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## Croatian Humanists and the Writing of History in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Modern European historiography was nurtured in the school of Humanism,<sup>1</sup> that attitude of mind, so characteristic of the Renaissance, which broke through the ecclesiastical "fixation" of medieval thought by a renewed appreciation of man and his role in this world.<sup>2</sup> It accomplished this in part by reviving interest in the pagan culture of ancient Greece and Rome. Humanist men of letters looked to the literary and historical works of classical antiquity for their models of outlook and expression, and in these they found both a liberation from medieval modes and a new bondage. Humanism was also cosmopolitan: Humanist poets, scholars, and artists belonged to a Pan-European republic of arts and sciences with an official language of its own—a revived classical Latin. They traveled and mixed freely and lived in each others' countries.

Of all the South Slavs it was the Croats, particularly those along the eastern Adriatic coast, who were most influenced by Humanism. The Orthodox Serbs, Bulgars, and Macedonian Slavs were culturally isolated from the Latin heritage of Roman classical antiquity which underlay European Humanism. Indeed, because of their Byzantine ecclesiastical outlook and their use of the Slavic tongue rather than Greek in their liturgy and literature, they were largely cut off even from the heritage of ancient Greece. Moreover, the Ottoman invasion in the fourteenth century and the piecemeal subjugation of the Orthodox South Slavs had a devastating effect on their cultural life. Similarly, many Croats of Herzegovina and Bosnia, and later even of Croatia proper and Slavonia, were also either conquered by the Turks or reduced to spending all their energies in the military struggle for survival. The Slovenes were more shielded from this threat, but their culture above the folk level had long been dominated by their Austrian and Italian overlords.

The eastern Adriatic coast—Istria, the Croatian littoral, Dalmatia proper, the Ragusan republic (Dubrovnik), the Bay of Kotor, and the southern littoral of Budva and Bar—was most hospitable to the development of Humanism. That westernmost region of the Balkan Peninsula had long clung to the Roman culture of its coastal cities and was, both ethnically and culturally, the product of a symbiosis between the earlier Romanized settlers and the Slavs who swept down from the Dinaric Mountains in early medieval times.<sup>3</sup> The region was predominately Roman Catholic (even the Serbs there have been Roman Catholics since

1. The first sentence of the standard work by Eduard Fueter reads: "Die neuere Historiographie geht wie andere Gattungen der modernen Literatur vom Humanismus aus" (Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie* [Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1911], p. 1).

2. Harry Elmer Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Dover Publications, n.d. [1962]), p. 99.

3. See Viktor Novak, "The Slavonic-Latin Symbiosis," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 32, no. 4 (December 1953): 1-28.

the advent of Christianity). The Latin language was firmly entrenched and cultivated in this region, though outside its city walls Latinity was countered by a nativist Slavic literary tradition, in both its Glagolitic and Cyrillic forms. The coastal cities, unlike the feudal or pastoral hinterland, based their livelihood on a thriving commerce which brought their Slavicized patrician class not only wealth but also the means to develop a high culture and a taste for the arts and intellectual pursuits. Perhaps nowhere in all of Europe did any region more resemble, however modestly in scale, the ethos of the city-states of Renaissance Italy.

Historians of Humanism agree that Italy was the home of this cultural movement. The eastern Adriatic coast was able, therefore, to profit culturally as well as commercially from its proximity to Italy. This relationship became even closer when most of that coast fell under the political sovereignty of the Republic of Venice between 1409 and 1480. For better or worse, Venetian rule reinforced the existence of an Italianate cultured native elite.

Yet it would be wrong to attribute the rise of Humanism in Venetian Dalmatia simply to Venetian rule. Whether under Roman, Byzantine, Croatian, Hungarian, Serbian, Ottoman, or Venetian sovereignty, the city-states of the eastern Adriatic coast had always preserved a cultural and communal political life of their own, based on Roman law, Roman Christianity, Latin education, an enterprising commercial spirit, and an interest in the world at large. Long before the Venetian conquest, many Dalmatian communes regularly imported their bishops, municipal chancellors, notaries, and teachers from Italy, and the proud Republic of Ragusa or Dubrovnik continued to do so even though it did not fall under Venetian rule. Moreover, it was a tradition for Dalmatian and Ragusan patricians to send their sons to Italian universities, especially Padua, for their higher education.

While no one would deny the especially close ties between Italy and the eastern Adriatic coast, it should be borne in mind how much all of European Humanism owed to Italy. With specific regard to the writing of history, the eminent authority on modern European historiography, Eduard Fueter, even went so far as to claim that "Humanist historiography outside Italy was not only stimulated by the Italian writers of history but was wholly and completely [*ganz und gar*] dependent on it."<sup>4</sup> Even in faraway London it was to an Italian, Polydore Vergil (1470–1535), that King Henry VII entrusted the writing of a history of England, and the Italian's work was the first example of Humanist historiography in England.<sup>5</sup> At the other end of Europe, the first truly Humanistic work on Polish history was written by another Italian, the Florentine Filippo Buonaccorsi (1437–96); similarly, Hungary owes the beginnings of its Humanistic historiography to the Italian Antonio Bonfini (ca. 1427–1503).<sup>6</sup> Croatian Humanist historiography undoubtedly owed much to Italian models and influences, but it would be wrong to infer that Croatian Humanism was but an importation or a provincial offshoot of Italian Humanism rather than the product of a longstanding local cultural tradition.

4. "Die humanistische Historiographie ausserhalb Italiens ist durch die italienischen Geschichtschreiber nicht nur angeregt werden, sondern sie ist ganz und gar von diesen abhängig" (Fueter, *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, p. 137).

5. Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing*, p. 114.

