

ITALIAN POETRY IN EARLY MODERN DALMATIA: THE STRANGE CASE OF HANIBAL LUCIĆ (1485-1553)

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The article announces the discovery of *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, scritti a diversi*, a collection of poems written in Italian by Hanibal Lucić (1485-1553), one of the leading poets of the Croatian Renaissance. Until now, scholars have known only one book by Lucić, his Croatian collection entitled *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlicih*, published posthumously by Hanibal's son Antun. Like *Skladanja*, Lucić's *Sonetti* were published in Venice in 1556, in a beautiful quarto edition produced by Francesco Marcolini, the printer of *Skladanja*. The article describes this hitherto unknown publication and explains how it was discovered. An edition of the book's contents is provided at the end of the article in the hope that Lucić's Italian verse will be studied by scholars on both sides of the Adriatic, and beyond. Lucić's *Sonetti* constitute an important document in the essentially multilingual history of the European Renaissance in this part of the world, and they remind us how our focus on national literatures has in some cases rendered the multilingual aspects of the Renaissance tradition practically invisible.*

Key words: Hanibal Lucić, Hvar, sonnet, Italian poetry, early modern Dalmatia, history of the book, Francesco Marcolini

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1.

Hanibal Lucić (1485-1553), a Dalmatian patrician from the Island of Hvar, is generally considered to be one of the most accomplished poets of the Croatian Renaissance. While never publishing his poetry in print during his lifetime, he maintained literary friendships with his contemporaries and was known as a poet through the manuscript circulation of his work. For both Dalmatia, then under Venetian rule, and the Republic of Ragusa (modern-day Dubrovnik) manuscript circulation in the early modern period was the norm, and only occasionally did poets who lived east of the Italian peninsula publish their poetic compositions in print. When they did so, they normally turned to Venetian printers.¹ It was in a book published in Venice in 1549 that we find Lucić's poetic virtues described at length in two poems written in Italian by Ludovik Paskalić (c. 1500-1551), his friend and admirer from Kotor (Cattaro). Paskalić's reference to Lucić's blond hair tells us that the two must have also met in person, and so his encomium is likely to be more than a polite and distant gesture extended from one compatriot to another.² Indeed,

¹ Still the only attempt at a comprehensive bibliography of South Slavic books printed in Venice in the early modern period is Werner Schmitz, *Südslavischer Buchdruck in Venedig (16.-18. Jh.): Untersuchungen und Bibliographie* (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag, 1977). While extremely useful, Schmitz's work needs updating in the light of more recent studies and discoveries. South Slavic books, it should be noted, were also occasionally published in other Italian cities. The neglect suffered in Italian scholarship by Slavic books printed by Italian printers is best illustrated by Miguel Battlori's preface to Maria C. Napoli, *L'impresa del libro nell'Italia del seicento: La bottega di Marco Ginammi* (Napoli: Guida Editori, 1990), where it is stated that Napoli rightly excludes Slavic books from her consideration because these have already been studied by Slavicists (7). The author herself, however, when noting the absence of the books published in Slavic languages from her bibliography, adds the following footnote: »La ricerca comunque sarebbe interessante ed andrebbe seguita, con la collaborazione di uno slavista, parte in Italia e parte in Jugoslavia« (11). On Ginammi's editions of Croatian works, some of them previously unrecorded, see Ivan Lupić, »Posvetne poslanice u drugom izdanju Držičeve Tirene (1607),« *Filologija* 67 (2016): 65-98.

² *Rime volgari di M. Ludovico Paschale da Catharo Dalmatino, non piu date in luce* (In Vinegia: Appresso Stefano & Battista Cognati al Segno de S. Moise, 1549), L3r-L4v. The recent edition of Paskalić's 1549 collection of verse unfortunately excludes the poems from the second half of the book, introduced as »Rime diverse,« among which are found the two poems addressed to Lucić; see Ludovico Paschale da Catharo Dalmatino, *Rime Volgari non più date in luce (Venezia 1549)*, ed. Luciana Borsetto (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2016). Borsetto's title is therefore misleading, as she does not provide an edition of *Rime volgari* in its entirety. The second half of the book is crucial for understanding Paskalić's poetic network, in Dalmatia and beyond. Borsetto discusses it in a separate essay: »Della laude soave cibo de i nomi degni d'onori: sulle Rime diverse di Ludovico Pascale,« in *Književnost, umjetnost, kultura između dviju obala Jadrana III / Letteratura, arte, cultura tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico III*, ed. Nedjeljka Balić Nižić, Luciana Borsetto,

the city of Hvar was in the sixteenth century a major, bustling port where travelers from many different places met and where news arrived faster than elsewhere in Dalmatia.³ So much so that in one of his poetic epistles addressed to a friend in Split, today the largest Dalmatian city on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, Lucić casually refers to that city as an out-of-the-way corner. Living in the city of Hvar, on the other hand, meant being fully connected with the rest of the world.⁴

When he praises Lucić, however, Paskalić fails to tell us anything specific about his poetic compositions, including whether they are to be admired in Croatian, Italian, or Latin. Paskalić himself, as far as it is possible to ascertain, only wrote in Italian and Latin, but as a native of Kotor he grew up speaking the Slavic vernacular, his mother tongue, and must have read poetry in all three languages. It is a fascinating feature of Dalmatian cultural history that in the course of the sixteenth century so much literature was written in Croatian by authors from Dubrovnik, yet their Slavic neighbors in Kotor seem to have written poetry exclusively in Italian and Latin. Like most of Dalmatia, excepting Dubrovnik, Kotor was under Venetian rule, but other Dalmatian cities gave birth to poets who switched between Croatian and Italian with great ease and often left us oeuvres bilingual — and sometimes trilingual, the third language being Latin — in character. Paskalić encourages Lucić to continue writing, given the excellence of what he has written so far, and predicts that Lucić's fame will extend far and wide. More importantly, Lucić's fame will be Hvar's fame, and the city will be able to compete with the glory of Florence: »Onde con Arno à paro / Andar potrà la tua Cittá di Faro.«⁵ But when in the lines that follow Paskalić mentions Lucić's »new Dalmatian lyre« (»Il suon leggiadro s'oda / Della tua nuoua Delmatina Lira«), it remains fundamentally unclear what, in linguistic terms, is meant by Dalmatian and who exactly will be able to appreciate not just the sounds but the meanings of Lucić's poems.

Lucić does not seem to have cared for poetic fame as much as his friend from Kotor did. So far as we know, he never published anything in print during his lifetime, and his surviving poems often dwell on their own artistic inadequacy. Indeed, it seems probable that Lucić's poetry would have entirely vanished had it not been for the efforts of his son, Antun Lucić, who three years after his father's

and Andrijana Jusup Magazin (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013), 209-33. On Lucić's blond hair see also Marko Marulić's poem »Ad Phoebum pro Hannibale iuvene poeticę studioso,« in Marko Marulić, *Latinski stihovi*, ed. and trans. Bratislav Lučin and Darko Novaković (Split: Književni krug, 2005), 144-47.

³ See, for instance, »Itinerario di Giovanni Battista Giustiniano sindaco in Dalmazia ed Albania« from 1553, published in *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, vol. 2: 1525-1553, ed. Simeon Ljubić, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, 8 (Zagabriae: Sumptibus Academiae scientiarum et artium, 1877), 222.

⁴ »Zatvoren tamo tja ne čuješ u kutu, / mornarom kako ja koji sam na putu«; *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, Stari pisci hrvatski, 6 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1874), 270. The epistle is addressed to Jeronim Martinčić.

⁵ *Rime volgari di M. Ludovico Paschale da Catharo Dalmatino*, LAr.

death traveled to Venice with Hanibal's literary remains and committed them to print.⁶ Published in a beautiful quarto edition by the Venetian printer Francesco Marcolini, Lucić's *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlicih* (the unpretentious title translates as *Collections of Diverse Excellent Poems*) contains everything that survives from the poet's Croatian oeuvre (see **Figure 1**).⁷ Except in one instance, we have no early manuscript witnesses of his poems, and the autographs that Antun inherited and took to Venice to be printed have perished forever.⁸ Because Antun was, as the title page explicitly states, the sponsor of the printed edition, we can assume that the edition is a faithful record of what Hanibal had left behind when he died.⁹

It is apparent from how *Skladanja* is structured that Antun decided not to intervene as an editor, deciding instead to print his father's poetry as he found it, including the prefaces originally written by Hanibal for the manuscript circulation of specific works. The collection thus opens with Hanibal's preface to his translation of one of Ovid's *Heroides*, written in 1519 during an outbreak of the plague and addressed to Jeronim Martinčić. Hanibal tells us that at some point, shut up in

⁶ Antun was Hanibal's illegitimate son and the sole heir of his estate. The relevant sentence from Hanibal's will captures well the harmony of their relationship: »primum et ante omnia lasso tutti li miei beni mobili et stabili ad Antonio mio fiol naturale in rason qualunque action et jurisdiction et di tutte le cose preditte lo instituisco et fazzo et voglio el sia mio herede universale et commissario, et questo primum per esser lui mio fiol natural, deinde per haverne servito ed obedito cordialmente in tutti mij bisogni et commandamenti, deinde per amor di Dio«; quoted from Grga Novak, »Testamenat Hanibala Lucića i njegove neveste Julije.« *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 8 (1928): 117-34, at 121.

⁷ *Skladanya izuarsnih pisan razlicih poctouanoga gospodina Hanibala Lucia vlas-telina huarschoga, choye cinì stampati u Bnech, sin gnegov Antoni, na chon tissuchia i petsat i pedeset i sest godisch, od poroyenya slaunoga spasiteglia nasega Isucharsta, na deset miseca zugna* (In Venetia: Per Francesco Marcolini, 1556). I take *scladanya* to mean *collections* rather than, as is usually the case, *compositions*; see Gioacchino Stulli, *Vocabolario italiano-illirico-latino*, vol. 1: A-I (Ragusa: Antonio Martecchini, 1810), s.v. *compilazione*, which is defined as »slaganje, zbiranje, skladanje, *collectio*.« Borsetto (»Della laude soave cibo de i nomi degni d'onori,« 227) argues that *skladanja* means *harmonies*, and even goes so far as to connect the term to Paskalić's mention of Lucić's »armonia celeste.« I find the suggestion far-fetched. The title seems to me unremarkable, and when considered as a whole clearly points to Antun as its deviser.

⁸ The only early manuscript copy of a poem by Lucić is found in a seventeenth-century miscellany preserved in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb as MS I. a. 44. The poem in question is »Jur nijedna na svit vila,« and it probably ultimately derives from *Skladanja* rather than from a separate manuscript tradition.

