

## DALMATIA AND DALMATIAN CONNECTIONS IN THE *EPISTOLARIUM* OF FRANCESCO FILELFO

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UDK: 821.131.1-6.09Filelfo, F.  
Original scientific paper

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This article discusses the presence of Dalmatia in the *epistolarium* of the prolific fifteenth-century humanist Francesco Filelfo. Addressed to the most prominent humanists, prelates and rulers of his age, the more than two thousand Greek and Latin epistles, written between 1427 and 1477, are an important source for early modern history. The first part examines the way in which Filelfo presents his historical and geographical knowledge of Dalmatia, a region that faced both the interference of the Venetian Republic and the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The second part focuses on Filelfo's personal relations with people originating from or living in Dalmatia, both in the Republic of Dubrovnik and in the cities under Venetian rule: Filelfo's own son Senofonte, who spent the last decade of his life in Dubrovnik (Ragusa), where he married Jakobina Turčinović; archdeacon Mato Vidov Gozze (Mato Gučetić); and finally Girolamo Genesisio, one of the teachers of Marko Marulić.<sup>1</sup>

**Key words:** Francesco Filelfo, Senofonte Filelfo, Mato Vidov Gozze (Mato Gučetić), Girolamo Genesisio, Ragusa

The prolific Quattrocento humanist Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) produced works in many literary genres, a testimony to his ambition to surpass all other writers, both contemporary and classical, by producing writings in both prose and poetry, Greek and Latin. His most massive undertaking was his *Epistolarium*, a

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<sup>1</sup> I should like to thank Luka Špoljarić, from whose help with the Dalmatian and Croatian aspects of my text I benefited greatly.

collection of 2124 letters divided over 48 books, spanning half a century, from 1427 to 1477.<sup>2</sup> Having spent seven years of his life in Constantinople as a young man, as a member of the Venetian embassy, Filelfo maintained close relationships with Greek émigré circles in Italy and it comes as no surprise that many of his letters display a keen interest in news about the East, in particular concerning the conquests of the Turks, first when they were threatening Filelfo's beloved Nova Roma, and later when the Byzantine Empire had fallen and the Turks threatened the Latin West. For many decades Filelfo campaigned with worldly and ecclesiastic rulers for a renewed fight against the Turks, and he especially did so in a long series of »crusade letters«, where he liked to underscore his great expertise with the entire region and its geography. While the information provided in these letters was often based on his extensive reading of classical authors, it can not be denied that he also makes great efforts to obtain news about the contemporary situation from his correspondents, in particular from those among them who were living in the East or had returned from traveling in the region. This paper intends to provide an overview of the information Filelfo's letters provide about a specific part of the Eastern regions on which Filelfo fashioned himself as an expert, to wit Dalmatia, and to examine Filelfo's personal contacts with friends and family either living in or originating from this area.<sup>3</sup>

### 1. Filelfo's Knowledge of Dalmatia and the Wider Region

In many of Filelfo's »crusade letters« Dalmatia is mentioned in passing, along with other regions.<sup>4</sup> For example, in Filelfo's very first long crusade letter, sent

<sup>2</sup> For an introduction to Filelfo's life and writings, it may suffice to refer to the excellent synthesis by Paolo Viti in the DBI entry: [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-filelfo\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-filelfo_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

<sup>3</sup> The Latin text of all letters is quoted by their serial number from my critical edition in four volumes: Jeroen De Keyser (ed.), *Francesco Filelfo. Collected Letters (Epistolarum Libri XLVIII)*, Alessandria 2015, 2016<sup>2</sup>. The English translations are partly cited from two forthcoming books. The entire Crivelli dossier (comprising Filelfo's letters PhE:23.01 and PhE:26.01, as well as the *editio princeps* of Crivelli's *Apologeticus*) will be published with facing translation in a contribution to Olms' *Noctes Neolatinae* series which I am currently finishing, together with Nicholas De Sutter and Ide François, while many other Filelfo letters are in the *Selected Letters* anthology which I am preparing with Nicholas De Sutter for the I Tatti Renaissance Library (Harvard University Press).

<sup>4</sup> On Filelfo's crusade letters and related writings, see Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA, 2008); Ead., »Nestor Denied: Francesco Filelfo's Advice to Princes on the Crusade against the Turks,« *Osiris* 25 (2010), 47-66; and Jeroen De Keyser, »The Poet and the Pope. Francesco Filelfo's Common Cause with Sixtus IV,« *Schede Umanistiche* 26 (2012 [2014]), 43-65.

on 14 February 1451 to King Charles VII of France, Dalmatia is said to be one of the regions in the Balkans suffering occupation by the Turks:

They first occupied Gallipoli and Chersonesos, and subsequently nearly the whole of Thrace. Mysia, Macedonia, the whole of Thessaly, Boeotia, all of Greece, Aetolia, Epirus, Illyria, into the very heart of Dalmatia: they hold it all in abject slavery. Nearly all islands situated between the Adriatic and the Black Sea have been completely destroyed and laid to waste.<sup>5</sup>

Ten years later, on 19 October 1461, Filelfo sends a similar description to Charles' successor, King Louis XI the Prudent, listing among the territories that have been conquered by Mehmet II in the preceding years »a big part of Illyria and Dalmatia«.<sup>6</sup>

A more detailed description of the region under Turkish rule can be read in a letter of 1 August 1463, warning the Venetian leader Ludovico Foscarini about the Turkish expansion in Europe, »from the Black Sea almost the entire area comprised between the Danube and Dalmatia, until the Bosnian mountain area that separates Pannonia from Italy,« now threatening Venice's Istria. Filelfo also states that with the exception of Belgrade, the entire territory of the *Triballi*, who are now called Serbs, has fallen as well.<sup>7</sup> The same tendency to expound on the different names of the populations living in the area is illustrated a few lines further, where Filelfo explains that »those who are commonly called Albanians, were once named *Albani*; they came from the Caucasus to the Adriatic Sea and conquered the entire area

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<sup>5</sup> »Callipolin et Cheronnesum primo, deinde totam prope Thraciam occupant. Mysos, Macedonas, Thessalos omnis, Boetios, universam Graeciam, Aetolos, Epirotas, Illyricos, ad intimam usque Dalmatiam omnia premunt teterrima servitute. Insulae poene omnes quae a sinu Hadriatico ad mare Ponticum iacent, vastatae iam plane et desolatae sunt.« [PhE:08.24]

<sup>6</sup> »Magnam partem Illyrici et Dalmatiae annis superioribus occupavit ac tenet. Nuper Synopen, urbem munitissimam et rebus omnibus abundantem, solo nominis terrore in dedicationem accepit.« [PhE:17.34]

<sup>7</sup> »At subiugarunt Turci opulentissima maximaque regna, cum a Lydia et Phrygia ad Iberiam usque Asiae, tum in Europa a mari Euxino poene quicquid iacet intra Danubium et Dalmatiam usque ad montes qui dividunt citeriorem Pannoniam ab Italia (quae Bosthena est) adeo, ut vix triginta passuum millia absit a vestris urbibus Istriae. (...) Nova enim Roma illa Constantinopolis ita ut erat exanguis ac fere exanima, si servata esset, quod facili vestra poterat minimaque impensa fieri, neque Triballi (quos nunc Servos nominant) neque Peloponnenses sponte dediti essent ad Turcos. (...) Is enim est Turcorum mos, id ingenium, ut fraude et perfidia sanctius nihil ducant. Itaque et Pannonia ipsa (quae Bosthena nunc vocatur) sine praelio capta atque in praedam versa (...) Postea Triballos subiugavit omnis. Quid enim in Triballis aliud restat praeter Bellogradum?« [PhE:19.13]

between Illyria and the Peloponnesus,« adding that these ferocious and bellicose men are the only ones in the area capable of holding off the Turks.<sup>8</sup>

One year later, on 15 September 1464, Filelfo addresses Pope Paul II (Pietro Barbo), congratulating him on his election to the Holy See and severely criticizing Paul's predecessor, Pius II. Filelfo encourages the pope to wage war against the Turks, who are knocking on Italy's doors.

They have razed the whole of lower Pannonia (which is now called Bosnia) to the ground with fire and the sword and subjugated it. Yet it is through our negligence that they now besiege upper Pannonia (which the Hungarians inhabit). For what else should king Matthias do than prevent the Turks from crossing the Danube? (...) In the meantime, however, the tyrant Mehmet, as cunning and malicious as he is wicked and nefarious, does nothing else than plot and prepare for the invasion of Italy, which he knows is the only country he should fear, for its great wealth and power. Yet since he sees and knows that the Italian leaders almost by their ancestral nature can never stand united, he rises to the occasion and spares neither time, effort, nor thought to conquer it. And the harder he seems to lay siege to Jajce (which is a city by the Sava, currently dividing lower from upper Pannonia), the more eagerly he girds himself for battle against the Italians. I repeat, Mehmet besieges and assails Jajce with an enormous army night and day. While he does this, he also has other forces which rush through the neighboring Dalmatia all the way to the borders of Italy, wreaking havoc and destroying everything, filling everything with the tears and blood of captives.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> »Appellantur enim vulgo *Albanenses*, qui, quondam *Albani* nominati, a iugis Caucasi montis intra sinum Hadriaticum descendentes ab Illyricis ad Peloponneses usque omnia subiugarunt, homines feri et bellicosi adeo, ut soli ex omnibus nationibus intra Istrum et Hadriam ad Italiae fines et fortissime Turcos semper sustinuerint, et ultro adorti maximis detrimentis affecerint quottidieque afficiant.« [PhE:19.13]

<sup>9</sup> »Inferiorem Pannoniam (cui Bosthenae hoc tempore nomen est) ferro ignique vastatam subiugarunt omnem; superiorem vero (quam incolunt Hungari) nostra negligentia obsessam tenent. Nam quid aliud agat rex Matthias quam prohibere Turcos a traiectu Danubii? (...) Interea vero temporis Mahometus tyrannus ille, ut est non minus astutus et maliciosus quam sceleratus et impius, nihil aliud molitur, nihil aliud parat quam irrumpere in Italiam; quam unam ob opum facultatumque magnitudinem sibi extimescendam esse intelligit. Sed quoniam perceptum habet et cognitum Italiae principatus veluti quadam patria natura convenire inter se nunquam, nactus occasionem nihil neque temporis nec laboris nec diligentiae praetermittit ad eam occupandam. Et quo magis videtur oppugnare Iaizium (quae urbs posita ad flumen Savum dividit inferiorem hoc tempore a superiore Pannonia), eo studiosius se accingit adversus Italos. Obsidet, inquam, Mahometus cum exercitu maximo oppugnatque Iaizium die noctuque. Quod dum facit, habet etiam alias copias, quae per finitimam Dalmatiam excurrentes ad confinia usque Italiae omnia populantur, omnia vastant, omnia captivorum flactibus complent et sanguine.« [PhE:23.01]

