FROM CROATIAN RENAISSANCE TO YUGOSLAV SOCIALISM

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Essays

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NOTICE

With the exception of *Literary Currents in Socialist Yugoslavia,* a part of a symposium on Yugoslavia held at Stanford University, all other studies were previously published in various scholarly periodicals and miscellanies. Thus "The Croatian Renaissance" and "Vladimir Solov'ev and Bishop Strossmayer" appeared in *Slavic Review*, "St. Francis Xavier and Marko Marulić" and "The Importance of Kačić-Miošić" in *Slavic and East European Journal*, "Slavko Kolar" and "Krleža's Tormented Visionaries" in *The Slavonic and East European Review.* "Križanić's Formative Years" was included in the miscellany *American Contributions to the Fifth International Congress of Slavists, Sofia 1963* (published by Mouton) and "Križanić's Memorandum" in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas.* "Surrealists versus Modernists in Serbian literature" is included in the miscellany *American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists, Prague 1968,* volume II, published by Mouton. My article on Andrić's "The Chronicle of Travnik" appeared in the first volume of *California Slavic Studies.* I have asked the publishers for permission to include the above-mentioned studies in this book and they kindly granted my request.

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I

THE CROATIAN RENAISSANCE

It was along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, in Dalmatian coastal towns and on neighboring islands, in the narrow belt of territory that had escaped Turkish conquest, that the Croatian Renaissance developed. The literature of this period is considered the beginning of Croatian creative writing and the foundation of the Croatian revival, known also as the Illyrian movement, that occurred three centuries later. Why did this Slavic literature develop in this small territory, which had been taken away from the Hungaro-Croatian kingdom and annexed to the Venetian Republic (1409-20) and whose high administrative, military, and often ecclesiastical officials were imported from Venice? A brief survey of what took place during several centuries on this Dalmatian coastland – rocky and barren, but surprisingly rich in events of political and cultural importance – may provide some explanation.

When the Croats reached the Adriatic shores during the seventh century, they found old or newly fortified Latin towns. The inhabitants of Salona, for example, which was destroyed by Avars and Slavs in 614, had taken refuge inside the magnificent palace of Diocletian, which later became Split; the citizens of the Greek, later Romanized, colony of Epidaurus (Cavtat) had rapidly built a new city called Ragusium, which they protected with high walls. Inside these strongholds lived civilized but trembling Latins, while outside on the meadows (*dubrava,* hence Dubrovnik) camped numerous militant newcomers, eager for a more decent and sheltered existence. It is obvious that at least for economic and social reasons these two opposing groups could not live permanently as foes.

When the Croatian people, following their princes, accepted the Catholic faith, the religious differences were removed. Latins and Slavs believed in the same God of love and brotherhood; they worshiped him in the same temples, often constructed with the common efforts

and funds of the two peoples. They accepted the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, who tried his best to bring them closer together. Even in this religious domain, however, not everything proceeded smoothly. The Latin settlements continued to use Latin in their liturgy, but the Croatian clergy, like the disciples of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius, fought for their right to pray to God in their own tongue. Reluctantly the Roman pontiffs acceded (1248) and gave the Croats the privilege of celebrating Mass (of the Roman rite) in Church Slavonic, written in Glagolitic characters. The Slavic liturgy became, in the course of time, the strongest defense of the Croats against the Latins and the basis on which medieval Croatian literature developed.[1]

The Croats enjoyed political independence for more than two centuries (ninth-eleventh) and enlarged the national territory to the borders that they claim even today. Then as a result of a dispute between two factions, each trying to impose its candidate as king,[2] the Croats became an easy prey for strong neighbors, and were forced to join with the Hungarians in 1102. The Dalmatian towns fought for old privileges and obtained many new ones from the Hungarian kings, thus becoming more or less autonomous communities.[3] They entered upon an era of commercial activity and economic prosperity, which gave impetus to the extraordinary vitality shown in their architecture, sculpture, and painting.[4] Croats were active in the cultural and artistic life of medieval Dalmatia. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Croatian sculptors Buvina and Radovan created two masterpieces: the carved wooden door of Split cathedral (1214) and the portal of the Trogir cathedral (1240).[5]

[1] V. Jagić, "Hrvatska glagolska književnost", in Vodnik's *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* (Zagreb, 1913), 9-60.

[2] F. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara* (Zagreb, 1925). About King Zvonimir (1076-89) and his violent death, see the recent study by Stipe Gunjača, "Kako i gdje je svršio hrvatski kralj Dimitrije Zvonimir", *Rad*, 288 (1952), 205-324.

[3] G. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, I (Zagreb, 1944), 115-16; M. Kostrenčić, "Postanak dalmatinskih sredovječnih gradova", in *Šišićev Zbornik* (Zagreb, 1929), 113-19; id., "Slobode dalmatinskih gradova po tipu trogirskom", *Rad*, 239 (1930), 56-150.

[4] Lj. Karaman, *Eseji i članci* (Zagreb, 1939), 40-49. Cvito Fisković, "Naši primorski umjetnici od 9 do 19 stoljeća", *Hrvatsko Kolo*, No. 2, 1948, 241-65.

[5] The well-known architect T. G. Jackson writes that this portal is "a work which in simplicity of conception, combined with richness of detail, and marvelous finish of execution, has never been surpassed in romanesque or Gothic art", in his book *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, II (Oxford, 1887), 111. Radovan's carvings reflect the abundant joy of life; cf. Fisković, "Naši primorski umjetnici . . .", 248.

In France and Spain the invaders were assimilated by the indigenous element, but here the opposite occurred. The Latin urban element, already quite small and now cut off from the Italian peninsula and surrounded by the Slavic hinterland, was decreasing. Realizing that they could no longer ignore or keep apart from the Slavs, the Latin men began to marry Croatian girls. Intermarriage was the first peaceful Slavic victory. Mothers, speaking only Croatian, taught their children the language they knew. The Dalmatian cities gradually became bilingual: although Latin (and later the Venetian dialect) remained the official medium of communication, Croatian became more and more common in private life.[6] There are clear indications that Zadar had already become Slavicized in the twelfth century. Pope Alexander III, when traveling to Venice via Zadar to meet Frederick Barbarossa (1177), was greeted by citizens in the cathedral of Saint Stošija (Anastasia) "immensis laudibus et canticis altissime resonantibus in eorum Sclavica lingua".[7] When the Crusaders, serving as mercenaries of the Venetian doge Enrico Dandolo, attacked this flourishing city in 1202, Zadar was considered a Slavic settlement.[8] Some of these autonomous Dalmatian communities were Slavicized earlier than others; all of them acquired the Slavic imprint no later than the fourteenth century.[9] Venetian sources reveal that during the Renaissance it was chiefly merchants and noblemen, those who traveled and studied abroad, who knew Italian; at home even these bilingual persons spoke their native tongue.[10] The Pope was urged to appoint in Dalmatia only bishops who

[6] Cf. Petar Skok's numerous studies, especially his article "O simbiozi i nestanku starih Romana u Dalmaciji i na Primorju u svijetlu onomastike", *Razprave*, IV (Ljubljana, 1928), 1-42, and his book, *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na Jadranskim otocima: Toponomastička ispitivanja* (Zagreb, 1950), Vol. I-II.

[7] Cf. Viktor Novak, "The Slavonic-Latin Symbiosis in Dalmatia During the Middle Ages", *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXII, No. 78 (December, 1953), 17.

[8] According to the chronicle of one of the participants in this crusade, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the Doge himself called Zadar "Jadres en Esclavonie"; cf. P. Skok, *Tri starofrancuske hronike o Zadru u godini 1202* (Zagreb, 1951), 84.

[9] For almost every Dalmatian town, simply from evidence based on personal and family names, it is possible to reconstruct a picture of Croatian penetration. Cf. Grga Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, I (Zagreb, 1944), 175-80 (chap. viii: "Pohrvaćivanje dalmatinskih romanskih gradova").

