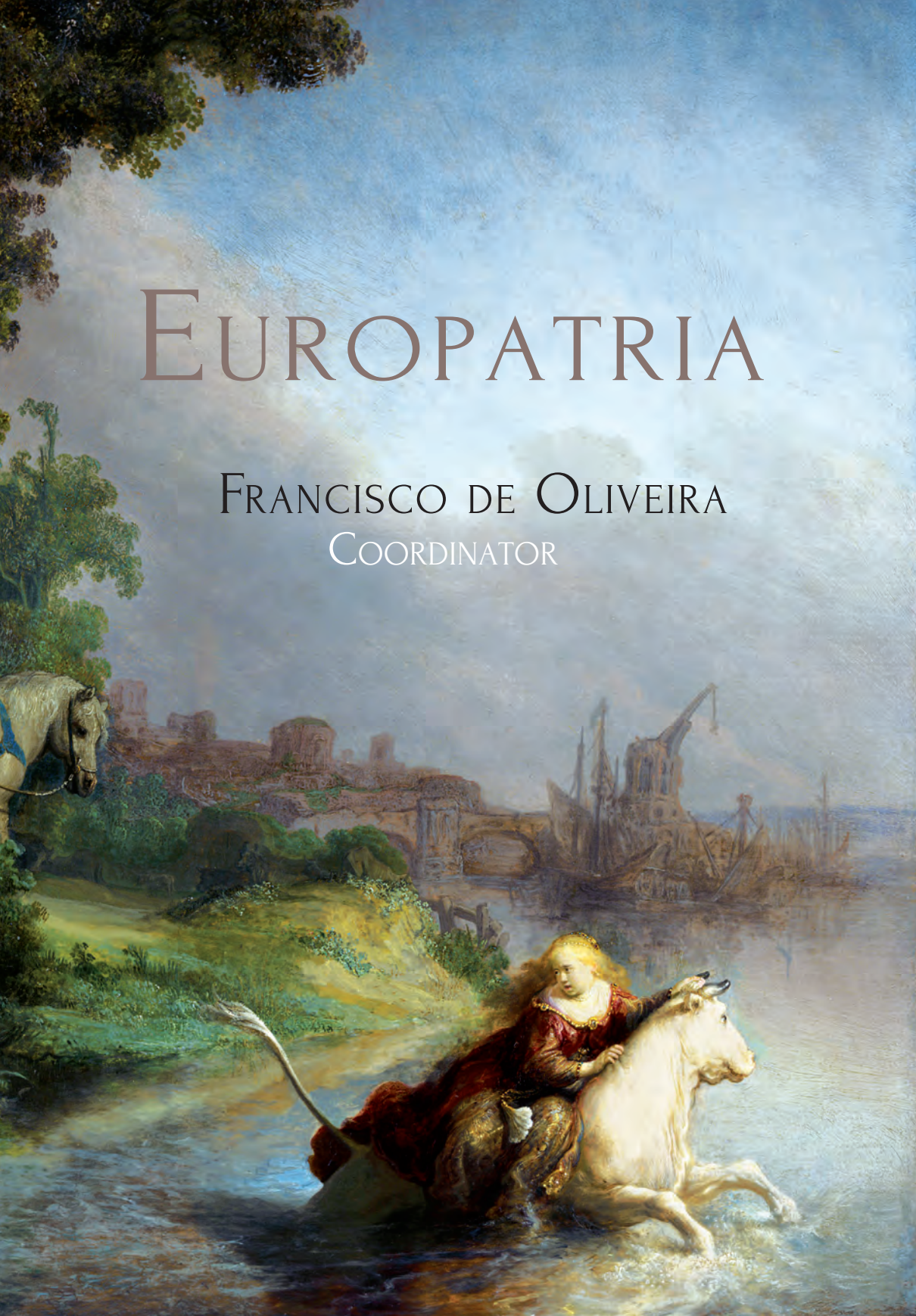


EUROPATRIA

FRANCISCO DE OLIVEIRA
COORDINATOR



Irena Bratičević - Department of Classical Philology
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb
irena.braticevic@ffzg.hr

Voljena Marić - Department of Classical Philology
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb
voljena.vukovic@ffzg.hr

CROATIA

1. Introduction

During the Roman period, the Croatian territory was part of the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, which together made up Illyricum. They are referred to in the works of classical writers such as Caesar, Lucan, Martial, Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder. Traces of classical civilization are to be found in both inscriptions and architecture, from the Basilica of St. Euphrasius in Poreč to the Pula arena, and from the Zadar forum to the Diocletian palace in Split. These extend into the continental regions as well: Marsonia, Cibalae, Mursa, Andautonia, the ancient bishopric of Siscia, Aquae Iassae.

The spread of Christianity across the Roman Empire affected these parts of Europe as well. The work of missionaries is well documented, while there are also a number of local martyrs and saints who perished during the persecutions of Christians in the 3rd and at the beginning of the 4th centuries. A notable example is Quirinus, the bishop of Siscia. Nonetheless, Christianity began to flourish after the year 313, with the establishment and development of the Church hierarchy (the archbishopric of Salona), as recorded by Archdeacon Thomas.

After the Gothic, Langobard and Avar migrations, the Croats started arriving in the 7th century, moving steadily towards the south and occupying the area in which they are to be found today. The Croatian state was first ruled by dukes and later by kings from its home dynasty. They were converted to Christianity thanks to the activities of the Frankish missionaries, and by virtue of this, as well as by accepting the Latin

tongue, the Croats became members and permanent partakers of Western European culture, whose eyes from then on were turned towards Rome.

The centuries-long tradition of the Latin language, developed on classical foundations and preserved through the continuous presence of the Roman liturgy as well as the influence of the Carolingian Renaissance, thrived throughout the Middle Ages in Latin schools, managed for the most part by the Church. This was fertile ground for the eventual rise of humanism, which spread along the Adriatic coast and was observed by the Italian humanist Palladius Fuscus, who taught there. Croatian writers thus became part of a republic of letters in which they participated not only by writing poetry (as witnessed, among others, in the work of Sisgoreus, Marulus and Cervinus) but by practicing natural sciences too (where Faustus Verantius, Marcus Antonius de Dominis and Rogerius Boscovich are especially worthy of notice). They excelled as translators (a famous instance is Cunich's Latin rendering of the *Iliad*), while the use of the Latin language in literature, education and public life continued well into the 19th century; in fact, the works of Ton Smerdel show that even in the 20th century the idea of Latin as the universal language was very much alive.

2. The classical age

In his *De bello civili*, in which he describes the civil war with Pompey, Caesar narrates the episode of the capture of Salona in 48 B.C. (3. 9). The local community of Roman citizens (*conventus civium Romanorum*) was on his side, while the city was being besieged by Marcus Octavius, Pompey's military commander. After the local people defeated Octavius, Caesar awarded Salona the status of a Roman colony (Colonia Martia Iulia Salona).

