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JOVAN DUČIĆ
LIFE, WORK, TIMES



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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ljubodrag Dimić and Jovan Delić



DUČIĆ'S ABATEMENT: *LEUTAR MORNINGS*

Nedeljka BJELANOVIĆ
Institute for Literature and Art, Belgrade

"In a word, I have been given every opportunity to form impressions. And I have never failed to do so."

Jovan Dučić

Jovan Dučić is one of the most prominent representatives of the canonical Serbian poetry of all time – equally loved and esteemed by the most selective public, experts in literary history and criticism, and general reading public alike. Famous for being an entranced poet of small hours, and yet a dedicated and subtle craftsman of impeccable verse²⁰⁵, a “worshipper of culture” (A. S. Rebac), and yet a poet whose output is a result of “disciplined work, disciplined fantasizing” (I. Sekulić), a conversationalist, and yet an accomplished diplomat – Jovan Dučić as an essayist and thinker remains slightly in the shadow. His frequent readiness to pen a prose writing²⁰⁶, whether it is a travelogue, essay, or a piece on the borderline between the related genres (sometimes even relatively loosely structured), did not suffice to measure up to the illustrious primacy that Dučić’s poetry holds in literature to the present day.

This paper focuses on the book *Jutra s Leutara* (*Leutar Mornings*), (a collection of *Words on Man* or *Musings on Man* – different editions include different subtitles), although it is impossible upon reading it to clearly separate it from the earlier book of nearly identical character, *Blago cara Radovana* (*King Radovan’s Treasure*), which shall





Autograph inscription
by Ivo Andrić



Ivo Andrić (1892–1975).
In addition to poetic overlaps in their
essayistic writings, two great Serbian
authors, Dučić and Andrić, also
cultivated a friendly relationship.

frequently be mentioned here in passing. To a certain extent, both of these books, regarding the principle of diffuse composition, conversational tone, freely meandering thought, resemble the book *Znakovi pored puta* (*Signs by the Roadside*) by Ivo Andrić, which was later to be released.²⁰⁷ One does not immediately have to assume a one-directional, direct influence of the older writer on the one that was twenty years his junior, but the typological affinity, that is, the profile of lyrical meditateness, fragmentary introspection and reflection – does stand out when these two great works of Serbian literature of the twentieth century are put side by side.

The dynamic created between Dučić's reflective writings and his poetry is quite unusual, in the sense that the name of Jovan Dučić would not immediately spring to mind if by some chance *King Radovan's Treasure* and *Leutar Mornings* had passed through our more recent tradition without the indication of authorship. That impression is related to overwhelming, sometimes even casual nonchalance permeating their lines. It almost seems as if Dučić, a strict and uncompromising poet that carves and polishes his verse to at times almost unbearable perfection, had never brooded over them, so much so that, albeit an undeniably great poet, he could not avoid being accused of the vacuity of form and frivolity of some of his works.

In a letter to Slobodan Jovanović, dating from 1923, Dučić speaks of *Treasure*, calling it, on a note of humility and in a self-deprecating tone

– make-believe philosophizing about the uneasiness with which man always searches for his happiness hidden from others; on the eternal quest; on the eternal promise of something that lies in store; on happiness due to pure chance and twist of fate, and not to human wisdom or virtue. That vulgarized myth can be the subject of an article on human destiny, and I am going to use it as an inscription for a book that I will be able to complete very shortly *because I am going to write whatever comes to mind, to give it an eternal form, to make it look as if it were written for itself rather than for others* (Дучић 2000; underlined by N. B.).

And although this quotation refers to *Treasure* and not *Mornings*, which represent the central theme of this study, we consider this extract from a private letter to be extremely important because it presents at least two essential poetic principles that have to be taken into consideration upon reading Dučić's non-poetic works. The first is evident, and it concerns the formal organization of the text, the poetic methods by which it is governed. The author undoubtedly wanted to preserve some part of the evolving train of thought in a text fixed in the written form, some semblance of addressing an audience, as in a situation in which sages, or prophets, communicated directly to a group of listeners. That is why he said what sounded almost like a warning that he was going to write whatever came to mind. Moreover, that is how the author distanced himself in a way from what he had written – he underscored that this is a matter of mimicry, an *appearance* of writing. One cannot fail to detect strong hints of (self-)irony in the “make-believe philosophizing” and slightly weaker, but still apparent, in words such as “always”, “eternal”, “something”. The question as to the extent to which that irony penetrated the text itself and transformed his thought – remains to be resolved by further analysis.

