Original paper
UDC: 821.163.42.02Renesansa(497.584Dubrovnik)
098.3(497.584Dubrovnik)"17"
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.21857/mwo1vcjd5y
Submitted: 23.6.2021.
Accepted: 17.11.2021.

ARTHUR EVANS AND THE ILLYRIAN PARNASSUS*

IVAN LUPIĆ

ABSTRACT: The article discusses the fate of the collection of twenty-two manuscript volumes which were supposed to serve as the basis for the first printed edition of Ragusan literary classics, envisioned in the second half of the eighteenth-century by Carlo Antonio Occhi, the first printer-publisher of the Republic of Ragusa. The name of this unsuccessful publishing project was the Illyrian Parnassus. The bulk of this manuscript collection, previously unknown to scholars, is today preserved as part of the Arthur Evans bequest in the Special Collections at the UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London. The scribe who produced the collection is identified as Petar Bašić (1751-1814).

Key words: Arthur Evans (1851-1941), Ragusa (Dubrovnik), scribal culture, Petar Bašić (1751-1814), Renaissance literature, book history

When on the 25th of August 1938 the distinguished British archeologist Arthur John Evans (1851-1941) made his last will and testament, living then at his Youlbury estate in the County of Berkshire near Oxford, among the provisions he made was the following one:

> I give free of duty to the University of London for its Slavonic Department or School of Slavonic Studies all my books and papers relating to Balkan Lands and all my old coins of Serbia, Ragusa

* This article constitutes a contribution to the research project *Croatian Manuscript Culture: Works, Scribes, Collections*, number IP-2019-04-8566, supported by the Croatian Science Foundation. It was partly written during my tenure as a Frances Yates Fellow at the Warburg Institute in London, in the summer of 2021. I would like to thank Wendy Bracewell, Irena Bratičević, and Misha Teramura for their comments, and the journal editors for their patience.

Ivan Lupić, Department of English, Stanford University. Address: 450 Jane Stanford Way, Building 460, Stanford, CA 94305, United States of America. E-mail: ilupic@stanford.edu

> or other Balkan Mints at present in a drawer of my Library and the books and papers mostly in an upstairs lobby at Youlbury adjoining my bedrooom and also my collection of native armour and ornaments and my specimens of old needlework from Herzegovina and other East Adriatic regions principally collected by me from 1875 to 1882 and at present partly exhibited in the cases near the garden door at Youlbury and partly in drawers and also one of the duplicate bound volumes containing my letters to the Manchester Guardian.[1]

The letters to the *Manchester Guardian* formed the basis of his 1878 book *Illyrian Letters*, which is described on the title page as "a revised selection of correspondence from the Illyrian provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, addressed to the *Manchester Guardian*."[2] Just two years before the *Illyrian Letters*, at mere twenty-five, Evans had published his engaging account *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot*, in which he described his travels through Bosnia during the 1875 insurrection against the Ottomans and which included an overview of Bosnian history together with "a glimpse at the Croats, Slavonians, and the ancient Republic of Ragusa."[3] It was Ragusa (Dubrovnik) that he especially fell in love with, and it was there that he most indulged his passion for collecting. In 1878 he rented the Casa San Lazzaro—"a house small, old and curious, reached by a hundred and three steps from its gate above on the high coast road" and standing "only twenty-five feet above the sea"—which offered spectacular views of the old Ragusa and of the nearby island of Lokrum.[4] The house was soon filled with antiquities collected by Evans in Bosnia, Montenegro, Albania,

---

[1] A copy of Evans' will is kept with the Evans Papers in the Special Collections at the UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London (SSEES). I would like to thank Gillian Long for her assistance during my visits to the SSEES Special Collections.

[2] Arthur Evans, *Illyrian Letters*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878.

[3] Arthur John Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876. Second edition: Arthur John Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877.

[4] Joan Evans, *Time and Chance: The story of Arthur Evans and His Forebears*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1943: p. 210. Contemporary postcards showing the location of the house as well as the view of the old city from its site are reproduced in: Ann Cynthia Brown, *Before Knossos: Arthur Evans's Travels in the Balkans and Crete*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1993: p. 26, and Branko Kirigin, *Arthur Evans in Dubrovnik and Split, 1875-1882*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015: pp. 5-6.

and the areas around Dubrovnik.[5] My aim in this essay is to describe one part of Evans' Illyrian bequest, namely a collection of nineteen manuscript volumes relating to the vernacular literary history of the Republic of Ragusa. All of these manuscripts were produced in Ragusa in the eighteenth century, and they are the work of a single scribe. Although he never signs his work, it is possible—thanks to documents surviving in other repositories—to identify the scribe as Petar Bašić (1751-1814), a Ragusan priest who studied the literary history of his city and who collaborated with the first printer-publishers of Ragusa. I will show that the survival of this manuscript collection is crucial for understanding the earliest attempts to present in print—within an ambitious publishing project called the Illyrian Parnassus—the literary classics of the Ragusan Republic, and, consequently, of the Croatian language. As far as I have been able to determine, these materials have gone unstudied since they left Youlbury, or indeed since, more than a half-century before, they had left Ragusa—when in 1882 Evans was expelled from his beloved city.[6]

Antiquarian Researches in Illyria

Arthur Evans' passion for antiquarian research originated at home, where he was surrounded by all kinds of antique objects, collected and studied by his father.[7] He was thus in the perfect position to cultivate his passion from a very early age and to learn the art of the antiquary without even noticing it. The

[5] Josip Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike, 1800-1880.* Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska Dubrovnik, 2002: p. 272.

[6] In addition to the publications already cited, I have consulted the following: John Linton Myres, »Sir Arthur Evans 1851-1941«. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 27 (1941): pp. 323-357; Artur Dž. Evans, *Pješke kroz Bosnu i Hercegovinu*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1973; J. J. Wilkes, »Arthur Evans in the Balkans 1875-81«. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 13 (1976): pp. 25-56; Sylvia L. Horwitz, *The Find of a Lifetime: Sir Arthur Evans and the Discovery of Knossos*. New York: The Viking Press, 1981; Peter Warren, »Sir Arthur Evans and His Achievement«. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 44 (2000): pp. 199-211. The family biography written by Evans' half-sister, Joan Evans (1943), is still unsurpassed; it remains the ultimate source of information about the years Evans spent in the Balkans. The reason is that Joan Evans had access to her half-brother's letters, sent from Ragusa to various family members, from which she generously quotes throughout the book. These letters, as well as Evans' diaries from these years, are not to be found among the Evans papers at SSEES in London nor in the Evans collection at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. If they ever surface, the letters will probably provide more details on when and where Evans acquired individual items from his Illyrian collection.

[7] On John Evans and his antiquarian interests, see J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: pp. 109-162.

passion for collecting soon combined with the passion for travel, so that even while still a college student Evans brought home from his trips a great variety of extraordinary things, sometimes to the utter bemusement of his family members. Objects shown here in Figure 1 suggest the diversity of his collecting interests: a decorated Bosnian knife, a small icon featuring the Virgin Mother, a doll from an unidentified country, a Montenegrin hat, a Macedonian silver-gilt case with the figure of St. George, and a fascinating object that on the label attached to it Evans described as "Boar's tooth ornament for horse's breast. Taken from Beg during insurrection. N. W. Bosnia."[8] As early as 1871, at the age of twenty, Evans traveled from Zagreb via Sisak to what was then the Turkish town of Kostajnica, situated on the border between Croatia and Bosnia:

> and in the curiously primitive town of Costainiča [*sic*] he for the first time encountered the enchanting contrast and blend of east and west, Turkey and Europe: an enchantment that was to hold him for the rest of his life. He bought a complete Turkish outfit and donned it in triumph, and spent all his remaining money in a bazaar where the shops held hardly anything he had ever seen before.[9]

Similarly, from his Scandinavian trip, undertaken in 1873, he carried home so much that he was no longer able to pay for extra luggage and had to be financially assisted by strangers; instead of a Turkish outfit, however, he wore a massive coat made of reindeer skin: "very handsome to look at—but *not* quite so good as Russia leather in scent."[10] A letter by the English historian J. R. Green, commenting on Evans' 1875 travels, captures well the incredulity, and even amusement, with which others observed this unusual marriage between antiquarian interest and random choice of destinaton: "Little Evans—son of John Evans the Great—has just come back from Herzegovina by way of Lapland... and has brought back a lot of odd gems, very Greek and very small, with Orphic symbols on them, too wee for the naked eye to perceive."[11]

---

[8] These items are kept in two green boxes in the Special Collections at SSEES. They used to be exhibited in a case in the librarian's office while the library was in the Senate House Building. The native armor and the needlework mentioned in Evans' will, along with various ornaments, are at present kept in four boxes in a storage cupboard in Rm 410a at SSEES; researchers should apply to the Director's Office for access.

[9] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: p. 166.

[10] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: pp. 175-176.

[11] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: p. 163.

Figure 1: Arthur Evans memorabilia, SSEES Special Collections, London

But even Lapland could not compete with the ancient charms of Ragusa, and so Evans soon decided to return to this picturesque Adriatic city and make it his home. What seems to have especially fascinated him was the unlikelihood of civilization in a landscape so hostile to human endeavor—and yet there it stood. The most eloquent descripton of this fascination comes from a letter in which Evans recalls his trip down the Dalmatian coast:

> I love these eternal islands, these seas that should be valleys, and vales that should be seas. These hills on hills: monotonous, almost awful in their monotony, and yet how changeful! Blue to-day, to-morrow evanescent lilac, in the sunlight almost white; or robed at dawn and setting in crimson and amethyst... Where else is Earth wedded like this in eternal sympathy to the heaven above? And this omnipresent inexorable rock: I love it too, though sometimes I wonder at my love. I gaze on widening steppes furrowed with

> strata-lines of boulders, bare as the long sea-beach: the work methinks of a most cruel demiurge: and yet it pleases me. This world--coeval defiance of mankind, and all his skill and all his industry—for they are baffled to the end of time—it pleases me: this limitation of human power, this mocking self-assertiveness of Old Chaos.[12]

To recover from this landscape the long presence of human skill and industry became for Evans the central scholarly ambition of his youth. Had he not been banished from the city by the Austrian authorities due to his political activities, it might have also proved the central scholarly ambition of his life. Forced to leave Ragusa, he eventually found Crete. Evans' aim was to write a grand history of Illyria, particularly of Ragusa, and it is with this aim in mind that he began collecting all kinds of materials wherever he could find them.[13] In this, he fundamentally differed from earlier British travelers even if he often followed the routes they had already charted and described. When they encountered Ragusan antiquarianism, it became an occasion for an entertaining story; for Evans, on the other hand, it was the promise of a new line of inquiry.

A case in point is *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, published by A. A. Paton in 1849, in which we find two brief but fascinating encounters with Ragusan antiquaries and their riches. Paton relates how after visiting the site of the ancient city of Epidaurus he wanted to learn more about the legend according to which Richard the Lionheart, returning then from the Crusades, was caught in a terrible storm near Ragusa. While battling the waves, Richard vowed to build a church on the first piece of land he set foot on. It was the island of Lokrum, less than half a mile's distance from the medieval city, but the Ragusans—ever the resourceful diplomats—apparently managed to persuade the king to build instead a magnificent church in the city, the cathedral that was to prove the great glory of Ragusa until its destruction in the 1667 earthquake. Paton's first destination was a house near the Minčeta tower, on the mountain side of the city:

> Here was the house of the bibliomaniac, and in a low dark room, which smelt of mouldy books, in their dingy vellum bindings, were

[12] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: p. 209.

[13] The results of the initial stages of this research project were published in Arthur John Evans, *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum*. Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1883-1885.

> tomes and manuscripts, having reference to Ragusa, thick piled on the shelves all around. Prints of the most celebrated Ragusan authors were hung here and there; and prominent in the room was the picture of a brig owned by his father during the Ragusan neutrality of the last war, the Madonna del Rosario, with the dark blue flag of the Republic, bordered with white, and, in the middle of it, the figure of San Biagio in full canonicals.[14]

Paton does not reveal the name of the bibliomaniac, but the passing remark that "our man of books had been Neapolitan vice-consul in Ragusa" would seem to suggest that we are given here a rare glimpse of the house of Stijepo Marinović, who was the last person to bear the title of the Neapolitan vice-consul. The brothers Marinović, Stijepo and Sebastijan, were indeed well known for their antiquarian book collections.[15] However, both died before Paton's arrival in Dubrovnik, and so it is not clear whose house Paton in fact visited. Unable to help him, the unnamed bibliomaniac advised Paton to try the Franciscan monastery nearby, where the most famous antiquary of Ragusa resided.