Discessu Liburnarum ex Illyrico M. Octavius cum eis quas habebat navibus Salonas pervenit. Ibi concitatis Dalmatis reliquisque barbaris Issam a Caesaris amicitia avertit; conventum Salonis cum neque pollicitationibus neque denuntiatione periculi permovere posset, oppidum

oppugnare instituit. Est autem oppidum et loci natura et colle munitum. Sed celeriter cives Romani ligneis effectis turribus his sese munierunt et, cum essent infirmi ad resistendum propter paucitatem hominum, crebris confecti vulneribus ad extremum auxilium descenderunt servosque omnis puberes liberaverunt et praesectis omnium mulierum crinibus tormenta effecerunt. Quorum cognita sententia Octavius quinque castris oppidum circumdedit atque uno tempore obsidione et oppugnationibus eos premere coepit. Illi omnia perpeti parati maxime a re frumentaria laborabant. Cui rei missis ad Caesarem legatis auxilium ab eo petebant; reliqua ut poterant incommoda per se sustinebant. Et longo interposito spatio cum diuturnitas oppugnationis neglegentiores Octavianos effecisset, nacti occasionem meridiani temporis discessu eorum pueris mulieribusque in muro dispositis, ne quid cotidiana consuetudinis desideraretur, ipsi manu facta cum eis quos nuper maxime liberaverant in proxima Octavi castra irruperunt. His expugnatis eodem impetu altera sunt adorti, inde tertia et quarta et deinceps reliqua, omnibusque eos castris expulerunt et magno numero interfecto reliquos atque ipsum Octavium in navis confugere coegerunt. [Hic fuit oppugnationis exitus.] Iamque hiems appropinquabat et tantis detrimentis acceptis Octavius desperata oppugnatione oppidi Dyrrachium sese ad Pompeium recepit.

(Caes. Civ. 3.9; see *C. Iuli Caesaris Commentariorum pars posterior qua continentur libri III de bello civili*. Recensuit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Rhenatus de Pontet. Oxonii: e typographio Clarendoniano, 16th ed., 1989)

The identically titled epic poem by Lucan, *De bello civili*, contains a poignant description of the battle near Krk, when the followers of Caesar chose rather to kill each other than to end up in the hands of Pompey's men (4. 401-580). Details of the event were taken by Lucan from the lost 110th book of Livy's *History*. The opening lines of the following passage (4. 401-414) feature a description of the Adriatic Sea and the area in which the battle took place.

*Non eadem belli totum fortuna per orbem
 Constitit, in partes aliquid sed Caesaris ausa est.
 Qua maris Hadriaci longas ferit unda Salonas
 Et tepidum in molles Zephyros excurrit Iader,
 Illic bellaci confisus gente Curictûm, 405
 Quos alit Hadriaco tellus circumflua ponto,
 Clauditur extrema residens Antonius ora,
 Cautus ab incursu belli, si sola recedat,
 Expugnat quae tuta, fames. Non pabula tellus
 Pascendis summittit equis, non proserit ullam 410
 Flava Ceres segetem; spoliarat gramine campum
 Miles et attonso miseris iam dentibus arvo
 Castrorum siccas de caespite volserat herbas.*

(Luc. 4. 401-414; see Križman, Mate, *Antička svjedočanstva o Istri*. Pula:
 Zavičajna naklada "Žakan Juri", 1997, p. 295)

Martial opens his satirical epigram directed against a literary pilferer (12. 63) by invoking Corduba. While praising the perfections of his own place of birth, Martial compares it in the second line to the oil amphora from Istria. The demand for oil from Istria was described by Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 15. 8), and many remains of oil presses as well as storage rooms have been found in this region.

*Vincto Corduba laetior Venafro,
 Histra nec minus absoluta testa,
 Albi quae superas oves Galaesi
 Nullo murice nec cruore mendax,
 Sed tinctis gregibus colore vivo: 5
 Dic vestro, rogo, sit pudor poetae,
 Nec gratis recitet meos libellos.
 Ferrem, si faceret bonus poeta,
 Cui possem dare mutuos dolores.
 Corruptit sine talione caelebs, 10*

Caecus perdere non potest quod aufert:

Nil est deterius latrone nudo:

Nil securius est malo poeta.

(Mart. 12.63; see Križman, Mate, *Antička svjedočanstva o Istri*. Pula: Zavičajna naklada "Žakan Juri", 1997, p. 307)

In the second book of his description of the world (*De chorographia*), in which European regions are represented in great detail, Pomponius Mela also describes the Illyrian part of the Adriatic coast (2. 3), which, according to him, begins with the Cerauni Mountains and ends with Trieste. The cities from the Croatian coastline mentioned by him are Solin, Zadar, Vid, Trogir and Pula:

[...] deinde Ceraunii montes, ab his flexus est in Hadrian.

Hoc mare magno recessu litorum acceptum et vaste quidem in latitudinem patens, qua penetrat tamen vastius, Illyricis usque Tergestum, cetera Gallicis Italicisque gentibus cingitur. Partheni et Dasaretæ prima eius tenent, sequentia Taulantii, Encheleæ, Phaeaces. Dein sunt quos proprie Illyrios vocant, tum Piræi et Liburni et Histria. Urbium prima est Oricum, secunda Dyrrachium, Epidamnos ante erat, Romani nomen mutavere, quia velut in damnum ituris omen id visum est.

Vltra sunt Apollonia, Salona, Iader, Narona, Tragurium, sinus Polaticus et Pola, quondam a Colchis ut ferunt habitata, in quantum res transeunt! Nunc Romana colonia. Amnes autem Aëas et Nar et Danuvius qui iam dictus est Hister: sed Aëas secundum Apolloniam, Nar inter Piræos et Liburnos, per Histros Hister emittitur. Tergeste intumo in sinu Hadriae situm finit Illyricum.

(*Pomponii Melæ De chorographia libri tres*. Recognovit Carolus Frick. Lipsiæ: In aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1880, pp. 40-41)

Parts of today's Croatia are also described by Pliny the Elder, in the third book of his encyclopedic work *Naturalis historia*. The excerpts

below refer to the size of the Istrian peninsula and its cities (3. 129); to the northern province of Pannonia and its inhabitants, cities and rivers (3. 147-148); and finally to the islands along the eastern coast of the Adriatic – from those in the north, traditionally associated with the legends about Medea’s brother Apsyrtus and the origin of amber, to the Elaphite Islands in the south (3. 151-152).

Histria ut peninsula excurrit. Latitudinem eius \overline{XL} pass., circuitum \overline{CXXV} prodidere quidam, item adbaerentis Liburniae et Flanatici sinus, alii \overline{CCXXV} ; alii Liburniae \overline{CLXXX} pass. nonnulli in Flanaticum sinum Iapudiam promovere a tergo Histriae \overline{CXXX} pass., dein Liburniam \overline{CL} fecere. Tuditanus, qui domuit Histros, in statua sua ibi inscripsit: AB AQUILEIA AD TITIUM FLUMEN STADIA MM. oppida Histriae civium Romanorum Agida, Parentium, colonia Pola, quae nunc Pietas Iulia, quondam a Colchis condita; abest a Tergeste \overline{CV} pass. mox oppidum Nesactium et — nunc finis Italiae — fluvius Arsia. ad Polam ab Ancona traiectus \overline{CXX} p. est.

(Plin. Nat. 3.129)

Inde glandifera Pannoniae, qua mitescentia Alpium iuga per medium Illyricum a septentrione ad meridiem versa molli in dextra ac laeva devexitate considunt. quae pars ad mare Hadriaticum spectat appellatur Dalmatia et Illyricum supra dictum; ad septentriones Pannonia vergit. finitur inde Danuvio. in ea coloniae Emona, Siscia. amnes clari et navigabiles in Danuvium defluunt Draus e Noricis violentior, Saus ex Alpibus Carnicis placidior, \overline{CXX} pass. Intervallo: Draus per Serretes, Serapillos, Iasos, Andizetes, Saus per Colapianos Breucosque. populorum haec capita; praeterea Arviate, Azali, Amantini, Belgites, Catari, Cornacates, Eravisci, Hercuniates, Latovici, Oseriates, Varciani. mons Claudius, cuius in fronte Scordisci, in tergo Taurisci. insula in Sao Metubarbis, amnicarum maxima. praeterea amnes memorandi: Colapis in Saum influens iuxta Sisciam gemino alveo insulam ibi efficit quae Segestica appellatur; alter amnis Bacuntius in Saum... Sirmio oppido influit, ubi civitas

Sirmiensem et Amantinorum. inde XLV pass. Taurunum, ubi Danuvio miscetur Saus. supra influunt Valdusus, Urpanus, et ipsi non ignobiles.