Another feature that brings *King Radovan's Treasure* and *Leutar Mornings* more closely together, but which is not overly characteristic of Dučić's poetic opus, is a marked aphorism, in the sense of distilling one's thought into points aspiring to pithiness, wittiness and permanent topicality. It is not uncommon that these two Dučić's volumes – viewed as some kind of a diptych, two parts with a common organic unity of a higher order, a pair of twinlike books – are labelled as collections of essays. It is an open question as to the degree in which, in the compositional sense, the essayistic material managed to dictate their form. Being in itself sufficiently problematic in terms of its definition, the borderline essay genre is juxtaposed according to the principles of its structure to the formerly mentioned aphorism, as the basis laid in the structural foundations of *Treasure* and *Mornings*. While the essay, even as it purports to examine the topic exhaustively from every angle, to meditate over it, is not averse



Slobodan Jovanović (1869–1958)

to meandering in thought and syntactic form alike, the aphorism is always in haste to bring to completion, to make a point, to position itself as pithy and memorable²⁰⁸. And in truth, both directions of compositional tendencies are very easily identifiable in Dučić's *essays* – the ambivalence they are characterized by gives rise to a peculiar creative and receptive vitalism.

In that interspace determined by the principles of the essay and aphorism, Dučić develops the word that ruminates, instructs, converses – on topics dealing with the ultimate questions of our existence and its meaning. “Few are the writers who ‘dared’ to confront great moralistic themes in this way, as, apart from the fact that they quite certainly represent a daunting challenge, they also pose a considerable risk for those who approach them” (Гвозден 2006: 90). What seems to be hackneyed about the *grand themes* is in fact a clear indication of their permanent topicality: the fatigue that overwhelms us owing to their repetition stems from the need to keep returning to them. This is precisely the reason why facing them in a manner that Dučić did represents an act of poetic courage, independence and self-awareness. A slightly old-fashioned manner, though, directing our perception from the outset towards a powerful focus on tradition, on Montaigne, by the syntactic, syntagmatic formulation of the titles (“On ...”), as well as by the selection of topics.

Leutar Mornings (as indicated in their defining subtitle) are particularly notable for their inexhaustible concentration on us as human beings, on all aspects of our lives. And while *King Radovan's Treasure* devoted a great part of its diffuse attention on symbolic characters, on the paradigm of brilliance and fame (in essays on poets, on heroes, on prophets, on kings²⁰⁹), *Leutar Mornings* focus on man's spirituality, and yet mainly on what plagues his inner life – hate, jealousy, vanity, fear, disappointment²¹⁰. Having that in mind, and although we tend to agree with the constatation that “along with *King Radovan's Treasure*, *Leutar Mornings* are some sort of Dučić's conceptual legacy, a sum of his emotions and knowledge, as well as a bibliography of a choice selection of extensive reading” (Гвозден 2006: 93), it seems important to point out that the more prestigious overview of the grandiose reading list which Dučić utilizes, almost seeming like a catalogue at times, can mostly be found in *Treasure*. *Mornings* are not only noticeably more subdued, but also the essential principle of their genesis is shifted towards, we are tempted to say, the didactic function. Rich personal experience of the author prevails, or perhaps what he assimilated by reading is filtered more successfully through the prism of simple narration. The later Dučić seems as if he became tired of the theatricality²¹¹ of the classical literature and mythology; the need to validate himself by flaunting his vast knowledge has abated. Primacy is given instead to summing up his experience. *Leutar Mornings* might therefore be said to be a more successful book than *King Radovan's Treasure* by all standards, even though it also contains psychological, characterizing, ethical and collective generalizations that might be jarring and which seem at times to have been made for the sake of not overly necessary argument²¹².