⁹ It is possible to assume, as has occasionally been done, that *Skladanja* represents only a selection of Lucić's works. If so, we would have to imagine Antun choosing some works for publication and discarding others without mentioning the fact. Since the publication of *Skladanja* is clearly an act of filial piety, I find it unlikely that any of Hanibal's surviving poems would have been excluded from the book and discarded forever.

his house on account of the plague, he amused himself by going through his books and papers, most of which had lain neglected for a long time. »Regarding them with fresh eyes, as if they belonged to someone else,« he writes, »I condemned and threw aside almost all of them.« The only thing he selected from this pile of vernacular writing was his translation of Ovid's heroid from Paris to Helen, which seemed to him to survive the test of time, mostly because he only changed Helen's dress. »And whatever is beautiful by itself,« he reasons, »cannot be entirely ugly, no matter how you dress it.«¹⁰ In other words, Lucić chose to share this particular poetic composition because it preserved little of him. It is a lovely tribute to the Renaissance faith in creative imitation and a typical example of Lucić's frequently professed modesty. Nevertheless, it seems that the things Lucić temporarily threw aside were not destroyed, and that they eventually found their way into the collection published by Hanibal's son Antun. Among these were some fine love poems, upon which Lucić's poetic reputation chiefly rests.¹¹

Despite a considerable body of critical and historical work devoted to Lucić's career as a poet, an important fact has escaped attention for centuries. When Antun Lucić went to Venice with his father's literary remains, he carried with him manuscript material that was to be digested into two books, not one. Francesco Marcolini, the printer who published Lucić's *Skladanja*, also produced in the same year an edition of Lucić's Italian verse, entitled *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, scritti a diversi* (*The Sonnets of Master Hanibal Lucić of Hvar, Written to Diverse People*). Although this book is not mentioned in any of the existing bibliographies of early modern printed books written by Croatian authors, I have discovered two complete copies of it and one defective one, all held outside Croatia. In this essay, I describe this hitherto unknown publication and explain how I discovered it. I also provide, in an appendix, an edition of its contents in the hope

¹⁰ »Meu kojima došadši mi na ruku nikolika moja davnjena od pisni našega jezika sladan'ja, i kako no jure ne moja razgledavši jih i pogrdivši, odvrgoh malo ne sva. Nu meu ine namirih se na onu bludnu knjigu, koju izvrsni pisnivac Ovidij mnogo hitro od strane Pariževe izmisli, [...] koju ja istu knjigu iz latinske odiće svukši, u našu hrvacku nikoliko jur vrimenta bih priobukal, i nikako mi se ne učini, da je sa svim pogr'jen'ja dostojna, more biti za toj, što u njoj ničtore moga ne biše, nego sama taj priobuka; a što no samo sobom jest lipo, u što hoć' da obučeš, grubo sa svim biti ne more«; *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, 185. Translations throughout are my own. Note that Lucić explicitly refers to his (and Martinčić's) language as Croatian (»u našu hrvacku [...] priobukal«).

¹¹ It is evident even from Lucić's letter to Martinčić that in addition to Ovid's heroid in Croatian he sent him other vernacular poems as well, leaving it to Martinčić to decide whether they are to be released into the world (»odlučih ne držati veće sakrvenu ni nju ni ostale od takova razloga moje, kakove takove, pisni od davna složene. [...] Evo ti jih dake poklanjam kako za zaklad i za spomenu moje velike s tobom prijazni; a ti, ako ti se vidi, izvedi jih na dvor«; *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, 186). It is not clear from *Skladanja* whether the love poems that in this book follow Ovid's heroid are the poems sent to Martinčić, but they may very well have been.

that Lucić's Italian verse will be studied by scholars on both sides of the Adriatic, and beyond. Lucić's *Sonetti* constitute an important document in the essentially multilingual history of the European Renaissance in this part of the world, and they remind us how our focus on national literatures has in some cases rendered the multilingual aspects of the Renaissance tradition practically invisible. I wish to recreate this special Renaissance flavor by publishing in a Croatian scholarly journal an essay written in English about a book written by a Dalmatian, published in Italian, and first discovered in the United States. I offer it as a first step toward the multiculturalism that we profess and as a reminder that the global Renaissance, like charity, begins at home.

2.

It has not been entirely unknown to scholars of the Croatian Renaissance that Hanibal Lucić wrote poetry in Italian. In fact, a handful of Lucić's Italian poems have been available in print since the second half of the nineteenth century, when the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (today the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts), in its efforts to assemble within a single editorial project the diverse strands of the Croatian literary tradition, published Lucić's works alongside the works of another poet from the Island of Hvar, Petar Hektorović (1487-1572).¹² The Academy edition of Lucić's works included a reprint of his 1556 Croatian collection, *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlicih*, but also six Italian sonnets found in a nineteenth-century manuscript. Sebastijan Žepić, the editor of Lucić's writings, does not mention this manuscript in his prefatory note on the sources used for the edition, which may suggest that he stumbled upon it late in the editorial process and simply decided to include these poems at the end of the book. He introduced the six Italian sonnets under a generic title—*Soneti*—and added a brief footnote that ran as follows: »Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, scritti a diversi. Con privilegio. In Venetia. Per Francesco Marcolini MDLVI. Iz priepisa u knjižnici jugoslav. akademije br. 867.« The information given in Italian suggests that this was a printed book, but the sentence added in Croatian tersely notes that the poems are taken »from a transcript kept in the Library of the Yugoslav Academy, number 867.« Žepić does not say anything more about his source:

¹² See the publication mentioned in note 4 above. Before the Academy edition, Lucić's *Skladanja* reappeared in the first half of the nineteenth century: *Hanibala Lucića Hvaranima Skladanja, pisana 1495-1525*, ed. Antun Mažuranić (Zagreb: Tiskom kr. povl. narodne tiskarnice Dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1847). There had been several early Venetian reprints of the collection, both in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, but the publication history of *Skladanja* is a topic that deserves separate discussion. I have discovered at least one sixteenth-century edition of *Skladanja* previously unknown to scholars.

how the transcript reached the Academy, who might have copied it and when, and what might have served as its source.¹³

Perhaps because there were only six of them, Lucić's Italian sonnets have suffered considerable neglect. It is clear, however, that critics avoided them for other reasons as well. Since the national revival in the mid-nineteenth century, Croatian literary historians have been almost exclusively interested in showing the distinctiveness of the Croatian literary tradition, which meant dwelling on what had been written in Croatian rather than in Latin or Italian.¹⁴ When the poetry written in Italian happened to be praising Venetian officials, as was the case with the handful of Lucić's sonnets, the national agenda merged with the patriotic agenda, and Lucić, in a way, had to be saved from himself by simply being ignored. It is somewhat harder to understand why Italian literary historiography, often intent on showing the imitative nature of Dalmatian literature and the superiority of its Italian models, similarly failed to offer a critical assessment of Lucić's Italian verse. Instead, Italian scholarship has kept repeating—quite wrongly, as it happens—that Petar Hektorović, another famous writer from the Island of Hvar and Lucić's contemporary, composed a poem in Italian and included it in his predominantly Croatian collection of poetry entitled *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*, published in Venice in 1568.¹⁵

¹³ *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, 293. The transcript in question is still preserved in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, but it has been assigned a new shelf-mark (MS II. b. 77).

¹⁴ An isolated attempt to discuss Croatian poetry written in Italian at some length is Đuro Körbler, »Talijsansko pjesništvo u Dalmaciji 16. vijeka, napose u Kotoru i Dubrovniku,« *Rad JAZU* 212 (1916): 1-109. Körbler focuses on the sixteenth century and on the poets from Dubrovnik and Kotor.

¹⁵ For a prominent example, see Sante Graciotti, »Per una tipologia del trilinguismo letterario in Dalmazia nei secoli XVI/XVIII,« in *Barocco in Italia e nei paesi slavi del sud*, ed. Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 321-46: »Di Ettore (Petar Hektorović) ci è conservato un sonetto italiano (anche questo si può leggere in *op. cit.*, p. 177), dedicato ad Antonio Lucio, figlio del poeta Annibale (Hannibal Lucić), nel quale sonetto la celebrazione prende l'avvio e si sviluppa attorno al motivo della luce, implicito nell'ipotetico etimo italiano (ed è interessante questa etimologizzazione su base linguistica romanza e non slava) del cognome del celebrato« (334). It is amusing that Graciotti's claim about Italian etymology and Croatian names is founded upon a misattribution; as the 1568 publication explicitly states, the author of the sonnet in question is Vincenzo Vanetti (*Ribanye i ribarscho prigouaranye* [In Venetia: Appresso Gioanfrancesco Camotio, 1568], N1v-N2r). Vanetti was a physician from Pesaro who practiced on the Island of Hvar. It is hardly surprising that someone writing in Italian—be he Italian or Croatian—plays with Italian etymology. Nevertheless, Graciotti has found his own etymological point so appealing that he repeats it, together with the misattribution, in a more recent publication: »Le molte vite dell'italiano 'de là mar' fra Quattro e Cinquecento,« *Atti e memorie della Società dalmata di storia patria* 34.1 (2012): 9-28, at 17. The mistake originates with Arnolfo

While Hektorović did not write any poems in Italian, he did write a long and fascinating prose epistle in which he provided an extensive commentary on an Italian poem sent to him by Vincenzo Vanetti. Because thoroughly apolitical, Hektorović's Italian writing found a Croatian translator sooner than Lucić's Italian sonnets.¹⁶ When Lucić's six sonnets were finally translated by Tonko Maroević into Croatian, in 1987, the translator complained about the long-term neglect, correctly observing the ideological difficulty while still unwilling to claim for the sonnets the artistic status enjoyed by Lucić's Croatian poems: »Lucić's six Italian sonnets [...] have constituted something of a blemish within his literary oeuvre. They have not been reprinted since 1874, and they are mentioned only in passing, almost apologetically and with disdain. True, they are entirely conventional in character and no more than mediocre in quality. However, our literary historians seem primarily to have disliked the poet's subservient attitude toward the Venetian officials.«¹⁷ Maroević was also the first to return to the manuscript in which Lucić's sonnets were preserved. This is what he wrote about it: »The sonnets are preserved in a much later transcript kept in the Library of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb as manuscript number 867. This handful of leaves is entitled *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, scritti a diversi*. The note in the manuscript tells us that they were taken from the first edition of *Skladanja izvarskih pisam* [sic] *razlicih*, published in Venice, *Per Francesco Marcolini MDLVI*.«¹⁸ Maroević goes on to scold his editorial predecessor for being inaccurate when transcribing from the manuscript without himself saying anything

Bacotich, »Rimatori dalmati nel Cinquecento,« *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia XXI*, 125 (1936): 177-80.

¹⁶ Mladen Nikolanci, »Petra Hektorovića inojezične sitnice,« *Hvarski zbornik 4* (1976): 345-55. It is worth observing that Hektorović's compositions in Latin and Italian were interspersed with his Croatian works in the 1568 edition of *Ribanye i ribarscho prigouaranye*. The Academy edition, however, printed the Croatian works first, while grouping the Latin and the Italian texts at the end under the revealing title »Inojezične sitnice« (»Foreign Trifles«); *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, 173.

¹⁷ »Ciklus od šest Lucićevih talijanskih soneta [...] je ostao pomalo tamna mrlja u njegovu literarnom korpusu. Nikada poslije 1874. nije objavljivan, a o njemu se govori samo usput, gotovo sa stidom i omalovažavanjem. Istina, sasvim je konvencionalnog karaktera i jedva prosječnog dometa. Međutim, našoj književnoj povijesti kao da je ponajviše smetao zbog udvornog odnosa prema mletačkim vlastodršcima«; Tonko Maroević, »Hanibal Lucić, pjesnik 'mornarom na putu' (uz prepjev njegovih talijanskih soneta),« *Dani hvarskog kazališta 13* (1987): 231-48, at 236.

¹⁸ »Soneti su sačuvani u jednom znatno kasnijem prijepisu, što se čuva u knjižnici Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu kao rukopis pod signaturom 867. Tih nekoliko listova naslovljeno je *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, scritti a diversi*. Naznaka na rukopisu govori da su uzeti iz prvoga izdanja *Skladanja izvarskih pisam razlicih*, tiskanog u Veneciji, *Per Francesco Marcolini MDLVI*«; Maroević, »Hanibal Lucić, pjesnik 'mornarom na putu,'« 237.

more about the manuscript or about any copies of *Skladanja* in which these Italian sonnets were to be found.