Although Paton erroneously writes Giurich instead of Ciulich (for Čulić), the details he provides indicate that there can be no question about the identity of the Franciscan friar he visited. Paton rightly refers to Čulić as "the greatest bibliophile of Ragusa,"[16] since it is Čulić's collection of books and manuscripts that forms the core of the modern Franciscan Library in Ragusa, which remains to this day the most important repository of Ragusan literary manuscripts in the world. Piles of Čulić's still largely unpublished letters lie scattered in different libraries and archives; what they very clearly show is that in addition to being

---

[14] Andrew Archibald Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, vol. 1. London: Chapman and Hall, 1849: pp. 182-183. The same account is reproduced in his later book, somewhat misleadingly titled *Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic* (Andrew Archibald Paton, *Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic*, vol. 1. London: Trübner and Co., 1862), where by research Paton means traveling. The English tradition of *bibliomania* that Paton alludes to here is the topic of: Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliomania; or Book Madness: A Bibliographical Romance*. London: Longman et al., 1811.

[15] On the last Neopolitan vice-consul, see Ilija Mitić, *Dubrovačka država u međunarodnoj zajednici: od 1358. do 1815.* Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 2004: p. 166. An accident in the library of one of the Marinović brothers, when during house cleaning the old bookcases suddenly collapsed under the weight of the books, even prompted a series of epigrams commemorating the event. See MS 1590 in the Archives of the Franciscan monastery (Arhiv Male braće) in Dubrovnik; the information is related—unsurprisingly, as we shall see—by Inocenc Čulić (1782-1852).

[16] A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*: p. 183.

the greatest bibliophile Čulić was also the greatest gossip of Ragusa. Paton's skillful portrait of Čulić agrees in every detail with what we know about him from his letters, especially his habit of disparaging those he disliked, who were most often his compatriots:

> Through a wide magnificent gallery I was led to the cell of the padre, where I saw that a convent in Dalmatia is just the reverse of a London house. In our foggy climate even the houses of the rich are mean in exterior, with narrow staircases, where two persons can scarce pass, but comfort reigns in every apartment; here, on the contrary, a good edifice and a superb corridor, and a miserable little cell of bare whitewashed walls. The padre, a fresh, hale old man, past seventy, with a grey head and a ruddy complexion, sat at a small table on a black-leather chair. A crucifix stood in front of him, and old books, coffee apparatus, prints and thumbed Missals, were all heaped together in the narrowest space.
>
> "Every information I possess," said padre Giurich [*sic*], "is at your service; I remember my Lord Guildford [*sic*], who came here a great many years ago, he who founded the University of Corfu, and took a great interest in Ragusa. You English are always spreading knowledge and getting information; but we, like a set of fools and traitors, have dispersed our own stores. The Dominicans, filled with avarice and meanness, were the first, when the French came, to sell away their magnificent library. A precious library, containing all that could have interested you in Ragusa; but, *actum est*, it is gone. But there is Cerva at your service," continued the Padre, pointing to a long range of volumes on a shelf in the cell.[17]

[17] A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*: pp. 184-185. The Lord Guilford Čulić mentions is Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford, whose collecting activities are discussed in: Anthony Hobson, »Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford«. *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 15/3 (2014): pp. 73-83. See also Marta Frajnd, »Luka Stulić i Lord Nort: prilog poznavanju veza Dubrovnika i Engleske u XIX veku«. *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 77 (2011): pp. 105-114, and the literature cited there. It is interesting that a significant number of manuscripts dealing with Dalmatian history and purchased by Guilford have, like the Evans collection, ended up in London. They are held by the British Library. For some vernacular literary manuscripts that Guilford probably purchased in Ragusa, which are today kept in Vienna, see Marija Salzmann-Čelan, »Marin Držić i Mavro Vetranović: o nekim rukopisima *Posvetilišta Abramova*«. *Filologija* 10 (1980-1981): pp. 342-343.

Paton seems to have been unaware of the wonderful mixture of scorn and pride that characterizes Čulić's final gesture. Discouraged by the number and size of the volumes on the shelf, Paton did not ask what exactly they were, but swiftly left Čulić's cell and decided to rely instead for the information he needed on the labors of his Ragusan acquaintance, Don Marco.[18] For to find the infomation on his own would have meant reading over 6500 pages of manuscript matter, as this is how much the Cerva volumes contained.[19] The irony lies in the fact that Serafin Crijević (Cerva), the author of the volumes in question, was himself a Dominican friar, while the scornful implication is that his historical works would not be found in the Dominican monastery—but had instead been saved for posterity by the Franciscans. As is often the case with Čulić, the scorn is unwarranted and the information misleading. The autographs of Crijević's works survive to this day in the Dominican Library in Dubrovnik. Still, it is significant that Čulić did have on his shelves the large Cerva volumes, all of them copied by a single Ragusan scribe in the early nineteenth century.[20] To ask questions about Ragusan antiquities is to be faced with overwhelming quantities of manuscript matter.

Evans had much more stamina than Paton. His research for the projected work on Illyria combined active traveling with periods of intense study, where poring over manuscripts was the *condicio sine qua non*. A large part of the ancient archive of the Ragusan Republic was transferred to Vienna in the first half of the nineteenth century, but that did not stop Evans from consulting it. In 1879 he traveled to Vienna for the purpose, having sought and obtained

[18] A comparable logic governs Paton's narrative of his visit to the house of Signor Arnieri (Arneri) on the island of Korčula. Once Paton is led into the library, he quickly leaves the house (A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*: p. 46). "A superb bronze knocker," on the other hand, receives a lot of attention.

[19] These are MSS 212 to 220 in the Archives of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, described in: Mijo Brlek, *Rukopisi Knjižnice Male braće u Dubrovniku*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1952: p. 209.

[20] The scribe's name is Miho Grgurević (1754-1820; not Niko, as stated in M. Brlek, *Rukopisi Knjižnice Male braće*: p. 209). Some, but not all, of Crijević's historical works have since been printed: Serafin Marija Crijević, *Dubrovačka biblioteka / Bibliotheca Ragusina*, 3 vols, ed. Stjepan Krasić. Zagreb: JAZU, 1975-1980; Serafin Marija Crijević, *Prolegomena in sacram metropolim Ragusinam*, ed. Relja Seferović. Zagreb – Dubrovnik: HAZU, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2008; Serafin Marija Crijević, *Monumenta Congregationis Sancti Dominici de Ragusio Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. Relja Seferović. Dubrovnik: HAZU, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2017.

permission to work on the archival documents.[21] He also befriended local antiquaries, who often possessed important manuscript documents not found in the public archives or in the monastic libraries. For instance, from a passing reference in one of his publications we learn that he had access to the collections of Luka Pavlović (1821-1887), the last great Ragusan collector who was also a tireless scribe.[22] We catch glimpses of him in the houses of once well-to-do families, inquiring about antiquities and observing with a keen and knowledgeable eye the traces of the past on the dilapidated buildings or in the interiors filled with pictures and antique furniture. Among the most memorable was his visit to the Ohmućević family in Zaton (Malfi), where a conversation about antiquities quickly led to the family's Bosnian ancestry—reportedly but very questionably noble—and the political situation in that country. A comment about the Turkish landlords whose fortunes were turning for the worse prompted from the old lady of the house an angry retort: "Neka krepaju!" This is a rare example of the Croatian vernacular entering Evans' Ragusan letters.[23]

If he was the observer, Evans was also the observed. One thing the Ragusans immediately realized was that there was a new person in the city to whom all kinds of things could be sold. Living for the most part on his father's generous allowance, Evans was the prefiguration of the modern digital nomad, taking advantage of the global inequality in economic standards but also sometimes taken advantage of by the seasoned local supplier. Contemporary accounts from the Croatian side reveal that the English couple was at once recognized for its eccentricity and noted for its wealth. "When Mrs Evans went to Gruž riding their tall horse," writes Josip Bersa, "her husband accompanied her by running

[21] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: p. 222. Evans also consulted the part of the archive that stayed in the city. Among his papers at SSEES (EVA/1/1/2) I find the following document, dated 17 November 1879 and signed by the Consigliere di Luogotenenza Capitano Distrettuale: "Ho l'onore di prevenire Vostra Signoria che Sua Eccellenza il Signor Ministro dell'Interno ha trovato di accordarle il permesso di frequentare il vecchio Archivio della Republica di Ragusa presso questo Capitanato *salva* l'osservanza delle discipline in materia vigenti." Note that current affairs, in which Evans was extremely interested, were off limits.

[22] A. J. Evans, *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum*, part I: p. 9. The bulk of the Pavlović collection is today divided between the State Archives (Državni arhiv) and the Research Library (Znanstvena knjižnica) in Dubrovnik.

[23] The letter in which Evans describes the visit is quoted in J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: p. 204. While Evans translates the expression as "Let them die," it is harsher than that, meant to dehumanize the Turkish landlords. The Croatian language distinguishes between "umrijeti," used for people, and "krepati," usually used for animals.

along her side and holding some thick cane in his hand, greeting his acquaintances, who were already accustomed to the sportlike inventions of this English couple."[24] Keeping a horse in Ragusa was certainly seen as a luxury.[25] Similar signs of conspicuous consumption soon resulted in antiquities starting to look for Evans instead of Evans looking for antiquities. A particularly interesting example is that of the man who came to Evans' garden "with some antichità"; when it turned out the antiquities were merely "buckles of the last century," the man told Evans there were also old Ragusan books available for purchase. However, the expedition to the old city, to a house overlooking the main street where these books were to be obtained, ended in disappointment. There was one book only, and it turned out to be a copy of Francesco Maria Appendini's *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*, published in the early nineteenth century.[26] If in the late 1870s or the early 1880s someone in Ragusa wanted to make money by selling manuscripts relating to the city's history, especially if the value of those manuscripts was hard to define, the best address was the Casa San Lazzaro. And that was, as we shall see, the commercial destiny of the Illyrian Parnassus.

The Illyrian Parnassus

The earliest attempt to present the bulk of the Ragusan vernacular literary tradition in print dates back to the second half of the eighteenth century, when Carlo Antonio Occhi became the first printer-publisher in the Republic of Ragusa.[27] While it is true to say that the establishment of a printing press in the city marked the beginning of a new epoch in the life of Ragusan books, it is equally true to observe that Occhi's arrival in Dubrovnik ensured continuity by creating a natural link to the earlier tradition of Venetian printing. The Occhi family had been known in Venice as publishers of Croatian books for over half a century, and their own work built on the efforts of yet earlier printers, such

[24] J. Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike*: p. 272: "Kad bi ona pošetala u Gruž jašući visokog konja, muž je s njom naporedo trčao, držeći neku debelu štapinu u ruci, i pozdravljao poznanike već priviknute športskim izumima tog engleskog para."

[25] When Evans was faced with some unpaid bills, the first thing to go was the horse (J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: pp. 216-217).

[26] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: p. 219.

[27] For an overview of Occhi's activities, see Žarko Muljačić, »O prvoj dubrovačkoj tiskari«. *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 4-5 (1956): pp. 583-611.

as Francesco Brogiolli and Marco Ginammi.[28] Venetian reprints of some sixteenth-century Ragusan books appearing in the course of the seventeenth century tell us that there was a definite sense of a living literary tradition, but the reprinting was just that—printing again what had already been published instead of rendering newly visible other Ragusan classics that existed only in the manuscript context, within which they were frequently copied over long periods of time.[29] For instance, the works of Mavro Vetranović (1482-1576), a towering figure of the Ragusan Renaissance, circulated in many manuscript copies from the sixteenth century onward, but they did not reach print until the second half of the nineteenth century.

Carlo Antonio Occhi was the first to offer an actual program for the publication of Ragusan literature, which he disseminated in the form of a printed pamphlet entitled *Agli amatori della lingua illirica*, probably published in 1783.[30] The lovers of the Illyrian tongue were invited to subscribe to projected editions of a long series of works, from the love poetry of the late fifteenth century to the translations of the recently deceased Ragusan poets, such as Jozo Betondić (1709-1764) and Franatica Sorkočević (1706-1771). The plan was to publish over thirty volumes of Ragusan literature, with a new volume coming out every month from early 1784 onward. Occhi also promised to provide introductions to individual volumes containing information on the lives and works of the featured poets. Finally, he promised a separate volume, to be published last, in which archaic words and expressions would be glossed and difficult passages explained. Interestingly, Occhi noted that although these words were no longer in use, they were nonetheless "purely Bosnian, which is to say belonging to that nation which preserves the best of all the Illyrian dialects" ("benchè prette Bosnesi, vale a dire, di quella Nazione, che ritiene il migliore di tutti i Dialetti Illirici" / "zasve čiste bosanske, to jest onoga naroda koji uzdrži najboljega svijeh izgovora slovinskijeh").[31]

---

[28] Aleksandar Stipčević, *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata*, vol. II: *Od glagoljskog prvotiska (1483) do hrvatskog narodnog preporoda (1835)*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005: pp. 88-106.

[29] For a detailed study of one such reprint, Marin Držić's *Tirena*, see Ivan Lupić, »Posvetne poslanice u drugom izdanju Držićeve *Tirene* (1607)«. *Filologija* 67 (2016): pp. 65-98.