According to Filelfo, as soon as Pius became pope, he squandered and spent all the money his predecessor, Eugene IV, had left him, bringing chaos to Italy and waging wars for no other reason than to favor his own friends by plundering the Church's treasury. The campaign Pius II was allegedly preparing against the Turks, was actually a joke, so Filelfo claims: »Where was he intending to go? First to Ancona, where he could catch the citadel off guard and capture the city, so as to hand it over to his sister's son along with Fano. Then on to Dubrovnik. What did he intend to do there? There he hoped to observe, as it were from a watchtower, the outcome of the Hungarians' imminent defeat at the hands of the Turks.«<sup>10</sup> Fortunately, Filelfo concludes, »God took Pius II, who was spreading night and darkness over Christianity, from this life, in order that Paul II might emerge in the new light of day, who by the will of God would free and buttress the well-nigh ruined Christian State and restore it to its former glory.«<sup>11</sup> The new pope should act immediately, helping financially both the Hungarian king Matthias and Skanderbeg, who rules over the Illyrians. »Armies should be dispatched by land, both by the Illyrians (now called Albanians) and the Hungarians (formerly called Huns) so that the Turk, distracted by a hazardous war on two fronts, may not only abandon hope of occupying and laying waste to Italy, but, blinded by fear, wish to think only of fleeing and saving his skin.«<sup>12</sup>

Filelfo's fierce criticism of Pius II – who had failed to continue paying Filelfo the allowance which he had first promised him – was rebutted two months later by Filelfo's former pupil Lodrisio Crivelli.<sup>13</sup> In his long *Apologeticus*, dated 21 November 1464 and dedicated to the memory of the late Pope Pius, Crivelli attacks Filelfo on multiple fronts. One of the accusations against the ungrateful idiot Filelfo is that he even got his geography wrong:

But now you bewail the fact that those very Turks are roaring all around us, that they are occupying Hungary, pillaging and slaughtering in Dalmatia, and

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<sup>10</sup> »Quo autem profecturus? Ancona primum, quo illam inopinato arce occupatam simul cum Fano urbe sororis filio traderet. Deinde Rhagusium. Quid facturus? Ut inde tanquam ex aliqua specula observaret eventum impendentis a Turco in Hungaros calamitatis.« [PhE:23.01]

<sup>11</sup> »Tempestive, inquam, et quamoptime ex hac vita sustulit Deus Pium Secundum, qui noctem ac tenebras nomini Christiano infuderat, ut divinitus emergeret Paulus Secundus, per quem, luce dieque exorta, Christiana respublica, quae prope corruerat, sustentetur et in pristinam libertatem dignitatemque vendicetur.« [PhE:23.01]

<sup>12</sup> »Mittendi sunt ergo per continentem exercitus, et ex Illyricis (quos nunc appellant Albanos) et ex Hungaris (qui olim Hunni vocabantur), quo Turcus ancipiti et periculoso bello distractus non modo spem ponat occupandae vastandaeque Italiae, sed inopinato ipse metu percussus nihil malit quam fugae atque salutis habere rationem.« [PhE:23.01]

<sup>13</sup> For Crivelli's biography and the development of his conflict with Filelfo, see the *DBI* entry by Franca Petrucci: [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lodrisio-crivelli\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lodrisio-crivelli_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

that they are ever closer to Italy's doorstep. You also bewail the fact that they besiege Jajce with an enormous army day and night, which is the city that divides, so you say, upper from lower Pannonia, but which according to Pomponius and all other cosmographers is part of Illyria. Nor is it situated at the Sava, as you write, but it is cornered in by two rivers which come together: on its right by the river Vrbas, which is Illyrian for 'willow', and on its left by the Pliva, which is the Illyrian word for 'stalk'.<sup>14</sup>

Jajce was the capital of the Bosnian Kingdom from the 1440s to 1463, and after 1464 became one of the main fortresses of the Hungarian defense system against the Ottomans. The town is indeed situated at the confluence of the Pliva and the Vrbas, which is itself a tributary of the Sava. What is most interesting here, though, is that as far as the etymology is concerned, Crivelli's information is correct as well. The name of the river Vrbas does indeed derive from the Croatian word *vrba*, meaning 'willow-tree'. As far as the Pliva is concerned, the etymology is not correct, but Crivelli's identification of Pliva (»Pleva«) with *pljeva*, meaning 'chaff' – a word semantically close to the 'stalk' (*stipula*) he uses, although *palea* would be a more precise Latin rendering – reveals that he was surprisingly well informed of the meaning of Slavic words. It would suggest that Crivelli, who was living in Rome when he wrote his *Apologeticus*, based these statements on information he had obtained from Slavic speakers, almost certainly one of the Croatian clerics and prelates, who between the mid 1440s and 1463 had been constantly circulating between the papal curia and the Bosnian court as part of the papal project of converting the Bosnian heretics to Catholicism.<sup>15</sup>

At any rate, Filelfo would not stand for Crivelli's attacks couched in his fierce invective and responded with what would remain by far the longest of the more than 2000 letters in his *Epistolarium*. In this letter, dated 1 August 1465, Filelfo also answers Crivelli's geographical corrections, strangely implying, though, that Crivelli had stated that Jajce was situated on the Sava, while it had been Filelfo himself, in his letter to Pope Paul II, who had made such a claim in the first place.

As regards the borders of the Pannonia closest to us Italians, which is called Bosnia, I respond to you as follows: the present borders are not the same as those described by Strabo, Ptolemy and Pliny, the writer of the *Natural*

<sup>14</sup> »At nunc denique eosdem Turcos undique circumstrepere deploras, Hungariam obsessam tenere, Dalmatiam caedibus rapinisque foedare, Italiae foribus magis ac magis instare, Iaizam vero urbem – »quae Pannoniam maiorem a minore dirimit,« ut tu inquis, sed ut Pomponio placet ac caeteris cosmographis, pars Illyrici est; neque ea ad Savum (ut tu scribis) posita est, sed a duobus fluminibus invicem coeuntibus in angulum clauditur, a dextra Verbas, per quem Illyrica lingua 'salix' significatur, in laevam Pleva, quo nomine 'stipula' denotatur – die noctuque cum maximis exercitibus ac supremis viribus oppugnare.«

<sup>15</sup> Information provided by Luka Špoljarić.

*History*, which you have obviously never read. For every king and potentate, one after another, established different borders. We see that this did not only happen to the two Pannonias, but also to the regions of Italy. (...) So when I spoke of Bosnia, that is Lower Pannonia, I was thinking of the present-day borders. Besides, the city of Jajce is not situated on the main stem of the Sava, but on some distributary branching off from it.<sup>16</sup>

The last and most extensive notice about the region is to be found in a letter which Filelfo sent to his friend Marco Aurelio on 19 October 1474, discussing the distinction between the two classical names of Σκόδρα, to wit, *Scodra* and *Scudrium*, Scutari in Italian and nowadays Shkodër, a town in the north-west of present-day Albania. According to Filelfo, the original name was *Scodra*, yet it later became *Scudrium* in Greek, witness a letter sent by George Gemisthus Pletho to the Byzantine emperor (in exile) Manuel Palaeologus. He adds similar cases of double names, such as the Gauls being identical to the Galatians and, interestingly, also mentions Split, stating that the use of *Salona* instead of *Aspalatum* is actually an error, since Split was actually a colony of Solin, which is at a distance of some 20 kilometers and now in ruins.<sup>17</sup> In the same letter, finally, Filelfo also explains that *Illyria* is divided in two parts, *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*, Scardona (Skradin) marking the border between the two regions, which reflects the information given in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* 3.141-42, and adds that *Illyria* was named after Illyrius, one of the three sons of Polyphemus and Galathea, translating a passage from Appian's *Illyrian Wars* (9.2).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> »De Pannoniae huius, quae nobis Italis vicinior est ac vocatur Bosthena, finibus illud tibi respondeo: non eadem esse in praesentia confinia, quae et a Strabone geographo et a Claudio Ptolemaeo et a Plynio qui Naturalem scripsit Historiam (quos legisti tu quidem nunquam) sunt demonstrata. Nam alii et alii reges atque potentatus alia aliaque confinia praescripserunt; id quod non de utraque Pannonia solum, sed etiam de Italiae regionibus factum videmus. (...) Nos igitur de Bosthena loquentes (quae inferior est Pannonia), huius aetatis fines secuti sumus. Quinetiam Iazium oppidum non ad principem Savum, sed ad ramum quandam qui manat ex Savo est positum.« [PhE:26.01]

<sup>17</sup> »Et ita pro *Salona* vocant *Aspalatum*, quanquam errant qui ita opinantur. Nam *Aspalatum* *Salonae* est colonia; posita autem est *Salona* supra *Aspalatum* circiter quattuordecim millia passuum, et ea quidem diruta.« [PhE:41.07]. I am reproducing the entire letter in the Appendix to this article.

<sup>18</sup> In numerous letters we see Filelfo inquiring about the possibility of obtaining a copy of Appian's Greek text, with the declared intention of producing a Latin translation intended to supersede the one published by Pier Candido Decembrio, one of Filelfo's most prominent antagonists, which he considered a barbarian version, not fit for the Latin ear.