6. Fueter, *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, p. 243.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were over two hundred Humanist writers, scholars, and artists of Croatian and particularly of Dalmatian origin who can still be identified today.<sup>7</sup> By the very nature of their Humanist education, they were all reared in the history of ancient Greece and Rome, even though history itself was not a separate academic discipline but a part of literature. Sometimes even the poetry of the Croatian Humanists contained as many references to the ancient past as to classical mythology. A notable example is the poetic description, in 331 Latin hexameters, of the city of Kotor (*Descriptio Ascrivienſis urbis*) by Ivan Bona-Bolica (Ioannes Bona de Bolicis, ca. 1520–70).<sup>8</sup> Yet, between 1400 and 1600, there were relatively few Croatian Humanists who wrote what might be considered, even by the standards of the Renaissance, scholarly narrative history or related works of biography, historical geography, epigraphy, historical ethnography, or the craft of history writing. I have chosen to treat eleven Croatian Humanist writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the heyday of Humanism in Europe, and to base my observations on their works.<sup>9</sup>

Koriolan Ćipiko (Coriolanus Cepio, 1425–93) of Trogir was the author of a biography of the Venetian military leader and statesman, Pietro Mocenigo, under whose command Ćipiko took part in a naval expedition against the Turks from 1470 to 1474; in actual fact, the book is a history of that expedition. Published in 1477 in Venice under the title *Petri Mocenigo imperatoris gestorum libri III* (*The Deeds of Commander-in-Chief Pietro Mocenigo in Three Books*), this is among the first printed books by any South Slavic writer after the invention of the printing press.<sup>10</sup>

Marko Marulić (Marcus Marulus, 1450–1524) of Split, the most eminent Croatian man of letters in his time, contributed a notable service to South Slavic historiography by translating into Latin a newly discovered Croatian text of the medieval Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea, or Genealogy of Bar. Entitled *Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta* (*The Deeds of the Kings of Dalmatia and Croatia*), Marulić's Latin version became well known among Humanist intellectuals through manuscript copies even before its publication by Ivan Lucić (Lucius) in Amsterdam in 1666 as an appendix to his own history of Dalmatia and Croatia.<sup>11</sup> Among Marulić's other historical works is a collection (not of his

7. For their names, see the impressive article by Kruno Krstić, "Humanizam kod Južnih Slavena," in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 8 vols. (Zagreb: Leksikografski Zavod, 1955–71), 4:287–300.

8. For the Latin text and a Croatian translation, see *Hrvatski latinisti: Croatici auctores qui latine scripserunt*, vol. 1: *Iz latinizeta 9–14. stoljeća, pisci 15. i 16. stoljeća: Ex monumentis latinis saec. XV et XVI* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska and Zora, 1969), pp. 670–77.

9. For a discussion of the later, seventeenth-century Croatian Humanist historians, see Michael B. Petrovich, "Dalmatian Historiography in the Age of Humanism," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 12 (1958): 84–103, which deals with a longer span in time, but only with those writers who produced works on specifically Croatian history.

10. Especially in view of the rarity of many of these works, the citations of the first editions of the works by the Croatian Humanist historians discussed here are taken from the authoritative three-volume bibliography, *Jugoslaviae scriptores latini recentioris aetatis*, part 1: *Opera scriptorum latinorum natione croatarum usque ad annum MDCCCXLVIII typis edita* (Zagreb: Historical Institute, Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1968).

11. For the most authoritative and detailed study of the Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea in its several versions, including Marulić's Latin translation (with full text given), see Ferdo Šišić, *Letopis Popa Dukljanina*, Posebna izdanja, book 67, Filozofski i folološki spisi, book 18 (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija, 1928).

own discovery) of ancient Roman inscriptions in both Italy and Dalmatia. Lucić incorporated only the Dalmatian ones in his own work *Inscriptiones Dalmatiae* (*Inscriptions of Dalmatia*), which was published in Venice in 1673.

Ludovik Crijević (Ludovicus Cervarius Tubero, also Cerva or Cervinus, 1459–1527) of Dubrovnik was the author of a panoramic history of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom during the thirty-two years from the death of King Matthias Corvinus in 1490 to the death of Pope Leo X in 1522. Only a part of the work (that dealing with the Turks) was published in Florence in 1590, under the title *De Turcarum origine, moribus et rebus gestis commentarius* (*Commentary on the Origin, Customs and History of the Turks*).<sup>12</sup> The entire work was published in Frankfurt on the Main in 1603, under the title *Commentariorum de rebus quae temporibus eius in illa Europae parte, quam Pannonii et Turcae eorumque finitimi incolunt gestae sunt* (*Commentary on the Events which Took Place in His Times in Those Parts of Europe Inhabited by the Pannonians and the Turks as Well as by Their Neighbors*).

Feliks Petančić (Felix Brutus Petancius, de Petanciis, ca. 1455–post 1517) of Dubrovnik was especially known for his works on Ottoman history. His *Historia Imperatorum Regni Turcici* (*History of the Emperors of the Turkish Realm*), known more simply as the *Historia Turcica* (*Turkish History*), was a brief survey of the Ottoman Empire from Osman to Bayezit II. Written around 1501, the work was never published. The manuscript is now located in the city library of Nuremberg.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Petančić wrote *Genealogia Turcorum Imperatorum* (*Genealogy of the Turkish Emperors*, also known as *Descriptio Turciae* or *Description of Turkey*), an addendum to his work *De itineribus in Turciam libellus* (*Short Account of a Journey to Turkey*), which includes a review of the history of the Ottoman sultans. This was among the most widely read works about the Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>14</sup>

Vinko Pribojević (Vincentius Priboevius, mid-15th century–post 1532) is remembered for only one work, but an important one: *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (*On the Origin and Events of the Slavs*), published in Venice in 1532. This was the first survey—based on sources—of Dalmatian history from earliest to modern times.<sup>15</sup> Pribojević was also the first modern South Slavic historian to present the Slavic idea, in its cultural, rather than political, form.<sup>16</sup>

Stjepan Brodarić (Stephanus Brodericus, ca. 1480–1539), a native of Slavonia and one of the leading participants in the Battle of Mohács in 1526, wrote a firsthand account of the battle and of the circumstances leading up to that fateful event. The work was first published in Cracow, within a year after the battle, under the title *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis ad Mohach* (*On the Conflict of the Hungarians with the Turks at Mohács*).

Antun Vrančić (Antonius Verantius, 1504–73) of Šibenik intended to write a contemporary history of the Hungarian-Croatian realm, but only parts of

12. For the circumstances surrounding the Florentine edition, see Josip Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1931), pp. 83–84.

13. Miroslav Kurelac, "Petančić, Feliks," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 6:474.

14. *Iugoslaviae scriptores latini*, part 1, fasc. 3, pp. 438–39.

