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JOVAN DUČIĆ
LIFE, WORK, TIMES



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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ljubodrag Dimić and Jovan Delić



FROM PERSONAL PAIN TO METAPHYSICAL VISIONS

– On Jovan Dučić's poetry –

Jovan DELIĆ

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

The poet Jovan Dučić was convinced that “lyric poetry is the highest degree of metaphysics and a lyric poem is the only art genre where the mediocre equals bad and anything but perfect is bad”. These two autopoetic stands in one sentence first and foremost are the quintessence of his poetic experience, rather than only a part of his poetic program. His first stand – that “lyric poetry is the highest degree of metaphysics” – emanates from the nature of Dučić's poetry and illuminates the deepest Dučić, confirming his reputation as our greatest metaphysical poet after Njegoš. This stand of his unequivocally clearly illuminates both the nature of Dučić's deepest attachment to Njegoš and the nature of Ivan V. Lalić's attachment – who authored *Pisma* and *Četiri kanona* – and Rajko Petrov Nogo (*Sonet i smrt*) – who often quotes Dučić's statement – to Jovan Dučić. This autopoetic attitude also indicates the contemplativeness and depth of Dučić's lyric poetry, Dučić's view of the relationship between poetry and philosophy, and Dučić's evaluation of poetry. True and great poetry is – as Dučić corroborates with his poetic experience – a home to metaphysical qualities, which will be claimed by Roman Ingarden in terms of phenomenological thought in the science of literature, and will be actualized in our country by Zoran Konstantinović, and especially by Nikola Milošević in theory and in practical criticism, as well as by Dragan Stojanović.





Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851)
(talbotype photograph taken by Anastas
Jovanović, NMB)

Jovan Dučić – a poet with a great talent and penchant for literary criticism – measured his poetry against the strictest critical standards and treated his poems incomparably more severely than his critics, primarily the otherwise strict Bogdan Popović. This is implied in the second part of the above quotation – “a lyric poem is the only art genre where the mediocre equals bad and wherein anything but perfect is bad” – which implies perfection as a precondition for the existence of a poem. There are few poets in the world who have so ruthlessly applied their strict critical criteria to their poetry, which is best seen in Dučić’s attitude towards his own poems when he compiled poems for poetry collections and collected works, but also in his correspondence, especially with Aleksa Šantić. He advises his friend to “cut up”, summarize and leave out poems when he makes a new collection, as he did himself when compiling his first collection of poems (*Poems*, 1901), which he, in seven years’ time, almost entirely neglected and thus quietly renounced it completely. Owing to the fact that he applied the criterion that anything but perfect was bad in poetry to his poems, he reduced and canonized his poetic opus as regards his collected works to a relatively narrow and well laid out number of poems, thus bringing them closer to perfection. Cutting up, deletion, leaving out and removing parts of the text, or even entire poems, even books, is an important part of the creative process and an expression of a developed poetic self-awareness. This makes Dučić Andrić’s predecessor, as well as his attitude towards Njegoš. Poetically, Andrić is much closer to Dučić than literary critics have ever noticed. An insufficiently specified and described magical quadrangle was formed with Njegoš in the center: Njegoš, Jovan Dučić, Ivo Andrić, Meša Selimović. Most of the credit for Dučić’s resurrection in post-war literary life goes to Selimović – in Serbian and Yugoslav literature: he was the first one (1952) to publish a selection from Dučić’s poetry, and after that, together with Živorad Stojković, he prepared two editions of Dučić’s collected works. This indeed constitutes an entire endowment.

Dučić is a poet who evolved and developed, very strongly and rapidly, moving from personal pain and experience to metaphysical visions and qualities. There are few Serbian poets, and even few poets in general, who have experienced such a rapid rise and have sung only better and better over the years: perhaps it was before his very death, with his collection *Lirika* (*Lyrics*) (1943), which he did not live to see, and whose first copy was placed on his chest, as he lay in a coffin, and which was buried with him, that he experienced his poetic zenith. There are few poets on whom foreign poetry and culture have had such a fruitful impact and have awakened in them the most authentic and best, as it had had on Dučić.

Dučić's first published poem "A Single Mother" appeared in the Sombor-based journal *Golub* (1886), whereas his first collection *Poems* was published as late as fifteen years after he had published a number of poems and numerous recastings of poems (1901). When he was compiling his first collection, he rejected a huge number of already published poems in periodicals, saying that he was ashamed of them. Two other collections ensued: *Poems* (1908) in Kolo SKZ, and *Poems* (1911) published by S. B. Cvijanović, which markedly surpassed the first book, hinting at the rigor in compiling poems and collection of poems to be included in his *Collected Works* (1929–1930). With his *Collected Works*, Dučić established his poetic and literary canon, thus obliging future editors and publishers to stick to this edition in the future. However, Dučić continued to write and sing, so he nobly violated and supplemented his canonical edition with his work on Count Sava Vladislavić, his poetry collection *Lyrics* and a handful of poems published in *The American Srbobran*.

Therefore, Dučić went through four distinct periods in his development: he ended the first one with the first volume of *Poems* (1901), which is marked by Parnassism and the strong influence of Vojislav Ilić; the second period included the next two collections titled *Poems* published in 1908 and 1911, which is marked by Parnassus symbolism; the third period dates back to his *Collected Works* (1929–1930) and is dominated by symbolist poetics, whereas the fourth one is in a spirit of metaphysical dialogue with God and can be dubbed his post-symbolist phase. Thus, in short, Dučić's poetry appears in a diachronic cross-section: it ranges from personal pain to metaphysical visions.

Another Dučić's autopoetic statement is of great importance for the understanding of the orientation of the subject matter of his poems:

"It is only when a lyrical poet tells great truths about the three greatest and most fatal motifs in life and art: about God, about Love and about Death, that he will become a great poet. In his poems about God, the great poet is to give expression to everything owing to which the human soul is connected to nature and all its secrets. In his poems about Love he is to elaborate on everything that binds us to things and beings in an immeasurable beauty of attraction and power. And finally, in his poems about Death, he is to narrate about all the premonitions about the final end, and all the bitterness of uncertainty on our passage through the mysteries of life" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 284).

When he speaks about these three "motifs", and in fact about thematic fields, Dučić speaks using value categories: they are "the greatest and most fatal motifs in life and art", without which there are no great poets. Motifs, that is, complexes of motifs, are markedly denoted by different



Ivo Andrić in front of the monument to Njegoš in Trebinje

values. Truth be told, Dučić does not claim that the poet who sings about these “motifs” will inevitably become and be great, but that they are, according to our poet, at the core of every great poetry. There is no fear that great poets have already exhausted these thematic complexes, nor that they will do so in the future. They stand as some eternal challenge before the world poets. Indeed, Dučić sang persistently, intensely and very successfully about God, Love and Death and thus confirmed himself as a deeply reflective poet. Nevertheless, there are at least three other thematic fields he became obsessed with: poem and poetry, homeland and nature.

Even though this does not exhaust the thematic fields of Dučić’s poetry, these six fields are the most important.

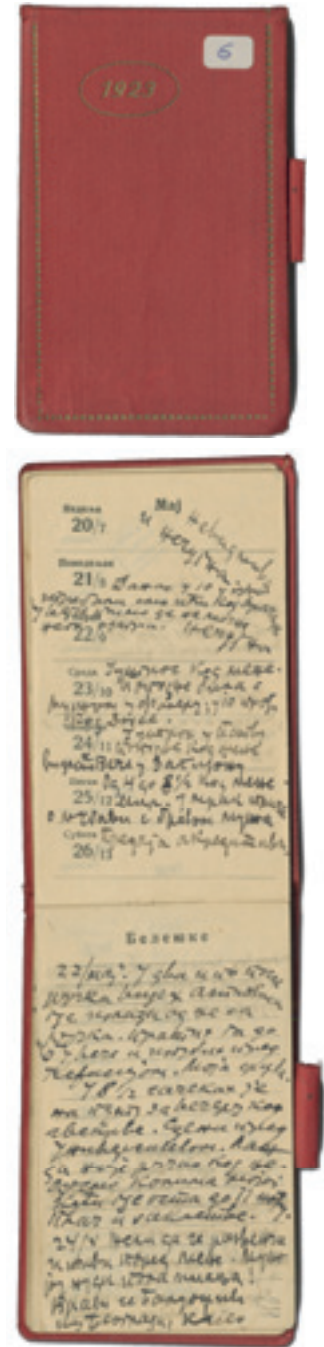
Poems About Poetry

There are far more autopoetic poems authored by Dučić than it is usually thought and stated. Ivan Negrišorac, in his selection of Dučić’s poems *Pet krugova (Five Circles)* (ДУЧИЋ 1993) singled out “only eight genuine, aesthetically successful poetic poems, six in bound verse” (“Poem”, “Road”, “Poetry”, “Why”, “Creation”, “Poem”) and two poetic prose works (“The Sun” and “Creation”)” (НЕГРИШОРАЦ 2009: 35). Dučić reflected on and sang about poetry all his life, wrote a series of poems under the same title “Poem”, then “Poetry”, “Delo”, “Creation”, wrote poems that could be considered programmatic for each of his creative phases, but there are also poems, which despite being very good, cannot be immediately recognized as autopoetic, they tell something important about poet, poetry, creation and illuminate either an individual poem, a group of poems, a period in his development, or a poet himself, or Dučić as a whole. Not only have programmatic poems been remembered because they are programmatic poems, but because they were well written, and at times even great poems, Dučić’s autopoetic poems were subject to re-evaluation: “Come on, O Muse! Give me your dear hand” was rated by the most influential critics as autopoetic (Bogdan Popović) and anthological, whereas Dučić left it out from the *Collected Works*. This classicistically inspired and oriented poem sheds light on Dučić’s first period. The poet is on a journey with his Muse, and together they arrive on the Island of Peace, after overcoming the restless sea. There restlessness disappears and songs are created. Viewed from the perspective of Dučić’s evolution, it is quite natural that he quickly renounced this poem: he was moving in the direction of Parnassus symbolism, as the poem says: “(My) Poetry” (1904).

In the sonnet “(My) Poetry” the central literary device is also allegory, in whose core are two contrasting female figures. One is, and she is the main one, “a still, pale maid, all pondering” – the allegorical ideal of Dučić’s poetry at the time – and she is opposed to “a woman, whose wont it is in the unclean streets to sing”, who embodies the poem of others and different, oriented towards the street, the masses, the public. An important feature of the first and the main figure is that she is “staidness of marble, coolness the shadow strews”. Thus, she is distanced from pathos and fierce emotions; she is a picture of serenity and cold-heartedness; “marble”, which evokes the ideal of sculpture, cold, perfect and self-sufficient. These two women and two allegories of two poetic concepts – also differ in jewelry they wear. The poet does not put on his

quiet, dreamy girl “baubles” – which is for the one from the street – but rather “yellow roses bespread your flowing hair”. Not even the white ones, a clichéd symbol of tenderness, or the red roses, which are also a clichéd symbol of fiery love, but rather, in poetry still unexpended and fresh, *yellow roses*. At the time, it was a big change that included self-awareness on innovation. That innovation aimed at ensuring the new poetry to be all “too beautiful”, to be liked only by the chosen ones and the ones who are exceptional, and not to cater to the tastes of the masses and the street. “Too beautiful” and “too proud” poetry, which does not live for others, but rather lives off its own beauty – that is Dučić’s ideal at the time, which is quite close to larpurlartism and aristocratic exceptionalism. In tercets, the matter “turns” towards the inner, emotional world, so he pleads with “pale maid, all pondering” to be “too sorrowful in the grief that is thine” and to stay away from the “jostling throng” and the solace of others who also suffer. That “maid” should hold on to her chastity. In the second tercet, the poet pleads with her to be “placid”, because “your body holds not a sumptuous garment in heavy folds, but clusters of riddling mist that hover along”. The Parnassian poetic ideal develops up to that last verse; vagueness and mysteriousness point to the suggestiveness, foreboding, and ambiguity of symbolism. How dissonant appear the songs published in *The American Srbobran* when compared with “Poetry”, which expresses a Parnassian, larpurlartistic ideal!

We will distinguish several poems with the same title “Poem” by quoting their first verse. The verse “Nikad ne znam kud će nova pesma hteti” already hints at the vague ambiguity of poem’s origin and poet’s intentions, that is, the complex relationship between the song and the poet. The poem is not the result of some intention or plan, but rather something autonomous and relatively independent of the poet himself. Its possibilities are completely contradictory and unpredictable: “Nikad ne znam kud će nova pesma hteti, / novoj sreći ili bolu stare rane / da kao molitva u nebo poleti, / ili kao kaplja otrova da kane!” The wide range of the pendulum of poem spans between a prayer directed towards heaven and a “drop of poison” directed towards death. The poem is heralded as “poklik u dnu duha svoga”, as something that not only does belong to the poet himself, but the poet can hear it “kao vest proročku, kroz noć, s neba pusta” and as “blage reči večitoga / kako mi prolaze kroz srce i usta”. The poet is a medium through which otherworldly forces pass, which are both outside him and within: the “prophetic message” and the “gentle words of the eternal one” which pass through the poet’s heart and mouth. The poem, its nature and origin, is basically a secret hidden from everyone. The word *secret* is Dučić’s favorite word that he frequently uses, and now and then it is also a title of some exceptional song. The secret of the poem is in its unusual alchemy. The poet turns “bol od svega veći, / i jad u molitvu i u harmoniju” into a verse. Negative and difficult feelings and experiences, such as pain and sorrow, are transformed by the poem into harmony. So it is with “love that longs”,



Jovan Dučić’s notebook
(ASASA 15068–638)

and with rampage “that loathes”. During that hard to explain and comprehensible transformation, during the creative process, “mre u dubini / ova u čudnu svetlost obučena duša – / kao zvezda što se raspada u tmini”. The poet’s soul going through the creative process can be compared with the disintegration of the stars – it dies dressed in a strange light. Thus, the process of creation is ambivalent, connected with death, that is, with the inner tension of the soul until it bursts, and with astral light as well. The complex and dramatic creative process takes place “in peace”, and it results in a poem, a text, “an eternal tissue”. In that apparent peace, “huji glas stvaranja i ritam rasula”, and the poet’s “spellbound senses”, in a state of creative ecstasy, “learn everything”. With this knowledge of his “foreignness” “za pravu sreću i pravi bol ljudi – / upirući k nebu začuđene oči”, the poem reaches its climax. The poet can only wonder and turn towards the sky. Even though the secret has been described, it eventually remains uncovered.

The poem titled “Poem” that begins with the verse “God has been casting me all the time” is evidently autopoetic as well, and it ranks among the best autopoetic poems. It is a poem that belongs to the later phase of Dučić’s work, when the poet increasingly focuses on God. Wherever a poem (or a poet) is cast by God’s hand, there is a “new word and sign” everywhere. To be a new word – the bearer of innovation in poetic language – and a new sign, token, symbol – that is poet’s constant aspiration; poem and poet’s ideal. God has been casting poem and poets everywhere, all over God’s garden, and the poet puts himself into the position of every thing and every being he sings about. He identifies himself with that being, that is, thing, he penetrates it, and speaks from within. Hence the process of enumeration as a basic compositional principle. This poem reaches universal values and ranks among the best ones that have been written with reference to empathy and identification. Given that God is present in every thing, the poet has become every thing there where the Lord sowed him, that is, everything he sings about, has ever sung about, or will eventually sing about. Enumeration is followed by anaphora and polysyndeton – the conjunction *i* performs the function of anaphora and is repeated performing that function ten times in the poem, whereas the preposition *u* is repeated three times. Given that he sings about the richness and diversity of the world, the poet, like God himself, is that what inhabits and unites, contradictory and diverse: he is “in white bread I am the granule prime, / in stony strongholds the first design”, the first embrace of lovers, the dagger in the hands of a brigand, the prayer of the humble, the dream of a hungry serpent on the sand, a shipwreck, the cry of a desperate man, a shining cedar Lebanese, under Carthage the awesome army, the morning to every day and God’s “voice and key to his every door”. The poet is, therefore, a key to every door, secret and riddle, because he is “inside” and sings from within, from the thing itself. This multiplicity and perfect diversity of the poet’s reproduction through identification is most pronounced in the sixth quatrain, in the climax of the poem: “On desert byroads a speck of sand, / in sunlit heavens the circle clear, / in pauper’s cabins a spark unfanned, / in martyrs’ eyelids a falling tear”. All that a poet can be, and all that Dučić – predominantly a poet of light – indeed was.

Among Dučić’s best poems with the title “Poem” is the one that begins with the following verse: “I lost in this great chaos”, written in octosyllabic verse, composed of four quatrains whose verses are connected by unusual rhymes: twelve verses in which dactyl rhyme pattern is used and four in which masculine rhyme occurs. It is a mini odyssey that we may dub cosmic. As early as in the first verse, we learn that the lyrical subject is a loser, Odysseus’ double, who

speaks in the aorist tense (*izgubih, znah, otkrih*) and the perfect tense (*trovala, su zaspala, je kapala*). Tragic losses have occurred recently and irreversibly. The lyrical subject has lost “all the friends and ships I’d got”, but also his orientation in time and space: “What time is it in cosmos? / Day or midnight, I know not” The loser is embroiled in an unsolvable metaphysical dispute with the Lord, admiring the Lord’s “abysses”: “Deep are the abysses there, / O Lord, that your path does hold!” One can only guess what kind of abysses we are talking about: most likely about those in which and because of which Odysseus’ double lost “all the friends and ships I’d got”. The next two verses add new moments to the dangers along the way: “Traps that dazzle to ensnare, / I’m poisoned from cups of gold”. And when one is just about to think that the loser was the victim of some royal trap and deceptive feasts during which he was poisoned with wine, it is as early as in the third stanza that his drunkenness takes on astral and cosmic proportions: “Spellbound by the suns you made, / heavenly plains that beguile, / I knew not your trap and shade, / the pit of your dungeon vile.” The lyrical character found himself in some Lord’s trap, spellbound by the suns – Dučić’s suns are often in the plural form – and by the radiance of the heavenly plains, and at the same time he was naively ignorant of the Lord’s trap and its deep dungeons. As a matter of fact, these are not traps or dungeons of this world, but are rather of a metaphysical nature; they are set and built by the Lord. The second and third quatrains describe a mysterious cosmic state, certainly devastating to the lyrical subject. Nevertheless, the path is revealed in the final quatrain, when night is already falling in the direction where “where sunken suns did remain”. Neither the Lord’s silence, which takes on the proportions of the sea, nor the night, which drips like heavy rain on that sea, is encouraging for the modern Odysseus: “And when the path was revealed / where sunken suns did remain, / onto your sea silence spilled, / night did drip like falling rain”. This “Poem” expresses Dučić’s experience of Odysseus and his feeling of being lost in space, his masterful use of dactyl rhyme in hinting at metaphysical premonitions and *zaum* spaces, but also the dispute with God over the loss of comrades and all the ships, and his disorientation in space and time; around the depths of the Lord’s “abysses”, traps, and “dungeon vile”. God is sometimes cruel to the modern Odyssey and surround him with a sea of silence. This is an example of how a poem with an accentuated metapoetic function can reach metaphysical qualities.