[30] The pamphlet is undated, but in the text Occhi refers to 1784 as the coming year. As far as I know, only two copies survive: one in the National and University Library (Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica) in Zagreb and another in the Rešetar Collection in the Slavonic Library (Slovanská knihovna) in Prague. Both copies have been digitized. It is discussed at length by Ž. Muljačić (»O prvoj dubrovačkoj tiskari«), who also reprints the list of poets and the works that were to be included in the collection.

[31] Occhi published his manifesto in both Italian and Croatian; whenever I quote old Croatian texts, I update the spelling.

Regrettably, not a single edition from the projected series was ever published. It remains unclear whether Occhi overestimated the generosity of the lovers of the Illyrian tongue or whether other reasons are to be sought to explain the unfortunate outcome. The first to comment was Francesco Maria Appendini (1768-1837), who in his *Notizie istorico-critiche* (1803) lamented the fact that the project had failed and expressed a fervent hope that the initiative would be renewed. He claimed that Occhi would have accomplished the task had he not died prematurely.[32] Occhi died in 1787 at the age of thirty-eight, destitute and abandoned by everyone.[33] Žarko Muljačić, the most authoritative guide through Occhi's publishing activities, blamed the failure of the initiative on the plague, an outbreak of which disrupted the trading relations between Ragusa and the rest of the world just around this time.[34] Most recently, Irena Arsić has suggested instead that Occhi's plan was overly ambitious and economically unsound.[35] The only book Occhi did publish that could be construed as loosely connected to the literary project he had announced is the two-volume *Dizionario italiano-latino-illirico*, which appeared in 1785. It was a revised and expanded edition of Ardelio Della Bella's *Dizionario*, originally published in Venice in 1728. Della Bella's *Dizionario* was the first dictionary to include examples from vernacular literature in its Illyrian definitions. In the revised edition of 1785 we notice a special effort to expand the literary corpus from which quotations are drawn and to provide more details on the print and manuscript sources the editor relied upon.[36] Although the editor is not named, it has been known since Appendini's *Notizie* that the person who revised Della Bella's *Dizionario* was Petar Bašić (1751-1814).[37] Elsewhere

[32] Francesco Maria Appendini, *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*, vol. 2. Ragusa: Antonio Martecchini, 1803: p. 299: "ed è a sperarsi, che si effettuerà ciò, che fu proposto in un prospetto pubblicato anni fà di stampare il Parnaso Illirico dei Ragusei, cosa, che sarebbe stata eseguita, se Carlo Occhi, che già aveva dato fuori un manifesto d'associazione, non fosse stato immaturamente rapito dalla morte."

[33] Ž. Muljačić, »O prvoj dubrovačkoj tiskari«: pp. 584, 602.

[34] Ž. Muljačić, »O prvoj dubrovačkoj tiskari«: pp. 592-593.

[35] Irena Arsić, *Dubrovački štampari i izdavači XIX veka i njihova izdanja*. Banja Luka: Besjeda – Beograd: Ars libri, 2005: p. 43.

[36] See »Catalogo degli Autori citati abbreviatamente nel Dizionario«, in: Ardelio Della Bella, *Dizionario italiano, latino, illirico*. Venezia: Cristoforo Zanne, 1728, and compare that with »Indice degli Autori Antichi, e Moderni citati in questo Vocabolario colla spiegazione delle Abbreviature, onde sono indicati«, in: Ardelio Della Bella, *Dizionario italiano, latino, illirico*. Ragusa: Nella Stamperia Privilegiata, 1785.

[37] F. M. Appendini, *Notizie istorico-critiche*: p. 304. The extent of Bašić's editorial work on the *Dizionario* is discussed in Vladoje Dukat, »Dubrovačko izdanje Dellabellina *Dizionarija*«. *Rad JAZU* 237 (1929): pp. 235-272.

in the same book Appendini described Bašić as a judicious and diligent collector of literature written in the Slavic vernacular, and to collect literary texts in eighteenth-century Ragusa usually meant to copy them by hand.[38] Bašić thus belonged to an already well-established antiquarian tradition within which scribal activity, original composition, and scholarly or editorial work happily co-existed.[39]

The close collaboration between Occhi and Bašić on the second edition of Della Bella's *Dizionario* suggests the possibility that Bašić may have also been designated as the editor for the Ragusan literary canon and that his own manuscript copies of individual texts were to serve as the basis for the print editions. The history of Bašić's manuscript collection adds force to this suggestion, as we find it repeatedly mentioned in connection with a later publishing project that was clearly meant to revive Occhi's idea. This was the project announced by the Ragusan printer-publisher Antonio Martecchini in 1826 in a pamphlet whose title closely resembled Occhi's: *Agli amatori della lingua e poesia illirica*.[40] The chief purpose of Martecchini's announcement was to advertise his forthcoming edition of Ivan Gundulić's *Osman*, published in 1826 under the editorial care of Ambroz Marković, but one paragraph was dedicated to the larger initiative, explicitly described as the Illyrian Parnassus: "Se un numero adequato di associazioni animerà la mia intrapresa, io mi accingerò all'altra di dar alla luce il Parnaso Illirico copioso di produzioni inedite, e di poche già stampate, ma assai rare, dei Palmotta, Vetrani, Ragnina, Bettondi, Canavelli, Bona, Nale, Sorgo, Luccari, Slatarich ed altri Poeti rinomati Illirici sia per produzioni originali in varia materia e vario metro, sia per traduzioni distinte

[38] Speaking of Petar Bašić and Ivan Ksaver Altesti, another Ragusan collector and scribe, Appendini writes: "Ai prelodati Sig. Bassich, e Altesti, ambedue giudiziosi, e diligenti raccoglitori di ciò, che appartiene alla erudizione patria, e specialmente alla Slava letteratura dobbiamo noi qui protestare la nostra gratitudine per l'amorevolezza, con cui ci hanno somministrato quanto ci abbisognava nelle nostre ricerche" (F. M. Appendini, *Notizie istorico-critiche*: p. 301).

[39] A prominent Ragusan example from the same period would be Đuro Ferić, whose scribal collection was reconstructed in: Ivan Lupić and Irena Bratičević, »Literary Collectors as Literary Scribes: The Case of Đuro Ferić (1739-1820)«. *Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne* 14 (2018): pp. 129-147. On Bašić's literary activities, see Miljenko Foretić, »Bašić, Petar (Pero)«. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* 1 (1983): p. 520, and Davor Dukić, »Pjesme Petra Bašića o Katarini Velikoj i turskom ratu«. *Hrvatska književna baština* 1 (2002): pp. 403-428; on his activities as a translator, see Ivan Lupić and Irena Bratičević, »'Jaoh, a sada sve je inako': o kritičkoj izdaji Gundulićeva *Osmana*«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 26 (2017): pp. 89-155.

[40] The only copy known to me is preserved in the Research Library in Dubrovnik, R-2712.

dal Greco, dal Latino, e dall'Italiano."[41] In other words, Martecchini hoped to use Gundulić's *Osman*, the most famous work of older Ragusan literature, as a test of his audience's interest and support, thus acting in a manner somewhat more cautious than that of his predecessor. Part of the reason may lie in the fact that by 1826 Martecchini had been among Ragusans for over twenty years, and was therefore less sanguine in his expectations.[42]

Just one year later, in his introduction to the Italian translation of Gundulić's *Osman*, Appendini alluded to Martecchini's plan to publish the Illyrian Parnassus, but he also added something that Martecchini had omitted to mention, namely the fact that it was Bašić's transcripts of Ragusan literature, extending to twenty-two volumes in octavo, that were meant to serve as the basis for the print editions.[43] It seems that Martecchini had managed to purchase Bašić's manuscript collection at some point after his death in 1814, or that it reached him via Appendini. From a letter sent by Inocenc Čulić to Matija Kapor on 12 August 1815 we learn that Bašić had wanted to have his manuscript collection published but also that Bašić's heirs sought to make a great deal of money by selling it.[44]

---

[41] The Croatian version of the text reads: "Utoliko zadovoljivši ja u taj način požudami svega naroda slovinskoga, imam potpuno pouzdanje da od obilna broja združenja na ovo tvorenje biti ću uslobođen za napredovat Skup slovinskijeh spjevanja složen od mnozijeh priplemenitijeh skladanja dosadara nepritiješteniјeh, i od njekolicijeh jur njekad pritiješteniјeh nu sad veoma rijetkijeh: Palmotića, Vetrana, Ranjine, Bone, Nalješkovića, Zlatarića, Sorga, Lukara, Kanavelića, Betondića, Gleđevića i razlicijeh druzijeh od najboljijeh spjevalaca slovinskijeh, koji su svoj jezik obogatili prilijepijem pjesnima njekijem po sebi izvedenijem, a njekijem istomačenijem iz grčkoga, latinskoga i italijanskoga jezika."

[42] On Antonio Martecchini as a printer-publisher in Ragusa, see I. Arsić, *Dubrovački štampari i izdavači*. Martecchini wanted to publish *Osman* soon after he set up his business in the city, which occurred in 1802, but his desire did not materialize. Petar Bašić, who died in 1814, seems to have played a part in these early endeavors, as a translator of the paratextual material from Italian into Croatian, while the editor in chief was Ivan Luka Volantić, whose monumental editorial labors are the topic of I. Lupić and I. Bratičević, »'Jaoh, a sada sve je inako'«.

[43] Francesco Maria Appendini, »Memorie sulla vita, e sugli scritti di Gianfrancesco Gondola patrizio Raguseo autore del poema illirico intitolato l' Osmanide«, in: *Versione libera dell'Osmanide poema illirico di Giovanni Francesco Gondola*. Ragusa: Antonio Martecchini, 1827: p. 33: "l'erudito Canonico Pietro Bassich buon Illiricista, ed assai benemerito per averci lasciata una completa raccolta trascritta di proprio pugno in 22 volumi in ottavo di tutte le poesie Illiriche superstiti, raccolta acquistata dallo Stampatore Librajo Antonio Martecchini ad oggetto di darla fra breve alla luce col titolo di *Parnasso*." Appendini's statement that the twenty-two volumes contained *everything* that survived is incorrect.

[44] "Il bravissimo P. Appendini mio amico mi disse d'aver veduto *L'amore convertito in odio* dal Sigr. D. Pietro Bassich morto l'anno scorso. Difatti questo religioso avea (come disse lui medesimo) la raccolta perfetta di tutt' i poeti illirici, che volea stamparla: ma questa oggi giorno non si puó

In a much later letter, sent on 16 May 1842 to the Split antiquarian Francesco Carrara, Čulić observed that it was Appendini who had obtained a trunkful of manuscripts from the Bašić family without, however, making it clear whether the trunk in question also included Bašić's transcripts of older Ragusan literature.[45] Whether he bought them directly from the heirs or from Appendini, Martecchini clearly owned the volumes by the time he published his 1826 manifesto.

It was probably the 1826 manifesto in combination with Appendini's remarks in the 1827 Italian edition of *Osman* that aroused the curiosity of one of the greatest Slavicists of the era, Pavel Jozef Šafárik (1795-1861), who was then collecting data for what was to become eventually his influential history of South Slavic literature.[46] Šafárik noticed that after publishing *Osman* Martecchini published some other works by Ivan Gundulić (his *Suze sina razmetnoga* in 1828, his *Arijadna* in 1829, and his shorter poems also in 1829), but he knew that there must have been much more in the twenty-two manuscript volumes mentioned by Appendini. Šafárik investigated the question with the help of his main contact in Ragusa, the Russian consul Jeremija Gagić, an ethnic Serb. The letters Gagić sent to Šafárik from Ragusa in 1832 and 1833 reveal that Gagić managed to obtain from Martecchini the list of the yet unpublished literary manuscripts, but obtaining copies of the texts these manuscripts contained proved much harder.[47] Further, it appears from Gagić's letters that Šafárik urged him to endeavor to help Martecchini carry out the idea of publishing the entire

---

vedere, e gl'eredi vogliono cento Colonnati. É divisa in 23. grossi tomi"; quoted from Ambroz Kapor, »Književno stvaralaštvo Petra Kanavelića u korespondenciji između Matije Kapora i Inoćenca Čulića«. *Zbornik otoka Korčule* 3, *Radovi o Petru Kanaveliću*. Korčula: Marinko Gjivoje, 1973: p. 158. Note that here the number of volumes is 23, and not 22; in Appendini's manuscript draft of his 1827 introduction to the Italian translation of *Osman* the number is 24 (I. Lupić and I. Bratičević, »'Jaoh, a sada sve je inako'«: p. 104).

[45] In a passage describing the great scope of Appendini's collection of rare materials, Čulić writes: "Egli aveva una cassa di manoscritti di casa Bassich, ed un altra di MSS. del dotto Michele Milliscich comprati dalle sorelle Bassich, e da Giuseppe Brancovich." The Čulić-Carrara correspondence is preserved in the Split Archeological Museum (Arheološki muzej).

[46] Pavel Jozef Šafárik, *Geschichte der südslawischen Literatur*, ed. Josef Jireček, vol. II: *Illirisches und kroatisches Schriftthum*. Prague: Friedrich Tempsky, 1865.