Turning to topics of everlasting topicality, especially in *Leutar Mornings*, also testifies to the true character of Dučić as a classicist – everything in him revolts against particularity, fragmentation, diffuseness, which characterizes contemporary (for him and us alike), that is, modern art and thought. At times it is hard to picture that *Leutar Mornings*, for instance, emerged at the same time as the seminal works of our avant-garde authors. However, this does not entail any

Milan Kašanin (1895–1981), was among the first ones who clearly evaluated the nature and value of Dučić's essays.

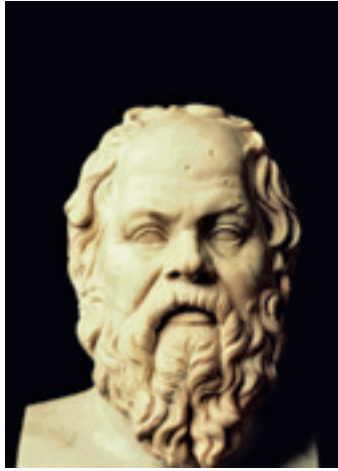


anachronicity on Dučić's part, still less his failure to follow the main trends and processes of contemporary literature, but an act of deliberate choice, a pivotal moment of (reaffirmed) affiliation to the chosen tradition and its poetic usus. On how well he understood contemporary aesthetics, and yet how much he sought to distance himself from it, Dučić himself bears testimony: "*Nevertheless, the most universal formula of beauty was bequeathed to us by the Greeks [...]* a harmony of the material and the ideal. But, beside such a concept, nowadays we are also confronted with the aesthetics of the *bizarre*, the mighty, the novel, the *primitive*, the *savage*, even the vulgar. But, only the Greeks have defined beauty as harmony" (Dučić 2017: 210; underlined by N. B.).²¹³

There is another reason for distancing of this sort, which lies in Dučić's obdurate tendency to deal with everyday life minimally in these writings. This is related to his poetic tendency to make generalizations, to seek eternal laws, as well as to his general philosophical orientation, that is to say, the *strategies of existentialism* dictating that "contemporaneity [...] appears very rarely if ever" (Гвозден 2006: 93).

It is notable that *Mornings* throw into sharper relief the later Dučić, who in his advanced years turned to religion. In the beginning he wrote about it with circumspection, only in occasional remarks, as a seasoned diplomat considering an issue, in order to come out into the open in the essay "On Character", where we found the following sentence: "It might even be said that just those men who believe in God recognize other values and dimensions around them, whereas unbelievers believe in nothing, anywhere" (Dučić 2017: 375). In the conclusions drawn from his musings on man Dučić thus equates faith in God with the trust in the meaning of everything that exists, confessing, in the last analysis, to having faith in Providence as a fundamental and life-giving principle of the universe.

This part of Dučić's artistic and quite certainly personal path as well overlaps with the development of his poetry. N. Petković wrote that at the very end, as at the pinnacle of Dučić's



Socrates (470–399 BC), one of the greatest ancient Greek philosophers. He was sentenced to death in Athens. Dučić often makes reference to his fate in his writings.



Aristophanes (445–385 BC), poet, comic dramatist. The most important representative of ancient comedy. Dučić refers to him when elaborates on artist's social responsibility.

poetic opus, we can find the works in which “what rises before us is the fate of a human being that carries a divine spark within, but cannot fathom who had sent him onto this world and to whom is he eventually to return. It is part and parcel of that profound, numinous experience that Dučić had on that ‘dreadful boundary’” (Петковић 2007: 85).²¹⁴

It is important to point out that some of the statements expressed in the book might seem unusual, to say the least.²¹⁵ One such example is related to the uncomplicated and “wholesome”²¹⁶ nature of love in Greek mythology. Dučić maintains: “The calm of the ancients may best be gauged by the moderate, merry and joyful adventures of their gods, since, with their materialist religion, the Greeks introduced calm even into love” (Dučić 2017: 298). Since Dučić was very well versed in ancient mythology, this seems to be a matter of personal impression in contact with mythological images and a special kind of personal transposing of primordial, archetypal patterns; from our perspective, Zeus’s love life in particular resembles a hypererotized epic intersected with acts of sheer violence²¹⁷, although many other episodes of *calm* classical loves are also not devoid of similar narrative miniatures (as an almost automatic association that comes to mind is the gruesome episode on Philomela, Procne and Tereus).