Finally, the poem “Poem” that begins with the following enneasyllabic verse: “Night has suddenly descended black” contains in its climax a metapoetically oriented verse on the significance of doubt for Dučić’s poetic imagination: “And on my pathways it shines solely / doubt, the glowing sun of my reason”. The poet’s doubt is a source of light; it is not an expression of restraining skepticism, but of light, it is a sunny challenge to the spirit for new metaphysical breakthroughs and illuminations, which the poet will express in his poem “Doubt”: “Moja sumnja strasna i svetla, i plodna, / moje drugo biće i drugi vid; (...) // No ona obasja um moj obesnažen, / i dade mom duhu, slabom kao slamka, / sto krupnih očiju, da ozaren, blažen, / mine svaki ponor i zna gde je zamka.” Therefore, doubt is manifold rescue-offering: “*passionate and bright, and fruitful, and other being, and poet’s other sight*, it is clairvoyant, hundred-eyed, capable of invigorating and illuminating the spirit and warning of traps and dangers. Such praise of doubt is rare, and even rarer is to add to it enormous cognitive and imaginative dimensions. Dučić’s doubt is one of his poetic sources. Dučić’s autopoetic poems evoke and complement each other even when it could be said, at first glance, that they are not autopoetic.



Miloš Crnjanski (1893–1977)
(LSASA, FL-93)

The title “Chords” already refers to a poet obsessed with sound and music, that is, to a symbolist-oriented poet, so that based on its very title the poem acquires a metapoetic function, that is, it becomes autopoetic, and even programmatic. Its focus on sound and music is its program. The poetic subject listens “u mirnoj ljubičastoj noći / gde šušte zvezde”, so it seems to him that he can often hear “u nemoj samoći / pevanje sfera na toploj vedrini”. Two images are poetically important here. The first one is “in a quiet purple night” (visual), and the second one – “the rustle of the stars” (auditory, sound). Both are new and hitherto unknown in Serbian poetry. Both of them, and especially the other one, did not leave avant-garde poets indifferent, above all Crnjanski. He will not fail to notice that Dučić’s stars are rustling, but that they, avant-garde poets – need to go further and be more radical in making the poetic image be out of the ordinary. Dučić’s rustling of the stars was undoubtedly a successful auditory image, which has been remembered for a whole century, and an exceptional forerunner of the avant-garde. “Pevanje sfera na toploj vedrini” testifies to the poet’s focus on sound and music, which is immanent to the symbolists. Therefore, “Chords” capture the “singing of spheres”, which also indicates the cosmic aspect of the auditory image, that is, Dučić’s occasional closeness to the ideas of avant-garde “cosmism”. This is confirmed and reinforced by the second and fourth verses of the second quatrain: the poetic subject listens quietly, in solitude, to “večiti šumor iz zemlje i svoda” – that is, the cosmic murmurs that connect the earth and sky – and then follows “dugo, nemo i polako, / te reči lišća i taj govor voda”. Not only can the poetic subject hear what others cannot hear, but he also intimately understands and feels “te glase što huje, / taj jezik Bića i taj šapat stvari”. Therefore, “taj jezik Bića i taj šapat stvari” is acoustically available to the poet and the poem, and then that entire sound symphony, that “singing of spheres”, is subjectivized by introducing the beating of the heart of the poetic subject. Then the heartbeats are acoustically transmitted to the forest: a beat after a beat is heard from the tree, bull-rush and the reed “duh celog polja”, and finally, polyphonically, underground, indefinitely, “somewhere in the depths / in the same rhythm, like a muffled bell, / beats of the huge heart have been heard in the darkness: / calm, quiet, monotonous”. These beats of the huge heart of the earth, the world, but also of the poetic subject are captured in the poem “Chords”, which is rather a symbolic and not a Parnassian undertaking. In this poem, Dučić both exhibited and realized a symbolist, “acoustic”, “musical” poetic program in its entirety, focusing completely on sound and music, anticipating in part that what will come with the avant-garde, that is, with S. Vinaver and M. Crnjanski. Not only is the poem “Chords” exceptional because it is programmatic, autopoetic and symbolic, but because, capturing the “singing of spheres”

and the “language of Being”, that is, the beats of the huge and hidden heart of the world, which is in direct relation to the human heart and that of the poet, it reached metaphysical forebodings and heights, which is difficult to achieve in a programmatic poem. That is why this poem is unavoidable for us both when it comes to autopoetic poems, and when it comes to realized values.

The poem “Seed” has also an accentuated metapoetic function: the poetic subject casts cedar seed into a furrow – “that invincible and holy core / which in the clear sky’s firmament indeed / neither the storm felled nor thunder wore”. The exceptionality of cedar is accentuated as early as in the introductory stanza: its sanctity, height, resistance to lightning and storm. The most significant part of the poem is the message that the poetic subject passes on to the cedar seed thrown into the furrow: that message occupies ten of the poem’s sixteen verses in all. The message expresses the sower’s wish for what that seed should become and mean. First of all, to be cedar, strong and powerful as a titan, and to express the idea of force. And then, exactly from the middle of the poem, the meaning of the cedar seed is directed towards spiritual phenomena, vocal, meaningful and musical ones: “Heaved into space, be a voice that strives, / to fill the entire sky with hymning. / And be a word that forever thrives, / and eternally watchful of God’s string”. Cedar acquires the meaning of an exceptional cosmological song that will fill the heavens and through which the sounds and voices of God himself will appear. Finally, in the final stanza, the cedar is a symbol of the poet himself: “But as a poet you will become / stranger in the world and in the hills: / thrilled by solitude, always lonesome, / burned up and consumed by the stars’ chills”. This is not the only place in Dučić’s opus, where the idea of a stranger “in the world and in the hills” is associated with the poet. This poet was one of the first poets in the world to see a man as a stranger even “in his own body and in the world”. Isn’t it reason enough not to forget these verses or this poet? And to underline the autopoetic nature of this, hitherto insufficiently emphasized, poem.

In this context, the prose poem of the same name (“Seed”) is very important, written as a parable about the tireless sower and the seed that germinates and grows behind him. The sower “sowed and sang about (...) the black and white seeds of his dream” – that is, a seed that is close to the poetic one, or is, perhaps, poetic and literary after all. He oriented himself by the sun and the stars, “sowed in the desert and sang in silence”, without looking behind and without knowing how to return to his hearth. When his “voice grew quiet and the arm became tired” and when he tried to return home, exhausted, “he got lost in the sea of his stalks which he had sown himself, and in the darkness of the forest which he had raised himself... Between him and the entire world there stood now, high up to the sky, the poisonous vegetation of his dream”. The enraptured sower of dreams erected between himself and the world a poisonous wall of his vegetation, which artistic creation can certainly be. Rare are the poets who could better feel or more succinctly depict this dangerous aspect of creation – the fatality of uncontrolled and self-sufficient creative enthusiasm and the fact that the poet can get lost in the vegetation that he himself erected in rapture, into the wall between himself and the world – than Jovan Dučić. The dangers of creative enthusiasm and creative process can be devastating for the artist. Very often artists become victims of their own enthusiasm, and get lost in the vegetation they erected themselves. Artistic sowing is dangerous.

Even though the poem “Companions” is usually overlooked when it comes to Dučić’s autopoetic poems, it is valuable for understanding the dramatic efforts the poet put in being on his own and original (“Htedoh u svom srcu da glas sebe čujem”) and for bringing to notice the

presence of his invisible companions, who constantly follow him everywhere, showing him the way with the “kažiprstom kobnim nevidljive ruke”. Even though the poet would like to hear an authentic voice in his heart, “glas ko zna od kuda” comes to him. In the third, final quatrain, the question arises about one’s identity and the identity of one’s work: “Ja gde sam? Zavapih. Moje delo gde je? / Koga sledim večno, nesvesno i strasno? / I u meni samom koliko je mene?”

How much of myself is actually in me and in my work, and how many invisible companions there are with their invisible forefingers and other people’s voices – that is an eternal question and one of the most complex questions ever since literature exists and Dučić asked it openly and cruelly. This is what this concise poem is all about.

It is in this respect that the poem “Nomads” is very important, which sheds light on Dučić’s poetry, as well as on his travelogues, his epoch, and on his attitude towards distances and the challenges of going on a trip and traveling. After all, the “astral and eternal nomad” will appear in his poem “The Return”, which is one of the best poems authored by the poet. That is why the poem “Nomads” is autopoetically interesting in the first place. In the first verse, the poetic subject establishes a point of resemblance to nomads using his eyes: “Oči su mi kao u nomada, / suncima bezbrojnim vazda opijene”, constantly struggling with yesterday’s fatigue and with the challenge of a new path for “restless women”. Nomads are “heroes of the movement”, constantly “u mutnoj i strašnoj žeđi za daljinama, / i u večnom svome boju s prostorima”. These two verses seem to express the feeling of the epoch and evoke that “Faustian” (I. Tartalja) Andrić’s verse: “Distance, the mother of all desires”. This challenge of distance was characteristic of both the modern era and the avant-garde, and was accompanied by the flourishing of travelogues, to which Jovan Dučić gave a strong personal touch. His thirst for distances and his battle with spaces undoubtedly constitute Dučić’s important spiritual features, expressed more in his travelogues than in his lyric poetry. Spell-bound by space, the poet’s nomadic heart beholds the “sjaj novih nebesa i fatamorgana”, so that he is on the verge of tears while beholding the serene ending to the day, whereas every new morning makes him sing as a new challenge of travel, journey and distances. Poet’s hundred-eyed, bold soul, opens all its hundred eyes “pred nekom zemljom nedoglednom” and “nikad ne zahvati dvaput s novog vrela, / i dva sna nikad na uzglavlju jednom”. And then, in the very climax of the poem – there is another unexpected point of resemblance to Andrić and his famous metaphysical experience that everything is ours that emerges on the other shore. Dučić put it as follows in the final, fifth quatrain, twisting the sorrow of distant loves in verses: “Kao da me uvek s drugu stranu reke / čeka moja sreća kao verna žena, / što upreda tugu ljubavi daleke / u nit od preslice do zlatnog vretena”.

Dučić’s thirst for distances and his battle with space are by no means poetically neutral. The metapoetic function of this excellent poem has been not much emphasized.

We will also make a mention of Dučić’s poem “To God”, whose fifth, final quatrain was sung in honor of Foreboding and its infinity. For someone who is symbolist-oriented and who, in addition, sings about God, that praise of Foreboding is more than a poetic stand: “But you who created suns and fields’ emanations, / were only a Foreboding, painful and full of dread: /, for every truth of spirit has its limitations, / while only our Foreboding remains unlimited”. Owing to this boundless Foreboding man gets closer to God himself.

We will also make a brief mention of Dučić’s poems that have so far been recognized and analyzed as autopoetic. The poet also wrote the “canonized” poem “Why”, wherein he invokes

the Muse; this poem is also interesting from the aspect of Dučić's great comparisons featuring a characteristic inversion, (the second member of comparison is followed by the first one). The question arises as early as in its title, and questions and interrogative intonation characterize the reflexive Dučić. The poet asks his Muse why, as a contrite brahmin who guards the urn containing the ashes of his ancestors, they themselves – the Muse and the poet – did not guard the heart with the ashes of the dear deceased. Because if they had done so, they would have been able to keep the secret that they were both sad, and the holy sorrow, which remained unspoken, is only in tears. It is only owing to the fourth stanza that the poem elevates and the man, that is, the human soul, acquires astral and cosmic dimensions. It is only a conscious soul, which is capable of being a world unto itself, that can be happy: "Kako li je srećna duša koja znade / biti svet za sebe, ko zvezda nebeska, / bačena u svemir što samotno bleska, / dok svetova kraj nje blude mirijade". In this poem "the seas of light" also "shine and flicker", and the life and pain of that self-conscious, astral soul remains a secret: "A njen bol i život ostali su tajna / za beskrajni prostor i večite sfere". The secret should be preserved in life, in a poem, and in space.

In his poem "The Road" the poet longs for some *new rhythm* with which he would be able to come a *long way* "od jednog bola do njegove rime". That rhythm would direct his thought so that it "never wanders" in that *solemn and exceptional* hour of poetic inspiration, "uvek svetu vatru noseć celog puta, / veliku i svetlu, kao u začetku". In the beginning the poem is marked by a great and bright fire, and it is poet's duty to preserve its innate holiness and light in its entirety until the end. The end of the poem hints at a state that resembles catharsis: the poet longs to sing a song in a new rhythm after which he would not feel "pain", although he knows that there is a lot of misery left in his soul "za koje nemamo ni suze ni reči". Therefore, the *new rhythm* is sought to go a *long way from pain to its rhyme* and to direct the thought to the right path all until the end of the song during that *solemn and exceptional hour* of its coming into existence, so to preserve its innate sacred fire, great and bright. This happy combination of source and mouth – the beginning of inspiration and the realization of song – is thematized in another poem bearing the same title ("The Road"): "Da najzad s čistog zahvatim vrela! / Da spojim izvor i ušće!" The prospects of making such a combination are not very encouraging.

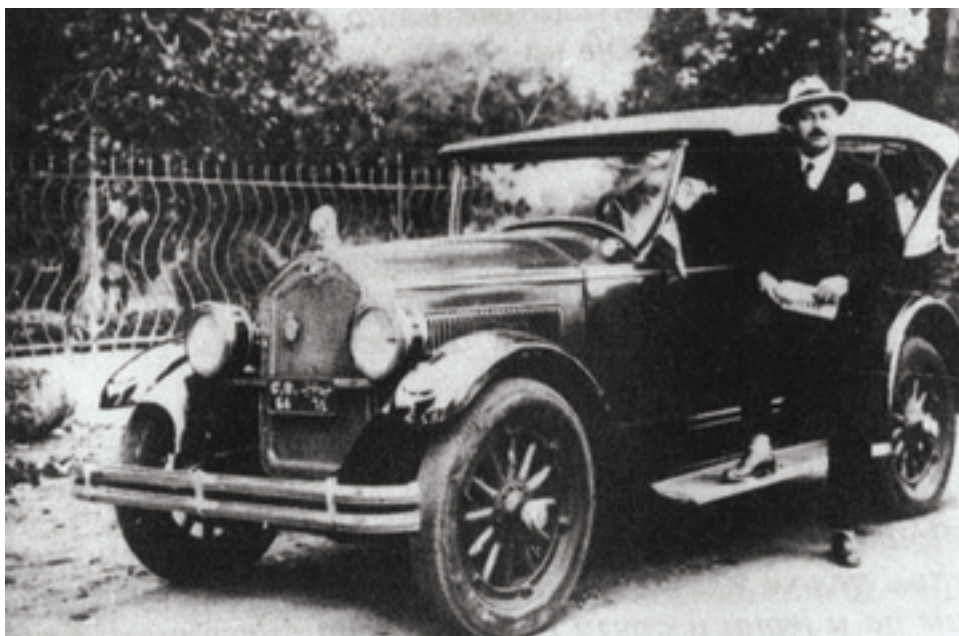
The poem "Creation" is the poet's address to the poem with the aim of describing the nature of the relationship between the poem and the poet, and the nature of the poem and its coming into existence. This genre of addressing the poem will later be developed by Stevan Raičković into a significant branch of his poetry. The poet got the inspiration to write a poem all of a sudden and without warning, quietly and silently; at an unknown moment and hour the poet's spirit got drunk with "svetle seni". The poem has become for the poet "misao iskonska što najzad odnemlje"; something extremely precious that has to be published, has to find its way out and talk as "zlatna nit iz stene, i seme iz zemlje / i mah u ramenu još neniklog krila". Given that the poem has come out of the poet's dream, it has inherited all his vices and flaws: it is vain, bloodthirsty caustic, more vile than anything else, the fruit of poet's vanity and loneliness – and thus so "full of melancholy", the fruit of hatred so that her mouth "was poisoned", the fruit of doubt. "No cvet sna otrovno ne presta da siše" and the poet dies "u čas kad se beše htelo / zadnja kaplja krvi koju nemah više, / da okončam lepo i zlokbno delo". The work remains unfinished and incomplete, and ambivalent – "beautiful and sinister". The act of creation makes the poem

and the poet inseparably connected, imbued with each other. Creation is risky, and also fatal for the poet – “cvet san otrovanog” sucked every last drop of blood out of the poet.

Creation, the creative process and the inseparability of creation and the creator himself are thematized in a very beautiful prose poem – “Creation”. In it the creator is – a black forest spider, and his work is his silky, fine net, woven on the knotty trunk of a very old tree. The poet is an observer of the creative process – the creation of the work – a witness. His first words describe what the poetic subject observes and sees, using the third-person point of view. Hence the dominance of descriptive writing, which Dučić truly mastered.

The poetic subject watches as a large black forest spider weaves his wide net all afternoon, “tirelessly and without stop”, whose threads come out of his chest, “of his heart”, and his net becomes “ever firmer and prettier”. The artist, as claimed by Andrić, too, is a weaver, and his creation is a fine web – *tissue, text*. Threads for his tissue come out of his heart, and there is no trace of pathos in it, but rather descriptive writing. The creation of “that dark artist” is accompanied by “the greenish sunlight”, which falls on the forest “with ecstasy”, “entire small choruses of leaves”, as a rhythm and musical accompaniment of weaving. The tireless weaver “weaves merrier and merrier, more and more passionately, more and more impatiently”, making “incomprehensible and strange figures” on the tissue. The beauty and value of the tissue does not depend on the (in)comprehensibility of the figures. On the contrary, the *strange* can contribute to its beauty; and even can be its prerequisite. The small “dark artist” is “unable to constrain himself even a little”, and weaves his strange treads “out of a painful and nebulous dream and out of a will to create”; out of a vague and indomitable creative instinct. A creative process and a creation as its result, emanate from the indomitable inner, instinct, which is unconscious and unstoppable. Dučić also raises the question of the self-awareness of a small artist: does he know what his art means; does he know that he is weaving a trap and that the artist will turn into a victim hunter? There is no answer to that question; it remains a secret. Dučić suppressed this sense of purpose of spider weaving, focusing on the “creation” itself and its coming into existence; on the instinctive nature of the creative process and on the miracle of creation directly from oneself, from the chest, from the heart. No matter how much the black spider is a “dark artist”, he weaves into his web “shining sun threads that descend from the sky” – light and rays. His creation comes out of artist’s inexplicable “dark and unsurpassable energy which seeks perfection and the last word of wisdom and form”. At one point the creation is finalized and at the end the little dark artist, the weaver, blissfully looks at – “like the creator once” – “his silky Creation”. It is only upon its completion that both the Creator and the little artist can see that what he has created is good. Few like Jovan Dučić have shown a creative point of resemblance between the black forest spider – a little dark artist – and the Creator. The pursuit of perfection and the last word of wisdom and form make up the core of Dučić’s aesthetic ideal and his artistic opus. Unlike the black spider, Dučić cared very much about artistic self-awareness, to which this great philosophical and poetic prose poem is a beautiful contribution, written in honor of the instinctive indomitable creative energy and weaving with threads that come out of the heart.