[47] "Динка Ранына, Динка Златаритьа и Д. Игнація сочиненія, мучно тье се добити; сасвимъ тимъ дао самъ налогъ Мартекину, да се постара о томъ" (Gagić to Šafarik, 16/28 April 1832, in Josef Jireček, »Jedan list Vuka Stef. Karadžića i devet listova Jeremije Gagića pokojnomu P. J. Šafařiku«. *Starine JAZU* 14 [1882]: p. 200). In the next letter, dated 16/28 August 1832, Gagić writes: "При томъ послао самъ Вамъ каталогъ различны сочиненія не печатаны, коя се у Мартекини находе" (J. Jireček, »Jedan list Vuka Stef. Karadžića«: p. 201).

Bašić collection. Gagić's response shows that he was extremely annoyed with Martecchini: "Regarding your idea that I should endeavor to have Martecchini's manuscript collection of poetry printed and published, I cannot, to my regret, respond otherwise than by comparing Martecchini to a nasty dog that lies on the tastiest stack of hay in the stall, not eating it himself but not letting the horse eat it either. Martecchini is not a man with whom you can reason, and he will never publish the Ragusan literary treasure unless someone comes along who will buy it from him at a high price and who will then have it printed. I am currently negotiating with him, but I don't know if I will be successful in my undertaking. I will let you know in due time."[48] Another letter, sent two months later, indicates that the negotiations did not go as Gagić had hoped: "It will be hard to come to any sort of arrangement with Martecchini. He wants the Illyrian Parnassus to make him rich, and the more one talks about it, the more expensive Martecchini becomes. It is necessary to give him time and to let him think it over—and so for now I hold my tongue until he starts to talk of the Parnassus himself."[49]

Soon after these letters were exchanged, Šafárik made public his understanding of the situation in the *Journal of the Czech Museum* (*Časopis Českého museum*), for which he wrote an account of the most recent literature of the Illyrian Slavs, as he called them.[50] In a section devoted to the literature of the Illyrians—whom he deliberately but misguidedly termed the Catholic Serbs and among whom he included the inhabitants of Ragusa alongside those of Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slavonia—Šafárik listed the most recent editions published by Martecchini, which were confined to the works of Ivan Gundulić, but went

[48] "Што ми говорите за рукописна поетическа собраиія, коя се у Мартекини находе, да настоимъ да се печатаю и на свѣтъ издаду, немогу Вамъ къ моему прискорбію друго отговоритн, него уподобити Мартекини гадному псу, кои у яслима на найлѣпшемъ сѣну лежи, самъ га негризе и коню га гризти неда. Мартекини ніе човекъ, коему се може штогодъ доказати и онъ никадъ сокровище дубровничкій писателя неће издати на свѣтъ, ако се кто не нађе, кои бы отъ нѣга скупомъ цѣномъ откупіо га и чиніо га печатати. Я самъ съ ньимъ у погодби и незнамъ, хоћу-ли успѣти у моемъ предпріятію: явићу Вамъ о томъ у свое време" (30 January / 11 February 1833, in J. Jireček, »Jedan list Vuka Stef. Karadžića«: pp. 205-206). It seems that Gagić was easily annoyed; for his impatient dealings with Appendini, see Ivan Lupić, »Najstariji hrvatski latinički molitvenik«. *Filologija* 73 (2019): pp. 50-52.

[49] "Съ Мартекинимъ мучно ће се и што учинити моћи; онъ иште да се обогати съ Парнасомъ Илирическимъ и што му се выше говори, то онъ скупльи быва; валя му дати времена, нека се промыслн—и за то му я за сада ништа неговоримъ, докле ми онъ непочне говорити о Парнасу" (4/16 April 1833, in J. Jireček, »Jedan list Vuka Stef. Karadžića«: pp. 206-207).

[50] Pavel Jozef Šafárik, »Přehled neynowěgšj literatury illyrských Slowenůw«. *Časopis Českého museum* 7/1 (1833): pp. 3-55.

on to record that Martecchini owned twenty-two manuscript volumes containing the best from the Ragusan literary tradition and "readied for the press" by the late Petar Bašić. Here we are told that Martecchini was unable to publish this treasure for lack of subscribers.[51] Unlike Gagić, Šafárik did not blame Martecchini's greed (and he certainly did not call him a dog), but suggested instead that there was a larger Slavic audience to which Martecchini's editions could appeal. The main problem, as Šafárik saw it, was the monstrous appearance of Ragusan orthography, which was neither Italian nor Slavic, and which it was impossible to stomach despite the many beauties that were hidden underneath: "You first need to fight with monsters, such as *scgljêsc* for *šleš*, *bliſcgnja* for *bližňa*, *kgniſcnizi* for *knižnici*, *oghgnjen* for *ogňen*, *gnjoj chjesc* for *ňoj t'eš*, and even—mark you!—*gghgnjevno* for *gňevno*, and so on. You need to break the hard shells with your teeth in order to get to the soft bit inside. And not everyone has faith in the task. The Croatian proverbs have it right: *When it's too much, not even a cart can carry it*, and again: *When it's too much, it's not good even with bread*."[52] Šafárik's irritation may in part have been prompted by Martecchini's bold claim that Gundulić's *Osman*, an edition of which he was keen to advertise, was already famous among all the Slavic nations, from Novaya Zemlya to Epirus.[53]

---

[51] P. J. Šafárik, »Přehled neynowěgšj literatury«: p. 32: "w rukopisu pak má zbjrku neywýtečněgšjch básnjkůw illyrských od Petra Bašitě do tisku přihotowenau, z 22 djlůw záležegjcj, kterau giž několikrát ohlásil, ale pro nedostatek předplatcůw posawad wydati nemohl."

[52] "Škoda, přeškoda, že se u Dubrownjčanůw ta stará, barbarsky - diwá, wlastně ani wlaská, ani slowenská, prawopisná šered tak hluboce wkořenila, že nižádnému přirozeněgšjmu prawopisu, u př. Stulliho a Voltiggiho, ustaupiti nechce! W tom 'Illyrském Parnassu' gsau owšem sklady krásot, geště nedotknuté, studnice gazyka posud nepřebrané; ale gsau to něžné kwětiny do šeredných cundr a capartůw zakuklené, kteréž w této podobě nikdy přjzně giných neillyrských Slowanův zjskati nemohau. Třeba se tu teprw bořiti s potworami, gako scgljêsc mjsto šleš, bliſcgnja m. bližňa, kgniſcnizi m. knižnici, oghgnjen m. ogňen, gnjoj chjesc m. ňoj t'eš, ba i—ach nastogte! gghgnjevno m. gňevno atd. Třeba zubami lámati twrdé skořepiny, abys do měkého gádra proniknul. A s tu práci wěru nenj každý! Dobře prawj chorwatské přjslowj: preveč nemogu nit kola voziti, a opět: kaj je preveč, ni nit s kruhom dobro" (P. J. Šafárik, »Přehled neynowěgšj literatury«: p. 32; as I cannot reproduce the haček over the *t*, I transcribe it as *t'*). Had Šafárik's own orthography remained stable, one would sympathize even more easily with his exasperation. By Croatian Šafárik means Kajkavian, and indeed the proverbs he cites are in the Kajkavian dialect, spoken to this day in the northern parts of Croatia. We should note that there are Illyrian proverbs that would support the opposite view, as for instance: "Čto je veći teret na taljigah, to je ridji dika" (Fran Kurelac, *Fluminensia*. Zagreb: Antun Jakić, 1862: p. 159, meaning: "The greater the load on the cart, the more pride for the horse").

[53] Antonio Martecchini, *Agli amatori della lingua, e poesia illirica*. Ragusa: Antono Martecchini, 1826: "Era da lungo tempo desiderio universale, che il Poema Epico Illirico l'*Osmanide*, noto già fra tutte le Nazioni, che dalla Nuova Zembla fine ai confini dell'Epiro parlano la lingua Slava, e parto questo luminoso del sublime ingegno di Gian-Francesco Gondola Patrizio Ragusino, debitamente al pubblico

Nevertheless, Šafárik expressed a hope that the Illyrian Parnassus would see the light of day, no matter how hideous its literary cloak may be. When Pier Francesco Martecchini, Antonio's son, took over the business from his father in 1835, he revived the project, although his preferred name for it was the Illyrian Poetry Collection (*Pjesnozbranje slovinsko*).[54] Pier Francesco published again most of the works by Gundulić previously published by his father, but he also added new titles, by Gundulić and others (for example, Gundulić's *Dubravka* in 1837, Čubranović's *Jeđupka* in 1838, *Elena* by Junije Palmotić in 1839, *Sunčanica* by Ivan Šiškov Gundulić in 1840, Gundulić's *Prozerpina* in 1843). However, all of these were still published in the old Ragusan orthography. Martecchini switched to the new orthography, that promoted by Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian movement in Zagreb, in his edition of Ivan Bunić's *Mandalijena pokornica* (1849), Jozo Betondić's translations of Ovid's *Heroides* (1849), Đuro Hidža's translations from Horace (1849), and finally in his edition of Petar Kanavelić's *Ivanu Sobieski, kralju poljačkomu* (1850), but the last of these effectively marked the end of the Illyrian Poetry Collection. When in 1852 Martecchini republished Ivan Gundulić's *Marija Kalandrica* (previously published in 1829 by his father and in 1837 by himself) and in 1865 Ignjat Đurđević's *Marunko* (first published in 1839), he could not be bothered with updating the orthography. By that point it also became clear that Ragusan literature would from then on be published primarily in Zagreb. The end of the 1860s saw the publication of the first volume in the Old Croatian Writers series (*Stari pisci hrvatski*), the most important and still ongoing literary editorial project of the newly established South Slav Academy of Sciences and Arts (today the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). Although the first volume in the series was given to the Split writer Marko Marulić (1450-1524), it was old Ragusan literature that filled the majority of the ensuing volumes.

The twenty-two manuscript volumes copied by Petar Bašić contributed only marginally to the Academy's newly established Old Croatian Writers series. There are two volumes of Ragusan poetry in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb that can be identified as Bašić's.[55]

---

comparisse" / "Osman, spjevanje viteško slovinsko, slavovito među svijem narodima, koji od Nove Zemble do granica od Epira slovinskijem jezikom govore, porođenje visoke svijesti Dživa Frana Gundulića, vlastelina dubrovačkoga, bijaše odnazad mnogo vremena općenom pohlepom žuđeno."

[54] For an overview of Pier Francesco Martecchini's career, see I. Arsić, *Dubrovački štampari i izdavači*.

[55] MS I. a. 75 and MS I. b. 53. See Ivan Lupić, »Tekstološka načela, kritička izdanja i kroatistička znanstvena zajednica«. *Forum* 51/7-9 (2012): pp. 911-915.

In his Academy editon of the poems of Miho Bunić Babulinov, Maroje Mažibradić, Horacije Mažibradić, and Marin Buresić, published in 1880, Sebastijan Žepić noted that for the poems of Maroje Mažibradić one of the manuscripts he used was "the Bašić manuscript, now kept in the library of the South Slav Academy in Zagreb."[56] He said nothing more about the manuscript, its scribe, or the shelfmark under which it could be found. The same manuscript had been used not long before by Ivan August Kaznačić, who seems to have assisted Žepić in his editorial work. However, when Kaznačić referred to this manuscript, it was still in Dubrovnik, in the hands of Pier Francesco Martecchini: "the transcript of don S. Bašić, from 1781, kept at P. Fr. Martecchini's in Dubrovnik, as part of the manuscript collection of Ragusan poetry."[57] Kaznačić's error—S. (i.e., Stijepo) Bašić, who was Petar's brother and himself a writer and collector—was corrected by Milan Ratković, in his 1971 Academy edition of the poems of Ivan Bunić Vučić (1592-1658), where Petar Bašić is identified as the scribe of MS I. a. 75 based on the evidence of handwriting.[58] Although used in the Academy editions, the other Academy manuscript—MS I. b. 53, containing the works of Marin Držić (1508-1567)—was not recognized as Bašić's until 2012.[59]

One of these two manuscripts (MS I. a. 75) carries on its front flyleaf a later note "To: 9" (i.e. *Tomo 9*, or volume 9), which matches a volume described in a list of poetic manuscripts compiled by Pier Francesco Martecchini.[60] This

