

## MARULUS AS A NEO-LATIN WRITER

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The Latin of M. semantically adheres closely to the norms of classical Latin; thus in prose paraphrases of the gospel unclassical features are replaced with colloquial expressions from early Latin comedy, in poetry the influence of Ovid is prominent. Some more conspicuous lexical choices reflect contemporary Latin or take up textual changes in editions of the classics. Medieval Latin is mostly present in spheres with a technical vocabulary of their own such as public administration and the church. Innovations in M.s Latin are not altogether rare, but usually follow models of derivations and composition from antiquity; in rare instances they include Italian loanwords.

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Marcus Marulus has been characterized as an intellectual deeply religious and at the same time open to the influences of secular Latin culture.<sup>1</sup> He composed a religious epic poem in Croatian, and verse in Latin and Italian; he wrote religious poetry and strongly moralistic prose as well as Latin epigrams which leave nothing to be desired in their acerbic wit.<sup>2</sup> Such productivity in many genres of secular and

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the establishment of Latin as a literary language in Croatia in the fourteenth century see Branko F r a n o l i ć , »Latin as a literary language among the Croats«, *Works of Croatian Latinists Recorded in the British Library General Catalogue*, Zagreb etc., 1998, 5–36: 5–17.

<sup>2</sup> Bratislav L u č i n , ed., *The Marulić Reader*, Split 2007, 11; Darko N o - v a k o v i ć , »Dva nepoznata Marulićeva rukopisa u Velikoj Britaniji: MS. ADD.

religious writing required the mastery of different modes of Latin, and a nimble manoeuvring between diverse and often conflicting literary and lexical traditions. For the humanist antiquity offered models in many genres: letter writing had Cicero (and other epistolographic writers of antiquity) as model, epigrams could follow Martial, religious epics might combine lexical choices from Virgil and the Bible. However, if a humanist held public office, the epistolographic examples of antiquity held little sway: administrative correspondence had to be written in a different style, with vocabulary and syntax following norms often abhorrent from classical Latin. Many other factors also influenced a humanist's Latin: it was partially taught from medieval schoolbooks well into the sixteenth century (Marulus also owned the *Doctrinale*); a humanist partaking in the public life of his city came in contact with the Latin of law, which was impervious to humanist stylistic ideals; theology equally continued to use its own terminology following independent conventions. Finally there is the humanist's mother-tongue, which might subtly influence his Latin grammar (word order, syntax) as well as his choice of words—and which in the case of a poet also writing in his native language such as Marulus surely must have had a prominent place in his linguistic consciousness.<sup>3</sup>

The leading principle of humanists was imitation of the linguistic practice of antiquity. On a lexical level it demanded identification and exclusion of words not found in classical texts (or in the writers considered exemplary). The determined revival of the lexis of antiquity extended even to rare words (even though they on purely statistical grounds *ipso facto* could hardly be considered representative elements of classical Latin); hence the proliferation in humanist texts of *hapax legomena* from Cicero or from the early authors quoted in Nonius (and of a number of words now recognized as errors of transmission). Since, moreover, the Latin of classical antiquity was hardly a monolithic entity and reliable lexicographical instruments were lacking until the end of the fifteenth century, the humanists' Latin (even more so before the triumph of Ciceronianism in the sixteenth century) was not uniform and its principles were often disputed.

Just as controversial was the legitimacy of forming new words or applying new meanings to old words. Neologisms as a means of language adaptation had been discussed by Latin authors since before Horace's famous assertion of the

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A. 25 u oxfordskoj Bodleiani i Hunter 334 u Sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Glasgowu [Two Recently Discovered Manuscripts of Marko Marulić in Great Britain: MS. ADD. A. 25 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford and Hunter 334 in the University Library, Glasgow]«, CM VI (1997), 5–80: 80. Renata S c h e l l e n b e r g , »Subversive Satire: The Glasgow Verses«, CM XI (2002), 371–376. Branimir G l a v i ć i ć , »Marulićeva ironija i sarkazam [Irony and Sarcasm in Marulić]«, CM XI (2002), 363–369.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Mirko T o m a s o v i ć , »Marulićeva trojezičnost [Marulić's Trilinguality]«, CM V (1996), 5–11. About Croatian cp. Robert A u t y , »Literary Language and Literary Dialect in Medieval and Early Modern Slavonic Literatures«, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, LVI (1978), 192–201: 197–198.

language user's right to coin new words<sup>4</sup>, and the evolution and change of Latin continued unabatedly – if unevenly – in the humanists' writings (as can easily be seen from Hoven's or my own dictionary of neo-Latin)<sup>5</sup>.

Thus the appearance both of rare and of new words is an indicator of a conscious shaping and refashioning of Latin, and allows us a glimpse into what has often been called the »laboratory« of a humanist's language (even though the possibility of an – unintended – lapse has to be kept in mind<sup>6</sup>).<sup>7</sup> Applying these reflections to Marulus' Latin, I would like to explore the following questions:<sup>8</sup> Which kinds of rare or new words appear in Marulus' writings? Is there a relation between types of neologisms and genres of writing? I will discuss examples from both poetry and prose, highlighting significant parallels as well as differences between them and paying particular attention to the possibility of cross-fertilization.

An important aspect of our enquiry is the connection between Marulus' Latin and the developments of Latin lexis amongst his contemporaries. We know from the two extant catalogues of Marulus' library<sup>9</sup> that Italian humanist literature in

<sup>4</sup> *Ars poetica* 55–59: »[...] ego cur, acquirere pauca / si possum, inuideo, cum lingua Catonis et Enni / sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum / nomina protulerit? licuit semperque licebit / signatum praesente nota procudere nummum« (And why begrudge me adding a few if I can, / When Cato's and Ennius' speech revealed new terms, / Enriched our mother-tongue? It's been our right, ever / Will be our right, to issue words that are fresh-stamped, transl. A. S. Kline, 2005, URL: [www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/HoraceArsPoetica.htm](http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/HoraceArsPoetica.htm), visited on 30/10/2010). Horace's verses had long been discussed in this context in Italian humanism, amongst others by Petrarch (*Familiare* 16.14.7), Lorenzo Valla (*Antidotum in Facium*, a cura di M. Regoliosi, Patavii, 1981, 107, 1 14, 22), and Guarino (letter to cardinal Bessarion from 1453; n° 875, ed. Sabbadini, II, p. 614). Cfr. Ottavio B e s o m i , »Dai 'Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum' del Valla al 'De orthographia' del Tortelli«, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, IX (1966), 75–121: 86; Mirko T a v o n i , *Latino, grammatica, volgare: storia di una questione umanistica*. Medioevo e Umanesimo, LIII. Padova, 1984, 161; Angelo M a z z o c c o , *Linguistic theories in Dante and the Humanists. Studies of language and intellectual history in late Medieval and early Renaissance Italy*, Leiden, 1993, 46; Santiago L ó p e z M o r e d a , »At nova res novum vocabulum flagitat: neologismos y nuevas acepciones en la prosa latina de los humanistas«, *Pubblicare il Valla, a cura di Mariangela Regoliosi*, Firenze, 2008, 469–505.