The prose poem “The Sun”, a parable about the inner Sun of Youth, deserves our full attention. The poem is about an “unfortunate poet”, born on the shores of the Ionian Sea full of sun and azure, who carried in his heart the light, the blue of the sky and the sea and the warmth of



Dučić standing beside his new Buick car

the Mediterranean waters, when due to life circumstances he find himself while still a child in “a province where the sky is pale and frozen”. The first part of the poem is built on a sharp contrast between the warm Mediterranean and the cold indeterminate landscape; between two suns, the full one, the Mediterranean one, and the other one, “white and cold”. When “in his veins he sensed the autumn”, the unfortunate poet returned to his warm homeland shore, which he could no longer recognize. He tries to find his lost sun and the shore by looking inside himself. There, in his unhappy tormented soul, he found everything, “and a huge sun which looked larger than the universe. It gave more space to the vault of the sky, brilliance and shape to things, clarity and purity to thought, and it gilded everything wherever it fell”. That was not the sun rising in the east and setting in the west, but “the Sun of Youth, which rises and sets on the borders wider than any space, the sun which gave depth to the sky vault, color to the landscape, twinkle to the stars, beauty to passion, and fatefulness to women’s eyes; and which now shone only in the late evening twilight of a soul”. That third, physically non-existent sun, the inner Sun of Youth, was the only poetic truth about the sun and the soul. The climax of the poem “The Sun” is when Dučić says the following sentence: “For, things have the appearance our soul gives them”. This inner appearance of things – “our soul gives them” – is the only expression of poetic and artistic truth. Only in this way is not lost what the experience of childhood preserved. The Sun of Youth, to which the soul has given its form and proportions, and which is found by looking inward, into oneself, is the only true sun in the universe. Dučić’s view of this look inside oneself, and his view of things and the cosmos, as our soul sees them, is a large, and not only poetic, breakthrough in his time, and even beyond time. Even though he was often

challenged, Dučić was a serious thinker, especially when it comes to poetry. The inner Sun of Youth illuminates that thought and that poetry.

Because of his father's death and his childhood, Dučić was destined to be a patriotic poet. He remained susceptible to patriotic themes all his life, and he began to write patriotic verses very early. Therefore, it is quite natural to look into Dučić's patriotic poetry immediately after this review of his poems about poetry.

From *The Imperial Sonnets* to “The Martyrs Of Lika”

On Dučić's patriotic poetry

Dučić's patriotic poetry is published in the *Third Volume* of his *Collected Works – The Imperial Sonnets* – composed of three cycles: the first one bears the same title as the book – “The Imperial Sonnets” – and contains twelve poems; the second one, which is central and the best one, bears the title “My Fatherland” and contains only seven poems, whereas the third one entitled “Ragusian Poems” contains nine, not “epic poems”, but mostly humorous, witty, ironic poems unusual to patriotic poetry. Therefore, the third volume encompasses a total of twenty-eight poems. To these should be added the painful eleven poems, written in America from 20 October 1941 to a little before the Feast of the Annunciation in 1943, and published in *The American Srbobran* from 28 October 1941 to 31 July 1944, which are thematically and even genre-wise diverse. As a rule, these eleven poems have been printed as an “addition” to Dučić's poetry, and given that they constitute neither a cycle, nor a separate collection, they should be read in the context of Dučić's diverse patriotic poetry. Even though some of these poems, both in terms of their value and their moral attitude towards the innocent Serbian victims, rank among Dučić's best patriotic poems, they do not belong to his “canon”, whereas the last four poems (“To Yugoslavia”, “To France”, “Satire” and “New Government”) contain strong satirical overtones. Therefore, Dučić did not include these songs in his *Lyrics* (1943), obviously considering them different and wanting to preserve the unity of his “swan song”, which he saw and determined its place in the cycle “Evening Songs” and thus subsequently had it “canonized”, that is, contextualized in his *Collected Works*.

It is obvious that Dučić deemed the first cycle very important: it is the most rigor (sonnets), the longest (twelve poems), and appears first in the book whose name it bears. With his Kosovo cycle, and especially with the poems “Simonida” and “Jefimija”, Rakić introduced Byzantine motifs and the Serbian Middle Ages into modern Serbian poetry. Cultural, artistic



Jovan Dučić, *Lyrics* from 1943. According to a remark on its last page, the book was released in a limited-quantity print run so as to preserve the manuscript during the war years (LSASA, catalogue number ПБ 25; 1711)

values – frescoes, icons, embroidery – became the subject matters to be sung about. Dučić followed suit with “The Imperial Sonnets”. He sang about the Monastery of Lesnovo and the Monastery of the Holy Archangels “along the river of Bistrica”, and their frescoes, in this cycle. The Empress, the Emperor and the despot Oliver occupy a privileged place, appearing in several poems. Apparently, the imperial and other portraits in the cycle “The Imperial Sonnets” were modelled on the frescoes, or at least they were inspired by them. By performing a comprehensive intertextual or intermedial analysis it could be easily proven. Even though these poems reflect splendor, power and abundance as that seen on frescoes, they also reflect the canonical rigor that is further pronounced by the sonnet form. Thus, in the first sonnet titled “The Empress” her beauty is emphasized, as well as her crown, her sparkling jewels, “orli od bisera”, “krsti po stiharu i safiri za vratom”, scents of the East, a horse shod with gold, prayers for health and long life, the fear of subjects and the longing of frightened pages, nevertheless, the poem reaches its climax with the empress’ anxiety, barely noticeable and thin “kao para”, as it passes “preko čela krunisanog cara”. The emperor is portrayed in all his glory while he receives from Avignon “tri papska prelata” and while at the end of the poem “The Emperor” he solemnly breaks the seal of a letter “nad strašnom sudbinom Carigrada”.

Sonnets “Hagiography”, “Monastery”, “Dubrovnik” and “Glory” were written in honor of the emperor, as well as the sonnets “Spearmen” and “Radovište”, though indirectly. The sonnet “Hagiography” was written in honor of the genre and the Nemanjićs, that is, the Emperor’s ancestors. Primarily, the progenitor of the Nemanjić dynasty Stefan Nemanja, by whose “strašnom seni” the poem reaches its climax. In the first quatrain the poet sings about the status of hagiography – the leading genre – in old Serbian literature. The hagiography is “knjiga o pretcima, koja carstvo diči”, and “pisana u Gradcu, slikana u Žiči, / U Mlecima teškim zlatom okovana”. The hagiography is the pride of the dynasty, the imperial lineage and the Emperor himself, so that the Emperor reads it *again and again* “three nights and days”. The hagiography is the Emperor’s obligatory reading to which he most devotedly returns day and night; it is something like the royal family gospel.

The poet wrote the second quatrain in praise of the Emperor’s reading zeal. The emperor keeps reading with so much zeal and focus so that his “krupne zenice koje pomno uče, / ne vide večeri ni purpurnu zoru”, and even “ni kad tri vojvode donesoše ključe / grada Hristopolja na Belome moru”. The reading of family hagiography overshadows day, night, and historical events.

The first tercet is written in praise of the very work – the hagiography – and its heroes. The comparison of letters and words from hagiography with music “na ponoćnoj reci” belongs to the symbolist register and is projected into the Nemanjićs’ Middle Ages. That cosmic music sings about the ancestors that were “kraljevi i pisci, vojvode i sveci” – and who erected Nemanjićs’ churches and built the state, literature and culture, who were literary heroes and the most prominent authors, such were Nemanja (St Simeon), St Sava, Stefan the First-Crowned. In the climax of the poem, in the second tercet, the inspired and enraptured Emperor already worn out by reading, “kad sklopi oči na tigru i svili”, has a vision: “Imperator vide kako pređe svodom / strašni sen Nemanje pobjedničkim hodom”. Nemanja’s “strašni sen” comes to life, coming directly from the hagiography, from history and from the Emperor’s immersion in reading. Nemanja is a saint, great *župan*, a military leader, an inspired writer, the progenitor of the dynasty, and a role model for his descendants. The sonnet “Hagiography” was also written in praise of literature and its power, in praise of the leading genre of medieval Serbian literature, but also in praise of



Constantinople (ASASA 14776/147)

reading and the reader. In a broader sense, Dučić's "Hagiography" can also be understood as a "poem about a poem". Dučić establishes a bridge between old and modern Serbian literature and strives to build the spiritual continuity of Serbian literature and culture.

The poem "Monastery" is about the Emperor, the founder of the Monastery of the Holy Archangels, a temple "hiljadu hvata" long, which was built to represent the grandeur, wealth and power of the Mighty Emperor, so that "iz sviju svodova miriše i bleska". Our attention was especially drawn to the final tercet, wherein the irony of destiny and the irony of history covertly flicker through. The emperor erects the Holy Archangels as the temple of the future victor and victory, the future Byzantine emperor, who is to be welcomed by the chimes of three hundred monastery bells when he returns from his Constantinople campaign, and the emperor will lower his sword "u podnožje Hrista": "A prvi put zvona zazvoniće trista, / kad iz Carigrada vrati se Car smeli, / i teški mač spusti u podnožje Hrista". The emperor did not return alive from his campaign against Constantinople. Hence one can feel the hidden irony of fate and history in this stanza.

There is no doubt that Dučić mythicized the only Serbian Tsar, which contributes neither to the credibility of his literary hero nor to the value of his "Imperial Sonnets". In his sonnet "Dubrovnik", the Emperor is unequivocally depicted as a *titan*, someone who is between God and man when it comes to his significance and strength. At the same time, the character of the

Dubrovnik prince is undermined – his word before the Emperor is *timid*: “Sav u zlatu, titan, riđ i mudra oka, / Car sluša reč Kneza u Velikom Veću”. Both old and young fixed their eyes on the Emperor’s sword, a synecdoche of the Emperor’s power and excellence: “... kad se miklu začu / plašljiva reč Kneza; i mladi i stari / svi drže poglede na carevom maču. // Kovao ga Novak iz Hvosna; sentence / pisa Vuk iz Risna; Sidro iz Firence / oštrio ga na svom točilu da seva. // Balčak je od jednog pretka Benvenuta, / rezan tri godine; i tri ga je puta / otrovom trovao Srđ iz Gorničeva”. Both tercets depict the Emperor’s Sword, whose description is reminiscent of Homer and the Serbian epic poetry – here also appears the character of Novak the Blacksmith from Serbian epic poetry, and all those who worked on the quality, decoration and lethality of weapons. That is why Dučić’s Emperor’s sword ranks among the most interesting ones in Serbian poetry in general, both epic and lyric; it is indeed an epic moment in Dučić’s laudatory lyric poetry.

The sonnet “Glory” is a continuation of the mythization of the Emperor’s character and power, both by listing guests, including among them his enfeoffed vassals, German ritters, Frankish barons, the prince of Dubrovnik, the Hilandar brothers, “Carica pod krunom kao oreolom”, and by depicting the victorious atmosphere and Emperor’s closeness with his patron saint. It is on the feast day of St Michael the Archangel – the Emperor’s patron saint’s day – that the news of victory reaches them “da je Tesalija sva pala za več”. The climax of the poem is in its final tercet, which is in the spirit of splendor, light and shimmer: “A molbu za Carstvo kad Patrijarh reče, / dvorana zablista kao suncem cela: / na ramenu Care drži Arhangela”. The Archangel – the victor and the leader of the incorporeal celestial army – rests on the Emperor’s shoulder. A full alliance of heavenly and earthly forces has been established. It is evident that Dučić was full of victorious enthusiasm and hope in nationhood when writing “The Imperial Sonnets”. He must have remembered this sonnet in November 1942, when, in the town of Gary, he wrote the bitter poem “On the Tsar’s St Archangel Michael’s Day”, which was published on 30 December 1942 in *The American Srbobran*. This emigrant poem is composed of three octaves, or twenty-four verses; it is fraught with bitterness and feelings of defeat, humiliation and disgust during the Second World War and is in strong opposition to the strict, brilliant and victorious sonnet titled “Glory”. “Lustrious Tsar” is also mythicized in this prose poem. He is still reigning “in our souls / we who old glories fervently guard / in our prayers and in our songs”, which actually means – in our clergymen, poets, musicians and gusle players. The first two verses of all three octaves are a greeting to the Tsar’s Glory, with the first verse repeated three times: “In Your High Honor, O Lustrious Tsar”. As the stanza unfolds, so does the tonality change and darken, always ending with two defeating verses as points: “Everything is now for sale, alas, / everything that’s been praised and loved”. // “Now stand servants and lackeys varied / all with their foreheads in low hold”. // “Now our own conscience the spies defend, / and the burglars guard our treasure”.

The sonnet “Radovište” depicts a solemn feast in honor of Emperor Kantakouzenos, accompanied by a musical and theatrical performance. Dishes and drinks with a geographic origin are enumerated, and then in tercets “s društvom svojim glumac Dobrosav iz Huma” takes centre stage, who “dade tri predstave”. The feast lasted for seven days, and when the honoured guest was already far away, then the actor Dorosav felt “sam u svome skupu” and two “gorke suze kanuše u kupu”. Those bitter tears of the actor Dobrosav, who is not by chance – from Hum, is one of the most beautiful and most successful places in “The Imperial Sonnets”.

The image of the spearmen seen through the emperor's eyes is impressive: "strašni iz daleka – / svaki u svom štitu nosi sunce jedno". They are an amalgam of solar splendor and earthly victorious power: "Sto novih pobjeda već huče u njima". The power of the Mighty Emperor is also transmitted to his spearmen.

The sonnet "Inscription" is interesting as an intertwining of different genres, old inscriptions with prayers, that is prayers for the dead. First, a plea is made to the Lord to mention "raba Olivera – / despotu Lesnova i Ovčega Polja", and then a mention is made of his good deeds, because of which the deceased deserved to be prayed for. In the end, a mention of Gavriilo was made, who uttered what "đak iz Hilendara", "Jež mnogogrešni" noted down in the fourteenth century.

The sonnet "Vladičica" also belongs to a hybrid genre. It is a kind of epitaph to Despa, the wife of Duke Dragoš, who even though lived only "dvaest leta", performed good deeds and artistic feats during that short time.

Finally, the sonnet "Page", is one of the few sonnets about Miloš Obilić. It is written as if his portrait was made according to a fresco. Thus, its singularity and peculiarity has been achieved. Miloš has "oči od smaragda", "ruke od albastra i vlasi od lana". He keeps coming across the Empress's peacocks, and "carski lavi piju iz njegovog dlana". Even though his voice is silky, because "pevanje je dete učilo od vile", that lion tamer and singer with a silky voice perfectly masters the golden knife, so that "u oblaku strelja utve zlatokrile". He brings together the heavenly and the earthly: "zbori sa zvezdama što nad gradom plove, / i svaki glas zemlje on sluša bez daha". He is the master of sounds and voices. The poem climaxes in its final tercet, which is quite common in this sonnet potpourri: Miloš Obilić is particularly sensitive to the "pram praha" from Kosovo – then "zatreperi srce sokoliću, / otvore se širom oči smaragdove".

Even though the cycle entitled "The Imperial Sonnets" is not the pinnacle of Dučić's patriotic poetry, it is indispensable when describing and valuing that poetry. Even though it is highly unlikely that the modern reader will ever accept the Emperor as a titan, his efforts to establish a dialogue with our Middle Ages, and thus to restore the broken continuities of Serbian poetry and history is worth of respect. The cross-genre character of sonnets is very interesting: combination of inscription and prayer, poem and sonnet; epitaph, prayer for the dead and sonnet; then the metaliterary layer of the sonnet "Hagiography" and the intermedial relationship poem-fresco, which Rakić already introduced in his poems "Simonida" and "Jefimija". Finally, there are two precious tears shed by the actor Dobrosav from Hum. Serbian poetry was establishing continuity with the Middle Ages all throughout the twentieth century, so what Rakić and Dučić introduced, Bojić, Vinaver and Nastasijević continued, Miodrag Pavlović, Milorad Pavić, Vasko Popa and



With Milan Rakić (LSASA, F-VII)

Ivan V. Lalić established as a literary program, and Ljubomir Simović, Matija Bećković, Rajko P. Nogo and Milosav Tešić continued, each in his own way.

Dučić's best patriotic poems are all seven poems from the cycle "My Fatherland", primarily "Ave Serbia", "Herzegovina", "The Victor's Hymn" and "Bregalnica", although the remaining three poems – "Macedonia", "Hordes" and "Vardar" – also deserve attention and respect. The first four are more universal and far-reaching; whereas the remaining three are in the shadow of the time when they were written and bear a trace of daily events. The poems "Ave Serbia", and "The Victor's Hymn" should find a place in every, even the strictest, anthology of Serbian patriotic poetry; they are the very pinnacle of their kind. The following poems that were published in the *American Srbo-bran* from 1941 to 1944 also belong to this context, and critics should pay more attention to them: "Vrbas", "Prayer", "Bosnia", "The Martyrs of Lika", "On the Shores of the Neretva" and "To Eternal Serbia". Who else if not Serbian critics and the science of literature?!

For Dučić, patriotic poem is always a love poem, because patriotic sentiment is – the sentiment of a man in love, committed to his people, his homeland, his ancestors and descendants; it is a sentiment referring to the hearth and dignity, to the grave and history, but also to the cradle and vision of the future, and in terms of time it is both past- and future-oriented. Owing to his father's sacrifice, Dučić was predestined for patriotic sentiment: when he was just a small child, in exile, he watched his father Andrija, a wounded Herzegovinian insurgent, while he was wasting and dying a slow death. Dučić's early poems are imbued with patriotism; his schooling and overall service are imbued with that feeling, inasmuch that he was willing to sacrifice himself. As Njegoš's spiritual descendant, Dučić nurtured the hero cult and the victim cult and sacrifice, historical self-awareness and duties to the dead – victims – and duties that one owes to history; he nurtured the consciousness of the Kosovo Covenant and of the Serbs as people committed to the Covenant and history. Heroes create, and cowards trade and destroy. The Balkan Wars and the First World War posed a challenge to his patriotic sentiment and to his best patriotic poems; Ustasha crimes and massacres of Serbs in the Second World War encouraged the poet to write patriotic poems that came into existence in America (1941–1943). Regardless of the fact that Dučić's patriotic poems are historically engaged poems, they reach high aesthetic achievements and realize a historical vision.

The ambivalent suggestiveness of the Latin title "Ave Serbia" (НЕГРИШИОРАИ; 2021, according to the manuscript) has already become apparent: it might be an allusion to the Latin sentence *Ave Caesar, morituri te salutant*, or to the Hail Mary prayer. Dučić's poem was written in 1917: Serbs were exiled, dying people; people sentenced to death along with their country. The title of the prayer refers to holiness and motherhood, and is quite in line with the semantic field of the poem. In the first verse of the second stanza, the syntagma *holy mother* appears "Još si uz nas, sveta majko, koju muče", whereas in the penultimate verse of the poem appears the syntagma *good mother*, only to prepare the poem's climax ("Mi smo, dobra majko, oni što su dali / svagda kaplju krvi za kap tvoga mleka"). The lyrical subject of the poem is in the plural form – the collective "We" – the sons of the martyr land in exile. Serbia has been turned into a light (the sun on the flags, "svetlo nebo", dawn in airy dreams) which the exiles carry with them on flags, in their dreams, on roads, in their blood. Serbia is "znak u nebu i svetlost u noći" – everything that is holy and light-bearing. This light is also transmitted to the lyrical "We": its exiled children are the waves of its "ognjenog mora i sunčanih reka", and for them, Serbia is both a cradle and a grave, both "u odeći sunca".