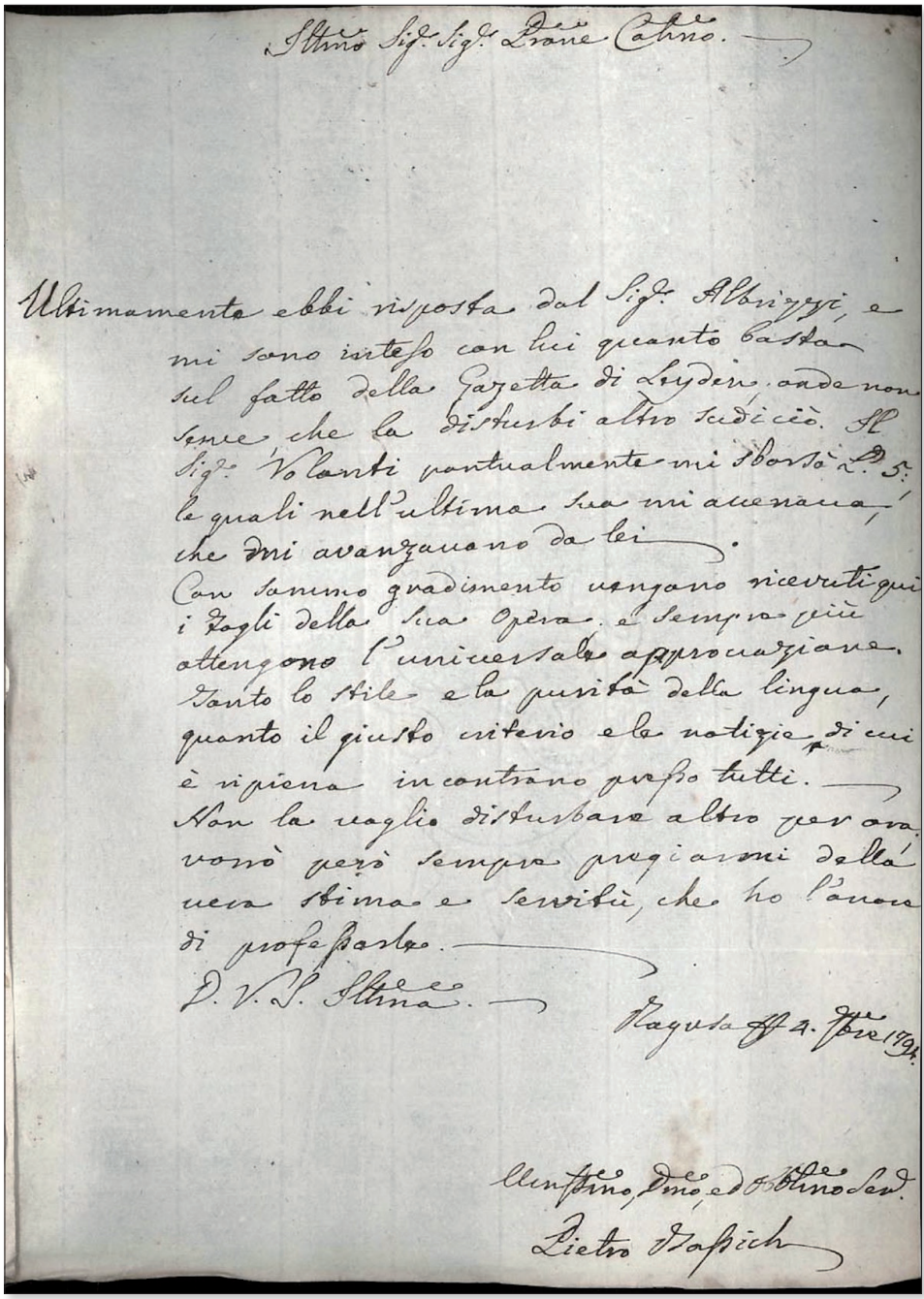
[56] *Pjesme Miha Bunića Babulinova, Maroja i Oracia Mažibradića, Marina Burešića*, ed. Sebastijan Žepić. Stari pisci hrvatski 11. Zagreb: JAZU, 1880: p. XV: "Maroje Mažibradić. Priredjujuć za štampu *Razlike pjesni* njegove služio sam se I. K. Kaznačića priepisom [...] i Bašićevim (nalazećim se u knjižnici iste jug. akademije)."

[57] MS I. c. 34, p. 1: "Sravnjen s' prepisom popa S. Bašića god: 1781, koij se čuva kod gosp. P. Fr: Martekina u Dubrovniku, medju rukopisima *Sbirke dubrovačkijeh pjesnikâ*." The note is in Kaznačić's hand.

[58] *Djela Dživa Bunića Vučića*, ed. Milan Ratković. Stari pisci hrvatski 35. Zagreb: JAZU, 1971: pp. 32, 34. Ratković does not mention where Bašić's undisputable autographs are to be found. We have a series of his autograph letters addressed to Jacopo Coleti (MS 3201-3202, *Fondo Cicogna*, Museo Correr, Venice); see Figure 2. See also I. Lupić, »Tekstološka načela«: p. 913, and I. Lupić and I. Bratičević, »'Jaoh, a sada sve je inako'«.

[59] I. Lupić, »Tekstološka načela«: p. 913.

[60] This is MS 1292 in the Archives of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik. When I first mentioned this list (I. Lupić, »Tekstološka načela«: p. 912), I noted it was at some point the property of Pier Francesco Martecchini, but I was not then familiar with Martecchini's handwriting and was therefore unable to say anything about the scribe responsible for compiling the list. I have since come across an autograph letter by Martecchini, which shows that Martecchini was also the scribe (the letter, dating from 1849, is found among the Čingrija Papers in the State Archives in Dubrovnik, III/11).



Stimo Sig.r Sig.r Prone Cstmo.

Ultimamente ebbi risposta dal Sig.r Albizzi, e mi sono inteso con lui quanto basta sul fatto della Gazetta di Leyden. onde non serve, che la disturbi altro sudiciò. Il Sig.r Volanti puntualmente mi sborsò z.ni B.s le quali nell'ultima sua mi avevano, che mi avanzavano da lei.

Con sommo gradimento vengano ricevuti qui i Fogli della sua Opera. e sempre più ottengono l'universale approvazione. Tanto lo stile e la purità della lingua, quanto il giusto criterio e le notizie di cui è ripiena incontrano presso tutti.

Non la voglio disturbare altro per ora, vorrò però sempre pregiarmi della sua stima e servitù, che ho l'onore di professarle.

D. V. S. Stma.

Ragusa li 4. Dec.re 1794.

Umo.mo, Dev.mo ed Obl.mo Ser.re
Pietro Bashich

Figure 2: Autograph letter of Petar Bašić, *Fondo Cicogna*, Museo Correr, Venice

list, titled *Catalogo delle opere manoscritte e stampate nei 22 volumi legati*, describes under number 9 a volume identical in content to MS I. a. 75 from the Academy Archives. The agreement in numbers suggests that the *Catalogo* is in fact a description of the Bašić collection, and that it could help us understand what the Illyrian Parnassus would have looked like had it been printed in its entirety. Another copy of the same *Catalogo*, found among the papers of Pavel Jozef Šafárik in Prague and also written by Pier Francesco Martecchini, makes this certain. This is the very document that Gagić had obtained from Antonio Martecchini and then sent it to Šafárik, and it was the chief source of Šafárik's knowledge about the Illyrian Parnassus and what it contained.[61] The special value of the Šafárik copy of the *Catalogo* is that Šafárik used it to produce a chronological list of Ragusan authors, which he titled *Verzeichniss der Dichter in Bassich's Illyr. Parnass.*[62] In other words, Šafárik explicitly identified the *Catalogo* as a descripton of the Bašić manuscript collection, and confirmed the collection's link to the project of the Illyrian Parnassus.

It is hugely ironic that exactly one hundred years after Occhi announced his intention to publish the Illyrian Parnassus the manuscript collection that was to be its foundation was taken out of Ragusa by Arthur Evans, when in 1882 he was ordered to leave the city.[63] Thus, with the exception of the couple of early editions, the Zagreb Academy could not use the Bašić collection for its Old Croatian Writers series, and the connection to the earlier efforts of the Martecchinis was suddenly severed.[64] Like his father Antonio before him, Pier Francesco Martecchini seems to have waited very patiently for the right kind of buyer to show up. It couldn't have been the newly established South Slav Academy, as its purchasing power was very limited. For example, an extremely important

[61] The National Museum Library (Národní muzeum), Prague, MS IX D 30.

[62] The list is inserted at the front of the *Catalogo*. Šafárik compiled the list by first underlying in red all the names mentioned in the *Catalogo* and then extracting them.

[63] Evans wanted to return to Ragusa, but he was unsuccessful in his attempts to have the decision of the Austrian authorities reversed (J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: p. 276).

[64] Another Bašić manuscript made a puzzling appearance in the Academy edition of Mavro Vetranović's works, published in 1872 (*Pjesme Mavra Vetranovića Čavčića*, pt. II, ed. V. Jagić, I. A. Kaznačić and Gj. Daničić, Stari pisci hrvatski 4. Zagreb: JAZU, 1872), in connection with his *Piligrin*. Like the horse from the Croatian proverb, I am proud that my laborious speculative reconstruction of the volume in which Bašić's transcript of *Piligrin* must have been found is now proven correct (see Appendix at the end of this article and compare that with the discussion in Ivan Lupić, »Piligrinov otpor«, in: *Otpor: subverzivne prakse u hrvatskome jeziku, književnosti i kulturi*, ed. Tatjana Pišković and Tvrtko Vuković. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Zagrebačka slavistička škola, 2014: pp. 49-50).

collection of Croatian Glagolitic manuscripts and printed books was offered to the Academy in 1872, but the Academy could not raise the amount the owners asked, and so the collection went to Saint Petersburg.[65] Evans was obviously able to give more than most of those who would have been interested in the collection, and at that point, as Martecchini must have known, their number was rapidly dwindling. The texts of the Illyrian Parnassus were going to be published by the Academy with or without the Bašić manuscripts, and the existence of printed texts was bound to render manuscript copies less valuable.[66]

It may seem surprising that during the last one hundred and fifty years no one asked what happened to the Bašić collection, but stranger things have happened in Croatia since Evans left. There is special poignancy in the realization that the leading editor of the Academy's Old Croatian Writers series, the formidable and indefatigable Milan Rešetar (1860-1942), came very close to locating the Bašić collection. Just before the beginning of the First World War, while Rešetar was still a professor of Slavic studies at the University of Vienna, he reached out to Evans to ask if there were any interesting Ragusan antiquities, including books and manuscripts, in Evans' possession. It seems that the two had met in Ragusa decades before, when Evans was living there. Evans responded to Rešetar's query in German, on 25th of March 1914, and his letter survives in the Rešetar correspondence files at the Zagreb Academy's Institute for the History of Literature, Theater, and Music (Evans' German is reproduced here as found):

> Sehr geehter Herr,
>
> Ich bin abwesend gewesen sonst hätte Ich früher ihren freundlichen Brief geantwortet. Ich erinnere mich sehr gut von Ihnen in alten Ragusanischen Tagen! Ich freue mich dass Sie sich immer interessiren ueber ihre einheimischen Literatur und Numismatik.

[65] This is the collection formed by Ivan Berčić, today kept in the National Library of Russia. It is the largest collection of Glagolitic materials outside of Croatia. For an account of its departure from Croatia, see Ivan Milčetić, »Berčićeva zbirka glagoljskih rukopisa i štampanih knjiga u Lenjingradu«. *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 2 (1955): pp. 93-128.

[66] The Academy editions relied primarily on the manuscript collection of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, made navigable by a catalogue published in 1860 (Ivan August Kaznačić, *Biblioteca di fra Innocenzo Ciulich nella libreria de' RR. PP. Francescani di Ragusa*. Zara: Tipografia Governiale, 1860), and on the impressive manuscript collection formed by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816-1889), which was acquired by the Academy in 1868.

Ich glaube nicht dass Ich besitze ragusanische Werks von besonderen Werth. Ich habe viele späte Handschriften von ragusanischer Schriftsteller,—wie Gundulić, Palmotić &c. aber Ich glaube dass sie alle gedrüct waren. I besitze auch eine Handschrift von einer Geschichte Ragusas. Von gedrücten Werke ueberhaupt Geschichten Ragusas, Dalmatinische Reisen u s. w. habe Ich vieles.

I besitze eine Sammlung ragusanischen und Südslawischen Münzen aber sie sind leider in Unordnung und Ich habe augentlichlich keine Zeit dazu dass Ich die Serie wieder in Ordnung bringe. Haben Sie keine Gelegenheit eine kleine Reise nach England (vielleicht etwas später in der Saison) zu machen? Ich wäre sehr froh Sich bei mir zu sehen, und in zwei Tagen Sie konnten sehr leicht meine kleine illyrische Bibliothek und Sammlungen durchforschen. Ich wohne im Lande, aber nur ein paar Englische Meilen von Oxford—einen Viertelstund in Automobile.

Alle meine Sammlunger wärer zur ihrer Disposition.

Ich bin so ungeheuer beschäftigt ueber Kretischen Publikationen dass es mir absolut unmöglich ist die Details selbst zuzammenzustellen. Und Ich glaube dass diese Idee ist die beste—dass Sie hierherkommen!

