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The Textual Transmission of *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*, a Travelogue by Antun Vrančić

Croatian humanist, diplomat, and prelate Antun Vrančić (1504-1573) produced a number of literary works, among which the travelogue *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* holds a special place, since it was written as a testimony of Vrančić's first mission to Constantinople (1553-1557), on which he was sent by order of Emperor Ferdinand I (1503-1564). The text is preserved in the form of Vrančić's autograph and three transcripts as part of the geographical and historical work *De Illyrico Caesaribusque Illyricis* by Croatian humanist Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (1580-1637), and was published twice, in the 18th and 19th centuries. This paper provides an insight into the textual transmission of the *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* based on the findings the authors arrived at while preparing a critical edition of this text by Vrančić. A philological comparison of Vrančić's manuscript and the preserved transcripts provides an answer to the question which copy is closest to Vrančić's original, while a comparison of the manuscript and editions indicates that the existing editions are unreliable for linguistic, stylistic, or historiographical research due to errors which hinder the correct reading of the text. This, along with the fact that no critical edition of the text exists, is why a new philological treatment of this text by Vrančić according to the principles of modern neo-Latin studies was necessary.

Keywords: Antun Vrančić, *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*, travelogue, humanism, textual transmission

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Introduction

Antun Vrančić from Šibenik (1504-1573) was a Croatian humanist who left an indelible mark not only in the history of the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom in the 16th century, but also in Croatian literature written in Latin. He built a rich ecclesiastical and diplomatic career at the courts of King John Zápolya (1487-1540), King and Emperor Ferdinand I (1503-1564), and his successor Maximilian II (1527-1576), witnessing some of the most important events for the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom in that period. He received some of the highest honours at the time – Maximilian awarded him the title of Primate of the Hungarian Church in 1569 and appointed him Regent of Hungary in June 1572.¹ Vrančić played such a prominent role in the history of Croatian humanism primarily owing to the impressive collection of approximately a thousand letters (composed mostly in Latin and to a lesser extent in Italian and Hungarian) along with other completed or unfinished works, i.e. those which have been preserved in full or in fragments.²

¹ The most comprehensive insight into Vrančić's life so far has been provided by the only Croatian monograph on this subject: Darko Novaković, Vladimir Vratović, *S visina sve. Antun Vrančić* (Zagreb: Globus, 1979). Cf. also: Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, I (Venezia: Presso Alvise Milocco all'Apolline, 1774), 137-145; Šime Ljubić, *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia* (Vienna-Zara: Rod. Lechner; Battara e Abelich, 1856), 305-308; Federico Antonio Galvani, *Il re d'armi di Sebenico con illustrazioni storiche*, I (Venezia: Prem. Stabil. Tip. di Pietro Naratovich, 1884), 215-219; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vjekova. Niz životopisâ* (Zagreb: Naklada Matice hrvatske, 1886), 41-72; Krsto Stošić, *Galerija uglednih šibenčana* (Šibenik: Tiskara Kačić, 1936), 94-96; Marianna Daisy Birnbaum, *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Most, 1993), 270-306; Darko Novaković, *Sentimentalni odgoj. Antun i Faust Vrančić* (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica "Juraj Šižgorić", 1995), 5-16, 94-109; Šime Demo, Castilia Manea-Grgin, eds., *Antun Vrančić. Historiografski fragmenti* (Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica "Juraj Šižgorić", 2014), 7-20; Éva Gyulai, "Antonius Verantius", in: *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 7, ed. David Thomas et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 362-371; Zrinka Blažević, Anđelko Vlašić, eds., *Carigradska pisma Antuna Vrančića: hrvatski i engleski prijevod odabranih latinskih pisama* (Zagreb-Istanbul: Oğuz Aydemir, 2018), 28-63.

² Vrančić's oeuvre includes two collections of poetry (*Otia* and the lost *Elegiae*), two speeches (a speech given at the wedding of the Polish Prince Sigismund Augustus, brother of Queen Isabella Zápolya, in 1543, and a speech given on the occasion of the coronation of Rudolf II Habsburg as the King of Hungary in 1572), a prayer (the only surviving text by Vrančić in Croatian), historiographical texts (a series of larger or smaller fragments and unfinished writings of historical nature), reports from his Ottoman missions (the travelogue *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*, written on the occasion of Vrančić's first mission to Constantinople, 1553 – 1557, and a text written in the form of a journal chronicling his trip to Constantinople on his second mission, 1567 – 1568), biographies of Juraj Utišenić and Šimun Dijak Voćinski, and his correspondence, the most important in terms of literary value (791 sent and 139 received letters, with 199 letters co-authored with other envoys – figures according to Diana Sorić, "Klasifikacija pisama Antuna Vrančića", *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009), 98). For more details on Vrančić's literary oeuvre, see: Birnbaum, *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity*, 270-306; Demo, Manea-Grgin, *Historiografski fragmenti*, 20-69; Diana Sorić, Teuta Serreqi Jurić, eds., *Antun Vrančić: Epistolae ad familiares* (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2020), XVII-XXVII, and the literature cited in the notes therein.