## 2. Dalmatian Connections: Senofonte Filelfo

The most lasting of Filelfo's personal connections with Dalmatia originated in the decision of his second son, Senofonte, in 1460, to move to Dubrovnik.<sup>19</sup> This is first mentioned in a letter sent by Filelfo to his first-born son, Gian Mario on 12 March 1460 in which he states that he does not want to criticize Senofonte's decision, although he would have preferred him to live in Italy rather than in Dalmatia, since he will now be separated from his elder brother and will inevitably adopt the barbarian lifestyle of the people surrounding him in his new home.<sup>20</sup> Less than two weeks later, on 23 March, Filelfo writes to Senofonte himself, relating that he had already heard from Gian Mario what Senofonte wrote to him, that is, that he had left Venice for Dubrovnik. While the father repeats that he would have preferred Senofonte to have decided to stay in Italian territory, he underscores the noble splendor of the Republic of Ragusa and remains silent on the previously mentioned barbarian character of its inhabitants. On the contrary, he refers to the commendable examples of Ulysses, who explored many other regions, and Socrates, who called himself a citizen of the world, while also quoting the famous »Ubi bene, ibi patria« from Cicero's *Tusculans* (5.108).<sup>21</sup> In closing he urges Senofonte to inform him about his situation. On the same day, Filelfo writes to Bernardo Giustinian

<sup>19</sup> See for a biography the *DBI* entry by Franco Pignatti: [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/senofonte-filelfo\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/senofonte-filelfo_(Dizionario-Biografico)). Most of Filelfo's letters documenting Senofonte's stay in Dubrovnik have been listed, albeit without the precise references and with little quotations, by Ferdinando Gabotto, »Senofonte Filelfo a Ragusa«, *Archivio Storico per Trieste, l'Istria e il Trentino*, IV.2, Rome 1890, 1-7. Other publications on the topic are G. Marotti, »Il testamento di Senofonte Filelfo (23.8.1470), cancelliere della repubblica di Ragusa«, *Sanctus Blasius* 2 (1939), 30-31; Ivan Božić, »Dubrovački kancelar Ksenofon Filelfo« [Xenophon Filelfo, Chancellor of Ragusa], *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 9.1 (1967), 225-245 (with, at 244-245, a summary in Italian); Lovro Kunčević, *The Myth of Ragusa: Discourses on Civic Identity in an Adriatic City-State (1350-1600)*. PhD Dissertation, Central European University, 2012, at p. 29. Filelfo's elder son Gian Mario Filelfo dedicated two writings to Ragusa: see Nestore Pelicelli, »Due opere inedite di G. M. Filelfo: La *Raguseide* e *Storia di Ragusa*«, *Rivista Dalmatica* 5 (1902-1903), 5-33, 139-176; and Riccardo Picchio, »L'interprétation humaniste de l'histoire de Raguse de Giovan Mario Filelfo«, *Etudes littéraires slavo-romanes* (Studia-Historica et Philologica, VI), Florence 1978, 43-54.

<sup>20</sup> »Quod autem de Xenophonte fratre scripsisti, non vitupero, etsi Italiae potius quam Dalmatiae finibus eum teneri cupiebam. Fuissetque utrique vestrum longe conducibilis magisque honorificum, si una et studere et vivere quam diiungi tanto terrarum atque aquarum tractu maluissetis, praesertim quod inter barbaros qui sibi vivendum instituerit, barbarus fiat necesse sit.« [PhE:15.62]

<sup>21</sup> »Fecisti me proximis tuis litteris certiore de navigatione tua ad Rhagusinos; id quod etiam posteaquam solvisti e Venetiis, Marius mihi significavit. Ego autem etsi malueram pro paterno affectu atque dignitate in Italia esse te, tamen, cum norim et nobilitatem et splendorem reipublicae Rhagusinae, aequo animo fero absentiam tuam, praesertim cum

announcing that Senofonte will send two maids to his father and asking Giustinian to act as a go-between in Venice.<sup>22</sup>

Apparently Senofonte replied within days, but his answer reached his father only after a month. On 1 May (PhE·16.03) Filelfo communicates his great relief: Senofonte's letter rid him of all his fears. He urges his son to live a moderate life in Dubrovnik, »a city lovely, rich and splendid, all qualities that stimulate people of your age to give in to the temptations of pleasure.« He should be careful and wise, yet »this you will do with all the more ease, as I hear that the men of the Dubrovnik aristocracy are very sober and serious.« This letter is a remarkable one for the antiquarian interest it displays: after expounding on the correct name of Ragusa, Filelfo asks his son to search for Greek inscriptions and to inform him if he finds any manuscripts for sale:

I would like you to find out with great care whether there is any old monument over there which can give a clear explanation for the city's name. For in the native language, it seems that one should say *Rhagusa*, not *Rhagusium*. In fact, its citizens are called *Rhagusaei* in the local language. This is a typical word-ending of the type of Greek words which are feminine, are not lengthened in the genitive and either end in an 'a' or an 'e', like *Σμύρνα* – *Σμυρναῖος*, *Λάρισα* – *Λαρισαῖος*, *Δάφνη* – *Δαφναῖος*, *Θήβη* – *Θηβαῖος*. By the same token, therefore, it goes *Ῥαγοῦσα* – *Ῥαγουσαῖος*. As a matter of fact, I cannot find any mention of the city in the writings of our geographers and cosmographers. So make careful inquiries to see if you can find some old stone with the name of the city inscribed in it. For the entire region used to work with Greek institutions and the Greek alphabet. In addition, keep your eyes open for any interesting Greek manuscripts for sale. If you find any, you may buy them for yourself or for me. If your supply of silver or gold coins is insufficient, let me know. For such matters, I will supply you with funds as soon as possible, on condition that I get to know the titles and the quality of the books from you.<sup>23</sup>

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idcirco Ulyssen Homerus prudentiae laudarit, quod et urbes et mentes multorum hominum cognitas illi meminit.« [PhE·15.66]

<sup>22</sup> »Xenophon filius ad Rhagusinos profectus est. Scripsit se propediem inde ad me missurum servas duas, petiitque se facerem certiorum apud quem eas Venetiis divertere curaret. Cui respondi neminem esse istic qui cum maior mihi aut antiquior familiaritas hospitiumque sit quam tecum uno. Itaque servae illae divertent apud te. Quod cum fiet et tu mihi rem significabis, mittam qui et servas ad me perducatur, et quod pecuniae opus fuerit solvat.« [PhE·15.67] For more on Ragusans in Venice, see L. Čoralić, »The Ragusans in Venice from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century,« *Dubrovnik Annals* 3 (1999), 13-40; also available online at <http://hrcak.srce.hr/8336>.

<sup>23</sup> See the Appendix for the Latin letter.

Senofonte would stay in Dubrovnik for the rest of his life. In those ten years, he received (at least) thirty more letters from his father, who increasingly chastised him for not writing back as often or quickly as he should.<sup>24</sup> Already the next year, on 25 July 1461, Filelfo complains that he had to learn from Gian Mario and others that Senofonte had married a local woman in Dubrovnik, without informing his father, let alone asking his permission, yet he wishes him well.

For since your very brief letter from last year (...) I have not heard anything about you, neither from you nor from anyone else, except on the occasion when my friend Hispanus Senior returned from a business trip he had undertaken to Ancona around the first of June and told me that he had heard in Ancona from a man from Dubrovnik that you had got married. And Gian Mario told me the same thing from Bologna a few days ago. So I forgive you if, as a newlywed, you wanted to devote your attention to your bride rather than to your father. Yet it would have been a token of your prudence (not to say sheer impudence to do otherwise) not to attempt – let alone actually undertake – anything of this kind without consulting your father. But you liked Dubrovnik, you liked a relationship, you liked your wife. I like it as well, although I am not yet clear on what exactly you have done. Be that as it may, you should honor your father-in-law as a father, and love your bride as you love yourself.<sup>25</sup>

Senofonte's wife was Jakobina Turčinović, a sister of Marin Cvijetov Turčinović, who was the Slavic chancellor (*cancellarius in lingua Sclava*) of Dubrovnik from 1455 to 1474.<sup>26</sup> Senofonte and Jakobina had a daughter, at first named Petronyla, but then apparently renamed Theodora, after Senofonte's mother

<sup>24</sup> These are the letters PhE.16.12, 16.15, 16.17, 16.22, 16.28, 17.26, 17.29, 17.32, 18.06, 18.34, 18.36, 18.50, 19.03, 20.17, 21.06, 23.23, 24.10, 24.13, 25.01, 25.12, 25.14, 25.32, 25.34, 25.37, 25.50, 26.02, 27.11, 28.09, 31.69, 32.11, and 32.24.

<sup>25</sup> »Nam post illas perbrevis litteras anni proximi, quibus de pecunia quam socrus a Timotheo theologo petierat me feceras certiore, nihil unquam de te neque abs te neque ab alio audivi, nisi quod Senior ille noster Hispanus, cum circiter Kalendas Iunias petisset Ancona negotii sui gratia, inde postea rediens mihi renunciavit illic audisse ab homine Rhagusino te duxisse uxorem. Et idem proximis diebus nobis Marius ex Bononia significavit. Itaque ignosco tibi, si novus sponsus nuptae quam patris malueris meminisse. Sed fuerat prudentiae tuae (ne dixerim »impudentiae«) nihil istiusmodi non modo agere, sed ne temptare quidem inconsulto patre. At placuit tibi civitas Rhagusina, placuit affinitas, placuit sponsa. Placet etiam nobis, etsi aut quid aut quale egeris, nondum certo scio. Utunque tamen res habet, tuum fuerit et socerum honorare ut patrem, et nuptam amare ut te ipsum.« [PhE.17.26]

<sup>26</sup> See Constantin Jireček, »Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II: Die slawische Kanzlei«, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 26 (1904), 161-214 (at 207-208); and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti: Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku* [On the threshold of power: The *Antunini* of Dubrovnik in the late Middle Ages], Zagreb 2012, at 148, 167, 184.

Theodora Chrysolorina, which was applauded (if not invented) by Filelfo, who deemed the original name to have too much of a Dalmatian flavor.<sup>27</sup> Two sons died young, as can be deduced from consolation letters sent by their grandfather: PhE·18.06, dated 7 March 1462, for the death of Francesco, and PhE·23.23, dated 26 October 1464, for the death of Fiorio. An illegitimate son of Senofonte's, named Ciro (Cyrus), stayed with his grandfather in Milan for some time, as can be concluded from various letters sent to the child's father when Filelfo wanted to send him to Dubrovnik, and then indeed did so in the fall of 1462, repeatedly urging Senofonte to give the talented boy the necessary attention and a proper education.<sup>28</sup>

In many of his letters to Senofonte Filelfo not only updates his son on the situation in Milan and asks how he is doing, he also often inquires about the situation in the East and the Turkish threat in particular (for example in PhE·20.17 of 11 October 1463). Several times, there are indications that Senofonte would prefer to return to Italy (23 March 1464)<sup>29</sup> and his father more than once promises to ask the Milanese leaders for a passport, for example in a letter dated 15 January 1465, in which he also offers his condolences for the demise of Senofonte's mother-in-law and an aunt named Zambia.<sup>30</sup> He did indeed obtain these

<sup>27</sup> »Revixisse Theodoram gaudeo. Nam Petronyla sapit nescio quid Dalmaticum.« [PhE·19.03] Božić misunderstood this passage to mean that Filelfo did not know what *Petronyla* signifies in Dalmatian; see Božić, *Dubrovački kancelar*, 233.