<sup>5</sup> René H o v e n , avec la collaboration de Laurent G r a i l e t , *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance, Dictionary of Renaissance Latin from prose sources*, Leiden & Boston, 2006; Johann R a m m i n g e r , *Neulateinische Wortliste. Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700*, 2003–. URL: [www.neulatein.de](http://www.neulatein.de).

<sup>6</sup> A dilemma which was brought to the point in the title of a publication by Norbert F i c k e r m a n n , »Schreibfehler oder Sprachtatsache? Stichproben aus der mittellateinischen Formenlehre«, in: Bernhard Bischoff & S. Brechter, eds., *Liber Floridus. Festschrift f. P. Lehmann*, St. Ottilien, 1950, 19–26.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Fabio S t o k , »Il laboratorio lessicografico di Perotti«, in: Id., *Studi sul Cornu Copiae di Niccolò Perotti*, Pisa, 2002, 11–42.

<sup>8</sup> I will leave aside questions of orthography; see Branimir G l a v i č i ć , »Marulićev pravopis u latinskim autografima [Marulić's orthography in his Latin autographs]«, *CM X* (2001), 55–61.

<sup>9</sup> See Bratislav L u č i n , »*Studia humanitatis* u Marulićevoj knjižnici [The *studia humanitatis* in Marulić's Library]«, *CM VI* (1997), 169–203.

general was well represented in it: amongst other works, there were Bruni's letters, the Caesares of Pomponio Leto, Sabellicus's *Enneades*, Pietro Bembo's Aetna, the *carmina et dialogi* of Maffeo Vegio, works by Poggio, Guarino Veronese, Francesco Barbaro, and Battista Mantuano. We have to keep in mind that we do not know the accession date of any of these books in the humanist's library; since both catalogues were redacted at the time of his death, they do not cover other volumes which might at some point have belonged to the library. Still, these lists allow us a general estimate of the breadth of the humanist's reading. Additional information can be gleaned from references in his works, most prominently in the *Repertorium* which (besides copious excerpts from the Bible) also features authors such as Sabellicus amongst humanists and Gellius amongst classical authors, and not least numerous Greek authors (e. g. Strabo, Thucydides, Plutarch) whom Marulus read in modern Latin translations (the influence of the latter on the Latin of their readers is difficult to gauge since hardly any have been critically edited and their Latinity so far has received little attention).<sup>10</sup>

While I will occasionally quote from the lexicographical works available to Marulus, the focus of this paper will be on languages and literatures around him, in classical and medieval Latin, in contemporary Latin and the vernacular, which furnished not only the words themselves, but also provided models for the development of new words. The influence of contemporary and classical lexicography will be the subject of another publication.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> My research on Marulus' lexis would not have been possible without the generous support of Prof. Lučin who kindly presented me with editions of the major work of Marulus, thus compensating for some lacunae in the collections of the Munich libraries. The Latinity of Marulus' verse is treated in detail in the introduction of Lučin to the volume of Latin verse (Bratislav L u č i n , »O ovom izdanju i o jeziku Marulićevih latinskih stihova [About the language of Marulus' Latin poems in this volume]«, in LS, 9–42), which was fundamental for my research. Also I used the digitized texts of Marulus and other writers on the internet site of the *Croatiae auctores Latini*, ed. Neven Jovanović et al., Zagrabiae, 2009, URL: [www.ffzg.hr/klafil/croala/](http://www.ffzg.hr/klafil/croala/), an extraordinary resource for lexicographic research, to which Prof. Jovanović has drawn my attention. In addition I excerpted the *Institutio* and the *Repertorium* with the help of tools developed for the *Neulateinische Wortliste*. For classical Latin, I have used the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, where possible, or other resources; concerning medieval Latin besides the dictionaries there are many digitized collections of texts, such as the *Patrologia Latina* and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Early modern Latin is least easily researched; I base my conclusions mainly on the archive database of the *Neulateinische Wortliste* ([www.neulatein.de](http://www.neulatein.de)) which at the moment comprises three hundred million words and is thus a sizeable, but by no means exhaustive resource for our period. All my conclusions have to be seen within the limitations of my textual basis.

<sup>11</sup> Johann R a m m i n g e r , »The role of classical, medieval, and Renaissance lexicography in the development of neo-Latin: some examples from the Latin works of Marcus Marulus«, *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, XXXI (2011), in print.

### Ovidian influence (corymbifer, circumvelare)

The most productive influence on Marulus' poetic lexicon is probably exerted by Ovid. The influence may not always be straightforward, as we see with *corymbifer* (bearing ivy-berries), an Ovidian *hapax* from the *Fasti* (1. 393): »festa corymbiferi celebrabas, Graecia, Bacchi«. Afterwards, the word is (with one exception in the twelfth century)<sup>12</sup> absent from Latin literature<sup>13</sup> until it reappears in the ambience of Istrian/Dalmatian humanism.<sup>14</sup> The poems where we read it can only be dated approximately; the earliest may be verses by Georgius Sigozeus (c1440–c1510) which closely echo Ovid: »Rure corymbiferi uitis cum palmite Bacchi | Frondet ruricolis musta datura suis« (*carmina* 2. 14. 13–14). The poem is addressed to Raphael Zovenzonius, of Trieste (1431–c1480) who takes the word up in his poetic reply: »Cunque corymbifera pulcher Apollo coma« (included in Sigozeus, *carmina* 3. 3. 4). It occupies the same spot in the hexameter in verses by Franciscus Natalis (1469–1542): »Docta corymbiferis ornabis tempora sertis« (*carmina* 9. 43) and »Inde corymbiferam capiti imposuisse coronam« (48. 9), and (in the pentameter) in Marulus' epigram:

Cedite Cyrrheo nascentes uertice lauri  
Atque corimbiferę cedite uos hederę,  
Pyerium nemus omne meę concede Myricę. (*carmina* 125. 1–3)

Give way, laurels growing on the Delphian heights,  
And you, ivy with your berries, give way,  
All you Thessalian woods, admit defeat to my Myrica.

The word is also used by Battista Mantovano in his often reprinted *De calamitatibus temporum*, which describes the plague of 1479: »Festa corymbifero

<sup>12</sup> The only medieval example I know of so far is Iohannes de Altvilla (c1150–after 1200), Architrenius 1. 1264: »Bacche, corymbiferis Phrygiae spectabilis aris«.

