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JOVAN DUČIĆ: LIFE, WORK, TIMES

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JOVAN DUČIĆ
LIFE, WORK, TIMES



SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS

CONTENTS

7 | Editor's Foreword

JOVAN DUČIĆ: BIOGRAPHY

13 | Jovan Delić, *Biography of Jovan Dučić*

JOVAN DUČIĆ: DIPLOMACY

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

JOVAN DUČIĆ'S LITERARY WORKS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOVAN DUČIĆ AND THE ACADEMY

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

305 | Endnotes

323 | Abbreviations

JOVAN DUČIĆ: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ljubodrag Dimić and Jovan Delić



DUČIĆ'S HISTORICAL PORTRAIT OF AN ANCESTOR AND ALTER EGO

About Jovan Dučić's prose work: *A Serb Diplomat at the Court of Peter the Great and Catherine I: Count Sava Vladislavić*

Jovan DELIĆ
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

By far the most comprehensive work of poet Jovan Dučić is his book *Grof Sava Vladislavić (Count Sava Vladislavić)*. The second edition, with 387 pages and accompanied with editorial notes, was published in 1969 as *The Fifth Book of Sabrana dela Jovana Dučića (The Collected Works of Jovan Dučić)*, edited by Meša Selimović and Živorad Stojković. It took the author a lot of time to write the book. Under a long, three-page introductory text, titled *Instead of a Foreword*, there are the names of two European cities that Dučić loved and in which the book was written: *Rome–Bucharest, 1933–1940*. The first edition was issued in 1942, in the third city and on another continent – in Pittsburgh, USA. It had 368 pages and 42 sheets of non-paginated appendices, and was published by *Amerikanski Srbobran (The American Srbobran)*.

Dučić was not in a hurry to publish his books; he rather left them to “rest”. Dučić's friend and Embassy's secretary, painter Predrag Peđa Milosavljević, retyped the book. Even during 1941 the writer made changes to the manuscript. He worked on the book for more than eight years, which suggests how much he cared about it. Judging by the foreword, the collection of sources lasted much longer:



“Over a number of years I tried hard to collect historical data from various sources; I looked for the smallest detail which concerned Sava Vladislavić and which illuminated and complemented his personality” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 11).

At the end of the foreword, Dučić enumerates the archives where he found his sources, “personally or on request”: Dubrovnik, Venice, Moscow, Helsinki, Bucharest, Belgrade. He also mentions a folk legend about the Vladislavićs as “a document of its kind”. He inspected sources in six languages: Serbian, Russian, French, German, Italian and Romanian. He does not mention Latin and the fact that he consulted Swedish and Chinese colleagues and friends. He did not hide his conviction that “after all this effort, truly very little has remained unexplored” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 11). Something new could perhaps be found in Chinese, Swedish and Turkish sources.

The design of the front cover – obviously the writer’s – is interesting: what one would expect to be the subtitle acquired the status of a supertitle – “A Serb Diplomat at the Court of Peter the Great and Catherine I”, as if announcing the title *Count Sava Vladislavić*. Dučić left out Sava’s surname Raguzinski, which he carried both in Constantinople and Russia until he gained the title of a count (1725) – Sava renounced this surname late in his life, returning to his roots and the original surname of Vladislavić. In all likelihood, Vladislavić was until the end of his life dismayed by one of his rare diplomatic failures. Namely, Dubrovnik, with which he cherished links through numerous friendships and mutual benefactions, refused his plea and the plea of Russian Emperor Peter the Great to permit the construction, on Sava’s estate in the city, of a Serbian Orthodox church and a cemetery next to the church, where the Orthodox population would be buried.

As if the graphic design of the front cover was a symbolic rebuke to our negligence and our forgetting of perhaps the most successful Serb of his time, the Serb with doubtless the greatest diplomatic career and world influence, someone who on behalf of the Russian Emperor – moreover, not any emperor, but Peter the Great – negotiated with the most powerful and influential men of the world: Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos; Pope Clement XI in Rome – they negotiated about the Concordat; the Chinese Emperor – about the border between China and Russia around 6000 km long, which Sava Vladislavić established, demarcating the two huge empires so successfully that this border maintained the peace of the two empires for around 200 years. Moreover, Vladislavić played a prominent role in the greatest battles and wars of his time. He also gifted to Peter the Great a child, the Abyssinian Ibrahim, who was baptised Abraham – “Abram Petrovich” – the forefather of ingenious poet Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin. Vladislavić also “forged a military alliance with the ruling prince of Moldavia in Iași” and “won over Orthodox Russia and Emperor Peter the Great in favour of the liberation of Serbs in the Balkans” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 9). He also put forward “the Serbian question in Russia as the main issue of the Balkans” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 10), i.e. he opened the Eastern question as the Serbian question. He also established a direct link between Prince Danilo and Montenegro with Russia and its Emperor Peter the Great, and ensured Russia’s long-standing aid to Montenegro until the end of the Petrović dynasty. Furthermore, Vladislavić founded in Siberia the town and fortress of Troickosavsk, and constructed the church of St Sava of Serbia there. He donated to the Serbian monasteries of

Žitomislić, Tvrdoš, Savina and Cetinje. With his book, Dučić revived the Serbs' memory of him, stating that "Sava Vladislavić can no longer be effaced from the history of distinguished Serbs, and his name cannot be forgotten among the broad masses of the Serbian people" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 11).

After the front page, Dučić brings the portrait of Count Sava Vladislavić (1660 [?] – 1738), with an uncertain year of birth and known year of death, which is typical of the Herzegovians, and of Dučić himself, until this very day. The description under the photograph is written in Russian letters: "Графъ Савва Лукичъ Владиславичъ – Рагузинский", and the second row reads that it is a portrait done "in younger years". According to Dučić's strict assessment (he was someone who cared a lot about his own and other people's physical appearance and good looks), this portrait is an embodiment of the Herzegovian Serbian beauty and masculinity. Sava's portrait, done "in young years", where he "wears a wig, with a face exemplifying a race", is a photograph of the copperplate engraving made by Russian artist Andreyev for the book *Images of Illustrious Russians* (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 120-121, footnote 138).

In his book, Dučić demonstrates his mastery in creating portraits, depicting and reviving illustrious personalities, particularly Sava Vladislavić. The writer attempts to imbue his image with an impression of objectivity and reliance on disinterested sources:

"Russian sources contain information on what Sava Vladislavić looked like during his first stay in Russia, and on some of his habits.

According to these sources, Vladislavić was exceptionally handsome and was considered a worldly man. As his Russian contemporaries wrote, not a single meeting was held at the time without him. It is also known what costumes he wore at court masquerades and ceremonies in aristocratic homes. His favourite costume was Venetian. He wore it at the wedding of old Count Zotov, and he played a pipe. He had large, dark eyes, a strong, aquiline nose, nicely shaped mouth, and small, groomed moustache. He was of medium height, masculine and supple. He was considered one of the most handsome men. When he grew old, he was criticised of having lost his famous beauty.

He was also a man of letters. As someone who studied in Dubrovnik, he knew well classical and Italian writers of the most glorious age, as it is said that he knew Latin, Greek and Italian. It is stated somewhere that he translated from Serbian into Russian and vice versa" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 190-191).

It would be unjust to accuse Dučić of idealising the physical appearance of Sava Vladislavić – Dučić's description relies on the fine art portrait from the beginning of the book – even more so as Dučić also



Young Count Sava Vladislavić
(1660 [?] – 1738)



Dimitrie Cantemir, Voivode of Moldavia

brings another Vladislavić's portrait, obviously painted in Sava's late years, when the powerful count already lost his physical beauty and manly attraction, and when he became the object of satire and parody of Antioch Cantemir. Dučić mentions this satire as well, but does not cite it; more details can be found in the work of Georgi Orlov (ОРЛОВ 1969: 92-94). It is noteworthy that the voivode of Moldavia Dimitrie Cantemir wrote in 1711 that Emperor's minister Sava Vladislavić was "proud and dignified". At the time, Vladislavić "intermediated between Cantemir and the Emperor" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 168). When Sava expressed a negative opinion about a book of Dimitrie Cantemir, Dimitrie's son, prince Antioch, a famous satirist of his time, took up arms. The second Vladislavić's portrait, from a late period, was also painted by a master. Given the quality of the portrait, there are indications – though this cannot be claimed with certainty – that it was rendered by Dutch painter Anthony van Dyck.

Any foreword, including Dučić's, touches on the nature of the work and the process of its creation. As Dučić underlines, while writing this book, he found himself in a terrain different from his main, poetic and artistic domain:

"While writing this book, I found myself, as a poet, far away from my customary literary subject, which is always a product of pure inspiration. I moved to the other terrain only out of love for my Serbian people, who have given many great people, known, unknown, or forgotten" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 10).

The writer obviously opens a reading horizon not for a literary, but a scientific, research work – a monograph about an unjustly forgotten Serb, a Russian diplomat, one of the most influential people of his time. He wrote a scientifically-based biography of a great personality, consigned to a centuries-long darkness and oblivion, but whom he revived in Serbian culture and literature.

Still, the book was written by a poet, one of the greatest we have had, and, in addition to its biographical and historiographical values, it has a literary value as well. The biographic approach allows for it, as shown by the history and poetics of this genre in world and national literature, from antiquity to date. Our experience with Plutarch's comparative biographies of the ancient world (ПЛУТАРХ 1978) and Vuk Karadžić's work *Kao srpski Plutarh, ili životnja znatni Srbalja u Srbiji našega vremena* (*Like a Serbian Plutarch, or the Lives of Important Serbs in Serbia of Our Time*) (КАРАЏИЋ 1969), and with insurrectional prose in general (САВИЋ 1985), particularly the study about ancient biography of S. S. Averintsev

(АВЕРИНЦЕВ 1973), substantiates our opinion (ДЕЛИЋ 1990). The tradition of Serbian medieval hagiographies need not even be mentioned.

Dučić's foreword hints at the fictionalisation of the personality of Sava Vladislavić. The segment we have quoted is often cited in the reviews of this book. It shows that Dučić shaped and reconstructed the personality of Sava Vladislavić out of the darkness of centuries, based on documentary records and deeply immersing himself in the time and circumstances he depicts, and in the personalities he portrays, primarily his main hero – Sava Vladislavić:

“Sava Vladislavić was a typical offshoot of his homeland, an epitome of the Serb from Herzegovina, spiritual as much as emotional, flexible as much as proud, cautious as much as intrepid, all these features shaping the character of a Herzegovian in the well-known balance between his positive and negative traits, including his almost Hellenic tactfulness. A Herzegovian Serb, meaning more of a Mediterranean than a Balkan man, a man of imagination as much as a realist, a man of dreams as much as a positive creator, Vladislavić created for himself, at the end of our sorrowful 17th century, a great name of a diplomat among a great Slavic people, and had great merits in a Slavic era” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 10).