(Plin. Nat. 3.147-148)

[...] Illyrici ora mille amplius insulis frequentatur, natura vadoso mari aestuariisque tenui alveo intercurrentibus. clarae ante ostia Timavi calidorum fontium cum aestu maris crescentium. Iuxta Histrorum agrum Cissa, Pullariae et Absyrtides Graeis dictae a fratre Medae ibi interfecto. iuxta eas Electridas vocavere in quibus proveniret sucinum, quod illi electrum appellant, vanitatis Graecae certissimum documentum, adeo ut quas earum designent haut umquam constiterit. Contra Iader est Lissa et quae appellata est, contra Liburnos Crateae aliquot nec pauciores Liburnicae, Celadussae, contra Tragurium Bavo et capris laudata Brattia, Issa civium Romanorum et cum oppido Pharia. ab Issa Corcyra Melaena cognominata cum Cnidiorum oppido distat XXV passuum, inter quam et Illyricum Melite, unde catulos Melitaeos appellari Callimachus auctor est. XV passuum ab ea VII Elaphites...

(Plin. Nat. 3. 151-152)

(C. Plini Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII, 4 Baende, edd.

L. Ian – C. Mayhoff, Stutgardiae, Teubner 1967 (1892-1909)).

When Tiberius conquered the province of Dalmatia, Latin rapidly became the language of everyday conversation, a process similar to other areas conquered by the Romans. Proof of this are the many Roman names found in inscriptions, especially in Salona, the centre of the province. These descriptions almost never feature Slavic or Illyrian names. Furthermore, they show that the language people embraced was colloquial, not literary, Latin (*sermo plebeius*), the use of which ceased with the fall of Salona in the 7th century. Some of the characteristics of this language variety are evident in the inscription reproduced below (Cippus from the end of the 3rd century; Cat 205. (189) = CIL III 9450): the disappearance of the neuter gender (*in hunc monumentum*), the feminine gender replacing the

neuter (*ossa*), dative plural ending in *-abus* (*libertabus*), substitution of *v* for *b* and of *i* for *e* (*devebet*), the descriptive use of the future simple with an infinitive and the future form of *debere*:

P R A E C I P I O
LIBERTIS•LIBER
TABVSQ MEIS
NEQVISVESTR
INHVNCMONV
MENT•CORPVS
AVT•OSSA•EXTERAE
INFERAT•SI QVIS
CONTEMSEKIT•TVNC
CONLIBERTIS DARE
DEVEBET•POENAE•
NOMINAEꝞMILAE

(Cat 205. (189) = CIL III 9450; see Skok, Petar, *Pojave vulgarno-latinskoga jezika na natpisima rimske provincije Dalmacije*. Zagreb: Knjižara Jugoslavenske akademije Lav. Hav. Hartmana (St. Kugli), 1915, p. 92)

3. THE MIDDLE AGES

During the reign of Diocletian (284-305) some of the bloodiest persecutions of Christians took place in what is today Croatia. Quirinus was the bishop of Siscia from 284 until his martyrdom in 303. He was imprisoned in Siscia and then taken to the superior court, before the Prefect Amantius, who sentenced him to death: he was drowned in the river Sibaris with a millstone around his neck. There are several sources reporting on the martyrdom of St. Quirinus. Reproduced below are two Latin texts from different periods and genres: a hymn by the Christian classic Prudentius (4th/5th century) and a passage of prose from a 19th century edition of the hagiographic *Acta martyrum*:

Hymnus in honorem Quirini martyris, episcopi Ecclesiae Siscianae

<i>Insignem meriti virum</i>		<i>dicentem fluitantibus</i>	
<i>Quirinum, placitum Deo,</i>		<i>amnis terga vehunt vadis</i>	
<i>urbis moenia Sisciae</i>		<i>nec substrata profunditas</i>	
<i>concessum sibi martyrem</i>		<i>saxoque et laqueo et viro</i>	
<i>complexu patri fovent.</i>	5	<i>audet sponte debiscere.</i>	50
<i>bic sub Galerio duce,</i>		<i>sensit martyr episcopus</i>	
<i>qui tunc Illyricos sinus</i>		<i>iam partam sibi praeripi</i>	
<i>urgebat dicionibus,</i>		<i>palmam mortis et exitus</i>	
<i>fertur catholicam fidem</i>		<i>ascensumque negarier</i>	
<i>inlustrasse per exitum.</i>	10	<i>aeterni ad solium Patris:</i>	55
<i>non illum gladii rigor,</i>		<i>"Iesu cunctipotens", ait,</i>	
<i>non incendia, non feræ</i>		<i>"baudquaquam tibi gloria</i>	
<i>crudeli interitu necant,</i>		<i>haec est insolita aut nova</i>	
<i>sed lymphis fluvialibus</i>		<i>calcare fremitum maris</i>	
<i>gurges, dum rapit, abluit.</i>	15	<i>prona et flumina sistere.</i>	60
<i>nil refert, vitreo aequore</i>		<i>scimus discipulum Petrum,</i>	
<i>an de flumine sanguinis</i>		<i>cum vestigia tingeret</i>	
<i>tinguat passio martyrem:</i>		<i>mortali trepidus pede,</i>	
<i>aeque gloria provenit</i>		<i>dextrae subsidio tuae</i>	
<i>fluctu quolibet uvida.</i>	20	<i>subiecisse salum solo.</i>	65
<i>summo pontis ab ardui</i>		<i>Iordanem quoque novimus</i>	
<i>sanctae plebis episcopus</i>		<i>tortis verticibus vagum,</i>	
<i>in praeceps fluvio datur</i>		<i>dum fertur rapido impetu,</i>	
<i>suspensum laqueo gerens</i>		<i>ad fontem refluis retro</i>	
<i>ingentis lapidem molae.</i>	25	<i>confugisse meatibus.</i>	70
<i>deiectum placidissimo</i>		<i>haec miracula sunt tuae</i>	
<i>amnis vertice suscipit</i>		<i>virtutis, Domine, ut, modo</i>	
<i>nec mergi patitur sibi</i>		<i>suspendar leve praenatans,</i>	
<i>miris vasta natatibus</i>		<i>summo gurgite fluminis</i>	
<i>saxi pondera sustinens.</i>	30	<i>cum collo scopulum trabam.</i>	75

<p><i>spectant eminus e solo</i> <i>doctorem pavidi greges;</i> <i>nam Christi populus frequens</i> <i>riparum sinuamina</i> <i>stipato agmine saepserat.</i> 35</p> <p><i>sed Quirinus, ut eminens</i> <i>os circumtulit, heu, suos</i> <i>exemplo trepidos uidet;</i> <i>nil ipse proprii memor</i> <i>inter stagna periculi</i> 40</p> <p><i>confirmat pia pectora,</i> <i>verbis mitificis rogans,</i> <i>ne quem talia terreant</i> <i>neu constans titubet fides</i> <i>aut poenam putet emori.</i> 45</p>	<p><i>iam plenus titulus tui est</i> <i>et vis prodita nominis,</i> <i>quam gentilis hebet stupor:</i> <i>absolvas, precor, optime,</i> <i>huius nunc animae moras.</i> 80</p> <p><i>quid possis, probat amnicus.</i> <i>qui vectat silicem, liquor.</i> <i>hoc iam quod superest cedo,</i> <i>quo nil est pretiosius,</i> <i>pro te, Christe Deus, mori!"</i> 85</p> <p><i>orantem simul halitus</i> <i>et vox deserit et calor,</i> <i>scandit spiritus ardua,</i> <i>fit pondus grave saxeum,</i> <i>corpus suscipiunt aquae.</i> 90</p>
---	--

(Prudentius, *Perist.*7; see *Prudentius*, vol. II. With an English translation by H. J. Thomson.