<sup>13</sup> The word is also listed in Perotti, *Cornu copiae* (2. 697, ed. Jean-Louis Charlet et al., Sassoferato, 1989–2001, II, 259): »Racemus hederæ in orbem circum actus uocatur corymbus, a quo corymbifer, qui fert corymbos siue hederam. Ouidius: 'Festa corymbiferi celebrabat Graecia Bacchi'«. Perotti, however, mistakenly equates *corymbus* with *hedera* (ivy), whereas Marulus clearly knows that *corymbus* designates the berries and not the ivy *in toto*. Marulus could have informed himself about the correct meaning of *corymbus* in a variety of sources, e. g. Servius, *ecl.* 3. 39: »corymbos: uvas hederarum«, medieval dictionaries (Hugutio, Papias), or Iunianus Maius (Giuniano Maio), *De priscorum proprietate verborum*: »Corymbus fructus hederæ« (ed. Taruisiae: Bernardinus de Colonia, 1477, sig. k2v; H 10540\*). None of them, however, lists the compound *corymbifer*.

<sup>14</sup> The following quotations from Zovenzonius, Sigozeus, and Natalis are taken from the internet-database *Croatiae auctores Latini*.

Thyas renouabat Iaccho« (2. 362).<sup>15</sup> The poem was first printed in Bologna 1489, too late to be known to Zovenzoni; but of course Marulus may have known it.<sup>16</sup>

Another Ovidian word is *circumuelare*, which Marulus uses in the *Dauidias*: »Quam pulchre factam per totum lamina fuluo | Aurea resplendens circumuelabat amictu« (8. 150). The Ovidian echo is unmistakable: »Insuper aurato circumvelatur amictu« (met. 14. 263). The word, which is an Ovidian *hapax* in antiquity, is not rare in medieval Latin, but humanists before the sixteenth century seem to shun it.<sup>17</sup> Intervening (classical or medieval) examples of *circumvelare amictu* are not known so far, Marulus' verse most likely is a direct variation of Ovid's.

### Rare words from ancient prose texts – Suetonius (*psallocitharista*)

The pitfalls which transfers of words from antiquity were exposed to, are well exemplified by the word *psallocitharista*, which occurs in the title of an epigram: »In Hieronymum Papalem, psallocytharistam omnium præstantissimum« (About Hieronymus Papalis, the most famous singer to the lyre of them all, *carmina* 84 tit.). Hieronymus Papalis was a Croatian humanist held in high esteem by Marulus (who addressed to him a translation of the Petrarchan sonnet *Vergine bella*).<sup>18</sup> *Psallocitharista* was an exotic – and at first glance somewhat incongruous – embellishment of an otherwise mundane title. A look into Forcellini's lexicon<sup>19</sup> informs us that its origin is in Suetonius's *Vita Domitiani* (4. 4) where various kinds of musicians participating in a contest are enumerated; the etymology suggests that this particular musician was a 'singer to the lyre'. Forcellini also mentions the alternative variant *psilocitharistae*, designating a musician playing the lyre without singing; the latter is preferred by modern editions (and dictionaries), as it is the uniform reading of mss. of Suetonius.

<sup>15</sup> I have taken the quotation from *Poeti d'Italia in lingua Latina tra medioevo e rinascimento*, ed. Paolo Mastandrea et al., s. l. s. d., URL: <http://mqdq.cab.unipd.it/mqdq/poetiditalia/>.

<sup>16</sup> Marulus owned a volume (as yet unidentified) of »Carmina fratris Baptiste Carmelitani« see L u č i n , *op. cit.* (9), 191. 193.

<sup>17</sup> The only earlier example which (at least chronologically) belongs to neo-Latin known to me is B e n v e n u t o d a I m o l a (c1330–c1390), *Comentum super Dantis Aldigherij Comoediam* (1380), *infern.* 26. 25–33: »circumuelati flammis igneis«.

<sup>18</sup> See commentary to *carmina* 77, p. 141.

<sup>19</sup> Egidio F o r c e l l i n i , *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, emend. et auctum a I. Furlanetto, F. Corradini, I. Perin, Padova, 1864–1926, ed. anast. 1940, I, p. 445b, s. v. *chorocitharista*. *Psallocitharista* is not mentioned any longer in modern dictionaries. For *psilocitharista* see also *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig et al., 1900–, X. 2, col. 2417. 34–39, s. v. *psilocitharistes* (Wieland); *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1982, p. 1511a, s. v. *psilocitharista*.

If we look at incunabular editions of Suetonius, we see that they at first, too, had *psilo-*.<sup>20</sup> The variant *psallo-* only appears in the Venetian edition of Suetonius with the commentary of Sabellicus of 1493: »Certabatur etiam et prosa oratione graece latineque, ac praeter citharoedos chorocitharistae quoque et psallocitharistae«. And Sabellicus explains in his commentary: »Psallocitharistae: a psallo .i. cano et cithara«. <sup>21</sup> Sabellicus' 'emendation' seems not to have met with any resistance, we read it again in the 1496-edition of Suetonius with two commentaries, of Philippus Beroaldus the Elder and Sabellicus, where Beroaldus enlarges upon the explanation given by Sabellicus:

CHOROCITHARISTAE: chorocitharistas uocamus citharedos qui in choro citharizant, sicut psallocitharistae dicuntur, qui psallunt, hoc est canunt ad citharam.

*Chorocitharistae* we call the lyre-players who play with a choir, and *psallocitharistae* are those who chant, i. e. sing to the lyre.<sup>22</sup>

In the light of other testimonia about the close connection between Marulus and Sabellicus<sup>23</sup> it is perhaps not surprising that Marulus immediately picked up an emendation of the Venetian humanist, although – since the epigram is not dated – he may just as well have found it in the Beroaldus/Sabellicus-Suetonius or even in the widely read Apuleius-commentary of Beroaldus from 1500, where the explanation is repeated.<sup>24</sup> Certainly Marulus uses the word in exactly the meaning Sabellicus and Beroaldus had indicated (or constructed); in the poem he describes the performance of the *psallocitharista* Papalis thus: »Quum cytharam digitis pulsat et ore canit« (when he plays the lyre with his fingers and sings with his voice). Whatever the exact source, Marulus' display of the latest humanist scholarship not only broadcasted the fact that he himself was *au courant* of contemporary philology, but also that he was certain that his readers, and especially the addressee of the poem, would be able to appreciate the learning – and the compliment – behind the title.

<sup>20</sup> *Psilo-* is the reading of: Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita Caesarum*, [Venetiis], [Printer of Valla (Hain 15809)], 1480 (HC 15119) sig. o6v. Venetiis: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis and Bernardinus Rizus Novariensis, 1489 (HC 14562), sig. k2r.

<sup>21</sup> Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita duodecim caesarum*, comm. M. Antonius Sabellicus, Venetiis: Damianus de Gorgonzola, 1493 (HC 15124), fol. 124v.

<sup>22</sup> Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *Vitae XII Caesarum*, comm. Philippus Beroaldus & Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, Venetiis: Simon Bevilacqua, 1496 (HC 15128), sig. Q2v.