<sup>28</sup> PhE·17.32 of 5 October 1461: »Cyrum cum voles mittam ad te, modo significes cui puer Venetiis sit commendandus. Non enim temere mittendus est.« PhE·18.34 of 1 September 1462: »Filium tuum Cyrum misi ad te, et id quidem non admodum libenter. Vereor enim ne tua negligentia puerum imbuas. Itaque facito ne eius depravetur ingenium. Est enim ad litteras natus. Quibus simul cum bonis moribus instituendus est. Idque ut facias, non solum volo, sed etiam iubeo.« PhE·18.36 of 15 November 1462: »Ex Iacobo, mercatore Mediolanensi, accepisti et litteras meas et Cyrum tuum; quem ne ulla ex parte negligas, et volo et iubeo. Est enim bono ingenio puer et ad litteras in primis apto. Quae autem secum attulit et vestis et libros ac reliqua, significavi tibi per litteras omnia praeter chamisiam unam, quae erat simul cum vestimentis ad eam, qua erat indutus.« PhE·19.03 of 28 May 1463: »Qui grammaticae regulas inter navigandum Cyro subripuit, eo minore est in culpa, quod non tam quaestus, quam doctrinae gratia id potuit fecisse. Cura ne puer abs te neglectus iudicetur. Est enim praeclara indole.«

<sup>29</sup> »Intelligo tuos cogitatus. Te Dalmatiae satietas cepit. Teneris Italiae desyderio. Non destiti temptare quod cupis. Nondum habeo quod tibi certo queam affirmare. Angelus Simoneta magna pollicetur. Hominem tu melius nosti quam ego. Moneo ad eum des aliquid litterarum. Saemina quae scripsisti, nondum mihi reddita sunt, sed reddentur, ut existimo.« [PhE·21.06]

<sup>30</sup> »Litteras quas petieras ab humanissimo nostro principe (et ad Rhagusinos, et quae passus appellatur), debes accepisse iam pridem. Nam Gerardus Collis, iurisconsultus, respondit mihi eas diligenter civi Rhagusino istuc redeunti dedisse ad te. (...) De socrus obitu quod scribis, eo fero aequiore animo quam quod antea significaras de tua matertera Zambia, quod ea, ut decrepita, non intempestive naturae concessit. Quare te plurimum hortor ut eius orbitati quam accuratissime consulas.« [PhE·24.13].

passports,<sup>31</sup> yet after numerous promises about his imminent return, Senofonte decided to stay where he was.

In a letter of 5 May 1462 Filelfo asked Giovanni Aloisio Guidobono to sound out »those merchants from Ragusa who are staying in Venice, in particular Marinus, the son of Florius,« that is, Marin Cvijetov Turčinović, and write him as soon as possible what they know about Senofonte's situation.<sup>32</sup> Almost literally the same question goes to Gerardo Colli on 27 June 1465, albeit with a more precise identification of the prospected sources: Florius is now called Senofonte's brother-in-law.<sup>33</sup> Probably this is a mistake, since Senofonte must have been married to a sister of Florius' son Marinus, not to a sister of Florius himself. It also seems more plausible that Senofonte's son who passed away as an infant was named after his maternal grandfather rather than after his uncle: Senofonte's other son was named after his paternal grandfather, Francesco, and his daughter after his grandmother, Theodora.

Several years later, on 30 July 1467 and 28 May 1468, two follow-up letters were sent to Gerardo Colli, urging him to sound out any merchant from Ragusa, since Filelfo had not heard from Senofonte for quite some time.<sup>34</sup> The relationship between father and son appears to have turned sour after Senofonte's decision not to return to Italy and for almost three years Filelfo did not write him any letters. Indeed, the first one to be sent after PhE·28.09 (of 17 July 1467) is PhE·31.69, dated 18 May 1470, when Filelfo thanks his son for a letter sent to him on 7 April, having written finally to his father, after two years. Filelfo shows himself deeply concerned about the news Senofonte had given him: that he was suffering from some kind of fever and tuberculosis. Senofonte's renewed request to be sent a passport triggers an exasperated reaction from his father, who also reproaches his son for not having written anything about his family:

What could you ask of me with regard to your coming here? How often did I send you letters of passage from the duke? I did so in vain, since you never used them. So you have let yourself down. If you had not changed your mind,

<sup>31</sup> Three of these passports, retrieved from the *Missive ducali* at the Archivio di Stato in Milan, have been edited by Gabotto, »Senofonte Filelfo a Ragusa« (as in note 19), at 5-7.

<sup>32</sup> »Quare abs te peto ut de eius salute diligenter quaeras ex istis mercatoribus Rhagusinis, qui Venetiis moram agunt, in primisque ex Marino, Florii filio. Hoc erit mihi vaeheimer gratum. Quidquid autem acceperis, scribe ad me confestim.« [PhE·18.18]

<sup>33</sup> »Quod autem abs te peto atque contendo: da operam, si me amas (sicuti certe amas) ut aliquid de Xenophonte filio quamdiligentissime odoraris ex Rhagusinis istis, qui Venetiis moram agunt, praesertimque ex Florio, cuius sororem habet uxorem Xenophon. Hoc erit mihi gratissimum.« [PhE·25.19]

<sup>34</sup> »Quare peto abs te atque rogo (...) ut, rem de Xenophonte omnem ex aliquo Rhagusino mercatore quamdiligentissime odoratus, me quamprimum facias certiore quid tandem is agat.« [PhE·28.07] »Miror quod de Xenophonte filio nihil habeamus. Itaque rogo te des operam ut ex aliquo Rhaguseo aliquid de illo odoraris.« [PhE·28.44]

I believe you would certainly not have caught that disease. You will soon learn what I think you should do from another letter of mine. In the meantime, make sure you get better and keep yourself alive for us for as long as possible. (...) You did not write me anything about your children: how many you have and of what kind.<sup>35</sup>

One week later, on 25 May 1470, Filelfo shares his concerns with Gerardo Colli:

I fear greatly for my son Senofonte, for he shows symptoms of both hectic fever and tuberculosis (a wasting condition in which the lungs develop ulcers and condemn one to an early grave). I ask you, therefore, to try to ascertain his chances of survival, whether there is any hope left or only despair. Inform me as soon as you know something. For I will regard everything you tell me as the full truth.<sup>36</sup>

Filelfo's fears were legitimate: on 10 October 1470 he replied to Bartolomeo Sfondrati, who had informed him about Senofonte's demise. Sfondrati was a nobleman from Cremona who arrived in Ragusa in 1460 and would die there in 1503.<sup>37</sup> He was Ragusa's state secretary when Senofonte was the city's chancellor. Both had married women from local families belonging to the *Antunini*, the confraternity of Saint Anthony Abbot, which formed the elite part of the commons, just below the patricians.

Your letter, Bartolomeo Sfondrati, which you sent from Dubrovnik on 1 September, brought me terrible news. Could anything more terrible have happened in my life than the untimely death of my dearest son Senofonte? In the middle of life's journey, he fulfilled the ominous meaning of his name and was taken from our midst whilst abroad (that is, in a foreign country),

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<sup>35</sup> »De tuo ad nos adventu quid est ut me consulas? Quotiens ducalis litteras ad te dedi? Et eas quidem frustra, utpote qui illis nunquam es usus. Tu igitur tibi defuisti, qui, si minus consilium mutasses, in istiusmodi certe morbum (ut mea fert opinio) non incidisses. Quid tibi nunc faciendum censeam, propediem ex aliis meis litteris cognosces. Interim cura ut valeas teque nobis quamdiutissime conserves. (...) Tu nihil ad me scripsisti de tuis liberis: et quot sunt tibi et cuiusmodi.« [PhE:31.69]

<sup>36</sup> »Ego Xenophonti filio plurimum metuo. Nam nescio quae suspicio iniecta sit et de febre hectica et de ptisi (quae tabes est, qua pulmones hulcerati festinant ad mortem). Quare te rogo ut certior fieri studeas de illius vita, sitne spes reliqua an desperatio. Quod cum didiceris, fac ut propediem sciam. Id enim verissimum esse existimabo, quod ex te didicero.« [PhE:32.01]

<sup>37</sup> Sante Graciotti, »La Dalmazia e l'iter gerosolimitano da Venezia tra affari, devozione e scoperte« in Id. (ed.), *Convegno La Dalmazia nelle relazioni di viaggiatori e pellegrini da Venezia tra Quattro e Seicento (Roma, 22-23 maggio 2007)*, Roma 2009, 67-114, at 105.

last August, on Monday the twenty-seventh. He was born in Florence, Italy, on 25 March 1433.<sup>38</sup>

Filelfo especially regrets that his favorite son has died so far away from him and blames those who convinced Senofonte, against his father's advice, to move to and stay in Dalmatia:

Yet if he had been allowed to do so by the scoundrels who had his ear, he would have never died so far away from Italy and from his father, separated from him by such vast expanses of land and sea. I am told that after the doctors had informed him of his incurable illness he continually mourned this every day, every time he spoke, with the words »This is what happens to those who do not listen to their father«. What I myself continually regret about my son is that, led astray by the advice of scoundrels, he allowed himself to be dragged to Dalmatia, away from his doting father. By keeping company with these men, perhaps even by eating their food, he put himself at risk of a sudden death, as it were, despite being second to no one of his generation in his handsome appearance, quick wit, learning and eloquence. Need I mention his integrity, his gentleness, his kindness and modesty, his easy and elegant manner?<sup>39</sup>

Filelfo asks Sfondrati to attend to the estate and to assure Senofonte's widow (Jakobina Turčinović) that both she and her children will be welcomed by Filelfo in Milan and urges Sfondrati to leave Dubrovnik as well, because of the Turkish threat.