Sava Vladislavić was by no means “a typical offshoot of his homeland”, just as Jovan Dučić was not. He was its best, greatest, unique and exceptional offshoot, with much greater achievements. Being exceptional is not the same as being typical. It is questionable whether a typical Herzegovian is “more of a Mediterranean than a Balkan man” – we doubt it is the case – but Jovan Dučić and Sava Vladislavić probably were. “A great name of a diplomat” obviously meant a lot to Dučić, and in all probability, to Vladislavić as well. The equilibrium between flexibility and pride, spirituality and emotionality, a man of imagination and a realist, a man of caution and intrepidity, a man of dreams and a positive creator, and particularly the almost “Hellenic tactfulness” was more of an ideal of Dučić's rather than the description of typical Herzegovian mentality. The ideal of “almost Hellenic tactfulness” is something that Dučić projected onto Vladislavić. Does not Dučić reveal something important of his mental structure, evincing even the strategy of reconstructing and reviving Vladislavić's personality, and are not there the hints at identification, i.e. duality? There is doubtless an enormous power of empathy, as confirmed by the following sentence from the foreword:

“Sava Vladislavić is not presented in this book only based on a particular diplomatic act of his, or a single period of his life. He has been revived and reconstructed here out of a myriad of details, assembled as if in a mosaic, based on all the small and great things he did and intimately experienced” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 11).

We doubt these are the principles of a historian or historiographer, or of a cold, “objective” biographer; these are rather the principles of a writer who in a mosaic-like way revives and puts together a personality, “out of a myriad of details”, “based on all the small and great things”, and who delves both into what this man “did” and “intimately experienced”. This is where the room for the writer is opened and where one's private and intimate experiences have as much importance as his public deeds.

In his book, Dučić analyses his ancestor, by all means the most important one and world-famous, but forgotten. For Dučić, Vladislavić is the forefather with whom he identifies through strong empathy, and onto whom he often projects. By dealing with Sava, the writer returns to his roots – the Dučićs originate from Sava's brother Duka, Lukáson, after whom they got their surname. The Dučićs are Vladislavićs' descendants. It is not by chance that Dučić writes that great philosopher Ruđer Bošković, in his old age, also studied his origins, and it is not by coincidence that he speaks, purportedly incidentally, about Ruđer's male- and female-line ancestors, and even finds the roots of Nikola Tesla in Herzegovina. This book is a story about oneself and one's own identity, about one's lineage and people as part of the Mediterranean, Slavic and European world, and about Sava Vladislavić as one of the forefathers, certainly the most important, the most renowned, and closest to Dučić in terms of mentality.

In his foreword, Dučić eulogises his native Herzegovina, highlighting that he wrote the book out of special love “for this seedbed of language, i.e. place where notions are built; for this wellspring of our decasyllable, which, emerging from the Kosovo grief, belongs only to Serbdom, just as much as hexameter was a spiritual and expressive form of ancient Greeks only” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 10). These words about decasyllable were written by Dučić, who with his rhythm, departed from the Romantic tradition and decasyllable, but was aware of its importance and the importance of oral tradition. By comparing decasyllable with hexameter, i.e. the Serbs with Greeks, Dučić gives another, unobtrusive, but substantial proof about the Serbs, particularly the Herzegovians, as Mediterraneans. Dučić undoubtedly considered himself a Mediterranean – and he also desired that others perceived him as such – cherishing the entire ancient, Greek and Roman heritage.

Speaking about the “seedbed of language” and the “wellspring of decasyllable”, Dučić also had in mind the homeland of Vuk Karadžić – Drobniak and Durmitor, as confirmed around thirty pages later when he compares Durmitor with Olympus:

“Gacko and Drobniak are the historical settlements from which the greatest Serbian names in the field of culture have sprung. Durmitor, and the area surrounding it by a hundred air kilometres, are the hotbed of all Serbian aspirations, the nursery of language, the spring of poetry, and the school of Serbian chivalry and bravery. Durmitor is the focal point of the Serbian main moral sphere, our Olympus” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 40).

While we do respect the diameter of two hundred air kilometres around Durmitor, Dučić, nonetheless, mythologises this area, though he could find endorsements in important ethno-geographic studies and travelogues. In his moderate mythisation, he emphasises his key values: the language, building of notions, i.e. logical, philosophical reasoning, poetry, verse, chivalry, bravery, “the moral sphere”. For Dučić, Durmitor does not mean departing from the Mediterranean. Through comparison with Olympus, Durmitor is the very heart and pillar of Serbian Mediterranean culture.

Dučić's foreword is inconsistent as he addresses himself, as the book's author, both in first person singular and plural. He uses the first person plural to signify distance, i.e. the scientific nature and objectivity of his text. This grammatical person is characteristic of the penultimate

paragraph of the foreword. Until then, the first person singular dominates, expressing a personal attitude towards the subject of narration – such subjective stance is characteristic of a lyrical poet and a prose writer with a subjective slant. Such inconsistency permeates, probably unconsciously, the entire book, which, according to Miloš Kovačević, is a signal of the subjectivisation of prose and its poetic tone, i.e. the sign of a functional literary style (КОВАЧЕВИЋ 2011: 272-273).

*

More serious reception of Dučić's work *Count Sava Vladislavić* began only after 1969, i.e. after the publication of *The Collected Works of Jovana Dučića*, edited by Meša Selimović and Živorad Stojković (ДУЧИЋ 1969). At the time, it was still desirable to mention an ideological sin or scientific error of Dučić's. The first salient review of Dučić's *Count Sava Vladislavić* was published only in 1973, in Banjaluka's *Putevi (Roads)* by Vojislav Maksimović (МАКСИМОВИЋ 1973). The title of the paper "Između nauke i mistifikacije" ("Between Science and Mystification") implies the author's stance and critical judgement. His attitude is ambivalent and critical judgement generally unfavourable, though Maksimović could not have insight into the documents Dučić had been collecting across the world over a number of years.

On the sidelines of the Ćorović Encounters event in 2010, the conference "The Vladislavić and Miloradović Families" was held, and the conference proceedings were issued in 2011. At the conference, Irena Arsić, Miloš Kovačević, Draga Mastilović, Vasilij Sokolov, Spasoje Mučibabić and Stevan Sikimić spoke about Sava Vladislavić. Milena Maksimović compiled "A Contribution for the Bibliography of Sava Vladislavić". This was, in all probability, the most important conference about Sava Vladislavić held among the Serbs.

Irena Arsić writes about Sava Vladislavić and Dubrovnik (АРСИЋ 2011), focusing on "a misunderstanding", i.e. Dubrovnik's refusal to issue a permit for the construction of an Orthodox church with a cemetery in the city, even though Russian Emperor Peter the Great stood behind Vladislavić's plea. Branko Koprivica looks for the Vladislavićs in folk legends and Serbian epic poems, and includes in his paper four poems and one document (КОПРИВИЦА 2011). Spasoje Mučibabić and Stevan Sikimić elaborate on the contribution of Sava Vladislavić and the Miloradović family to the art of war (МУЧИБАБИЋ and СИКИМИЋ 2011). Vasilije Sokolov analyses the importance of work of Sava Vladislavić Raguzinski for Russia and his status in Russia, placing an emphasis on the demarcation of the Russian–Chinese border, the construction of the Novotroitsk fortress with the church of the Holy Trinity and the chapel of St Sava of Serbia. The fortress was built according to Vladislavić's idea, and the works were led by Pushkin's ancestor Abram Petrovich Hannibal. Sokolov's paper also contains the poem of Buryat poet Boris Nimaev about Sava Vladislavić, in Russian (СОКОЛОВ 2011).

We shall devote most attention to the papers of Draga Mastilović and Miloš Kovačević as they most directly concern Dučić's book. Mastilović underscores the scientific and historiographical importance of Dučić's book: no one has ever tried to do, let alone did what Dučić accomplished. In Mastilović's opinion, "Dučić's work is still today an inevitable cornerstone for

everyone wishing to deal with this topic. Although not a historian by vocation, Dučić doubtless left behind him a valuable historiographical work”. Mastilović does not deny the fact that contemporary critical historiography may find faults with Dučić, but to be entitled to object, an honest critic should have an insight into at least close to as many primary sources about Sava Vladislavić as Dučić had, and there are certainly no such scientists in Serbian historiography.

Mastilović read and analysed the works of those who dealt with Vladislavić. He does not underestimate even those authors who, such as Gligor Stanojević, did not make significant scientific breakthroughs, but occasionally gave interesting and new pieces of information that can be used for scientific purposes (СТАНОЈЕВИЋ 1954).

Maksim Zloković wrote a useful paper about the Vladislavićs by analysing the primary sources from the Venetian Archives (ЗЛОКОВИЋ 1973). Predrag Kovačević relies more heavily on Russian historian Solovyov than on Dučić. He puts forward the thesis that Vladislavić entered the Russian service already in 1698, at the time when Count Tolstoy was visiting the Bay of Kotor and the littoral, and particularly Perast, where Russian cadets practiced maritime skills with captain Marko Martinović. This explains Vladislavić’s quick entry into the service of Ukraintsev, a Russian envoy to Constantinople – he joined Ukraintsev soon after he came to Constantinople in 1699. Along with Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos, Sava became Ukraintsev’s most reliable associate (КОВАЧЕВИЋ 1979). No matter how interesting and credible, Kovačević’s thesis is not supported by the primary historical source or by Tolstoy’s *Diary*, which Kovačević relied on.

Mastilović assesses the paper of Dušan Sindik about Vladislavić’s testaments from 1725 and 1738, which Sindik found and carefully examined, as “a truly valuable treatise” (СИНДИК 1980). Judging by these testaments, it is indisputable that Sava Vladislavić was unfortunate in his personal and family life. He outlived all his three daughters from his unhappy marriage with Virginia Trevisan. The spouses lived separately 13 years during their 18-year-long marriage. Sava felt responsible for the destiny of his Vladislavićs in Herzegovina and for the killing of Živko Vladislavić literally on his hearth. Sindik doubts that Vladislavić was married before Virginia and that he had son Luka from his first marriage. He criticises Dučić, claiming that Sava Vladislavić’s first marriage and son Luka “are most probably a figment of writer’s imagination”. However, Sindik reveals that Vladislavić had an illegitimate son, Filip, whom Vladislavić mentions in his will. Mastilović concludes that Sindik’s treatise is “after Dučić’s work, doubtless the most valuable historiographical contribution to the elucidation of Sava Vladislavić’s work and personality. Particularly valuable is the fact that Jovan Dučić’s work has been examined for the first time in critical historiography, based on primary historical sources” (МАСТИЛОВИЋ 2011: 295).