<sup>23</sup> Cp. Charles Béné, »Sabellicus, 'lecteur' de Marulic«, *Études Maruliennes. Le rayonnement européen de l'œuvre de Marc Marule de Split*, Zagreb & Split, 1998, 23–38.

<sup>24</sup> Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis, *Asinus aureus, sive Metamorphosis*, comm. Philippus Beroaldus, Bononiae: Benedictus Hectoris, 1500 (HC 1319), fol. 107v: »psallocitharistae apud Suetonium dicuntur cithara canentes«.

Marulus was the first, but not the only neo-Latin author to take over Sabellicus' 'emendation'. We find it again in Riccardo Bartolini's description of the festivities for the marriage of Kasimir, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, and Susanne of Bavaria, during the diet of Augsburg in 1518,<sup>25</sup> and it was challenged in the text of Suetonius only towards the end of the sixteenth century by Adrien Turnebe, who (correctly) suspected that it was a corruption for *psilo*.<sup>26</sup>

### Repackaging the Bible in classical Latin (*abligurio*, *abliguratio*)

The next word I want to discuss is *abligurire*, »to lick off«, »to use up«, 'waste'. Marulus uses it in the *Euangelistarium*:

Prodigus filius, qui bona scortando luxuriandoque abligurierat, tunc ad patrem flagitii sui poenitens rediit, cum esurire coepisset. (2. 21)

The prodigal son, who had squandered his fortune with whoring and extravagant living, regretted his profligate life and returned to his father, when he began to starve.

The basis for this passage is the well known story in Luke (15: 11–32); I will just quote two sentences (my emphasis):

et non post multos dies congregatis omnibus adulescentior filius peregre profectus est in regionem longinquam et ibi **dissipavit** substantiam suam vivendo **luxuriose**. (15. 13)

sed postquam filius tuus hic qui **devoravit** substantiam suam cum **meretricibus** venit occidisti illi vitulum saginatum. (15. 30)

We see that Marulus combined the Vulgate's *dissipavit*, *devoravit*, *luxuriose* and *cum meretricibus* into the concise »qui bona scortando luxuriandoque abligurierat«. *Abligur(r)ire* does not occur in the Vulgate, but is otherwise not too rare in antiquity: it is attested twice in Apuleius and Hegesippus, there are single instances in, amongst others, Sidonius, Augustine, and Terence. The verse from the latter: »patria qui abligurrierat bona« (*Eunuchus* 235), which already in antiquity had generated numerous glosses, probably provided the inspiration for Marulus, either directly or through one of the medieval or Renaissance dictionaries which quote

<sup>25</sup> Ulrich von Hutten, *Opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia*, ed. Eduardus Böcking, Leipzig, 1861, V, 272.

<sup>26</sup> *Adversaria* 20. 16, Paris, 1580, II, 188.



the word together with the verse, Osbernus,<sup>27</sup> Hugutio<sup>28</sup> or Giuniano Maio<sup>29</sup> (Papias just has the lemma without the quotation). Perotti's Cornu copiae can be excluded as a source, since it has *oblig-*, a variant from the tradition of Donatus.<sup>30</sup>

Functionally, this example is somewhat different from the two discussed above, since (in contrast to *psallicitharista*) Marulus' choice of word this time does not draw attention to itself; the Terentian model suggests a low-key narrative register designed to reproduce the content of the biblical story while avoiding the more unclassical features of its Latinity (such as the comparative *adulescentior*, or the unsophisticated word-order, which stands in marked contrast to the refined hypotactical structure of Marulus' rephrasing).

Looking at the Latin of his contemporaries, we see that Marulus is part of a trend in which the verb *abligurire* slowly establishes itself. Before Marulus, Guarino Veronese had used it in a letter from 1426,<sup>31</sup> and Antonio da Rho, the famous opponent of Lorenzo Valla, had quoted the verse from Terence in 1433.<sup>32</sup> Ermolao Barbaro used it in the *Corollarium* (unfinished at his death in 1493, and only published in 1517),<sup>33</sup> as did the German humanist Jakob Wimpfeling in a letter from 1502<sup>34</sup> and Erasmus in the *Adagia*.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> O s b e r n o , *Derivazioni*, ed. P. Busdraghi, M. Chiabó, A. Dessì Fulgheri, P. Gatti, R. Mazzacane, L. Roberti, Spoleto, 1996, I, 65, A 466: »Abligurire, prodige vivere, vastare. Terentius 'qui abligurrierat patria bona pene'«.

<sup>28</sup> U g u c c i o n e da Pisa, *Derivationes*, ed. Enzo Cecchini, G. Arbizzoni, S. Lanciotti, G. Nonni, M. G. Sassi, A. Tontini, 2 vols., Firenze, 2004, I, 687, L 71.2.

<sup>29</sup> I u n i a n u s M a i u s , *op. cit.*, sig. a3r: »Abligurire est suauiibus aescis consumere. ligurin enim graeci suaue appellant. Te(rentius) in Eu(nucho): Itidem patria qui abligurierat bona. Et in Heaut(ontimorumeno): Quae cum amatore concoenant liguriunt. Do(natus)«.

<sup>30</sup> As the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (s. v. *obligurio*, vol. IX, 2 col. 95. 70–74 [Lumpel]) shows, *obligurire* is anything but well transmitted in the few classical examples; still, it is common enough in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Ficino, Pontano, More, Erasmus), and the *Dizionario della Crusca* of 1612 uses it as Latin equivalent of *incannare*. Perotti's *oblig-* comes from Donatus. *Commentum Terentii*, ed. P. Wessner, Leipzig, 1902–5, ad. l., has *oblig-*, but earlier imprints seem to have read *oblig-*, I have checked a Donatus from Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, 1472, HC 6384 = H (Corr.) C 15373, sig. g1v, and P. Terentii *Comoediae cum scholiis Aelii Donati et Eugraphii commentariis* ed. R. Klotz, Lipsiae, 1838, I, 255. For the oscillation a/o (appetere/oppetere, abortis/obortis) see the observations of Tournoy in Iohannis Harmonii Marsi *De rebus Italicis deque triumpho Ludovici XII regis Francorum*, ed. Gilbert T o u r n o y . *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, I, Leuven, 1978, 28.

<sup>31</sup> Guarino *ep.* 375 (1426) (ed. Sabbadini, Venezia, 1915–1919, I, 540): »Quam novos, ut aiunt, pisces offendisse debes, quos vellem in nostros venire dentes, magis iocandi quam abligurriendi gratia«.

<sup>32</sup> In the *Imitationes rhetoricae*. See Laurentii V a l l e *Raudensiane note*, ed. Gian Matteo Corrias, Firenze, 2007, 315: »Terentius ait: Patria abligurierat bona«.