Cambridge, Massachusetts – London: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 214-218)

Tunc inter ceteras, quas pertulit passiones, iussit sancto Dei Sacerdoti vel famulo molam ad collum ligari et in fluvii Sibaridis undas demergi. Cumque de ponte praecipitatus fuisset in fluvium, et diutissime supernataret, et cum spectantibus locutus est, ne suo terreantur exemplo, vix orans ut mergeretur obtinuit. Cujus corpus non longe ab eodem loco, ubi demersum fuerat, inventum est: ubi locus orationis habetur. Sed ipsum sanctum corpus in basilica ad Scarabatensem portam depositum, ubi major est pro meritis ejus frequentia procedendi.

(*Acta martyrum p. Theodorici Ruinart opera ac studio collecta, selecta atque illustrata.* Pars tertia. Augustae Vindelicorum: sumptibus Josephi Antonii Rieger, 1803, p. 170)

As newcomers to the region, the Croats embraced the Latin language partly through the Roman liturgy, partly thanks to the schools established by Frankish missionaries. During the Carolingian Renaissance the Latin language was purified and it became the *lingua franca* of all Western Europe. The use of Latin in the records of the first Croatian kings has been discussed by Daniele Farlati, a co-author (with Filippo Riceputi and Jacopo Coleti) of the monumental church history of the region formerly called Illyricum. *Illyricum sacrum* contains a great deal of important information relating to the cultural, religious and political history of the South Slavs, especially those in what is today southern Croatia:

Illud hic animadverti velim, quod duces ac deinde reges Chrobatorum, quamvis genere et lingua Slavi essent, tamen, in suis diplomatibus conficiendis latino sermone uti consueverunt. Latine loquendi scribendique ut scientiam, sic usum a Francis acceperant. [...] Atque initio latinitas quaedam rudis atque informis inter Chrobatos fuit, quae nulla priorum magistrorum quantalibet solertia expoliri usque eo potuit, ut statim pure et emendate loqui assuescerent. Id animadverti licet in diplomate Tirpimiri barbarismis et soloecismis referto, quos potius compositoris inscitiae, quam amanuensis ignorantiae vel incuriae attribuerim. Ex posteriorum ducum ac regum diplomatibus apparet Chrobatos aliquid profecisse in Latina locutione, quae minus quidem vitiosa est, sed longe abest a perfectione.

(Farlati, Daniele, *Illyrici sacri tomus tertius. Ecclesia Spalatensis olim Salonitana*. Venetiis: apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1765, p. 51)

Archdeacon Thomas, from Split (c. 1200-1268), wrote a chronicle entitled *Historia Salonitana* in which he describes the lives and works of the archbishops of Salona and Split, yet with numerous excursions into the history of Split and medieval Croatia. His work is therefore a valuable historical source for the period in which Croatian kings were in power, especially the reign of Petar Krešimir the Fourth and Zvonimir, as well as the period of the Tatar incursion (1241-1242). The passages reproduced

below, devoted to the province of Dalmatia (1. 4-5) and to Salona during the civil wars in the time of Augustus (2. 1-3), constitute, in addition to their historical interest, a valuable example of mediaeval Latin:

Secundum poetarum fabulas Cadmus dicitur in eandem deuenisse prouintiam, quando in serpentem mutatus est. Fuit autem ciuitas eius Epitaurus, que est iuxta Ragusium, in qua est magnum antrum et usque hodie opinio est, ibi habitare draconem, unde poeta: Cur in amicorum uitiis tam cernis acutum, ut serpens Epitaurius. Ob hanc causam populi illi dicebantur anguigene. Et etiam de beato Ylarione legitur, quod magnum ibi draconem peremit. Secundum ystoriā uero idem Cadmus rex fuit in Gretia, qui depulsus regno uenit in Dalmatiam factusque pirata seuissimus cepit quasi lubricus anguis per mare discurrere, nauigantibus insidiari et quoscumque poterat opprimere impotentes.

Adria nichilominus hec prouintia nuncupatur ab Adrienne filia Minoy regis, quam rapuit Theseus et per mare nauigans, cum iam ipsam exosam haberet, reliquit in quadam insula solam et aufugit cum sorore ipsius Phedra, sed Bacchus, qui et Liber pater dicitur, eam inueniens sibi in uxorem accepit. Quidam dicunt, quod Adria dicitur a quodam Adrio Ytali fratre, qui regnauit ibidem uel secundum quosdam Adria dicitur ab adra, quod est lapis, quia lapidosa et montuosa est hec prouintia. Vnde Ouidius: Subdita montane brachia Delmatie.

(T. Arhidakon, *Historia Salonitana* 1.4-5)

Fuit autem metropolis ciuitas Dalmatie Salona, urbs magna et antiqua, de qua dicit Lucanus: Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas. Dicta autem est Salona a salo, hoc est a mari, quia in litore maris sita est. Longa uero idcirco dicta est, quia modicum lata, sed in longum fere sex milibus uersus occidentalem plagam protendebatur.

Hec ciuitas tempore bellorum ciuiliū fidem inconcussam Romane rei publice obseruans dominium Cesaris respuebat. Quam ob rem ad subiugandum eam misit Cesar Antonium cognatum suum cum magno nauali exercitu, ipse uero insequendo Pompeium a Brundisio

transuectus est in Epirum. Tunc Antonius premisit quendam ducem, nomine Vulteum, qui in insulis Salonitani litoris exercitum coadunaret. Sed ex parte Pompei erant in Salona duo duces Basilus et Octavius. Isti coegerant magnas populorum adiacentium cateruas, uidelicet Curetum, Dalmatinorum et Ystrorum, expectantes Cesaris partes, ut cum eis confligerent. Sed Vulteus famis sitisque coartatus penuria non potuit alterius in insulis comorari et licet esset undique hostium uallatus insidiis, tamen quandam nauem cum meliori sociorum manu conscendens uoluit latenter transponi in terram, sed hostium insidiis circumpositis nauis in medio transitu intercepta est. Cumque nauis hereret immobilis, uidens Vulteus, quod non pateret via diuertendi, cohortatus est suos, ut pro honore Cesaris mori fortiter parati essent antequam in hostiles inciderent manus. Sicque factum est: nam cum uiderent Pompeianos iaculis, lapidibus et sagittis instare, iamque paratos ad nauem manus apponere intusque insilire defessus iam Vulteus cum suis cum diutissime uiriliter restitisset, ne uiui ad manus hostium deuenirent, mutuis se uulneribus confoderunt et mortui sunt. Audiens ergo Antonius interitum Vultei et suorum comilitonum non apposuit ulterius uenire Salonam, sed ad Cesarem reuersus est. In tantum autem ciuitas hec fidem inuiolatam rei publice custodiuit, quod patrata Cesar totius orbis uictoria et iam solus ad mundi monarchiam prouectus adhuc ciuitati Salone minime imperabat.