Like everyone else, I first became interested in the question of Lucić's Italian verse because of the verse he wrote in Croatian, and especially because Lucić's Croatian verse was published in Venice in 1556. I wanted to learn more about this particular book, its later editorial history, and the copies of it that have survived. Croatian scholars from the nineteenth century onward have depended almost exclusively on the only copy preserved in Croatia, owned by the National and University Library in Zagreb (shelf-mark: RIIC-8^o-74).¹⁹ It was the copy that served as the basis for both nineteenth-century editions of Lucić's Croatian works. Neither of these editions, however, pointed out that the Zagreb copy is defective. It lacks at least one leaf at the end (it collates A-P4, R3). It is possible that this defect in the Zagreb copy, the absence of R4, led Maroević to assume that more than one leaf was missing, and that the edition possessed another quire containing the six Italian sonnets. Anyhow, it is clear from what Maroević wrote in 1987 that he thought the six Italian sonnets had been part of *Skladanja*, Lucić's Croatian collection from 1556, and that they had been copied from there by an unidentified scribe, whose transcript eventually reached the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Croatian scholarship mentions only one other copy of *Skladanja*, preserved in the British Library in London (shelf-mark: G.18453).²⁰ My own research has revealed further copies, complete as well as defective, but even the British Library copy would have been enough to prove that *Skladanja* contained only one more leaf, and that the six Italian sonnets could not have been found in any of its copies.²¹ The final leaf (R4) features on its recto the printer's device, but also the register of quires (see **Figure 2**). The register makes clear that the final quire was quire R. The verso of the final leaf features a woodcut depicting a poet crowned with laurels (see **Figure 3**). One would want it to be a portrait of Lucić, but it is clearly a portrait of Petrarch, recycled by Marcolini from his previous publications.

My own consultation of the transcript of Lucić's six Italian sonnets kept in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (MS II. b.

¹⁹ The Zagreb copy has been digitized; it can be accessed here: http://stari.nsk.hr/Bastina/knjige/Lucic_Skladanja/Skladanya.html.

²⁰ See, most recently, Amir Kapetanović, *Jezik u starim versima hrvatskim* (Split: Književni krug, 2016), 111. Drawing on outdated scholarship, Kapetanović wrongly states that the British copy is today held in the British Museum.

²¹ Additional copies of the 1556 edition of *Skladanja* currently known to me are found in the following repositories: Forlì, Biblioteca Comunale »A. Saffi,« Raccolte Piancastelli, Sala O, Sez. Stampatori, Marcolini 52 (like the Zagreb copy, this copy lacks the final leaf; I would like to thank Antonella Imolesi for confirming the defect); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, shelf-marks: YM-24 and 4-BL-2357 (two complete copies, one of which is kept in Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal [4-BL-2357]; the Arsenal copy formerly belonged to Bibliothèque Mazarine).

77) convinced me, nonetheless, that it had been made from a printed book. I also became convinced that the transcript was made from a defective copy. Both title leaves found in the transcript suggest that the sonnets were printed.²² Furthermore, the scribe was careful to note the recto and the verso sides of the leaves he was copying (marking them A and B) even though these did not match the recto and verso sides of his own transcript. Finally, at the end of the transcript we find a catchword (»AL«), which suggests that more text was to follow. But despite the catchword, the final page of the manuscript is left blank. Since, as I have shown, the transcript could not have been made from *Skladanja*, it became clear to me that there must have been another book published by Marcolini in 1556, that it contained Lucić's Italian poetry, and that the Zagreb transcript was in fact a transcript of a defective copy.

It is easier to find something when one knows what one is looking for. I have managed to locate three copies of *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, scritti a diversi*, published in Venice by Francesco Marcolini in 1556 (**Figure 4**). These copies enable us both to recover Lucić's Italian oeuvre in its entirety and to explain the mystery of the Zagreb transcript. While two copies—one held by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University (shelf-mark: 2003 1238) and the other by Biblioteca Universitaria in Pavia (shelf-mark: MISC. 8. - T. 245. n. 6)—are complete, the third copy—held by Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (shelf-mark: MISC 3053. 015)—contains only the first quire. The Marciana copy, therefore, seems to have served as the source for the Zagreb transcript, as both break off after the sixth sonnet. Further details make this explanation certain. The Marciana copy belonged to Don José Doncel y Ordaz, who gave it to Giuseppe Valentinelli, a librarian in the Marciana from 1841 and the library's director from 1845 onward. The copy reached the Marciana in its defective state, bound (as number fifteen) with thirty-seven other works into a composite volume. Most of these works, all very short, belong to the nineteenth century; Lucić's book is the only book in the volume dating from the sixteenth century.²³ While himself interested in Dalmatian bibliography, a field to which he actively contributed, Valentinelli also cultivated a friendship with Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, the most important Croatian bibliographer of the nineteenth century.²⁴

As its old shelf-mark testifies, the Zagreb transcript originally belonged to Kukuljević, whose library was purchased by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences

²² The first title leaf, belonging to the wrapper, reads: »Sonetti / di / Messer Annibale Lucio Lesignano. / Stampati in Venezia 1556.« The second reads: »Sonetti / di Messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano / scritti a diversi / Con privilegio / In Venetia / Per Francesco Marcolini MDLVI.«

²³ I would like to thank Paola Margarito for answering my questions regarding the provenance of the Marciana copy.

²⁴ On Valentinelli and Kukuljević, see Petar Rogulja, »Giuseppe Valentinelli,« *Crkva u svijetu* 27 (1992): 78-81; Tomislav Jakić, »Ivan Kukuljević—bibliofil i bibliograf,« *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* 21 (1975): 1-16.

and Arts in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was listed in the 1867 catalogue of Kukuljević's collection in the section devoted to manuscripts, without any indication that it had been transcribed from a printed book.²⁵ However, a letter sent from Valentinelli to Kukuljević on August 7, 1858 explicitly mentions the Marciana copy and gives a detailed description of it, including the fact that it is defective.²⁶ It is clear from the letter that Valentinelli's response was prompted by a query received from Kukuljević, who had come across a mention of the book in one of the Marciana catalogues but did not know what it contained. Further letters that passed between Valentinelli and Kukuljević show that, once informed of its contents, Kukuljević wanted the book to be sent to him. However, because the book was part of a composite volume, Valentinelli was not allowed to take it out of the library. Instead, he offered to employ a reliable amanuensis to copy Lucić's *Sonetti* for Kukuljević at a reasonable price.²⁷ The job was finished in December 1859, the amanuensis being »slow but accurate,« and the transcript was mailed to Kukuljević on December 12.²⁸ The only thing that remains puzzling here is the fact that two great bibliographers from the nineteenth century, both interested in Dalmatian literature, knew of the existence of Lucić's printed book but failed to communicate this important piece of information to the scholarly public. If they did so, the information has not been registered by the scholars working on Hanibal Lucić.

The two complete copies of Lucić's *Sonetti* also belong to composite volumes. The Pavia copy is still bound together, as number six, with ten other works. No

²⁵ See *Jugoslavenska knjižnica Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga* (Zagreb: Knjigotiskarna Dragutina Albrechta, 1867), 14. The entry reads: »Lucio Annibale da Lessina. Sonetti.« It is listed in the foreign manuscripts section as number 6 within subsection 12 (»Carmina. Pjesmotvori u inostranih jezicah izpjevani od jugoslavenskih ponajprije pjesnika,« which translates as »Carmina. Poems in foreign languages composed by primarily South Slavic poets«).

²⁶ Valentinelli's letter is found among Kukuljević's papers, preserved in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, MS XV. 23/AI. 131(46). Valentinelli gives the dimensions of Lucić's *Sonetti* as well (19.5 x 15 cm).

²⁷ In a letter dated September 13, 1859, Valentinelli writes: »Non posso mandarle nè il *Rasgovaranje*, nè i Sonetti del Lucio, perchè ambedue queste opericciuole legate in miscellanee, che non possono essere mandate fuori di Biblioteca. Ne ho già parlato con un buon amanuense, ed Ella potrebbe averne la copia per cinque fiorini nuovi: il primo è di 40 pagine, e un po' difficile per uno che non conosce il croato: ma Ella potrebbe assicurarsi della fedeltà della copia, perchè il proposto è uno de' migliori trascrittori«; Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, MS XV. 23/AI. 131(51). The Croatian book mentioned by Valentinelli is the 1555 *Rasgovarange megiu papistu, i gednim Luteran*, featuring a false Paduan imprint; this early document of Croatian Protestantism was in fact published in Tübingen.

²⁸ Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, MS XV. 23/AI. 131(52), letter dated December 12, 1859: »Spero che ne sarete contento, dacchè l'Amanuense è tardo, ma esatto.«

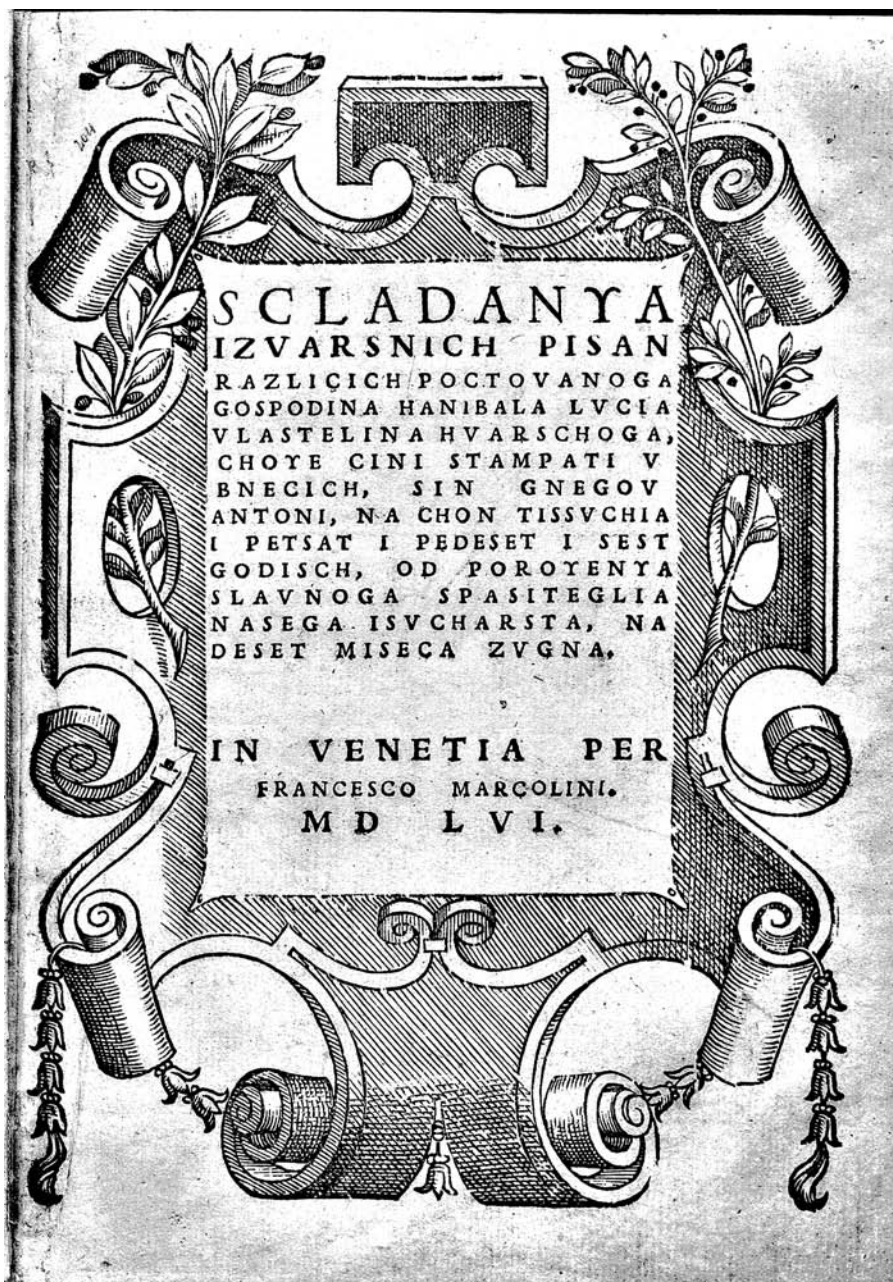
common logic apart from size can be discovered in the volume. The works are all in Italian.²⁹ The Beinecke copy, which is the only one I have consulted in person, is today a separate item and was purchased as such by the library from Hesketh and Ward Ltd. in 1998. According to the information provided by the dealer at the time of purchase, the book originally belonged to the library of Cardinal Ludovico de Torres (1533-1583), Archbishop of Monreale from 1573 until his death. His ex libris was apparently written above the title, but only descenders of letters are visible today (**Figure 4**).³⁰ Number sixteen written in the right top corner suggests that this copy was at some point also part of a larger composite volume, but it is now impossible to discover what other works were bound with Lucić's *Sonetti* and whether this was done while the volume was in the Archbishop's library or later. Anyhow, the fact that all three surviving copies were included in composite volumes may help explain why Lucić's *Sonetti* have escaped notice for so long. In all three cases Lucić was buried among other authors' works, and library catalogs may not have properly recorded his existence.