<sup>33</sup> Hermolai B a r b a r i patricii Veneti et Patriarcae Aquileiensis *Corollarium libris quinque absolutum*, Venetiis: Fratres Gregorii, 1517, §278.

<sup>34</sup> Jakob W i m p f e l i n g , *Briefwechsel*, ed. Otto Herding & Dieter Mertens, 2 vols., München, 1990, I, 411, no. 135.

<sup>35</sup> *Adagia* 1. 3. 5; 2. 1. 88; 4. 7. 74. None of these was contained in the Venetian edition of the *Adagia* of 1508, and so far we have no evidence that Marulus knew the *Adagia*; for

A few pages later, in a chapter dedicated to the vice of gluttony, Marulus also uses the noun *abligur(r)itio*:

Profecto non hominum sed pecudum uita est habere incerta comedendi tempora passimque pasci [...]. Sed tamen potatus huius atque abliguritio- nis intemperantia tolerabilior foret, si rerum solummodo iacturam inferret, et non etiam corporis atque mentis. (2. 24)

Really it is a life of cattle and not human to have no fixed meal times and just eat whenever [...]. This intemperate boozing and banquetting would be more tolerable if it led only to the loss of one's fortune, and not also wasted one's body and mind.

The word seems to occur just once in Latin literature before the late fifteenth century, in the *Historia Augusta*. Amongst humanists, the first to use it was Conrad Celtis in his inaugural lecture in Ingolstadt in 1492 (printed in Augsburg the same year, but most likely unknown to Marulus),<sup>36</sup> and I have only two later examples.<sup>37</sup> Since the passage where Marulus uses it draws the moral from the story of the prodigal son, I am inclined to think that Marulus invented it independently, derived from the verb which he had used in the passage quoted above.

### Medieval words

The medieval stratum in Marulus' Latin is not prominent; as we have seen with *abligurrere* he consciously patterns his Latin according to classical precedent. There is, however, one prominent medievalism in his writing: the word *euangelistarium* as a title of his book about Christian ethics. Marulus explains in the preface his reasons for the choice of his title (6): »Porro opus ipsum Euangelistarii nomine consecrabitur, quamuis non solum Euangelii sed etiam Legis dicta

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Marulus' knowledge of Erasmus' works in general see Bratislav L u č i n , »Erasmus and the Croats in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries«, *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*, XXIV, 2004, 89–114: 100–105.

<sup>36</sup> *Oratio in gymnasio in Ingelstadio publice recitata anno 1492*. See Conradi C e l t i s Protucii *Panegyris ad duces Bavariae*, mit Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar herausgegeben von Joachim Gruber. *Gratia. Bamberger Schriften zur Renaissanceforschung*, 41. Wiesbaden, 2003, 9. 12.

<sup>37</sup> In Johannes D ö l i n g , *Antichristus Τυμβογέρον sive de novissima persecutione ecclesiae Dei [...] libri quatuor*, Lipsiae, 1632, 262: »qui cunctas totius orbis terrarum facultates ac opes abliguritione sua absumpserunt«. Samuel G o t t (1613–1671), *Nova Solyma* (1648): »Quidam epulis indulgentes auidissimis oculis totoque ore inhiabant & lautissima quaeque carpentes faedissima abliguritione deglutiebant«; ed. Jennifer M o r r i s h , »Fiction, Morality, and an Old Wives' Tale in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*«, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, LIV, 2005, 285–320: 300.

exemplaque continebit« (I will hallow this work with the title *Euangelistarium*, even though it will contain instructions and examples not only from the gospels, but also from the Law [*i.e. the Old Testament*]). Properly, in the terminology of the Church an evangelistary was a book containing the gospels; as such the word appears in many medieval inventories and continues to be used in the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup> By expanding the semantic range of the term and calling his work a traditional ‘gospel-book’, Marulus emphasizes the close relation of its contents with the core teaching of the Church.

That medieval Latin should manifest itself within the sphere of the church is no surprise; generally, classical Latin is least dominant in spheres which depend on a specialized vocabulary not easily modifiable through humanist innovation, such as the lexicon of the church or of public administration. An example from the latter is *ban(n)us*, designating the commander of a military region, which Marulus used in his translation of the *Regum Delmatie atque Croatiae gesta*:

His ita separatis alibi banni, quos Latini tribunos uocant, alibi sublimioris potestatis duces p̄fecti sunt, prout cuiusque regionis exigere uidebatur conditio; sub his creati sunt centuriones, ita dicti a militum numero quibus p̄ferant; singuli banni septem centurionibus imperabant, maior natu ex centurionibus cum bano suę ditionis gentibus ius dicebant. (p. 45)

At the separation of these [provinces] in some places there were appointed bani – whom Latin-speaking people call *tribuni* –, in others governors with more extensive powers, depending on the needs of every region. Below these there were placed *centuriones*, so called because of the number of soldiers under their command. Every banus had seven *centuriones* under his command, the most senior of these administered justice together with the *banus* of his region.

The passage shows that in translating the text into Latin Marulus used customary medieval Latin equivalents. *Banus* (or *bannus*, orthography in manuscript witnesses is not consistent on this point) was a well-established medieval term, originating as Latinization of the vernacular ban.<sup>39</sup> If Marulus added the synonym *tribunus*, this

<sup>38</sup> Berthold L. Ullman & Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence. Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo De' Medici and the Library of San Marco*, Padova, 1972, 22 n. 3 quote a possessor's note: »Istud euangelistarium est conventus Sancti Marci«; Johannes Burcardi *Diarium sive rerum urbanarum commentarii* (1483–1506), I–III, ed. L. Thuasne, Paris, 1883–1885, I, 157: »Octo candelabra [sc. ponantur] et faldistorium pro celebrante, Libris missali, euangelistario, epistolario et pro absolutione«; Johann Jacob Hofmann, *Lexicon Universale. Editio Auctior*. 4 vols., Leiden, 1698, II, 194: »Euangeliarium, item Euangelistarium, quemadmodum Graecis ceterioribus Εὐαγγελιστάριον, liber dicitur in Ecclesia Lat. in quo continentur Evangelia«.