The exiles feel that their homeland is with them and that they are inextricably bound up with Serbia, despite the distance and all the obstacles: its lightning in the light of their swords; its rivers that roar in their blood; all its winds are in their “osvetničkom gnevu”. The relationship with the homeland is mutually fateful: the fate of the homeland depends on the halved, exiled army, and without their homeland, soldiers lose their identity and their point of existence. The misfortune of their homeland is inscribed on the forehead of its every soldier, and in the hearts of the soldiers the heart of their homeland in space beats. The relationship between the homeland and its sons is earthly, cosmic and fateful: “Mi smo tvoje biće i tvoja sudbina, / udarac tvog srca u svemiru, Večna, / tvoj je udes pisan na čelu tvog sina, / na mač njegov reč ti strašna, neizrečna”. Probably the central image of Dučić’s patriotic poetry is condensed in the fourth stanza of the poem; Dučić’s famous oxymoron emerged from it – “a drop of poisonous milk”: “Mlekom svoje dojke nas si otrovala, / u bolu i slavi da budemo prvi; / jer su dva blizanca što si na svet dala – / mučenik i heroj, kap suze i krvi”. The eternal mother Serbia gives birth to her short-lived sons, because they are poisoned with their mother’s milk. They were doomed at birth to become heroes and martyrs – to sacrifice themselves for their homeland, so that it would be Eternal. He who is destined to be a hero or a martyr by birth is fed with poisonous milk. Dučić is the creator of the concept of the monument to the martyrs and heroes, the liberators of Trebinje, erected between the plane trees on which seventy-nine martyrs of Trebinje are said to have been hanged. Dučić lived his patriotic poetry and projected it into a monument. Finally, Serbia is “gorki zavet stradanja i moći, / jedini put koji vodi do vrhunca”. That bitter *covenant* is ambivalent. It is bitter, because it is a covenant of suffering, but it is in the bitterness and in suffering that its power lies. Actually, he here surely refers to the tremendous Kosovo covenant and a great sacrifice, but from it also emanates power and endeavour, along with the inspiration for achieving the impossible. According to him, we are a *covenant nation*. There, through that bitter covenant of suffering and power, leads the path to the summit. These are Dučić’s Njegoš-like moments of being inspired by history, covenant and sacrifice. Let us reiterate, this remarkable patriotic poem was written at one of the most difficult moments for the Serbian people, in the midst of the First World War, in 1917, when Serbia was occupied and manless, whereas its halved army in Greece was preparing for resurrection. The country did not capitulate.

All his life, Dučić saw Serbia as *Eternal*. Thus, in another terrible borderline fateful situation, he wrote the poem “To Eternal Serbia”, which was published posthumously in the *American Srbobran* on the eve of Vidovdan, on 27 June 1944. The poem is made up of thirty-six lines arranged in nine quatrains, in symmetrical trochees containing twelve syllables. While “Ave Serbia” is closer to the genre of anthem, the poem “To Eternal Serbia” is a poem of warnings, with a lot of appeals and warnings stemming from the acquired knowledge about a specific historical moment and the comparison with timeless, archetypal experience and insights. In the newer poem, too, there are hymnal overtones, followed by the frequent use of imperatives by which the lyrical subject warns of his own fears for the fatherland. The lyrical subject admonishes his dear people to beware “of taking the wrong turn” and to steer clear of “the road uncertain” that is always “the devil’s road”; to beware of its “saviors”; to scorn “the love of the vile, brotherhood of killers”, “and the word of traitors, the slanderers’ honor” – of everything that Dučić well saw from distant America. Even though he is aware that the knife of Serbia’s traitor “will always be thirsting”, the poetic subject is



The monument to heroes fallen for freedom in Trebinje

Dučić's drawing of the monument to heroes fallen for freedom

also aware that “killer’s dagger / will never match the length of your sword and its width”. Dučić already depicted the experience of the hordes in the cycle “My homeland”, and “the army of killers” and “the loathsome, vile courage of those who do slaughter” has been the archetype ever since Kosovo: “The knights of Kosovo were the first to grasp there / the army of killers they were to meet in battle”. Despite all historical challenges, massacres, betrayals and deceptions, faith perseveres that has no rational, but rather archetypal stronghold: “Like thunder you will find your glorious path again, / and like a vein of gold you will break through a rock”. Finally, in the climax of the poem, in the ninth quatrain, the covenant experience speaks hymnically: “Know that only in blood of a hero it’s born / the guiding star for the distant journeys always. / In the winds of the skies a martyr’s ship is seaborne, / tears of the innocents are to the heaven raised...” The poem reaches its climax in the tears and martyrdom of innocent victims, who are also fighting for their heavenly justice and truth. Despite all betrayals, taking wrong turns, hordes and murderers, remains faith in Eternal Serbia. That is why it is quite natural for the title of the posthumous book authored by Dučić to remain: *I believe in God and Serbdom*. One without the other is unsustainable, at least for Jovan Dučić, the covenant poet of “Eternal Serbia”.

The oxymoron *poisonous milk* can be found in the poem “The Victor’s Hymn”. This time, the Victory gives the soothing and comforting “kap iz svoje čaše”, “a novorođenim kap otrovnog mleka”. It is with this oxymoron that the poet resists the inertia of the anthem genre, that is, with the drop of poisonous milk that Victory gives to newborns, obliging them to fight and ensure victory for the rest of their lives. In this poem also appears the motif of a fruitful sacrifice: the soil soaked

with blood, “urodiće drugim pričešćem i hlebom”. The fallen victims will, as early as tomorrow, be seen “kako lete nebom”. The spark of those “što umiru u sjaju” will light large fires later. Relationships between the dead and the living are inextricably and permanently intertwined and dynamized, just as the relationships between ancestors and descendants are intertwined, dynamized and enduring. “Zore koje iz očaja svanu” connect descendants with their ancestors: “pokažu grob pretka u put naraštaju”. The homeland affirms the enduring and lasting ancestor-descendant relationship: “Jer je otadžbina samo ono kuda / naš znoj padne gde je krv očeva pala; / i plod blagosloven rađa samo gruda / gde su mač zahrđan deca iskopala”. Finally, the final, fifth quatrain is the climax of the poem, which is formulated rather as a universal statement, and not a commonplace. Dučić was strongly attached to this stanza – he had it placed on the monument to the martyrs and victors, the liberators of Trebinje. Glory is inextricably linked with martyrdom and suffering, with heroism and sacrifice: “Samo buktinjama zbori se kroz tmine; / u zrcalu mača budućnost se slika; / preko palih idu puti veličine: / slava, to je strašno sunce mučenika”.

The ancestor–descendant relationship appears as a commonplace in Dučić’s patriotic poems. “Nov porod” will “odmah od početka” head for glory, because as early as in their cradle they heard of “kako pretka / prati u legendu glas pobjednih zvona”. Children write their father’s name on the sword, which is a sign of bright soil, with no tears and shame: “Znaće da je samo ona zemlja svetla / gde nikad još nije pala suza srama; / gde su deca na mač ime oca metla / što živi u himni i u molitvama” (“Herzegovina”). Bregalnica, “do juče nepoznata nikom”, shines in the light carrying “sve sunčane mreže i zvezdana kola”, it has become water with which “oči našoj deci, / i čelo proroka u trenuti sudnje” will be washed down, because it will open the eyes of the entire nation and shatter all its delusions, by becoming “svetlom međom između istine i bludnje”. Having erupted “kao varnica iz mača”, “svoj put prosekla između dva doba” and now it is a dividing line in history and time. The relationship between the lyrical “We” and fatherland’s rocks and rivers is organic, internal and physical: “Naša duša ima boju naše stene, / i naša krv teče kud i naše reke”.

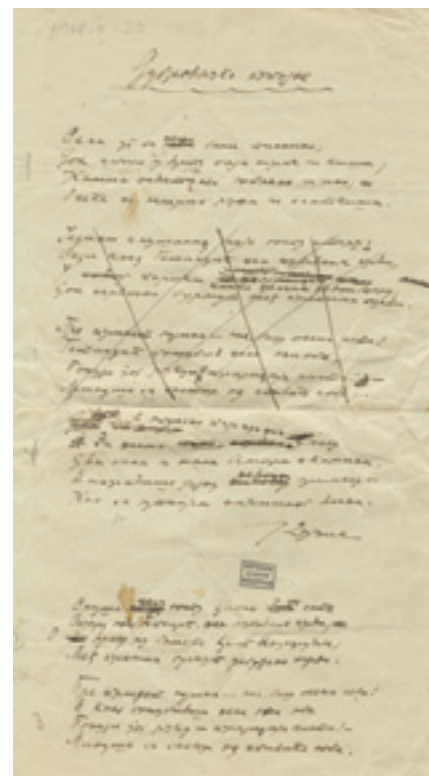
The poem “Horde” distinctly differs from other poems in the cycle. It is a poem about insidious enemies, false allies, deceivers and traitors, who have no code of ethics of warfare; about arsonists and murderers of children and weaklings, desecrators of temples and works of art. They cannot win, “jer lovor ne niče s bunjišta i kala, / on je za heroje, a ne za ubice”. The poem was inspired by the events and experiences from the Balkan wars. The value system remains the same: glory and victory belong to heroes and martyrs, not murderers.

The negative historical experience occurred once again more drastically and dramatically during the Second World War. Serbian corpses floated down the Serbian rivers (“The Vrbas”, “The Neretva”), “Because bloody rivers mark our constant borders: / The killers’ swords are forged always in the same den – / Carry grandchildren now where you carried forbears”. Those children “have died for you a hundred times before”, repeating the victims of historical horrors through time. The fifth quatrain is the climax of the poem, which contains nowadays more comprehensible and more obvious idea of blood stealing and innocent victims, so that the final two verses achieve climax in the glory of the victories brought to us by the heroes and awesome justice assured by the dead.: “Carry off seas of blood so they don’t steal the seas, / Carry, Serbian river, blood of innocent victims: / Our heroes will bring us the joyous victories, / But only the dead can assure awesome justice”.

“Prayer” is one of Dučić’s most beautiful patriotic poems (*The American Srbobran*, 17 September 1942), it is a poem and a requiem for innocent victims. Their deaths and their martyrdom make sense only in the context of the Lord. Different variations of the fourth verse of the poem: “Our graveyards are again larger than our cities” was to be written by Rajko Nogo at the turn of the millennium. The warmth, the prayerful tone of the poem, and the intimacy with the Lord are in stark contrast to the horrors of history. To live with these horrors is only possible if one finds comfort in God and prayer, resting his hope on the heroes who will come after the martyrs, as it is announced in the song “The Martyrs of Lika”, which is written in symmetrical decasyllables. For depicting dramatic images and horrors, Dučić resorts to a lyrical and dramatic verse: being shot “on all our fields”, gallows stand by all roads, “Evers better men fall by the wayside”, the Serbian blood mixes with Serbian land and waters, along the roads there are the blind ones whose eyes have been gouged out, victims’ arms have been broken in two “So that they could not raise them heavenward”. Churches have been set aflame, saints and people have suffered together, Serbian word has been banned everywhere, criminals have transformed into bloodthirsty hyenas. The horror is all the more terrible because exterminations and massacres have been done in the name of God: “Armies marched around carrying the cross, / Followed by the loud pealing of church bells; / And the leaders led with prayers – / ora pro nobis rumbled in the dales”. There only remains hope in God and in heroes; a sense of the sanctity of an innocent victim: “But the avenger tailed the victim’s fate! / Behind the martyr avenging heroes! / The innocent’s path God has gold-plated: / Only the graveyards of victims one knows...!” Today we know that Serbs were not able to identify and count their victims.

Despite all the horrors of history, which he thematizes, Dučić’s patriotic poem is also full of light. Even though the Neretva is “from the blood of children fully red”, or it is just because of that, “Never in a bitter sea” its “flow find a stop, / But, like shiny milky ways, it glitters with the suns! / Nor under a dreadful sky ever dies a heart’s drop, / Which gives history to land, myth to meridians”. Only a man showing deep faith in God and in his nation – in the Serbdom – could sing like that when his country was destroyed and his fellow countymen were decimated and crucified. Dučić believed in the profound meaning of the most tragic historical events, because history took place before the crucified Christ; he believed in the Christlikeness of the innocent victim.

Even though they were first written (1902–1918), “Ragusan Poems” were set as the third part – cycle – of the book *The Imperial Sonnets*. In the first cycle priority was given to the vision of splendor and power of the medieval, imperial Serbia, then ensued the heroic-martyr cycle “My Fatherland”



Manuscript of the poem
“The Dubrovnik Afternoon”
(ASASA 15068-III-23)

containing the best patriotic poems that reached metaphysical moments and qualities, and finally “Ragusan Poems”, as the third form of singing, which was open to specific culture of Dubrovnik in the Renaissance and Baroque period, to the world of entertainment, carnivals, balls, it introduced humorous, at times ironic-parodic tones and descriptions of happy events, which Dubrovnik cherished. “Poems” are very consistent: each of them has a concise lyrical plot, and therefore it is most likely that it is because of their concise narrative, that the poet decided to dub them poems. Neither in terms of their length, nor their form and structure, can these humorous poems be epic poems. Dučić did not include all his poems about Dubrovnik in this cycle: We have already pointed out the poem “Dubrovnik” in “The Imperial Sonnets”; in “Adriatic Sonnets” there is “The Dubrovnik Requiem”, and in “Blue Legends” there are “The Dubrovnik Autumn” and “The Dubrovnik Song”. Two sonnets and two prose poems do not fit into the formally consistent “Ragusan Poems” that are made out of four quatrains and are in every respect different from the nine “Ragusan Poems”. The lyrical characters of the “poems” are a prince, an emissary, a captain, a Dominican, a countess, an archbishop, a lord, a young widow, and a senator – a completely other and different world from the one from previous two cycles.

How comes it that these cheerful, humorous, and at times slightly ironic poems are included in the collection of patriotic poetry? Dubrovnik meant a lot to Dučić from an early age. The town is in the immediate vicinity of his Herzegovina and his dear, birth town of Trebinje. As a child, together with his mother and both sisters, he found refuge in Dubrovnik during the Herzegovina uprising, when his father Andrija was wounded, who eventually died of his wounds in Dubrovnik and was buried in Posat, next to St George’s church. It is through these Serbian insurgents’ graves that the road to Dubrovnik goes, which was built before the Second World War, and was first filled with sand and later covered with asphalt. Ever since the desecration of the insurgents’ graves, that is, his father’s grave, Dučić became deeply disappointed with Dubrovnik, however, this took place in his later years. Dučić’s ancestor Sava Vladislavić also had an ambivalent attitude towards Dubrovnik, who, until his full disappointment with Dubrovnik, signed himself as Raguzinski, and then ceased to do so. It is known that Dučić modeled Sava Vladislavić as his double.

Young Dučić truly cared about the relationship between Dubrovnik and the Serbian Empire. One of his best friends was Ivo Vojnović. Dubrovnik and its landscape are central motifs of his several “Adriatic Sonnets”, as well as of his two poems from the collection “Blue Legends”. The Renaissance and Baroque caught his interest. Dubrovnik was a world on its own that attracted the poet’s attention, extremely different

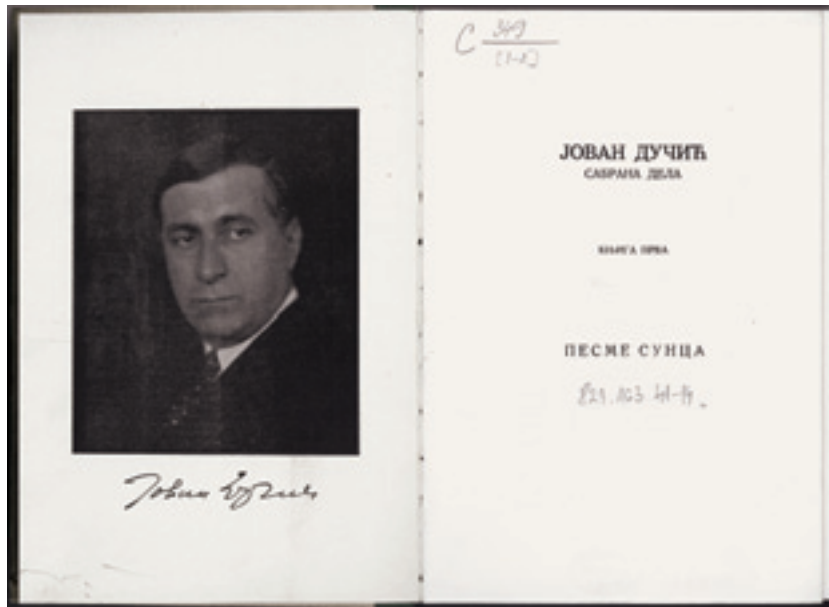


Count Ivo Vojnović and Dučić in Dubrovnik

from everything else, at the same time familiar to him and mysterious. Hence, it is quite natural that the “Ragusan Poems” were included in the *Imperial Sonnets* as its third cycle; as the third shift in tone and attitude within the same collection.

A large and extensive body of literature has been written on “Ragusan Poems”. As of 2009, three of our most prominent researchers in the field of Ragusa have written about them: Zlata Bojović (БОЈОВИЋ 2010), Branko Letić (ЛЕТИЋ 2010) and Irena Arsić (АРСИЋ 2019), so hardly anything else can be added to that. Ivan Negrišorac also wrote about them in the context of a discussion about Dučić’s poetry in its entirety (НЕГРИШОРАЦ 2009).

Letić warns us that M. Kašanin pointed out the uniqueness of “Ragusan Poems” in Serbian modern poetry in terms of their “narrative form” and lyrical transposition of the history of Dubrovnik, whereas the poet Rajko Petrov Nogo, always in favor of Dučić, saw in this cycle a small mosaic lyrical novel, an exceptional work on a world scale when it comes to its genre. Letić recalls Dučić’s belief that some cities, and Dubrovnik among them, “have a soul”, and it is up to the poet to discover, awaken and show that soul. By discovering the soul of the town, the poet weaves its history, spirituality, humor and customs into his poems. In the description of the Emperor’s Sword in the poem “Dubrovnik” from “The Imperial Sonnets”, two “bloods” of this town are noticeable: the folk “Slav” one and the Romanesque one – “tuđa polovina krvi” to which the town owns its thousand-year survival. The renaissance in the 16th century Dubrovnik – the hedonism of the “golden age” – according to Letić, is best expressed in the poems “Ragusan Madrigal”, “Wine of Dubrovnik” and “Ragusan Carnival”. The poem “Ragusan Pastel” brings about the transition from the Renaissance to the Baroque, and “Ragusan Emissary”, “Ragusan Senator”, “Dubrovnik Epitaph”, “Dubrovnik Archbishop” and “Dubrovnik Baron” thematize different aspects of social and cultural life in Dubrovnik and the Baroque period in the 17th century. If the idea of a lyrical poetic novel were accepted and Dučić’s poetry was interpreted from its perspective, then, according to Letić, the poem “Dubrovnik” could be considered as its prologue, “Ragusan Poems” as the two-part core of the novel about the Dubrovnik Renaissance and Dubrovnik Baroque, while the sonnet “The Dubrovnik Requiem” and two prose poems could be interpreted as its “lyrical epilogue”. The poem “Ragusan Madrigal” is characterized by hedonism, desire for life, music, dance, dialogues of the young “of prowess, wine and song”, and the dialogues of the older “of heaven, of ancient Plato, and of that Great Saint, Augustine, and of schoolmen sage”, while the lyrical subject rests with a lady and easily, “as in jest” will scribble “a melancholy sonnet” – on her fan. Driven by “insidious that wine”, a captain and a Dominican friar will easily and spontaneously “swap” roles: the captain will passionately say the Psalms out loud, and the Dominican will twang a mandolin, while a gray dame of note, famous for her virtues, will quote to a grateful “group of ladies” – “a roaring tale from the Decameron”. Humor and mild irony flicker above every poem. Both death and grave are adorned with humor. The fatal news of the death of the young widow Kate in half an hour empties the streets of the playful carnival Dubrovnik, nevertheless, the aforementioned bodes that the young widow deserved such an honor and status, by making the whole city happy with her cheerful life. The poem “Barokna” about Archbishop of Dubrovnik, the early deceased young Marin, climaxes in a parody of God’s commandment, stylized in zeugma: “Ljubi svoga bližnjeg i njegovu ženu”. Whereas lord Sabo, the



The title page of the first volume of Dučić's *Collected Works - Songs of the Sun* (BSASA, catalogue number C 349; 1-2)

Dubrovnik senator, is best depicted by two zeugmas as a source of laughter: “Pola veka opšte nosio je breme, / i toliko isto nosio je roge”; “Kod kuće je ljuta obesio mača, / a na ulici je obesio uši”. “Dubrovnik Epitaph” is placed on the grave of Pasco Zade, who “never had a woman or tasted love’s honey”, and died “the old goat, clumsy”, and therefore the climax of the epitaph is as follows “On good terms with husbands, a foolproof protection / with whom all wives would stay virtuous and faithful”. In our opinion, humor is the most precious thing in Dučić’s “Ragusan Poems”. Through that at times melancholic humor, Dučić awoke the soul of the long-dead Renaissance and Baroque Dubrovnik and, perhaps, led a lyrical dialogue with Ivo Vojnović. For us, Dučić is the best in other poems. We show much understanding for the anachronisms in this cycle; these are transgressions against history, rather than against poetry.