Jovan Dučić was indubitably an imaginative man, but he did not exaggerate in his book about Count Sava Vladislavić. Dučić quite precisely states that Sava’s son Luka was born in 1698 and died in 1737 in Moscow, “where he was buried in the Greek Nikolayevsky monastery, where his uncle Efim had also been buried under the altar table” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 351). Sava’s first-born child and only son was probably thirty nine when he died. Dučić does not write about Sava’s first wife, or Luka’s growing up, which is rather unusual. However, it is hard to ignore Dučić’s data

about Luka and easily overlook the following claims about Sava Vladislavić after his son's death – the death of his only son, who carried his grandfather's name, utterly “crushed Count Sava Vladislavić so that, according to one source, he abandoned everything and turned to disorderly life and alcohol” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 351); “In the year after the death of his son Luka until his own death, Sava Vladislavić was in a dismal spiritual state” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 354). If all this is a figment of Dučić's imagination, Borges' *Fictions* is nothing but a trivial book.

Mastilović, quite reasonably, pays attention to an unusual and esteemed person – doctor Goran Komar, and his thesis that the Živkovići from Topla could be the Vladislavići by origin, and that they got their surname after a sacrifice – Živko, the killed son of Duka Vladislavić (КОМАР 2006: 74-87).

Mastilović analyses the book *Sava Vladislavić Raguzinski u svom i našem vremenu* (*Sava Vladislavić Razuginski in His and Our Time*) by Bogdan Kosanović, a Slavist from Novi Sad, published to mark the 340th birth and 270th death anniversary of Sava Vladislavić (КОСАНОВИЋ 2009). Kosanović takes a critical attitude towards Dučić, primarily some of his translations. Mastilović assesses this book as “commemorative”, created “to remind and warn the thriftless and forgetful Serbian culture of its unique and great offshoot as Count Sava Vladislavić certainly was, rather than to crucially contribute to the true elucidation of his personality and deeds” (МАСТИЛОВИЋ 2011: 297).

Mastilović firmly holds that in order to critically verify and potentially correct Dučić, i.e. to write an in-depth and comprehensive study about Sava Vladislavić, it should be necessary to first examine the Russian archives, as well as the archives of the Bay of Kotor and Dubrovnik up to Venice and the Vatican, and to minutely explore the nature of Vladislavić's diplomatic mission in Rome in 1716-1718, at the time of the last major Venetian-Turkish war. Such an endeavour would entail full years-long commitment and there is little probability than any historian would decide to undertake it in the near future. Until such a person appears, let us hold to Dučić. According to Mastilović, Dučić's book *Count Sava Vladislavić* is not only a valuable, but also an unavoidable historiographical work.

The most interesting for us is Miloš Kovačević's paper “Jovan Dučić about Count Sava Vladislavić” (КОВАЧЕВИЋ 2011: 261-273). Kovačević poses the question of the genre, i.e. analyses the elements of the literary style in Dučić's monograph. Kovačević is well-known for his stylistic research which, by definition, oscillates between the science of language and literary science. Citing Bogdan Kosanović who stated that



Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem
(1641–1709)

“a mythical rather than historiographical mode of thought is closer to God-given poet Jovan Dučić”, Kovačević poses the question about the genre of Dučić’s monograph, claiming it is “a biographic monograph with elements of a fictionalised biography”. Dučić’s book “is neither a novel nor is it written in the form of a novel”, “but shares one of the most quintessential features of fictionalised biographies”. Namely, “a biographer is at the same time ‘a historian’ and ‘a portrait painter’, but this does not mean that he writes in the rift between art and history because, in fact, poetry and truth do not contradict – the biographer’s duty is only to take out from the life he depicts all the poetry contained in that life” (A. Maurois, *Rečnik književnih termina (Dictionary of Literary Terms)*). According to Kovačević, “Dučić’s work is not of a purely literary character, but it certainly contains literary elements, which, whatsoever, even prevail” (КОВАЧЕВИЋ 2011: 262).

The scientific aspect of Dučić’s monograph is reflected in the use of scientific apparatus, quotation of non-literary texts, accurate data on the origin of quotations and sources – he provides precise bibliographical data about sources. There are 436 footnotes, forty images: photographs, tables, pictures, a number of documents, facsimiles of letters and minutes, and document transcriptions in foreign languages. The last part of the book consists of “Appendixes” – there are eight of them and are designated with Roman numerals and printed continuously, on 16 pages (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 368 – 379). Kovačević was probably the first to note the use of “the scientific authorial *we*”, untypical for a literary-artistic text, which emphasizes a scientific distance towards the analysed subject.

Despite this, Kovačević is convinced, already starting from Dučić’s foreword, “that functionally-stylistic and literary-artistic characteristics will prevail over the functional-stylistic characteristics of the scientific text” (КОВАЧЕВИЋ 2041: 264). He supports his thesis by analysing the foreword and several descriptions – literary portraits of Sava Vladislavić. Dučić knew that his descriptions were not adequate “for a monograph of this type”, but he justified his approach by saying: “I am writing this book primarily for Vladislavić’s fellow Serbs”. The target reader, who is close to the main hero and is practically his relative not only justifies, but also requires an occasionally more intimate tone of the historical story.

Unusual for scientific discourse are also the types of “speech of another”, which “characterise a literary-artistic prose text and are used by Dučić in his monograph”. Kovačević finds in Dučić’s text direct speech, free direct speech, indirect speech and free indirect speech, as well as relevant examples for each type of speech of another. Kovačević has written several times about speech of another in prose and, according to him, “the presence of free indirect speech, even in traces in Dučić’s text about Vladislavić, is something that unambiguously makes this text a literary-artistic one”. Kovačević gives a theoretical explanation: “Free indirect speech is a dual-voice structure typical only of a prose literary style – from the formal point of view (as it is most often associated with the third grammatical person of pronouns and verbs), it is the author who speaks, while the substantive-effective strength of the expression shows that it is, in fact, the speech of the hero” (КОВАЧЕВИЋ 2011: 268-269).

The indicators of the literary-artistic style of Dučić's monograph are verb forms in narrative use, primarily the already defunct imperfect and aorist tenses, including the narrative present and future simple, past perfect and second conditional, with a pronounced stylistic function. This contributes to the narrativisation of the text. To corroborate this, Kovačević uses expressive and convincing examples, which illustrate immersion and "obviousness" as illusions achieved by artistic prose.

The writer also aims at the "intellectualisation" of prose, to which participles are inherent. Well-selected examples are given for both participles in the function of the intellectualisation of prose, which indicates that scientific style is an equal, if not a dominant characteristic of Dučić's work. Such interference of features of scientific and literary-artistic style is also visible in the use of pronouns *I* and *we*. The authorial *we* is a feature of scientific style, and *I* "is one of the basic forms of artistic narrative" (КОВАЧЕВИЋ 2011: 272-273). Such blend is a sign of hybridisation of the genre.

Kovačević proves, based on examples, that the use of authorial *I* in Dučić's monograph "is associated with expressive comments, emotional interest and engrossment in the topic he elaborates on". In Kovačević's view, which seems to be less convincing, the authorial *we* is not "in the real sense" the scientific authorial *we*, but rather a way of cooperation with readers, an invitation to their active involvement in "the story".

Narration underlies Dučić's book, as shown by the noted stylistic models, which prompts Kovačević to conclude that this "is not and cannot be a scientific-historical monograph, but is a literary text 'sprinkled' with elements of a scientific-biographical method. This is not a biographical novel either, but is a biography turned into literature by linguistic and stylistic means. This work is unique in many respects not only within Dučić's opus, but also within precisely undifferentiated, in genre terms, the literary prose essay writing" (КОВАЧЕВИЋ 2011: 273).

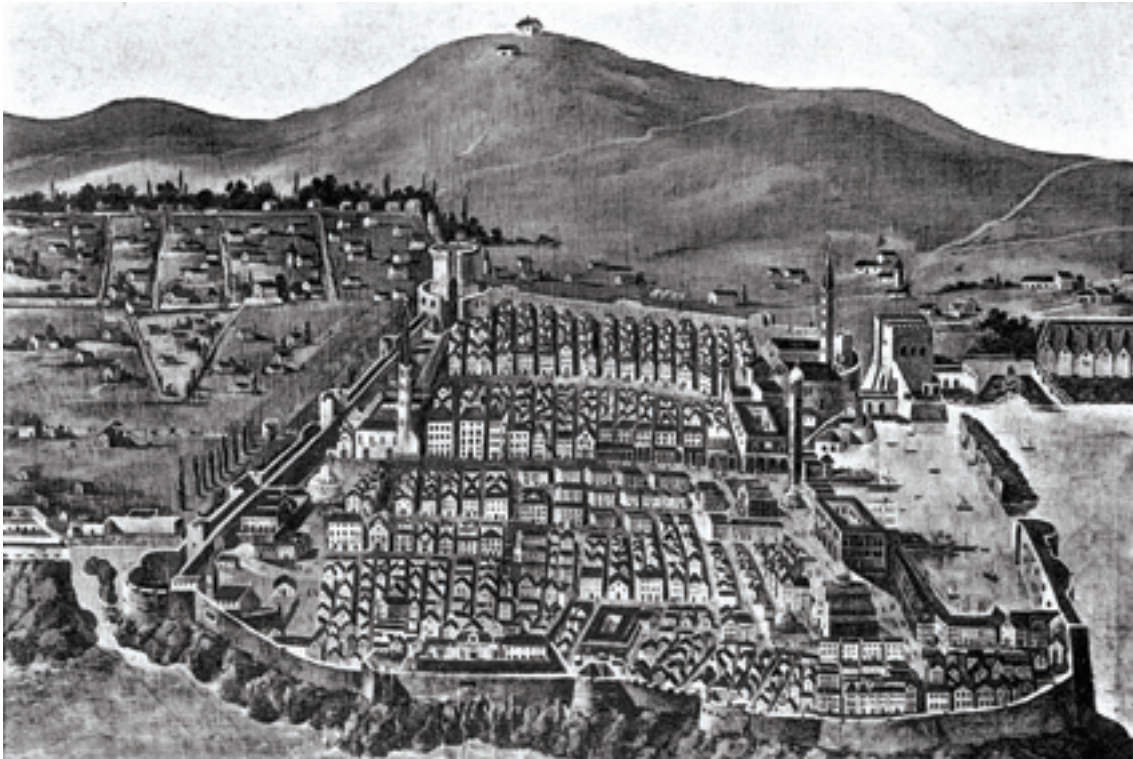
Kovačević's idea that Dučić's authorial *we* is an invitation to the reader to cooperation is unconvincing. Dučić is not Pavić. There are no credible examples to confirm this. It is true that *I* occasionally appears in places where *we* would be expected, particularly in the foreword, which may suggest an occasional personal attitude as an emotional relationship. The examples of literary-artistic style are doubtless highly frequent in Dučić's monograph, and most often serve the function of live narration, but this does not mean that Dučić's work is not a serious contribution to historiography. Kovačević has explained the hybrid nature of genre of Dučić's work and a pronounced presence of literary-artistic style. It is true that narration underlies Dučić's book, but history implies a story about events, people and historical processes. The words *storia* and *Geschichte* signify both a story and history. The historians such as Tacitus, Plutarch or Radovan Samardžić can also be good and, sometimes, great writers. The same applies to philosophers, such as Nietzsche. This does not mean they are less of historians or philosophers. According to Miladin Milošević, history was Dučić's great passion and it is no wonder that he wrote a book about Sava Vladislavić (МИЛОШЕВИЋ 1991: 26).



