ninčić to send him to a special mission to the USA.¹⁴⁵ Dučić returned to Madrid on 26 June 1941, on the same day when Spain recognized the Independent State of Croatia.¹⁴⁶ He had already made a decision to leave Spain and on 2 July 1941 he handed over his post in the capital of Spain to First Secretary of the Legation Ljubiša Višacki. On the next day he left Spain, and in Lisbon, he handed over his post to counsellor of Legation Slavko Kojić. The handover of duties was carried out on the basis of the approval of Minister Ninčić of 9 May 1941, under which, at the same time, envoy Dučić was granted a leave to undergo medical treatment.¹⁴⁷

In Lisbon, Dučić received Ninčić’s response to his earlier request to be sent on “some mission” in the United States. On 9 July 1941, the Minister informed him about the decision of the Government that, after the recognition of the ISC by the Spanish government, only the charge d’affaires was to remain in Madrid. As for the special mission in the United States, he informed him that the Royal Government had made a decision that only certain members of the government could be sent there,¹⁴⁸ whereas ensuring any other postings was not possible under the circumstances, at least not until the members of the Government were to gather in London. He advised Dučić that “until that moment comes you can either set out to Switzerland or South Africa at will or as a private person to America.”¹⁴⁹

During his stay in Lisbon, Dučić informed Dr Milenko Popović, the press attaché of the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Portugal, that he had to leave Madrid due to Secretary Višacki’s constant attacks. One of Secretary Višacki’s ultimate demands, before throwing envoy Dučić out of his office, was to transfer to him the right to dispose of the \$ 10,000 loan sent by the government in case of war. The fact that Dučić was not informed about the arrival of Deputy Prime Minister Dr Slobodan Jovanović and Dr Juraj Krnjević in the capital of Portugal speaks volumes about equally inappropriate attitude of the Lisbon Legation staff towards Dučić. Lisbon Legation staff even refused to help to then still their superior



Aleksandar Cincar-Marković
(1889–1947)



Geneva
(ASASA 14776/166)

envoy Dučić in obtaining an exit visa. He had to go on his own to the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to obtain an exit visa.¹⁵⁰

Many years later, the secretary of the Yugoslav Legation in Madrid, the painter Peđa Milosavljević, in his reminiscence of envoy Dučić stated that many in Yugoslav diplomacy looked down on Dučić's origins, dubbing him a schoolteacher, and claiming that he was insufficiently educated and ill-mannered, to whom he responded "with utter indignation and eloquence that defeats the opponent". Milosavljević regarded Dučić as "a true gentleman" and a type of "a gifted, far-sighted Herzegovinian, who not only can attain his own self-realization, but also to be the embodiment of his homeland, nation, and history".¹⁵¹

Dučić left Lisbon in late July 1941, in poor health and under the impression of the news about the terrible sufferings of the Serbian people in the Independent State of Croatia. Despite the fact that he still held the titular title of envoy, that act marked the end of his diplomatic career. The life of the "proud and self-proclaimed diplomat" and the "prince of Serbian poets" ended on 7 March 1943 in the city of Gary in Indiana, USA.

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Throughout his over 30-year long career as a diplomat, Dučić served in several capitals – Sofia, Rome, Athens, Madrid, again Athens, Geneva, Cairo, Budapest, again in Rome, Bucharest and finally again in Madrid. He had the chance to meet, talk and befriend many rulers and statesmen, politicians and diplomats, military leaders and scientists, writers and artists.

Contemplating his life's journey, he said the following: "I dare not even remember everything what I have seen, experienced, learned, accepted or rejected throughout all this time of eternal restlessness and eternal quest for something new. Not only have I experienced all that what a man, who did everything as he wanted, has experienced, but I have personally experienced as much as an entire dynasty, while residing in the largest cities, moving in the highest circles of society, being at the most prestigious universities, museums, libraries, galleries..."¹⁵² During that time, Dučić had the opportunity to observe the always mystical world of diplomacy on a daily basis, to witness coups and wars, revolutions and rebellions, defeats and victories. As a man for whom history was his intellectual passion, owing to his position and career, he managed to become a part of history himself forever, regardless of the fact that some of his contemporaries disputed his importance as a diplomat.

Dučić's reports and instructions he received, as well as impressions and notes written by those with whom he worked and whom he met remained to bear witness to his career in diplomacy, which lasted over three decades (1910–1941). His secretaries in Bucharest (Kosta St. Pavlović, 1937–1940) and Madrid (Peđa Milosavljević, 1940–1941) left in many ways different memories of Dučić as a man and a diplomat. The memories and memoirs of Milan Stojadinović, Milan Grol, Count Galeazzo Ciano, Miloš Crnjanski, Ulrich von Hassell provide traces of Dučić's career in diplomacy....¹⁵³ Even though belatedly, historians also took notice of Dučić's performance in diplomatic service.¹⁵⁴ The literary historian Radovan Popović thoroughly looked into Dučić's performance both in literature and Yugoslav diplomacy.¹⁵⁵ In recent years, several diplomatic reports authored by Jovan Dučić have been published.¹⁵⁶ To what extent the poet Jovan Dučić influenced the diplomat Dučić, and vice versa, is a question to which a valid answer has yet to be found. Even though diplomacy took up a great deal of Dučić's time and energy, it undoubtedly contributed to his literary endeavour. It is quite certain that the poet in him, as a sensitive barometer who registered all social pressures of his time, with his sensibility, to a great extent shaped the diplomat Dučić, the one who did not observe individual events separately, but tried to look at them with a lot of instinct, and yet rationally, within a broader chronological and spatial framework, with an aim to make out some visible and less visible long-lasting processes, their interdependence and interconnection.