Vrančić's travelogue *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* is also one of his unfinished works, and it was written as a testimony of his first diplomatic mission to Constantinople (1553-1557) by order of the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand I.³ The experienced diplomat Antun Vrančić and the diplomat and commander of the Danube Naval Flotilla Ferenc Zay, accompanied by about sixty men, set out for the Ottoman capital from Buda on 25 July 1553 with the task of concluding a Habsburg-Ottoman peace treaty with Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and liberating the Habsburg envoy Giovanni Maria Malvezzi. It was estimated that the mission would be completed by November 1553, but due to various aggravating circumstances it lasted until August 1557, and the desired objective was not fully achieved. The envoys succeeded in obtaining freedom for the imprisoned Malvezzi, but not in persuading the Ottomans to give up Transylvania.⁴ Still, maintaining the status quo was also considered a success, which is why Ferdinand rewarded Vrančić on his return from Constantinople by granting him the position of Bishop of Eger, which was the second highest rank in the Hungarian ecclesiastical hierarchy, immediately after the Archbishop of Esztergom.⁵

The thirty-day journey started on the Danube from Buda to Belgrade and continued by land to Smederevo, then further south along the Morava valley to Niš and through Sofia and Drinopolje (ancient *Hadrianopolis*, Turkish Edirne) to Constantinople, where the envoys arrived on 25 August 1553. Vrančić described the individual legs of the journey and what he had experienced in his report or travelogue, enriching the story with factual data and many historical, geographical,

³ For more details on this work by Vrančić, see Petar Matković, "Putovanja po balkanskom poluo-toku XVI. vieka. Putovanje A. Vrančića g. 1553. u Carigrad", *Rad JAZU* 71 (1884), 1-60. On the literary aspects of the travelogue *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*, see Diana Sorić, Teuta Serreqi Jurić, "Literary Aspects of Antun Vrančić's Travelogue *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*," *Živa Antika* 68 (2018): 153-168.

⁴ After the first meeting with Suleiman and the unsuccessful negotiations on the issue of Transylvania, the Sultan travelled to Asia Minor, where he started a war against the Persians while the envoys continued the negotiations with Rüstem Pasha. Vrančić and Zay sent Malvezzi to Ferdinand in Vienna to obtain new instructions. Their stay in Constantinople was unexpectedly extended because a military revolt against Suleiman broke out under the leadership of his eldest son Mustafa. In January 1555, the envoys learned that Malvezzi would not be returning from Vienna, but that Ferdinand was sending the Flemish humanist Augier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522-1592) as negotiator instead. After Suleiman's messenger announced that the Sultan would receive the three Habsburg envoys at his court in Amasya (ancient *Amasia*), the envoys left Constantinople for Asia Minor and arrived in Amasya on 7 April. The road to Amasya led through Ankara, where the deputies arrived after 19 days of travel, on 28 March to be precise. The next day (29 March 1555), while touring the city, they discovered a Roman building with a carved copy of the inscription *Res gestae divi Augusti* or *Monumentum Ancyranum* (according to Bratislav Lučin, "Antun Vrančić i *Monumentum Ancyranum*", *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 45 (2019), No. 1, 228, 230). On Vrančić's important and hitherto unjustly neglected role in finding and transcribing this famous inscription, see the quoted title.