Mit vorzüglichster Hochachtung

ergebenst

Arthur Evans[67]

[67] "Eine Handschrift von einer Geschichte Ragusas" that Evans mentions is still found among the Evans papers in the Special Collections at SSEES (EVA/1/1/1). It bears the title *Origine della Città di Ragusa Estratta da certe scritture antichissime, con agiunta d'alcune cose piu memorabili costumate in Ragusa*. Judging from the handwriting, I would date it to the first half of the eighteenth century. The presence of a different hand intervening at a couple of places tells me that the manuscript was formerly in the possession of the Ragusan antiquary Ivan Marija Matijašević (1714-1791), who took special interest in the history of Ragusa. This anonymous work, of which other manuscript copies exist, is based on the late medieval chronicles of Ragusa, to which it adds a section on Ragusan customs indebted to the account of Philippus de Diversis in his *Situs aedificiorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclitae civitatis Ragusii ad ipsius Senatum descriptio* from 1440; an edition of the section on customs can be found in: Vid Vuletić Vukasović, »Stari običaji grada Dubrovnika«. *Glasnik Dubrovačkog učenog društva "Sveti Vlaho"* 1 (1929): pp. 151-163, where it is taken from a manuscript in the State Archives in Dubrovnik. I should note that the eighteenth-century manuscript copy of de Diversis' work kept at the Archives of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik (MS 87) is in the hand of Petar Bašić; the prefatory material was added by Inocenc Čulić. Bašić has not previously been

It appears that Rešetar never undertook the *eine* not so *kleine Reise* to Youlbury, and so never had the opportunity to rummage through Evans' Illyrian collection. The other surviving letters sent by Evans to Rešetar, one in French and one in German, are silent on the matter. However, we learn from one of them that Evans still actively read Croatian (which he calls Serbian) although he no longer had opportunities for speaking the language. Whether Evans ever wrote any Illyrian letters, I have not been able to discover.[68] It also remains unclear whether he ever read the Illyrian Parnassus that he carried away with him, or whether, rather like the large community of Slavs from Novaya Zemla to Epirus, he was repelled by its monstrous orthography.

A historic relic

Evans' dismissive description of the Bašić volumes as a collection of more recent manuscripts containing works that have in the meantime been printed indicates that he did not necessarily realize how important this collection was for understanding the strange fortunes of the Illyrian Parnassus. As will be seen from the short descriptions of the nineteen volumes given in the Appendix, most of Bašić's transcripts date from the early 1780s, thus making the connection

identified as the scribe (cf. M. Brlek, *Rukopisi Knjižnice Male braće*: p. 94; Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, ed. and trans. Zdenka Janeković-Römer. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004: p. 12). Bašić was also the scribe of the copy of *Historia della Republica di Ragusa di Gjugno di Antonio Resti* found in the *Opera pia* series in the State Archives in Dubrovnik (MS 195). This manuscript is not recorded in the only existing edition of Rastić's work (*Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii (ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451), item Joannis Gundulae (1451-1484)*, ed. Speratus Nodilo. Zagreb: JAZU, 1893). There are more manuscript materials relating to the history of Ragusa among the Evans papers, but I plan to discuss them in a separate article.

[68] The letter in French is dated 28 January 1928, the letter in German is dated 3 March 1928. "Ich habe alles gelesen was Sie mir geschickt," writes Evans, "aber, seit Jahren, habe keine Gelegenheit gehabt Serbisch zu sprechen." It appears from the letter in German that Rešetar had contacted Evans in the hope of having the head of the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals appraise his collection of old Ragusan coins (described in Milan Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika*, 2 vols. Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1924-1925). The request was unsuccessful. The letter in French reveals that already in 1928 Evans was hoping to revisit Dubrovnik soon: "Peut être j'aurais l'occasion quelque temps de visiter Raguse de nouveau—après une absence de quarante ans—et j'aurais grand plaisir en faisant votre connaissance personelle." It seems that Evans forgot they had already met. By the time Evans revisited Dubrovnik, in 1932, Rešetar had already transferred to Florence, where he lived until his death in 1942. His collection of old Ragusan manuscripts and books as well as his collection of old Ragusan coins were sold to institutions in Prague, partly so that he could afford living in Florence.

between Bašić's labors and Occhi's publishing initiative extremely likely (Figure 3). There is nothing in Occhi's 1783 catalogue of Ragusan literature that is not found in the Bašić volumes. At the same time, Bašić's volumes contain introductions, which is a special feature advertised by Occhi and which sets them apart from manuscript copies of Ragusan literature produced by other scribes.[69] The connection between the Bašić collection and the later efforts of the Martecchinis hardly needs additional proof, but the edition of Junije Palmotić's *Elena*, published by Pier Francesco Martecchini in 1839, indisputably shows that the printed text was set from Bašić's transcript of the play. The Martecchini edition includes an unsigned introduction to the play, titled *Vrhu života i književnstva pjesnikova* (*On the Life and Works of the Poet*), which is taken directly from the Bašić volume of Palmotić's works (Figure 5).[70] Bašić provided similar introductions to the majority of his manuscript volumes, all of them written in Croatian. The peculiar qualities of their prose leave no doubt as to their authorship.[71] Although often short and not particularly original, these introductions are still invaluable as the earliest recorded critical accounts of Ragusan authors and their works written in the Croatian vernacular. Before Bašić's introductions, everything that was written about Ragusan literary history was written in either Latin or Italian.[72]

---

[69] Only a handful of transcripts date from a later period, but these are works not included in Occhi's catalogue. Thus, one volume includes Bašić's own poetic compositions. This indicates that the volumes were uniformly bound not in the 1880s but somewhat later. Still, they seem to have been bound during Bašić's lifetime, as the spines of some of the volumes carry the monogram PB (Figure 4).

[70] It has been known that some of the Martecchini editions were prepared by Antun Kaznačić (1784-1874), who normally identifies himself as the editor (see the discussion in I. Arsić, *Dubrovački štampari i izdavači*: pp. 123ff). But it appears that at least one edition, that of Ivan Šiškov Gundulić's *Sunčanica*, was prepared by Marko Marinović (1792-1871), who was one of the most prolific Ragusan scribes of the nineteenth century (on his role in the edition of *Sunčanica*, see Ivan Lupić and Irena Bratičević, »Dubrovačka znanost o rukopisima u osamnaestom stoljeću: pisma Ivana Marije Matijaševića [1714-1791] i Miha Rastića [1716-1768]«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 29 [2020]: p. 134). I find Marinović's hand on a leaf inserted in one of the Bašić volumes (vol. 7, shelfmark KJu31), which happens to be the volume containing the works of Ivan Šiškov Gundulić.

[71] Although not an expert on the Croatian language, Francesco Maria Appendini is always a useful source of information on what was generally thought about a particular writer's style. In his description of Ragusan authors sent to Šafárik, he writes of Bašić in the following way: "*Pietro Bassich*, Sacerdote Secolare di Ragusa nato nel 1749, e morto nel 1814. Conosceva ben la lingua, ma era affettato nello scrivere per l'uso di vocaboli nuovi e fuor di uso" (quoted from Petar Kolendić, »Apendinijeve *Notizie biografiche intorno ad alcuni scrittori illirico-slavi*«. *Zbornik istorije književnosti* 1 [1960]: p. 34). Bašić's vocabulary does stand out, both because of its archaisms and because of its neologisms.

[72] A rare example of Croatian prose from the mid-eighteenth century in which vernacular literary manuscripts are discussed was recently discovered and published in I. Lupić and I. Bratičević, »Dubrovačka znanost o rukopisima u osamnaestom stoljeću«.

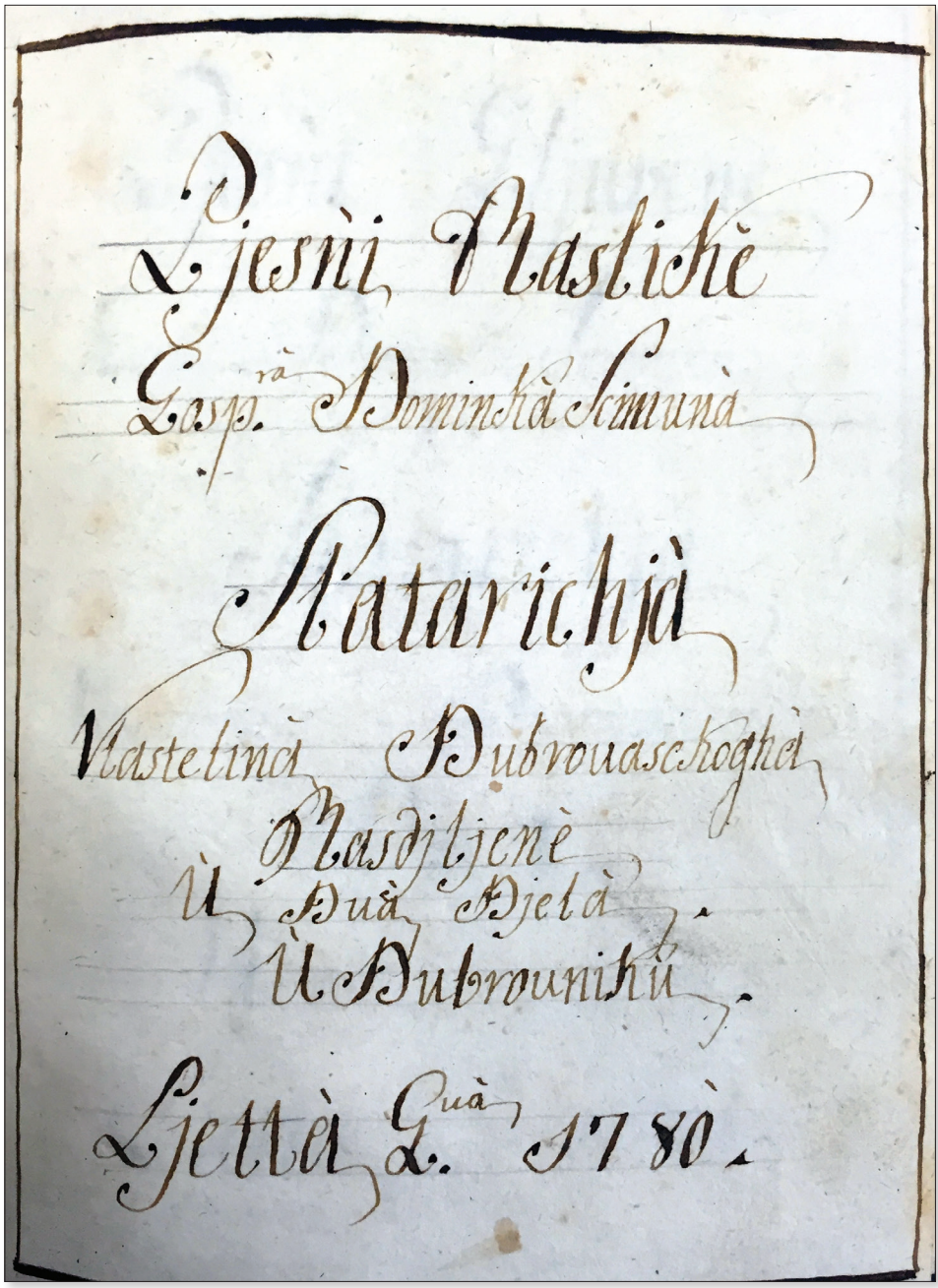


Figure 3: Bašić's transcript of the works of Dominko Zlatarić,
Arthur Evans Collection at SSEES, KJu29

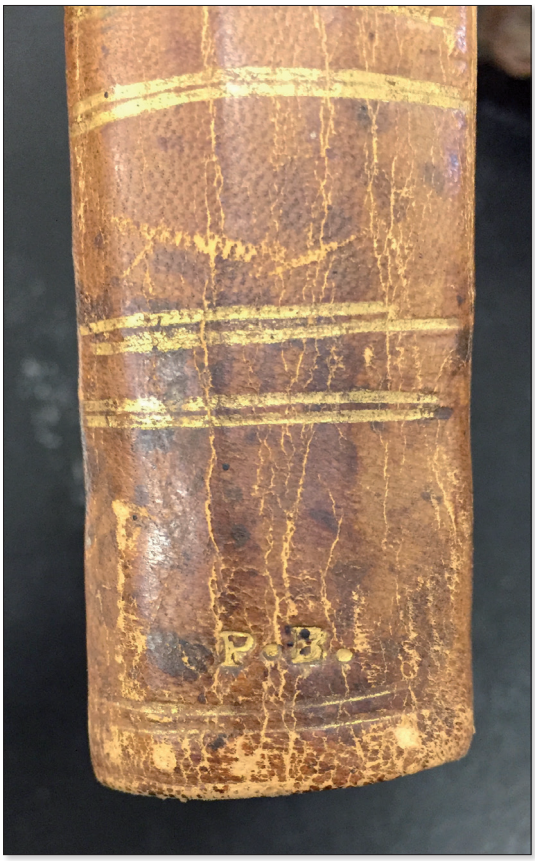


Figure 4: Bašić monogram (PB), Arthur Evans Collection at SSEES, KJu26

The Bašić collection is significant for other reasons as well. It is a rare example of an early scribal collection from Ragusa that survives, almost in its entirety, in a single repository, looking very much the way it looked on the shelves of Petar Bašić's own library (Figure 6).[73] In most cases, individual scribal collections produced in Ragusa were dispersed over time, which has created innumerable difficulties for modern cataloguers: they are faced with

[73] For the nineteenth century the closest surviving example would be the collection of Luka Pavlović in the State Archives in Dubrovnik, if it could be combined with his manuscripts from the Research Library in Dubrovnik. Regarding Figure 6, I have ordered the volumes on the shelves so as to show where the three Bašić volumes not in the Evans collection would belong.