15. Grga Novak, "Dalmacija i Hvar u Pribojevićevo doba," in Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena; De origine successibusque Slavorum* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1951), p. 20.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

this projected undertaking have come down to us. These include his biographies of King John Zápolya (Szapolyai, 1487-1540) and of two Croatian dignitaries at the Hungarian court, Juraj Utješenović or Utišenić (1482-1551) and Petar Berislavić (ca. 1450-1520), bishop and Croatian ban or viceroy. This last work was plagiarized and published under his own name by the seventeenth-century Croatian Humanist, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (Joannes Tomcus Marnavitijs, 1580-1637), with the title *Vita Petri Berislavi . . . episcopi Vesprimensis, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae Bosnaeque bani* (*The Life of Petar Berislavić, Bishop of Veszprém and Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia*), and printed in Venice in 1620.<sup>17</sup> Vrančić also included some history in three travel accounts and diaries of his diplomatic missions to the Turks as ambassador of the Hungarian court. Two that deal with his embassy in 1553 are entitled *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* (*Journey from Buda to Adrianople*) and *De itinere legatione sua Constantinopolitana Antonii Verantii cum fratre Michaele dialogus* (*Antun Vrančić's Dialogue with His Brother Mihovil concerning His Journey and His Embassy to Constantinople*); the account of the third mission, which took place just after Sultan Suleiman's invasion of 1538, is called *De situ Transylvaniae, Moldaviae et Transalpiniae* (*On the Situation of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia*).

Bartol Djurdjević or Georgijević (Bartholomaeo Georgieuz, Georgievicz, Georgius, and so forth, ca. 1506-post 1566), probably of Croatia proper, was the author of a whole series of works about and against the Turks as well as about the subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire. Judging by the many editions of these works from one end of Europe to the other, no Croatian Humanist was more widely read in his time. His first two published works both appeared in Antwerp in 1544: one entitled *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum* (*On the Affliction of Captives and of Those Christians Living under the Turks as Tributaries*), and the other *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis* (*On the Worship and Ceremonies of the Turks*). These and subsequent works, notably the often republished *De Turcarum moribus* (*On the Customs of the Turks* [Leyden, 1553]), are largely ethnographic, but they contain historical material as well, particularly his *De origine imperii Turcorum* (*On the Origins of the Empire of the Turks*), published in Leyden in 1553 and many times thereafter.

Matija Vlačić (Matthias Flacius, Illyricus, 1520-75) of Labin, Istria, was one of the leading figures of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>18</sup> He is best remembered as the organizer and principal author of a thirteen-volume encyclopedic history of the Christian church. Though its formal title begins with the words *Ecclesiastica Historia*, this work has generally been called the *Magdeburg Centuries*, since its first four volumes were written in Magdeburg and each of its volumes was devoted to a century of church history. Vlačić was the sole or prin-

17. Mrnavić's plagiarism of Vrančić's biography of Petar Berislavić has been frequently branded, most notably by the learned Italian cleric Alberto Fortis (see Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia* [Venice: Presso Alvise Milocco, 1774], pp. 146-47), and by Johann Christian Engel (as cited by Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski in "Ivan Tomko Marnavić," *Arhiv za povijestnicu jugoslavensku*, 9 [1868]: 256). For more on Marnavić's propensity for forgery and plagiarism, see Michael B. Petrovich, "How Justinian became a Slav: The Story of a Forgery," *Balkan Studies*, 8, no. 1 (1967), especially pp. 19-26.

18. In addition to many references to Matthias Flacius Illyricus by Western writers, there is an especially useful monumental biography of him in Croatian by Mijo Mirković, *Matija Vlačić Ilirik* (Zagreb, 1960).

cipal author of the first five volumes, and he collaborated on the rest, up to the twelfth volume. Another of his historical works, *Catalogus testium veritatis* (*Catalogue of Witnesses to the Truth* [Basel, 1556]), is a much republished compilation based on the writings of various Christian writers for over a thousand years before the Protestant Reformation whose utterances were interpreted by Vlačić to be against the centralist and uniformist policies of the Roman papacy.

Franjo Petris or Petrišević (Franciscus Patricius, 1529–97) of the island of Cres, is best known for his works in philosophy, although he did write a pioneering work in the field of historiography: a treatise on the definition and description of written history as a craft was first published in Italian, in Venice, in 1560, under the title *Della historia diece dialoghi* (*Ten Dialogues on History*). However, in 1570, a Latin translation appeared in Basel, entitled *De legendae scribendaeque historiae ratione dialogi decem* (*Ten Dialogues on the Theory of Reading and Writing History*).

Dinko Zavorović (Zavoreus, ca. 1540–1608) was a prominent patrician of Šibenik whose two historical works—*Trattato sopra le cose di Sebenico* (*Treatise on the Affairs of Šibenik*) in 1597 and *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo* (*Eight Books on the History of Dalmatia*) in 1602—are considered the first systematic histories of the city of Šibenik, of Dalmatia, and even of Croatia. Though these works were never published in their original and are far from critical or scholarly, they have earned their author a place as a pioneer in Croatian historiography.<sup>19</sup>

There were undoubtedly more than these eleven Croatian Humanists who wrote historical works in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but works by the others have either been irretrievably lost or are still moldering unknown in some European archives.<sup>20</sup> Among such works, for example, is a history of Dalmatia by Ivan Barbula (Joannes Polycarpus Severitanus, 1472–ca. 1526) of Šibenik, disciple of the Italian Humanists Palladio Fosco, Pomponius Laetus, and Sabellicus,<sup>21</sup> as well as a lost history of Dubrovnik's archbishops by the Ragusan poet Matija Beneša (1530–99).<sup>22</sup> There are also indications that more than one member of the Vrančić family wrote histories which have been lost: Antun Vrančić's brother, Mihovil (1507–ca. 1571), apparently wrote a history of the Hungarian realm, or at least some part of one, while his son, Faust (1551–1617), wrote a history of the Dalmatian Slavs whose very title, *De Slowinis seu Sarmatis in Dalmatia*, presented the thesis that the South Slavs of Dalmatia were of Sarmatian origin and therefore settlers from northeastern Europe.<sup>23</sup> To be sure, there were also some Croatian chroniclers in those times who were closer to medieval monks than to Humanists in their outlook and approach to history. A case in point is the brief *Chronicon breve regni Croatiae*, extending from Attila's death in 453 to 1561, and written in barbarous Latin and even some Croatian by the sixteenth-century Franciscan friar, Ivan Tomašić.<sup>24</sup> Nor does

19. Miroslav Kurelac, "Zavorović, Dinko," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 8:611.

20. For a description of some of these lost works, see Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Chronicon breve Regni Croatiae Joannis Tomasich minoritae; Kratak Ljetopis hrvatski Ivana Tomašića malobračanina," *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*, 9 (1868), especially pp. 3–8.

21. Mihovil Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda*, 2nd ed. (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1961), p. 66.