As for my beloved daughter-in-law Jakobina, I ask the same of you, for the time being, as I instructed Francesco and as is written in his documents:

<sup>38</sup> »Litterae tuae, Bartholomaeae Sphondrade, quas Kalendis Septembribus ex Rhagusio ad me dederas, acerbissimum mihi nuncium attulere. Quid enim in vita mihi potuisset acerbius accidere immaturo obitu filii mihi dilectissimi Xenophontis? Qui in medio aetatis cursu, secutus nominis sui omen, peregre (hoc est, in alieno solo) e medio est sublatus, ad proximum mensem Augustum, die lunae dicato, sexto Kalendas Septembres, cum et in Italia et Florentiae natus esset ad octavum Kalendas Apriles anno a natali Christiano tertio ac trigesimo supra quadringentesimum et millesimum.« [PhE:33.01]

<sup>39</sup> »Quod si per improborum consilium licuisset, nunquam tanto terrarum atque maris tractu et a patre et ab Italia separatus excessisset e vivis; id quod etiam illum quotidie, cum de incurabili valetudine certior factus esset a medicis, assiduo sermone audio deplorassem, cum diceret: »Ita iis evenit, qui patri non parent.« Hoc identidem ipse queror in filio, quod deceptus improborum suasionibus ab indulgentissimo patre se ad Dalmatas abripi passus fuerit; quorum usus et consuetudine et victu etiam fortassis se repentinae (ut ita dixerim) morti devoverit, cum et bonitate formae et ingenii acrimonia et doctrina et eloquentia aetatis suae cederet nemini. Quid enim eius innocentiam, quid lenitatem, quid mansuetudinem atque modestiam, quid morum vel facilitatem vel elegantiam meminero?« [PhE:33.01]

if Jakobina decides to come to me with her children, I will naturally take her in and treat her always with fatherly affection, never failing to provide whatever her virtuous heart desires. The fact that she can clearly see that the entire region of Dubrovnik and its neighboring people are in grave danger from the advancing movements of the Turks will make her all the more willing to comply with this plan of mine. In fact, in consideration of our close friendship, I would also advise and urge you, my Bartolomeo, to remove yourself from this imminent and certain danger as soon as possible and return home.<sup>40</sup>

### 3. Dalmatian Connections: Mato Vidov Gozze

A second personal connection between Filelfo and Dalmatia is to be found in Filelfo's relationship with the »archidiaconus Rhagusinus« Mato Vidov Gozze (Matheus Viti, Mathio Vita Clemente Gozze, Mato Gučetić), in Latin Matthaues Gocius, Cocius or Coccius. He was born around 1423 and became a canon of Dubrovnik Cathedral. He finished his study of the liberal arts in 1451, probably in Padua, and later also studied canon law (although it is not clear whether he earned a degree) before returning home to become the archdeacon. According to Dubrovnik documents, in 1464 he was employed in the state diplomacy on a mission to Italy and France.<sup>41</sup>

Gozze's presence in Italy, in particular in Milan, during this mission is indeed illustrated by several letters in Filelfo's epistolarium. In a letter of 27 June 1464 Filelfo recommends Gozze to Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini, the cardinal of Pavia, informing him that Gozze has come to the court of Duke Francesco Sforza in Milan as an envoy from the Republic of Ragusa.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> »Quod autem ad dilectissimam nurum meam ac filiam Iacobam attinet, idem in praesentia repeto, quod Franciscum monui et in commentariis scriptum habet: si Iacoba instituerit una cum suis liberis ire ad me, excipiam profecto eam ac tractabo semper paterna caritate, nullaque in re eius honestissimae voluntati sum defuturus. Cui quidem consilio meo tanto sit magis obsecutura, quod potest non obscure animadvertere quanto in periculo regio Rhagusina omnis finitimique populi propter ingruentis Turcorum impetus positi sint. Quinetiam ego te, mi Bartholomaeae, pro nostra singulari benivolentia moneo atque hortor ut ex tam imminenti certoque discrimine te quamprimum subripias ad tuosque revertaris.« [PhE:33.01]

<sup>41</sup> Nella Lonza, »Dubrovački studenti prava u kasnom srednjem vijeku« [Dubrovnik's law students in the late Middle Ages], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 48 (2010), 9-45 (at 17).

<sup>42</sup> »Quem vel sine ulla mea commendatione sciebam tibi, pater reverendissime, ob praecipuam suam vel modestiam vel doctrinam fore commendatissimum, non potui non gratificari Matthaео Gocio, archidiacono Rhagusino, ut se meis quoque litteris commenda-

We also have two short letters sent to Gozze himself. In the first one, written soon after the recommendation to Cardinal Ammannati, on 23 August 1464, Filelfo thanks Gozze for two letters sent to him, one from Rimini and the other from Dubrovnik, and relates how he read them to Duke Francesco Sforza, who enjoyed the letters and praised Gozze. Filelfo encourages Gozze to write more often, to further his case with the Duke.<sup>43</sup>

In the second letter, of 27 May 1465, Filelfo thanks Gozze for his friendly letters. He states that just like everyone else, he himself and Francesco Sforza are very much looking forward to Gozze's visit. However, he warns his friend, if there is any suspicion of the plague Gozze might be facing a situation in which he is placed in quarantine.<sup>44</sup>

Given the role that Francesco Filelfo played in Gozze's mission to Milan it is reasonable to suppose that the Ragusan government asked Senofonte to plead with his father to introduce Gozze to Ammannati and Sforza. As Ivan Božić indicates, this was not the first time that they used Senofonte's contacts when it came to sending diplomatic missions to Italy. In 1461 Senofonte himself was sent to King Ferrante in Naples, and in 1463 to the courts of Ferrara and Milan, although it is not clear whether the second mission actually took place.<sup>45</sup> In any case, Francesco Filelfo's own connection to Gozze appears to have been rather limited and mainly connected to his specific mission.

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rem tuae amplitudini. Id autem facio eo libentius, quod intelligo te facturum rem admodum gratam huic meo humanissimo principi, si virum hunc omni fueris humanitatis officio complexus. Venit enim ad principem orator a republica Rhagusina; quo quidem munere prudenter adeo diligenterque usus est, ut non minus exorarit quamfacillime omnia quae petierat, quam orarit, et id quidem cum summa gratia, universae ducalis aulae. Nam quam iucundus fuerit etiam ipsi principi, ex eius ad te litteris liquido cognoscere potuisti.« [PhE:22.22]

<sup>43</sup> »Quae mihi binae redditae sunt litterae tuae (alterae ex Arimino, alterae ex Rhagusio), facile declarant singularem tuam in me benivolentiam. Itaque habeo tibi gratias quod in amando superari a me nolis, quanquam superaris certe. Nam quo me iunior es, eo amorem tuum infirmiore esse oportet. Grata est mihi tamen voluntas tua, quod etiam aliquid velle videris supra aetatem. Legi litteras tuas meo principi; qui et iis, quae scripta a te sunt, delectatus est, et te palam mirifice laudavit. Scribe igitur quamsaepissime, ut te non tam mihi, cui es carissimus, sed ipsi principi, qui tuo ingenio ac moribus plurimum delectatur, cariorem reddas.« [PhE:22.28]

<sup>44</sup> »Singularem tuam erga me benivolentiam etsi perspicue cognoram, tamen non fuit ingratum eam tuis suavissimis litteris recognoscere. Nam res vero amata fit frequentia sua cum dulcior, tum etiam cumulator. Habeo autem tibi gratiam quod mea omnia non secus ducis quam tua. Adventum vero tuum, quem polliceris, libenter expecto, idque cum multis. Nam quid dicam de humanissimo nostro principe, cui scis te esse carissimum? Sed huius regionis consuetudinem nosti. Si qua enim pestilentis morbi suspicio istinc ingrueret, retardaretur adventus tuus ad Padum in diem quadragesimum.« [PhE:25.03]

<sup>45</sup> Božić, *Dubrovački kancelar*, 231.

#### 4. Dalmatian Connections: Girolamo Genesio

The third and last of Filelfo's Dalmatian connections is Girolamo Genesio or Hieronymus Genesius (or Inesius) Picientinus.<sup>46</sup> Genesio was *rector scholarum* in Split, probably from 1473 to 1477, and as such, along with two other Italian humanists, Tideo Acciarini (Tydeus Acciarinus) and Nicola de Capua (Colla Firmanus), one of the three teachers of Marko Marulić, who learned Greek from him.

Genesio is first mentioned in letter of 27 July 1467 to Francesco Scalamonti, who is invited to return a copy of Filelfo's *Satyrae* and to give it to Filelfo's envoy Genesio, who is bringing Scalamonti this letter.<sup>47</sup> Two weeks later, on 9 August 1467, Filelfo recommends his envoy Genesio also to Ludovico Casella.<sup>48</sup> On 22 June 1468 Filelfo first recommends Genesio to Febo Capella in an inheritance issue,<sup>49</sup> and then writes to the abbot Langelotto Freducci, again sending Genesio as an envoy with the mission to retrieve his copy of the *Satyrae*, since Francesco Scalamonti has recently succumbed to the plague.<sup>50</sup> Three years later Genesio is

<sup>46</sup> See Giuseppe Praga, »I maestri a Spalato nel Quattrocento,« *Annuario del R. Istituto tecnico Francesco Rismondo* 11 (1933), 3-18, at 12: »Compare per la prima volta, fregiato del titolo di »rector scholarum«, quale teste in un atto del 25 agosto 1473. Per tutto il 1474 non se ne sa niente, ma è certo che continuò a tenere l'ufficio, giacché il 19 gennaio 1475 il nobile ser Antonio degli Alberti fa sequestrare 'in manibus magistri Hieronymi Genesii unum psalmistam tamquam de bonis Antonelli de Pergamo'. Il 31 ottobre 1475 e il 23 agosto 1476 egli appare ancora investito dell'ufficio. Non così nella prima metà del 1478, giacché quattro atti, del 4 ed 11 gennaio, del 21 febbraio (contratto per la costruzione di Castel Cambio) e del 14 maggio, concordemente ce lo designano come 'olim rector scholarum in Spalato'. Dopo di che non se ne sente parlare. Probabilmente se ne andò per assumere altrove l'insegnamento.« According to Praga the »Picientinus« indicating the geographical provenance of Genesius in Marulić's biography by Frane Božićević (Franciscus Natalis) is to be considered an interpolation, since it actually concerns Marulić's other teacher, Tideo Acciarini. However, since Božićević's biography has been preserved in an autograph copy, one cannot see how it would have been interpolated. Moreover, as will be shown below, »Picientinus« does describe Genesio's origin quite correctly.