Catherine I Alekseyevna (1684–1727) and Peter the Great (1672–1725)

Useful for this analysis could be Jakobson's theory of functions, regardless of the deficiencies of his definition of the poetic function of language (ЈАКОБСОН 1966: 235–326). The poetic function of language is also often found outside literature, in a more or less pronounced form, but is not dominant. The referential function is dominant in a scientific work. It would be incorrect and unjust to deny the domination of the referential function in Dučić's work on Count Sava Vladislavić, just as it would be incorrect to deny its unambiguous poetic function. In terms of knowledge we gain, Dučić's work is revelatory – before it, we knew practically nothing about one of the greatest diplomats in Russia at the time of Peter the Great and Catherine I; about a man who entered into Russian and Chinese history; who was in diplomatic missions in Dubrovnik, Constantinople, Rome, Vatican, particularly China, and who demarcated the borders between the two greatest empires of the time – China and Russia; who was the first one in Russia to put forward the Serbian question as the Eastern question and who established links between Russia and Montenegro. This is the great historical knowledge contained in this book and, for us, its referential value is doubtless dominant. This does not prevent us to discuss the existence and nature of the poetic function in this work, if we accept that the poetic function is subject of poetics.

On 6 and 7 December 1993, a conference about Jovan Dučić was held at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts to mark his 50th death anniversary. In 1996, the conference proceedings were published, edited by Predrag Palavestra. They contain a paper of Zlata Bojović "Jovan Dučić's Monograph about Sava Vladislavić Raguzinski" (БОЈОВИЋ 1996: 193–200).



Dubrovnik in the time of Sava Vladislavić (1667)

Dučić called his work a “historical monograph”. It was entirely different than anything else he had written – in terms of the subject matter, contents, genre, and the writing approach. The book is divided into ten chapters and starts with the legend about the origins of the Vladislavićs and ends with the last years, death and funeral of Sava Vladislavić. It covers the period from the 1660s to the 1730s, and the areas such as Jasenik, Foča and Gacko, Dubrovnik, Herceg Novi and the Bay of Kotor, Constantinople, Moscow and St Petersburg, the battles of Poltava and Pruth, Rome and Venice, China and Siberia and again St Petersburg. It is hard even to imagine that in the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century a Herzegovian from Jasenik near Gacko would travel such vast expanses, visit so many different countries, always in the most difficult and most responsible diplomatic missions, often under threats and in life-threatening situations, as a rule as a representative and personification of the Russian Empire. Zlata Bojović sees him as a belated Baroque man and regrets that Dučić did not see him in such light as well.

A professor of Renaissance and Baroque literature and a leading scholar specialising in Dubrovnik, Zlata Bojović devoted a part of her work to Dučić’s image of Dubrovnik. Her analysis



Pope Clement XI

(pages 196-197) is highly informative, valuable and topical, and contains a succinct overview and estimate of Vladislavić's and Dučić's attitude towards Dubrovnik and its values.

Bojović highly esteems Dučić's archival work and his reconstruction of the life, personality and work of Sava Vladislavić. Using historical data and partly relying on legends and assumptions, Dučić reconstructed and created an integral image of Sava Vladislavić and his life path, following, "not always without exaggeration", almost his every step. A senior diplomat himself, Dučić knew how much of diplomatic skill his ancestor must have had when he conducted successful negotiations about the Concordat with Pope Clement XI, who awarded him a medal for religious tolerance. As Bojović suggests, Dučić knew how to separate the wheat from the chaff, how to "be responsible before the truth", remain "uncompromising towards sympathies", and not omit important details.

Although he diligently collected and respected historical sources, Dučić departed from them faced with literary challenges: when he is writing about the Arab Ibrahim – Abraham – Abram Hannibal, who was, while still a boy, gifted by Vladislavić to Peter the Great, and who became Pushkin's ancestor, when he is building the portrait of Count Tolstoy, or when he is describing the final episode of life of admiral Matija Zmajević.

According to Bojović, Dučić devotes too much attention to the Vladislavićs' origins, although he had the least amount of historical records about this matter. She states that Vladislavić's literary work is presented in an incomplete way and that his personal life is elucidated in a fragmentary and unbalanced manner.

With his book, Dučić restored his people's awareness about the highest values of spirit, culture and virtues. Just like in diplomacy, he represented his nation which had serious cultural tradition and history, and great cultural heroes. Sava Vladislavić is one of them.

*

By analysing the front cover of the book, Sava Vladislavić's portrait and the foreword, and commenting on secondary literature, we have expressed a significant number of our views of Dučić's book *Count Sava Vladislavić*. We shall try to repeat those views only to the extent required by the logic of this paper.

Dučić's book *Count Sava Vladislavić* consists of ten sections: I Legend about the Vladislavić Family, II Sava Vladislavić in Dubrovnik,

III Sava Vladislavić in Constantinople, IV Sava Vladislavić in Moscow (I), V Sava Vladislavić in Moscow (II), VI The Pruth River Campaign of Peter the Great, VII Sava Vladislavić in Italy and Dubrovnik 1716–1722, VIII Sava Vladislavić upon his Return from Italy, IX Sava Vladislavić, a Minister Plenipotentiary in China, X The Last Days of Sava Vladislavić. Sections consist of four (I, IV and VII), five (II, III, V, VIII, IX and X) or six (VI) chapters. Such neat structure makes the book easy to read and helps the reader go back to the topics that interest him most. The hero's name dominates the titles of sections: Sava Vladislavić appears in the titles of eight sections – the first is about the Vladislavić family, and the sixth about Emperor Peter the Great. Even in the sixth section, titled Emperor Peter the Great, four chapters are devoted to Sava Vladislavić. When it comes to negotiations, entering into alliances and particularly conclusion of peace, Sava Vladislavić was unavoidable and irreplaceable. Similarly, when it comes to the south of Europe – Italy, Dubrovnik, the Bay of Kotor, Herzegovina and Montenegro – Sava Vladislavić pulled his strings even when he was not there.

Such domination of the name of Sava Vladislavić suggests that Dučić's book is a reconstruction of the life, personality and work of the main hero. Balance in the number of chapters is visible – six sections have five chapters each, three have four, and only one section has six chapters. Dučić tried to evenly, almost strophically regularly, organise his text, which contributes to the rhythm of narration. The titles of sections and chapters show that Dučić follows his hero from the legend about the family origins and migrations of Sava's father Luka Vladislavić until Sava's last days and death – narration is chronological. Such chronology is rarely disrupted and its disruption entails a comment. The book's title and composition show that the hero is most often on a journey. These journeys are, as a rule, connected with missions and difficult tasks which the hero most often successfully accomplishes. He changes his places of abode and each of these places is a phase on his life path. His is a path of ascent until the eventual sudden and tragic downfall and breakdown. Sava's greatest and hardest-won success – the diplomatic mission in China and demarcation of borders of the two greatest world empires – is followed by the story about the deaths of his children, Sava's personal misfortunes, his nervous breakdown, downfall and death. The turnaround is sudden and terrifying. At the end, Sava is alone, without offspring, with a darkened consciousness, immersed in alcohol and disarray, with a significant part of his estates sold. His public, dazzling success is transformed into a complete personal breakdown. A public historical fame is accompanied with personal misfortune.

Convinced that “nothing in folk legends is said in vain” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 26), Dučić examines folk songs and legends about the Vladislavićs, their origins and tribulations, flight through Piva to Montenegro, and the family being scattered across Dubrovnik, the Bay of Kotor and Russia. He writes about the conflicts between the Vladislavićs and Čengiće, and an amicable stance of the Hasanbegoviće and Zvizdiće towards the Vladislavićs. Legends and songs often rename their heroes, conflate and blend personalities and events, but always preserve a virtuous seed of historical truth and cultural remembrance. “Has it not been for the Serbian *gusle* player, these famous families would perhaps be partially forgotten”, rightly concludes



The Čengić bey's tower at Ratalj near Foča, mentioned in the folk song about Sava Vladislavić's revenge

Dučić (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 23). Having verified legends by comparing them with historical facts, i.e. written documents, he writes: “Folk legends give erroneous names and dates, but they are almost never wrong about the facts” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 46). This is why Dučić meticulously collects legends and poems about the Vladislavićs – he does not do so out of his inclination to mythical thinking. On the contrary, Dučić’s rigorous comparison of oral sources with written documents is praiseworthy given that he values truth first and foremost and has a critical attitude towards sources. These comparisons have shown that “the Herzegovian folk legends, in regard to the Vladislavić family and in other respects, have always remained on a reliable historical soil so that sometimes it is hard to differentiate between tradition and history” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 51). Besides, oral legends have their authentic beauty and allure, which is why the first two sections, particularly the first one, have a pronounced poetic nature and function. This is an exceptionally narrative text, but also highly informative and referential.