⁵ The peace treaty was negotiated by Busbecq and the final agreement was signed on 1 June 1562. For more details on Vrančić's first mission to Constantinople, see Blažević, Vlašić, *Carigradska pisma*, 35-55. Cf. also: Novaković, Vratović, *S visina sve*, 115-119, 132-136; Birnbaum, *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity*, 281-291; Lučin, "Antun Vrančić", 224-230.

and ethnographic details. The travelogue ends abruptly and unexpectedly when the envoys arrive in Drinopolje on 19 August: *Et mox civitas Hadrianopolis...* (“A little later we come to the town of Drinopolje...”). Assuming that Vrančić described the rest of the journey as well, the fate of the second part of his travel diary remains unclear.⁶

Despite the tireless efforts of a small community of classical philologists in Croatia, the situation in the study of our national Latin heritage is such that valuable texts, even entire oeuvres of individual authors, remain unpublished or are in dire need of new editions prepared according to the principles of contemporary neo-Latin studies. Such is also the case with the literary legacy of Antun Vrančić, which was last published in the famous edition by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences *Monumenta Hungariae historica – Scriptorum*.⁷ Therefore, any endeavour made in this field, no matter how small, is certainly valuable. In this context, the purpose of this paper is to provide insight into the textual transmission of Vrančić’s travelogue *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* based on a philological comparison of the manuscripts (the autograph and the transcripts) and the published editions in order to point out that the existing editions are not sufficiently reliable for linguistic and stylistic or historiographical research and that a real need exists for Vrančić’s work to be published in accordance with modern philological criteria.⁸

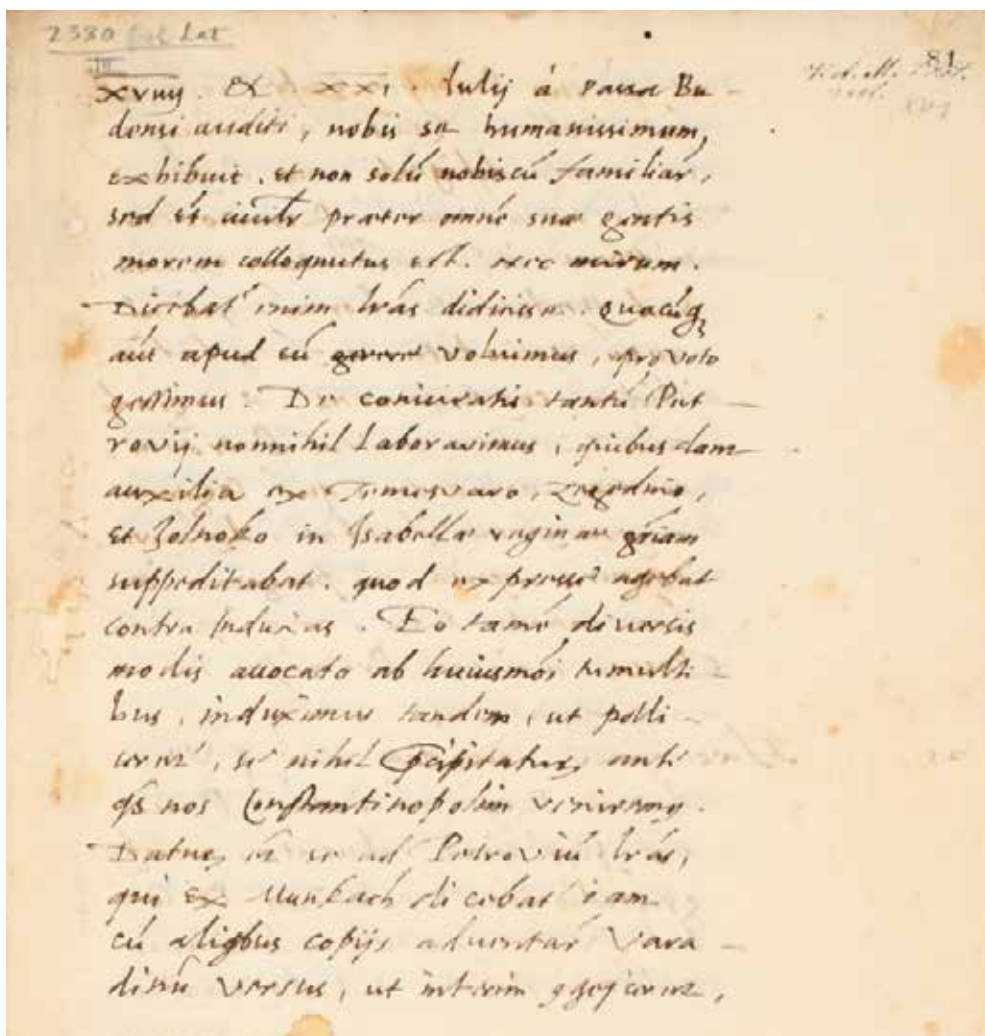
Manuscripts and editions

As for the manuscripts of Vrančić’s travelogue, one autograph and three transcripts survive. The autograph is stored in the Széchényi National Library in Budapest under the call numbers *Fol. Lat.* 2380, III, ff. 81-112v (the first part of the manuscript) and *Fol. Lat.* 422, II, ff. 76-99 (the second part of the manuscript).