Three cycles of *The Imperial Sonnets* show three different manners in which Dučić explored patriotic themes and how he masterfully mixed tonality, themes, stylistic devices and the nature of climaxes. These are indeed the qualities of a master.

Descriptive Poetry

Dučić’s “Songs of the Sun” are ranked at the very pinnacle of all Serbian descriptive poetry; with them, Dučić surpassed his famous teacher and forerunner Vojislav Ilić, re-actualized the forgotten trochaic nine-syllable meter – the rarest meter of Serbian folk poetry – and with his golden cycle enriched Serbian lyric poetry with a new rhythm and a new sense of nature – the best

Serbian descriptive poetry cycle ever. It is the pinnacle of its kind. The resurrection of rare meters – heptameter and nine-syllable meter – is one of his achievements in versification. Dučić had a gift and a penchant for descriptive poetry. It was evident as early as in his first poems in the *Collected Works*. Sure everyone remembers the poem “Sunset” which opens the cycle “Shadows across the Water” in the first volume of the *Collected Works – Songs of the Sun*. It ushers Dučić’s canonized poetry in; it opens up his *Collected Works*. It is obviously a significant poem for Dučić as well, given its privileged place in the cycle, volume and his entire opus. Its title refers to a description – to a description of the sunset. The poem is made up of four octaves, or eight crypto quatrains, given that each of the octaves quite naturally, especially in terms of rhyme, could be broken down into two quatrains. However, it is not – at least not in its entirety – a descriptive poem, but rather a poem about a woman, that is, it is a “love” poem at least as much as it is a poem about nature. Here description is employed to create a landscape or a space for the appearance of “a woman I do not know”, “and crowned, and shining bright”. It is an entirely uneven, and as a description, internally inconsistent song. It is one of the few Dučić’s poems wherein the first stanza is the best one, even ingenious. That stanza is the only one compelling, and brilliant, octave of this poem. Already the third, also a descriptive one, octave is, in our opinion, artificial and unconvincing. In this poem description is employed to create a landscape for the appearance of a strange, infinitely sad, unknown woman and for the establishment of an unusual, even unconvincing relationship between that woman and the poetic subject. Nevertheless, its first octave and the vision of the copper sky and cosmic fire that is conjured up in it – cannot be forgotten; it is indeed ingenious. As much as it is an uneven poem about a woman, basically confined by a sentimentalist, anachronistic idea, wherein the description is employed to evoke love and sentimental, and yet a sad place, so much the first stanza is ablaze with solar flame beginning to show in the sky, water and land, accompanied by the roar of a waterwheel. It is one of the most dramatic descriptions of the sky, river, dark wood of ancient pines and a waterwheel – all that was put in one fiery octave: “The sky, like copper in a furnace, shines, / the river crimson in the evening glow; / and now, from that dark wood of ancient pines / does not a stealthy flame begin to show? / And listen – somewhere in the distance, turns / a water wheel, with droning hoarse and deep; / but while the heaven above the valley burns, / the mayfly on the waters lies asleep”. Everything else in this poem is incomparably weaker in comparison with the above-mentioned first stanza, and we are to make a reference to it in another place, when discussing Dučić’s love poetry, that is, his poems about women.

Dučić’s poems to silence and about silence could find, and indeed they did find, an echo in Raičković’s collections, in particular in his early collections. In Dučić’s poetry, silence is inextricably linked with loneliness, suffering and melancholy. In his poem “Silence” the poet evokes “zaboravljen predeo u proplanku dugom”, somewhere by the river, because “obale pod teškom tišinom i travom”. The river “huje tihom tugom, / a žalosne vrbe šume zaboravom”. The willow motif is common in Dučić’s poetry and, as a rule, connected with the feeling of sadness, and here with oblivion as well. “U zelenoj jasnoj pomrčini granja” – which is an unusual oxymoron – the poetic subject finds personified Solitude (with a capital S) “u ćutanju večnom”, with characteristic pallor, while daydreaming, and narcissistically gazing at the water, that is, at “modrilo rečno”. These places of silence are pure places, and when a voice cuts through them, “sva tišina teško uzdahne u bolu, / refren patnje ode od lista do lista”. Silence is personified, along with loneliness, and as a rule, it is extremely sensitive, melancholic and pale.

Naturally, even though description dominates in it, the poem “Poplars” is not solely a descriptive poem. The poem begins with a question and the auditory image that triggered the question. The lyrical subject wonders why the poplars are murmuring so sensually and strangely tonight. The auditory image is accompanied by the visual one – the yellow moon which “has set past the hills long ago / far and dark like omens”. Dučić’s comparison of a far-reaching range – the concrete with the abstract – is at work again: the hills, the yellow moon has slowly set past, are compared to his darkness, blackness and distance; with omens, thus hinting at the mental world of the lyrical subject. Immediately ensues Dučić’s characteristic overstepping, that is, switching, which semantically emphasizes dreams, the dead of night, and the water on which they fell. The weight of dreams is amplified by the color of the water: it is “like lead” quiet and gray in the dark. The poplars are by and above the water and “murmur strangely and tremble in the sky”. The image of poplars, the yellow moon that slowly sets past, the black hills, the dreams in the dead of night, lead and gray waters, and then again poplars that murmur sensually in the air, prepare the third quatrain, that is, the emotional state of the lyrical subject. He stands alone, by the silent water, in the night, “like the last man on earth” and feels an incomprehensible and inexplicable fear – he fears himself and is afraid “of his shadow”. Between fear and foreboding of oneself and of one’s shadow and the auditory image of the sensually murmur of poplars “high in the air”, as well as among all visual images that precede the third quatrain, one can sense some secret connection: perhaps the poplars themselves sensually murmur in accordance with the fear and foreboding of the lyrical subject. The emotional permeation of the lyrical subject and nature and vice versa is evident. Thus, the poplars become a very suggestive and mysterious symbol around which the semantic field of anxiety and fear propagates.

The same goes for the poem “A Willow by the Sea”. Written predominantly by following the process of description, it becomes a symbol of curse, loneliness and sorrow, but also of the heart being torn apart that gives itself to others, the same as a willow gives “a leaf to the wind, a branch to the sea”. In both cases, Dučić’s symbols are ambiguous and multidirectional.

The short poem “Winter Pastel” is a very beautiful poem, suggesting the death of everything, even the death of time. Thus, the theme of death and the description of landscape, that is, of the village chapel, the cemetery, the clock on the chapel and the sky, intersect in the poem. Two quatrains, which comprise the entire poem, are full of details that suggest the experience of whiteness and death. The village chapel is “hunched deeply in the snow”, so it “shivers amid the tombs”. “The skies are colorless”; there is no wind; the frozen bell is silent; every voice, every sign of life fell silent; the clock hands stand still as a sign that “time itself has passed away at last”.

The experience of the peace of spring noon is quite the opposite “Above the island, dense with cypress and white pine”, with an accentuated and reiterated color of the granite mountains. Two epithets appear in the verse “comes from the vernal sea...the smack of brine” that build a double synesthesia, so the odour acquires some taste- and color-like features: “comes from the vernal sea, *dark-blu*, *the smack of brine*”. All the senses are employed – sight, taste, smell, the perception of temperature: “The young and lusty sun is scorching, well-ablaze”; “the billows murmur not”; a seagull glitters; the granite mountains are mirrored in the sea; the sea surface murmurs and “lips the rocky wall”; the sky vault is glassy, hot, so it is bright above the water; “The dust is eddying”; a sea-gull flashes; the cliffs exhale a fishy reek and an odor of sea heath.

Everything is mirrored in the sea, and the sea and the whole landscape are mirrored in the soul of the poetic subject; the double play of mirrors depicts the noon tranquility and stillness, warmth, light, and an unusual play of colors.

These are the most expressive descriptive poems from the cycle “Shadows across the Water”. From the cycle “Evening Songs” we single out the excellent poem “Sunflowers”, which is similar to the poems “Poplars” and “A Willow by the Sea” in its symbolic radiance. This ambiguous and metaphysically oriented poem suffuses three of Dučić’s great thematic lines: the theme of nature, the theme of death and the theme of God, whereas the theme of light and darkness is in direct connection with them. In its sorrowful eye, “što nemo prati neba bludnje”, the sunflower gathered and encapsulated “sve žeđi ovog sveta, / sva nespokojsva i sve žudnje”. Beings of light and sun – genuine solar beings – follow God all day long in fear of the darkness of the forest of words to the glory of light. Seven verses are suffused with their voice and those seven verses are some kind of hymn to the light and to God: “Bog je pomalo sve što zari”, sing these followers of light and sun, for whom “jedna zraka / mera i cena sviju stvari!...” All that “na dnu tmine”, with a curse fall. As the ray of light is the measure of all things, so it is negatively marked and marked by a curse “sve što ne gleda u visine / i nije jednom zasijalo”. But all the suns are “nakraj sveta, / i tiho pada mrak i sene”, and therefore “žreci sunca” are sad, begging for light. The final, sixth quatrain – the climax of the poem – is marked by death, but also by light. In Dučić’s poetry, light is often in conjunction with death: “Pomreće noćas širom vrti, / dvoredi sjajnih suncokreta, / ali će biti u toj smrti / sva žarka sunca ovog sveta.” In terms of this relationship between God, light and nature, and this solar metaphysical ascent, Dučić is Njegoš’s brethren and successor. It is to be remembered that God is all that shines, and that a ray of light is “mera i cena sviju stvari”, that all that lives in darkness profound with a curse will fall, all that looks towards the ground, and has never ever shined at all; Jovan Dučić and his poem “Sunflowers” will be remembered, which with its radiance and suggestiveness far surpasses any description. “Sunflowers” is a great poem authored by a great poet. Even when employing description, in his happy moments, this poet also managed to reach what he considered the goal and nature of great lyric poetry – to be the highest degree of metaphysics, which will be seen in his subsequent cycles, and especially in his “Songs of the Sun”.

Thirteen “Adriatic Sonnets” form a cycle in which description has a significant, at times, dominant function. The degree of description is to some extent determined by the nature of the sonnet, the opposition quatrains – tercets. As a rule, quatrains are the bearers of “objective image” and description, whereas tercets in “kolencet” – a shift from quatrains to tercets – acquire a subjective tone and open up to the lyrical subject and his emotional world. The title of the cycle refers to the localities on the Adriatic coast, whose names are included in the subtitle of each sonnet. This additionally obliges the poet to resort to description and to take a responsible attitude towards the toponym and the landscape. Perhaps this is why some “Adriatic Sonnets” entirely belong to descriptions: “By the Sea” (*From Boka*), “Village” (*From Trsteno*), “Dalmatia” (*From Split*) and “Moonlight” (*On Lapadu*). “The Dubrovnik Requiem” is specific, which should probably be read in the context of “Ragusan Poems”, as some researchers do. It is quite natural that it is the only sonnet that has no subtitle; the title itself has already said everything there is to say about the place. In the poem “By the Sea” the poet depicts a stone lion “iz mletačkih dana”, who for centuries, “ozbiljan i mračan”, has been sitting in the square, on the shore, listening to

the noise of centuries and the Adriatic Sea. Even though it is “star i malaksao”, it dug his paws deeply and keeps “svoj mramorni pogled i studeno oko”. Children treat it like a toy, “dok on gleda na more, i čeka / da galije stare vidi iz daleka, / što odoše nekad pre mnogo vekova”. The sonnet has something of the Parnassian ideal of sculpture, but also oozes with the experience of the transience of the glory of the world, and dense melancholy, which emanates from the sense of transience. Everything that belonged to the time of lion’s power had gone many centuries ago. The poem “Village” (*From Trsteno*) is often cited as an illustration of Dučić’s stylistic mastery, especially in terms of comparison and metaphor, but also as it comes to epithets, enjambment and the atmosphere of muted melancholy. The poem opens with a metaphor of the horny moon that “has caught itself in branches / of old chestnut trees”. Enjambement is instrumental in placing the emphasis on branches and old chestnut trees. And then Dučić’s consistent comparison of the concrete with the abstract ensues, given in syntactic inversion. That classic example from a stylistics textbook deserves to stay as it is: “Like restless conscience that sleeps the first time through, / so does slumber the sea in soundless radiance”. Hardly have we ever had a greater master of comparison of the concrete with the abstract, even nowadays. And that is not the only Dučić’s comparison of that kind, but it is rather a model of a rare type of comparison, precious and revealing. A similar comparison can be found in the first tercet of the same sonnet: a fishermen’s village “clings to a large rock, / and comes down to the bay; and through the milky mist / It can barely be seen, like in memory block”. The second element of the comparison – *memory* – is again abstract. Obviously, memories are uncertain and vague, so they *can barely be seen*. There is something of an anthropological discovery in both of these comparisons. The poem reaches its climax in a negative auditory image: there is “not a sound, not a voice, only in monotone / the clock keeps on chiming, but no one hears its drone”. It is this monotone chiming of the clock that evokes the depth of *eternal silence*, with which the third tercet begins and into which the village will eventually sink. As a rule, Dučić’s second abstract element of comparison is very successful: it always comes as a surprise and flashes like a discovery. Thus in the sonnet “The Dubrovnik Requiem” the poet depicts bidding last farewell to a beautiful, fair, sad woman from Dubrovnik “u belom odelu”, and the deceased is compared to the dead Illusion: “Nasred katedrale ležala je ona, / kao Iluzija koja je umrla”. This is the third example of a successful second abstract element of comparison, which flashed in the same cycle, which is undoubtedly a poetically relevant fact. We will also dwell on the comparisons in the poem “Vespers”. The poem focuses on an image of an island overgrown “with the black olive trees”, which “like a black sea gull” lies in the midst of sea waves. The second comparison is more Dučić-style, in which, for the fourth time in this cycle, the concrete is compared with the abstract – fog with forgetfulness: “While the evening fog above the silent beaches / falls, like forgetfulness, gray, silent as in caves”. Some stylistic and poetic rules applied by Dučić are here corroborated. The poet’ eye catches sight of the belfry of a church on the overgrown island, and then the sad sound of bells is heard from there. The image is given as a process, as a discovery, so the visual impression complements and enhances the auditory. Dučić brought this model of comparison – concrete with abstract – to perfection.

The sonnet “Dalmatia” is all about description; in its center is an image of a stray albatross in the evening sun, which stained the sea and the vault in blood, so the albatross looks

imperial: “Beše u porfiri, / sav pokriven zlatnom i purpurnom svilom”, and therefore it is reminiscent of Diocletian’s spirit: “Izgleda duh strasni Dioklecijana / nad dragim se morem dalmatinskim širi, / u sunčane sate jednog carskog dana”. It is quite natural that this sonnet bears the subtitle *From Split*. Dučić’s “Albatross” can hardly be understood as a nod to Baudelaire – Dučić’s poem is aimed at a cultural and historical association and the Dalmatian sea and sky.

In the sonnet “Moonlight” (*On Lapad*) from its very beginning the description of the moonlight “iznad tamnih voda” is intertwined with the motif of a dear woman and the gloomy scent of her voice, and therefore it often proves – as a very successful stylistic device employed by the poet. In this poem is also “bolno šumi iznad tamnih voda / tiha pesma sfera u dubini svoda”, and therefore in such a night “bude samo slutnje”, which is characteristic of the symbolism of the shadowed Dučić. And when that dear woman speaks on a night like that, “taj glas ima / neveseli miris večernje ciprese”, which triggers “nedorečene nevesele slutnje”.

Sonnets “By the Water” (*From Boninov*), “Summer” (*From Dubrovačka Župa*), “Morning Sonnet” (*At the church of Our Lady of Mercy*), “Vespers” (*From Cavtat*) are formed mainly in line with the sonnet model – with descriptions predominantly in the quatrains and subjectivization in the tercets. In the poem “Slušanje”, subjectivization begins as early as from the second quatrain, whereas in the sonnet “Love” the turn in thoughts comes as late as in the second tercet, while the sonnet “Night Verses” is dominated by the lyrical subject with his emotional attitude as early as from the very first verse. And if there is the turn in thoughts, then it is in “kolencet” that is to take place, when the lyrical subject explicitly says: “Ja sam deo noći”. The contrast between the quatrains and the tercets is not sharp: it is more a matter of changing the tonality and subjectivization of the second part of the poem. Dučić’s quatrains prove instrumental in preparing the subjectivization of the tercet and creating an atmosphere and heralding feelings that are to emerge.

In terms of composition, and even emotionally, the sonnet “Stars” is probably the most interesting sonnet. As early as in the first quatrain it is evident that the lyrical subject is not alone. Visual and auditory sensations are intertwined: “Amidst the boughs, the stars burn peacefully aloft, / while, in the calm, the sea with spacious music calls / around us everywhere; these voices travel, soft / as dew that through the veil of silvery darkness falls”. The stars burn aloft, but amidst the boughs, thus bringing that height closer and making it nearer. Two dimensions are dominant – the height of the stars, and the boughs, and the width of the sea song. The oxymoron *silvery darkness* makes the landscape additionally stranger. The second quatrain refers to love, and is emotionally most direct and most



Always surrounded by beautiful women

expressive. The lyrical subject passionately wreathes “roses, all wet with night” into his darling’s hair and kisses “those eyes that brimmed with stars, those lips that verses breathed” all evening.

The tercets – unexpectedly for the sonnet – go back to description, both visual and auditory: “Now all things shine and murmur; and from the branches pour / a radiance down, like some white shower of falling drops; / far in the distance lies and dreams the olive-copse...”. Now the sea also brims with stars, and rocks them and rolls all night through upon the strand, along with sand. The stars are amidst the boughs, in the sea; “up and down”; and as such they are part of the visual and auditory. Hence the poem is titled “Stars”: it is about astral night and astral love, and about the unusual composition of sonnets – in the second quatrain we find what we would expect in tercets, and in tercets what is characteristic of quatrains. This “semantic inversion” does not hinder the beauty of this sonnet authored by Dučić.

In “Adriatic Sonnets”, Dučić’s gift for description came to the fore. Description is usually subordinated to the sonnet form. A complete, “pure” and concise description will emerge in his “Songs of the Sun”.