Quam ob rem post Cesaris necem Octavianus Augustus misit quendam illustrem uirum ex consulibus, nomine Asynium Pollionem, cum exercitu multo, qui Salonam Romano imperio subiugaret. Tunc Pollio in Dalmatiam ueniens multis bellis cepit impugnare Salonam. Vnde obsessa ciuitas et diutius nauali et equestri exagitata congressu tandem in manibus Romanorum tradita est. In qua obsidione natus est Pollioni filius, cui Saloninus nomen imposuit. Tunc uero magna pars ciuitatis illius destructa fuit, maiores etiam munitiones dirute, ne Romane rei publice rebellare ulterius posset. Peracta ergo uictoria Pollio cum suo exercitu reuersus est Romam, ubi cum magna gloria et laudis triumpho a senatu populoque Romano susceptus est, de quo in odis concinens Oratius dicit: Cui eternos honores Dalmatico peperit triumpho. Fuit iste Pollio

non solum armis strenuus, sed etiam poetica facundia insignis librosque nonnullos lyricis metris composuit.

(T. Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana* 2.1-3; see Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana: povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika*.

Introduced, edited and translated by Olga Perić, with a historical commentary by Mirjana Matijević Sokol and an essay on the author by Radoslav Katičić. Split: Književni krug, 2003, pp. 4-6; 8-10)

4. From humanism to our time: life, literature and science

Among the more ancient descriptions of places along the Croatian coast is *Braciae insulae descriptio*, dating from 1405 and written by Domnius de Chranichis (mid 14th century – circa 1422), who later became a bishop. The text has not survived in its entirety. It describes the geographical position of the Bracia island (nowadays Brač) and its natural characteristics, settlements and inhabitants, as well as the island's history – from the arrival of Greek colonizers to the Roman and Byzantine times, and finally the establishment of Venetian rule. A series of interesting episodes includes those about the settling of refugees from Salona and Epetium, and about pirate attacks:

Insula Bracia iacet inter insulas Pharam et Soltam et inter Spalatum et Crainam, primordiae cuius ambitus non excedit octoginta miliaria. Habet spaciosas valles et portus frequentes et sylvis, montibus est tota cooperta, unde multitudo magna animalium, caprarum et ovium etiam a vetustis temporibus. Omnes habitantes sunt catholici praeter una familia, quae hic ex Cephalonia appulit, et non excedunt sex milia. Fructus eius consistunt in animalibus supradictis, in mele et vino et ficis. [...] Rex noster est Uladislaus, Hungariae, Dalmatiae et Siciliae. [...] Episcopus vero Benvenutus venerabilis pater, et suus vicegerens in hac insula ego Domnus. Communitas nobilium tenet dominatum insulae in omnibus rebus, quae immediate non pendent a rege et duce, cuius actiones portat

idem comes Comulus. Mea, comitis et iudicum et cancellariae sedes est in Nerezi, quia ad administrandam iustitiam est locus aptus et primarius huius insulae. Duodecim sunt villae habitatae, Nerezi, Culmatium inferius, Scrip olim civitas, Dol, Prasnice, Straxevnich, Culmatium superius, Podhume, Mossulla, Dubrovitzza, Gradatium et Podgracischie. Sui primi habitatores, ut excerpsi ex aliquibus membranis, fuerunt Graeci, qui destructa Troia applicuerunt ad hanc insulam. Multi, et Stoissa archipresbyter scripsit, quod hi Graeci fuerunt ex civitate Ambraciae, et ideo insula Bracia fuit appellata. Progressu temporibus hi Graeci aedificaverunt civitatem Braciae, quae vulgo nominabatur Scribea, hodie Scrip, quae postea habitata fuit a Romanis, dominatoribus mundi, postquam in sua potestate redigerunt Salonam cum tota Dalmatia. [...] Sub imperatoribus Constantinopolitanis novi cives Braciani pacificam vitam ducebant factis inter se conventionibus et legibus ad usum civitatis Salonae pro bono et tranquillo statu insulae. At hunc bonum statum perturbaverunt Narentani, qui ut agrestes et barbari piraticam artem exercebant et cum Venetis multa proelia fecerunt Facti fortes et opulentes perturbabant mare et littora Dalmatiae et aggredientes civitatem Braciae, eam forti et acri obsidione cinxerunt. Braciani per multos dies se et civitatem defenderunt, sed non potentes amplius se defendere ultro dederunt se et civitatem Narentanis, qui ut facilius Bracianos in sua potestate retinerent, illorum civitatem destruxerunt et sic Braciae civitas secunda vice destructa fuit. Haec civitas erat fortis et bene munita, et in praesenti extant reliquiae moenium, turrium ris inscriptiones et alia signa eius magnificentiae. Usque ad haec tempora hi nobiles eam deplorant et ob id et alia damna Narentanos freguenter latrones et maledictos vocant. At illi nobiles cives post destructionem civitatis convenerunt ad oram maritimam, vulgo Splagiam, versus insulam Pharam, et ibi ob defensionem sui construxerunt quoddam oppidum et castellum, ubi nunc est S. Maria de Bolo. Sed et illic non fuerunt securi, quia de repente fuerunt aggressi a quibusdam barbaris piratis ex partibus orientalibus. Perterriti cives ad montes profugerunt, et barbari ingressi in oppidum domos spoliaverunt et destruentes moenia, igne etiam omnia consumaverunt. Tunc cives noluerunt amplius habitare ad littus, nec prope mare, sed omnes per montanos et humiles

locos se locaverunt, quia Narentani duris conditionibus illos tenebant et frequenter visitabant, donec a Venetiarum duce Narentani fuerunt victi et destructi, ita deo permittente, ut illi, qui multos per multos annos vincebant, ab ipsis quoque victi et destructi essent.

(*Legende i kronike*. Ed. Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović. Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977, pp. 217-220)

Important information about 15th century Šibenik was recorded by the humanist Georgius Sigoreus (circa 1420-1509) in his short historical and topographical work *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici*. The concluding passage of the book, entitled *De moribus quibusdam Sibenici*, which focus on the local customs, constitutes the most ancient source of information about oral poetry of that period. The work is also a valuable testimony to its author's erudition and knowledge of classical literature, as well as to his interest in folk riddles, which he translated into Latin so that they could be shared with the rest of the cultured world:

Mores habent ultra leges nostri cives quosdam peculiare et quosdam peregrinos, quos a finitimis imbiberunt. Siquidem proverbii Illyricis utuntur, quae nos dicitur diximus et ex lingua vernacula in Latinum vertimus cum Iacobo Naupleo, viro docto et diserto. Illis namque nec leges Solonis nec Numae Pompilii excogitationes nec ipsa Pictagorica praecepta videntur acutiora.

Mulieres praeterea in funerum luctibus reboant nenias constantium animosvirorum percutientes et ad lachrymam excitantes, ferventiores quidem fletibus Thetidis et matris Euriali, quos in filiorum perditionibus barbaro ululatu emittebant. Et in nuptiarum die choreas ducentes quaedam cantant epithalamia, qualia nec Catullus nec Claudianus cecinisse fuit auditus. Petulans deinde iuventus cupidinibusque capta voce valens amatorium carmen tale noctu decantat, quale vix cultus Tibullus aut blandus Propertius aut lascivus Lichoridis Gallus aut Lesbya Sappho decantaret. Et molam vertentes pro conficiendo oleo meditantur eglogas alternas dicesque Dametam et Menalcam coram Palemone modulari.

Pro modo praeterea cantilenae in choreis terram feriunt. Quam rem describens Galeottus libro De homine sic loquitur: Apud Sclavinos nunc in usu est modus ille antiquorum. Nam cum staticulos in chorea fecerunt, omnes uno eodemque tempore terram pede pulsant. Cuius saltationis meminit Horatius I. carm.: Alterno terram quatiunt pede.