[10] Benedetto Ramberti, secretary to the Venetian Senate, passing through Dubrovnik on his way to Turkey in 1534, noticed that all the women in Dubrovnik spoke Croatian and their husbands Croatian and Italian; cf. V. Novak, "The Slavonic-Latin Symbiosis in Dalmatia . . .", 19; about Ramberti see Jorjo Tadić, *Promet putnika u starom Dubrovniku* (Dubrovnik, 1939), 212-13, and P. Matković in *Rad*, 56 (1881), 203-32. The Venetian Giovanni B. Giustiniano

spoke Croatian, since otherwise there could be no fruitful contact between the hierarchy and its flock.[11]

The Neapolitan King Ladislas, a pretender to the Hungaro-Croatian crown against King Sigismund, sold his claim to some Dalmatian cities to Venice in 1409. Thereafter, Venice, in a decade of successful maneuvering, conquered the whole of Dalmatia (with the exception of the Dubrovnik Republic and the peasant republic of Poljica) in 1420 and exploited this Slavic *avant-poste* until her fall in 1797.

Almost a century after the defeat of Serbia (1389), and a decade after Byzantium was subdued (1453), Bosnia surrendered to the Turkish conqueror (1463), followed in 1482 by Herzegovina. The Croatian lands were soon reduced to the "reliquiae reliquiarum olim inclyti regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae". Zagreb and its immediate surroundings courageously resisted the Turkish attacks, but with heavy sacrifices in lives and property. When the Hungarians were defeated by the Turks at Mohacs (1526), the Croats and the Hungarians elected Ferdinand of Austria as their common ruler (1527).

Dalmatia was reduced to a few coastal cities and islands. The famous fortress of Klis, only a few miles from Split, was finally taken by the Turks in 1537.[12] From their city walls the inhabitants of the fortified coastal towns could see the Turkish hordes devastating their property. The peasants often worked their fields with their guns beside them. Economic development was greatly hampered in Venetian Dalmatia; commodities were scarce because Venice was mostly interested in destroying the commerce of these cities which had formerly competed with her. Various epidemics occurred, and existence became precarious.

Split, renowned at the beginning of the sixteenth century as a cultural center, was followed or emulated by Dubrovnik, Hvar, Šibenik,

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informed his government in 1553 that in Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Zadar, and Dubrovnik all the common people spoke Croatian; see *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, II, ed. Š. Ljubić (Zagreb, 1877), 190-271. About Split he said that all its customs are Slavic and that the language of the people "is so sweet and gentle that it is the first among all the Dalmatian dialects, as the language of Tuscany is the fine flower of Italian speech" (215).

[11] In an appeal, sent to the Pope from Dalmatia in 1604, probably by P. Katić, it is stated that only a small number of Croats know Italian, and they are mostly merchants and noblemen, "but the common people, the young people, nuns, noble women, and monks cannot utter one word in Italian", in Lj. Karaman's *Dalmacija kroz vjekove u historiji umjetnosti* (Split, 1934), 132, n. 2; M. Vanino, "Dalmacija zahtijeva biskupe vješte hrv. jeziku", *Croatia sacra*, III (Zagreb, 1933), 94.

[12] M. Perojević, *Petar Kružić, kapetan i knez grada Klisa* (Zagreb, 1931), 180-209.

and Zadar. Though cultural life did not stop entirely, it was steadily diminishing. By the middle of that century all these Dalmatian cities (with the exception of Dubrovnik) were devoting most of their energies to military purposes. Venice needed only soldiers and galley slaves.[13] As for writers and artists, merchants and agents, she had enough of her own. What is more, to assure a ready supply of Dalmatian fighting men, the spread of education among the people was discouraged.

Dubrovnik, which gradually gained its political independence and preserved it until Napoleonic times (1808), was the only bright spot in this Slavic slaughterhouse. Thanks to its enviable location and its territories outside the city, and thanks to the ability of its patrician ruling class, which knew how to "navigate" among the opposing powers – bribing[14] and bowing in all four directions when necessary – the Republic of Dubrovnik grew more and more prosperous. It became the South Slavic cultural center, the only spiritual oasis, the city rightly called the Croatian Athens or the crown of all Croatian cities.[15]

The Adriatic Sea was not a barrier between the Slavic people and the Italians but a connecting bridge between them. Whatever took place on the Apennine peninsula, in this highly civilized world which could be compared favorably with ancient Greece,[16] was sooner or later echoed on the opposite Slavic shores.[17] Many Italians came to Dalmatia

[13] A national poet commented on the daily reality:

S krvi ručak, a s krvi večera
svak krvave žvače zalogaje,
krvavim se rukama umivamo

("Blood with our dinner, blood with our supper; all the food we eat is soaked in blood. When we wash our faces, our hands are covered with blood"), Fisković, "Naši primorski umjetnici . . .", 259.

[14] Dubrovnik paid the tribute first to the Venetians (1205-1358), then to the Hungaro-Croatian kings (until 1526), and finally to the Turkish sultans.

[15] "Hrvatskih ter kruna gradov se svih zove", wrote Ivan Vidali from Korčula, in 1564; *Stari pisci hrvatski*, V, 352. Lodovico Beccadelli (1501-72), leaving Dubrovnik where he functioned as the archbishop for a decade, calls Dubrovnik "specchio d'Illiria e suo pregio maggiore"; see Josip Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic* (London, 1931), 51.

[16] I do not intend to enter here into a discussion of the significance of the Italian Renaissance in the history of Western Europe; I prefer to refer to the two last chapters in W. K. Ferguson's *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston, 1948), 290-385. The Dalmatian Latin poets, at least from the religious point of view, should be considered as the continuators of the Middle Ages.

[17] Cf. an exhaustive, interesting but very controversial article by Giovanni Maver, "La letteratura croata in rapporto alla letteratura italiana", *Italia e Croazia* (Rome, 1942-XX), 455-522. Also M. Deanović, "Les influences italiennes sur l'ancienne littérature Yougoslave du littoral adriatique", *Revue de littérature comparée*, XIV (1934), 30-52.

to function as clergymen, teachers, doctors, notaries, or chancellors.[18] Some of the most gifted Croats studied in Italy at theological seminaries or universities, mostly in Padua [19] and Bologna.

When not writing in Latin, which was a common means of communication among the European intelligentsia,[20] Dalmatians usually wrote in Croatian. Nor did they consider themselves part of the Latin world;[21] on the contrary, the Italians themselves spoke about them, greeted them, and praised them as a prominent branch of the Slavic world.[22]

Among the most representative Croatian writers the Latinists are first to be mentioned.[23] In addition to the great Marulić, they included such noteworthy persons as the Dominican friar Vinko Pribojević (early sixteenth century, from Hvar) whose *De origine successibusque Slavorum* was first printed at Venice in 1532.[24] This small book, originally a lecture delivered by Pribojević in his native town in 1525, gave impetus to the Pan-Slavic movement and influenced such later Pan-Slavists as Mavro Orbini (*Il regno degli Slavi*, Pesaro, 1601) and Juraj Križanić. Pribojević's main concern was to demonstrate the unity and greatness of Slavdom: "Verum quia Dalmata et proinde Illyrius ac demum Slavus coram Slavis de Slavorum fortunis sermonem habere statui." [25] Jakov Bunić (Jacobus de Bona, 1469-1534), one of the great-

[18] Josip Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic*, Part I: "Relations between Dubrovnik and Italy", 19-87; Jorjo Tadić, *Promet putnika u starom Dubrovniku*, 207.

[19] A. Cronia, *Storia della letteratura serbo-croata* (Milan, 1956), rightly says: "Sopra tutto a Padova, dove intere generazioni di Dalmati si temprarono e si immortalarono passando dal banco dello scolaro alla cattedra del maestro" (34).