22. Rudolf Maixner, "Beneša, Matija," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 1:434.

23. Krstić, "Humanizam kod Južnih Slavena," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 4:291.

24. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Chronicon breve Regni Croatiae," pp. 3–34.

the sample presented here include Humanists who, though they left no historical works of their own, nevertheless showed a great interest in history by their zeal in preserving and copying historical documents. Such men deserve special recognition from historians. Among them, for example, was Nikola-Nikša Ranjina (1494–1582) of Dubrovnik, who copied some annals of his city;<sup>25</sup> the patrician from Split, Dmine Papalić, who discovered a Croatian version of the medieval Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea and collected some Latin inscriptions from the Roman ruins at Solin, outside Split, and turned both over to his kinsman Marulić;<sup>26</sup> and Petar Cindro (de Cindris), patrician of Split, who preserved several of the most important works of Croatian medieval historiography.<sup>27</sup>

Most, if not all, of the eleven Croatian Humanist historians described above shared certain characteristics as a group. First, as to birthplace, all but two were born along the eastern Adriatic coast—in Istria, Cres, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Hvar, and two in Dubrovnik.<sup>28</sup> Of the remaining two Humanists, Brodarić was born in Slavonia, and it is believed that Djurdjević was born in Croatia proper. In any event, both were born subjects of the Hungarian-Croatian Crown, while the rest were either subjects of Venice or citizens of the Republic of Ragusa. With respect to class origin, no information exists for the two born in Croatia-Slavonia, but of the nine born along the Adriatic coast, six were of patrician stock and two were of the propertied burgher class; only Pribojević came from a family of commoners.<sup>29</sup> Thus, we are dealing primarily with men who came from an urban upper and middle class background.

Regardless of their social background, all eleven men were well educated. Except for Petančić, who received all his formal education in Dubrovnik,<sup>30</sup> all went abroad for their higher education. In keeping with custom, nine studied for some time in Italy—seven at the University of Padua. Others also went farther: Crijević-Tubero to Paris, Pribojević and Vrančić to Cracow, Vrančić also to Vienna, and Vlačić to Basel, Tübingen, and Wittenberg. Djurdjević studied with several Humanists in Hungary, but his education was cut short when he was enslaved by the Turks.

At least six of the Humanists spent most of their lives outside of their homelands. Although this is in keeping with the cosmopolitanism of the age, it is also a commentary on the unfavorable conditions at home for the pursuit of

25. Miroslav Kurelac, "Nikola-Nikša (Nicolaus Marini Andree, Andretić [Ranjina])," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 7:43.

26. Kombat, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, pp. 83–84.

27. Grga Novak, "Cindro (de Cindris), Petar," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 2:380.

28. The most convenient source for the biographies of these Croatian Humanists is the *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, whose articles have been written by the leading Croatian scholars in the field of Humanism and neo-Latin literature in Croatia. Still another convenient collection is the second volume in the series *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti*, entitled *Hrvatski latinisti: Croatici auctores qui latine scripserunt*, vol. 1: *Iz latiniteta 9–14. stoljeća, pisci 15. i 16. stoljeća: Ex monumentis latinis saec. IX–XIV, auctores saec. XV et XVI*. The biographical sketches and commentaries are by the editors, Veljko Gortan and Vladimir Vratović.

29. Grga Novak, "Dalmacija i Hvar u Pribojevićevo doba," in Vincentius Priboevius, *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (Zagreb: Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1951), p. 26.

30. For Petančić's early life in Dubrovnik, before his departure for Hungary, see Petar Kolendić, "Feliks Petančić pre definitivnog odlaska u Ugarsku," *Glas Srpske Akademije Nauka*, 236, Odeljenje literature i jezika, 4 (1959), pp. 1–22, offprint.

Humanist careers. Apart from the political strictures of foreign domination, culturally Croatia-Slavonia was ruled by a conservative feudal system and church organization that were not especially hospitable to Humanism, and even the city-states of Dalmatia were intellectually cramped compared with the university centers of Italy. Moreover, the Turks were an ever-present menace, sometimes quite literally at the city gates. Only four of the Humanists, and possibly five, spent the greater portion of their lives at home after receiving their higher education abroad—Marulić in Split, Crijević-Tubero in and near Dubrovnik, Ćipiko in Trogir, Zavorović in Šibenik, and Pribojević probably on the island of Hvar. Most of the others were drawn either to Hungary or to Italy, and the Protestant, Vlačić, spent his life in Germany, for religious reasons. Italy offered not only a receptive intellectual climate but teaching posts at its universities. In Hungary it was the Humanist court of King Matthias Corvinus and of his contending successors that offered opportunities for a brilliant circle of Humanist scholars, men of letters, and artists from outside Hungary. In view of the political union between Hungary and Croatia, it was natural for Croats to be drawn to Buda, but even the Dalmatians went, and some of them attained the highest offices in the Hungarian realm.

As one would expect for the period of the Renaissance, none of these Humanists was primarily a historian or even specially trained in history, for there was as yet no such separate discipline. All of them were far better known in their own day for other pursuits. Some were notables of considerable stature who were known throughout much of Europe in their day. Petančić, Brodarić, and Vrančić were all ambassadors of Hungarian kings, and the last two rose to be royal chancellors of Hungary. Ćipiko was a wealthy patrician of Trogir and a statesman who was his city's envoy to the Venetian senate and a naval commander in the Venetian fleet. Such men not only read and wrote history but actively participated in its making. On a more modest level, Marulić was a city attorney, a judge and a notary in Split, and Zavorović held various municipal offices in Šibenik, serving as a judge and member of the city council. Only three of the eleven men were professional academicians: Pribojević taught theology on Hvar; Vlačić taught Hebrew and theology in various German universities; and Petris spent his last years as a professor of philosophy in Ferrara and Rome. Early in his career Petančić had been a teacher in Dubrovnik's municipal school. Five of the eleven men were Roman Catholic clerics; Brodarić and Vrančić were even bishops, and the latter ended his career as Archbishop of Esztergom, primate of Hungary, and a cardinal. Yet, in the style of the Renaissance, practically all of these clerics were rather worldly men who were primarily engaged in secular affairs, as diplomats, statesmen, royal secretaries, or professors. Only one of them, Crijević-Tubero, had no other but a clerical position and spent most of his adult years as abbot of a monastery near Dubrovnik; however, he fled to this vocation only after leading a rather libertine life as a student in Paris and a very worldly social life in Dubrovnik. From the standpoint of religiosity, it is probably not unfair to say that of all these Humanists, the most demonstrably religious was not a cleric, but the layman Marulić, whose religious poems and tracts were read throughout Europe.<sup>31</sup>

31. For an excellent bibliography of Marulić's works and their various editions, see Josip Badalić, "Bibliografija Marulićevih djela i radova o životu i djelima Marulićevim," *Zbornik*