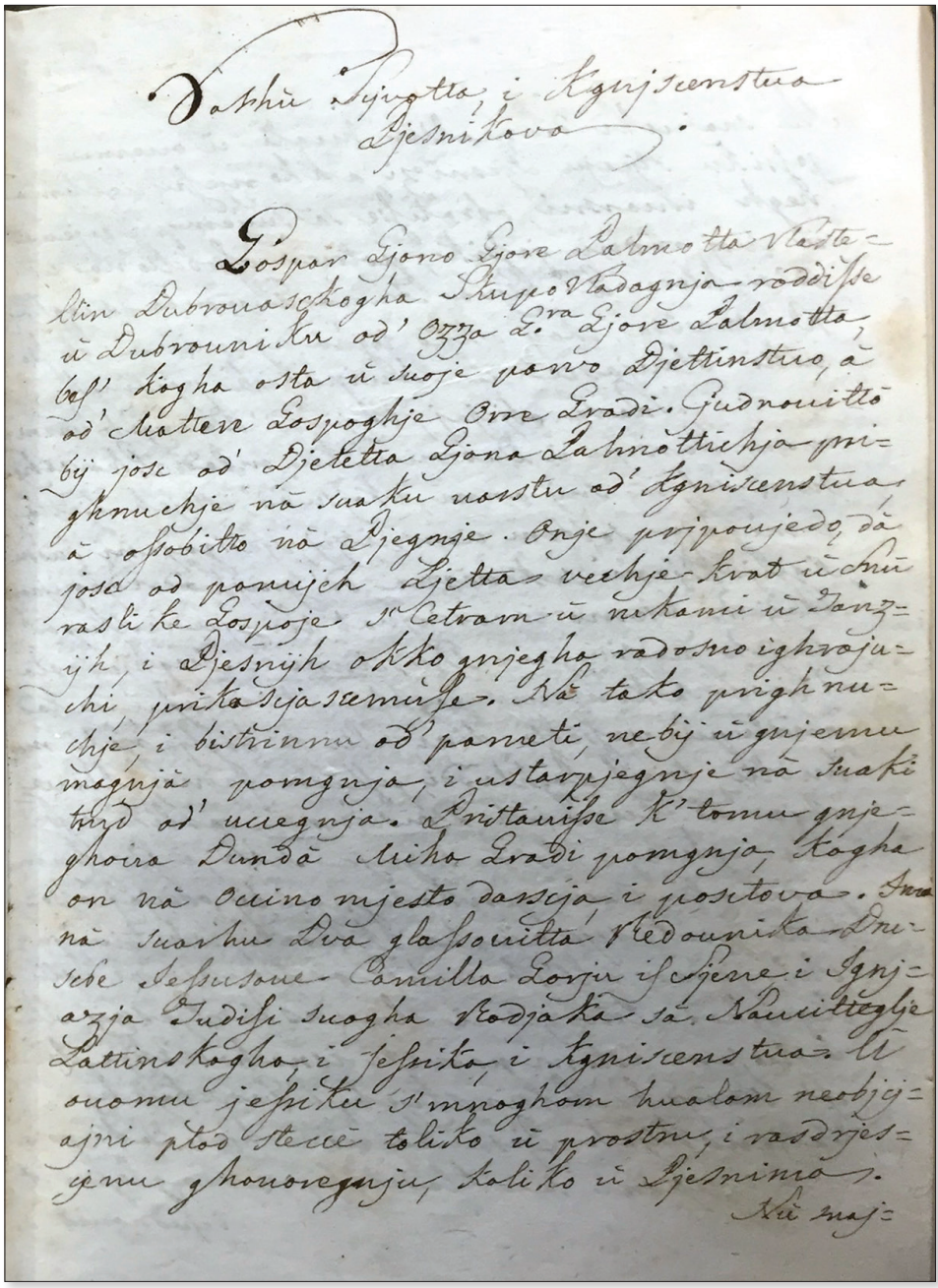


Figure 5: Bašić's account of the life and works of Junije Palmotić,
Arthur Evans Collection at SSEES, KJu22

Figure 6: Nineteen volumes of Ragusan literature transcribed by Petar Bašić, Arthur Evans Collection at SSEES

individual volumes whose scribes remain anonymous and whose contexts of production and use remain obscure. To make things worse, Ragusan scribes normally omitted to date their work, and so in this respect too the Bašić collection stands out.[74] Its significance also extends to textual scholarship. Because the collection provides new manuscript witnesses for a variety of works, it will be essential in the still unfinished project of the Illyrian Parnassus, where the published texts we have—even when they are found in the Academy editions—still leave a lot to be desired. For example, even such an outstanding editorial achievement as Milan Ratković's 1971 editon of the poems of Ivan Bunić Vučić (1592-1658), the best lyric poet of the Ragusan seventeenth century, would now have to take into account Bašić's manuscript of Bunić's verse. There, in the introduction, we read that Bašić copied his manuscript from an old manuscript preserved by the poet's heirs in the Bunić family library, whose riches, Bašić further relates, escaped undamaged from the 1667 earthquake. No manuscript from Ratković's extensive list of witnesses matches Bašić's description.[75] Finally, Bašić sometimes gives us new traces of the important manuscripts we have lost. For instance, he gives us the earliest, and only, surviving manuscript copy—numbering almost one thousand pages—of the most important manuscript of Ragusan Petrarchan poetry, compiled in the early sixteenth century by Nikša Ranjina (Figure 7).[76] The original manuscript perished in the Second World War, so whatever we can learn about it cannot but be considered a boon. Those

[74] The Ferić collection, reconstructed in I. Lupić and I. Bratičević, »Literary Collectors as Literary Scribes«, is a typical example. The Altesti collection, which is linked to that of Bašić, has fared only slightly better because one part of his collection was purchased by Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the founding benefactor of the South Slav Academy of Sciences and Arts, and given to the Academy as one if its earliest manuscript collections. Unfortunately, the list of manuscripts Strossmayer donated does not survive, and so in order to find out which manuscripts belong to this collection one has to chase Altesti's hand through hundreds of scribally anonymous manuscripts.

[75] "Sva rečena spjevanja, štioče, naćeš u ovemu pripisu, tkoji bi izet iz jednoga rukopisa prem davnoga, iznađena u knjižnici ali librariji kuće Bunića, tkoja knjižnica nebudući bila ni od ognja ni od trješnje poražena, nahodi se dan današi [*sic*] u rukah unuka Bunićevijeh" (vol. 5, KJu24). The subsequent fate of this family library remains a mystery. Bratičević (Irena Bratičević, »Rukopisni udes Ilije Crijevića«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 30 [2021]: p. 184) finds another reference to the use of this library in the eighteenth century, but the current whereabouts of the manuscript that was consulted there are unknown.

[76] The Academy edition was produced by Rešetar (*Pjesme Šiška Menčetića i Džore Držića, i ostale pjesme Ranjinina zbornika*, 2nd ed., ed. Milan Rešetar. Stari pisci hrvatski 2. Zagreb: JAZU, 1937).

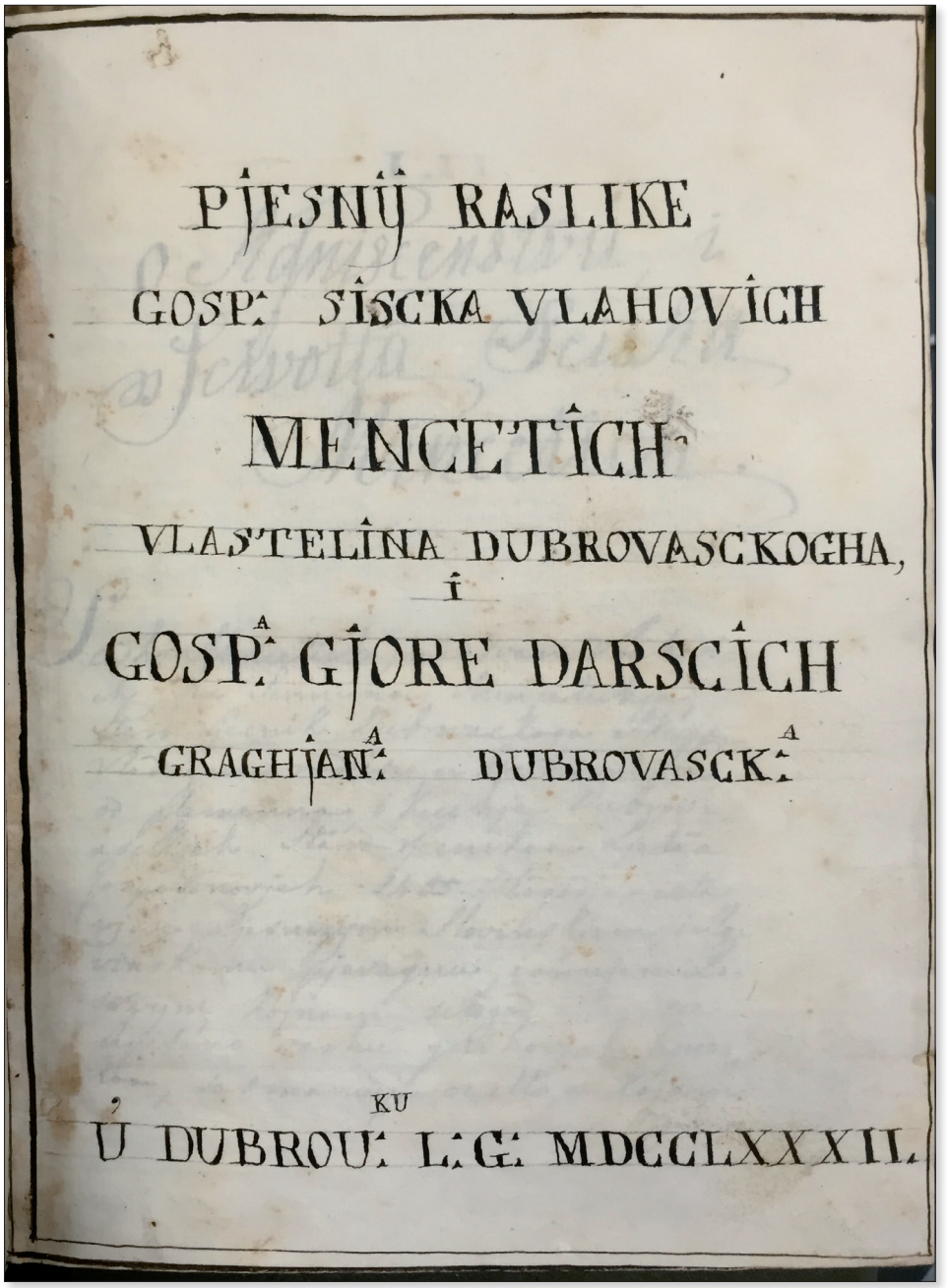


Figure 7: Bašić's transcript of the since lost manuscript of the earliest Ragusan lyric poets, Arthur Evans Collection at SSEES, KJu20

interested in Bašić's own literary activities, few though they may be, will be pleased to learn that here his poems survive in his own handwriting.[77]

When in 1932, fifty years after he had been forced to leave Ragusa, Arthur Evans revisited the city, he brought with him a very beautiful gift, intended for the Civic Library, the predecessor of the modern Research Library in Dubrovnik. Obviously, it was not the nineteen thick volumes written by a Ragusan priest in a hand hardly pleasing and in an orthography considered monstrous even by those who really cared. That was fortunate for Evans, for the Library already possessed great quantities of anonymously produced Ragusan manuscripts and attracted few people who would want to study them—then as now.[78] Instead, as a seasoned antiquary endowed with good taste, Evans brought from Youlbury an illuminated copy of Juraj Dragišić's *De natura angelica*, published in Florence in 1499. Gorgeously bound, the book had everything Evans needed, including possibly the portrait of its author (Figure 8). It was written by a Bosnian friar who had become famous and respected under his Latin name Georgius Benignus de Salviatis and who, like most of those who came from that part of the world with no money and with great ambitions, wrote in Latin. Dragišić was the embodiment of that perfect marriage that Evans recognized as the central feature of Ragusan history and as the key to its relevance in the present: the barbarous energy of the Slavic element combined with the ennobling and civilizing power of the Roman way of life.[79] Dragišić was also the antique version of Evans himself, for both traveled from Bosnia to Ragusa and both found a temporary shelter in the city. The inscription found in the volume makes this connection explicit:

> This book is presented as a historic relic to the City of Ragusa and its Civic Library by Sir Arthur Evans, who here, like its author, first arriving through Bosnia, found here [*sic*] a hospitable retreat

[77] A more detailed description of the collection accompanied by an edition of Bašić's critical prose is a task I leave for a future occasion.