3.

Ever since the publication of Lucić's six sonnets in the 1874 Academy edition of his works we have known one part of Lucić's Italian oeuvre, but we have not realized that this was only one part and that its meanings also depend on what is found in the rest of the collection. While we have discovered something new, we are also confronted with something joined with it that we have known all along, and have not particularly relished. To encounter again Lucić as an encomiast of Venetian rule on the Island of Hvar is to be forced to reconsider something we have largely decided to suppress in our constructions of the poet's reputation. As soon as Lucić's political poetry officially entered Croatian literary historiography, in the Academy edition, it was seen to require explanation. Franjo Rački, the first president of the Academy, offered a reading of the six Italian sonnets that in some measure endeavored to exculpate Lucić. The excessive praise of Venetian officials was seen by Rački as an expression of the local conflict between the island's patricians and its people. To turn to the Venetians in order to praise them meant, according to this reading, to protect the rights of the aristocracy against those that threatened them by rebellion from within. Among the Venetian territories in early modern Dalmatia Hvar was notorious because of a major popular rebellion

²⁹ I would like to thank Maria Paola Invernizzi for sending me the list of contents of the volume.

³⁰ I would like to thank Diane Ducharme for checking the Beinecke accession records at my request; these are not available to readers. On the library of Ludovico de Torres, see T. Kimball Brooker, »Who Was L. T.?«, *The Book Collector* 47 (1998): 508-19; 48 (1999): 32-53.



SCLADANYA
IZVARNICH PISAN
RAZLICICH POCTOVANOGA
GOSPODINA HANIBALA LVCIA
VLASTELINA HVARSCHOGA,
CHOYE CINI STAMPATI V
BNECICH, SIN GNEGOV
ANTONI, NA CHON TISSVCHIA
I PETSAT I PEDESET I SEST
GODISCH, OD POROYENYA
SLAVNOGA SPASITEGLIA
NASEGA ISVCHARSTA, NA
DESET MISECA ZVGNA.

IN VENETIA PER
FRANCESCO MARCOLINI.
M D LVI.

Figure 1: *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlicih*, title page;
British Library, London (shelf-mark: G.18453)

REGISTRO.
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOR.
TVTTI SONO DVERNI.



CON PRIVILEGIO.
IN VENETIA PER FRAN-
CESCO MARCOLINI MDLVI

Figure 2: *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlicih*, R4r;
British Library, London (shelf-mark: G.18453)



Figure 3: *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlicih*, R4v;
British Library, London (shelf-mark: G.18453)

SONETTI DI MESSER
ANIBAL LVCIO LESI-
GNANO, SCRITTI
A DIVERSI.



CON PRIVILEGIO.
IN VENETIA PER FRAN-
CESCO MARCOLINI. MDLVI.

Figure 4: *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano*, title page; Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven (shelf-mark: 2003 1238)

AL CLARISSIMO MESSER
MATHEO MARIPIETRO SVO CONTE
ET PROVEDITORE.



LESINA.



L PATRE & il
Figlio, che vedetta fenno
Contra Hierusalem del
Signor nostro,
Poi che successer al hor-
ribil mostro,
Vn chiar esempio a Ro-
ma e al Mondo denno,

Che humil sembianti & giusta voglia & senna
Conuengono al Scettro e al manto d'Ostro.
Così hora fate voi ne l'oprar vostro
O nobil Maripetro e in voce e in senna
Maggior benignitate entro'l mio albergo
Ne Giustitia fu mai tanta o Prudentia:
Ond'io LESINA in gioia rido & canto.
Et mirando co gl'occhi volti a tergo,
Dico, ingiustitia orgoglio & imprudentia
Rimaneteui a dietro & noia & pianto,

Figure 5: Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, A2v;
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven
(shelf-mark: 2003 1238)

AL SVO DEGNISSIMO CEN-

SORE MESSER MARC'ANTONIO

D A M V L L A,



DALMATIA.



VEI, che di gloria e
fama acquisto fenno,
Tyrannide fuggendo, hor=
ribil mostro,
Et ben reggendo al tem=
po antico & nostro,
Vn bello & chiaro essem=
pio ad altri denno,

Che humil sembianti & giusta voglia & fenno
Si conuengono al Scettro e al manto d'Ostro
Cosi hor fate voi nell'oprar vostro
Mulla gentile & in parole e in cenno.
Maggior benignitate entro al mio albergo
Ne Giusticia fu mai tanta o Prudentia,
Perch'io DALMATIA in gioia rido et canto.
Et mirando co gl'occhi volti a tergo
Dico, ingiusticia orgoglio & imprudentia
Rimaneteui a dietro & noia & pianto.

Figure 6: Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, A3v; Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven (shelf-mark: 2003 1238)



A M. ANIBAL LVICIO.



LVICIO Quel chiaro,
Et glorioso nome
Ch'insua qui de'l vostro
honor risuona
Dandoui con raggion quel=
la Corona
Che sol'adorna le ben
dotte chiome,

A riuerirui (non saprei dir come)
Accende il cor d'ogni gentil persona,
Et me vie piu ch'altrui sospinge Et sprona
A sottopormi alle medesme some
Questo mio dunque gratiofo affetto
Mi vaglia appo di voi, e'n parte adempia
De'l basso stile, il semplice difetto,
Et mentre Amor il cor mi straccia, Et scempia
Voi co'l vostro diuin consiglio eletto
Spengete la mia fiamma acerba, Et empia.

Il Pasquale.

Figure 7: Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, C1v; Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven (shelf-mark: 2003 1238)



Figure 8: *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano*, D4v;
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven
(shelf-mark: 2003 1238)

that took place in 1510-1514 and as a result of which many patricians lost lives, property, and family members.³¹

The problem with this reading is that Lucić's poetry of praise is not an isolated example in early modern Dalmatia, nor is it in any way peculiar to the Island of Hvar. Lucić's poetic glorifications of Venetian rule cannot, in other words, be explained away as mere expressions of local rivalries. Franjo Božičević, Lucić's contemporary from the city of Split, similarly wrote poems ardently praising Venetian administrators. Although Božičević's poems were composed in Latin and did not reach print until the twentieth century, he was rebuked for them in very strong terms by Miroslav Marković, his modern critical editor. The task was perhaps made easier by the fact that Božičević did not leave us poetry in Croatian by which to be remembered and for which to be excused. Marković's assessment is worth quoting at length because it shows how in the course of several sentences he loses patience with the poet he is editing. It also shows to what extent the critic's judgment is guided by his own ideological position: »Both the external and the internal political situation forced the patrician Božičević into the embrace of the Venetian lords in Split: the Turks outside the city and the people inside it. All that is understandable. Still, Božičević's glorification of various occupying powerholders, both great and small, exceeds all measure and cannot in any way be justified: not by the political situation mentioned above, nor by the influence of humanism and the Renaissance extending from Italy. Božičević roots for the Venetians with his whole being. [...] [He] simply melts when he deifies Venetian occupiers, employing all his poetic skill in the enterprise. [...] [Finally, Božičević becomes] a poor poet-beggar who, like a child observing a lollipop in someone else's hand, envies his rich Venetian friends their material wealth.«³²

Although he praises, Lucić does not melt; although he must have seen many a lollipop in a Venetian hand, he is not jealous of it in his sonnets. Lucić's admiration of Venetian virtues, often articulated through a complex mythological or historical allusion, appears at times so excessive that it tests credulity. This excess,

³¹ *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, XLI-XLII.

³² »I spoljašnja i unutrašnja situacija terala je patricija Božičevića u zagrljaj mletačkih kneževa u Splitu: spolja Turci, a iznutra pučani. Sve je to razumljivo. Pa ipak, Božičevićovo kovanje u zvezde raznih okupatorskih vlastodržaca, krupnih i sitnih, prelazi svaku meru i ne može se ničim pravdati, ni gornjom političkom uslovljenošću, ni kulturnim zračenjima humanizma i renesansa [sic] iz Italije. On je dušom i srcem za Mletke. ... [On se] prosto topi kad deifikuje mletačke okupatore, stavljajući tome u službu čitavu svoju pesničku veštinu. ... [Konačno, Božičević se pretvara] u ubogog pesnika-prosjaka, koji kao dete na šećerlemi u tuđoj ruci, zavidi svojim bogatim mletačkim prijateljima na materijalnim dobrima«; *Pesme Franja Božičevića Natalisa*, ed. Miroslav Marković (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1958), 10. The rhetoric is of course redolent of the official language of socialist Yugoslavia, especially in discussions of the Second World War. I use the form Božičević rather than Božičević; on this point see Dušan Berić, »Franjo Božičević (Franciscus Natalis) i njegov zbornik latinskih pjesama,« *Mogućnosti* 10 (1957): 831-46.

especially when compared to the more moderate and restrained tones of the rest of his poetic collection, deserves to be noticed. Indeed, it is perfectly possible that Lucić sincerely loved the Venetians, and that he proceeded to express this sincere love by means of poetic hyperbole. But as Renaissance love poetry cannot be divorced from the conventions that govern it, so Renaissance poetry of praise has its laws and expectations. Such poems show not just what Lucić thought about foreign administrators but how he proved himself as a poet by glorifying their moral and political worth. Such poems show that Lucić loved himself at least as much as those to whom he addressed his political sonnets. This becomes especially evident when we realize that in one instance (Sonnets 2 and 4) Lucić uses the same sonnet twice, minimally adapting it, in order to praise two different Venetian officials: Matheo Maripetro and Marc' Antonio da Mulla. In one version, the sonnet is spoken by Hvar (Lesina), in the other the speaker is Dalmatia (see **Figures 5** and **6**). This particular poetic device—the introduction of political entities that directly address the Venetians who rule over them—removes Lucić further from his object of praise and makes more difficult the task of establishing what Lucić actually meant when he wrote this kind of poetry. If there is a phrase to describe Lucić as an encomiast, it is rhetorical elusiveness.

The case is further complicated by the sonnets that follow the six sonnets by which Lucić has been made out to be an enthusiastic poet of the regime. While there are more poems written in the same key, later in the collection we come across a sonnet that forces us to think harder about why Lucić wrote his political sonnets in the first place. Sonnet 21 is written by Lucić on behalf of the Hvar patriciate, and it constitutes a response to a congratulatory poem sent to them by Aleksandar Bizanti, probably from Kotor (Sonnet 21a). Bizanti praises the patricians of Hvar for electing the new *cancelier*, a deserving and virtuous man, noting that their election was inspired by divine will. Lucić responds with a sonnet in which the deserts of the Hvar patriciate are minimized and the position to which the unnamed individual is elected described as unworthy of him and his virtues. Here, Lucić is explicitly the official poet of Hvar, and his sonnet seems to have been part of the public political ritual. Such political rituals, made up of a series of carefully choreographed performance acts, employed poetry as one of their common tools across early modern Europe.

If Lucić is speaking on behalf of his fellow patricians in this particular case, should we not consider the possibility that his other sonnets were similarly prompted by specific political occasions on which poems were not so much volunteered as demanded? If Lucić is the official patrician poet, whose sentiments does he express in his verse? While the verse is indeed Lucić's (he makes sure to communicate this point by recycling his rhymes), the sentiments belong to his class and to the official ideology. Like most Renaissance political poetry, Lucić's sonnets of praise pose a double challenge to their interpreter. On the one hand, they ask to be understood within a genre governed by strict rules but transcend-

ing, in their purely poetic aspects, the specific political occasion by which they are prompted; on the other hand, they ask to be understood in the context of the political culture within which they originated and in relation to the specific functions they performed in the public sphere. Much more research is needed on the political functions of poetry in early modern Dalmatia before we can fully appreciate the complexity of the relationship between Lucić's own political beliefs and his verse.