In the cycles “Songs of the Sun” and “Soul and Night” three quatrains are a measure of lyrical moments. All fifteen “Songs of the Sun” are descriptive poems, and “The Sun”, “Omorina”, and in particular “The Pine Tree”, “The Beech Tree” and “Ants” are true little literary masterpieces. Each and every poetic image is characterized by some specific details, that is some specifics, which are clearly separated and precisely depicted, and are often accompanied by a number of epithets. Thus *the barley fields are yellow and ripe; the river shoal is so full of light that it simply radiates; the blackberry shines, sunny, hot* and there, in the thicket of brambles, *the snake takes off its shirt*. All these details are contained in the first stanza and make the poetic image rich, bright, hot, appealing to the reader’s sense of sight and hearing, the sensation of heat, so from the second quatrain on poetic images become more dynamic: *the road is dusty*, and *the company of ants walks in a line along the road; the cricket is spinning its iron string, the longest one this summer*. An auditory poetic image – the singing of cricket – is presented visually – as the spinning of the longest iron string. In the third quatrain there is an infestation of locusts. Verbs in the present tense form from the first two quatrains (*zrači, sja, svlači, vuče, suče*) are replaced by the aorist forms, which further dynamizes the third stanza: a flock of grasshoppers *fell silent*, which emphasizes their lightning rush and flight, whereas from the poplar the young hawk “*baci u sunčev sjaj i zlato / svoj krik večite gladi*”. The poem becomes more dynamic and accelerated: the first stanza evokes the image of summer glow at rest – it evokes the state. In the second stanza the central poetic image is that of a company of ants that walks in a line along the dusty road, whereas in the third one it is that of a swarm of locusts and eternally hungry hawk. All this makes the poetic image rich and dynamic, full of brilliance, which is a contrast to the dusty road and the black companies of ants. The poetic image is visually, as well as auditory and suggestively, “full” and ambiguous.

Dučić’s brilliant descriptive poems “The Pine Tree” and “The Beech Tree” bear some resemblance to the poem “The Bush” by Vojislav Ilić, which heralded Ilić’s symbolism. Ilić’s poem “The Bush” is neither ambiguous nor is an allegory, but is rather a symbolist poem, with accented suggestiveness. It was struck by lightning, which is a severe life blow, and it stands “*na surom proplanku*”, which suggests an unfavorable habitat. Despite that, it is proud of its stature

and posture; it is wrapped in a tangle of grass, while in bloom it has the most beautiful flower, and Ilić's favorite "nestašni gorki lahor" sways and bends that flower, so that it swings. Therefore, the bush withstands both the lightning strike and the harsh glade as an unfortunate habitat, showing the proud stoicism, which Skerlić will recognize in Rakić's poetry. Stoicism increases in the second stanza with the arrival of winter: Grass and flower – its jewelry – have been torn by the icy hand of winter; the leaves have disappeared and only bare branches have remained. However, the proud bush withstands both winter and cold wind, even though it stands in a harsh and unpleasant place – one cannot choose his homeland, and one should survive in it even if the lightning strikes, and should withstand winter ice and gusts of cold wind. Ilić's description reaches the proportions of a very broad symbolist suggestiveness.

Dučić's "The Pine Tree" is richer both in terms of poetic image, and when it comes to symbolist suggestiveness, and emotions, and lyrical vision. Dučić's pine tree is like Ilić's bush, gloomy and huge, and it stands without glowing. It is lonely and without a name. It is a home, a shelter for a black jackdaw, and in it, very ambiguously, a "Mountain spring" rumbles: a source of life and a dangerous force, which works thoroughly and consistently somewhere at the root – it crumbles and wears away the soil on which the pine has taken root. Dučić's pine tree is also "a bush that lasts", a miracle of perseverance and endurance, despite its immense despair, whose metaphor is a long morning shadow, "cast in the first moment of sun's shining" down the the sunlit slope. *Shadow* is Dučić's great obsession when he sings about pine, beech and man alike. Beech tree's *cliff-like solemn shadow slants*; the pine tree "down the sunlit slope casts / the long black shadow of its pinning". Dučić's pine tree is a cosmic fact and a cosmic being: it is connected with an underground mountain spring, with a jackdaw resting on the branches; and "at night it waves toward the sky" when everything else has become dearth, "to the stars it talks all night well-nigh / of bitter loneliness of this earth". Thus, the pine tree is reaffirmed as the "axis of the world", in communication with the underworld and the roar of the mountain spring, and with the stars, but also as an ambiguous symbol of strength, perseverance, absolute loneliness, despair, namelessness, anonymity despite its feat, stoic endurance. For us, Ilić's poem "The Bush" heralds Dučić's brilliant poems "The Pine Tree" and "The Beech Tree" – they are associated by similar images, as well as by their similar understanding of the world, and a wide field of their suggestiveness. Lermontov's poem "The Pine Tree" could have been a challenge, but these are very different poems: Lermontov's poem is about the separation and hopeless love of two loners on two ends of the world; for us, Dučić's poem is far more rich and suggestive; more ambiguous.



Dučić during a moment of leisure (ASASA 15068–656)



Vasko Popa (1922–1991)
(LSASA, F-890)

“The Beech Tree” bears some resemblance to the poem “The Pine Tree”. Its proportions are also cosmic: it encompasses both the earthly and the celestial, and it is superior to everything. “All the sky is contained within it” – it is so powerful and all-encompassing, but it is bound to the underworld with its shadow, to “cliff-like slants” and insecurity: “Cliff-like its solemn shadow slants”. As “the sky is contained within it” it is also “all of the fields too small for it”. Not only does it connect the earthly with the heavenly — the fields and the sky — but it also encompasses them by uniting them; it dominates between the fields and the sky. The beech tree is neither an unambiguous nor exclusively a positive symbol. It is “a small brook of ants” that pours from its side that can already be, and actually is, ambivalent, as well as the “shining vines” that twist around it and that have become entangled in it. The second quatrain is marked by the nocturnal and obscure: “a song of malice, void of light” is inscribed into its bark; upon the beech tree a gray owl broods “a new and terrible tsar of night”. There is a jackdaw in the pine tree, and a gray owl in the beech tree, they both appear as a sign of the nocturnal and obscure and the gray owl also appears as a “tsar of night”, or is his mother; both are birds, which – like pine and beech trees – connect the upper world with the lower world. By standing “beneath a raining sun” – which sheds immeasurable light on it – the beech tree is a powerful “fort in a field, so naked here”, a personification of endurance, perseverance and certitude, and in the final two verses its endurance and certitude swing and turn into their opposites: “Once struck by lightning, this very one /like a god without trace, will disappear”. Lonely and protruding, the beech tree is the target of the lightning strike – which is again a cosmic force that connects heaven and earth in a destructive manner – so that the eventual disappearance of the beech caused by the lightning strike could be completed by reaching cosmic proportions and rising to the level of the divine: as God “without trace, will disappear” and became invisible, so can this mighty cosmic fort disappear. A hint of the disappearance of the beech tree does not diminish its cosmic nature or its proportions, but it rather elevates it to divine nature and height. These two poems rank among the best poems of Serbian descriptive poetry. With them, poetry reached a high degree of metaphysics so much desired by Dučić.

A gray owl is reaffirmed as a “tsar of night” in the poem “Night”, written in heptameter. The gray owl is the lyrical character of this poem, elevated to cosmic being status. It is strangely depicted – “sva od svile, / i s vatrom u zenicama”, and it flies at night “letom vile”. Owing to the silk, it is made of in the poem, and the fire in its pupils, and its fairy flight, the night bird is so unusual in its appearance that it becomes supernatural – a fairy brethren. Even the sudden light that flashes in the night is there just to allow the gray owl to “bacila svoju senu”. In the climax of the poem, the whole

cosmos will fall silent “da bi se ona čula”. This is how gray owls call to one another in songs “Night” and “The Beech Tree”, and both acquire the cosmic meaning of the “tsar of night”.

The poem “The Sun” is considered to be one of the most successful in the cycle. It begins with an image of a glowing heat haze shimmering above the wheat and with which July is to “sve da zatre”. In this glowing heat and July warmth a dithyramb to the Sun can be heard: “Ditiramb sun-cu peva pčela / sve reči od sam vatre”. The image is a remarkable one: a bee as a solar being sings dithyramb to the sun with the words “od same vatre” on a day when the glowing heat threatens to scorch everything. The second stanza has different overtones: a hill does not long for breath, forest for shadows, despite the glowing heat, and an already drained river shows a desire for death. The motif of death and desire for death appears in the second stanza as a contrast to the bee’s fiery dithyramb to the sun. Through the motif of death the poem reaches its climax, and what’s more it is the motif of longing for death that will be beautiful and in splendor: “Sprema se klasje sve da padne, / i lišće pred noge panju; / da zemlja danas žudno znadne / za lepu smrt u sjanju”. Everything in the poem is extraordinary, unexpected and surprisingly intertwined: glowing heat shimmering above the wheat, the bee ditiramb to the sun all made out of fiery words, river’s desire for death and the beautiful death in the light, which the earth eagerly learns and senses. These lyrical twists from the fiery dithyramb to the desired death in radiance seem as a lyrical epiphany.

We shall also look into the poem “Ants” from the same cycle. When he sings about ants, as well as when he sings about the bee, Dučić steers clear of clichés and established notions about their diligence and perfect organization, and finds some new, fresh moments for his poems. The bee sings a dithyramb to the sun uttering fiery words, whereas ants are brave and fearless “dark armies” embarking on a glorious expedition to another anthill. The comparison with lions in terms of their courage and perseverance in battle also comes as a surprise: one of the smallest animals is compared with the “king of animals” – “They will fight today till victory / in the night of an alien anthill”. This makes another element of the comparison (“till victory”) extraordinary, which would otherwise be a conventional stereotype, in some other context. Here, on the contrary, comes as a surprise. Even though the war glory is neither something one-sided nor necessarily good, nor morally unproblematic, the parameters of human morality do not apply to ants, to those “dark armies”. They will make an alien anthill “a common grave”, leaving behind them “death and shadows”. “They will carry home their dead ones brave, / the new booty and all the widows”. The dark armies act as cruel, ruthless conquerors, leaving desolation behind them and taking female slaves with them. Even though they will return calmly from the conquest, they are not harmless – “much like the rivers’ flooding story” – “while there sets behind the bloody west / a huge and awesome sun of glory”. “A sun of glory” is also ambiguous: Dučić put, more than once, the epithet *awesome* next to it.

These few poems are enough to show all the beauty, innovation, diversity and ambiguity of Dučić’s descriptive lyrical cycle “Songs of the Sun” as well as the fact that it reached a high degree of metaphysics. These poems fascinate with their concreteness and richness of the world of the subject matter and come as a surprise with their universality and their metaphysical qualities. Man is surrounded by nature, beings and things, and all living creatures in the world, every piece of nature has its own cosmic dimension: an ant just like a lion, a little owl and a gray owl, a beech and a pine, a tiny speck of dust and a “witch” – a miraculous wind that sucks and lifts a

pillar of dust, and everything it encounters, straight into the sky. Hence the cosmological dimension of Dučić's descriptive poetry, of this cycle in particular. No matter how far apart from one another Dučić and Popa might seem, Popa's second and third cycles of *Kora*, which are utterly descriptive – "Landscapes" and "The List" – can be considered as bearing the strongest resemblance to Dučić's "Songs of the Sun". Who would have thought?!

On the Cross of Heart and Mind

Poems About God

God and the divine are – for Dučić – a human need and a human privilege; the trait of the human species. The poem "Star", which is made out of three stanzas, is written as a concise conversation between the stars. In the first two stanzas we can hear the seven voices of the stars, while the entire last stanza – that is, the stanza in which the poem reaches its climax – is dedicated to the voice of one star, the eighth one: "– A ja ću, ću se iz tog šuma, / svetosti tašte dati reku: / kao božanstvo, *ta kob uma*, / što sjaji *samo u čoveku*." (Italicized by J.D.)

Deity is, therefore, "kob uma" and it is quite natural "što sjaji samo u čoveku": the mind without Deity cannot exist, even if it denies it, does not want to acknowledge it or if it rejects its existence. Even though deity is unavoidable to the mind, it is also insurmountable to the mind, it is beyond comprehension, unfathomable.

Mentally, one can find a similar verse in the third poem, which is also the last poem from the cycle "Poems to God", in its last verse. God is also present in that, the most privileged verse "sreća našeg srca i kob našeg uma".

This verse is wvery successfully composed as a double antithesis: in the antithesis relation, on the one hand, one can find *happiness* and *doom*, and, on the other hand, *heart* and *mind*.

The quoted verse suggests that human nature is such that it does not receive God equally in its heart and mind: God is happiness to the heart, and doom to the mind. Man is an imperfect creature, incompatible with himself; in its own way – he has a dual nature, and the metonymy for that duality is *heart* and *mind*.

That is why man considers God as something contradictory, and it is not clear whether this contradiction comes from the nature of God himself and his uniqueness, his ability to encompass, unite and contain contradictions, or from the nature of man who is unable to accept God, at the same time and with the same intensity, both by his heart and his consciousness alike. Anyhow, it is only God that is contradictory. So at least the second stanza of one of Dučić's most famous and best "religious" poems titled "Man Speaks to God" implies: "Jedino ti si što je proturečno – / kad si u srcu da nisi u svesti... / na kom se mostu ikad mogu sresti, / svemoć i nemoć, prolazno i večno."

In all probability, at least in this poem, Dučić perceived God as something "što je proturečno" by his nature (the bridge on which "svemoć i nemoć, prolazno i večno" meet, or may meet) and in terms of human knowledge (when he is "u srcu" he is not "u svesti") and in terms of its reception of God.

Thus, the relationship with God is twofold, and the essential features of that duality are *doubt* and *foreboding*, as an expression of the effort, reach, but also of the imperfection of the human mind; as an expression of the cosmic drama in the relationship between God and Man, of the drama that both the *Old* and *New Testaments* are fraught with. Only through a feeling of foreboding does the spirit reach God, who is “skriven u morima sjanja”: “Znam da si skriven u morima sjanja, / ali te stigne duh koji te sluti; / nebo i zemlja ne mogu te čuti, / a u nama je tvoj glas od postanja.”

Therefore, man is a privileged being because of his need for God, because of his need to reach him with foreboding, and because he possesses something divine: “od postanja” the voice of God dwells within us, which neither heaven nor earth can hear. That makes the human being unique in the universe.

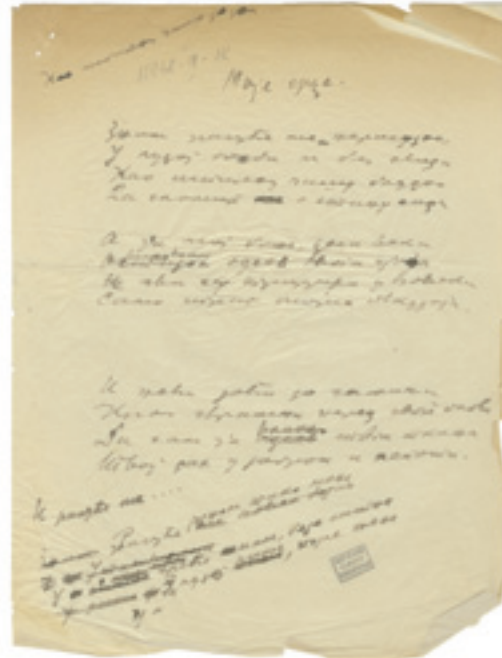
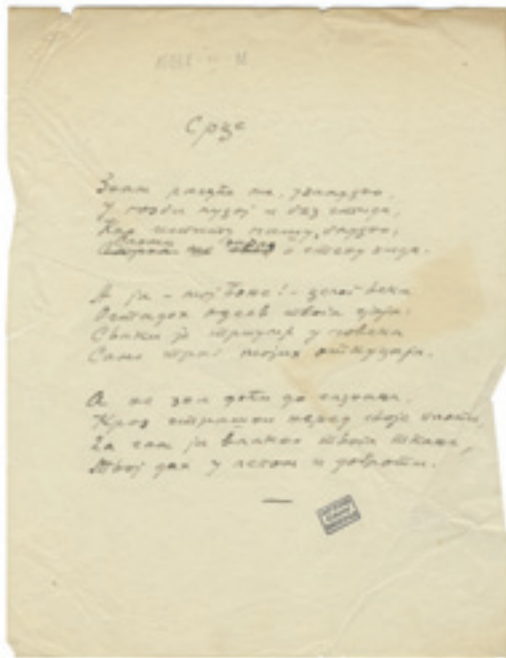
Nevertheless, man is not capable of going beyond foreboding, when it comes to learning and reaching the secret, which, indeed, is not negligible: every truth about the spirit has limits, unlike the human foreboding, which has no limits. This is explicitly and unequivocally stated in the verses of the fifth, last stanza of the poem “To God”: “But you who created suns and fields’ emanations, / were only a Foreboding, painful and full of dread: / for every Truth of spirit has its limitations, / while only our Foreboding remains unlimited.”

The foreboding of God is not some cold and rational foreboding, but rather a distinctly emotional, even pathetically marked feeling (“painful and full of dread”). One can come across a similar motif in Dučić’s prose poem “The Song to Christ”: To people God “is not in the achieved truth but in the eternal search. (...) God is terrible only in foreboding and immeasurable only in expectation”. When it comes to the relationship between man and God, here foreboding is also above the truth.

Doubt is accompanied by thought and wander, which is often an expression of doubt. An interrogative tone of the poem is established in the third stanza and is maintained in the third, fourth and fifth stanzas of the poem “Man speaks to God”. The questions that man asks God and himself belong to the “last” metaphysical questions. Man is not sure whether man’s path – “our path” – leads to God, and this question doubles. He is daunted by questions about the beginning and the end, about the guardians of the seals and borders of the kingdom of God: “Vodi li put naš k tebi, da li vodi? / Kraj i početak – je li to sve jedno? / Ko pečate ti čuva nepovredno, / ko tvojim strašnim granicama hodi?”

While the third stanza is all about man’s questions to God, the fourth one offers answers, which are, of course, provisional, because the final truths and final answers are not given to man: “Jesmo li kao u iskonske sate / nalik na tvoje obličje i danas? / Ako li nismo, kakva tuga za nas, / ako li jesmo, kakva beda za te.”

As regards these questions, it could be concluded that man “u iskonske sate” – when God created the world and man – was similar to God (God created man in his own image), but that he lost much of his original resemblance and likeness to God, which points to Adam’s fall and his expulsion from paradise. The answers given in the third and the fourth verse of this stanza – no matter how hypothetical – are extremely pessimistic. If the first possibility is true – that we are no longer similar to God – then man’s position is profoundly sad. It can be interpreted as an ontological horror: if man is no longer similar to God, then every trace, every attribute of the divine, has disappeared from man’s image. If, on the other hand, he is nowadays still similar to God, as he is, then it is a sign of the most



Manuscript of the poem *The Heart/My Heart* (ASASA 15068-III-18)

severe metaphysical misery; then it is not only a human misery but also a divine one. God similar to today's people must be a sad sight to see. In both cases it is a matter of metaphysical pessimism: either the loss of human likeness to God or the misery of the divine image. Nevertheless, in the fourth stanza, it is more about the appearance, looks, and the outward form, which – even though Dučić is much concerned with character and appearance – significantly assuages this pessimism.