Haec ille. Et miror, qua ratione Galeottus Illyricos dixerit Sclavinos, cum accolae Savi fluminis in Illyrico Savini dici debeant. Nec satisfecit Galeottus Georgio Merulae id obicienti. Me, inquit, vocas audacem, quod Sclavinos pro Dalmatis vel Liburnis dixerim: rideo aeternumque ridebo tui hebetudinem. Nescis, Georgi, Sclavinos ex Scythia venisse et haec loca occupasse. Hactenus Galeottus contra Merulam, quod minime est cordi.

Et, ut in Saturnalibus Romanorum pueri nucibus et viri alea ludebant xeniaque ferebant et apophoreta referebant, sic moris est in civitate Sibenici celeberrimo Natalis domini festo, eo quidem mense, quo illi inter Saturnalia, nostri intra Christi Natalia, dempto errore gentilitatis, servare. Quocirca Seneca ad Lucilium scribit: December, inquit, mensis, cum maxime civitas sudat. Ingenti apparatu sonant omnia. Die namque Natalis sollemnissima festo favens alter in alterius concurrat oscula tamquam obsides pacis salutis tempus advenisse nuncians et pacis auctorem, cuius multum desyderabat universa terra cuiusque pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur.

(Šižgorić, Juraj, *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku*. Edited from the manuscript and translated by Veljko Gortan. Šibenik: Muzej grada, 1981, pp. 52-56)

During the 16th and 17th centuries Croatian coastal towns were visited by itinerant humanist teachers. Palladius Fuscus (1450-1520), from Padua, lived in Šibenik, Trogir, Zadar and finally Kopar. His book *De situ orae Illyrici* (published in 1540), from which the following passages dealing with Zadar, Trogir and Dubrovnik are taken, is an example of the humanist *laudationes urbium*.

Zadar

Ab ea stadiis circiter Octoginta abest Iadera urbs sane inter Illyricas clarissima, non solum, quia Romana colonia fuit, verum etiam, quod tam Graecorum, quam Latinorum monumentis celebrata est: Ea autem in quadam Liburniae cervice in occiduas Solis partes procurrenti sita. Quod etiam Lucanus testatur illo versu, Et tepidum in molles Zephiros excurrit Iader.

A tribus lateribus mari cingitur, nec ulla hodie inter Illyricas urbes existit, quae a nautis, et maritimis negotiatoribus ultro citroque commeantibus magis frequentetur, vel quod appellere volentibus in opportunissimo loco posita est, Portumque pulcherrimum, atque tutissimum habet, vel potius, quia quovis tempore res usui necessariae ibi venales existunt: Verum eius ager ante Turcarum incursiones tam frequens erat, et adeo hominibus abundabat, quod ipsa civitas sine ullis externis auxiliis, vel decem triremes armare poterat, et saepe armavit.

Trogir

A Sicco Centum ferme stadiis incipit Hilis peninsula, quam indigenae patrio vocabulo Bossilinam vocitant, circuitu quidem Trecentorum stadiorum: a cuius extremo littore ad Orientem stadiis Quadraginta est Tragurium cum portu olim Civium Romanorum Oppidum. Quo Plinius scribit Veteranos a divo Claudio missos. Sed, ut Strabo asserit, ab Istris est conditum. Mari autem undique cinctum, Ponte lapideo continenti annectitur, habens a meridie aliam insulam nomine Bubum, cuius obiectu portus efficitur, duobus ostiis. Ager autem Tragurinus vitibus, oleisque, et aliis pomiferis arboribus consitus est. Verum maior eius pars, me prodente, non colebatur, ob frequentissimas Turcarum incursiones. Illustratum est autem aetate nostra Tragurium Coriolano Cepione Oratore, Historicoque eloquentissimo, qui quum sub Petro Mocenico Classis Venetae Imperatore Trierarchus, non sine ingenti gloria ob res egregie gestas, militasset: quo tempore Turcae Calcidem expugnarunt, confecto bello, de Petri ipsius gestis librum luculentissime scriptum aedidit: quem ipse pluries legi captus Cepionis, tum copia, elegantiaque, tum fide, et gravitate.

A Naronis ostio stadiis Octingentis occurrit Stagnum arx Ragusinorum, ab ea ad stadia Ducenta est Ragusium urbs sacris profanisque aedibus ornatissima, et argenti aurique ditissima: quae inter tria imperia Venetorum, Pannonumque, et Turcarum constituta privata sorte degit: Ut antiquitus in Asia inter Parthos, Romanosque Palmyra: pendit tamen annum Turcarum Regibus tributum. Verum haec, ut reliquae Illyrici urbes in patritios, plebeiosque divisa est, ita tamen, ut soli patritii summotis plebeis Rempublicam administrent. In qua quidem non modo leges, sed etiam magistratus Venetis per similes habent: cuius rei originem hanc fuisse comperi. Quum enim Ragusinorum Reipublicae quantulacunque est, fundatores eam posteris undique munitam tradere vellent, et Venetam Rempublicam legibus et moribus potius divinis, quam humanis institutam cernerent: illam sibi in omnibus imitandam proposuerunt: Verum procedente tempore, quum id quoque cognitum foret, Venetos mercatura ditescere, eos hac quoque in parte imitari voluerunt. Hinc est, quod nulla Europae pars adeo abdita est, ita advenis infesta, ut in ea Ragusinos non invenias negotiantes; habebant annis superioribus quum ante Senatus Veneti decretum iure suo quocunque vellent, navigare possent, Naves amplius trecentas, quas mercibus onustas in diversas orbis partes ad quaestum mittebant. Sed longum foret, si omnia commemorare vellem: Unum tamen non praetermittam, quo intelligatur, quanta sit Ragusinorum severitas, et in liberis educandis diligentia. Non enim sinunt in sua urbe ludos esse, nisi literarios; si gladiatores, saltatoresve accesserint, subito eiciuntur: ne iventus, quam literis dumtaxat, aut mercatura vacare volunt, huiusmodi foeditatibus corrumpatur. Verum quum haec proderem, ibi erat Aelius Cervinus Poeta eminentissimus, cui si priscis temporibus nasci contigisset; quando more hominum comparatum est, ut veteres scriptores novis semper anteponantur, ipse profecto cum antiquis Vatibus passim legeretur, tanta est eius in rebus, quas decantat eruditio, et ea carminis sublimitas. A Ragusio stadiis ferme Quadraginta Epidauri coloniae vestigia visuntur. Ergo corrigendus

est error in hoc loco multorum, qui Ragusium nunc vocari tradunt, quod antea Epidaurum, quum inter hoc et illud intersint stadia, ut dictum est, Quadraginta.

(Paladije Fusko, *Opis obale Ilirika*. Edited and translated by Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, introduced by Miroslav Kurelac, commentary by Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, Miroslav Kurelac. Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, 1990, pp. 90-92, 96-102, 104-106)

The age of humanism in Croatia, from the first decades of the 15th century to the beginning of the 17th century, witnessed the growth of important cultural centers along the Adriatic coast. The most important representative of this movement in Split was Marcus Marulus (1450-1524), esteemed throughout Europe for his Latin prose, mostly religious and moralistic in nature. He also wrote an epic poem called *Davidias* as well as a series of shorter works, from which two epigrams are singled out below:

In præsens sæculum

*Olim Luciliusque Horatiusque,
Olim Petroniusque Persiusque,
Atque olim Iuuenalis ipse Aquinas
Noxas carminibus grauis notarunt.
At si uiueret ille nunc uel ille,
Nulla esset satyris satis papyrus.*

5

In Marcum Suitarizam uxori odiosum

*Quæris cur coniunx, quæ te dilexerat olim,
Nunc fugit et duris litibus exagitat?
Verius haud quicquam possum tibi dicere, Marce:
Dilexit iuuenem, nunc fugit illa senem.
Omnibus hoc uitium est: miseros odere maritos*

5

*Œtas longa quibus languida membra facit.
Vis tu pace frui, cum sit tibi candida barba,
I procul atque alio uiuere disce loco*

(Marko Marulić, *Latinski stihovi*. Edited and translated by Bratislav Lućin and Darko Novaković. Split: Književni krug, 2005, pp. 189; 195)

One of the most important humanist poets, the Ragusan Aelius Lampridius Cervinus (1463-1520), was a member of the famous Roman academy of Pomponius Letus. He was crowned *poeta laureatus* in 1484. All of his works – written in verse (elegies, epigrams, epistles, odes, epyllions) as well as in prose (orations, treatises, letters) – show a writer well-versed in classical literature. Especially noteworthy is the cycle of love elegies addressed to Flavia, from which elegy number five is reproduced below. The cycle is written in imitation of the generic models of Roman literature, but it introduces some innovations as well.