<sup>39</sup> For the Croatian text of the chronicle I have used Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Letopis popa Dukljanina* [Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea], Belgrade & Zagreb, 1928, 382–416: 399–400.

was not an attempt to classicise the text – »Latini« should not be misunderstood as equivalent of 'Romani' or 'antiqui', but means 'somebody writing in Latin' –, but just as a medieval administrative term he obviously considered equivalent. For the seven captains (Croatian *satnik*) under each ban Marulus avoids the term *satnicus/setnicus/sitnicus* (attested in other sources),<sup>40</sup> but just gives the Latin equivalent<sup>41</sup> *centurio* customary in medieval charters – obviously without being troubled by the divergence between medieval and classical usage (where the *tribunus* as superior of the *centurio* would only occur in the hierarchy of the Roman legion<sup>42</sup>).<sup>43</sup>

### Words from medieval dictionaries (tergoreus)

The word *tergoreus* occurs in the *Dauidias* in a passage where God speaks to the prophet Nathan against building a permanent temple:

Quo tempore Memphis  
 Israhelitanam iussa est dimittere plebem,  
 Ex illo me nulla suo domus imbrice texit  
 Vobiscum gradientem monstrantemque sequente  
 Plebe uias, anteire uię quum signa iuberem.  
 Sed quoscunque locos, quęcunque petiuimus arua,  
 Tectus pellicei processu tegminis umbra  
 Tergoreoque sinu. (8. 310–317)

<sup>40</sup> Cp. Charles du Fresne, sieur d u C a n g e , et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, éd. augm., Niort, 1883–1887, VII, col. 460b, s. v. *setnicus*.

<sup>41</sup> Cp. Petar S k o k , *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue croate ou serbe. Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, 4 vols., Zagreb, 1971–74, III, 336, s. v. *sto*. I would like to thank Amir Kapetanović, with whom I discussed the etymology first.

<sup>42</sup> This was probably common knowledge, but Marulus could have made sure e. g. in *I u n i a n u s M a i u s*, *op. cit.*, sig. b1v, s. v. *centurio*: »In exercitu miles centurioni, centurio tribuno, tribunus legato, legatus consuli obediebat« (In the army, the soldier was under the command of the *centurio*, the *centurio* under the *tribunus*, the *tribunus* under the *legatus*, the *legatus* under the *consul*). A similar hierarchy appears in the Old Testament: »Pręteera Iudas constituit duces, tribunos, centuriones, pentacontarchos, decuriones«, 1 Machabees 3: 55, quoted from Marulus' SZL, fol. 82r, [www.ffzg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.10:20:1:0:0.croala.278460](http://www.ffzg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.10:20:1:0:0.croala.278460), visited 27 April 2010.

<sup>43</sup> Cp. Antonius B a r t a l , *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis Regni Hungariae*, Lipsiae, 1901, 68 (s. v. *banus*), and 118–119 (s. v. *centurio*). Zlatko H e r k o v , *Grada za financijsko-pravni rječnik feudalne epohe hrvatske*, 2 vols., Zagreb, 1956, I, 177 (s. v. *centuriones*). *Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi Iugoslaviae*, Zagreb, 1973–1978, I, 102 (s. v. *banus*); II, 1040 (s. v. *satnicus*). In the dictionaries and medieval charters the *tribunus* in Dalmatia appears to be a lower (town) official, see *ibid.* II, 1209, and *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. T. Smičiklas, IX, *Diplomata annorum 1321–1331 continens, Zagrabiae, 1911, nr. 261 (1326), p. 319–320: 320: »Damiani de Mengaca curie nostre tribuni, quem super huius nostre exse[cuti]one sentencie deputauimus in pristaldum«, amongst many other examples.*

From the time when Egypt was forced to let go the Israelite people, no house has ever sheltered me with its tiles as I went with you, showing you the way, and people followed when I bid them go forward on our way. But whatever plains, whatever fields we approached, I went forth covered by the shade of a cover made of skin and a fold of leather.

If we were to say that the word *tergoreus* was medieval, this would only be partially true: in fact I have only found examples in medieval dictionaries. It is explained in Hugutio's *Derivationes*: »Tergum [...] unde [...] hoc tergus -ris: terga sunt hominum, tergora quadrupedum, unde et tergora dicuntur coria; et hinc tergoreus -a -um« (T 78.35).<sup>44</sup> The information is repeated in substance identically in the *Catholicon* of Iohannes de Ianua (Giovanni Balbi),<sup>45</sup> and probably in other dictionaries as well; it is, however absent in Papias as well as Giuniano Maio, though both have at least the information that *tergus*, *-oris* can have the meaning »leather«.<sup>46</sup>

How Marulus arrived at this word must remain open for the moment. There is some evidence suggesting that he may have used either Hugutio or Balbi (the former at his time remaining in manuscript, the latter printed in Germany from the late 1460s on, in Venice for the first time in 1483); but of course other sources are possible. Also, Marulus may have formed the adjective himself, deriving it from the more common noun, as he did with another word of the same type, *funiceus*, »made of rope«, which occurs once in the *Dauidias*<sup>47</sup> and twice in the *Institutio*.<sup>48</sup>

### Influence of the Italian (*bagatinus*)

For Italian influence on Marulus' Latin I would like to mention one instance<sup>49</sup> where he used a vernacular word for special effect:

In Iacobum Iacotinum malum poetam.  
Magni inter uates quando Iacotinus habetur,  
Magni inter numos et bagatinus erit. (*carmina* 103)

<sup>44</sup> *Tergoreus* occurs already in Osbernus, although only connected with the meaning 'back' (Osbernus, *op. cit.*, T XXXVII 9, vol. II, 705).

<sup>45</sup> Johannes Ianuensis (Giovanni Balbi), *Catholicon*, Vindelica in urbe: Günther Zainer, 1469 (H 2255\*), fol. [481<sup>v</sup>] s. v. *tergum*: »Item a tergum hoc tergus tergoris. Et sunt terga hominum, tergora quadrupedum. Vnde et tergora dicuntur coria. Et inde tergoreus, tergora, reum.«.

<sup>46</sup> Papias, *Vocabularium*, Venetiis: Andreas de Bonetis, 1485 (HC 12379\*), sig. -iv: »tergora: coria uel pelles«. Maius: »Tergora dicuntur coria. Virg. li. pri(mo) [211] tergora diripiunt costis. Noni(us) [p. 414 M.]«.

<sup>47</sup> Dav 1. 453.

<sup>48</sup> Inst II 9 p. 621; III 5 p. 438.

<sup>49</sup> Registered by Lučin, *op. cit.* (10), 27.

Against the bad poet Iacobus Iacotinus.  
 When Iacotinus will have renown amongst the poets,  
 Then even the cent will be a valuable coin.

The *bagattino*, a Venetian coin of low denomination, was in Italian of proverbial low value (»non darei un bagattino«, I would not give a cent for it).<sup>50</sup> Of course Marulus could have chosen a classical coin of low value like the as or *obolus*. In the hierarchy of languages the Italian vernaculars were traditionally below Latin, and thus the introduction of a low-class vernacular word emphasised the disdain for the versemonger Iacotinus, which is the theme of the epigram.<sup>51</sup> That *bagattinus* rhymed with *Iacotinus* subtly underlined the parallel between the worthless coin and the worthless poet. »Iacobus Iacotinus« seems to be fictive; still, the name may suggest an Italian target for this poem, as Novaković has proposed;<sup>52</sup> this view might be further supported by Marulus' use of a word of overt Italian origin in the same context.