Dučić is very successful in raising the intellectual and emotional awareness of his readers by approaching a phenomenon, on which the humanity and morality have long since passed judgement, from an unexpected angle. The essay “On Calm”, which opens *Leutar Mornings*, is concluded with a little praise of – sweet talk. Commending civility as the supreme standard of cultural and enlightened society, Dučić proceeds to make the following point: “Only a gentleman is capable of praising someone to his face, as only a lout feels upset at speaking well of anyone but himself. That is, gentlemen are used to mentioning others favourably, just as they are generous with their money [...]” (2017: 301). In an (auto)poetically indicative manner, Dučić contrasts civility and eloquence with sarcasm and venomous irony. The personal and writer’s perspective coincide in cases when he launches an invective at irony, deployed outside of its main function of being “directed against bad people and ideas”, maintaining that it is of “satanic origin”, since “unprovoked and hurtful sarcasm was always deemed a vice” (2017: 394), taking for an example none other than the fate of Socrates who had been driven to death by – Aristophanes. Nevertheless, what appears as a notable flaw in the argumentation of the essayist is the fact that the reference to *bad people and ideas* is not explicated, but was left to be understood in terms of the general and eternal agreement holding between the author and his readership. And that is, at least in our interpretation, the greatest weakness of Dučić’s essayistic writings – relying too heavily on non-existent solid deal struck between him and his readers in relation to underlying philosophical and ethical assumptions, and



Leotar, a mountain above Trebinje. Dučić's key intimate-poetic toponym. (Photo credit: "Hercegovina promo" portal)

outlining too sketchily the course that he had taken in order to arrive at a particular conclusion that presents itself as an imperative, no matter how brilliantly it was worded.

Dučić goes even further in his praise of civility, dedicating a whole essay to this topic. "Men who understand the beauty of fine manners can mold their feelings, and perfect their moral characteristics" (2017: 396). Dučić places politeness immediately below the human quality that he put on the pedestal of all human virtues – namely, that of honesty. Truth be told, the author in *Leutar Mornings* extols beyond measure the value of *true honesty* as a fundamental virtue of the human soul. This, in Dučić's words, "common" word – is "covering all our virtues" (2017: 393), and it is our only reliable signpost, for "we all live, first and foremost, in a self-created lie about our true nature" (2017: 376). In order to break out of that shell, we need a constant confrontation with ourselves, a relentless search for the path towards the truth. And honesty is therein man's most powerful weapon – "One thing is true: though even the smartest men make mistakes, honest ones never do. For, honesty is an immensely perceptive eye and an ear, ever awake in us. That is why honest people are so often sages as well; for, without honesty there can be no wisdom" (2017: 376).

After rereading Dučić's opus, nearly two decades after our first encounter with his works, we were struck by the impression that his entire essayistic work – decidedly reflective-meditative, interspersed with philosophical and lyrical elements – has a very clear tendency of moving towards a precisely defined goal. It, namely, traces a curved arch towards the ultimate focus on modesty, humility, moderation and honesty as the supreme human qualities, which apart from their high moral value possess another remarkable feature – being the only possible path towards all forms of happiness and tranquillity for man on his path of life. Last but not least, Dučić would not be such a careful, meticulous stylist if all that represented the subject of description was not reflected in language as well. The most recent of all his non-poetic works is seemingly the simplest one in terms of language – the sentence is shorter, yet more potent, there are fewer interruptions, passages, commentator's bifurcations, the issues are defined more resolutely and resolved more decisively. However, it still remains typical Dučić's sentence – "mellifluous, melodious, duly considered and carefully constructed" (Петковић 2007: 81).

A model sentence of our literary language.

Translated by Tatjana Ružin Ivanović

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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 Дуцић у знаку ероса*, Београд 1990, 306–311.
- 97 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, telegram from Bucharest no. 520 of 20 May 1937 in which envoy D. Kasidolac informed the Ministry that the agrément was given; f. II, Dučić's file.
- 98 *Ibidem*, a decree, 1937, f. II, Dučić's file.
- 99 *Ibidem*, a letter of 15 June 1937, f. II, Dučić's file.

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

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

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

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

159 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 166.

160 Cf. Дучић 2008b: 140.

161 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 124, 125.

162 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 152.

163 Дучић 2008b: 80.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ABBREVIATIONS

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