4.

Had, instead of the first, some other quire from Lucić's collection of Italian verse been preserved in a nineteenth-century transcript, it would have been mentioned much more frequently in the histories of Croatian literature and in the surveys of Lucić's poetic output. While small in size, Lucić's Italian collection is diverse in content, includes poems of different kinds, and constitutes an important source of information about the literary culture of Dalmatia in the sixteenth century. In the remaining sections of this essay I wish to discuss briefly just a handful of examples that will illustrate this diversity and show, so at least I hope, the importance and interest of Lucić's *Sonetti* for scholars of the Renaissance. My aim is to begin the conversation rather than offer a definitive assessment. It will become clear that I think Lucić's verse in Italian should be considered alongside his verse in Croatian as often as possible.

Among Lucić's Croatian poems there is an epistle addressed to Milica Koriolanović Cipiko, a noblewoman from Trogir. We know nothing more about her than what Lucić tells us in his poem. At one point, he begins to praise her in a somewhat unusual manner: »No one in this world can appreciate / How many gifts you were given by goddess Athena, / Who also gave you the skill / To read and to understand fully what you read, / Making you more bookish than other women, / Both those that came before and those that will come after.«³³ Milica, thus, not only reads but can fully understand what she reads, which ought to be perceived as a special divine gift. Here Lucić perhaps tells us more about his own, and his culture's, perception of women than about Milica. In his Italian poems we also come across a lady from Dalmatia who is otherwise unknown (Sonnet 13). Her name in Italian is Orsola Tetrica, which translates as Uršula Tetrico (Detrico). The surname suggests that she belonged to the noble family Detrico based in Zadar. While Milica is able to read, Uršula is more accomplished—she can also write. Lucić admires her writing style—especially worthy of wonder because it is pos-

³³ »Ne more na svitu nitkor da procini, / koli darovitu Palas te učini, / koja ti darova, još ovo da umiš, / čtiti i do slova čteći da razumiš; / i da si knjižnija od žen, ke su do sli, / i ke biše prija, i ke će bit po sli«; *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, 288, lines 149-54.

sessed by a woman—and is so eager to see examples of it again that he is likely to drown in his own desire: »Quando ripenso à lo stile arguto et terso / Merauiglioso in voi, che Donna sete, / Di riuederlo al cor mi ven tal sete, / Ch'i resto nel desir tutto sommerso« (Sonnet 13, lines 1-4). The homonyms *sete—sete* (*you are—thirst*) used by Lucić in his rhyming scheme are rich in implication. They are not employed because Lucić cannot think of more diverse rhymes in Italian; they are typical of his poetic technique when he writes in Croatian as well.³⁴

Lucić praises Uršula with such ardor—she is described in the poem's title as the tenth muse—that we are entitled to wonder whether she, too, might not have occupied an important political position. But we know that, being a woman, she could not have. Nevertheless, Lucić claims that her style excels everything written in either prose or verse in either ancient or modern times; it lends immortality to its subjects and makes Cassandra and Sappho her inferiors. The allusion to Sappho is clear enough. If one is to correlate ancient and modern times with these two names, then by Cassandra is probably meant not Cassandra of Troy but Cassandra Fedele, the Venetian woman scholar who in the late fifteenth century became famous for her Latin writings.³⁵ We do not know which language Uršula employed in her writing—maybe both Greek and Latin, maybe Croatian, maybe Italian—but whichever it was, she does not seem to have yielded to Lucić's entreaty to stop hiding her writing from the world. Uršula Detrico is not mentioned in any history of Dalmatian literature, but her appearance in Lucić's poetic collection might be the first step toward recovering this female writer from the underresearched archives of the Croatian Renaissance.

Lucić's sonnet addressed to Uršula Detrico confirms his literary relations with the city of Zadar. A poem addressed to Franjo Božićević (Sonnet 27) confirms

³⁴ Maroević, »Hanibal Lucić, pjesnik 'mornarom na putu,'« 242, complains about Lucić's »limited formal repertoire (when he uses the Italian language)« (»[o]graničenost Lucićeva formalnog repertoara (u talijanskom jeziku),« and proceeds to point out the poet's repeated use of common rhymes. But in both his Italian and his Croatian verse Lucić is fond of different kinds of repetition, sometimes but not always differentiated by accent. The rhyme *sete—sete* should be compared with the following Croatian rhymes: »I evo izpušta iz sebe on vrući / od ognja gorušta uzdah, ki me vrući« (*vrući* being both the adjective *hot* and the verb *makes hot*); »prem ako zgubih vlas, prem ako vas sam tvoj / prem ako jedan vlas na meni nije moj« (the internal rhyme *vlas* means *power* in the first instance and *hair* in the second); »I evo ne vim reć, oda dva taj dobra: / ali si lipa već, al umna i dobra« (where *dobra* means *goods* and *good*), and so on. See *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, 201, 206, and 209 respectively.

³⁵ See Cassandra Fedele, *Letters and Orations*, ed. and trans. Diana Robin (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000). That Cassandra Fedele was a familiar figure among the Hvar poets is shown by Paolo Paladini, who addresses to her a poem in Latin; see Sante Gracioti, *Il petrarchista dalmata Paolo Paladini e il suo canzoniere (1496)* (Roma: Società dalmata di storia patria, 2005), 150. Fedele's Dalmatian correspondents are discussed in Tomislav Bogdan, »Cassandra Fedele i njezini dalmatinski korespondenti,« *Croatica* 41 (2017): 227-52.

his relations with the city of Split.³⁶ What is notable about the *Sonetti* is the total absence of any contact with the writers from the Ragusan Republic. The same is true of Lucić's Croatian oeuvre, and this strange absence has occasioned considerable critical controversy.³⁷ Instead of Dubrovnik, it is Kotor that emerges as the city with whose poets Lucić maintained the greatest number of literary friendships. *Sonetti* contain poems addressed to figures from Kotor already known to historians of Croatian and Montenegrin literature (Juraj Bizanti, the addressee of Sonnet 19; Ludovik Paskalić, the addressee of Sonnets 14-17; Vicko Buća, the addressee of Sonnet 23), but there are also poets who, as far as I have been able to ascertain, appear to be otherwise unknown (Aleksandar Bizanti, the author of Sonnet 21a and the addressee of Sonnet 21, and Marin Grubonja, the addressee of Sonnet 20).³⁸ The absence of Dubrovnik becomes especially noticeable when, in Sonnet 14, Lucić praises Kotor as the leading poetic center »in our part of the world« (»nel nostro clima«). As Lucić puts it in the same sonnet, Kotor gave birth to poets from the families Buća, Pelegrini, Bizanti, Pontano, and to so many others, too numerous to be accommodated within a single poem. The catalogue of poets from Kotor is valuable not just because it illustrates Lucić's familiarity with that city's thriving poetic culture but because we learn from it that Ludovik Pontano, about whose origin literary historians have offered different hypotheses, was actually born in Kotor.³⁹

³⁶ Note that Lucić explicitly refers to Božičević as a nobleman from Split. This is a useful detail, as Slavic scholarship was uncertain on this point for a long time. See Berić, »Franjo Božičević.«

³⁷ See, for instance, Slobodan P. Novak, »Nešto o vezi Mavra Vetranovića i Hanibala Lucića,« *Hvarski zbornik* 2 (1974): 353-68; Tomislav Bogdan, »Grad, država, poredak—Hanibal Lucić i Dubrovnik,« *Prva svitlos: studije o hrvatskoj renesansnoj književnosti* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2017), 129-50.

³⁸ Until now, the only evidence of Vicko Buća's poetic activities has been found in the poems addressed to him by Ludovik Paskalić, included in his *Rime volgari* (1549). Lucić's Sonnet 23 seems to have been written as a response to a poem sent by Buća in which he had praised Lucić, associating his name with light (*luce*) and with poetic fame. Lucić responds by playing with Buća's name (Vincentio, the one who vanquishes, from Italian *vincere*; see line 3). Although young, Buća is naturally gifted, and Lucić's labored poems pale in comparison. Fortunately, the sonnet concludes, the worthless Lucić will live in Buća's worthy poems.

³⁹ See R. Kovijanić and I. Stjepčević, *Kulturni život staroga Kotora (XIV-XVIII vijek)*, vol. 1 (Cetinje: Istoriski institut NR Crne Gore, 1957), 57-59; Radoslav Rotković, *Crnogorsko književno nasljeđe*, vol. 1 (Titograd: Pobjeda, 1976), 108-110. Pontano's »Carmen Virgini Matri sacrum,« his only surviving poem, was included by Juraj Bizanti at the end of his own collection of love poetry in Italian: see *Rime amorose di Georgio Bizantio Catharense* (Vinegia: Iacob dal Borgo, 1532), C4v-C8r. In his prefatory note Bizanti explains that he decided to print Pontano's poem without the knowledge of its author. Had he not done so, we would not have any surviving evidence of Pontano's poetic work. It is clear from what Bizanti says that Pontano wrote more than just this Latin poem.

If we are to be guided by numbers, we must conclude that Lucić cultivated the closest relationship with Ludovik Paskalić, to whom he addresses no fewer than four sonnets. This is hardly a surprise. As I have already noted above, Paskalić praised Lucić publicly in a couple of poems included in his *Rime volgari*, published in Venice in 1549. The first of these two poems was a sonnet, the second a canzone. What is interesting is that Paskalić's sonnet is also included in Lucić's collection (Sonnet 15a, signed »Il Pasquale«; see **Figure 7**), but the minor textual differences seem to indicate that Paskalić's sonnet was printed from a manuscript found among Lucić's papers rather than reprinted from Paskalić's 1549 collection. In other words, before publishing his sonnet, Paskalić sent it to Lucić, and Lucić wrote a sonnet in response (here Sonnet 15). The two sonnets are closely linked in formal terms as well. In his response, Lucić decides to adopt the same rhyme scheme Paskalić deployed in his sonnet, thus imitating his friend's form, but he uses the rhymes to make a contrary argument. Paskalić closed his sonnet, in which he mostly dwelt on Lucić's poetic fame and personal virtues, by seeking advice from his friend, wishing to control the immature and godless flame of love that was tearing his heart apart. Lucić, on the other hand, argues that love is a noble feeling that in fact moves Paskalić to write poetry. Lucić therefore advises Paskalić not to oppose love, but to submit to it and, more importantly, to find an exalted theme for his exalted poetic style. The exalted theme cannot be Lucić because Lucić exemplifies baseness (»Donate al alto stile alto soggetto, / Il Lucio nò, che la bassezza essemplia«). This figure of modesty, this act of self-effacement is common in Lucić's Croatian verse as well, where he occasionally mentions his torn and weak voice, doubting that his poetry will survive him.⁴⁰ But as the excessive praise of Venetian officials cannot be taken literally, so Lucić's mentions of his own poetic inadequacy should not be understood as acts of merciless self-criticism. Behind the frequent figures of humility one catches a glimpse of a poet fully conscious of his own superior skill.