### New words in poetry (Tetrargus)

I would like to mention one new word, where Marulus succeeds in showing his originality and putting his own stamp on a turn of phrase well-known from classical poetry:

Si potes uxorem Franco seruare furente  
 Non Argus sed tu, Paule, Tetrargus eris. (*carmina* 132)

If you can defend your wife from the randy Frank,  
 Then, Paul, you are not a watchdog, but a whole pack of watchdogs.

Marulus juxtaposes a *nomen simplex* (*Argus*) and a compound which expresses an increase or intensification (tetragus); this renews a stylistic device which had produced neologisms of form and meaning in Roman poetry already in Plautus: »non fur, sed trifur« (not a thief, but a triple-thief, *Aulularia* 633),<sup>53</sup> or Martial (of lazy boat-men): »non nautas [...], sed argonautas« (not seafarers, but lazyfarers; a wordplay on the famous sailors from myth and Greek argos = »lazy«, *epigram-*

<sup>50</sup> Registered by Forcellini, *op. cit.*, s. v. *ciccus*.

<sup>51</sup> The epigram is discussed by Schellenberg, *op. cit.*, 372–373.

<sup>52</sup> Darko Novaković, »Los Versos de Glasgow de Marulić«, *Studia Croatica* (2002). URL: <http://www.studiacroatica.org/revistas/145/1451603.htm> (accessed 17 April 2010); originally published as »Marulićevi glasgowski stihovi«, in Marko Marulić, *Glasgowski stihovi* [*The Glasgow Verse*], ed. and transl. by Darko Novaković, Zagreb, 1999, 253–270.

<sup>53</sup> The phenomenon is discussed by Walter Stockert, ed. & comm., *T. Maccius Plautus. Aulularia*, Stuttgart, 1983, 12 (to *Aulularia* 86), and Erich Woytek, ed. & comm., *T. Maccius Plautus. Persa*, Wien, 1982, 258 (to *Persa* 266).

*mata* 3. 67. 10).<sup>54</sup> The lightness of Marulus' epigram, which matches the tone of the examples I have quoted, perfectly conveys the comic position of the husband fending off an energetic suitor from his wife, and thus recreates the atmosphere of a standard situation of ancient epigrammatic poetry.

Of course not every new word in Marulus carries the weight of such ancestry, many were just formed after productive models from antiquity. Besides the already mentioned *funiceus* (»made of rope«) both in the *Dauidias* and the *Institutio*, we find: *circumniti* (»to be propped up all around«) in the *Dauidias* (7. 105), *commatrua* (»aunt«) in the *Institutio* (I 2 p. 306), *hiatare* (»to yawn«) in the *Euangelistarium* (2. 7), *ineffrenis* (»without restraint«), a somewhat unhappy neologism (since *effrenis* already means 'uninhibited«) in the *Vita diui Hieronymi presbiteri*<sup>55</sup> (probably formed after the more common *ineffrenatus*<sup>56</sup>), *implagatus* (»beaten up«) in the *Repertorium* (I p. 349) and in the title of an epigram (121).

The word *supermensarius*, which we find for the first and only time in Marulus, is somewhat of a surprise. The *supermensarius* lector (mentioned in a story concerning St Francis, *Institutio* I 8 p. 346) is a monk reading aloud during the meal. The office – though not the term – was already instituted in the Rule of St Benedict; since it is difficult to understand why Marulus would create a new word for this function, we would like to assume that *supermensarius* was a current word, even if unknown to us – still, if this should be the case, it is surprising that no other example has come to light so far.

In some cases, such as *labaciariscus* in the *Institutio* (II 7 p. 448), the etymology eludes the neo-Latin lexicographer, even though the meaning (»small jar«) is clear.

## Conclusion

Even if we have to be careful not to draw too far-reaching conclusions from these few cases, some observation can be made. Firstly, Marulus is not only a careful student of the norms of classical Latin, which he replicates in an irreproach-

<sup>54</sup> The pun (which I have tried to imitate by combining *lazy* and *seafarer*) is on *Argo* (the eponymous ship of the Argonauts) and ἀργός = *lazy*. Cp. also Martial's »modo ficus [...], iam caprificus« (already a bum-boy, now a goat's bum-boy; epigrammata 4. 52. 2), with the explanation by Hans Peter O b e r m a y e r, *Martial und der Diskurs über männliche »Homosexualität« in der Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit, Classica Monacensia, XVIII* (1998), 75sq.; I found the reference in the review by Farouk G r e w i n g, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft*, I (1998), 1001–1010: 1006 (URL: <http://gfa.gbv.de/dr,gfa,001,1998,r,01.pdf>, 18 April 2010). J. N. A d a m s, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, Baltimore, 1982, 113–114, notes that *ficus* as a metaphor in Martial 12.96.9–10 meant the *pudenda muliebria* as well as the bum of a boy.

<sup>55</sup> Ed. Darko N o v a k o v i ć, *CM III* (1994), 5–66.

<sup>56</sup> See R a m m i n g e r, *Neulateinische Wortliste*, s.v.

able way, but also uses rare words with virtuosity either to impart precision or a rhetorical flourish to his text. Even though he has been described as a Christian humanist, he shows a preference for classical lexis and syntax over the more unsophisticated phrasing of some sources.

I have presented only a limited amount of medieval material; certainly Marulus, like many other humanists, breaks free from medieval syntax, but does not avoid the occasional medieval Latin word, if convenient and appropriate. Such words come from spheres with a technical vocabulary of their own, such as theology or public administration, where the classical lexicon has no suitable semantic alternatives.

The influence of Croatian on Marulus' Latin is a phenomenon about which I should like to know more; unfortunately it is outside my competence.<sup>57</sup> Certainly Italian (or maybe rather Venetian), the other vernacular language of Marulus, is present; but he carefully calibrates its use to produce stylistic effects.

The identification of a lexical continuum between neo-Latin authors is usually complicated by several factors: if an author provides the first example of a word, often we cannot decide whether he really was the inventor or whether there are earlier texts which he may have used but which we have not seen; indeed sometimes in Marulus this seems likely. On the other hand we may expect that Marulus formed new words independently from other authors who may have used the same words before him, and that later authors reinvented words independently from Marulus. Still, cases where repeated independent invention is improbable (such as *corymbifer* and *psallocalitharista*) suggest that Marulus is aware of the development of Latin amongst his fellow humanists. Even if we leave some ambiguous cases unresolved, clearly Marulus shows himself to be a highly accomplished writer of humanist Latin whose choice of words even in rarities is attuned to lexical choices made by his contemporaries.

Lastly, there are neo-Latin words invented by Marulus, coined in order to express a particularly concise turn of thought, allow a play of words, or similar. Many new words occur just once; several, which are repeated in diverse contexts, show that our humanist took pride in his neologisms; in rare cases such words even cross the boundary between prose and poetry.