[78] The manuscript collections of the Research Library have since been catalogued; see Stjepan Kastropil, *Rukopisi Naučne biblioteke u Dubrovniku*, vol. I: rukopisi na hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku. Zagreb: JAZU, 1954, and Stjepan Kastropil and Matija Bete, *Rukopisi Znanstvene knjižnice Dubrovnik*, vol. II: rukopisi na stranim jezicima. Dubrovnik: Dubrovačke knjižnice Dubrovnik, 1997.

[79] "For her alloted part of interpreter between Italian and Sclave, Ragusa was fitted by her very origin. Her citizens can trace their lineal descent from the inhabitants of the Greco-Roman Republic of Epidaurus. When the Sclavonic barbarians, descending from the mountains of the interior, destroyed the ancient city of Epidaurus, the Roman survivors emigrated in a body to the present site of Ragusa, then a peninsular rock" (A. J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot*, 1877: p. 384).

(1875-1882). On the occasion of his revisiting Dubrovnik—after an interval of fifty years. June 18th, 1932.[80]

The note conceals as much as it reveals. The retreat may have been hospitable at first, but seven weeks in a damp Ragusan prison followed by banishment is not exactly the definition of hospitality, even among the Slavs. "I now begin to hate the place and the people," his wife wrote to him while he was in prison, "scarcely a single person of Ragusa has been near me. I am stared at or shunned."[81] Evans' historic relic thus loses its historical aspect and becomes an actual relic, animated wholly by what one would want to be true.

In this respect, Evans came much closer to Dragišić, although he could not have known it. Addressing the senators of Ragusa in the opening sentences of his book *On the Nature of Angels*, Dragišić has nothing but praise for their wisdom, virtues, and religion, careful to equate Ragusa with ancient Epidaurum and to highlight in this way the Roman foundation of the new city. His complicated Latin statement about the hospitality he had received in Ragusa was later misunderstood by Ragusan historians and biographers, who assumed that he had arrived in Ragusa as a child, fleeing from the Turks, and so they regularly chronicled him among the famous citizens of Ragusa.[82] That is the Dragišić Evans read about and then invoked in his inscription. In fact, Dragišić's first visit to Ragusa was not that of a persecuted child; it centered instead on a relic that he brought to the city from the Holy Land as an adult pilgrim, in 1487, and that is still kept in the Dubrovnik cathedral—the hand of St. John the Baptist. The Ragusans, who were well known for their inordinate love of relics, claimed the saint's hand was freely given to them by Dragišić, while the Florentines, who had John the Baptist as the patron of their city, claimed it was supposed to be given to them, and that Dragišić told them so. The arguments over the relic and

[80] Research Library in Dubrovnik, Ink. 45; discussed in Mirjana Urban, *Juraj Dragišić (Georgius Benignus de Salviatis) u hrvatskoj literaturi od 16. do 20. stoljeća*. Dubrovnik: Dubrovačke knjižnice, 1998: pp. 97ff. The book has been digitized and can be accessed through the incunable section of the library's ZDUR portal (https://zdur.dkd.hr). Ragusa as a city that shelters refugees is a prominent theme already in Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot*, 1876. The second edition of the book (1877) makes this theme even more noticeable by a new frontispiece showing a group of Herzegovinian refugees in Ragusa.

[81] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*: p. 254.

[82] I follow in my account the findings and the interpretation of Zdravko Šundrica, *Tajna kutija dubrovačkog arhiva*, vol. I. Zagreb – Dubrovnik: HAZU, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2008: pp. 145-185.


GEORGII BENIGNI ORDINIS
Minorum sacraꝝ litterarum professoris ad
illustrem atq; religiosum Epidaurinum seu
Rhacusinum Senatum in librum de natura
cęlestium spirituum quos angelos uocamus p
hoemium incipit foelicíter
NGELICA DIGNITAS
post Summam illā optimi uni
uersoꝝ conditoris dei maiesta
tem patres conscripti Rhacusa-
nęq; ac Epidaurine siue (ut ego
dicere soleo siluanę urbis Senatores amplissimi)
omnium rerum dignitati & glorię prestarę cen
setur. Nihil namq; est aut esse potest sub maxi-
mo illo Deo nostro itelligētiarū natura digni9/
aut prestantius. Quandoquidem supernus opi
fex omnes suas in earuꝝ productione uires/quę
certo imensę sunt/quasi emisisse uideatur. Tā-

Figure 8: Juraj Dragišić, *De natura angelica* (1499), Research Library (Znanstvena knjižnica), Dubrovnik, Ink. 45

over its true possessor became so heated that even the Ottoman sultan was asked to mediate, but his intervention was, perhaps predictably, unhelpful.[83] The outcome of the protracted dispute was an annual amount of thirty ducats to be paid to Dragišić for life by the Ragusan government, including some additonal perks. Dragišić therefore had good reason to think very highly of the senators.

[83] This was Bayezid II. Reportedly, Bayezid commented that if the Florentines were keen to have Christian relics, they should go and look for them in the field of Kosovo (Z. Šundrica, *Tajna kutija* vol. I: p. 160). The allusion is to the famous Battle of Kosovo (1389).

Once we understand the history that Dragišić conceals, we can appreciate even more the inadvertent complexity of Evans' gift to the city of his youth. The gift suppresses and distorts a great deal so that Evans can make peace with Ragusa and with the past. The gift is indeed beautiful and the gesture indeed noble, but Ragusa is not Eden and Ragusans are no angels. As they continue to look in admiration and gratitude at this strange gift, more illegible than it at first appears, let them be reminded that illegibility is not a vice but a challenge, and that the Illyrian Parnassus—both as a cultural effort and as a historic relic—deserves a more honorable place in the history of their city than it has been accorded so far. Not least because, as we have seen, the long and ultimately unsuccessful pilgrimage to the home of the Illyrian Muse connected people who spoke different languages and professed different national identities. It is the kind of community in which Arthur Evans was indeed at home, and so it is only right that when he was forced to leave it, he took the Illyrian Parnassus with him.

Appendix

This summary description of the twenty-two volumes making up the Illyrian Parnassus follows the order found in the nineteenth-century manuscript compiled by Pier Francesco Martecchini (MS 1292 in the Archives of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik). The manuscript is titled *Catalogo delle opere manoscritte e stampate nei 22 volumi legati*. It will be noticed that the collection indeed includes some printed material (in vols. 21 and 22) as well as copies made from older printed editions (as for instance in vols. 12 and 13). In his listing of various writers and their works, which at times becomes very detailed, Martecchini does not always number the volumes he describes, nor does he always indicate where volumes begin or end. Sometimes his descriptions combine material from different volumes when the author is the same (as for instance for vols. 4 and 19). However, since each volume carries on its front flyleaf the volume number, I have managed to map Martecchini's content onto the surviving volumes. This strategy has left me with some works by Pasko Primović and Ivan Gundulić that are mentioned by Martecchini but are missing from the surviving volumes. These works most likely filled volumes 8 and 18, which may still turn up somewhere. Of the remaning twenty volumes, nineteen belong to the Evans Collection in the UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies Library and one to the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (vol. 9). The shelfmarks in the Evans Collection do not follow the numbering of the volumes. I perceive no logic in either the Martecchini numbers or the Evans shelfmarks.

Whenever Bašić notes the year in which he produced the manuscript copy (or at least the title page of that copy), I include it in the list. It is evident that most of his copying activity occurred in the period 1780-1782, with the significant exception of some earlier copies of Vetranović's plays, from 1772, when Bašić was only twenty-one years old. The manuscripts carrying a later date (the two Sorkočević plays from vol. 1, copied in 1790, and Bašić's own poetic compositions from vol. 22, copied in 1789) do not in any way cast doubt on the connection between Bašić's collection and Occhi's 1783 manifesto to publish the Illyrian Parnassus, as these works were not included in the catalogue accompanying Occhi's manifesto. The way in which texts copied in different years are combined into single volumes suggests that the collection was not given its current bindings until after 1790.

The most striking feature of Occhi's 1783 catalogue is the absence of the works of Marin Držić. Bašić did copy some of Držić's works (MS I. b. 53 in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb), but the volume has two title pages: the first dates it to 1781 and the second to 1786 (both are in Bašić's hand). While the marbled paper that covers the boards is the same as in the other Bašić volumes, the spine lacks the leather covering that distinguishes every one of the twenty surviving volumes. As the *ex libris* tells us, the Držić volume belonged to Ivan Ksaver Altesti (1727-1816), a noted scribe and collector who was Bašić's contemporary. The volume reached the Academy as part of the Strossmayer donation, which suggests that it was never part of the Martecchini collection. The binding of the Držić volume agrees entirely with the binding of Bašić's manuscript of Ivan Gundulić's *Osman* (Austrian National Library, MS Ser. n. 4510), which was the work of an older scribe, with Bašić only supplying the bits missing from the original manuscript. Occhi did mention *Osman* in his 1783 catalogue, but the later efforts of Antonio Martecchini show that the work had a special role to play as a springboard for the rest of the Illyrian Parnassus.

Vol. 1 – Evans Collection, KJu32

Franatica Sorkočević, *Didone* (1790) and *Demetrio* (1770); Anonymous, *Artasers* (1790).

Vol. 2 – Evans Collection, KJu33

The works of Ignjat Đurđević (1780); *Skup razlicijeh satira aliti pjesni protivnijeh po razlicijem pjevaocima spjevanijeh* (1780).

Vol. 3 – Evans Collection, KJu28

The works of Petar Kanavelić (1780).

Vol. 4 – Evans Collection, KJu22

The works of Junije Palmotić (1780).

Vol. 5 – Evans Collection, KJu24

The works of Ivan Bunić Vučić (1782) and the works of Nikola Dimitrović (1780). Bound in the volume is also a copy of the printed work *Grad Dubrovnik vlastelom u trešnju* (published in 1667), written in a different hand and mistakenly ascribed to Ivan Bunić. This hand also appears in Bašić's manuscript of Ivan Gundulić's *Osman* (Austrian National Library, MS Ser. n. 4510).

Vol. 6 – Evans Collection, KJu36

The works of Ivan Gundulić (1780-1782).

Vol. 7 – Evans Collection, KJu31

The works of Ivan Šiškov Gundulić (1780-1781).

Vol. 8 – location unknown

The works of Pasko Primović, judging from the description of the Bašić collection in MS 1292 of the Archives of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik.

Vol. 9 – Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, MS I. a. 75

The works of Nikola Nalješković, Maroje and Horacije Mažibradić, Miho Bunić Babulinov, Ivan Bunić Vučić, and others (1780-1781).

Vol. 10 – Evans Collection, KJu21

Translations of Ovid's *Heroides* (1781).

Vol. 11 – Evans Collection, KJu34

The works of Jozo Betondić (1780) and Antun Gleđević (1781).

Vol. 12 – Evans Collection, KJu29

The works of Dominko Zlatarić (1780) and Dinko Ranjina (copied from the Venice edition of 1632).

Vol. 13 – Evans Collection, KJu35

Miho Bunić Babulinov, *Jokasta* (1781); Vice Pucić Soltanović, *Sofronija* (1781); Frano Lukarević Burina, *Atamante* (1781); Pasko Primović, *Euridiče* (copied from the Venice edition of 1617).

Vol. 14 – Evans Collection, KJu30

Franatica Sorkočević, *Merope* (1780) and *Psike* (1780).

Vol. 15 – Evans Collection, KJu26

The poems of Mavro Vetranović (1782), including *Putnik aliti Pelegrin* (1781).

Vol. 16 – Evans Collection, KJu25

The poems of Mavro Vetranović (1782).

Vol. 17 – Evans Collection, KJu27

The plays of Mavro Vetranović: *Suzana* (1782); *Posvetilište Abramovo* (1772); *Hekuba* (1772).

Vol. 18 – location unknown

Possibly Ivan Gundulić's *Suze sina razmetnoga* and *Pjesni pokorne kralja Davida*, which are listed in the description of the Bašić collection in MS 1292 of the Archives of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, but are not found in the manuscript of Gundulić's works (Vol. 6 above).

Vol. 19 – Evans Collection, KJu23

The works of Junije Palmotić (1780-1781).

Vol. 20 – Evans Collection, KJu20

The works of Šiško Menčetić and Džore Držić (1782).

Vol. 21 – Evans Collection, KJu19

A collection of religious poetry written by different poets (1780). Bound at the front of the volume is a print exemplar of Anica Bošković's *Razgovor pastirski* (Venice, 1758).

Vol. 22 – Evans Collection, KJu18

The works of Petar Bašić (1789), Vladislav Menčetić (1780), and Petar Kanavelić (1780). Bound at the front of the volume is a print exemplar of Đuro Ferić's *Zgode od boja* (Dubrovnik, 1789).