While encomiastic verse dominates Lucić's poetic collection, we find in it other kinds of poetry as well. For instance, Sonnet 24 is ostensibly about the rooster, the moon, the lion, and the eagle, but these figures are clearly meant to be read allegorically, as in a fable, signifying different countries engaged in warfare. A similar kind of poetic allegory is found in an unpublished Latin poem by Ludovik Paskalić, preserved in a sixteenth-century manuscript. As in Lucić's poem,

⁴⁰ See Hanibal Lucić and Petar Hektorović, *Skladanja izvorsnih pisan razlicih / Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje i razlike stvari ine*, ed. Marin Franičević (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1968), 17-18. In Sonnet 17, also addressed to Paskalić, Lucić again employs the same figure, noting that he will be remembered not because of what he has written but only because he is mentioned in Paskalić's poems (»Chiaro son io per voi nel secol nostro, / Et viuo & chiaro in ogni tempo anchora, / Farammi'l vostro ben purgato inchiostro, / Oue breue per me mia vita fora«). A similar thought is found in Sonnet 23, addressed to Vicko Buča (see note 38 above).

the rooster—probably standing for France (Gallo / Gallus)—is a bad guy, and he leaves the battle badly plucked.⁴¹ Two love poems (25 and 26), found toward the end of Lucić's collection, are the only ones not written in sonnet form. In the first of these Lucić develops a complex paradox within a familiar poetic frame: we find the lady's icy heart, the poet's flames, tears, and endless suffering caused by the pitiless little stars, the lady's eyes. In the second poem the lady is again unaffected whereas the poet's heart is wounded. Scholars of Renaissance love poetry will find it interesting to compare these two love poems with Lucić's Croatian love poetry as well as with the poetry in Italian that he might have read and that might have served him as a model.

5.

The question of imitation and of poetic models has vexed the study of Croatian Renaissance literature written in Italian ever since the early twentieth century. Those who wanted to see Dalmatia as an extension of Italy were inclined to see Dalmatian literature written in Italian as a mere local pendant on the great literary chain forged by Italians. Those who had learned to dislike Italian chains of any kind were too quick to cast the pendant off their neck together with the chain. When Maroević decided to translate Lucić's six sonnets from Italian into Croatian in 1987, he found justification for his undertaking in the changing perceptions of what constitutes Croatian literature. In recent times, he writes, »not only writing in Latin but also in Italian, German, Hungarian, and so on has rightly been seen as constitutive of the Croatian cultural tradition—in those cases, that is, when the writing was done by our people, when it came into being in our part of the world, or when it handled our topics.«⁴² One of the most significant contributions in this new direction has been made by Frano Čale, perhaps the most influential Croatian Italianist of the second half of the twentieth century. A year after Maroević published his translation of Lucić's sonnets, Čale published a book containing Croatian translations of a large selection of Italian verse by Sabo Bobaljević Glušac, a sixteenth-century Ragusan poet. The lengthy introduction to the book, still one of the most sustained critical statements on what it means to study Dalmatian poetry written in Italian in the early modern period, insists on the aesthetic criterion as the surest guide. Čale chooses to translate Glušac only because he finds Glušac to be an excellent poet in Italian, comparable in quality and skill to his contem-

⁴¹ Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MSS. Italiani, Cl. 9, N° 291, fol. 66v.

⁴² »Uostalom, odskora se ne samo latinska pismenost nego i talijanska, njemačka, mađarska i njima slične smatraju s pravom konstitutivnim dijelom hrvatske kulturne baštine—dakako, kad je riječ o radovima naših ljudi, kad su oni nastali u našim krajevima ili kad se bave našim temama«; Maroević, »Hanibal Lucić, pjesnik 'mornarom na putu,'« 237.

poraries writing in Italian on the other side of the Adriatic Sea. According to this criterion, all poetry written in Italian in early modern Dalmatia is to be measured against some imagined Italian standard. That standard is not just poetic; it is also linguistic in nature.⁴³

Unlike the Italian language of Bobaljević, Lucić's Italian is not constructed in accordance with the strictly Tuscan models that are found, ironically, at the end of his book (see **Figure 8**). Marcolini's woodcut depicting Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch—with a lion representing Florence and the river god representing the Arno—would have made more sense in other books, as it no doubt had.⁴⁴ Lucić's Italian is much more a Dalmatian mixture that needs to be considered in its own cultural context first, and only then compared to some imagined literary and linguistic standards. Instead of turning to Florence it might be instructive to turn for comparisons to other cities in Dalmatia, where Italian was also in use. Two descriptions of the kind of Italian spoken in Dubrovnik in the early modern period are particularly illuminating. An anonymous Venetian report from 1555 records that Ragusan men speak both the Slavic vernacular and the Italian language. Their Italian language, however, abounds in corrupt words: they partly use pure Tuscan words, partly old Venetian words, partly words from the north and partly from the south of the Italian peninsula. A much later report, from the eighteenth century, still finds the mixed nature of Ragusan Italian worthy of notice, but it adds the significant observation that this special mixture has its own particular grace («un linguaggio, che ha una certa grazia sua propria, e particolare».)⁴⁵ Before we dismiss Lucić's Italian as too irregular, or abstruse, or incompetent, we need to consider the possibility that to him it may have appeared graceful. After all, his Croatian is at times also a mixture of dialects, and appreciating it always means partly suspending our notions about linguistic and literary standards.

In one of his Italian sonnets, Bobaljević addresses his friend Monaldić in order to amuse him with a story. The night before, two of Bobaljević's friends ridiculed his poetic use of the expression *lo suo* instead of *il suo*. Bobaljević's defense—that many Tuscans, including the great Bembo, sometimes write *lo cor* instead of *il cor*, *lo quale* instead of *il quale*, or *lo mio* instead of *il mio*—proved futile. The friends wanted him to find in a Tuscan writer not a parallel example but the exact expression: not *lo cor*, but *lo suo*. He was of course unable to do it,

⁴³ Frano Čale, *Pjesme talijanke Saba Bobaljevića Glušca* (Zagreb: SNL, 1988). The poems were originally published in Venice in the sixteenth century. See *Rime amorose, e pastorali, et satire, del Mag. Savino de Bobali Sordo, Gentil'huomo Raguseo* (In Venetia: Presso Aldo, 1589).

⁴⁴ I would like to thank Malcolm Baker for discussing this woodcut with me and for drawing my attention to other depictions of the Arno as a river god, especially in connection with the lion figure.

⁴⁵ Michele Metzeltin, «La Dalmazia e l'Istria», in *Italiano nelle regioni: lingua nazionale e identità regionali*, ed. Francesco Bruni (Torino: UTET, 1992), 316-35, at 321.

and that is the point of the poem.⁴⁶ The anecdote is interesting because the poet has to defend himself from those who understand linguistic and literary models in very literal terms. It is also interesting because Bobaljević accepts to be limited by exclusively Tuscan models. But we would want to know more about the sociolinguistic culture that prompted this kind of conversation in the first place, and to see whether the linguistic choices made by Dalmatian poets have anything to do with the Italian language they heard in their cities or inherited from previous generations. We would want to know what kind of defense Lucić would offer to those who, inhabiting very different linguistic contexts, might object to his seemingly corrupt language and far-fetched rhymes. This is the kind of question that needs to be taken more seriously in humanistic scholarship on both sides of the Adriatic, and Lucić's *Sonetti* can provide a great starting point. The recent explosion of interest in the multilingual contexts of the early modern Mediterranean would be enriched if we managed to move beyond the purely economic considerations, in which language is just a means of getting the business done, and began to consider the much more complex questions of coexisting literary languages and the functions they served in the private and public lives of early modern Dalmatians.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Čale, *Pjesme talijanke Saba Bobaljevića Glušca*, 266.

⁴⁷ See Eric R. Dursteler, »Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean,« *Past and Present* 217 (2012): 47-77.

APPENDIX

The edition of *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, scritti a diversi* offered here is based on the Beinecke copy. I have also consulted photographs of the Pavia copy, which is complete, and of the Marciana copy, which only contains the first quire. Compared to the Marciana copy, which measures 19.5 x 15 cm (see footnote 26 above), the Beinecke copy is heavily cropped; it measures 18.5 x 13.5 cm. The damage to the top inner margins evident in the Beinecke copy had been repaired before the book reached the library in 1998. In a couple of instances, titles of sonnets are slightly affected by this defect, but the Pavia copy supplies the missing or damaged letters.

Hanibal Lucić's *Sonetti* were printed by Francesco Marcolini, the printer of Lucić's collection of Croatian verse (*Skladanja izvarnih pisan razlicih*). Both books were printed in quarto and published in Venice in 1556, three years after Lucić's death. They were sponsored by Antun Lucić, Hanibal's illegitimate son, whose name is explicitly mentioned only on the title page of *Skladanja*. Antun clearly wanted the books to appear beautiful. Woodcut initials from three different series are employed in *Skladanja*: one series depicting famous cities, one famous thinkers of the ancient world, and one scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (on Marcolini's initials, particularly those that depict stories from Ovid, see Franca Petrucci Nardelli, *La lettera e l'immagine: Le iniziali 'parlanti' nella tipografia italiana (secc. XVI-XVIII)* [Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1991]). *Skladanja* included different kinds of texts, among them a play called *Robinja (The Slave Girl)*, which called for initials of different sizes and therefore from different series. In Lucić's *Sonetti*, only initials from the largest series, depicting famous cities, are used. Additional ornaments are occasionally used to separate titles from the text (see **Figures 5 and 6**) or to fill up the page (see **Figure 7**).

Sonetti is a short book; it collates A-D4. Only A1v is blank. After the final sonnet, printed on D4r, the ending is signaled by the words »IL FINE.« As has already been noted in the essay, the final page (D4v) features a large woodcut representing Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, with a lion figure standing for Florence and a river god standing for the Arno (**Figure 8**). I have come across the same woodcut in other books printed by Marcolini. It is worth noting that the catchword on C4v is incorrect. It reads »In laude,« whereas the text on D1r begins with »ALLA NOBILITÀ.« Since Sonnet 21a, printed on D1r, is followed by an additional couplet introduced by the words »Sien miei detti notati,« my guess is that the compositor had trouble accommodating the manuscript's text within a single page and decided to save some space by setting »ALLA NOBILITÀ« instead of »IN LAVDE DELLA NOBILITÀ.« The sonnet in question explicitly praises the Hvar patriciate. Another way of explaining this irregularity would be to blame the compositor for carelessness in setting C4v; three misprints are found on this page in addition to the incorrect catchword.

I have not attempted to regularize the text, its spelling, or its punctuation. Abbreviations have been expanded and the supplied letters printed in italic. The

first word of each poem was printed in capital letters; this has not been followed in my edition. I have numbered the poems in such a way that Lucić's compositions are differentiated from those to which they respond (15a and 21a), and I have also numbered every fifth line for ease of reference. The numbers in both cases have been enclosed in square brackets. The few misprints I have noticed have been corrected and the original readings recorded in the textual apparatus.

SONETTI DI MESSER ANIBAL LVICIO LESIGNANO,
SCRITTI A DIVERSI.

[1]

IN LAVDE DELLI CLARISS. MESSER VITTOR DIEDO,
ET MESSER MATHEO MARIPETRO SVOI CONTI ET PROVEDITORI.

LESINA.

Roma del tuo valor benigno Augusto
 Compitamente alhor cognobbe il vero,
 Quando nel seggio del afflitto Impero
 Vide l'empio Nerone anzi Procusto.
 Questi brusciola, & ella al trono ambusto [5]
 Chiamo Vespesian di vita intero,
 Onde rippreso il suo stato primiero,
 La parue tè veder viuo & robusto.
 Tal & piu bello anchor mi rappresenta
 Il Diedo, ch'a me vita & pace deo, [10]
 Mio ver Vespesiano il Maripetro.
 Onde lieta mi viuo, & piu contenta
 Viurò, s'a un tal Vittor a vn tal Matheo
 Vita dal Ciel felice & lunga impetro.

[2]

AL CLARISSIMO MESSER MATHEO MARIPETRO SVO CONTE
ET PROVEDITORE.

LESINA.