From the perspective of the fifth stanza, the previous one seems ironic, and irony is directed at the human figure and form: it is sad if man has lost all hope that his character and appearance may resemble the image of God, but it is even sadder if God in his appearance is similar to man. Nevertheless, when it comes to spirit, it's no joking matter. It either comes from God – it is its part – or it is its opposite: “Moj duh čovekov otkud je i šta je? / Tvoj deo ili protivnost od tebe – / jer treće nema! Kraj tvog ognja zebe, / i mrkne kraj tvog svetila što sjaje.”

If the human spirit is a part of God, he himself, and man with him, is weak, insecure, unprotected, and frightened. The human spirit just *shivers* next to the divine fire and *remains in darkness* next to his “svetila što sjaje”. Given that it has a divine origin and nature, it is a stranger in an earthly and decaying body and the world, imbued with material substances and relations. It is both death and life, for it is restrained by human corporeality and mortality. Man, or rather the human spirit, is a double stranger for metaphysical reasons: a stranger in his body and in the world. Dučić's idea of stranger, and its metaphysical background, has not attracted much notice of our literary criticism. Let us remember that the word *to exist* means “to live outside oneself”.

If human “targets” are outside man himself, if values are outside us, even if they are in God himself, then the human spirit, if it aspires to those values, aspires to something outside itself; his “targets” are set somewhere far and high away: “Samotan svugde i pred svim u strahu, / stranac u svome i telu i svetu! / I smrt i život u istome dahu: / večno van sebe tražeć svoju metu.”

This poem by Dučić suggests to us that a spiritual being can hardly ever be a happy one. Dučić’s pessimism is all the more severe because it is metaphysical in nature. Man is a metaphysical loner and a metaphysical stranger to himself and to the world. Nevertheless, his only hope is that fragile, weak spirit, which is the only element that, even though it is terrified, connects him to God and other people.

The theme of stranger also appears in the poem “The Seed”. The poem is about cedar’s seed, cast in a furrow, which is intended to “fill the entire sky”, to “be a word that forever thrives” and “eternally watchful of God’s string”. Cedar should be like a poet, a symbol of a poet, “stranger in the world and in the hills”: “But as a poet you will become / stranger in the world and in the hills: / thrilled by solitude, always lonesome, / burned up and consumed by the stars’ chills.”

Therefore, the poet is “stranger in the world and in the hills”, whose symbol is cedar. The similarity of the lyrical subject of the poem “The Seed” and the poem “Man speaks to God” is obvious.

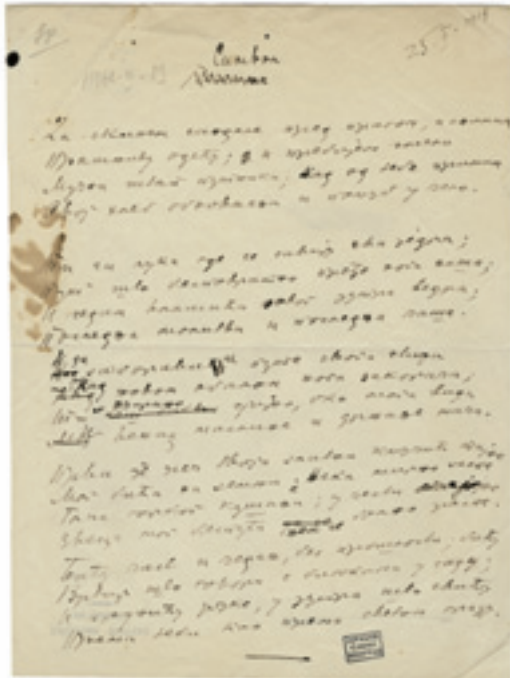
Foreboding occupies an honorable place in Dučić’s poetry and his world of thought. In the last verse of the poem “Poem”, wherein the poem reaches its climax, the lyrical subject says: “*Doubt, the glowing sun of my reason.*” (Italicized by J. D.)

The title of one of his poems from the cycle “Songs of Love and Death”, made up of six quatrains of the “Alexandrines” is “Doubt”. The word doubt, as early as in the first verse, is accompanied by three affirmative epithets – *passionate, bright, fruitful* – and at the end of the second verse, the epithet *angry* is added to them, from the other value register. It is “*drugo biće*” and “*drugi vid*” of the lyrical subject, able to illuminate his “*um obesnaženi*” and to his spirit “*slabom kao slamka*” to give “*sto krupnih očiju*”, thanks to which the spirit will bypass all abysses and traps. The spirit will, with the help of doubt, spot all the traces of betrayal and shame in the oath, defeat and shame in victories, low impieties in prayers, lies in tears, conspiracies in solitude, and superstitions in faith. The spirit that doubts can see better and is able to detect cracks in ideals.

Doubt also marked man’s relationship with God and his dialogue with him, that is, man’s address to God, which is most obvious in three poems bearing the same title “Poems to God”.

In the first of these poems, in its second stanza, man marks his “*slabi glas*” with “*glasom sumnje*” and wonders how that “*slabi glas*”, that “*žizak onog koji u tmuni korača*”, can contribute to the divine light and how it can intensify “*sjaj sunaca što (...) neprestano plave*” God; how “*žizak iz tmine*” can contribute to the source of light: “*Čim će da osnaži hor kojim te slave, / moj slabi glas sumnje; i čim da pojača / sjaj sunaca što te neprestano plave, / žizak onog koji u tmuni korača?*”

It is evident that this poem also points to wonder. Question is its basic syntactic form. Only the last two of twelve verses are exempt from this. All these questions are about man’s existence on earth and the point of his existence: why is man “*nužan u svetu i puku*” and in which way does that human “*atom bačen u sjaj jednog dneva*” contribute to God’s greatness? Questions gain importance all the more because they are asked by someone who is very experienced, someone who has gone through a lot and has seen everything except God, who – unseen and invisible – offers man a hand



Manuscript of the poem *Symbol*, 25 February 1918
(ASASA 15068-III-19)

in his most difficult hours: “Gospode, koji me poseja i zali, / zašto bejah nužan u svetu i puku? / Prođoh put i vidih sve sem tebe. Ali / kad moj brod nagne, nađem tvoju ruku.”

Thus, however, doubt is not banished or removed from man. It is God’s gift and a human attribute. In the third stanza of the second “Poem to God”, doubt has neither cognitive nor stimulating value and power as it had in the poem “Doubt”: now it is dull-eyed and prevents the lyrical subject from seeing the awesome throne of God. On the other hand, “bedno srce čovekovo” cannot do without God. A longing for the knowledge of God, his trace and place is instilled in him: “I da nikad strašni ne vidim ti presto, / ti mi dade sumnje mutno oko ovo; / no da večno pitam za tvoj trag i mesto, / usadi mi bedno srce čovekovo.”

Therefore, man is again crucified on the cross of mind, doubt, heart, and longing for God. Doubt, on the other hand, can be many-eyed and dull-eyed.

At the beginning of the second “Poem to God” the similarity between God and man is once again revisited, which is one of the themes from the poem “Man Speaks to God”, but now the similarity with God in terms of his image, thought and deed has been denied: “Ti koji ni po čem nisi nama sličan. / Ni svojim obrazom, ni mišlju, ni delom, / koji u pokretu stojš nepomičan, / i strašan i mračan pod sunčanim velom!”

In this poem, God is also a bridge where opposites meet – movement and immobility – but, despite the sunny spring, he is “strašan i mračan”. Here, too, God is “ono što je proturečno”, only much more terrible and darker.

God endowed man with his senses so that he could see God's work and be nourished by God's voice, but God also endowed him with a spirit that denies God and is heretically engaged in a dispute with him: "Dao si mi oči da ti vidim delo, / i sluh sav tvog glasa da napojen bude; / no da celog veka odričem te smelo, / primih duh mudraca, deteta i lude."

The third "Poem to God" thematizes the quest for God. Man finds him neither in "sumračnom dolu", nor "na bregu", nor in "u ljudskome bolu", nor in human happiness. In the second stanza, Dučić resorts to his favorite syntactic stylistic device – the question in antitheses: "Jesi li u strašnoj katastrofi zvezda, / ili harmoniji svetlosti? O Bože, / zar si sav u dobru, u miru svih gnezda, / dok negde zločinac oštri svoje nože?"

It is difficult for the human spirit to grasp and accept the existence of God in "katastrofi zvezda" and "harmoniji svetlosti"; when everything is good and at peace, as well as in the preparation of crimes. It is difficult for the human spirit to reconcile God and the existence of evil and crime, and Dučić expresses this restlessness of the human spirit with questions.

God remains "nedozvan na vapaj svog stvora", even though that "creature" knows that both the sea and the leafing of the forests are God's work. The third stanza is marked by a distinct metaphorization and personification: "Znam iz tvoje vene da teku sva mora, / znam od tvoga daha da prolista šuma – / a osta nedozvan na vapaj svog stvora: / sreća našeg srca i kob našeg uma."

Therefore, the voice of man is the voice of one crying in the desert. After all, one of Dučić's beautiful songs is entitled "Desert".

The first two stanzas of the mentioned poem, made out of five quatrains, seem to refer to some specific place where the lyrical subject finds himself at a certain moment in time, which is unequivocally marked by the adverb *here*: "Divovi sunca, kao vetri / prolaze *ovud* s neba vrućeg, / (...) / noć *ovud* svugde smrću zaspe (...)" (Italicized by J. D.)

At the end of the first stanza, it is suggested, however, that this particular desert, that place of despair, is at the same time a biblical desert, because "minu gorke reči dve-tri / proroka nekog vapijućeg". In the third stanza a generalization ensues: the desert becomes a metaphor for every soil of despair. The key word of that stanza is the word *always*, which makes the meaning universal and eternal: "Ima i na tlu očajnome / uvek kap Božja koja kapi, / i krvožedni krik Salome, / i jedan prorok koji vapi."

It may seem that every place is somewhat a place of despair, at times a desert, and at times it becomes a stage of an eternal biblical drama that takes place *over and over again* and whose characters are biblical: the bloodthirsty Salome and the crying prophet. The only question is where the desert is at certain times. And the desert has never been completely deserted – God's drop falls everywhere and everything is warmed up by human blood: "Nigde ni pustoš nije sama, / svud srce ljudsko sebe seje, / svud se useli ljudska čama – / sve se na našoj krvi greje."

Therefore, desert is both a concrete and a metaphysical landscape, infinite and eternal, and it is with human pain and tears that the poet fills up and revives abysses and deserts. The power of human tears is enormous – they make a thousand rivers, and rivers, of course, revive desert: "Svugde gde dođe bol čoveka, / ispunji ponor koji zjapi: / od jedne suze tisuć reka! / I svud po jedan prorok vapi."

These verses should also be kept in mind when reading Dučić's four "Songs of Death", which come immediately after his "Poems to God". Death was one of Dučić's poetic obsessions

– along with love, that is, woman, God, homeland and nature, and probably it was the greatest one – and it opened up an entire metaphysical thematic domain. Dučić was truly fascinated by that elusive moment “on the border” that divides two worlds (“Border”), “bregom smrti” “s koga oči / na oba sveta gledaju” (“Inscription”), by the metaphysical landscape, although he did not completely abandon this one either. The poet was fascinated by the generality and omnipresence of death (“Ti si u svemiru jedino čeg ima!”), its contradiction and paradox (“Ti si i da i ne”; “i suton i zora”; “život nije drugo do tvoje naličje”) and its power to be the beginning and the end, the cause and goal of everything in the world: “Ti si povod i cilj; i stravična majka / svih mračnih kontrasta i svih priviđenja: / jedina istina i jedina bajka; / zbir sviju simvola, igra sviju htenja.”

From death arises the need and instinct for immortality; many thought concepts and entire religions have sprung from it, because: “(...) Kraj je svih dilema, / konac svih pitanja i sudbi svih vera: / jesi li ti samo ili tebe nema.”

From death arises the need for God, but also the denial of God. For what is God, and what is his purpose, if he is not able to defeat death? Dučić’s poetry raises these great metaphysical questions and ponders over and contemplates these great secrets. His fascination with death is so deep and great that it seems as if the poet forgot about Christ’s victory over death through death. Poetry, certainly, is not a religion, and a poet should not be expected, much less required, to confess or prove his faith in his every verse. In Dučić’s poetry, the *human heart* truly is “očajna mera stvari u kosmosu”. The third “Song of Death” radically sharpens and thematizes the relationship between death and God: “Ti si odricanje Boga koji ima / svoj izvor u pravdi; i božanstva čija / suština je milost; svojim zakonima / poričeš da ima cilj i harmonija.”

In God are justice and mercy. The goal of the divine should be good and harmony in love; “znak večitoga” – “u sreći svemira”. Nevertheless – and the poem reaches its climax in these verses (with a syntactic shift from stanza to stanza, which emphasizes the meaning of the statement) – death calls all this into question, because: “(...) Svud zija / tvoj ponor i zločin; svud su tvoji puti / besmisla i straha; samu, uzvišenu / nad svačim, duh ljudski samo tebe sluti: / majku koja rađa i svetlost i senu.”

Dučić’s poetry, obviously, could not fill the abysses in space, which is most eloquently implied in the verses of Dučić’s “Poem”: “Deep are the abysses there, / O, Lord, that your path does hold! / Traps that dazzle to ensnare, / I’m poisoned from cups of gold. // Spellbound by the suns you made, / heavenly plains that beguile, / I knew not your Trap and shade, / the pit of your dungeon vile.”

Let us now recall the meaning of human pain and human tears in the poem “Desert”. The human tear is the last word in the cycle composed of the four three-quatrain “Songs of Death”: there where “legla / ta naša samotna i iskonska suza”, it bursts “uza” tight, dark, deadly unconditionality. This makes Dučić an Orthodox, Christ-like poet; that faith in the power of human pain, suffering, and tears; of the human tear which is incomparably stronger than the Egyptian Nile, because, as we have seen in the poem “Desert”, “tisuć reka” spring from it.

Although it belongs to Dučić’s “Morning Songs”, the poem “Meeting” with its thematic and semantic orientation, could be ranked among “Songs of Love and Death”. The poem depicts the meeting of an angel, who descends to earth, and a soul, which ascends to heaven. The angel tells the soul of the splendor of the gardens of heaven, “a duša cele zemlje tajnu: / magiju ljubavi i smrti”.

Therefore, the magic of love and death is a great earthly secret. After this meeting and conversation, the angel smiles at “na carstvo večitih zraka”, whereas the soul cries for the beauty of “igre svetlosti i mraka”. Although it ascends to heaven, to the heavenly regions of light, the soul longs for its earthly experience, for the greatest earthly secret: the secret of love and death. The splendor of the gardens of heaven cannot replace “igru svetlosti i mraka”. Therefore, in his poems with religious motifs – for example, when he depicts the meeting of the soul and the angel – Dučić was often obsessed with the great theme of love and death as an earthly secret and value.

Quite differently – much calmer, more self-collected and more Christian-like – death was experienced in the poem “The Return”. The path, the traveler and the journey appear in Dučić’s poetry as metaphors of earthly life. Return is a return to earth and dust, a return to the elements and to God, primordial, liberation from bondage to “two principles of spirit and flesh, good and evil”, the abolition of all dividing lines between God and man: “After my dust quietly becomes, O Lord, / a lump of rancid clay thoroughly, / there’ll be no more dividing lines / between you and between me.”

Only then, in death, does man again become similar and close to God, as he was similar and close to him in the primordial hour of genesis. Full reconciliation, union and resemblance to God are achieved by crossing the border and entering formlessness, “a lump of rancid clay”: “And becoming a formless matter, / upon my return to the old ways – / I’ll resemble you again, Father, / and the very first minutes and days.”

The lyrical subject of this poem – “eternal nomad of the stars” – returns to God, by descending “from the zenith”, quietly and gently, “leaving behind nothing to rescind”, as nothing remains behind a swaying branch of a myrtle in a gentle wind: “Then in the glitter of a new day, / touched by the wing of a gentle wind, / a small branch of a myrtle will sway, / leaving behind nothing to rescind.”

It is as if a worrisome human being concerned about his death descends from his inner cross, from the crucifixion on the cross of his heart and mind, and finally finds his peace and achieves full reconciliation and union with the Lord. The poem “The Return” expresses more pious peace and mild devotion to God than the dramatic poem entitled “Pious Song”.

Dučić occasionally “blurs” the meaning of his songs, thus making them richer and more ambiguous. This “blurring” is most often performed in terms of syntax. Thus, in the poem “The Return”, due to the play of grammatical persons, the question of the nature of the lyrical subject arises. Even though “eternal nomad of the stars” can be considered its lyrical subject, the poet has been sending out signals for a different understanding and interpretation of this place, as well as of the poem as a whole, particularly because this occurs in a privileged, final stanzas of the poem. Namely, the last two quatrains – the fourth and the fifth – are written in the third person, unlike the previous three stanzas, which are written in the first person. Whence and why has this shift occurred?

Dučić’s poems “call to” and illuminate each other, especially if they belong to the same cycle. This is evident in this, and even more in the next chapter, which focuses on the border motif in Dučić’s poetry. We have every right to understand the “astral nomad” as the lyrical subject of the poem “Return” on the basis of the poem “Traveler” – especially because there is only one poem titled “Stars” between the two of them in the collection and which also partially focuses on the

theme of return – especially the fourth verse of its first stanza: “Ja sam taj putnik što je krenuo / u prediskonsko prvo svitanje, / za putem uvek put promenuo / *međ zvezdama kroz večno skitanje.*”

No doubt, the lyrical *I* from the beginning of the first verse indeed is the “astral nomad”, the wanderer among the stars. Hence, the change of person in the poem “Return” could be accompanied by a change in the state of the lyrical subject, his return to clay and formlessness. This interpretation supports the context of the collection: the transition to a lump of rancid clay is indeed the end of man’s cosmic and astral odyssey.

However, the change of grammatical person can be interpreted differently – the “astral nomad” could be Christ himself. The last two stanzas of the poem “Return”, that is, the change of grammatical person, provide elements for the interpretation that the real and final merging with God comes with the second coming of Christ, that is, with his descent from the astral heights. Nevertheless, the poem “Traveler” – and it indeed provides a relevant context – supports the first meaning. Secret – that’s the beauty of it.

A View from the Border

The theme of death in Jovan Dučić’s poetry

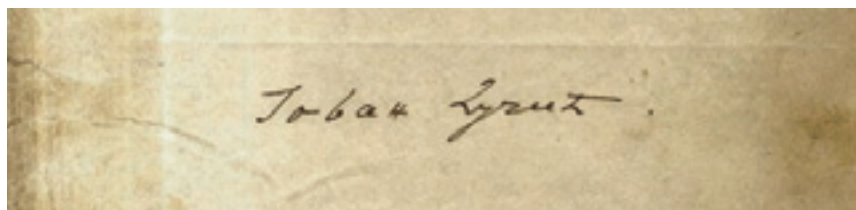
We will not say anything new if we say that the theme of death is one of Dučić’s six recurring themes (God, woman / love, homeland, nature and poetry) and, certainly, one of the three most dominant and most successfully poetically shaped and linguistically articulated (along with God and nature) themes. According to our unreliable statistics, in the first two volumes of Dučić’s canonical edition of his *Collected Works – Songs of the Sun* and *Songs of Love and Death* – there are thirty-five poems about death. If *The Imperial Sonnets*, with their three cycles, and *Blue Legends* are to be included in this statistics, that number would undoubtedly be higher.