“Until the late 17th century, the Serbian noble family Vladislavić lived between Jasenik and Berušica, around twelve kilometres from Gacko, on the road towards the Piva river. The ruins of their home are still there and people call them the towers of *knez* Vladislavić” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 13). The ruins, called the towers, remind of an image of epicentre of a past earthquake. This earthquake metaphorically took place probably in 1711, when Duka’s son and Sava’s nephew Živko was killed at the home hearth, and when the towers were demolished, the property plundered, seized or destroyed, and the family scattered around the world, from Dubrovnik and the



The Vladislavić family estate in Jasenik, reconstructed according to its foundations and the folk legend (drawing by Predrag Milosavljević)

Bay of Kotor to Russia. This event must have happened in 1711, at the time or immediately after the uprising of Bishop Danilo in Montenegro, when Sava Vladislavić had already been in Russia, advocating and encouraging the uprising. The Čengić beys committed the crimes. The families that sprang from the Vladislavićs are the Vukomanovićs in Gacko and Jasenik, the Dučićs near Trebinje and, probably, the Živkovićs in Topla.

The above two sentences introduce the first section of Dučić's book about Sava Vladislavić and paint the picture of Vladislavić's homeland in the 1930s, close to three hundred years after the birth of Sava Vladislavić. In his search for the origins of the Vladislavić family, Dučić starts from a precise description of the picturesque landscape between Jasenik and Berušica. He finds the origins in Foča, Jasenik and Gacko. Jasenik was the family centre at the time of Sava Vladislavić, which is also when it was destroyed, by the Čengić beys. While exploring the Vladislavićs' origins, Dučić also looks for the Dučićs', i.e. his own origins.

Being old Serbian nobility, the Vladislavićs preserved their social status even during the Turkish period, and Sava Vladislavić raised this status in Russia by becoming a Russian count and court state and imperial counsellor, as well as a Venetian noble. Sava's father Luka had the title of a *knez*. As a man of reputation, courage and trust, he followed the Metropolitan of Trebinje Vasilije Jovanović – today St Vasilije of Ostrog and Tvrdoš, to the Patriarchate of Peć. Just like Dučić, Sava was familiar with the folk legend according to which the Vladislavićs and Miloradovićs shared the same origins – they originated from the old noble Hrabren family. His



The Žitomisljić monastery on the banks of the Neretva river, the endowment of the noble Miloradović family, the 16th century

ancestors “built monasteries and helped the poor”. Dučić notes that it is unknown whether Sava had in mind the Miloradovići and the Žitomisljić monastery, “or he had in mind the Piva monastery built by the Gagovići, who are (as historian Ćorović claims) also the Vladislavići’s descendants” (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 30). Dučić mentions several times the Piva monastery of the Dormition of the Most Holy Theotokos as a place that Sava Vladislavić supported. He sent to the monastery books, money and church items as an expression of his personal magnanimity and kinship links with the ktetors, while also respecting the monastery as a sacred place which gathered the people from Gacko (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 16, 26, 30, 64, ...).

It is not certain how many sons *knez* Luka Vladislavić had and who were Sava’s brothers. It is certain that Sava’s brother Jovan came with his sons to Russia together with Sava, and that Živko, who was killed at the hearth in Jasenik, was the son of Sava’s second brother Duka. It is probable that Duka’s son was also Maksim, the forefather of the Maksimovići from the environs of Sarajevo. It is also likely that Živko’s descendants from Topla became the Živkovići. Duka Vladislavić, the forefather of the Dučići, was a man trusted in Dubrovnik – the official post of the Dubrovnik Senate to Consul Luka Barka went through Duka. Simeon Končarević, Sava’s contemporary, gives in his *Letopis (Chronicles)* invaluable data about the Vladislavići. In legends, the names and kinship links between Luka’s sons and grandsons are mixed. Legends also mention Luka’s son Todor, who lost his life while defending Jasenik. The Vukomanovići got their surname

after Todor's son, who was born at his uncle's place in Drobnjak, just after the plunder of Jasenik. The Vukomanovići remained to live in Luka's estate.

According to the same account, noted by teacher Miloš Slijepčević, Sava Vladislavić attended the Serbian school in the Dobrićevo monastery, while Končarević states that he went to school in Dubrovnik, "socialising with the highest nobility" until 1687.

While looking for the Vladislavićs' origins, Dučić found Stefan Vlasisalić from 1639 and *knez* Herak Vlasisalić from 1483. Dučić found possible traces even in the pre-Kosovo times: the charter of Stefan Tvrtko from 1378 mentions Vlkc Vladislalik (Vukac Vladislavić), and two years earlier, in 1376, Vukša Vladisalić is mentioned as an envoy of Nikola Altomanović (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 38-39).

The research results are not presented chronologically, but are narrated in reverse order – (probably) from 1711 and the destruction of the Vladislavićs' towers in Jasenik until the pre-Kosovo times and 1376. Dučić employs a narrative retrospection, which both decodes and encodes the Vladislavićs' origins. Dučić does not claim that the personalities from 1483, 1378 and 1376 are the ancestors of the Vladislavićs from Jasenik, but he gives the extant historical data and concrete names. At the same time, he critically singles out reliable and archival data:

"Historically, the Vladislavićs are mentioned for the first time in Končarević's *Letopis*, and their first archival trace is found in the Dubrovnik Archives, in the letters of Luka Barka, a Dubrovnik Consul in Constantinople" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 38).

Just like many Herzegovian families, the Vladislavićs "remember" that they took part in the Kosovo Battle. According to a legend written down by Miloš Slijepčević from Todor Vukomanović, the Vladislavićs "lived before Kosovo somewhere in eastern Serbia, towards Vidin". Their ancestor Vlajko went to "Kosovo with his army". After the Kosovo defeat, they moved to the area "somewhere around Foča", meaning they had been in Foča and Jasenik for centuries already. The cult of St Sava, preserved in the name of Sava Vladislavić, and the Kosovo covenant are deeply engrained in Herzegovina – Jelena Balšić, Prince Lazar's daughter, and her husband Sandalj Hranić had their residence in Šćepan Polje, on the Piva border, near Foča and Gacko, and Herzegovina was a voivodeship of St Sava. It is almost certain that St Sava, probably the greatest diplomat and statesman of the Serbian Middle Ages, was – with his skill and agility, the inspiration and support for Sava Vladislavić, a master of negotiations. It is therefore quite natural that he built a little church on the Russo-Chinese border, along with the Holy Trinity church, and dedicated it to St Sava, his personal protector, namesake and national saint, the father of Serbian diplomacy. Vladislavić thus confirmed himself as a ktetor and a diplomat, a Serb and Orthodox Christian, and as a legislator. As a writer and legislator, St Sava left a deep trace in Russian culture and legislation. Sava Vladislavić succeeded him in diplomacy and legislation, by regulating Siberia and Russo-Chinese relations, and embedding himself in Russian, Chinese and Serbian history. If Dučić projected onto Sava Vladislavić as his alter ego, it is almost certain that Sava Vladislavić's role model was St Sava of Serbia. This is a double, historically confirmed mirror game: Dučić – Sava Vladislavić – St Sava of Serbia. We

have mentioned here only one paper about St Sava's influence on Russian culture (БЕЉАКОВА and ШТАПОВ 1998: 359-367).

The Vladislavićs were forcefully banished from Jasenik, where they had lived for several centuries with the status of nobility and significant estate, by the Čengići, who seized their land. Some of the Vladislavićs lost their lives and others fled: some through Montenegro to the littoral and the Bay of Kotor, and some to Russia. The women began to fend for the family. Dučić mentions a letter written to Bosnian vizier Ahmed Pasha by Sima of Duka Vladislavić and Kanda of Živko Vladislavić, as an example of female wisdom and diplomatic gift, as well as excellent epistolary prose. Similar wisdom is demonstrated by Sava's mother, also called Sima, who was in deep old age when she wrote a letter to captain Ivan L. Crnojević.

The first Vladislavić known to have stayed in Dubrovnik was Sava's father, *knez* Luka. Due to Turkish oppression, he had to move to Dubrovnik already in the mid-17th century. Dučić convincingly refutes this claim and, in all probability, it was not then that Sava's parents moved to Dubrovnik. A temporary and partial move may have taken place and Sava may have lived and gone to school there until 1677, socialising "with the highest nobility". Based on Duka's and Sava's letters and manuscripts, Dučić concludes that both brothers were highly refined and educated, and knew both alphabets: "Duka was doubtless educated just as Sava" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 69). However, Duka's name was lost already in the first years of the 18th century. Based on Duka's letter, Dučić concludes that there were close links between the Herzegovian families of Boškovićs, i.e. Pokrajčićs – the ancestors of Ruđer Bošković – and the Vladislavićs, and that there was an indirect link with Bar Bettera, Ruđer's maternal grandfather – this link was "not only business-like or accidental" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 74).

Though it is not known with certainty when he came to Dubrovnik, Sava Vladislavić was educated and spent several exciting years there, which was very useful for the life and career of the future diplomat. He could see the Senate of Dubrovnik "always managing to win even when those much stronger would lose" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 78). He saw the horrendous consequences of the Morean War and all the ambiguity and danger of a war and political "friendship". It is not known with certainty when Sava came to Constantinople: it was "after 1687" (Končarević), perhaps in 1693 (Jiriček), and it is certain that he was in Constantinople already in 1699 (Luka Barka). Sava got his nickname, i.e. second surname Raguzinski in Constantinople, according to the city he came from. As of 1699, his political career began in Constantinople – he made contact with Russian envoy Ukraintsev and was one of his main supporters, along with Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos. Skilful Vladislavić, who knew foreign languages, obtained for him precious transcripts of international treaties that Turkey had concluded with France, Venice, Austria-Hungary and the British. This move made Vladislavić known even at the Russian court. He was later the right hand of envoy Golitsyn, and particularly his old acquaintance P. A. Tolstoy, whom he did a favour with an elaborate on Turkish straits. Vladislavić quickly adapted to changes at the Turkish court and throne, accurately assessing the direction of the new policy, and skilfully avoiding life threats.

Vladislavić left Constantinople in 1703 and went to Russia. His “classic education was practically unknown in Russia at the time”. He knew Latin, Greek, Italian, “diplomatic Turkish” and Russian, and had a solid life experience. Upon his arrival in Moscow, he became one of the Emperor’s main people and even his favourite. Dučić’s knowledge of the European historical context in the early 18th century and significance of Peter the Great is impressive. Vladislavić quickly became the Emperor’s personal acquaintance and was entrusted with various secret missions. His visit to Constantinople in 1704 was exceptionally helpful for Count Tolstoy. Sava brought from this trip “The Secret Description of the Black Sea”, based on which he prepared the “Secret Description of China”, though much later (1729). Owing to his service and missions, he gained various and numerous economic privileges.