Il Patre & il Figlio, che vendetta fenno
 Contra Hierusalem del Signor nostro,
 Poi che successer al horribil mostro,
 Vn chiar essempto a Roma e al Mondo denno,

Che humíl sembianti & giusta voglia & senno [5]
 Conuengono al Scettro e al manto d'Ostro.
 Così hora fate voi ne l'oprar vostro
 O nobil Maripetro e in voce e in senno.
 Maggior benignitate entro'l mio albergo
 Ne Giustitia fu mai tanta o Prudentia: [10]
 Ond'io LESINA in gioia rido & canto.
 Et mirando co gl'occhi volti a tergo,
 Dico, ingiustitia orgoglio & imprudentia
 Rimaneteui a dietro & noia & pianto.

14 pianto.] pianto,

[3]

IN LAVDE DEL SIGNOR GIANMATHEO BEMBO PROVEDITORE
 DI CATARO.

O sacro Augel, ch'a Gioue le saette
 Ministri, & guardi il Sol con teso ciglio,
 Così Iunon si scordi le vendette
 Di ciò ch'al bel Troian desti di piglio,
 Deh dimmi con parole aperte & schiette [5]
 Se fu segno di danno o di periglio
 O di vittoriose imprese elette
 O pur fu a caso & senza alcun consiglio.
 Quando l'altr'hieri al saggio Bembo et giusto
 Con vaghi giri et mouimenti accorti [10]
 Volasti intorno l'honorata testa.
 A Lucumone e a la gente d'Augusto
 Già dimostrai, che tal mio applauso importi
 A quello in Roma et in Bologna a questa.

[4]

AL SVO DEGNISSIMO CENSORE MESSER MARC'ANTONIO
 DA MVLLA.

DALMATIA.

Quei, che di gloria e fama acquisto fenno,
 Tyrannide fuggendo, horribil mostro,
 Et ben reggendo al tempo antico & nostro,
 Vn bello & chiaro essemplio ad altri denno,

Che humil sembianti & giusta voglia & senno [5]
 Si conuengono al Scettro e al manto d'Ostro
 Così hor fate voi nell'oprar vostro
 Mulla gentile & in parole e in cenno.
 Maggior benignitate entro al mio albergo
 Ne Giusticia fu mai tanta o Prudentia [10]
 Perch'io DALMATIA in gioia rido et canto.
 Et mirando co gl'occhi volti a tergo
 Dico, ingiusticia orgoglio & imprudentia
 Rimaneteui a dietro & noia & pianto.

[5]

AL CLARISSIMO SIG. IL SIGNOR MARC'ANTONIO MVLLA.

Morto non è, chi hauendo in se raccolto
 Virtute, alteramente in fama sona;
 Se ben quel ch'è di se meno abbandona,
 Ch'è frale, et pur conuen, che me sia tolto.
 Però Signor temprate il dolor molto, [5]
 Il Padre è viuo, & tal vita li dona
 L'alto suo honore, à cui il tempo perdona
 Si, ch'egro non fia mai non che sepolto.
 Vostro valore anchora e'l stil sourano,
 Ch'al Pyndarico e quel d'Orpheo s'agguaglia, [10]
 Fa in lui di morte al tutto il poter uano.
 Così Paulo non men par ch'alto saglia,
 Perché Scipion chiamossi Emiliano,
 Che per la Macedonica bataglia?

[6]

AL CLARISSIMO S. IL SIGNOR NICOLAO BONDOMER CAPITANIO
DEL COLFO DEGNISSIMO.

Signor souente il degno aspetto vostro
 Mirando e le virtuti ad vna ad vna,
 Tal fra l'altrui virtù splende ciascuna
 Qual fra gl'altri colori il color d'Ostro.
 Et quel formato nel superno chiostro [5]
 Veggio, che in se mirabilmente aduna
 Quanto fu mai nel Regno di Fortuna
 Di vago e bello al tempo, antico e nostro.

Onde anchora i vedrò con grandi effetti
 Da voi tosto i nimici oppressi vinti, [10]
 Come il superbo vostro Nome sona.
 E stanchi in vostre lodi i piu perfetti
 Ingegni, é i piu bagnati stili e tinti
 Nel fonte Caballino in Helicona.

[7]

AL CLARISSIMO MESSER CHRISTOPHORO DA CANALE
 CAPITANEO DEL COLPHO ET PROVEDIDOR DE L'ARMATA.

Il graue & generoso aspetto in vista,
 Il parlar poco e'l pensar molto (segni
 Che immensa in voi CANAL fortezza regni,
 Con immensa Prudentia insieme mista.)
 Già predicean che'l nome vostro in lista [5]
 Fia posto fra piu illustri nomi e degni
 Che sono o che mai furo in tutti e regni
 Ouunque per virtù pregio s'acquista.
 Ma del vostro valor piu chiara mostra
 Fecero poi cotanti addutti Fusti [10]
 E'l sangue, che li mari e i lidi finostra
 De maritimi fier scini e Procusti.
 Onde'l Pompeo suo, voi l'Adria vostra
 Chiama con argomenti e veri e giusti.

[8]

Chi del Duce Canale i Conuiuanti
 Per tutto'l legno l'un ver l'altro volti
 Con quelli generosi e virili volti
 Risguarda lui ch'agl'altri è tanto auanti
 Leonida ecco dice, ecco i disnanti [5]
 Per poi cenar nell'altra vita accolti,
 Così eran boni quei così non molti
 Così di libertate & gloria amanti
 Iui si sente à voce chiara & alta
 Dir Phebo a chi tra suoi seguaci eccelle [10]
 Ch'apparecchi un bel graue alto coturno
 Che del Canal risponda all'opre belle
 Di quello a paro in cui di lettor si essalta
 Il Vincitore o'l vincitor di Turno.

[9]

AL MAGNIFICO ET CLARISS. SIG. BERNARDO SEGREDO
CAPITANIO DEL COLPHO DIGNISSIMO.

Già mi sforzaua il signorile aspetto,
 Et l'altre Signor mio maniere accorte
 Da gli antichi famosi heroi risorte
 In voi, di esserui ogn'hor piu che soggetto.
 Hora mi sforza il bel drappello eletto [5]
 Di tante arti et dottrine, che ne à Morte,
 Ne sottogiace alla volubil sorte,
 Di che pieno vi ueggio il capo e'l petto,
 Ch'io v'adori co'l core et con parole
 Vi lodi, benche non al merto equali, [10]
 Ma sol del gran voler indicatrici.
 Et vi preghi, se non tra fidi amici
 Tra fedel serui al men m'habbiate, in quali
 Piu dominio et ragion hauer si suole.

4 ogn'hor] og'hor

[10]

AL MAGNIFICO MESSER MATHEO ZANTANI PER ADIETRO
DIGNISSIMO CASTELLANO DI LESINA.

Chiara fama Signor teco portasti
 Venendo di bontà uera leale,
 Poi stando, auara lei esser mostrasti,
 Et alle tue virtuti diseguale.
 Onde hor partendo in nostri cuor lassasti [5]
 D'Amor et reuerentia affetto tale,
 Che non fia mai chi tua memoria guasti
 Anci fia qui perpetua et immortale.
 Ogn'hor del tuo valor qui si ragiona,
 Ciascun ti benedice, et tutti stanno [10]
 Bramosi di vederti, in alto seggio.
 Così il benigno Ciel ver te dispona
 La miglior parte di tua patria, ou'hanno
 Giustitia et libertade il vero pregio.

[11]

AL MAGNIFICO SIGNOR, IL SIGNOR MARC'ANTONIO PRIVLI.

L'animo Signor mio, ch'ogn'hor propenso
 Mostri ad amare huom, che vertute ha seco,
 M'inuita a ragionar'in rima teco:
 E la bassezza del mio stil non penso.
 Non già per dir del tuo valor' immenso, [5]
 Ch'ogni chiaro Latino ingegno o Greco
 Puote abbagliar, & me fa al tutto cieco
 Si, che l'ingegno in vano addopro e'l senso.
 Ma sol per dimostrar mia voglia pronta.
 Che s'i potessi in voce altera & soda [10]
 Dir cosi tue virtuti come io le veggio,
 Farei la' ue'l Sol cade, e dou'el monta,
 Mille penne inuaghir di la tua loda.
 Ma'l poter manca, onde perdono i chieggio.

9 per] pee

[12]

AL REVERENDO LVIGI GVORO.

Non dirò già, che non douete o Guoro.
 Supremamente andar chiaro & lodato
 Fra quanti al Fonte del Corsiero alato
 Le tempie ornar di sempre verde Alloro.
 Che certamente dir non lece al'Oro [5]
 Ch'è vile, e al Sol a mezzo'l Ciel leuato
 Ch'è freddo e scuro, in somma il uostro ornato
 Alto e leggiadro stile essalto e honoro.
 Ma pur dirò, ne vi sdegnate, il merto
 Del gran di Christo portate Canale [10]
 Vince ogni stil quantunque ornato & erto.
 E di lui dir non é mica vn Canale
 Ma vn pelago solcar ampio & aperto
 L'ingegno dunque affaticar che vale?

[13]

ALLA DECIMA DE LE MVSE MADONNA ORSOLA TETRICA.

Quando ripenso à lo stile arguto et terso
 Merauiglioso in voi, che Donna sete,
 Di riuederlo al cor mi ven tal sete,
 Ch'i resto nel desir tutto sommerso.
 Vn piu vago non ha prosa ne verso, [5]
 Nouo od antico, onde temer di Lethe
 Non può già mai, et ben goder potete,
 Ch'a par di voi Cassandra et Sapho han perso.
 Perche oltre ch'è leggiadro alto et facondo, [10]
 Piena fede e credenza ha'l vostro dire,
 Ne scriuer d'impudico ardor ui cale.
 Non fate dunque, vano'l mio desire,
 E un tal thesoro non celate al mondo,
 Che' ben Comunicato assai piu vale.

[14]

M. LODOVICO PASCAL

Pascal nel nostro clima indarno cerco
 Cittade ne Castel, che piu honor fessi
 Di Cataro in produr tanti, ch'han cerco
 Delle noue sorelle i be recessi.
 Benche doppo cercato anchor ricerco [5]
 Pensando a quel ch'vdi e a quel ch'i lessi:
 E indarno forse cercherei, se a cerco
 Per l'altre parti anchor gl'occhi stendessi.
 Iui nacquero i Bucchi (e Pellegrini)
 Il Bisantio e Pontani (e in larga copia) [10]
 Altri teco, che dir quiui non posso tutti.
 Che sia, non so, ch'a tanto ben l'inchini
 Altro che la nathia sua stella propria,
 Felice Terra e voi felici frutti.

[15]

A M. LODOVICO PASQVAL.

Pasqual non so come, ch'Amor vi dome,
 Vi possiate doler con ragion buona,

Poi ch'a nulla altra alma gentil perdona,
 Ne vi è chi senza Amor gentil si nome.
 Ei col dorato stral dal cor u' esprime [5]
 Dolci sospir, ei sol (credo) cagiona
 Ch'adhor adhor si laue in Helicona
 La Musa vostra & si polisca & come
 Dunque se consigliato m'hauete eletto
 Benche vi scalde l'vn e l'altra tempia, [10]
 Esser non vi sdegnate a lui soggetto.
 E aciò ben dal locato il loco s'empia,
 Donate al alto stile alto soggetto,
 Il Lucio nò, che la bassezza essempia.

[15a]

A M. ANIBAL LVCIO.

Lucio quel chiaro, & glorioso nome
 Ch'insina qui de'l vostro honor risuona
 Dandoui con raggion quella Corona
 Che sol'adorna le ben dotte chiome,
 A riuerrui (non saprei dir come) [5]
 Accende il cor d'ogni gentil persona,
 Et me vie piu ch'altrui sospinge & sprona
 A sottopormi alle medesme some
 Questo mio dunque gratioso affetto
 Mi vaglia appo di voi, e'n parte adempia [10]
 De'l basso stile, il semplice difetto,
 Et mentre Amor il cor mi straccia, & scempia
 Voi co'l vostro diuin consiglio eletto
 Spengete la mia fiamma acerba, & empia.
 Il Pasquale.