[20] B. Croce, *Poesia popolare e poesia d'arte*, in the chapter "La poesia Latina", states: "La lingua latina fu, tra l'altro, per secoli, un modo di scambio nella repubblica letterario-scientifica, e anche nel mondo della politica" (3rd ed., Bari, 1952), 439.

[21] "Nessuno infatti di questi autori negò la propria nazionalità croata ...", Franjo Trogrančić, *Storia della letteratura croata* (Rome, 1953), 119-20.

[22] Cf. J. Torbarina, *Italian Influence ..., passim*, especially p. 50, where the archbishop Beccadelli is quoted: "Questo è un paese da Schiavoni cioè da robusti, e non da par nostri deboli."

[23] Cf. M. Kombol, *Poviest hrv. književnosti* (Zagreb, 1945), 58-74 ("Humanizam i njegovi odjeci"); Ante Kadić, "Croatian Renaissance", *Studies in the Renaissance*, VI (1959), 29-33.

[24] Grga Novak, its modern editor (Zagreb, 1951), gives a first-class account of Dalmatia and Hvar during the first half of the sixteenth century. Novak's study is followed by Pribojević's Latin text and a translation into Croatian by Veljko Gortan.

[25] *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (Zagreb, 1951), 58.

est but least known Christian poets of the Renaissance,[26] anticipated Girolamo Vida in writing, on the basis of the four Gospels mixed with mythological elements, a "Christias" (*De vita et gestis Christi*, Rome, 1526). In another poem, *De raptu Cerberi* (Rome, ca. 1500), Bunić's style and language are completely those of Vergil, but his main character, Hercules, by descending to the underworld, is a prefiguration of Christ (in the preface to the second edition, 1526, Bunić asserts that his verses "Christum Herculea canunt figura").[27] Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cerva, 1463-1520), the outstanding Latin poet from Dubrovnik, a member of the Academy of Pomponius Laetus (in Rome) and a poet laureate, wrote in his youth verses in which the beauties of the feminine body are suggestively presented, but he later turned to religious meditations.[28] Crijević stands out as a representative of an extreme humanist position: scorning the vernacular, he contended that Latin was the only language befitting a man of letters.[29] Juraj Šišgorić (Georgius Sisgoreus, fifteenth century, from Šibenik) wrote some very touching elegies in his book of poems (*Elegiarum et carminum libri tres,* Venice, 1477), especially those about the death of his own brothers and the devastation of the surroundings of Šibenik by the Turks. Though he wrote exclusively in Latin and followed classical models, Šišgorić appreciated the folk poems of his native region and extolled them for their literary merit.[30] He also considered the native proverbs so full of wisdom that he translated many of them into Latin.[31] Šišgorić

[26] V. Zabughin, *Storia del Rinascimento cristiano in Italia* (Milan, 1924), 236-38.

[27] This poem enjoyed a third edition at Basel in 1538. Cf. Dj. Korbler, "Jakov Bunić Dubrovčanin: Latinski pjesnik", *Rad*, 180 (1910), 58-134.

[28] F. Rački, "Iz djela E. L. Crijevića dubrovčanina", *Starine*, IV (1872), 155-200; G. N. Sola, "Aelii Lampridii Cervini Operum latinorum pars prior", *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, XVI-XIX (1934).

[29] Among the humanists Crijević was not an exception. Croatian poetical language was still rudimentary ("nostra tempestate scythica lingua utimur", Crijević) if compared with the Italian of Dante and Petrarch; nevertheless, Francesco F. Sabino, in 1536, called the Italian language "linguam non vulgarem, sed immundam, non barbaram, sed ipsam barbariem" (cf. Kombol, *op. cit.*, p. 67). Many humanists were of the same opinion; cf. W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, 21.

[30] Šišgorić's *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici a. 1487* was published by M. Šrepel in *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrv.*, II (1899), 1-12. In his extremely interesting last chapter, 17 ("De moribus quibusdam Sibenici"), appears this sentence concerning folk love poems: "Petulans deinde iuventus, cupidinibusque capta, voce valens amatorium carmen tale noctu decantant quale vix cultus Tibullus aut blandus Propertius aut lascivus Licoridis Gallus aut Lesbia Sappho decantaret" (in *Gradja*, II, 11).

[31] In the same chapter about popular customs, Šišgorić declares: "Siquidem proverbiis Illyricis utuntur, quae nos dicteria diximus, et ex lingua vernacula in

served as an example to writers in the vernacular, mostly those from northern Dalmatia,[32] who had such an enthusiasm for folk poetry that in their own works they quoted poems that they particularly admired.

In northern Croatia cultural life did not disappear completely. At the court of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1458-90) numerous Croats from Dalmatia were employed (intellectual "proletarians" with no homeland). Among them was the renowned poet and translator, Ivan Česmički (1434-72, from Česmica, Slavonia), better known to the world as Janus Pannonius, who had sojourned in Italy for eleven years, first at Guarino's famous school in Ferrara and then in Padua. Though his models were the classical masters, Pannonius was an original lyricist who often included his own experiences in his beautiful elegies and epigrams.[33] Yugoslav historians use his elegia VI, describing the battle of Jajce (1463), which he himself witnessed, as an authoritative account of a crucial event that might otherwise have remained unreported by any contemporary.[34]

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latinum vertimus." It is a pity that this unique translation is lost.

[32] Branko Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* (Zagreb, 1913), 77.

[33] An incomplete selection of Pannonius' elegies and epigrams (*Pjesme i epigrami*, Zagreb, 1951) was edited by the Yugoslav Academy in a series entitled *Hrvatski Latinisti* (Croatian Latinists). The text of Pannonius' elegies and epigrams is printed together with facing translations of all the poems into Croatian by the poet Nikola Šop. An excellent preface by the late Mihovil Kombol describes the poet's political services to the court of King Matthias, and gives an evaluation of his place among Neo-Latin poets. Kombol considers Pannonius' highest poetic achievement his third, tenth, and fourteenth elegies (*Pjesme i epigrami*, xvi). Today, in Yugoslavia the verses are much quoted in which Pannonius ridiculed those who went to Rome during the jubilee year of 1450 ("Deridet euntes Romam ad Jubilaeum"):

> Nescio, credulitas haec si sua proderit ipsis,
> Hoc scio, Pontifici proderit illa satis.

Cf. *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, IV (Zagreb, 1960), 462; it is to be found translated into Croatian, *Antologija svjetske lirike* (Zagreb, 1956), 136.

[34] Typical of Česmički are his compact and very picturesque verses about the Bosnian landscape:

> Pars fuit Illyrici, quam nunc vocat incola Bosnam,
> Dura, sed argenti munere dives humus.
> Non illic virides spacioso margine campi,
> Nec sata qui multo foenore reddat ager.
> Sed rigidi montes, sed saxa minantia coelo,
> Castella et summis imposita alta jugis . . .

Cf. *Pjesme i epigrami*, 36 and 322. This same text was translated into English and published in the magazine *Yugoslavia*, in the issue devoted to Bosnia and Herzegovina (No. 7, 1953, 3).

Besides humanistic classicism and Italian literature, Croatian writers had another source of inspiration: medieval Croatian literature and the beautiful South Slavic folk poetry, which preserved better than anything else the national combative spirit and the purity of the South Slavic languages.[35]

Three outstanding Dalmatian writers, Marko Marulić, Marin Držić, and Ivan Gundulić, are generally considered the best representatives of the remarkable period of literary activity that lasted from the late fifteenth through the entire seventeenth century. Marulić and Držić belong to the Renaissance period and will be discussed here. Gundulić, the outstanding figure of the Croatian Counter Reformation (baroque in literature), will be the subject of another study.