Like Humanists everywhere during the Renaissance, the Croatian Humanists wrote in Latin—not the Church Latin of medieval times but the more cultivated and consequently more artificial Latin which imitated classical models. The only clearly Humanist Croatian writer of that time who wrote and published a historical work in the Slavic tongue was Šimun Kožičić-Benja (Simon Begnius, ca. 1460–1536), and it was not an original work. In 1531, as Bishop of Modruš and founder of a Glagolitic press in Rijeka, Kožičić-Benja published in Glagolitic Church Slavic a work entitled *Žitija rimskih arhijerejev i cesarov* (*Lives of the Roman Popes and Caesars*), which he translated from a Latin work, for the instruction of clerics in his diocese who did not use Latin.<sup>32</sup> Yet as his patriotic orations and addresses to Rome on behalf of his embattled homeland show, Kožičić-Benja was an accomplished Latinist, and he did not hesitate to use his Latin eloquence when he needed to tell the rest of Europe about the Turkish danger.<sup>33</sup> An interesting exception of another sort is Petris, who wrote many of his philosophical and other works in Latin, but wrote his one work on history in the Italian vernacular; and even that work appeared in a Latin translation just ten years after its original publication.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps some Croatian Humanists despised their mother tongue. We know that the Dubrovnik poet, Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cervinus, 1463–1520), had become so alienated from his Slavic background while in Rome that he referred to the Slavic language as “Illyrian screeching” (*stribiligo illurica*).<sup>35</sup> Yet of the sample, some of the Humanists showed real love for their mother tongue. Just as Petrarch has been called both the first Humanist and the first lyric poet in modern Italian, so the Humanist Marulić is rightly regarded as both one of the most accomplished Latinists the Croats ever produced and as a founder, and some would say *the* founder, of modern Croatian literature. Though Djurdjević wrote in Latin, he was the first to bring the Croatian language to the attention of the learned European world when, in the first (1544) Antwerp edition of his work, *De afflictione*, he added a little Croatian-Latin lexicon and examples of spoken Croatian, including the Lord’s Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Apostles’ Creed. This makes the Humanist Djurdjević the first lexicographer of the Croatian language.<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, it must be remembered that the majority of the eleven Croatian Humanists lived outside their homeland for most of their lives and were not writing for a Croatian public. Indeed, one may wonder that some of them were able to write in Croatian at all. There are twelve volumes of Vrančić’s collected

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*u proslavu petstogodišnjice rođenja Marka Marulića 1450–1950*, vol. 39, ed. Josip Badalić and Nikola Majnarić (Zagreb: Djela Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1950), pp. 311–45, especially the section on Marulić’s Latin works, pp. 321–28, and works in translation, pp. 328–32.

32. Kombat, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 39; also Mirko Breyer, *O starim i rijetkim jugoslavenskim knjigama* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1952), p. 14.

33. For the Latin text and Croatian translation of Kožičić-Benja’s address before Pope Leo X, see *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 1, pp. 508–13.

34. Petris, *Della historia diece [sic] dialoghi di M. Francesco Patritio* (Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1560); Petris, *De legendae scribendaeque historiae ratione dialogi decem ex Italico in Latinum sermonem conversi*, trans. J. N. Stupano (Basel: Henricpetri, 1570).

35. Kombat, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 72.

36. Valentin Putanec, “Leksikografija,” *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 5:504.

works, which include his correspondence with fellow Croats; yet there is only a single, almost pathetic reminder of his Croatian origin—a little prayer which he composed for his daily private worship.<sup>37</sup> And yet he loved his homeland.

Regardless of these circumstances, Croatian Humanist historians wrote in Latin because it was the language of their education, because it was the long-accepted language of learning in Western Christendom, and because it assured them the widest possible reading public throughout Europe, from Ireland to the Ukraine. Their works were published everywhere in Europe, except in the Croatian lands, although there were printing presses in Senj and Rijeka (Fiume) in their day. When Marulić translated the Croatian version of the medieval Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea into Latin it was for patriotic reasons, to use his own words, so that “not only those who understand our vernacular but also those who know Latin” might read of the exploits of the Croatian and Dalmatian kings.<sup>38</sup> Pribojević certainly had no compelling need to write his work *De origine successibusque Slavorum* in Latin; after all, he first delivered it as an address before an audience of fellow Croats on his native island of Hvar. But the occasion and the loftiness of the subject matter called for the use of Latin, and his audience evidently understood Latin quite well. Moreover, once the address was published, in Venice in 1532, it attracted the favorable attention of the Italian learned world. The poet laureate of Turin, Leonardo Ales, even wrote a tetrastich in Pribojević’s praise which hailed him as “another Livy.”<sup>39</sup>

To be sure, not all eleven Croatian Humanists were equally proficient in writing exquisite classical Latin. Besides, their linguistic excellence did not always depend solely on their training and talent but on their motivation for writing. For example, Čipiko was by profession neither a scholar nor a writer, but a man of business and political affairs and a naval commander trained in the military arts, yet his biography of the Venetian dignitary, Pietro Mocenigo, went into many editions, not only because it gave an exciting account of a naval expedition against the Turks, but because it did so in elegant Latin.<sup>40</sup> Čipiko’s friend, the Italian Humanist historian Marcantonio Coccio—better known as Sabellicus—praised Čipiko’s literary style with more than a touch of condescension when he exclaimed, “Hardly anyone would have looked in this age for that command of rhetoric to come out of that Dalmatian shore.”<sup>41</sup> The fact is that the Dalmatian shore produced excellent Latinists. To appreciate, for example, the high literary quality of Marulić’s Latin translation of the Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea, one has only to compare it with the subsequently discovered medieval Latin version. And connoisseurs of Latin maintain that though Vlačić collaborated with other, largely German, authors in the writing of the *Magdeburg*

37. Vladimir Vratović, “Antun Vrančić; Antonius Verantius (1504–1573),” *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 1, pp. 602–3. Vratović states that the prayer, entitled *Molitvu koju složi i govori svaki dan*, was published in *Nauk kršćanski* in 1699 by I. T. Mrnavić.

38. “Et quam non solum nostrae vernaculae linguae gnari, sed etiam Latini intelligant” (“Marcus Marulus domino Papali s[alutem],” in Šišić, *Letopis Poapa Dukljanina*, p. 382).

39. “Illyricas gentes frater Vincentius, alter Livius . . .” (“Leonardi Ales Taurinensis Poetae Laureati Tetrasticon,” in Vincentius Priboevius, *De origine successibusque Slavorum*, p. 112).