On his return from Constantinople to Moscow, Vladislavić brought an Arabian Abyssinian boy – Ibrahim, Abraham, baptised in 1707 as Peter Petrovich. He became the great-grandfather of A. S. Pushkin and was, as Abram Hannibal, of great help in Vladislavić’s mission concerning the demarcation of borders of Russia and China and construction of Russian fortified towns. Dučić believes that Pushkin’s interest in the Serbs, Serbian poetry and history is related with the favours Vladislavić did for his great-grandfather.

Vladislavić visited Constantinople several times. He would arrive and leave increasingly more powerful. He controlled trade and finance, and helped the army and diplomats in moments of crisis. Dučić sees him as the head of the quartermaster corps of the Russian army at the Battle of Poltava and in the victory over Charles XII. The Emperor awarded him several times with enormous estates, privileges and titles. In 1710, he became a court counsellor for the Orthodox East and was the first to put forward the Eastern question as the Serbian question and as one of the most important questions of European policy. He opened Russia for the South Slavs and established direct links between Russia and the Serbs – Bishop Danilo, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Dubrovnik, but also with the ruling princes of Moldavia and Wallachia. “During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Serbs were “arriving in Russia *en masse*” due to religious intolerance and pressures not only of the Turks, but also of the Roman Catholics in Austria-Hungary. “A particular Serbian area” was created in the south of Russia. It was called “New Serbia” and had three Serbian military regiments. Dučić mentions a number of eminent Serbian families who gave important personalities to Russia.



Pyotr Andreyevich Tolstoy, Russian envoy to Constantinople, 1702–1712



Russian admiral Matija Zmajević (1680–1735)
from Perast in Boka Kotorska

The Roman Catholics were also arriving in Russia, such as the admiral from the Bay of Kotor Matija Zmajević, whose relative was Bishop Andrija, and whose brother was Vicko Zmajević, later the Archbishop of Zadar. Matija Zmajević was the holder of Pope's medal and built a Catholic church in St Petersburg. Ivan Krušola and Matija Karaman also moved in Vladislavić's circles. Aiming to make Russia a European state, Peter the Great wished to have a cardinal to represent him with the Pope. In his letters, admiral Matija Zmajević praises Sava Vladislavić as his high-ranking protector. He was sentenced to death due to theft of state property, and was later pardoned and degraded to the rank of a vice-admiral. He died three years before Sava Vladislavić.

Vladislavić also carried out a financial reform (1718), i.e. he helped restore the imperial treasury. He was granted the title of a court counsellor and called the Emperor's favourite. It was therefore logical that Raguzinski was entrusted with the civilian administration in the Russo-Turkish War and the campaign to Pruth in 1711. Both countries considered this war a "holy war", which awakened Vladislavić's hope in the liberation of the Serbs and the Balkans from the Turks. Already on the day following the Turkish declaration of war, he organised an uprising in Montenegro and sent there Mihailo Miloradović, with the Emperor's letter to Bishop Danilo and people's leaders. The Montenegrins were ordering ammunition from Dubrovnik, which traded both with the Turks and Christians (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 188). The uprising started auspiciously, but was halted by the news from the Pruth that the Russian Emperor had to conclude peace under unfavourable conditions, without even mentioning the Serbs and their uprising. The Turks began to retaliate across Montenegro. The first revenge of Bosnian vizier Ahmed Pasha ended with Turkish defeat, with the battle at Carev Laz. The second revenge, incomparably more terrifying, was undertaken by Numan Pasha Köprülüzade (Ćuprić). The Turks wreaked havoc in Montenegro, took Morea from Venice and banished Bishop Danilo.

Having described the failed Miloradović's uprising, Dučić returns with his story to Pruth, consciously disrupting the chronology: "However, let us return to Pruth and see what happened there" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 195).

Dučić first completes the national episode – Miloradović's uprising and its consequences, and then returns to Russian history, behaviour and personalities of Wallachian and Moldavian princes Cantemir and Brâncoveanu. Dimitrie Cantemir is presented as a learned, scholarly man, a polyglot (he spoke ten languages compared to Vladislavić's six), without a military and political gift. Brâncoveanu is portrayed as a traitor and the consequences of his act are characterised as immeasurable and long-lasting. The Turks did not reward Brâncoveanu's treason, but instead chained him and threw him into a notorious dungeon. After the defeat on the Pruth and the unfavourable peace, Russia never again led a war for the liberation of Balkan Christians. It is interesting that among the three peace negotiators with the Turkish vizier there was also Sava Vladislavić – the Turks demanded him from Russia in order to bring him to trial, as he was their subject, or to immediately execute him. This unusual, brave man negotiated under such pressure, striving to remain unrecognised by the Turks. He endeavoured to personify the Russian Empire and maintain the composure of a negotiator in an extremely unfavourable situation, under a life threat. Owing to Vladislavić, Russia established close links with Montenegro and provided it with material aid which "lasted almost until the end of both these monarchies" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 218).

The seventh section evokes the first and second ones. It thematically returns to Dubrovnik, in a new context, extending to Italy and Vladislavić's mission in Rome and Venice, his marriage with Virginia Trevisan and negotiations with Pope Clement XI. Vladislavić asks for an official leave to return to Dubrovnik, after three decades, and see his old mother. The people of Dubrovnik receive and greet him exceptionally ceremoniously – they meet him at the very border of the Republic, saluting him in the name of the Doge and Senate. The imperial court counsellor carried with him the Imperial Letter with imperial recommendations. Sava came to Dubrovnik intending to build a Serbian Orthodox church on his estate there and arrange a burial place for his mother, who was already very old. Despite the fact that Vladislavić had in the Senate "many family friends and guests" and despite the letter of the Russian Emperor, his request was not accepted as it was considered "the desecration of the Catholic faith" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 224). A similar request was also refused to Jelena, the daughter of Prince Lazar and widow of grand *knez* Sandalj Hranić. Dubrovnik was and has remained a Catholic fortress, which could not be shaken by the imperial authority, historical personalities, private links and friendships. Despite imperial recommendations, many personal friendships and historical examples, Sava Vladislavić could not bury his mother under the Orthodox cross, but brought the ninety-year-old woman together with him to Russia.

Dučić makes a great historical leap and goes to the last quarter of the 19th century and the 40th year of the 20th century, by introducing a personal story – the Herzegovian Serbs and rebels were buried by St George's church in Posat:

"On both sides of the staircase, leading from the garden to the church, there are two small terraces, where nothing is sowed or planted. These are two large tombs of the Serbs insurgents from the famous Herzegovina Uprising of 1876-1878, who died of wounds and diseases in

Dubrovnik. (In the left one, in front of the very church door, also lies young Herzegovian insurgent Andrija Dučić, the father of this book's author)" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 226).

On the next page, again in brackets, Dučić gives the epilogue of the story about the Serbian Orthodox cemetery in Posat, where insurgents were also buried:

"(The Dubrovnik city municipality has adopted the law, now, in 1940, that the new road from Ploče to Gruž should go through this very Orthodox cemetery and its little church, whereby it will be wiped out before our very eyes.)" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 227).

Dučić feels pain when writing about Dubrovnik, just as Sava Vladislavić felt it while pleading in vain for the church and his mother's tomb. Both of them, each in his own way, bid farewell to Dubrovnik:

"...After the unsuccessful case of building an Orthodox church in Dubrovnik, Sava Vladislavić severed his ties with the Dubrovnik government and left Dubrovnik, together with his family, whom he brought to the Bay of Kotor. Never again did he return to the city of St Blaise" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 231).

Dučić highlights that a great Serb established links between Dubrovnik and Russia and was deeply hurt by the move of the same Dubrovnik with which he, obviously, parted:

"It should be underscored that the letter of Emperor Peter I, which Vladislavić brought to the Dubrovnik Senate was, regardless of the question of the Orthodox church in the city of St Blaise, of the greatest political importance. It is considered the first contact of imperial Russia with the Dubrovnik Republic. Let us say immediately that these relations, which were maintained almost until the disappearance of the Dubrovnik state, were established only owing to Serb Sava Vladislavić. Let us also add that after the case of refusal of construction of the Orthodox church, Emperor Peter I never again personally addressed Dubrovnik, just as Sava Vladislavić never returned there" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 233).

Sava parted with Dubrovnik forever and moved to the Bay of Kotor with his mother. At the time, going from Dubrovnik to the Bay of Kotor was the same as going abroad – stresses Dučić and then lyrically projects onto Sava Vladislavić, who is leaving Dubrovnik and the Bay of Kotor and going to Venice:

"Going back from Dubrovnik and the Bay of Kotor to Venice, probably a few months later, Sava Vladislavić must have cast, with a pain in his soul, his last look at Dubrovnik, which had always been a Catholic monastery rather than a Slavic republic, and which was never able to relinquish its particularism, imposed by the unfortunate inflow of foreign blood and foreign culture" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 238).

Both before and after his painful separation with Dubrovnik, Sava was "in Russia a true father of the local Catholic emigrants and their religious community", even in respect of the greatest Catholics, such as admiral Zmajević. The Pope awarded him, for his religious tolerance, with the Order of the Golden Spur (according to one document), or the Constantine Order (according to another document). In 1720, he became an imperial envoy in Rome and negoti-

ated with Pope Clement XI about the Concordat with Russia. Dučić doubtless felt a similar pain in 1940, until his death, seeing that not only were his tombs obliterated, but that hundreds of thousands of Serbian lives were being annihilated as well. In place is the writer's complete identification with his hero.

Such identification is also visible in regard to Sava's collection of works of art in Italy which he sent to the Emperor in St Petersburg so that they artistically decorate his "little Paradise" and turn it into a "New Amsterdam" or "New Venice", just like Dučić wished to turn Trebinje into the "Serbian Weimar". In a letter to the Emperor, Sava writes about an order of two sculptures:

"Two sculptures, of Adam and Eve, which I have ordered from the best local master Bonacci, will soon be completed. I hope that they will be so good that it would be hard to see such even in the glorious Versailles" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 244).

Dučić explicitly formulated some of Vladislavić's diplomatic principles, which were obviously close to Dučić himself: "Do not go to extremes, do not inspire conflicts, do not be passionate, do not recommend tactless solutions. Delay everything that has not been precisely defined" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 254).

The Emperor sent groups of young men to be educated in Venice, England and the Netherlands. Sava's duty was to care about them and choose the best ones for the elite marine corps.