Among the poets of this new literature, Marko Marulić-Pečenić (1450-1524), from Split, takes the first place.[36] He has been called the "founder of modern Croatian literature", not because of reasons of chronology (other vernacular poets wrote before he did), but because of the importance of his literary work. Marulić studied in his native city, in the school of the famous teacher Tideo Acciarini, and then in Padua. It is not known whether he traveled elsewhere. He was well versed in theology, philosophy, and literature, and seems to have busied himself also with painting. In his rich library one could find, besides theological books, works by many classical and some contemporary Italian humanists (Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Marcantonio Sabellicus, Lorenzo Valla, etc.),[37] but no volumes concerned with love or other "contemptible" pleasures.[38] Marulić was surrounded by a group of learned friends who respected him as their leader. We do not know if he, like Savonarola, had experienced in his youth some disappointment with women, but when the great reformer was burned in Florence (1498), his contemporary Marulić was leading "innocuam,

[35] Ante Kadić, "Croatian Renaissance", *Studies in the Renaissance*, VI (1959), 34-35.

[36] See *Zbornik Marka Marulića 1450-1950* (Zagreb, 1950); M. Kombol's Introduction to *Judita*, ed. V. Štefanić (Zagreb, 1950), 9-22; Cvito Fisković, "Prilog životopisu Marka Marulića Pečenića", in *Republika*, VI (1950), 186-204. The name of Marko Marulić is to be found in very few encyclopedias, either European or American. Therefore, one welcomes the article by Mirko Usmiani, in *Harvard Slavic Studies*, III (1957), 1-48, which is devoted entirely to the biography of Marulić.

[37] Mirko Deanović rightly observes that none of these Italian humanists left significant traces in Marulić's works (in *Revue de lit. comparée*, 1934, 40).

[38] Petar Kolendić, *Marulićeva oporuka* (Split, 1934). It is obvious from his testament that Marulić's interest in literature in Italian was extremely limited; he translated into Latin Petrarch's poem "Vergine bella".

simplicem et sine crimine vitam".[39] As an old man he went to the island of Šolta and lived there as a hermit for two years before returning home. Marulić's life was entirely dedicated to restoring declining moral values[40] and to protecting his homeland against foreigners and their claims.[41] His noble figure is alive even today in the minds of his countrymen.

Although his classical education and his interest in the Roman monuments of Split and ancient Salona stamp him as a humanist, Marulić was deeply rooted in medieval Catholic theology. His writings breathe the spirit of Thomas a Kempis, whom he translated into Croatian. He studied the past in a thoroughly Christian spirit. Marulić tried to combine classical form with medieval content. Like Jacopo Sannazaro, Girolamo Vida, and many others in Italy, and like Jakov Bunić and to some extent Crijević in Dubrovnik, Marulić thought this alliance quite natural. Like so many humanists, he did not see any incongruity in glorifying the Redeemer and extolling strict morality in Ciceronian prose or Vergilian verses. He did his best to put the new artistic perception of formal beauty into the service of his completely Catholic *Weltanschauung.*

Marulić was first of all a Latin author. His moralistic and didactic books, written clearly and convincingly and showing their author's extensive reading, attracted many readers and admirers throughout Europe.[42] His most famous book, *De institutione bene beateque vivendi* (Venice, 1506), was frequently reprinted and translated into many languages. The main reason for its popularity was that during the whole of the Counter Reformation it was considered the most useful book for Catholics in the defense of their faith.[43]

Marulić also wrote lyric and epic poems in Latin. Some of his shorter

[39] Marulić's words in his famous poem "In somnium diurnum"; cf. *Zbornik*, 8.

[40] Ksenija Atanasijević, *Penseurs Yougoslaves* (Belgrade, 1937), 19-43.

[41] *Animadversio in eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum esse contendunt*; see I. Lucić, *De regno Dalmatiae* (Amstelodami, 1666), which also includes Marulić's translation into Latin *Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta.*

[42] Some of his Latin books, listed in order of their importance, are the following: *Evangelistarium* (Venice, 1516); *Quinquaginta parabolae* (Venice, 1510); *De humilitate et gloria Christi* (Venice, 1519). These Latin works were the reason for his glory as "fidei propugnator acerrimus, princeps suae aetatis philosophus, sacrarum literarum scientia nemini secundus" or "post divum Hieronymum Dalmatiae secunda gloria"; cf. Ježić, *Hrvatska književnost*, 71. Some of Marulić's Latin poems were published by M. Šrepel in *Gradja*, 2 (1899), 13-42.

[43] Ante Kadić, "St. Francis Xavier and Marko Marulić", *Slavic and East European Journal*, Spring, 1961, 12-15; Franjo Galinec, "Marulić kao teološki ugled i književni izvor", *Vrela i prinosi*, V (Zagreb, 1935), 79-92.

lyric poems, which contain a certain personal touch, are among his best work. We see in them the man, with his physical weakness, with his almost jocular readiness to recognize the unpleasant facts of human existence,[44] but we also see Marulić's tremendous will power and his overwhelming kindness and restrained gaiety.

His most extensive work in Latin, *Davidias*, though highly praised by his compatriots, remained unpublished. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Croatian scholars searched for the manuscript of this work. When the *Davideidos liber primus* was published in 1904,[45] it was greeted as Marulić's finest literary achievement. The entire epos finally came to light in 1952, when an Italian scholar, Carlo Dionisotti, found a copy of it in the National Library of Turin (Codex G VI 40). The Yugoslav Academy's edition, with Josip Badalić's substantial and valuable Introduction, was published in the series *Stari pisci hrvatski* (Vol. XXXI, Zagreb, 1954). Miroslav Marković has also published an edition of *Davidias* (University of Mérida, Venezuela, 1957), which does not repeat the inaccurate readings of the Zagreb edition; this second edition, strangely enough, claims to be an *editio princeps* and does not contain, much to the disappointment of readers, any evaluation of the work itself. The *Davidias* is an epic in fourteen books, treating the life of King David as a prefiguration of the life of Christ.[46] Although it was dedicated to the powerful Cardinal Grimani, the censor would not allow the poem to be printed. Several explanations have been advanced, the most plausible of which is that Marulić's messianic interpretation of the events of David's life often did not accord fully with orthodox teaching.[47]

In the Preface to his *Inscriptiones Salonitanae Antiquae,* which later were published by the historian Ivan Lucić, Marulić tells of the pitiful

[44] Here is one of his shorter Latin poems (*Zbornik*, p. 10):

Quaeris cur conjunx quae te dilexerat olim
Nunc fugit et duris litibus exagitat.
Verius haud quicquam possum tibi dicere, Marce:
Dilexit iuvenem, nunc fugit illa senem.
Omnibus hoc vitium est miseros odere maritos,
Aetas longa quibus languida membra facit.
Vis tu pace frui, cum sit tibi candida barba,
I procul, atque alio vivere disce loco.

[45] By M. Šrepel, in *Gradja*, 4 (1904), 189-215.

[46] Usmiani states that "Marulić was the first humanist to compose a poem of such size and scope, and the only one who chose his hero from the Old Testament", in *Harvard Slavic Studies*, III, 1.

[47] Badalić, in *Davidias*, 9, 278.

conditions of his native land and how he mourned, repeating Vergil's verses: "Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium . . .". Prompted by the same love for his country, he sent Hadrian VI an epistle begging the Pope to exhort all Christian rulers to join in the common enterprise against the Turks.

But it is not for these Latin works, their world-wide reputation notwithstanding, that Marulić is still remembered by his countrymen. He is dear to the Croats because he wrote in their native language. The most touching of Marulić's shorter Croatian poems, "Molitva suprotiva Turkom" (Prayer against the Turks), presents a realistic picture of the atrocities caused by the Turks in the Balkan regions. In this poem Marulić opened his heart to the Almighty, asking mercy for his Croatian people.