40. See the editor’s introduction to the 1796 Italian edition, in Iacopo Morelli, ed., *Delle guerre de’Veneziani nell’ Asia dal MCCCCLXX al MCCCCLXXVIII libri tre di Coriolano Cippico* (Venice: Carlo Palese, 1796), not paginated, but see the first two paragraphs.

41. *Ibid.*, paragraph 3.

*Centuries*, the excellence of his Latin stands out.<sup>42</sup> At the other end of the literary scale, Djurdjević was so intent on promoting his anti-Turkish campaign through his openly propagandistic writings that he apparently gave little thought to literary elegance; his direct and simple diction suited his aims far better.

Both in style and in content the Croatian Humanists were undoubtedly influenced by the classical Roman models they had studied in their youth. Ćipiko's account of the 1470–74 Venetian naval campaign against the Turks reflects the style of Caesar's *Commentaries*. Like Caesar, Ćipiko was a politician and military leader describing military events in which he himself had played a major role. Brodarić's description of the Battle of Mohács also recalls Caesar. Caesar's *De bello Gallico* has been called a masterpiece of self-serving *ex parte* exposition, with all its apparent modesty.<sup>43</sup> Brodarić's account is also self-serving; it is a report of a royal chancellor of Hungary countering certain charges of bungling against his side and attempting to win over his readers by maintaining an air of objectivity and even self-belittlement. Speaking of himself in the third person, like Caesar, he even writes, "He brought to his new post more good intentions than ability."<sup>44</sup> Brodarić's artfully simple, unrhetoical, Caesarian style and proximity to the events which he described makes his depiction of the Battle of Mohács both an important example of neo-Latin literature and a first-class primary source.

Ludovik Crijević was so steeped in Roman history that his Parisian fellow students gave him the nickname of Tubero, after a minor Roman historian and contemporary of Caesar.<sup>45</sup> The name has stuck to the present, partly to distinguish him from his cousin Ilija Crijević, a distinguished Humanist poet laureate. Later in life Crijević-Tubero was compared with the Roman historians Sallust (author of the *History of the Jugurthine War*) and Tacitus (author of *Germania* and the *Annals*).<sup>46</sup> Like Tacitus, Crijević-Tubero tried to enter into the feelings and motivations of the actors in his historical drama. Also, like the author of *Germania*, Crijević-Tubero was very interested in the ethnic origins of various peoples. His style also owes much to the Roman writers. Crijević-Tubero's composition, compactness, and artistic narration with its Ciceronian cadences place him among the most accomplished stylists of Latin prose not only among the Croats but among Humanists everywhere. The stirring Latin oration that he put in the mouth of the Hungarian rebel leader George Dózsa urging the peasants to rise up against the landowning nobles is a jewel of rhetorical literature. Just as an indignant Cicero once shouted, "How long, then, Cataline, wilt thou abuse our patience?," so Crijević-Tubero has an enraged Dózsa ask of the oppressed peasants, "How long, men of Hungary, will you endure such indignities?"<sup>47</sup>

42. Mirković, *Matija Vlačić Ilirik*, p. 330.

43. Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing*, p. 37.

44. "S. Broderithi Descriptio cladis Mohacziensis recognita a J. Sambuco," in Antonius Bonfinius, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quator cum dimidia, denuo recognita, emendata et aucta* (Frankfort: Apud A. Wechelum, 1581).

45. Vladimir Vratović, "Ludovik Crijević Tuberon; Ludovicus Cervia Tubero (1459–1527)," in *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 1, p. 321.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

47. *Ludovici Tuberonis, Dalmatiae Abbatis, Commentariorum de temporibus suis*, book 10, in Ioannis Georgius Schwandtnerus, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricorum*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Ioannis Paulus Kraus, 1746), pp. 331–32; also in *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 1, pp. 340–49, in Latin and in Croatian translation.

In writing his biographies of King John Zápolya and of two Croatian statesmen, Vrančić consciously had Roman models in mind. In his biography of Utješonović he made a point of praising the Roman historians Tacitus and Nepos—"the two Cornelii," he calls them—for having preserved for posterity the memory of the Roman statesman Gnaeus Julius Agricola and of the literary patron and friend of Cicero, Titus Pomponius Atticus.<sup>48</sup>

Pribojević was most careful to invoke the authority of many ancient writers—Pliny the Elder, Polybius, Strabo, Suetonius, Curtius Rufus, and others—in *De origine successibusque Slavorum*. Though he first delivered his work orally, he painstakingly cited their works in the margins of his manuscript.<sup>49</sup>

Interest in classical antiquity was, of course, a part of every Humanist's education, but those who were reared along the eastern Adriatic coast had the same advantage, on a lesser scale, as their Italian counterparts: they were physically surrounded by architectural reminders of the Greek and Roman past. Marulić lived in the very shadow of Diocletian's palace at Split, and, as a boy, he played among the Roman ruins of nearby Solin, ancient Salona. Crijević-Tubero and Petančić could see the ruins of ancient Epidaurus near their city of Dubrovnik. Pribojević, in describing Hvar, ancient Pharos, could literally point as he delivered his address to the still visible architectural remains of the island's ancient inhabitants. Collecting ancient inscriptions became a kind of hobby with some Dalmatian Humanists. Perhaps none of Marulić's works so clearly shows his Humanist outlook as his unpublished collection of over one hundred ancient inscriptions, "In epigrammata priscorum commentarius," compiled from materials given to him by his kinsman and zealous antiquarian Dmine Papalić of Split.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, Vrančić's several travel accounts of his missions to the Turks as ambassador all include material on ancient ruins and Roman inscriptions which he encountered and sought out on the way between Hungary and Adrianople or Constantinople.<sup>51</sup>

It is generally recognized that the Humanists advanced historiography by broadening its horizons and giving it a more secular outlook. It is also conceded that Humanist historiography was still a far cry from modern history writing, so much so that it seems almost inappropriate to criticize it from the standpoint

48. "Antonius Wrancius de Georgii Utissenii, Fratris appellati, vita et rebus commentarius," in *Verancsics Antal Összes munkái*, vol. 1, ed. László Szalay (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Magyar történelmi emlékek* [Pest, 1857]), p. 17.

49. See Grga Novak's edition of *Vincentius Priboevius, De origine successibusque Slavorum*, entitled *Vinko Pribojević, O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena* (Zagreb: Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1951) with Pribojević's marginal notes, and Novak's discussion of sources in his introduction, especially p. 26.