[16]

IN LAVDE DI M. LODOVICO PASQVALE.

Ch'alcuno già Latinamente scrisse
 Con somma lode in stil dotto et arguto
 Ben che da strana region venuto
 Fu perche in Latio egli alleuossi et uisse.
 Ma ch'al bel suon di chi di Laura disse [5]
 Hoggi tanto accostar s'habbia potuto

Vn si lunge oltra'l Mar nato et cresciuto
 Vn, che mai orma in tosco suol non fisse,
 Qual cagion direm noi lo spinge o tira
 A sì sublime honor? se non sol'vna [10]
 Questa, che doue vuol lo spirto spira.
 Felice te Pasqual, tua gloria alcuna
 Età non spegnerà fin che'l Ciel gira,
 Che tanta nel tuo dir dolcezza aduna.

[17]

A M. LVDOVICO PASQVAL.

Anchor ch'io stessi a la Fortuna a lato
 Come le stò da lunge, e il mio volere
 Potesse piu come non può volere
 Nel dimostrarmi conoscente & grato,
 Già non potrei trouar tanto pregiato [5]
 Don, che potesse al paragon valere
 Di quel, che mi conosco a voi douere
 Pasqual piu ch'altri da le Muse amato.
 Chiaro son io per voi nel secol nostro,
 Et viuo & chiaro in ogni tempo anchora, [10]
 Farammi'l vostro ben purgato inchiostro,
 Oue breue per me mia vita fora.
 Così quando si bagna e tinge in Ostro
 Preggio s'acquista vn panno vil talhora.

[18]

AL MIO VNICO PATRON M. MATHEO FIDELE.

Quando la fama di tua morte venne
 (Prego sempre così venga bugiarda)
 La febre, nel mio mal troppo gagliarda
 Con periglio mortal viuo mi tenne.
 Et per l'estremo duol subito auenne, [5]
 Ch'abrugiar fredda & ad vccider tarda
 Mi parue, & che mi ual diss'io, se tarda
 Morto colui che me viuo mantenne.
 Pur mia sorte mi tene & viuo & sano,
 Et viuo & sano anchor esser mi sento, [10]
 Sì che la fama et mio dolor sia vano,

Et se'l viuer m'increbbe hora mi pento.
 Perche sotto'l tuo scudo et qui lontano
 Non che secur, ma viuero contento.

[19]

A M. GIORGIO BISANTIO.

Poi che Donna gentil pel sangue hauete
 Et per beltate presa & leggiadria,
 (Di voi certo ben degna compagnia,)
 Che d'ogni gentilezza albergo sete. [5]

Tutto quel, che di fine gemme & sete
 Il Sero industrioso & l'Indo inuia,
 (I dico il ver) non empirian la mia
 Di celebrarui insatiabil sete.

Volger vorrei di tutti antiqui carmi,
 Che già fur spesi ad inalzar Achille [10]
 Enea, Augusto in vostra lode il suono,
 Od'in scolpiti preciosi Marmi
 Farne memoria in anni Mille & Mille,
 Non bastò, basti dunque il voler buono.

[20]

AL ECCELLENTE SIGNOR MARIN GRVBOGNA
 GENTIL'HVOMO DI CATARO.

Quel, che'l basso mio stìl scriuendo dice
 Del Bembo, che la fama in basso ha messo
 De l'Affrican, che reputò se stesso
 Piu di Demetrio espugnator felice. [5]

Non basta, ne poss'io giamai, ne lice
 Nodrir la pianta c'ha si l'altre eccesso,
 D'huomor si poco, anzi m'accorgo espresso
 Esser di tanto ardir la pena vltrice,
 Se perdon non m'impetra il grande affetto.
 Ma voi, che sete si di Febo amico [10]
 Temer douete anchor simili pene,
 Che di propugnator tanto perfetto
 Di vostra patria a uoi parlar non dico
 Ma tacer Signor mio si disconuiene.

[21]

A M. ALESSANDRO BISANTIO IN NOME DE LI PATRITII
PHARENSI.

Di colui la dottrina et l'alto ingegno,
 Che n'ha il tuo culto stil tanto lodato,
 Mostran l'officio in lui per noi locato
 Esser di tanto nobil loco indegno.
 Ma se'l premio non vien equale al segno [5]
 Con el valor di lui, nostro il peccato.
 Non è, che pur potendo vn'alto stato
 Via piu sublime li daremo et regno.
 S'hor in fredda stagion piantata apena [10]
 In arido terreno et d'humor priuo
 Le piaggie e i poggi intorno rasserena,
 Che faria se d'un chiaro et dolce riuo
 Fosse irrigata questa pianta amena
 In loco pingue in sul bel tempo estiuo?

0 PATRITII] PATRITII. 8 sublime] snblime 13 questa] qnesta

[21a]

ALLA NOBILITÀ DI LESINA ALESSANDRO BISANCIO.

Ben ti puoi gloriar ò nobiltate
 Eccelsa Lusignana hauer eletto
 Vn Cancelier si degno & si perfetto
 Raro nel mondo et raro in nostra etade
 Credo che la superna voluntade [5]
 Spirato ha vostra mente & vostro petto
 Trouato hauer vn'huom si puro e netto
 Fontana di virtute et di bontade
 Però fruir sapiate tal mortale
 Per sempiterno velo confirmate [10]
 Gustando il suo bel dir terso et morale
 Da tutte l'hore quello accarezzate
 Che gliè Corona di casa Papale
 Come grande Oratore lo honorate.
 Sien miei detti notati [15]
 Sempre dal Cielo fu predestinato
 Ch'ogni simile il simile habbia amato.

[22]

Vn che si veste di virtute e honore
 Vn ch'è di vicij e d'ogni infamia ignudo
 Per patre o Catarini e per Signore
 Hauer in tempo periglioso et crudo.
 A cui pò veramente a tutte l'hore [5]
 Vinegia dir tu mi se lancia e scudo
 Hor ui dice, altra parte assai maggiore
 Per voi guarnir di lui disarmo et nudo.
 Odan di vna madre o voi felici
 Securi, per il Bembo dalle palle [10]
 Horrendo e dalle scale de nemici.
 E d'altre offese entro a le mura in valle
 In monte ed in campagne ed in pendici
 E da fronte e da lati e dalle spalle.

[23]

A MESSER VINCENTIO BVCHIA CATARINO.

Ben da gli effetti nasce il vostro nome
 Che'l subito saper anzi natio
 Vince l'etate vostra acerba, ond'io
 L'ammiro & dico hauest' il quando o come?
 Felice vita in negre in bianche chiome [5]
 Questi darauui, et poi dal cieco oblio
 Secur sarete, ou'io lasso co'l mio
 Cognome, che non ven da luce androme.
 I so, che di ragion questo esser deue,
 Poi che non pote'l tempo il studio et l'arte [10]
 In me, ch'in voi natura in spacio breue.
 Sol questa speme mi conforta in parte,
 Che, quantunque soggetto e vile et leue
 Forse'in vostre viurò viuaci carte.

[24]

Il Gallo, che d'altrui posar s'attrista,
 Al lume della Luna ad alta voce
 Gridando fe il Leon tanto feroce
 Lassato il campo andar di voglia trista.

Ma l'AVGEL, che nel Sol ferma la vista. [5]
 Per vendicar cotale oltraggio atroce,
 Ecco pur vole allui, ch'a tutti noce
 Leuar dal capo la superba crista,
 Poi con triompho al Sol volando appresso,
 Iui si largamente spander l'ali, [10]
 Che la Luna eclissar tosto si veda.
 Egli è ben veramente esser quel d'esso
 Degno a cui sempre e suo fulgenti strali
 Senza rispetto il gran Tonante creda.

10 spander] sparder

[25]

Gl'occhi sono del cor finestre, e'l core
 Vostro è di ghiaccio e'l mio fuoco, & pur danno
 Madonna per mio danno
 Gl'occhi vostri fauille, e i miei l'humore.
 Egl'è, ch'Amor a bel balcon u'accende [5]
 Il fuoco, che d'appresso'l ghiaccio sfaccia.
 Et ei, che si diffende,
 Si lo rispinge & scaccia,
 Ch'indi'l mio cor non mai da voi lontano
 Non mai chiuso alla vostra amena faccia [10]
 S'auampa a mano a mano,
 Et per gl'occhi l'humor conuien che fugga.
 Lasso, ma quai spietate stelle fanno,
 Che cosi adhor adhor la fiamma sugga,
 Ne però mai si strugga [15]
 Mio cor, mio pianto, & mio viuace ardore?

4 Gl'occhi] Gl'cchi

[26]

I mi solea mirar la Donna mia
 In guisa si come far si suole
 Fior, Oro, Gemma e'l Ciel mirarsi e'l Sole.
 Ella volger ver me senza riguardo
 Con purissimo core [5]

La chiara luce del suo dolce sguardo.
 Perche sdegnato Amore
 Presa la Face e'l Dardo
 Disse, egli non fia ver, che cosi fore
 Si stian queste due sole [10]
 Fredde alme de'l mio regno e di mie scole.
 Ma trouò lei armata & bene'n guarda.
 Meno da solo vn lato,
 Onde la vista in lei si specchia & guarda.
 Però m'ha'l cor piagato, [15]
 Ed ella pur si tiene'l primo stato,
 Lasso, fuor che non vuole
 Mirarmi chi oltre ogn'altro duol mi duole.

13 Meno] Me no

[27]

A M. FRANCESCO DE NATALI GENTIL'HVOM DI SPALATO.

Fortuna à preghi human ritrosa e sorda
 E de mortali vniuersal nimica
 Si che non é, che veramente dica,
 Che co'l dente crudel no'l stringe e morda,
 Natal non é ne nostri danni ingorda, [5]
 Anzi ella u'è (chi'l tutto guarda) amica,
 Quantunque con flagel di aspra vrtica
 Paia, ch'i doni soi questa discorda.
 Ella vi diè l'vn l'altro e l'altro figlio
 Ciascun nell'alto suo dritto sentiero [10]
 Ripieno di valor e di consiglio.
 Et in parte miglior feceui intero
 Si, che di Lauro coronando'l ciglio
 Fra gli Poeti ven'andate altero.

*Ivan Lupić*TALIJANSKO PJESNIŠTVO U RANONOVOVJEKOVNOJ DALMACIJI:
ČUDNI SLUČAJ HANIBALA LUCIĆA (1485-1553)

U radu se priopćuje otkriće knjige *Sonetti di messer Anibal Lucio Lesignano, scritti a diversi* (*Soneti gospodina Hanibala Lucića Hvaranina, upućeni raznim osobama*). Riječ je o zbirci pjesništva na talijanskom jeziku kojoj je autor Hanibal Lucić (1485-1553), jedan od najistaknutijih pjesnika hrvatske renesansne književnosti. Dosad se znalo samo za jednu Lucićevu knjigu, njegovu zbirku hrvatskih djela naslovljenu *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlicih*, koju je nakon Hanibalove smrti objavio njegov sin Antun. Poput *Skladanja*, Lucićevi *Sonetti* objavljeni su u Veneciji 1556. godine, u krasnom četvrtinskom izdanju koje je, kao i *Skladanja*, tiskao Francesco Marcolini. U radu se opisuje ova dosad nepoznata knjiga te se objašnjava kako je ona otkrivena. Na kraju rada donosi se izdanje Lucićeva talijanskog pjesništva u nadi da će ono privući pozornost znanstvenika s obje obale Jadrana, i šire. Lucićevi *Sonetti* predstavljaju važan izvor za proučavanje višejezične naravi europske renesanse u ovom dijelu svijeta te nas podsjećaju da je naša usredotočenost na nacionalne književnosti u nekim slučajevima učinila gotovo nevidljivom višejezičnost renesansne književne tradicije.

Ključne riječi: Hanibal Lucić, Hvar, sonet, talijansko pjesništvo, ranonovovjekovna Dalmacija, povijest knjige, Francesco Marcolini