Consequently, it is natural that the image of the border, which is connected to the theme of death, that is, the position of observing the world from the border, from the line between the worlds, is one of Dučić’s greatest and longest-lasting fascinations.

Nevertheless, it is not just a matter of the hill of death from which the eyes “are looking at both worlds”. By answering in the third quatrain to questions about the nature of his feeling, which fill the entire first stanza and first verses of the second stanza – whether it is love or the need to love, whether she is a woman he loves – the lyrical subject of Dučić’s poem “Love” stands on the border between dreams and reality, unable to give a positive answer: “Ne znam; *no na međi toga sna i jave / vidim moje srce da čezne i pati.*”

Thus, from the border of dream and reality, the lyrical subject can see longing and suffering as the only reliable truth about love and his undefined and unclear relationship with a woman. Whether it is love or the need to love – it cannot be discerned from that border.

Questions also permeate the first three quatrains of the poem “Our Hearts”: who closes the countless eyes of human hearts; once the hearts fall asleep where their world “od sveg veći i lakši od sna” dissipates; whence hearts fall “na ove bregove”; is there any happiness for them given that they



Jovan Dučić's signature

– even though being mortal themselves – “uvek puna samo večitoga”. In the final, fourth quatrain, one heart gives the answer on behalf of all: “Beskrajne su naše sreće nebrojane, / na toj međi između večnog i trenutka: / jer, ma smrt i bila u dnu našeg kutka – / svet je samo ono koje u nas stane.”

Owing to “međi između večnog i trenutka”, between mortality and eternity, the poem, which could have easily slipped into sentimental and heartbreaking pathos, gains in depth and significance.

The poetic image of the border will also appear in a poem focusing on the relevant historical theme – in the first quatrain of the song “Bregalnica”: “Opraćemo tobom oči našoj deci, / i čelo proroka u trenuti sudnje, / reko, koja posta u mačeva zveci, / svetlom međom između istine i bludnje”.

Therefore, Bregalnica showed what historical truth is and what delusion is; it flows beside these two banks. Consequently, in order to see the future more truthfully and without illusions, the eyes of children and the foreheads of prophets are washed out by its water.

Nevertheless, the closest to the theme of death is the poem “Covenant”, made out of five quatrains containing twelve-syllables. Only the first verse of the first quatrain belongs to the voice of the lyrical subject. It expresses the great intimacy and the relationship of trust between the lyrical subject and the creator: *The Creator said to me in the great morning.*

The other nineteen twelve-syllable verses are the words of the Creator addressed to that lyrical subject, but also to the human being in general. Not only does he speak about the position and future of the lyrical subject, but also about man's situation on earth and his relationship with God. The “lyrical summary” of this poem is an illustration of the paradox of man's very nature, that is, man's paradoxical relationship with God.

The Creator – “u veliko jutro”, which is reminiscent of the time of creation – encourages man to rise and appear “u ploti” and to take “kobnom stazom”, which he will pave himself. From the second stanza to the end of the poem, the imperative forms from the first stanza (*rise, appear, take*) will be replaced by the prophetic future I. The paradox of human nature and his position is reflected in the fact that man will be both “silnik svemu” and “žrtva svačem”, “Prorok, lakrdijaš, kralj i njegov luda / Rob s lancem o vratu, i osvjetnik s mačem”. Antitheses and paradoxes are the basic stylistic devices employed in this poem.

In the third stanza, appears the motif of doubt, which is a recurring motif in Dučić's poetry, except that in the mentioned poem doubt is extremely ambivalent. Even though it will give “dojku otrovanu” to a man, in the fourth stanza, it will also keep him high above everything, as if giving him wings: “No bićeš neveran i bolu i sreći / sumnja će ti dojku otrovanu dati; / i bez tople

vere ti ćeš mene zvati, / i bez prave sumnje mene se odreći. // Svagda, kao krila, te sumnje beskrajne / nad svačim će tebe da drže visoko, / dokle ne zatvoriš bolno svoje oko / na međi večite istine i tajne.”

Here, once again, one comes across Dučić’s dividing line, at the end of the fourth stanza, wherein it has the most similar meaning as that in the poem “Dividing Line”: it is a line that divides “večite istine i tajne” – the line between life and death. Nevertheless, here the end is more definite and optimistic than in the poem “Dividing Line” – in the end spirit will eventually return to its Creator: “Tako, kao odjek u samotnu goru, / vratiće se putem koji meni vodi, / tvoj duh, sav okupan u večnoj slobodi – / kao crna ptica u sunčanom moru.”

One should bear in mind that it is the Creator that utters these words and that the return of the spirit to God is in harmony with that divine voice. However, the poem “Dividing Line” is written from a human perspective and thus is more mysterious. It is much more dramatic, and man’s reunion with God is far more uncertain.

Therefore, Dučić – given that it can be unequivocally concluded from the above examples – was prone to the image of border, as well as to focus his gaze on both sides of the border at the same time, regardless of the different thematic orientation and poetic value of the poems.

Given that “Dividing Line” was originally the final poem of the “Evening Songs” cycle, it was quite natural and in harmony that, so to speak posthumously, – what a twist of fate! – twenty-two poems from *Lyrics* were its continuation. In his “Evening Songs”, in *Lyrics* in particular, Dučić was turned to secret, death and God. The secret and the invisible at times hide and at times show up, or better say, they can only be sensed and hinted at, in the physical and the visible world. The earthly and the otherworldly are mutually intertwined and in terms of that – as well as in terms of their cultural proportions and their formal rigor – Ivan V. Lalić is very close to Jovan Dučić. In his poems about God and death, Dučić is mostly a metaphysical poet; a poet of the afterlife. It seems to us that it is that dimension of Dučić’s poetry – the dimension of metaphysical qualities – that is not sufficiently emphasized by our literary criticism.

The aforementioned sentences were uttered in Trebinje in 1997 (ДЕЛИЋ 1998: 253–256). We do not renounce them even today, as we did not renounce that dramatic and eerie, distinctly personal experience of the first stanza and the metaphysical landscape that appears “na crti”, “na kraju tuge i pira”: “Kada se jave na crti, / na kraju tuge i pira, / visoke planine smrti, / i hladna jezera mira (...)”.

Those “visoke planine smrti” and “hladna jezera mira” awakened in us, as they still do today, that closeness and intimacy shared solely by compatriots, as well as metaphysical horror. We have recognized in that metaphysical landscape the images of our Durmitor, being convinced that this has not come as a surprise as far as Dučić’s poetry is concerned: namely, Dučić saw in Durmitor the peaks of his Herzegovina and its core as well, but also the Serbian Olympus and the Serbian Parnassus; therefore – for him, to some extent Durmitor must have been an otherworldly place, too. So how come that that and such Durmitor – the poet’s Olympus and Parnassus – with its cold and peaceful lakes, could not have made a transition to the otherworld? The landscape of the homeland was transformed into the metaphysical landscape, which again transformed into that of the homeland. Among other things, that is why this poem always sends a chill up one’s spine and lights one up again and again; it brings Durmitor back into one’s mind, just as Durmitor brings Dučić’s “Dividing Line” and the thought of death back into one’s mind, that is, the view on “both worlds”. Literary critics, for more than



Dučić in his cabinet

convincing reasons, highly appreciated Dučić's landscapes. Nevertheless, seldom have they noticed his metaphysical landscape, which is in our opinion – extremely precious.

This acknowledgment of the grave sin of subjectivism in experiencing a metaphysical landscape in a poem has been said to cast doubt, both in oneself and in others, on the correctness of the interpretation and appraisal of a poem, which is for us at the very top, not only of that of Dučić, but poetry in general.

The poem "Dividing Line" is made out of five quatrains, that is, of twenty asymmetrical octosyllables, to which is applied female cross rhyme. Rhyme *b* from the first quatrain is repeated in the final, fifth quatrain, which can be interpreted as an auditory suggestion of completeness and wholeness, which Dučić undoubtedly adhered to (*pira / mira; mira / šira*).

There is one shifting, which is stylistically and semantically extremely functional, and immediately after it ensues an unobtrusive enjambment in the poem. Enjambment occurs when a part, and what's more a key part, of the syntactic whole from the first stanza is carried over to the second stanza, which is why the first stanza remains open and syntactically concluded with the question with which the second stanza begins: "Ko čeka na međi?"

The entire, already quoted here, first stanza prepares this question, which in a rhythmic and syntactic sense makes an exception in reference to all other syntactic sections in the poem. Consequently, its position is rhythmically and syntactically privileged and accentuated. The entire poem acquires an interrogative tone and the tone of uncertainty, which only heightens the

drama further, and the quoted question becomes the key place of the poem, which unequivocally reaffirms the next one, not so accentuated enjambment, between the first and second verse of the second stanza: “Ko čeka na međi? O ta / najveća tajna što traje (...).”

Here is the word from the title of the enigmatic and suggestive Dučić's poem “Secret”! Therefore, the biggest and eternal secret is, *who awaits us at the dividing line*, who is that customs officer of souls on the dividing line between life and death, at “raskršću vera”, on one's way to “Bogu na istinu” – as Nikola Koljević titled his interpretation of Dučić's poem “Secret” (КОЉЕВИЋ 1987: 131–140). It is as if the quoted verses call up those who are yet to come in the first poem from the collection *Lyrics* – “Man speaks to God”: “Vodi li naš put k tebi, da li vodi? / Kraj i početak – je li to sve jedno? / Ko pečate ti čuva nepovredno? / Ko tvojim strašnim Granicama hodi?”

This far-reaching interrogative tone, established at the beginning of the second stanza, extends to that entire stanza, and therefore it begins with a question and ends with a question: “Ko čeka na međi? O ta / najveća tajna što traje: / granica dveju lepota / i dveju sujeta! Šta je?” The last two verses of the final stanza are also stylized as a question: “A strašna međa šta znači, / što deli pokret od mira?” Therefore, the beauty of the poem is in its interrogative tone, in the “riddle”, secret, and not in some final, especially not in some irrefutable answer. The spirit of metaphysical doubt hovers over the poem, the doubt contained in the climax of Dučić poem “Poem”: “A na mom putu sama sija / sumnja, to sunce moga uma.”

In the first verse of the poem, the boundary is reduced to a “line” (“Kada se jave na crti”), to the line, which, by the very nature of things, has no width dimension. Nevertheless, as the poem unfolds, this non-existent dimension is eventually established and it even gets bigger, so that in the third stanza – in its final verse – the border becomes larger than life and death: “To nemo raskršće vera, / most bačen između sreća, / ta međa dveju himera – / neg život i smrt je veća!”

“Ta međa dveju himera”, between two apparitions, between life and death, is bigger, in poet's view, than life and death. Only the border is real and important, everything else is a chimera. Both the meaning of what is behind us – the chimera of life – and of that in front of us – the chimera of death, depends on what awaits us and who is waiting for us at the border. And it is either nothingness or Salvation that awaits us. Or there is something else, unknown, some secret. That is why this line is greater than everything, because it gives meaning and measure to everything, and what's more – from the standpoint of eternity.

The fourth stanza can be read as a covertly developed comparison. “Bezglasna žica” – which can be associated with a “line” – despite the illusion of stillness, contains all heavenly and earthly sounds, so therefore the “line” that “deli pokret od mira” by analogy, is supposed to be significantly wider than its apparent illusion. Just as “crna ponoćna klica” carries within it “sve boje sunčanog leta”, so the “awesome border” means much more than the “line”: “Znam, čuva bezglasna žica / sve zvuke neba i sveta, / i crna ponoćna klica / sve boje sunčanog leta...”

The spectacular paradox, contained in this quatrain, extends to the next stanza. A parallel has been established among “bezglasne žice”, “crne ponoćne klice” and “strašne međe”, that is “the line”: “A strašna međa šta znači, / što deli pokret od mira? / Šumna je reka, kad smrači, / od svojih obala šira.”

The “line” is now metaphorically extended to “široku reku”, wider than itself and its banks, vast and infinite. This is how a metaphysical flood of one “line” looks like.

Sprout, or seed, appears in Dučić's poetry as a symbol of victory over darkness, midnight and death. It sprouts from the death of the seed, from "prsljih grudi", and, as in the first stanza of the poem "Napon" from the cycle "Morning Songs", it raises "najlepšu himnu sunca": "Zavapi klica: želim nići, / iz mraka do vrhunca! / Iz prsljih grudi ja ću dići / najlepšu himnu sunca."

Therefore, sprout can be understood as a metaphor for salvation and resurrection; prolonging life through death.

Cedar's seed cast on soil is "idea of might all in bosom". From that seed, from that bosom, from "that invincible and holy core", cedar will grow, which is a symbol of a voice, heaved into space, that strives "to fill the entire sky", to be a word "that forever thrives, / and eternally watchful of God's string, and, finally, a symbol of poet, stranger "in the world and in the hills": "But as a poet you will become / stranger in the world and in the hills:/ thrilled by solitude, always lonesome, / burned up and consumed by the stars' chills."

It is interesting to observe how from poem to poem the meanings of Dučić's lexemes-symbols *sprout*, *seed* and *string* change and expand, and how Dučić's poems – the best ones among them – call to one another and illuminate each other. This last poem opens up Dučić's great theme of stranger "in oneself and the world".

Dučić did not write about the transition of human body into dust and reverting back to earth in his *Lyrics* as a fall into nothingness, but rather as a peaceful return to the Creator, "a lump of rancid clay" ("The Return"); as the annulment of dividing lines between the Creator and man, that is, the lyrical subject; as a liberation from bondage to two principles – "spirit and flesh, good and evil". By becoming a formless matter, man again resembles God and original matter; the human "hidden atom" unites with the elements and reconciles with itself, with the world, and with God. The annulment of the boundary between the worlds, that is, between man and God, is possible and attainable only by becoming "a lump of rancid clay": "After my dust quietly becomes, O lord, / a lump of rancid clay thoroughly, / there'll be no more dividing lines / between you and between me."

Finally, in his short, mysterious and enigmatic poem "Inscription", the border motif appears twice. This is the poem that inspired Rajko Petrov Nogo to title his essay on Dučić and his selection of Dučić's poetry – *Eyes on Both Worlds*, implying Dučić's image of the border in the title. The poem is composed of three quatrains and alternately set verses of nine and eight syllables, with a cross-rhyming system: *abab, cdcd, efef*, whereas the odd (*a, c* and *e*) rhymes are two-syllable, feminine (*ploči – oči, sinu – minu, prene – zimzelene*), and the even (*b, d, f*) rhymes are three-syllable, dactyl (*sedaju – gledaju, čistine – istine, zamora – mramora*). Longer, dactyl rhymes connect shorter verses – octaves, and contribute to the otherwise rich euphony of the poem.

We will quote the entire poem so as to more easily take note of the delicate syntactic-semantic connection between the first and the second stanza and the position of the border motif in them: "S mora na čijoj crnoj ploči / sva mirna sunca sedaju, / do na breg smrti, s koga oči / na oba sveta gledaju – // ponor po ponor, gde god sinu / s nebeske svetle čistine.../ dok putić jednom najzad minu / između sna i istine. // Vaj, ništa više da ne prene / taj puhor sna i zamora, / penji se tiho, zimzelene, / uz ploču bledog mramora."

The first border in the poem is "breg smrti, s koga oči / na oba sveta gledaju", which is a variation of the motif from the poem "Dividing Line". Here, instead of a lake, we find a black

plate of the sea, and instead of the high mountains of death – “breg smrti”. The view from the border on both worlds is also more emphasized.

The other border can be found in the second stanza – “putić jedan” – which “najzad minu / između sna i istine”. It is as if the poet deliberately “blurred” the meaning of the first two stanzas with their syntactic connection, making the poem more mysterious and suggestive: the black plate of the sea on which “mirna sunca sedaju”, the hill of death with a view on both worlds, abysses, heavenly bright clearings, and finally the path “između sna i istine” find themselves in a mysterious relationship.

By following the motif of the border in Dučić’s poetry, we tried to point out its multiple contextuality, ambiguity and rich suggestiveness. In Dučić’s poetry, he wrote the best verses when he found himself connected with the theme of death. This combination resulted in Dučić’s best poems, when unforgettable poetic images and exceptional metaphysical landscapes from the border came into existence. (ПЕТКОВИЋ 2007: 78–85).

Translated by Jelena Mitrić

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nikola Janković, and the third one to *Priče koje su izgubile ravnotežu* (*The Stories That Have Lost Their Balance*) by Stanislav Vinaver (cf. Скерлић 1922: 137–149), in terms of its title, is a continuation of Dučić's essay "Naši najmlađi pisci" ("Our Youngest Writers"), published in 1908, and in part dedicated to Veljko Miličević (Дучић 1908a: 3; Дучић 2008b: 215–222). The extent to which Skerlić's essays directly rely on Dučić's observations is also reflected in the fact concerning, for example, their similar formation of insights regarding "the youngest generation of writers" which "has a penchant for pessimism" (Дучић 1908a; Дучић 2008a: 215), which Dučić made mention of in his essay from 1908, by saying the following: "Their books bear the following incredibly sinister titles: *Bespuće* (*Middle of Nowhere*), *Pod životom* (*Under Life*), *Živi mrtvaci* (*The Living Dead*), *Golgota* (*Golgotha*), *Pod žrvnjem* (*Under the Grindstone*), and all these books tend to embody one great tragedy of demolition and desolation, and one desperate poetry of powerlessness and nirvana. The verses authored by our youngest writers, wherein, unfortunately, there is not as much art and talent as in some of the above mentioned books bearing the above titles, complement that dark tone, and indeed quite meticulously do so" (Дучић 1908a; Дучић 2008a: 215). It seems as if Skerlić's perception of Pandurović's collection *Posmrtna počasti* (*Posthumous Honors*) in his article "Jedna književna zaraza" ("A Literary Contagion") is a direct continuation of Dučić's previous comments: "In Serbian literature, we have lately become quite accustomed to come across titles that seem as if being copied from tombstones, and book covers that bear some semblance to the blackness of obituaries or depict a wreath of thorns with blood tears dripping beneath. Our youngest generation of poets sings songs whose titles speak volumes about their contents: *Jedan plač* (*A Cry*), *Rani uvelak* (*Early Withered Away*), *Tužne pesme* (*Sad Songs*), *Tužan dan* (*A Sad Day*), *Na groblju* (*At the Cemetery*), *Mračno je i pusto* (*It is Dark and Desolate*), *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 fiesta 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), *Прошлости* (1904, XI, 38).
- 253 Љ. Никић, *над. дело*, 159–176.
- 254 Архив САНУ (SASA Archives), 10831/4.
- 255 The Belgrade University Library, Isidora Sekulić's legacy... In addition to this copy, Nikić made a mention of two other copies housed in the National Library of Serbia and the Belgrade City Library.
- 256 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), 46/1922. The proposal was written by Slobodan Jovanović, with the signatures of both proposers.
- 257 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), 94/1924.
- 258 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), бр. 226, 339.
- 259 Административна архива СКА (Administrative SRA Archives), бр. 145/1930, 106/1930.
- 260 Out of nine candidates, who were proposed for new members of all departments of the Academy, besides Dučić, only Ivan Ćaja won the required 15 votes.
- 261 Административна архива СКА (SRA Administrative Archives), бр. 1941/1937; 1056/1938.
- 262 *Ibidem*.
- 263 Политика, Belgrade, 8 March 1939, 6.
- 264 Административна архива СКА (SRA Administrative Archives), бр. 93/1942.
- 265 Годишњак, 1946, LI, 11941–1944, 240–241.

ABBREVIATIONS

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