50. Kombat, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 83.

51. See Vrančić, *De situ Transsylvaniae, Moldaviae et Transalpiniae* in L. Szalay's edition of Vrančić's collected works, *Verancsics Antal Összes munkái*, vol. 1, pp. 119–51; see also Vrančić, *De itinere et legatione sua Constantinopolitana Antonii Verantii Dialogus* (or *Dialogus Verancii cum fratre suo Michaele*), *ibid.*, pp. 268–88. Both selections are also to be found in the edition by Martinus Georgius Kovachich, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Minores*, vol. 2 (Buda: Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1798), pp. 82–114, 157–76, respectively. His *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim anno MDLIII* was published as an appendix to Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*. It is gratifying to note that Fortis's important book was republished two hundred years later, in 1974 (Munich and Sarajevo: Verlag Otto Sagner and Izdavačko preduzeće "Veselin Masleša").

of present professional canons. For our present purposes may I be permitted simply to register the impression that the eleven Croatian writers under discussion were no worse than most of their European peers, and some were probably superior. However useful it would be to delve into their methodology as historians, a few concluding observations about them as a cultural phenomenon must suffice.

European Humanism generally developed at the same time as the rise of national states. However, it would be inappropriate to regard Croatian Humanists as the bearers of modern Croatian nationalism, particularly in any political sense. They belonged to a time when the Croatian people lived divided by three sovereign foreign powers: Hungary, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire. They also belonged to a part of Europe where the main issue of the day was not nationalism but the struggle between Christendom and Islam. As good, though not always uncritical, Catholics, the Croatian Humanists gave their allegiance to an international church. As Humanists, they shared a strong sense of citizenship in the Pan-European intellectual republic of arts and sciences.

Yet despite all their intellectual cosmopolitanism, literary Latinity, and in some cases physical separation from their homeland, these eleven Humanists were generally very patriotic. It cannot be said that this patriotism was "Croatian" any more than the patriotism of many Italian Humanists was "Italian." Rather, it was something both narrower and broader than Croatian patriotism. More narrowly, it was love for one's birthplace—Hvar, Šibenik—or for one's province—Dalmatia. The broader form was expressed in cultural Slavism and pride in belonging to the same vast and powerful Slavic race as the Russians, Poles, Czechs, and others. No single Humanist work illustrates all these tendencies as forcefully as Pribojević's *De origine successibusque Slavorum*, whose three parts are devoted to the Slavs, to Dalmatia, and to Hvar, in that order. Pribojević was the first South Slavic writer to extol Slavic consanguinity, and the first Croatian historian to attempt a synthesis of Dalmatian history from earliest times to modern times. He has also left a uniquely useful description of the island of Hvar in his day. Thus, though much of his work is sketchy, muddled, all too brief, sometimes quite wrong, and occasionally even fabricated, from a conceptual standpoint Pribojević's essay is a milestone in modern Croatian historiography.<sup>52</sup>

Even those writers who lived most of their lives away from their homeland never lost their sense of attachment to it. Vrančić spent his whole life in the Hungarian service, yet he could never forget his native Šibenik and in his letters he frequently yearned for it. Upon his return to Hungary from a diplomatic mission to France in 1546, he took the opportunity to visit his birthplace for the last time. Despite all his lofty titles as a statesman and prelate, he often added to his signature the simple designation *Sibenicensis Dalmata*. Writing to his fellow Dalmatian, the Humanist Fran Trankvil Andreis (Andronicus Tranquillus Parthenius, 1490–1571), who retired to his native Trogir after many years as a roving diplomat in the French, Austrian, and Hungarian service, Vrančić wrote a touching letter (in Latin, of course) expressing his envy of the old man's retirement: "Do not give Dalmatia for the whole world [*nec des*

52. The best assessment of Pribojević's work is that by Grga Novak, in his editor's introduction to Pribojević's *De origine successibusque Slavorum*, pp. 9–43.

*Dalmatiam pro toto mundo*], nor Trogir for the most prosperous city. O wretched me, who learned too late the sweetness and the quiet of the fatherland.”<sup>53</sup> Later in life he wrote to an old friend that love for one’s homeland was to be attributed to nature itself, and, in good Humanist fashion, he cited the wandering Odysseus, who loved his Ithaca more than all the many great cities he had visited.<sup>54</sup>

Another example is Matija Vlačić, who spent most of his life in Italy and especially Germany, but nevertheless bore his Croatian origin with him and is best known to this day by his Humanist name Illyricus, which in those days designated a Croat. Nor did his enemies forget his nationality, judging by one of their epithets for him—*illyrica bestia*!<sup>55</sup> The *Magdeburg Centuries* contains many passages that refer to the history of the South Slavs which might never have been there had it not been for his interest and knowledge as a South Slav. Furthermore, there is evidence that Vlačić planned the founding of a college in Klagenfurt for Croats and Slovenes, and it is known that he participated in the printing of Protestant literature in Croatian and Slovenian and wrote several brochures himself.<sup>56</sup>

Nowhere did the patriotism of Croatian Humanists express itself more poignantly than in their appeals on behalf of Croatia to various popes and potentates for help against the Ottoman invaders. Marulić’s letter to Pope Hadrian VI is an outstanding example.<sup>57</sup> As for Djurdjević, it has already been noted that his whole life as a publicist was devoted to inspiring a European crusade that would save his homeland from the Turks.

One of several issues over which Croatian patriotism manifested itself in the works of the Humanists was the perennial question of Saint Jerome’s birthplace. There are few specific subjects which have received as much attention throughout several centuries of Croatian historiography. Like Croats before and after them, these Humanists felt it necessary to insist that Saint Jerome was born in their homeland and was, therefore, so to speak, a compatriot. It is instructive that Marulić’s only original historical work was a patriotic polemical treatise entitled *Against Those Who Contend that Blessed Jerome was an Italian*.<sup>58</sup> Vlačić, perhaps the leading church historian of his day in all of Europe, dutifully recorded the contention that Saint Jerome’s birthplace, Stridon, was located in his native Istria, but Vlačić himself held that Jerome’s Stridon was

53. “XXVIII. Andronicus Tranquillusnak Verancsics Antal,” in *Verancsics Antal Összes munkai*, vol. 7 (Pest, 1865), pp. 50–51. Excerpts may also be found in *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 1, pp. 624–27, in Vladimir Vratović’s Croatian translation.

54. “CVIII. Strada Jakabnak Verancsics Antal,” in *Verancsics Antal Összes munkai*, vol. 7, pp. 281–82, 283. Excerpts may also be found in *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 1, pp. 628–31 (“V. Antonius Verancius, Episcopus Agriensis, praeclaro viro et antiquitatis studioso Iacobo Stradae S. D.”) in Zdeslav Dukat’s Croatian translation.