<sup>47</sup> »Qui tibi reddidit hasce litteras, Hieronymus Genesius, Tholentinum est petiturus. Quare si codicem illum fortasse nondum eo miseris nunciorem inopia, ipsum Hieronymo huic dato, qui mihi pollicitus coram est ea mihi re ex sententia mea se gratificaturum.« [PhE:28.05]

<sup>48</sup> »Qui meas tibi litteras reddidit, Hieronymus Genesius, et me vaehementer observat et mihi est carissimus. Huic tua istic opera opus est quibusdam suis in negotiis, ut ait. Quare tibi hominem plurimum commendo, ut, quantum vel honestas ipsa vel dignitas tua patitur, huic omnibus in rebus sis adiutor. Hoc mihi erit tam gratum, quam quod gratissimum. Praeterea ne codex tuus ille *Satyrae* vitietur depraveturve, diligenter cave. Quid haec sibi velit oratio, ex ipso Hieronymo cognoscet.« [PhE:28.15]

<sup>49</sup> »Hieronymus Genesius vir est perhumanus ac modestus et mihi in primis familiaris. Huic tua sollerti opera opus est ad consequendas tabulas testamenti cuiusdam propinqui sui, cuius haereditatem dicit ad se pertinere. Honesta res est. Itaque rogo te ut quibuscunque in rebus poteris, ad id officii omnem opem et auxilium Hieronymo meo praestes.« [PhE:28.49]

<sup>50</sup> »Ad haec si Hieronymus Genesius, qui has tibi litteras reddidit et nomen tuum mirifice observat ac summis laudibus extollit, vellet id sibi honeris desumere, admitte condi-

again acting as Filelfo's envoy and he is as such recommended, on 13 September 1471, to Leonardo Botta. Interestingly, in this letter Filelfo underscores how learned and eloquent Genesio is in both Latin and Greek (*et doctrina et dicendi elegantia tam Graece, quam Latine hic plurimum valet*) and how extremely cultivated he is (*moribus est et excultis et perurbanis*).<sup>51</sup>

On 22 January 1474 Filelfo then writes a first letter to Girolamo Genesio himself, now already living in Split, congratulating him on his success among the noble and generous inhabitants of the city, and in particular on his good relations with Nicolaus Michael, a patrician and doctor of both laws who is then governing Split on behalf of the Venetians. This is most likely a reference to Nicolò Michiel or Michièl (1440-1518), who in 1500, after the prosecution of Antonio Grimani, the general of the Venetian armada who had failed in the battle near Lepanto in 1499, became procurator of San Marco. He is also known from a famous bronze medal by Fra Antonio da Brescia, picturing on one side Michiel, »doctor et eques et Sancti Marci procurator«, and on the other his wife, Dea (or Alidea) Contarini.<sup>52</sup> Filelfo states that he has had the best relations with the Michiels, one of the twelve oldest and most important, »apostolic« noble families in Venice, ever since his years in Constantinople, where the brothers Domenico and Giovanni Michiel were then living.<sup>53</sup>

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cionem. Ipse autem siquid possum efficere tua causa, significato litteris. Nam nihil frustra petieris.« [PhE:29.02]

<sup>51</sup> »Etsi mihi non est obscurum sine ullis etiam meis litteris quaecunque ad Hieronymi Genesii nostri vel honorem vel emolumentum attinent, ea tibi non secus esse cordi atque mea omnia, tamen pro mea in hunc benivolentia mei muneris esse duxi ut abs te peterem ita omnibus in rebus huic adsis faveasque mea quoque causa, ut intelligat meas sibi litteras apud te non mediocriter profuisse. (...) Itaque rogo te, pro virili parte operam des ne hunc nostra fallat opinio. Id enim et indignum foret et nobis dedecorosum, praesertim cum et doctrina et dicendi elegantia tam Graece, quam Latine hic plurimum valet et (quod pluris facio) moribus est et excultis et perurbanis.« [PhE:33.29]

<sup>52</sup> See the description by Mark Wilchusky in Stephen Scher, *The Currency of Fame. Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, New York 1994, 106-108: »This medal is widely regarded as Fra Antonio's masterpiece, a striking example of what Fabriczy referred to as the artist's 'absolute photographic truth'. To achieve such faithful likenesses the medalist apparently developed a kind of shorthand, concentrating on only a few telling details in his rendering of a profile. He has conveyed the sitter's advanced age and grave demeanor with great economy; the hollow cheeks and tight lips are passages of descriptive genius, yet no part distracts from the dignified whole.« See also the copy now in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum in New York: <https://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/460838>.

<sup>53</sup> »Gaudeo tibi Aspalati secunda esse omnia apud civis (ut audio) non modo nobilis, sed etiam (quod hac tempestate raro contingit) vel munificos. Verum illud tibi in primis gratulor: quod eius viri et patrocínio et ope uteris Nicolai istius Michaelis, qui pro amplissimo eodemque florentissimo senatu Veneto praestitit Aspalatinis. Qui, ut est vir patricius et civili pontificioque iure illustris, cum nulla ingenua doctrina, nulla vacare debet sapientia, tum et humanissimus est et optimus.« [PhE:38.34] See the Appendix for the entire letter.

The second letter to Genesio, of 1 December 1474, is entirely philological, explaining the use of the word *titulus* in Cicero's first letter *Ad Familiares*. It confirms, in passing, that at any rate Genesio was still in Split at that point.<sup>54</sup> The same can be deduced from two late letters, both to Marco Aurelio: on 18 February 1477, Filelfo asks his Venetian friend to forward a letter to Genesio in Split (and to inquire about the situation of Filelfo's grandson, the son of the late Senofonte);<sup>55</sup> and the next day already he reminds his friend about his quest for information about his grandson and asks him to confirm that he has indeed forwarded the letter to Genesio, »who is running a school in Salona, which nowadays is called Aspalatum.«<sup>56</sup>

No further explicit information about Girolamo Genesio can be harvested from Filelfo's letters. However, there is some circumstantial evidence that might help to shed some more light on his background. Filelfo also mentions a Venantius Genesius, in four letters from 1473-74 (PhE·37.11, 37.12, 37.14 and 39.08). He is active as an envoy of Filelfo's on a mission to recover a manuscript copy of the *Satyræ* – exactly the same task Girolamo Genesio had been enrolled for. While Girolamo had been sent in 1467 to Francesco Scalamonti, Venanzio in 1473 had to see Scalamonti's son Marco Antonio, who according to Filelfo would have inherited the codex from his father when the latter passed away in 1468 (see PhE·29.02, cited above). From these letters it can not only be deduced that Venanzio was living in the Ancona area (»rediturus in Picentes« in PhE·37.13), but, in a letter to Gasparino Ardizio, dated 13 July 1473, he is identified as the father of Filelfo's friend and trusted scribe Fabrizio Elfiteo,<sup>57</sup> who had then just been appointed secretary to the Duke of Milan.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> »Verum ne semper incedas in salebris, praesertim Aspalaticis, tibi vel occupatissimus morem geram.« [PhE·41.22]

<sup>55</sup> »Quas litteras offenderis hisce inclusas, da operam, si me amas, ut Aspalato Hieronymo Genesio et uestigio reddantur et quamtutissime. De nepote meo, Xenophontis filio, ut certi aliquid odororis, non solum a te peto, verum etiam contendo.« [PhE·47.25]

<sup>56</sup> »Nolim obliviscaris quae de nepote meo, Xenophontis filio, saepius ad te scripsi. Praeterea me facito certiore curaverisne litteras illas perferendas ad Hieronymum Genesium, qui Salonae (cui nunc *Aspalato* est nomen) ludum curat.« [PhE·47.30]

<sup>57</sup> See for more information the *DBI* entry by Nadia Covini: [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fabrizio-elfiteo\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fabrizio-elfiteo_(Dizionario-Biografico)). For his activity as a scribe, see Massimo Zaggia, »Codici milanesi del Quattrocento all'Ambrosiana: per il periodo dal 1450 al 1476,« in *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana. Atti del convegno (Milano, 6-7 ottobre 2005)*, a cura di M. Ferrari, M. Navoni, Milano 2007, 331-384, at 374-378; and Jeroen De Keyser, »I codici filelfiani della Biblioteca Trivulziana,« *Libri & Documenti* 39 (2013), 91-109, at 94 and 102-105. Fabrizio Elfiteo is the addressee of thirteen of Filelfo's letters: PhE·33.32, 41.29, 41.31, 43.09, 43.18, 43.26, 44.12, 44.15, 45.45, 45.46, 46.08, 46.18, and 46.23.

<sup>58</sup> »Qua quidem de re dedi ad eum litteras viro huic mihi amicissimo atque permodesto, Venantio Genesio, Fabricii huius nostri patri; quem excellentissimus princeps noster ad secretarium nunc extulit habetque carissimum.« [PhE·37.14]

We know from an official declaration by the Duke's first secretary Cicco Simonetta, dated 1 January 1469, that Elfiteo was from then on working for the Milanese chancellery.<sup>59</sup> In this document he is called »Fabricius de Sancto Genesio«, a reference to the place from which Fabrizio and his father Venanzio originated, San Ginesio in the Marche, a village in the immediate vicinity of Filelfo's own birthplace, Tolentino. The identical »Genesisius« epithet given to both Girolamo and Venanzio on the one hand and the fact that both are sent out as envoys to the Tolentino area to retrieve the very same elusive *Satyræ* manuscript at least justifies the surmise that Filelfo's confidant and Marulić's teacher, Hieronymus Genesisius, did indeed originate from the Marche, more particularly from the village of San Ginesio.

## 5. Conclusion

To conclude one might state that while Filelfo liked boasting about his expert knowledge of all regions between Italy and Byzantium, as far as Dalmatia is concerned the real interest of the information contained in his letters lies elsewhere, to wit, in his personal contacts. In the case of Mato Vidov Gozze, this contact was rather limited and occasional, and it mainly played out on the Italian scene, but because of the close ties to his son Senofonte, who spent the last years of his life as the chancellor of Dubrovnik, we find numerous letters discussing his son's Dalmatian sojourn. Filelfo's relationship with his friend Girolamo Genesisio, on the other hand, appears to have become rather limited in scope once the latter had become the *rector scholarum* in Split, yet while Senofonte Filelfo's tenure in Dubrovnik has already been repeatedly discussed by scholarship, the information on Genesisio yielded by Francesco Filelfo's letters allows a significant increase of our knowledge of the so-far largely mysterious Greek teacher of Marko Marulić.