Marulić wrote (in 1501) the epic poem *Judith* in Croatian ("u versih hrvacki složena") to encourage his countrymen in their struggle against the Turks and to give them a message of hope: that finally, with God's help, they would overcome all difficulties. Marulić followed, he admits in the Preface, the older Croatian religious poetry ("po običaju naših začinjavac"),[48] as far as the subject was concerned, and the classics in regard to its treatment ("i po zakonu onih starih poet"). In following the classics he did not mechanically transplant Latin forms into his native language but depended upon his own skill in poetic invention. Thus Marulić depicted concrete and, at times, very realistic scenes, with many striking comparisons taken from his own experience, in a language that often abounded in picturesque speech.[49] *Judith* was written for those who did not know Latin. Their response was immediate: this first Croatian printed literary work (Venice, 1521) enjoyed three editions within two years.[50] Marulić's example was contagious. A whole galaxy of poets arose who were aware that Marulić's Croatian work opened for them new and wider horizons; many of them paid a tribute of indebtedness to him and extolled him in the dedications of their Croatian works.

We see then in Marulić a man who treated native Croatian subject matter effectively and movingly within the classical literary forms revived under the inspiration of Italian humanism.

[48] Franjo Fancev, *Gradja za pjesnički leksikon hrv. jezika*, in *Gradja*, 15 (1940), 182-200.

[49] Cf. Kombol, *Poviest hrv. književnosti*, 82-87, and especially Petar Skok, "O stilu Marulićeve Judite", in *Zbornik*, 165-241, where he affirms that Marulić's originality is to be found mostly in his style.

[50] Marulić, *Judita*, ed. Marcel Kušar with Introduction by P. Kasandrić (Zagreb, 1901); id., *Judita*, ed. V. Štefanić with Introduction by M. Kombol (Zagreb, 1951).

The first two known Croatian poets from Dubrovnik, Šiško Menčetić (1457-1527) and Džore Držić (1461-1501),[51] are important because they developed, or perhaps adopted and passed on, a poetic style which became characteristic of the subsequent literature of Dubrovnik and the rest of Dalmatia. Although their lyrics are closely related to Petrarchism (with its typical pattern of courtship, passionate enchantment, and eventual disappointment),[52] certain national peculiarities are to be found in them. Držić especially, being more sensitive and spontaneous than the conventional and cerebral Menčetić, can be called an original lyric poet. In his poems are many elements taken from the love poetry of the peasants; some of his poems are entirely the people's creation.[53]

Much more significant is the work of two noblemen from Hvar, Hanibal Lucić (1485-1553) and Petar Hektorović (1487-1572). Though troubled by popular discontent and sporadic Turkish incursions, Hvar was a prosperous commercial port. In its privileged class were a number of learned men who kept in contact with Italian humanistic literature and assiduously corresponded with writers from Split and Dubrovnik. Hvar was at that time the most important literary center in Venetian Dalmatia.[54]

Lucić translated Ovid (*Paris Helenae*) and was well acquainted with Petrarch, Bembo and Ariosto. These poets particularly influenced him when he was writing a small collection of love poems (*Pisni ljuvene*). The finest among them, a real pearl, "Jur nijedna na svit vila", shows the influence of folk poetry. In this poem there is the usual description of the feminine body (especially the fingers), but Lucić expressed this theme in original and charming verses. Lucić's outstanding work and the first Croatian secular play is *Robinja* (The Slave Girl, Venice, 1556), which shows both the influence of Petrarchism and the unmistakable marks of folk poetry; it deals with bloody reality and mentions

[51] Milan Rešetar, ed., *Pjesme Šiška Menčetića, Džore Držića i ostale pjesme Ranjinina zbornika* (Zagreb, 1937), with a magnificent introduction.

[52] Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic*, 91-137; it should be pointed out, nevertheless, that an old theory of Jagić ("Trubaduri i najstariji hrvatski lirici", *Rad*, 9, 1869, 203-33) was taken over by M. Murko, "Nekoliko riječi o prvim dubrovačkim pjesnicima", in *Rešetarov zbornik* (Dubrovnik, 1931), 233-43, who claims that the first Dubrovnik poets were influenced by troubadours through the intermediary of Naples.

[53] Cf. Dragoljub Pavlović, *Dubrovačka poezija* (2nd ed., Belgrade, 1956), 60-62, 193-98.

[54] Grga Novak, *Hvar* (Belgrade, 1924), *passim*; B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, 113-16.

personages celebrated by Croatian peasants and shepherds (e.g., Ban Derenčin, who died at Krbava, 1493).[55] The central part of this play – in which the young Derenčin, disguised in merchant's attire, converses with the slave who recognizes that she has loved him from her early girlhood – is well done; Lucić had a feeling for style and for dramatic action. The action takes place in Dubrovnik, which Lucić celebrates also in his epistle "U pohvalu grada Dubrovnika".

Hektorović was born in Stari Grad, on the island Hvar; he devoted much of his time and energy to constructing the fortress Tvrdalj (which still exists today), by which he hoped to protect himself and his townsmen from sudden Turkish attacks. He exchanged many poetic epistles, especially with two writers from Dubrovnik, one of them being a hermetic monk, Vetranović, and the other a licentious nobleman, Nalješković.

Hektorović's main epistle, *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* (Fishing and Fishermen's Talk, Venice, 1568),[56] addressed to the Hvar nobleman, *rector scholarum,* and poet, Jeronim Brtučević, is a delightful and realistic poetic account of three days spent at sea with two fishermen, though sometimes he idealizes these fishermen.[57] The oldest extant texts of oral poetry are two heroic and two lyric poems, included in Hektorović's "Fishing", which the author states that he heard from the fishermen and then reproduced verbatim.[58] More popular even than the epic was the tender lyric poetry that flourished on the Dalmatian soil. Hektorović was emotionally attached to this soil. In 1555, when approaching his seventieth birthday, he revisited the neighboring islands. Since the poet considered himself a member of the Croatian Renaissance literary movement and had kept warm relations with Dubrovnik writers, he was deeply moved as the ship neared Nečujam on the island of Šolta, for it was there that Marulić, whom he held in reverent memory, had lived for two years in complete seclusion.

[55] Giovanni Maver, *Letteratura serbo-croata* (Milan, 1960), 117.

[56] The *Ribanje*, which was published by Š. Ljubić in 1874, in the collection *Stari pisci hrvatski*, has appeared again (Zagreb, 1953) in the series of old Croatian authors, photostatically reproduced by the Yugoslav Academy from the early edition. Cf. also *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*, ed. Ramiro Bujas (Zagreb, 1951).

[57] The fishermen are not real; they are "completely distorted", according to Marin Franičević, because they are portrayed obedient and faithful to their master. What about the "class struggle"? Cf. *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, s.v. Hektorović, III (1958), 667.

[58] Cf. Dragutin Subotić, *Yugoslav Popular Ballads* (Cambridge, 1932), 147; H. Munro and N. Kershaw Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge,

Although patterned after the Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530) and other Italians, these verses of Hektorović show again that the best writers of the Croatian Renaissance did not merely imitate but transformed the classical and humanistic heritage to suit the conditions of their time and place.