Translated by Jelena Mitrić



Predrag Peđa Milosavljević
(1908–1987)



Milan Grol (1876–1952)



ENDNOTES

- 1 Translated by Vasa D. Mihailovich.
- 2 П. Каровић, *Дефиниција дигломације*, Дипломатија, Зборник радова (приредио др Ђорђе Н. Лопичић), Београд 2006, 80.
- 3 *Истѿо*, 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 сѿлној ѿолијици Краљевине Србије* (hereinafter *Документи*) 1903–1914, 1913, књ. VI, св. 2, док. бр. 174, the report of the charge d'affaires from Rome of 28 April/11 May 1913, 257–258.
- 15 *Документи*, 1913, књ. VI, св. 3, document no. 324, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 13/26 September 1913, 366; document no. 333, *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 15/28 September 1913, 375–375; document no. 534. The report of the charge d'affaires from Rome Lj. Mihailović of 22 November/5 December 1913, 547–548.
- 16 The Archives of Serbia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, PP, 1913, f-24, no. 304, Rome 22 December 1913, Dučić – to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade.
- 17 *Документи*, 1913, књ. VI, св. 3, document no. 565, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 28 December 1913/10 January 1914, 575.
- 18 *Документи*, 1914, књ. VII, св. 1, document no. 30, the report of charge d'affaires Lj. Mihailović of 7/20 January 1914, 145–147.
- 19 *Документи*, 1914, књ. VII, св. 1, document no. 162, 291.
- 20 Р. Поповић, *нав. дело*, 89.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nikola Janković, and the third one to *Priče koje su izgubile ravnotežu* (*The Stories That Have Lost Their Balance*) by Stanislav Vinaver (cf. Скерлић 1922: 137–149), in terms of its title, is a continuation of Dučić's essay “Naši najmlađi pisci” (“Our Youngest Writers”), published in 1908, and in part dedicated to Veljko Miličević (Дучић 1908a: 3; Дучић 2008b: 215–222). The extent to which Skerlić's essays directly rely on Dučić's observations is also reflected in the fact concerning, for example, their similar formation of insights regarding “the youngest generation of writers” which “has a penchant for pessimism” (Дучић 1908a; Дучић 2008a: 215), which Dučić made mention of in his essay from 1908, by saying the following: “Their books bear the following incredibly sinister titles: *Bespuće* (*Middle of Nowhere*), *Pod životom* (*Under Life*), *Živi mrtvaci* (*The Living Dead*), *Golgota* (*Golgotha*), *Pod žrvnjem* (*Under the Grindstone*), and all these books tend to embody one great tragedy of demolition and desolation, and one desperate poetry of powerlessness and nirvana. The verses authored by our youngest writers, wherein, unfortunately, there is not as much art and talent as in some of the above mentioned books bearing the above titles, complement that dark tone, and indeed quite meticulously do so” (Дучић 1908a; Дучић 2008a: 215). It seems as if Skerlić's perception of Pandurović's collection *Posmrtna počasti* (*Posthumous Honors*) in his article “Jedna književna zaraza” (“A Literary Contagion”) is a direct continuation of Dučić's previous comments: “In Serbian literature, we have lately become quite accustomed to come across titles that seem as if being copied from tombstones, and book covers that bear some semblance to the blackness of obituaries or depict a wreath of thorns with blood tears dripping beneath. Our youngest generation of poets sings songs whose titles speak volumes about their contents: *Jedan plač* (*A Cry*), *Rani uvelak* (*Early Withered Away*), *Tužne pesme* (*Sad Songs*), *Tužan dan* (*A Sad Day*), *Na groblju* (*At the Cemetery*), *Mračno je i pusto* (*It is Dark and Desolate*), *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), *Сјаванье воде* (188), *Брачна њесма* (1903, IX, 594), *Свет* (1904, XII, 1060); *Бдење* (1902, VI, 832–833), *Прошлост* (1904, XI, 38).
- 253 Љ. Никић, *над. дело*, 159–176.
- 254 Архив САНУ (SASA Archives), 10831/4.
- 255 The Belgrade University Library, Isidora Sekulić's legacy... In addition to this copy, Nikić made a mention of two other copies housed in the National Library of Serbia and the Belgrade City Library.
- 256 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), 46/1922. The proposal was written by Slobodan Jovanović, with the signatures of both proposers.
- 257 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), 94/1924.
- 258 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), бр. 226, 339.
- 259 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), бр. 145/1930, 106/1930.
- 260 Out of nine candidates, who were proposed for new members of all departments of the Academy, besides Dučić, only Ivan 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