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<sup>59</sup> M. Zaggia (as in note 53), at 375, who mentions also a Paolo da San Ginesio, an Augustinian living in Milan in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Appendix: Letters

**PhE·16.03**

Franciscus Philelfus Xenophonti filio salutem.

Cum essem animo de navigatione tua ad Rhagusinos admodum sollicito, peropportune mihi redditae sunt litterae tuae, quas III Kalendas Apriles scripseras. Ex his sum ea omni formidine liberatus, qua me affecerant turbulentissimi illi ventorum flatus, quibus non nullae vel munitissimae naves quo tempore tu mare ingressus es, naufragae perierunt. Itaque immortalis Deo grates ago quas debeo maximas, qui me tanta acerbitate liberavit.

Reliquum est ut bonae valetudini studeas operamque des nequid tibi nova caeli temperies importet incommodi, quod una τῆ ἐγκρατεία facile vitabis. Es enim in urbe non minus amoena quam et opulenta et nobili; quae quidem omnia adhortantur istiusmodi aetatem ad voluptatum illecebras, quibus Ulyssis Homericus illius socii cum se penitus dedidissent, humanitatem omnem exuerunt. At tu Ulyssen, si sapias, imitabere vitabisque omne Circaeum poculum. Id autem eo facilius es facturus, quod audio patricos Rhagusinos viros esse continentissimos et gravissimos; quorum vitae instituta si tibi proposueris, meliuscule profecto et exteriori consulens et interiori homini. Nam quod scribis te ex altero pede laborare, istiusmodi tibi nobilitas patrita non est, at ne avita quidem. Quare ne aliunde tibi venatus sis, cave. Et eam a te quamprimum amovere atque extrudere eminere ne dissimules. Nam si facile se norit nactam hospitium, cum voles excludere, haud poteris.

Ego ut ad reliqua respondeam: abs te aliud nihil desydero, nisi ut te florentissimo isti senatui obsequentissimum praestes omnique in re quidquid agis, ex officio agas. Id vero ea re una facillime assequeris, si tibi ante oculos semper probitatis laudem Deumque proposueris; quod quoniam scio te facturum, non ero longior admonendo.

Velim quamdiligentissime inquiras siquod est vetus uspium istic monumentum ex quo liquido possit intelligi urbis nomen. Nam ex patrio verbo non *Rhagusium* videtur dici debere, sed *Rhagusa*; appellantur enim cives isti sermone patrio *Rhagusaei*. At ea nomina apud Graecos ita terminant quae et in genitivo non crescunt, et in *-a* terminant aut in *-e* suntque foeminini generis, ut Σμύρνα – Σμυρναῖος (*Smyrna – Smyrnaeus*), Λάρισσα – Λαρισαῖος (*Larissa – Larissaeus*), Δάφνη – Δαφναῖος (*Daphne – Daphnaeus*), Θήβη – Θεβαῖος (*Thebe – Thebaeus*). Eodem igitur pacto Ῥαγούσα – Ῥαγουσαῖος (*Rhagusa – Rhagusaeus*). Nam apud geographos et cosmographos qui apud nos sunt, de ista urbe nullam invenio mentionem. Odorare igitur omnia diligenter, siquis priscus lapis inveniatur qui nomen urbis habeat litteris incisum. Nam regio ista omnis Graecis olim utebatur et institutis et litteris.

Praeterea siquid Graecorum voluminum quod vulgare non sit istic servetur, quaere diligenter. Et id aut tibi aut nobis compara. Quod si in tanta argenti et auri

officina nummi tibi defuerint, fac me certiorem. Nam eos tibi ad rem huiusmodi quamprimum suppeditabo, modo ex te intelligam librorum titulos qualitatemque.

Vale, et me illustri Rhagusinorum senatui commenda. Ex Mediolano, Kalendis Maiis MCCCCLX.

### **PhE·38.34**

Franciscus Philelfus Hieronymo Genesis salutem.

Si litterae meae perlatae serius ad te sunt, nulli mihi culpae ascriperis, sed tuarum potius tarditati; quae cum ad sextum Idus Decembres abs te solvissent, non ante duodecimum Kalendas Februarias ad me pervenerunt.

Gaudeo tibi Aspalati secunda esse omnia apud civis (ut audio) non modo nobilis, sed etiam (quod hac tempestate raro contingit) vel munificos. Verum illud tibi in primis gratulor: quod eius viri et patrocinio et ope uteris Nicolai istius Michaelis, qui pro amplissimo eodemque florentissimo senatu Veneto praeest Aspalatinis. Qui, ut est vir patricius et civili pontificioque iure illustris, cum nulla ingenua doctrina, nulla vacare debet sapientia, tum et humanissimus est et optimus. Cui uni eo ipse magis afficior, quod vetus mihi est cum praestantissima Michaelum familia et familiaritas et necessitudo. Nam ut caeteros praeteream: ab usque Constantinopoli cum duobus illis nobilissimis Michaelibus, Dominico Iohanneque fratribus, vixi quamconiunctissime. Quinetiam Dominicus ipse (maior natu) Marium filium sustulit e sacro baptismi fonte. Quibus quidem rationibus plane fit ut Nicolao isti Michaeli, praeclaro ac summo viro, sim adeo vaehementer affectus, ut vitam sibi cupiam exoptemque immortalem.

At caetera quae scripsi, brevi voluntati tuae gratificabor sine etiam munusculis tuis. Non enim ignarus es ingenii morumque meorum, qui magis dare delecter quam accipere. Quae de Turcis et rege Persarum Assam nova scripsisti, fuere mihi pergrata omnia, idque cum aliis multis praecipueque cum Petro Posterula, viro (ut nosti) egregie, perillustri ac primario inter Insubres universos; qui ipse quoque tibi salutem dicit.

Tu interim vale, meque magnifico isti Aspalatinae urbis praefecto, Nicolao Michaeli, quamdiligentissime commenda. Ex Mediolano, xi Kalendas Februarias MCCCCLXXIII.

### **PhE·41.07**

Franciscus Philelfus Marco Aurelio salutem.

Redditum mihi in tempore est quod abs te zinziber Damascenum petieram, cum arundinem manu cepissem ut tibi de Scodra responderem. Fuit mihi zinziber pergratum, et munusculum tuum idcirco libenter amplector, quod ab optimo sit animo. Ego autem ita iam convalui, ut mihi videar vel Hercule ipso robustior factus; id quod perlibenter quoque audierim de communi amico, viro clarissimo, Lodovico Fuscarino. Libri quos petis, non prius haberi poterunt quam princeps

noster Mediolanum reverterit. Nam praeter eum illos habet alius nemo, quantum ego didicerim.

Nunc ad Scudrium Scodramque revertor. Idem interest inter *Scodram* et *Scudrium* quod inter *Epidamnum* et *Dyrrhachium*. Nam quod *Epidamnum* a veteribus dictum est, a iunioribus *Dyrrhachium* appellatur. Idem in multis aliis nominibus et urbium et fluminum et gentium reperias. Quem amnem *Boianam* vocant, is *Dyrinus* est; super quem in colle saxeo situm est oppidum *Scutrium*; quam et Claudius Ptolemaeus, philosophus Alexandrinus, et Plynius noster *Scodram* appellat. At iuniores, Graecique in primis, *Scudrium* vocant. Id ita esse, audi ex iis verbis, quae nostrae tempestatis Graecorum omnium eruditissimus eloquentissimusque vir, Georgius Gemystus, in epistola ad Manuelem Palaeologum, Novae Romae Constantinopolis imperatorem, reliquit scripta. Ita enim ad verbum legimus:

Περὶ δὲ Σκουτρίου τάδε φέρεται. Βάλζας, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἄλβανοῖς τὰ μέγιστα δυνάμενος, τὸ ἄστυ πολιορκεῖ παντὶ σθένει. Ἐξέυσε καὶ τὸν Δύρινον ποταμὸν γεφύρα ἰσχυροῦ. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσι ἄλλο μῆθῆν, πλὴν ὅτι στόλον ἀποστέλλουσι παμμέγιστον.

De Scutrio autem, inquit, haec feruntur. Balzas, qui in illis Albanis est potentissimus, oppidum obsidet omnibus viribus. Ligavitque amnem Dyrinum valido ponte. De Venetis vero aliud nihil nunciant, nisi quod classem mittunt quammaximam.

Non est, inquam, aliud oppidum *Scutrium* et aliud *Scodra*, ut nec alia gens *Cimbri* et alia *Cimeri*, ut iidem sunt *Galatae* et *Galli*, et *Albula* et *Tybris*, et *Nequinum* et *Narina*, quod per metathesin *Narnia* vulgo nominant. Et ita pro *Salona* vocant *Aspalatum*, quanquam errant qui ita opinantur. Nam *Aspalatum* *Salonae* est colonia; posita autem est *Salona* supra *Aspalatum* circiter quattuordecim millia passuum, et ea quidem diruta.

Lacus vero unde *Dyrinus* manat, aliunde originem quae appareat nullam habet. Fieri autem potest ut ex proximis Macedoniae aut ex huius etiam ipsius *Liburniae*, in qua *Scutrium* positum est, montibus aquae subterraneae emergant tandem ac lacum illum efficiant, ex quo *Dyrinus* exit in sinum Hadriaticum. Est autem *Liburnia* altera *Illyrici* pars. *Illyricum* enim in *Liburniam* *Dalmatiam*que dividitur. Nam *Scardona* *Liburniae* finis est *Dalmatiae*que initium. Voluntque *Illyricum* nomen accepisse ab *Illyrio*, *Polyphemi* filio. *Polyphemum* enim ex *Galathea* tris filios suscepisse: *Celtum* et *Illyrium* atque *Gallan*; qui ex *Sicilia* solventes et *Celtis* imperitarunt et *Illyricis* et *Gallis*, quibus etiam ipsi nomen indiderunt. Sed hac de re satis.