Sava Vladislavić married the second time in Venice. Dučić does not have information about Sava's first marriage, but claims that he was married in Constantinople, that his wife must have been Serbian, Greek or Levantine. He also states that he had son Luka from his first marriage and that Pushkin mentions his son of the same name when he writes about young Vladislavić as a childhood friend of black Hannibal. Luka Vladislavić (1698-1737) lived in Moscow, where he was buried, and his young wife became a nun after his death. The second marriage between Sava Vladislavić and Virginia Trevisan was concluded on 19 September 1720 by the Catholic rite and probably, later in Russia, by the Orthodox rite. The girl was, both on her father's and mother's side, of patrician origin. On the day of marriage, she was 22 and Sava around 50.

Sava negotiated with Pope Clement XI about the Concordat and reached a high level of mutual agreement, which was, however, annulled with Pop's death. Sava gained in Venice the title of a



The poet's drawings of a museum and a fountain in his hometown

Venetian patrician. In 1722 he went, as a Venetian count, together with his young wife and old mother, to Russia, where he gained the status of a Russian noble in 1725.

On the literary front as well, Dučić saw Vladislavić as his ancestor and forefather. Sava translated from Italian Mavro Orbini's *The Realm of the Slavs* for the needs of the Russian reformed educational system. A Ragusan disciple chose a Ragusan historian so as to make the Russians interested in the South Slavs and to introduce the South Slavs into Russian historical consciousness. He also translated from Italian the book on Solomon's instructions on life. He entered into a literary conflict with Dimitrie Cantemir and his son Antioch, who wrote a satire about Sava Vladislavić. Furthermore, Sava opened in the Moscow Archives a Serbian section and separated documents about his people, which had often been classified under the titles "Greek works", "Eastern-Orthodox works" or even "Turkish works". He arranged that books and teachers be sent to Serbian schools in South Hungary, and he established strong cultural links between Russia and the Serbian people.

Vladislavić was the first Serbian modern travel writer, and the first Serb who wrote about China and Siberia. In 1725, he was appointed the Russian imperial representative in China. He was given exceptionally broad authorisations due to serious borderline disputes. He arrived in China in 1726 with the necessary documents, the Imperial Letter and gifts, escort and money, on the way informing himself about the situation in the field and the tasks awaiting him. He demonstrated great stamina while facing blackmails of all kinds. He took a decisive attitude in negotiations and made highly reasonable decisions. He lived and worked in extremely difficult conditions for an imperial envoy: "I lived better in the dungeon than here as a free envoy" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 330). He energetically resisted the attempt at falsification of the interstate treaty and received acceptable corrigenda from the Chinese Emperor. Dučić emphasises Vladislavić's courage, determination, dedication to the objective and the matter he worked on, his exceptional knowledge of people and mentalities, aptness to turn his enemies into allies by making small concessions, and thoroughness in completing each job. His demarcation of the Chinese-Russian border was a contribution to cartography – the first serious, usable maps of borderline areas were made, particularly of Siberia. He proved to be an excellent legislator and architect in organising Siberia. By fortifying the border, he built the fortified towns of Solinginsk, Chikoy and Troickosavsk. He also built two churches in Troickosavsk: of the Holy Trinity and of St Sava of Serbia. He erected a great wooden cross on a hill at the border, with the inscription: "The cross of God, a sign of border between the Russian and Chinese Empires, erected on 26 June 1727" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 337).

With the Burin Agreement, Sava Vladislavić entered into Russian and Chinese history, triumphantly ending his diplomatic career.

His return to Russia was overshadowed by deaths. He immediately had to go to the cemetery. First his daughter Katarina died (2 January 1726), and then his mother, as nun Teophania (8 January 1726). Both were buried in the Annunciation Church of the famous Alexander

Nevsky Lavra in St Petersburg. His oldest daughter Ana, an imperial god-daughter, also died (1723-1728), followed by his youngest daughter Teodora (1725-1730). This meant the extinction of the offspring of Virginia Trevisan and Sava Vladislavić. Around this period, Virginia's brother Leonardo Trevisan also died (1700-1730), as well as her mother Cornelia Benzon-Trevisan (1731). Sava's son Luka, who lived in Moscow, also died before his father (1698-1737) and was buried in the Greek Nikolayevsky monastery, where his uncle Efim was also buried, under the altar table. After his son's death, Sava "turned to disorderly life and alcohol" and began to sell his estates. He fell into "a dismal spiritual state". What follows is an entire catalogue of sold estates – the picture of disarray painted through enumeration. The end of the book shows a collapse of a remarkable personality, something one could not expect based on the previous nine sections. This picture is conspicuously literary, but relies on historical facts.

Sava died on 17 June 1738 in the St Petersburg guberniya, of bladder stones. His body was translated to St Petersburg, where "he was embalmed by the Empress's personal doctor Blumentrost. On 23 June, the sixth day after his death, Count Sava was buried in the Annunciation Church" of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 352), where members of the imperial family and several most prominent families were buried. It seems that his wife Virginia did not attend the funeral. Dučić states that several months after Luka's death, she returned home, and got engaged with patrician Zaharie Kanal already eight months after Sava's death. The betrothal took place on 20 February 1739 in Venice. Her husband died after seven years of marriage. Virginia died on 16 December 1753, aged 54, of oedema, in her own apartment. This unusual book ends with the picture of the place of her death.

*

By describing the life of Sava Vladislavić, Dučić was describing his ancestor, a Serbian, Venetian and Russian nobleman. Both Sava Vladislavić and Dučić cared about their noble origins. Being his ancestor, Sava "historically ensured" such status to Dučić, in three-fold manner and on an international scale.

Both of them were senior diplomats: Sava Vladislavić at the Russian court and Jovan Dučić in Serbia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Both obtained the highest ranks – Vladislavić became a court, imperial and state counsellor and envoy,



Count Sava Vladislavić in his old age

while Dučić served for many years as the head of the legation and was the first ambassador of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Both were polyglots. Sava Vladislavić spoke Latin, Greek, Turkish, Russian and Italian. Jovan Dučić knew modest Hungarian, good German and Russian, and excellent French, Italian and Spanish, and, through Romance languages – Romanian. They were cosmopolitan, highly cultivated men, open-minded, religiously exceptionally tolerant.

Both were extremely handsome. It is enough to see Dučić's descriptions of Sava's portraits and assure oneself that Sava Vladislavić was exceptionally manly, good-looking and attractive. Dučić prided in Sava's manliness, strength and physical beauty, his Venetian attire in Moscow and St Petersburg, and his second marriage with more than twice younger Virginia Trevisan, a patrician woman from an Italian family which even gave a dodge to the Venetian Republic. Dučić narcissistically revelled in his physical appearance and cared, sometimes even excessively, about his looks until his death.

Even before his pre-death crisis of consciousness, Vladislavić, in all likelihood, decided and found ways to be embalmed. Dučić knew that Sava had been embalmed by the Empress's personal doctor. Did he dream about his post-mortem return to Herzegovina or resisted decomposition and oblivion? The first possibility is little probable because he was buried next to his mother and daughter, in the place reserved for eminent personalities. Jovan Dučić was found intact during his exhumation in Libertyville and translation to the Herzegovian Gračanica church in 2000. He hoped to return to the Herzegovian lump of scorched clay, and left a testament to that effect. Whether his model was Sava Vladislavić – his ancestor and alter ego, is not upon us to answer, but it is true that his body remained incorrupt. The similarity with Sava Vladislavić is indisputable. He will certainly not utter: "I am him" – the famous sentence of Andrić's unfortunate Ćamil, a hypersensitive and learned captive who identified with Sultan Cem. However, in play here is doubtless an immersion in other's personality which verges on identification – we are witnesses of a doubling of sorts (АНДРИЋ 2011: 74). Ćamil is also a historian writing a history about his alter ego – Sultan Cem. Andrić's influence on Dučić is excluded – *Prokleta avlija (The Damned Yard)* appeared only in 1954.

Historical facts went in Dučić's favour. We do not possess evidence that he changed them, but he singled out and highlighted those events and hero's features which amplified the identification which surpasses closeness and kinship. This is why there is at times an illusion of a Romanesque hero. The first to point out this duality was probably poet Matija Bećković, who drew a parallel with Miloš Crnjanski and, during our conversation, with Njegoš:

"Just as Crnjanski, in *Roman o Londonu (A Novel about London)*, saw himself as Russian noble Ryepnin, Dučić in the same way spoke about himself when he wrote about Count Sava Vladislavić, the ambassador of Russian Emperor Peter the Great and Catherine I, the one who won over Orthodox Russia for the Serbs and was the first to put forward the Serbian question as the main issue of the Balkans" (BEĆKOVIĆ 1996: 6).

Dučić considered Njegoš the greatest among poets. He erected to Njegoš a monument in Trebinje. In his *Gorski vijenac (The Mountain Wreath)*, Njegoš portrayed his alter ego from the

17th and 18th centuries – Bishop Danilo, about whom Dučić wrote with admiration as about the Montenegrin Prince and Bishop, Vladislavić’s contemporary and comrade-in-arms. Dučić even lent to him his own portrait, which he published as the portrait of Bishop Danilo. In the same way, Dučić projects onto his ancestor and hero Sava Vladislavić.

This is not mystification, but mastery. With a dominantly historical discourse, Dučić writes a historical biography of a great and forgotten personality, portrayed as his kin, ancestor, forefather and alter ego, while at the same not significantly departing from historical facts or historical truth.

The years of birth are unknown both for Vladislavić and Dučić, and the day of birth is unknown for Dučić. Sava Vladislavić was named after St Sava and it is highly probable that he was born on the eve of St Sava’s Day – 25 or 26 January. His year of birth is uncertain – 1660, 1664 or even 1668, or some other. It is little probable that Dučić could not, with his mother’s help, reconstruct the year and day of his birth. He himself contributed to the confusion, arbitrarily changing his day and year of birth depending on his place of residence and education. With an unconvincing birth certificate from 1938, he made “official” a probable correct day – 15 February, and a wrong year of birth – 1874.

Dučić feels incomparably more as a Mediterranean than a Balkan man, a trait he also ascribed to Sava Vladislavić, which seems credible. Someone who, before arriving in Russia, gravitated to Dubrovnik and Venice, as well as Constantinople, someone who knew Greek and Latin, and upheld the ideas of antiquity, can by all means called a Mediterranean. For Dučić, a *Mediterranean* is a cultural category. He considered himself an heir to Greek and Roman culture, as well as Byzantine and Renaissance heritage. When modelling Sava Vladislavić as a Mediterranean, Dučić most obviously attempts to portray him as his ancestor and alter ego, as well as a Mediterranean, Herzegovian and a Serb patriot, a man with an “almost Hellenic tactfulness”.