A third nobleman and poet of Hvar, Miša Pelegrinović (died 1563), has recently acquired a certain reputation. Some critics, in opposition to the traditional view, try to demonstrate that Pelegrinović was the first to write on "The Gypsy" and only after him did Andrija Čubranović use the theme.[59] Leaving aside the question of priority, one can affirm with certitude that Čubranović's "Gypsy" (*Jedjupka,* Venice, 1599) is much superior to Pelegrinović's. Čubranović's *Jedjupka* is a delightful love poem, in a troubadour manner; in its cheerfulness, personal touches, and naturalness, in the musicality and fluidity of its octosyllabic verse, it is very close to the popular idiom. Its prestige was enormous, especially during the sixteenth century, and it was often copied or imitated.[60]

A very active writer was Mavro Vetranović (1482-1576, from Dubrovnik), a deeply religious Benedictine monk and a great patriot. In his satires he castigated the relaxation of Christian morals and the selfishness of European rulers, who did not even try to stop the advancing Turkish army; he deplored the devastation of Croatian regions and the occupation of Dalmatia by the Venetians; in view of this difficult situation, he praised the political wisdom of his native city. Though most of his poems leave an impression of excessive verbosity and have an annoyingly plaintive tone, some of his lyrics are excellent (e.g., *Pjesanca šturku,* a poem to the cricket). His allegorical poem *Piligrin* (*peregrinus,* the pilgrim), written under the influence of the *Divina Commedia,* remained unfinished. As a playwright, Vetranović prolonged the tradition of Croatian medieval representations, but with somewhat more conciseness and forcefulness (especially, in his *Posvetilište Abramovo,* Abraham's Sacrifice).

One should mention also Nikola Nalješković (ca. 1510-87), who wrote lyric poems, epistles, four pastoral plays, and three comedies. His comedies are read by historians less for their literary value than for

1936), II, 300; Matija Murko, *Tragom srpskohrvatske narodne epike* (Zagreb, 1951), I-II, *passim.*

[59] M. A. Petković, *Dubrovačke maskerate* (Belgrade, 1950), 29-94; Cronia, *Storia della letteratura serbo-croata,* 46.

[60] Trogrančić, *Letteratura croata,* 74-77.

their description of social conditions of the Dubrovnik Republic during the Renaissance. There are to be found certain passages of extreme vulgarity (comparable to those written by Pietro Aretino and Andrea Calmo). Nalješković preceded Marin Držić, who took from him two names (Radat and Ljubmir) but assigned to them different roles.[61]

The Renaissance is not a uniform phenomenon. It presents various aspects, often contradictory. One should never focus on only one aspect and endeavor through it to explain the rest. The whole is much more complex, profound, and fascinating. Marulić, for example, wrote in the classical manner but retained a medieval outlook. Quite unlike him was his countryman Marin Držić, a Catholic priest, born in Dubrovnik (ca. 1508) when Marulić was in his most creative period. Living in Dubrovnik, which paid the Turks a yearly tribute and consequently enjoyed freedom, Držić was not particularly worried about the Turkish advance; nor was he alarmed by symptoms of moral and religious decay or by the worldliness of the clergy.[62] He avoided quiet places where one might meditate about the transience of human life; he loved to eat well; he drank, sang, entertained others, traveled and was always short of money; "he was an excellent musician and played all kinds of instruments" (Držić's Genealogy);[63] he was of a jovial rather than a studious disposition; he read little but had his eyes wide open; he was interested strictly in the problems of this world and even tried to overthrow the government of the only free city, Dubrovnik, because he thought that its ruling class did not give its citizens enough liberty or opportunities for a decent life. Marulić and Držić present a striking contrast: the ascetic layman to whom religion was the most sacred thing in life, and the Epicurean clergyman who sought only personal benefit. Nevertheless, they are both sons of the Renaissance, two of its most typical representatives.

Since Držić's clerical income was small, he was obliged to perform

[61] Cf. Rešetar, *Djela Marina Držića*, lxxxiv-lxxxvii.

[62] Before the Council of Trent the general situation among the lower Catholic clergy in Dubrovnik was a rather dubious one from a moral point of view. See A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, II (Zagreb, 1875), 330-36. Visitator apostolicus exponit statum reipublicae ragusinae rationemque reformationis: "Il clero ha molti preti di mala vita, per il più ignoranti, concubinari o al men con donne suspetosissime in casa, poverissimi per il più servono alli nobili nelle cose profane e vile"; Tomo Matić, "Vjera i crkva", *Rad*, 231 (1925), 250-83; Ivan Vitezić, *La prima visita apostolica post-ridentina in Dalmazia* (Rome, 1957), 29-34.

[63] In *Djela Marina Držića, Stari pisci hrvatski*, VII, ed. Milan Rešetar (Zagreb, 1930), cxxvii; *Marin Držić*, ed. Miroslav Pantić (Belgrade, 1958), 60.

many other duties. Not only was he an organist in the cathedral, but he also served as a valet and dragoman to an Austrian adventurer, Count Christof Rogendorf, with whom he traveled to Vienna and Constantinople (1546);[64] for two years he was a clerk at a saltworks (1554-56).

The important date in Držić's life was his departure to Siena (1538), probably to study canon law. He became the rector of *Domus sapientiae*, a kind of international house, for one year (1541-42) and by the same token a vice-rector of the University ("rector Sapientiae et vice-rector Universitatis studii senensis").[65] During this year he was often in conflict with the administrative authorities and with the student body.[66] What was he doing in these years? Did he travel through Italy? Did he live for a certain period in Florence? We know with certainty only that during his rectorship he took part as the main actor (*amasius*, the lover) in the presentation of a forbidden play and was reprimanded by the police authorities ("si citi e si riprenda in collegio").[67] After spending in all probability seven years in Siena, and without securing any degree,[68] Držić returned home (1545).

Siena was then an important cultural center. Držić, who before his sojourn in Siena wrote mediocre verses in an artificial Petrarchan style (published in Venice, 1551),[69] upon his return started to write pastoral plays and comedies, which even today attract the public no less than the works of the most renowned contemporary Yugoslav playwrights.

[64] C. Jireček, "Beiträge zur ragusanischen Literaturgeschichte", *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXI (1899), 483-93; Jorjo Tadić, *Promet putnika u starom Dubrovniku*, 292.

[65] Rešetar, in *Djela Marina Držića*, lii, n. 1.

[66] *Ibid.*, lv-lix.

[67] "Messer Marino Raugeo rectore di Sapientia che intervenne ala comedia si citi e si riprenda in collegio", the National Archives of Sienna, *Balia*, 123 (formerly 99), carta 39b-40b. P. Skok was the first who wrote (*Razprave*, 1930, pp. 39-41) about Držić's presence at a performance of a comedy prohibited by the censor. We now know that on February 9, 1542, Držić was not a simple spectator at all, but acted the role of the lover ("Magnificus Rector Sapientie qui amasium in ea comedia egit", *Fondo del Capitano di Giustizia* [Capitaneus iustice Senarum], registro 58, 69).

[68] The notarial protocols for the years 1541-45 related to the University of Siena, now kept in the archives of the "Curia arcivescovile", have been examined by Dr. Ubaldo Morandi (an archivist in Siena), but there he found no indication that Držić obtained a *laurea*.

[69] Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic*, 138-39; Arturo Cronia, "Il petrarchismo nel Cinquecento serbo-croato", *Studi Petrarcheschi*, I (1948), 242-45 ("Ben poco resta, comunque, di suo, di sentito e di spontaneo nel Darsa").

There cannot be any doubt that Siena was the turning point in his literary career.

Držić spent about fifteen years in Dubrovnik, during which he wrote eleven plays (from 1547 to 1555 or 1557) and was also pursued by many creditors for not having returned borrowed money.[70] Then he moved to Venice (December, 1562) and, in 1566, took the most decisive step in his life: he went to Florence, where he wrote three letters to Cosimo I de' Medici and another to his son Francesco, seeking the duke's support for the overthrow of the aristocratic government in Dubrovnik.[71] How did Držić come to this idea of addressing himself to a man like Cosimo I? Jorjo Tadić believes that the writer of these letters (which remained unanswered) was no longer in full possession of his intellectual faculties; the handwriting seems that of a man who has suffered a complete nervous breakdown.[72] Milan Rešetar suspects that, always short of money, Držić was perhaps ready to betray his native country.[73] But Jean Dayre cautiously asks whether this desperate move was not after all the logical step for Držić to take in view of the depravity and stupidity of the Dubrovnik patricians.[74] The discovery of the letters to Cosimo has had an important effect on recent Držić criticism in Yugoslavia. Some critics see in Držić a great fighter for the equality of all men. Živko Jeličić, for example, has published a pamphlet on Marin Držić entitled *Pjesnik dubrovačke sirotinje* (The Poet of Dubrovnik Underdogs).[75]

Držić spent his last years (1562-67) mostly in Venice as a chaplain in the service of the Venetian patriarch.[76] His brother Vlaho, married to

[70] Jorjo Tadić, *Dubrovački portreti* (Belgrade, 1948), 101-11; Rešetar, *Djela Marina Držića*, lxi-lxvi.