Vale. Ex Mediolano, XIII Kalendas Novembres MCCCCLXXIII.

*Jeroen De Keyser*

DALMACIJA I DALMATINSKE VEZE  
U *EPISTOLARIJU* FRANCESCA FILELFA

Plodni humanist *quattrocenta* Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) stvarao je u mnogim književnim žanrovima. Najopsežniji mu je pothvat *Epistolarium*, zbirka s više od 2000 pisama nastalih u rasponu od pola stoljeća, od 1427. do 1477. godine. S obzirom na to da je kao član mletačkog poslanstva sedam godina živio u Konstantinopolu, Filelfo je zadržao bliske veze s krugovima grčkih emigranata u Italiji. Mnoga njegova pisma pokazuju izrazito zanimanje za novosti o Istoku, posebice one koje se tiču turskih osvajanja. Filelfo se desetljećima zalagao da se obnovi borba protiv Turaka, osobito u nizu svojih »križarskih pisama«, u kojima rado ističe dobro poznavanje tih krajeva i njihove geografije. Premda je informacije često temeljio na klasičnim piscima, razvidno je i njegovo nastojanje da novosti o suvremenom stanju dozna od svojih korespondenata. U ovom radu donosi se pregled podataka što ih Filelfova pisma nude o Dalmaciji i istražuju se njegovi osobni kontakti s osobama koje žive ili na području Dalmacije ili iz nje potječu.

**1. Filelfovo poznavanje Dalmacije i šireg područja**

Dana 15. rujna 1464. Filelfo šalje pismo novom papi Pavlu II. (Pietro Barbo) čestitajući mu na izboru i oštro kritizirajući njegova prethodnika Pija II. Također potiče papu da pokrene vojnu protiv Turaka te spominje opsadu Jajca.

Na Filelfovu žestoku kritiku Pija II. – koji mu je obustavio isplatu prije obećane novčane potpore – dva je mjeseca kasnije, pobijajući je, odgovorio Filelfov bivši učenik Lodrisio Crivelli. U svom dugom spisu *Apologeticus*, datiranu 21. studenog 1464, Crivelli napada Filelfa s više strana. Jedan od prigovora jest i to da mu je geografija netočna; Crivelli ispravlja Filelfa i kad je riječ o točnom smještaju Jajca na Vrbasu, i kad je riječ o etimologiji imena grada i rijeke.

Najopsežnija vijest o pokrajini nalazi se u pismu upućenu Marcu Aureliju 19. listopada 1474, u kojem se raspravlja o razlici dvaju klasičnih imena za grad  $\Sigma\kappa\acute{o}\delta\rho\alpha$  (odnosno *Scodra*) i *Scudrium*, na sjeverozapadu današnje Albanije (današnji Shkodër – Skadar, na talijanskom Scutari). Filelfo također tvrdi da je upotreba imena *Salona* umjesto *Aspalatum* pogrešna jer je Split zapravo bio kolonija Solina.

**2. Dalmatinske veze: Ksenofont Filelfo**

Najdugotrajnija Filelfova osobna veza s Dalmacijom posljedica je odluke njegova sina Ksenofonta, godine 1460, da se preseli u Dubrovnik. Ksenofont će u Dubrovniku ostati do kraja života (1470), a tijekom tih deset godina od oca je primio barem trideset pisama. U pismu od 25. srpnja 1461. Filelfo prigovara Ksenofontu što od drugih mora čuti da se on oženio Dubrovkinjom. Ksenofontova je žena

bila Jakobina Turčinović, sestra Marina Cvijetova Turčinovića, dubrovačkoga kancelara za hrvatski jezik (*cancellarius in lingua Sclava*) od 1455. do 1474. Ksenofont i Jakobina imali su kćer koja je najprije dobila ime Petronila, ali je ono naknadno, kako izgleda, promijenjeno u Teodora, prema imenu Ksenofontove majke Theodore Chrysolorine. Dva su sina umrla mlada, što se razabire iz utješnih pisama njihova djeda.

Među mnogim pismima poslanim Ksenofontu jedno se ističe zbog toga što očituje starinarski interes: nakon razlaganja o ispravnu imenu Raguze (*Rhagusa*, a ne *Rhagusium*), Filelfo moli sina da potraži ima li ondje grčkih natpisa i da ga obavijesti nađe li koji rukopis na prodaju.

Dana 10. listopada 1470. Filelfo odgovara Bartolomeu Sfondratiju, koji ga je obavijestio o Ksenofontovoj smrti. Sfondrati je bio kremonski plemić koji je u Dubrovnik došao 1460. i ondje umro 1503. Bio je tajnik Dubrovačke Republike u doba kad je Ksenofont bio kancelar. Obojica su uzeli žene iz domaćih obitelji koje su pripadale *Antuninima*, pripadnicima bratovštine sv. Antuna Opata.

### 3. Dalmatinske veze: Matej Vitov Gučetić

Druga Filelova osobna veza s Dalmacijom može se naći u njegovu odnosu s »dubrovačkim arhiđakonom« Matejem Vitovim Gučetićem (Mato Vidov Gozze, Matheus Viti, Mathio Vita Clemente Gozze, Matthaeus Gocius, Cocius ili Coccius). Rođen oko 1423, on je postao kanonikom u dubrovačkoj stolnici, studij slobodnih umijeća završio je 1451, vjerojatno u Padovi, a nakon toga je, prije povratka u domovinu, studirao i kanonsko pravo kako bi postao arhiđakonom. Prema dubrovačkim dokumentima bio je 1464. djelatlan u diplomaciji Republike, u poslanstvu u Italiji i Francuskoj. Gučetićevo je poslanstvo rasvijetljeno u više pisama iz Filelova epistolarija. U onom od 27. lipnja 1464. Filelfo preporučuje Gučetića pavijском kardinalu Giacomu Ammannatiju Piccolominiju, obavješujući ga da je Gučetić došao na dvor vojvode Francesca Sforze u Milanu u svojstvu izaslanika Dubrovačke Republike. Također su sačuvana dva kratka pisma poslana samom Gučetiću.

### 4. Dalmatinske veze: Girolamo Genesio

Treća i posljednja Filelova veza s Dalmacijom jest Girolamo Genesio (*Hieronymus Genesius* [ili *Ienesius*] *Picentinus*). Genesio je bio *rector scholarum* u Splitu, vjerojatno od 1473. do 1477, i zajedno s dvojicom drugih talijanskih humanista, Tideom Acciarinijem (*Tydeus Acciarinus*) i Nicolom de Capua (*Colla Firmianus*) bio je jedan od trojice učitelja Marka Marulića. Od Genesija je Marulić naučio grčki.

Genesio se prvi put spominje u pismu Francescu Scalamontiju od 27. srpnja 1467. U njemu Filelfo traži od Scalamontija da mu vrati prijepis njegova (Filelova) djela *Satyrae*, odnosno da ga dade njegovu izaslaniku Genesisiju. Tri godine kasnije Genesio se opet pojavljuje u ulozi Filelova izaslanika i kao takav preporučan je u pismu od 13. rujna 1471. Leonardu Botti. U ovom pismu

zanimljivo je da Filelfo ističe kako je Genesisio učen i rječit i u latinskom i u grčkom jeziku te kako je iznimno obrazovan.

Dana 22. siječnja 1474. Filelfo piše prvo pismo samom Girolamu Genesisiju, koji tada već živi u Splitu. U njemu mu čestita na uspjehu kod plemenitih i darežljivih stanovnika grada, a napose na dobrim odnosima s Nikolom Mihaelom, patricijem i doktorom obaju prava, tadašnjim mletačkim upraviteljem Splita. Po svoj prilici posrijedi je Nicolò Michiel ili Michièl (1440-1518), koji će godine 1500. – nakon što je Antonio Grimani kao zapovjednik mletačke mornarice doživio neuspjeh u Bitki kod Lepanta 1499. te zbog toga bio i optužen – postati prokurator Svetog Marka.

Drugo pismo Genesisiju, od 1. prosinca 1474, potpuno je filološke naravi. Ono potvrđuje da je Genesisio tada još u Splitu. Isto se može zaključiti i iz dvaju pisama Marcu Aureliju, poslanih u veljači 1477. godine.

U Filelfovim se pismima ne može naći nikakav dodatni podatak o Girolamu Genesisiju. Pa ipak, neke neizravne naznake mogu pomoći da se bolje osvijetli njegovo podrijetlo, budući da se u četiri Filelfova pisma iz 1473. i 1474. spominje neki *Venantius Genesisius*. Iz tih se pisama daje zaključiti da je Venanzio živio na području Ancone te da je bio otac Filelfova prijatelja i pouzdana pisara Fabrizija Elfitea. Iz službene izjave Cicca Simonette znamo da Elfiteo potječe iz San Ginesija, sela u pokrajini Marche u neposrednoj blizini Filelfova rodnog mjesta Tolentina. S jedne strane pridjevnik *Genesisius*, što ga nose i Girolamo i Venanzio, a s druge činjenica da su obojica kao izaslanici upućeni na područje Tolentina kako bi vratili spomenuti rukopis *Satyræ*, opravdavaju pretpostavku da Filelfov pouzdanik i Marulićev učitelj *Hieronymus Genesisius* doista potječe iz pokrajine Marche, i to upravo iz mjesta San Ginesio.

## 5. Zaključak

Zaključno bi se moglo ustvrditi da se Filelfo volio pohvaliti svojim izvrsnim poznavanjem područja između Italije i Bizanta, ali da, kad je riječ o Dalmaciji, prava vrijednost njegovih pisama leži u nečem drugom, tj. u njegovim osobnim kontaktima.

U slučaju Mateja Vitova Gučetića taj je kontakt bio prilično ograničen i prigodan. No zbog bliske povezanosti sa sinom Ksenofontom, koji je posljednje godine života proveo kao dubrovački kancelar, nalazimo brojna pisma u kojima Filelfo spominje Ksenofontov boravak u Dalmaciji. S druge strane, čini se da se Filelfov odnos s prijateljem Girolamom Genesisijem reducirao kad je ovaj postao splitski *rector scholarum*. Dok se struka u više navrata bavila Ksenofontovim boravkom u Dubrovniku, obavijesti što ih pisma Francesca Filelfa pružaju o Genesisiju omogućuju nam da doznamo znatno više o tom još uvijek vrlo zagonetnom Marulićevu učitelju grčkoga jezika.