Just as Marulus in his writing avails himself of a wide variety of forms (occasional poetry, epigrams, epics, letters, and works of moral or religious content), his Latin draws on a diversity of sources. We can admire not only the classical fluency of his prose and poetry, but also his capacity to use the possibilities for innovation inherent in Latin. As a citizen of the republic of letters, he mastered its idiom with a subtlety consistent with the contents of his works and a refinement which contemporary readers appreciated in the Latin literature of their day.

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<sup>57</sup> Some observations are made in Branimir Glavičić, »Pogled u Marulićev latinski rječnik [A Look into Marulić's Latin Vocabulary]«, CM IV (1995), 5–11: 9 (also on the influence of Italian), on Venetian influence see also Glavičić, *op. cit.* (8), 60.



*Johann Ramming*

## MARULIĆ KAO NOVOLATINSKI PISAC

Raznolikost Marulićeva književnog djela temeljila se na vladanju različitim modelima latinskoga jezika, u kojem se često javljaju nesukladne književne i leksičke tradicije. Humanističko načelo oponašanja antičkog latiniteta ograničavalo je odstupanja od klasične norme, ali nije ih zaprečavalo. Zbog toga nove i rijetke riječi (ili – gdje je to moguće zapaziti – njihova odsutnost) mogu biti korisnim pokazateljem modela što ga pojedini humanist usvaja te općenito njegovih stilističkih ideala. U nastavku ću istražiti izvore rijetkih riječi u Marulića te pokušati utvrditi može li se uspostaviti odnos između tipova njegovih neologizama i književnih žanrova.

Vjerojatno najpoticajni za Marulićev pjesnički leksik bio je Ovidije. Njegov utjecaj možda nije uvijek izravan, kao što vidimo kod riječi *corymbifer* («koji nosi bršljanove bobice»), ovidijevskoga hapaksa iz *Fasti* 1,393, koji se ponovno pojavljuje u okolišu istarskog / dalmatinskog humanizma,<sup>1</sup> u pjesmama Jurja Šižgorića, Raffaelea Zovenzonija i Frane Božićevića. Kad se Marulić tim izrazom posluži u jednom svojem epigramu (*carmina* 125,1-3), više nije posrijedi samo imitacija Ovidija nego i svijest o razvoju latinštine njegovih suvremenika. Ovidijevska je i riječ *circumelare* (*Davidias* 8,150). Ona nije rijetka u srednjovjekovnom pjesništvu, ali čini se da su je humanisti prije Marulića izbjegavali. Stih iz *Davidijade* najvjerojatnije je izravna inačica Ovidijeva.

Marulićeva latinska proza pokazuje raznolikije utjecaje. Riječ *psallicitharista* (u naslovu 48. epigrama), termin za glazbenika koji pri pjevanju sam sebe prati na liri, potječe iz Svetonijeve *Vita Domitiani* (4,4); pojavljuje se kao konjektura umjesto *psilocitharista* u Sabellicovu izdanju Svetonija iz 1493.

Terencijevsko *abligurrire bona* («polizati», «potrošiti», «spiskati svoja dobra») susrećemo u Marulićevoj parafrazi parabole o rasipnom sinu u *Evandelistaru* 2,21. Relevantni ulomak evanđelja ima nekoliko neklasičnih obilježja (parataksa, komparativ *adulescentior*) koje Marulić zamjenjuje klasičnim *sermo cottidianus*. Terencijev izraz (iz stiha često navođena u srednjovjekovnim rječnicima) javlja se u parafrazi ulomka Vulgate prestiliziranog u suzdržanu narativnom registru, bez ikakva traga hiperbole izvornoga komediografskog konteksta.

Marulić zadržava neke srednjovjekovne riječi, kao *euangelistarium*. U srednjovjekovnom latinitetu *euangelistarium* znači rukopis koji sadrži evanđelja;

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<sup>1</sup> Navodi iz Zovenzonija, Šižgorića i Božićevića koji slijede preuzeti su iz mrežno dostupne zbirke *CroALa*.

proširenje značenja na knjigu o naučavanju katoličke vjere Marulić opravdava svetošću termina, koji korespondira sa sadržajem djela.

*Ban(n)us*, što znači zapovjednik vojnog područja, uporabljeno je u *Regum Delmatie atque Croatiae gesta*; to je srednjovjekovni latinizirani oblik vernakularnoga *ban*.<sup>2</sup> Marulić rabi i *tribunus*, sinonim koji se pojavljuje u srednjovjekovnim ispravama na Balkanu. Za sedam nižih zapovjednika Marulić rabi *centurio*, etimološki ekvivalent vernakularnoga *satnik*.

Talijanski se utjecaj pojavljuje u *bagatinus*, što potječe od talijanskoga *bagatino*, mletačkoga novčića niske denominacije, ujedno poslovičnog označitelja za malu vrijednost. Druge nove riječi jesu *tetrargus* («četverostruki čuvar») u jednom epigramu, stvoreno od Argus (stooki div, čuvar nimfe Io pošto je pretvorena u kravu) prema Terencijevu *fur / trifur* ili prema Marcijalovu *nauta / argonauta*; *funiceus* («načinjen od užeta») u *Davidijadi* i *Instituciji*; *circumniti* («biti odasvud poduprt») u *Davidias* 7,105; *hiatare* («zijekovati») u *Euangelistarium* 2,7; *ineffrenis* («neobuzdan») u *Vita diui Hieronymi presbiteri*; *implagatus* («pretučen») u *Repertorium* I, 349 i u naslovu jednog epigrama (121); *supermensarius* («čitač u blagovaonici»).

Marulić je pozoran proučavatelj normi klasičnoga latiniteta, koje reproducira besprijekorno; k tomu, virtuozno se služi rijetkim riječima bilo radi preciznosti ili radi retoričkog ukrasa. Iako je ideološki uvjeren kršćanski humanist, skloniji je klasičnom leksiku i sintaksi nego nedotjeranu izrazu nekih kršćanskih izvora. Ipak, ne izbjegava srednjovjekovne latinske riječi, ako mu odgovaraju i ako su prikladne, a zgodimice poseže i za posuđenicama iz vernakulara. Postoje i naznake o leksičkim vezama Marulića i drugih novolatinskih autora. Nekoliko je novolatinskih riječi Marulić i sam skovao. Mnoge od njih pojavljuju se samo jednom; neke od njih, susretane u različitim kontekstima, pokazuju da se naš humanist ponosio svojim neologizmima; u rijetkim slučajevima takve riječi čak prelaze granicu između proze i poezije.

**Ključne riječi:** Marko Marulić, imitacija, novolatinski, Ovidije, neologizmi, vernakular, posuđenice.

<sup>2</sup> Za hrvatski tekst kronike služio sam se izdanjem: Ferdo Š i š i ć (ur.), *Letopis popa Dukljanina*, Beograd – Zagreb, 1928, 382-416: 399-400.