55. Mirković, *Matija Vlačić Ilirik*, p. 206.

56. *Ibid.*, especially chapters 14 and 15 passim.

57. “Epistola ad Adrianum VI. Pont. Max.; Maximo Pontifici Adriano VI, M. Marulus Spalatensis humilis ac supplex,” in *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 1, pp. 308–13, excerpts in Croatian translation by Veljko Gortan. The earliest edition of this letter is entitled *Epistola domini Marci Marulli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. p.m. de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium Christianorum unionem et pacem* (Rome: Per B.V., 1522), 8 folio pages.

58. *In eos, qui beatum Hieronymum Italum esse contendunt*, published in Ivan Lucić [Lucius], *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (Amsterdam: Apud Joannem Blaeu, 1666).

located along the Dalmatian-Croatian border.<sup>59</sup> Pribojević went even further by claiming that Saint Jerome was a Slav.<sup>60</sup> This claim was a natural extension of Pribojević's cultural Slavism. In this he was undoubtedly influenced by his three-year stay in Poland, where the idea of the ethnic unity of the Slavic peoples was strong, especially in Polish Humanist historiography. Pribojević believed that the Slavs were the original population of southeastern Europe from earliest times. Moreover, he included among the Slavs such ancient peoples as the Thracians, Illyrians, Macedonians, and even Vandals and Goths. On this basis it was easy for him to claim for the Slavs not only Saint Jerome but Alexander the Great, Aristotle, some twenty Roman emperors, Queen Teuta, several popes of Rome, and other notables of classical history. His contention rested on a very traditional premise which traced all these peoples back through the Bible to the putative progenitor of the Thracians—Tyras, son of Japheth and grandson of Noah.<sup>61</sup>

Pribojević was by no means the only Croatian Humanist in the group who linked the Croatian people with the vast Slavic family of nations. Djurdjević did so through language. In appending a vocabulary of Croatian words to his work, *De afflictione*, published in 1544, he had no compunctions about referring to it as "*vocabula sclavonica*." As he explained to his readers, this tongue was spoken in "Croatia, Dalmatia, Russia, Wallachia, Serbia, Bohemia, and Poland. . . ."<sup>62</sup> If the Slavic languages differed from one another, he observed, just as Italian differs from Spanish and German from Flemish, it was because of distance from one another.

It was one of the conceits of Humanist historiography to employ classical ancient names wherever possible not only for geographical locations but also for peoples. This led Crijević-Tubero, for example, to refer to the Serbs regularly as "Dardanians."<sup>63</sup> So, too, the name "Illyrian" was universally adopted by the Croatian Humanists to refer to South Slavs in general and to Croats in particular.<sup>64</sup> Despite the faulty ethnic identification, this literary convention (which some took as historical fact) persisted into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—as reflected in the Illyrian Court Chancellery of Maria Theresa and Leopold II of Austria, Napoleon's Illyrian provinces, and the national cultural Croatian movement in the 1830s and 1840s.

The distinguished Croatian literary historian Mihovil Kombol has called Humanism the second great link, after Catholicism, between the Croatian people and Western culture.<sup>65</sup> Certainly, Croatian Humanist historians helped to make the Croats a part of the Pan-European republic of arts and sciences as no other South Slavic or Balkan people was to be. At a time when the Croatian people were politically submerged by foreign powers, Humanist historians helped make

59. Mirković, *Matija Vlačić Ilirik*, p. 322.

60. Pribojević, *De origine successibusque Slavorum*, p. 66.

61. *Ibid.*, part I, passim, especially pp. 59 ff.

62. Bartholomaeo Georgii Hongaro [Bartol Djurdjević], *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum* (Antwerp: Typis Copenii, 1544), no pagination, but see the last page.

63. Ludovici Tuberonis, *Dalmatiae Abbatis, Commentariorum de temporibus suis*, book 6, pp. 221–23.

64. Slavko Ježić, *Hrvatska književnost od početka do danas 1100–1941* (Zagreb: A. Velzek, 1944), p. 53.

65. Kmbol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 79.

known to the European world the existence of the Croatian people, their past glories, and present tribulations, and they helped give their own countrymen a heightened sense of pride in their own identity as Croats and as Slavs.

Just as Croatian national literature was enriched by first passing through the school of Humanist classicism, so Croatian national historiography profited by making the transition from medieval to modern history writing through the efforts of the Croatian Humanist historians. Even if we take into account all that might have been lost and destroyed, medieval Croatian historiography was, with very few exceptions, sparse and poor. How much of a lift Humanism gave to Croatian historiography is evident from the works which appeared in the post-Renaissance period. The work *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo* (*Dalmatian History in Eight Books*), completed in 1602 by Dinko Zavorović (Zavoreus, ca. 1540–1610), was largely a paraphrase of Marulić's Latin version of the Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea.<sup>66</sup> The first modern Croatian historical work based on critical scholarly research was written by Ivan Lucić (Lucius, 1604–79), *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (*On the Realm of Dalmatia and Croatia in Six Books*), published in Amsterdam in 1666. It was also the seventeenth century that saw the publication, in Pesaro in 1601, of another work of far-reaching influence, *Il regno degli Slavi* (*The Realm of the Slavs*), by Mavro Orbīn (Orbini) of Dubrovnik.<sup>67</sup> One should note that this work was written neither in Latin nor in Croatian but in Italian, as were other works on Croatian history published in that century; for example, a history of Dubrovnik by a patrician of that city, Jakob Lukarević (Luccari, 1551–1615), *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa libri XI* (*Copious Summary of the Annals of Ragusa in Eleven Books*) printed in Venice in 1605, as well as Lucius's history of his own native city, Trogir (*Memorie storiche di Tragurio, ora detto Traù* [*Historical Memoirs of Tragurio, Now Called Traù*]), published in Venice in 1672. Though the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Croatian historiography have a spirit of their own, they were influenced by the classical tradition and conceptualization of the Croatian past which was established and cultivated by the Humanists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>68</sup>

66. Ferdo Šišić, *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije* (*Enchiridion Fontium Historia Croatiae*), vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1914), p. 39.

67. The Serbo-Croatian translation of Mavro Orbīn, *Kraljevstvo Slovena*, trans. Zdravko Šundrica (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1968) must be noted with pleasure. This edition contains very useful studies and commentaries by Miroslav Pantić, Radovan Samardžić, Franjo Barišić, and Sima Ćirković.

68. Michael Petrovich, "Dalmatian Historiography in the Age of Humanism," pp. 84–103, *passim*.