[71] These letters were discovered by the late Professor Jean Dayre ("Marin Držić conspirant à Florence", *Revue des études slaves*, X, 76-80; *Dubrovačke studije*, 19-23) and published by Rešetar in *Djela Marina Držića*, lxvi-lxxiv, cxxxi-cxlvii. The first letter (dated July 2, 1566) is now catalogued in *Miscellanea Medicea*, filza 54 (formerly 77), fasc. 65 ("Lettera di Marino Darsa Raguseo del 1566 lunga, e molto singolare e originale al Granduca Cosimo primo nella quale gli propone la maniera di impradonirsi della Republica di Ragusa, e nella quale spiega le cose del governo presente"); the second (July 3), the third (July 23), and the fourth (August 28) are kept in *Mediceo*, filza 522 (formerly *Carteggio universale*, filza 192).

[72] Jorjo Tadić, *Dubrovački portreti*, 124-25.

[73] *Stari pisci hrvatski*, VII, lxxiv.

[74] *Revue des études slaves*, X, 30; *Dubrovačke studije*, 22-23.

[75] *Marin Držić pjesnik dubrovačke sirotinje* (Zagreb, 1950); also in *Hrvatsko Kolo*, Nos. 2-3, 1949, 312-43.

[76] Dragoljub Pavlović, "Novi podaci za biografiju Marina Držića", in *Iz književne i kulturne istorije Dubrovnika* (Sarajevo, 1955), now reprinted in *Marin*

a Venetian girl, lived there for many years and became friendly with Pietro Aretino. Držić kept in close contact with some of his countrymen who were successful Venetian businessmen (e.g., Pero Primović). Of the remainder of his life little is known. The necrologies of the church in which Držić was buried (SS. Giovanni e Paolo) have not been preserved, and the death certificates for the year 1567 are missing in the National Archives of Venice. The patriarchal archives of Venice, which probably contain precious information, are for the moment "rudis indigestaque moles", and it is to be hoped that they will be in the near future organized and opened to the public.

Because Držić treated themes later used by Shakespeare and Molière, the Yugoslav critics compare him eulogistically with these famous writers.[77] Though Držić does not gain from this comparison, it should be stressed immediately that he too never blindly followed his sources, which were part of the cultural heritage of Renaissance literature, the stock in trade of the writers of Plautine comedy. Italian scholars overemphasize the fact that Držić studied in Siena, that he became acquainted there with Italian comedies and was influenced in some of his plays by Boccaccio, Ariosto, and other Italian writers. From these premises they readily jump to the false conclusion that Držić was a mere adaptor of Italian comedies into Croatian.[78]

A born writer, Držić cultivated a kind of pastoral play (*dramma rusticale*) into which he introduced – in addition to Arcadian and mythological shepherds, nymphs, and satyrs – characters modeled on the peasant herdsmen from the country around Dubrovnik, with their characteristic mentality and speech. His earliest extant pastoral play, *Tirena,* enjoyed three editions (1551, 1607, 1630). The special charm of this play in verse lies not in the conventional shepherds and in its ending to the satisfaction of all concerned but in the poor peasants who one after another fall in love with the water nymph, either of their own will or because they are wounded by Cupid. The wise and sober peasant Radat, who deplores Miljenko's passionate love and believes

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Držić, ed. Pantić, 120 ("Padre Marino Darsa, capellano del rev. mo patriarca di questa città di Venezia").

[77] Ante Kadić, "Marin Držić, Croatian Renaissance Playwright", *Comparative Literature*, 1959, 349-50.

[78] This view is so common in Italy that even a scholar like Arturo Cronia, in his survey of Serbo-Croatian literature, writes about Držić: "Scarsa la originalità, ché quasi tutto, dalla tipologia alla fraseologia, è desunto dall' italiano", *Letteratura serbo-croata* (Milan, 1956), 57-58; cf. also his article, "Per una retta interpretazione di Marino Darsa", *Rivista di letterature moderne*, IV (1956), 203.

in cheerful and reasonable affection, is powerless when Tirena appears; his son Dragić, who does not understand what happened to his father, when wounded himself by Cupid, expresses naïvely his admiration for the nymph. Love is shown as an emotion beyond the control of reason ("S ljubavi mudrovat, ma bratjo, ni ga moć; ja, makar ludovat, za vilom hoću poć",[79] Radat answers in embarrassment to three horrified peasants).

A passage from Držić's most original pastoral play, *Plakir* (Pleasure), sometimes called *Grižula,* shows how skillfully he could blend fantasy with reality.[80] Through the bitter complaint of the servant Omakala we learn about the feelings of the servants of the patricians or the rich merchants:

I cannot have worse memories than the life that my lady caused me. I shall not be able to tell you the hundredth part of what I suffered with her . . . She calls me in the morning, holding a handful of pins: "Pin here, pin there, pin here," until I get dizzy pinning so much. And if do something wrong (and I could never do anything right to her) she slaps me on the nose with her dainty hand so that the whole room swims round me. . . . What torture I suffered! If I have not suffered enough to pay for all my sins, no one will ever be able to get out of purgatory. . . . When they go to church or to a wedding our ladies carry a burden of clothes that even a strong stallion could hardly bear. . . . My master shouts: "You ass, you donkey, when are you going to the butcher's?" – When I come from the butcher's it is time to prepare dinner. I prepare it – mistress is back from the church; I unfasten her – the soup simmers; I undress my lady – the soup boils; I hand her a smock to change – the pot boils over. The master comes in to dinner and the meat is still underdone. He shouts: "Go and buy wine, lay the table, first give the children their meal and go fetch water out of the cistern." All at once! And my mistress throws her shoes at me: "You donkey, what have you got to talk about so long to the master?" . . . And God help me, I do not know why I have not gone crazy with so many troubles. I made a vow, I crossed myself, I ran away into this wilderness.

At the end, she returns to Dubrovnik with Grižula, who is more interested in her appearance than in her services. One should recognize the courage of Držić, who in Dubrovnik, where the strict censorship of

[79] *Djela Marina Držića,* ed. Rešetar, 105.

[80] Because Creizenach made some ambiguous statements about Držić's *Plakir* (in *Geschichte des neueren Drama,* II, 479-90), many Yugoslavs assume that there was a real similarity between Držić's *Plakir* and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Some critics believe that Shakespeare in writing this play used an unknown Italian source. Did Držić use the same source? Perhaps an Italian original could be discovered.

the Senate prevailed,[81] so sharply criticized the existing social conditions.[82]

As Držić adapted his pastoral plays to the Dubrovnik milieu, so in his comedies, no matter how much he resorted to traditional themes, he always remained independent and original, bringing to the stage characters from the life around him.[83]

The only comedy by Držić that has come to us in its complete form is *Novela od Stanca* (Facetiae at the Expense of Stanac, Venice, 1551). The scene of this short but well-balanced farce is Dubrovnik on a carnival night. Three young Ragusan noblemen are wandering about and bitterly complaining against their fathers, who have forgotten that they were once young too and wanted to take advantage of the pleasures which this life offers, especially in feminine society. ("Ne će im se njekad da su i oni bili svi lovci kako i mi sad.") [84] Then the young Ragusans notice dozing by the fountain a Herzegovinian peasant, who has come to the city to sell his farm produce. One of them, the witty Dživo Pešica, convinces Stanac that he used to be an old man but thanks to the nymphs he has been rejuvenated. Stanac is extremely interested in his story because he has left at home a "demanding" young wife. Then the three youths, with Stanac's permission, paint his face, shave his beard, bind his arms, and go away with his belongings, leaving money instead.