Dučić’s view of Sava Vladislavić as his alter ego is also seen in his attempts to present his ancestor as a writer, particularly as a travel writer. Sava’s travel accounts from China doubtless have a documentary and historical, and probably a literary value. Travelogues are a very important genre of Serbian literature, and travel accounts from China from the first half of the 18th century are of great literary and historical importance. Dučić highly valued travelogues. He wrote an exceptional travelogue *Gradovi i himere (Cities and Chimeras)* and it is natural that he praised Vladislavić’s travel accounts from China. According to Dučić, Vladislavić wrote “in a Herzegovian manner”, preserving a bit of the Herzegovian idiom in his Russian language. Dučić also esteemed Vladislavić’s erudition



Jovan Dučić, shortly before Budapest
(LSASA, F-205/5)

and translation activity, in which he also engaged, as well as Vladislavić's efforts to spread literacy and promote literature and education among the Serbs in South Hungary, i.e. present-day Vojvodina. We need not remind of Dučić's links with Sombor, Novi Sad and Matica srpska, primarily with *Letopis*, and his correspondence with Milan Savić and Anica Savić-Rebac, or his relations with Isidora Sekulić and Veljko Petrović.

Both Dučić and Vladislavić were inclined to arts and antiquities. Both were collecting works of art across Italy and were sending them to St Petersburg and Trebinje. Dučić dreamed of turning his native city into the Serbian Weimar and Vladislavić aimed to embellish St Petersburg, i.e. the Russian imperial court with works of art. Dučić bequeathed both his library and art collection to Trebinje. Around 6000 books arrived in Trebinje, as well as only a smaller part of the art collection, which is kept today in the Museum of Herzegovina in Trebinje.

We can also see discreet similarities in the attitude of both famous Herzegovians towards Dubrovnik. The Vladislavićs found in Dubrovnik and the Bay of Kotor a refuge after the destruction of their Jasenik. Sava obtained in Dubrovnik his first serious education, which was later his ticket to the world. In Dubrovnik, he gained numerous friendships among the powerful, reputable and influential people, including poets. Dubrovnik celebrated him and sang about him, ceremoniously welcomed him and bid him farewell. However, he never recovered from the fact that Dubrovnik, on his plea and upon the request of Russian Emperor Peter the Great, did not allow him to build on his estate a church next to which the Orthodox population would be buried and where he wished to lay to rest his old mother Sima. Sava had to take his ninety-year-old mother together with his young wife Virginia to St Petersburg. The old woman not only withstood the journey to Russia, but found her ways exceptionally well there, and was even a dear guest of Emperor Peter the Great. She took monastic vows there and died as nun Teophania aged 108. She was buried in the Annunciation Church of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra in St Petersburg. Sima Vladislavić would not have been granted imperial honours, a monastic status or such a high-level funeral at the most ceremonious place had Dubrovnik permitted the construction of an Orthodox church with a cemetery. Sava Vladislavić never forgot it – never again did he return to Dubrovnik nor did he ask anything else from Dubrovnik. Having obtained the title of a nobleman in Russia, he renounced his chosen surname Raguzinski, with which he became famous, and continued to use his birth surname Vladislavić only. This was an expression of a final split of the great Russian diplomat with Dubrovnik.

Jovan Dučić's mother Jovanka (Joka) found refuge with her children in Dubrovnik during the Herzegovina Uprising. There were two large graves of Serbs insurgents next to St George's church in Posat. "In the left one, in front of the very church door, lies young Herzegovian insurgent Andrija Dučić, the father of this book's author" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 226). According to Dučić, this garden in Posat belonged to the Vladislavić family. Three years before his death (1940), Dučić experienced a heavy blow from the Dubrovnik city municipality, which "adopted the law that the new road from Ploče to Gruž should go through this very Orthodox cemetery and its little church, whereby it will be wiped out before our very eyes" (ДУЧИЋ 1969: 227).

Dučić's description of Sava Vladislavić's last years and death is deeply moving. No one of his closest ones outlived him. All his children died, he was crushed and lonely. No one remained



In Bucharest with his associates (1940)

after Jovan Dučić either. His world was not only shaken, but it fell to pieces in the Second World War and the genocide against the Serbs committed by the Ustaša. He poignantly felt the suffering of his people in the homeland. The country in which he embedded an enormous part of himself was destroyed. Just like his famous ancestor and alter ego, Dučić died far away from his town and country. He hoped to return before his very death and prepared himself for the return.

Dučić's book is doubtless a biographic monograph and a historiographical work, with a dominant referential function. It also has a pronounced poetic function and occasionally becomes a subjective narrative, as shown in this paper. Dučić presented Sava Vladislavić as a Serb, Herzegovian, in Russian service, who never forgot his origins. Being a powerful factor in world politics, he did as much as he could for his people. Relying on historical facts and building a dominantly historiographical picture, Dučić presented his ancestor as his forefather and his alter ego, without undermining the credibility of the historical image or departing from the sources. *Count Sava Vladislavić* is a highly important book written by one of the greatest poets of the 20th century.

On St Sava's Day 2021

Translated by Tatjana Tatjana Ćosović

LITERATURE

I SOURCE

ДУЧИЋ 1969: Јован Дучић, *Сабрана дјела – књиџа њеџа, Један Србин дџиломаџа на двору Пеџра Великоџ и Каџарине I – Гроф Сава Владиславић*, приредио Живорад Стојковић, Сарајево – Београд, Свјетлост и Просвета.

II SECONDARY LITERATURE

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Translated by Vasa D. Mihailovich.
- 2 П. Каровић, *Дефиниција дигломације*, Дипломатија, Зборник радова (приредио др Ђорђе Н. Лопичић), Београд 2006, 80.
- 3 *Истѿо*, 80–82.
- 4 *Сабрана дела Јована Дучића*, књига VI, *О Јовану Дучићу 1900–1989*, Београд–Сарајево 1990, 102.
- 5 К. Ст. Павловић, *Јован Дучић*, Милано 1967, 11–17, 161.
Radovan Popović, one of Dučić's biographers, also mentions the year 1874 as the most credible one.
- 6 In his letter of 12 July 1899, sent to Milan Savić, Matica Srpska secretary, Dučić notified him that he had arrived in Geneva a few weeks ago, which refutes the opinion of Kosta St. Pavlović that he started his studies three years earlier, in 1896 (See P. 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 P. Поповић, *нав. дело*, 76–77, Dučić's letter to Jovanović of 19 April/1 May 1911.
- 12 AS, MFA KS, PO, 1913, P/2–1, f. IV.
- 13 AY, Jovan Jovanović Pižon's Collection (80), box-35, sheet-182, Jovan Dučić – to Jovan M. Jovanović, Rome, 2 October 1912.
- 14 *Документи о сѿлној ѿолијици Краљевине Србије* (hereinafter *Документи*) 1903–1914, 1913, књ. VI, св. 2, док. бр. 174, the report of the charge d'affaires from Rome of 28 April/11 May 1913, 257–258.
- 15 *Документи*, 1913, књ. VI, св. 3, document no. 324, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 13/26 September 1913, 366; document no. 333, *Ibidem*, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 15/28 September 1913, 375–375; document no. 534. The report of the charge d'affaires from Rome Lj. Mihailović of 22 November/5 December 1913, 547–548.
- 16 The Archives of Serbia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, PP, 1913, f-24, no. 304, Rome 22 December 1913, Dučić – to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade.
- 17 *Документи*, 1913, књ. VI, св. 3, document no. 565, Dučić's telegram from Rome of 28 December 1913/10 January 1914, 575.
- 18 *Документи*, 1914, књ. VII, св. 1, document no. 30, the report of charge d'affaires Lj. Mihailović of 7/20 January 1914, 145–147.
- 19 *Документи*, 1914, књ. VII, св. 1, document no. 162, 291.
- 20 P. Поповић, *нав. дело*, 89.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 147 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, the telegram from Madrid no. 280/41 of 2 July 1941, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 148 At the government session held in Jerusalem on 16 May 1941, it was decided that a certain number of ministers was to be deployed to the United States and Canada on a propaganda mission. In addition, it was decided that the seat of the government was to be in London. (See: Б. Кризман, *Југословенске владе у избеглиштву 1941–1943*, Загреб 1985, 134–135)
- 149 AY, MFA KY AD – PD, Ninčić's letter of 9 July 1940, no. 5,236, f. V, Dučić's file.
- 150 AY, MFA KY in London, the report of the press attaché of the Legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Lisbon M. Popović addressed to Deputy Prime Minister Miha Krek, no. 2,538 of 16 August 1942, f. III.
- 151 Пеђа Милосављевић, „Био сам Дучићев секретар”, in: *Сабрана дела...*, VI, 489.
- 152 Перо Слијепчевић, „Јован Дучић”, in: *Сабрана дела Јована Дучића*, књ. VI, Београд–Сарајево 1999, 108.
- 153 Милан Стојадиновић, *Ни рай ни пакл*, Ријека 1970; Милан Грол, *Лондонски дневник 1941–1945*, Београд 1990; Гроф Галеацо Ђано, *Дневник 1937–1938*, Загреб 1954; *Тајни архиви грофа Ђана (1936–1942)*, Загреб 1952; Милош Црњански, *Ембахаде*, Београд 1983.
- 154 Богдан Кризман, *Вањска 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*), *Plać* (*Cry*), *Pogreb* (*A Burial*), *Suze* (*Tears*), *Nirvana*, *De Profundis*, and there is almost no younger poet who does not have his *Finale*" (Скерлић 1909: 97–98). Such parallels also raise the question regarding the extent to which, in fact, Dučić's view of the canonical in Serbian literature from the beginning of the 20th century was considered a stronghold of Skerlić's literary critical decisions and his literary historical choices. By the way, it is in the period 1908–1909 that Dučić spoke very highly of Skerlić's approach while he worked on his book *Srpska književnost u XVIII veku* (*Serbian Literature in the 18th Century*) and the fourth volume of the book *Pisci i knjige* (*Writers and Books*) (Дучић 1908b: 3; Дучић 1909; Дучић 2008b: 115–119).

159 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 166.

160 Cf. Дучић 2008b: 140.

161 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 124, 125.

162 Cf. Дучић 2008a: 152.

163 Дучић 2008b: 80.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ABBREVIATIONS

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