*Mollicie plumas uincis massamque coacti
Lactis et intactas, Flauia pulcra, niues
Nec tanto Parium marmor candore superbit,
Non elephantaem sic, puto, fulget ebur
Quam tibi membra micant, ceruixque argentea, quanto 5
Candoris corpus gaudet honore tuum
Lubrica nec tantum uestigia marmora fallunt
Cumque lacessentes effugit unda manus
Non lapis aequoreus cristalae laeuia nec quae
Trita Cytheriacis concha refulget aquis, 10
Quam mea te, fallax, prensantia brachia ludis
Laeuis et amplexus effluis usque meos.
Nec minus amplecti tua membra fugacia durum est
Prothea quam mediis detinuisse uadis.
Basia seu uolui tibi figere – labra repente 15
Sunt delibatis currere uisa genis*

Siue papillarum libuit tractare tumorem –
Non patitur tactus ulla papilla meos
Siue ego tentavi tua transfuga colla tenere –
Transfuga frustratas destituere manus. 20
Sic nequit erranti trepidus consistere planta
Irriguam nactus saepe uiator humum
Sic mihi sperantes frustra iamiamque tenentes
eque potituras deseris arte manus
Sic mihi uanescis, me quantum haud compote uoti, 25
Et fluis e nostro ceu leuis aura sinu
Sic fugitiua uolas nullisque tenenda lacertis,
Ingratamque celer fallis utranque manum
Sic mendax uana deludit imagine somnus,
Decipit et uacuis credula corda sopor; 30
Sic aliquis manibus pendentia poma supinis
Atque interdictas summere gestit aquas
Quare age, parce meos toties fraudare lacertos,
Nec sine naturae tanta licere tuae

(Novaković, Darko, "Autografi Ilije Crijevića (I): *Vat. lat.* 1678".

Hrvatska književna baština 3 (2004), p. 117)

A number of Croatian humanists acquired their education by attending the best European universities. One of them was the versatile Faustus Verantius (1551-1617), the author of *Machinae novae*, a treatise in which he describes fifty-six different engines and technical constructions, for the most part designed by himself but sometimes also by others. These are accompanied by forty-nine large-format copper plates and with commentaries written in Latin, Italian, Spanish, French and German. The most famous among these projects are the description and construction of the suspension bridge, the description of the "flying man", i.e. of the way in which the parachute works, and of the portable kitchen. Simple and practical descriptions illustrate the use of Latin in technical literature:

Pons ferreus

Hunc pontem ideo ferreum denominavimus, quod e duabus turribus, in utraque ripa exstructis, pluribus catenis ferreis suspensus, medius dependet. Turres autem suas portas habebunt, quae ad pontem viatores admittant, vel arceant.

Homo volans

Velo quadrato, quatuor aequalibus perticis distento, atque funibus in quatuor angulis appensis; homo absque periculo sese de turri, vel alio loco eminenti, demittere potest. Nam etiamsi eo tempore nullus sit ventus; ipse impetus hominis cadentis excitabit ventum, qui velum retardabit ne præceps ruat, sed pedetentim descendat. At commensurare oportet hominem, cum magnitudine veli.

Mulus culinam deferens

Huic mulo alterum coniunxi, qui dominum sequatur, et praeter vasa, panem, et vinum, ac alia quae ad victum sunt necessaria, ignem cum ollis bullientibus tute deferat. Ignis ac ollae erunt in capsula aerea positae. Haec capsula aerea in alia capsula lignea includitur. Habet autem capsula utraque fumarium a parte superiori, ab inferiore vero craticulam, per quam cinis carbonibus combustis decidat.

(Machinae novae Fausti Verantii Siceni cum declaratione Latina, Italica, Hispanica, Gallica et Germanica. Facsimile (Venecija, c. 1615), Zagreb: Novi liber, 1993, p. 12; 13; 15)

Marcus Antonius de Dominis (1560-1624) was a well-known religious writer and scholar born on the island of Rab. After his education in Padua, he became a professor of mathematics, logic, rhetoric and philosophy, and afterwards the bishop of Senj and the archbishop of Split. He is considered to be one of the greatest philosophers and scholars

of his time. Among his most significant works in the field of natural science is a study of light beams, printed in Venice under the title *De radiis visus et lucis in vitris perspectivitis et in irride*, a passage from which is reproduced below to illustrate scientific Latin prose from the period. He is also known for his pioneering study of the influence of the Moon on tides:

Iris itaque, ut hactenus habemus, nihil aliud est quam lux solis reflexa. Haec tamen lux ad oculum non pervenit pura et clara, sed non-nihil opacata et offuscata et consequenter colorata. Exigua enim illa corpuscula aquea, addita praesertim confusione plurium radiorum per refractionem aggregatorum, non possunt totam solis figuram reflectere, sed solam lucem quod iam exposuimus cap. 3., propos. 6. et 7. et cap. 4., propos. 5. Et sane lucem coloratam ob admixtionem opacitatis ipsiusmet vaporis, sive aquae iam fere concretae, et ob debilitatem etiam illam, quam secum fert natura reflexionis, et denique ob distantiam quae intercedit inter oculum et vaporem.

Ordo tamen colorum quem in iride observamus, a nemine adhuc sufficienter explicatus, eam mihi causam habere videtur, ut circuli iridis pars convexa, hoc est ambitus exterior, sit rubeus, sive puniceus, quia radii solis inde reflexi clariori ac non nimium opacata luce perfruuntur. Circa medium vero paulo opaciores viridem reddunt iridem; in concavo demum et intimo arcu adhuc opaciores caeruleum nobis colorem repraesentant, iuxta ea, quae nos supra tradidimus cap. 3., propos. 6. et 7. Cur vero ita fiat ut supremi radii sint lucidiores, medii obscuriores, infimi vero adhuc obscuriores, ratio et causa meo iudicio tota patenda est ex natura reflexionis, quae non sine praecedenti refractione fit a globulis, seu stillulis vaporis roridi, ut a nobis explicatum est cap. 4., propos. 7., ubi latitudinem quandam assignavimus, cogentibus id experimentis et ratione, tali reflexioni.

(Markantun de Dominis, *Opera physica / Radovi iz fizike*.