It seems probable that Držić wrote his main work *Dundo Maroje* (Uncle Maroje) after returning from his pilgrimage to Rome in 1550.[85] Držić knows many details about Rome and is well informed about certain popular Roman characters. The hero and some other Ragusans go to Rome for the pilgrimage during the jubilee year. This work, often

[81] Dragoljub Pavlović, "Komedija u našoj renesansnoj književnosti", in *Marin Držić*, ed. Pantić, 211.

[82] Pavle Popović found Omakala a "comic character"; he nevertheless observed that her criticism of Ragusan ladies is serious, though it may have provoked laughter ("Jedna pastorala Marina Držića", *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića*, XLIV, 219-33, reprinted in *Marin Držić*, ed. Pantić, 169-71).

[83] "Il ne copie pas ses modèles, il les adapte, au contraire, afin que ce cadre puisse répondre aux exigences locales de Raguse et c'est ainsi qu'il crée ses pièces originales, des tableaux riches et vivants, chroniques dramatisées de sa ville natale," Mirko Deanović, "Les influences italiennes sur l'ancienne littérature Yougoslave du littoral adriatique", *Revue de lit. comparée*, XIV (1934), 46.

[84] Rešetar, *Djela Marina Držića*, 47. The dissoluteness of the young Ragusans is considered by some critics as implied social criticism; cf. Kombol, *Novela od Stanca* (Zagreb, 1949), 42-43, and F. Švelec, "Neke misli o Držićevoj Noveli od Stanca", *Republika*, 1954, 638.

[85] See Petar Kolendić, "Premijera Držićeva Dunda Maroja", *Glas*, 1951, 53.

performed on Yugoslav stages and constantly included in the Dubrovnik festivals to the delight of the public, has been the subject of many erudite analyses. Some of these studies are of a rather dubious nature. Certain Yugoslav critics go so far as to assert that Držić had communism in mind[86] when he wrote in the first prologue (spoken by Long Nose [*Dugi nos*], a sorcerer) to Uncle Maroje of a land of the future where

> mine and thine are unknown, for all belongs to all, and each is master of all. And the people enjoying these lands are gentle people – quiet, wise, reasonable people. And just as nature has endowed them with wisdom, it has also given them exquisite beauty. They are not governed by greed.... Their eyes look straight ahead, and they do not mask their hearts. They have their hearts in their eyes, so that everyone can see their good thoughts. And now – to cut a long story short – these people are called good people.[87]

They have to struggle and coexist with the evil bourgeois class. Even in Yugoslavia some critics laugh at this partisan interpretation of a common theme found everywhere throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[88]

In spite of its complicated plot, *Dundo Maroje* does not betray any particular Italian source. How is this possible, some Italians ask, being convinced that every Croatian Renaissance work derives directly from an Italian source? Miss Jolanda Marchiori, following in the footsteps of Professor Cronia,[89] entered into an almost microscopic examination of *Dundo Maroje*.[90] Both Cronia and Miss Marchiori try to persuade us that if an Italian author speaks, for example, about a tavern where good food and wine are served and Držić happens to mention that some of his characters relish the same things – no matter how much the context differs – Držić is copying the Italian original; or if Držić writes that a young man has fallen madly in love with a beautiful but not

[86] Milan Bogdanović, *Stari i novi*, IV, 188; Eli Finci, "Marin Držić: Dundo Maroje", *Književnost*, Nos. 7-8, 1949, 112-17; *Više manje od života* (Belgrade, 1955), 21-30; Živko Jeličić, "Ljudi nazbilj i ljudi nahvao u Držićevoj komediji", reprinted from *Mogućnosti*, Nos. 8-9, 1957.

[87] *Djela Marina Držića*, ed. Rešetar, 256-58; *Dundo Maroje* (Belgrade, 1951), 20-22.

[88] Dragoljub Pavlović, *Iz književne i kulturne istorije Dubrovnika*, 18; Kombol, *Poviest hrv. književnosti*, 104.

[89] In *Rivista di letterature moderne*, 1953, 203: "Cambiate la vernice a tale scena, cambiate il nome a tale personaggio raguseo, cambiate la forma a tale allusione alla società ragusea, e avrete il corrispondente italiano."

[90] "Riflessi del teatro italiano nel Dundo Maroje di Marino Darsa", *Rivista Dalmatica*, Nos. 2-3, 1958.

virtuous girl, that his miserly father tries to save his money ("veće ljubi dinar nego sina") and bring him back to reason, all Italian plays with a similar plot are cited.[91]

Unquestionably, Držić did see or at least had read Italian pastoral plays and comedies (*commedia erudita*).[92] From the Italians he learned the basic technique. Without his stay in Siena he would not have become an outstanding writer – in some of his plays greater than certain of his Italian models.

Even when he expressly affirms, as in the Prologue to *Skup* (The Miser), that this comedy "was stolen from Plautus" [93] he not only sets the comedy in Dubrovnik but also introduces into the plot a group of new characters. The central theme is the genuine love between a young man, Kamilo, and a miser's daughter, Andrijana. Držić emphasizes their right to love and condemns mismatched marriages, a canker of commercial society in Dubrovnik in those days.

In 1890 M. Šrepel wrote a long study on Držić's *Skup* in which he pointed out the similarities between *Skup* and G. B. Gelli's *La Sporta* and Lorenzino de' Medici's *L'Aridosia*.[94] The Italians quote Šrepel's study and conclude that Držić was successful in adapting these two Italian comedies to the Ragusan setting. But, as Vatroslav Jagić has pointed out, *Skup* is partly dependent on Plautus' *Aulularia*; where he departs from *Aulularia*, Držić has nothing in common with either *La Sporta* or *Aridosia*.[95] Recently Franjo Švelec, who devoted some penetrating studies to Držić, re-examined *Skup* in relation to its possible sources and demonstrated that Držić had created an original work.[96]

[91] Cf. Franjo Švelec in his recent and most detailed study, "Dundo Maroje u raspravi Jolande Marchiori", *Zadarska revija*, Nos. 3-4, 1960.

[92] Besides *Calandria* (which was printed in Siena in 1521) Držić could have seen *Gl'ingannati*, the best Sienese play; an interesting comparative study could be written on external similarities between Držić's work and *Gl'ingannati*. Cf. Ireneo Sanesi, *Comedie del Cinquecento*, I (Bari, 1912), 409; Mario Apollonio, *Storia del teatro italiano*, II (Firenze, 1951), 158-63. Luigi Russo writes about *Calandria*: "La leggerezza gioiosa che percorre la *Calandria* è testimonianza di ispirazione genuina, ma non di ispirazione profonda", *Commedie Fiorentine del '500* (Firenze, 1939), 193.

[93] "Sva je ukradena iz njekoga libra starijeg neg je staros – iz Plauta", *Djela Marina Držića*, ed. Rešetar, 200.

[94] "Skup Marina Držića prema Plautovoj Aululariji", *Rad*, 99 (1890), 185-237.

[95] "Die Aulularia des Plautus in einer südslavischen Umarbeitung aus der Mittel des XVI. Jahrhunderts", in *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen* (Berlin, 1900), 637; translated into Croatian by M. Kombol, *Izabrani kraći spisi Vatroslava Jagića* (Zagreb, 1948), 352.

[96] "Problem odnosa Držićeva teatra prema talijanskoj književnosti", *Zadarska revija*, No. 1, 1958, 10-28 ("The author concludes that Držić's *Skup*, based on