Translated by Stanko Hondl, Ivica Martinović; introduction by Žarko Dadić. Split: Lamaro – Zagreb: HAZU, 2005, p.122)

His books in natural philosophy, mathematics, physics, astronomy, land surveying and optics made the Ragusan Rogerius Boscovich (1711-1787) one of the most important scientists of the 18th century. In his major work, *Philosophiae naturalis historia*, he developed his original and influential theory of forces. His epic poem, *De Solis ac Lunae defectibus*, published in 1760 and dedicated to the Royal Society (to which he was admitted a year later), comments on Newton's astronomy and optics. Below is a passage that deals with the total eclipse of the Sun (2. 513-540), a good example of versified science:

*Tu tamen aut violae saturo fucata colore
 Vitra cape adjungens aut pingui perlita fumo,
 Nec semel ardenti, nec longum admota lucernae. 515
 His tutare oculos, hoc tela ardentia Phoebi
 Excipe protectus clypeo flammisque volucres
 Securur ride et radiantem transpice vultum.*

*Ac primum formamque umbrae molemque tuer
 Proderit. Illa quidem, nisi forte in margine summam 520
 Vix radat Phoebi frontem, qua curvus ad undas
 Prominet occiduas, curvato limite limbum
 Irrepens cavat et dorso convexa recurvo
 Flectitur Eoasque tumens sinuatur ad oras.
 Dumque subit, viden, ut formam progressa rotundam 525
 Exhibeat teretemque globi se inflectat in orbem!
 At teretem ipsa etiam virgo Latonia formam
 Prae se fert curvumque tumens sinuatur in orbem.
 Nec vero et moles non convenit: umbra, nitentem
 Quae tristi irrepens condit ferrugine vultum, 530
 Tanta patet, quanta aetherias se mole per auras
 Cynthia fert, cum tota ardet plenoque nitentem
 Ore refert fratrem ac nocturnas discutit umbras.
 Quin etiam, si tunc imo dea tramite, terris
 Proxima, distento latescat pinguior ore, 535
 Latior ipse quoque umbrosus distenditur orbis*

et vincit crasso Phoebos augmine vultus.
Hinc medium si forte deum media occupet umbra,
Prominet ac rapit omne jubar circum undique et ignes
Occulit ac penitus radiantia contegit ora. 540

(*Rogerii Iosephi Boscovichii De Solis ac Lunae defectibus*. Editionem sextam curavit et convertit indicesque addidit Branimir Glavičić, praefationem conscripsit Žarko Dadić. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2007, pp. 101-103, stihovi II, 513-540)

The flourishing of Neo-Latin literature in the 18th century, especially in Dubrovnik, testifies to the importance accorded to classical languages in education as well as, more generally, in cultural life. Several Ragusan Neo-Latin writers acquired a considerable reputation for their work abroad – in Italy and in the rest of Europe. In 1776, Raymundus Cunich (1719-1794), longtime professor of rhetoric and Greek language at the College of Rome, published a complete – and according to many the most successful – translation of the *Iliad* into Latin. The opening lines of his translation, entitled *Homeri Ilias Latinis versibus expressa*, can be used to show the differences between the Greek and Latin poetic language, while also telling us a lot about the 18th century translation practice:

Iram, diva, trucem Pelidae concine Achillei,
Innumeris horrenda olim quae pressit Achivos
Luctibus; obscuro multas & compulit Orco
Heroum fortes animas; ac frigida leto
Membra feris canibus praedam, alitibusque reliquit 5
Omnigenis; (magni certo Jovis omnia nutu
Ibant) ex quo, acres ad jurgia saeva coorti,
Regnatorque virum Atrides, & dius Achilles
ruperunt pactamque fidem, & socialia vincla.
Immani geminos reges, duo lumina Grajum, 10
Quis divum inter se rixa commisit, & alto
Indomitos acuit primum sub corde furores?

*Candida quem superum genuit Latona parenti,
 Arcitenens. regi offensus vulgo intulit atram
 Ille luem; totis passim quae didita castris* 15
*Argivam leto pubem sternebat acerbo
 Unius Atridae ob culpam, Chrysenque superbis
 Exceptum dictis; Chrysen, cui prima sacrorum
 Cura, & Apollinei custodia credita templi.
 Venerat hic Danaum ad naves ingentia secum* 20
*Dona ferens, gnatae pretium, vittamque sacerdos
 Aurato implicitam sceptro gestabat, & omnes
 Ambibat praecibus Grajos; geminosque rogabat
 Praecipue Atridas, rerum queis tradita summa:
 Magnanimi Atridae, Grajum & gens fortibus armis* 25
*Inclyta; sic divi, quotquot fulgentia caeli
 Tempa colunt, vobis Priameia vertere fundo
 Moenia dent, ventisque domum remeare secundis;
 Solvite servitio mihi dulcem & reddite natam.
 Reddite; neu pretium, neve haec insignia, dextra* 30
*Quae gesto, & longe jaculantem spernite Phoebum.
 Talibus orabat senior; cunctique favebant
 Grajugenae assensu haud dubio, sacrique verendam
 Canitiem capitis, capiendaque dona fremebant.*

*(Homeri Ilias Latinis versibus expressa a Raymundo Cunichio
 Ragusino, Rim: Excudebat Joannes Zempel, 1776., pp. 1-2, lines 1-34)*

Latin writing continued to thrive in Dubrovnik well into the 19th century. Among the many texts written in Latin we have selected a poem by Franciscus Gargurevich (1831-1871), a Ragusan high school teacher utterly devoted to the study of classical authors. The content of his poem seems relevant and interesting even today, since the teacher complains about the fact that the instruction in Latin, which should have been given priority in the kind of school in which he was teaching, has been reduced to the minimum:

Poetę occursio puero studenti primis linguę latinę elementis

E ludis reducem chartarum sorte pusillum
Afflicta (notus qui mihi) ferre manu
Congeriem vidi puerum: fractusque labore
Ut qui membra malo, visus id ipse mihi.
Oh! magnum studium, dixi, oh! quam docta juvenus 5
Hęc, ut si veniat prisca ruberet, erit
Hinc puer in ludis qui prima elementa latinis
Discere ait, minuens grande libenter onus
Quęsitus mihi sensim plura volumina cessit,
Ratus ego studii mirus id esse labor. 10
Hetrusę primus subiit linguę, hinc notat omnem
Qui Orbem, quique liber relligiosa docet.
Obtulit inde Geometriam, parvam inde Mathesim,
Binam hinc, naturę et temporis, historiam.
Hinc latium subtile volumen, juncta latinis 15
Est ubi, prob męror! barba lingua modis
Ab! puer, abde sinu noviter, citus abde libellos,
Dixi, corda mihi ruptus amariti
Isthic quod juvenes jactent cervice pusilla
Quę minus apta forent: quę magis, illa minus. 20
Ne latii magnum ludi isti nomen haberent.
Queis latium studiis est studium in minimis

(Marić, Voljena, "Latinske pjesme Frana Grgurevića",
Latina & Graeca 15 (2009), pp. 102-103)

Ton Smerdel (1904-1970) is considered to be one of the world's most prominent Latin poets of the 20th century. He also wrote poetry and essays in the Croatian language. Impressed by the beauty of the classical poets, as well as of those Croatian poets who wrote in Latin, he chose Latin as the universal language, "always thinking how happy our world would be if it had a common language" ("semper cogitans, quam felix

mundus noster esset, si sermonem communem haberet”), as he writes in the introduction to his first book of poetry in Latin, entitled *Urna Parcarum* and published in 1961. The poem *Sol in herbis*, reproduced below, comes from the same book, while *Aves* is found in his collection *Pontes lucentes*, published in 1962:

Sol in herbis

*Sol in herbis lucet,
in herbis teneris.
Ocelli tui sicut dona Veneris
aurea poma autumnalis temporis.*

Aves

*Tot in sole apricantur
croceae aves
in ramis arboris*

*Expectant tepidum ventum
volaturae
in sinum
futuri veris*

(Ton Smerdel, *Izabrane pjesme latinske i hrvatske*.

Zagreb: Naklada Jurčić, 2007, pp. 30; 68)