⁶ The only indication of this in literature can be found in A. Fortis (*Viaggio*, I, 141, note a), who claims that that part of the record of this journey was taken by Jesuit Filippo Riceputi so he could use it to compile his work *Illiricum [sic] Sacrum* and that it was irretrievably lost.

⁷ László Szalay, Gusztáv Wenzel, eds., *Monumenta Hungariae historica. Scriptorum* – Verancsics Antal, *Összes munkái*, vol. 1-12 (Budapest: Eggenberger, 1857-1875).

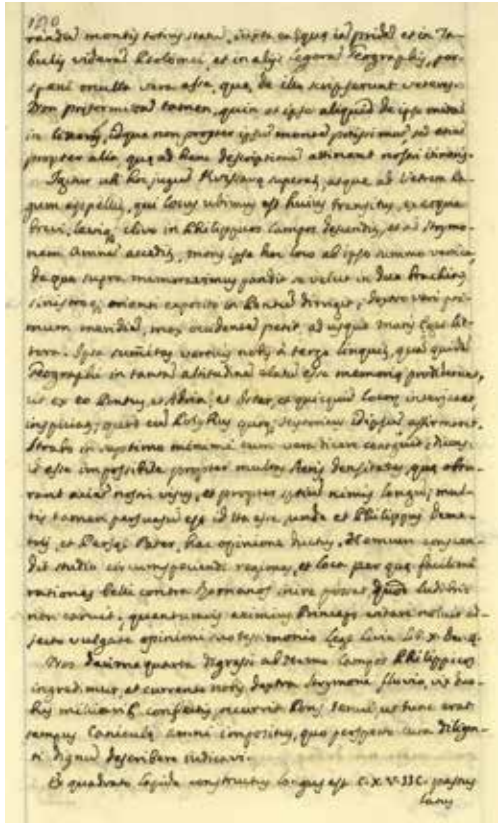
⁸ As the first in a series of modern critical editions of Vrančić’s texts, the recently published family correspondence of Antun Vrančić should be mentioned: Sorić, Serreqi Jurić, *Antun Vrančić: Epistolae ad familiares*. As for Vrančić’s travelogue *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*, the authors have conducted preliminary research on the manuscript and are currently preparing a critical edition.



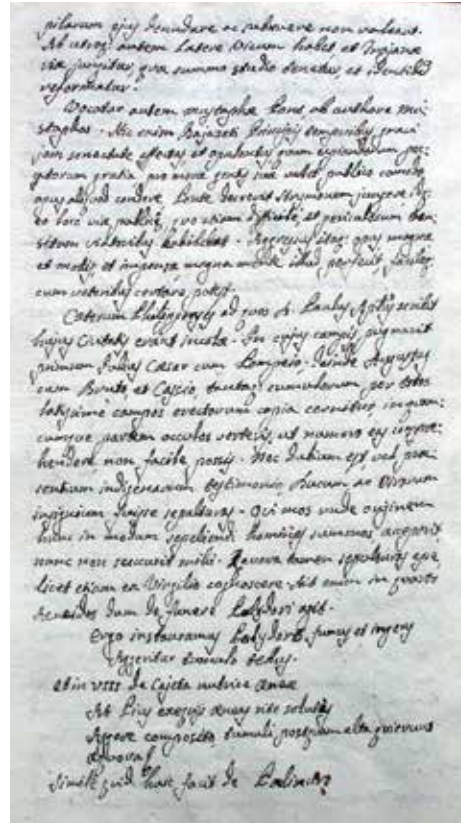
Picture 1. A folio from Vrančić's autograph: B 81

In addition to the autograph, a large part of Vrančić's travelogue has been preserved in the transcript contained in the second book of the geographical and historical work *De Illyrico Caesaribusque Illyricis dialogorum libri septem* by Croatian humanist Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (1580-1637). Although Mrnavić's manuscript was once considered lost, today we can reliably speak about three copies. One is kept in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo (call no. E-541), one in the National and University Library in Zagreb (call no. R 7195), and one in the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik.⁹

⁹ As for the Dubrovnik manuscript, it actually consists of two texts entitled *Prodromon et una generalis Illyrici descriptio* and *Caesares Illyrici* stored in the collection of Ignjat Đurđević *Rerum Il-*



Picture 2. A page from the Zagreb manuscript: Z 140

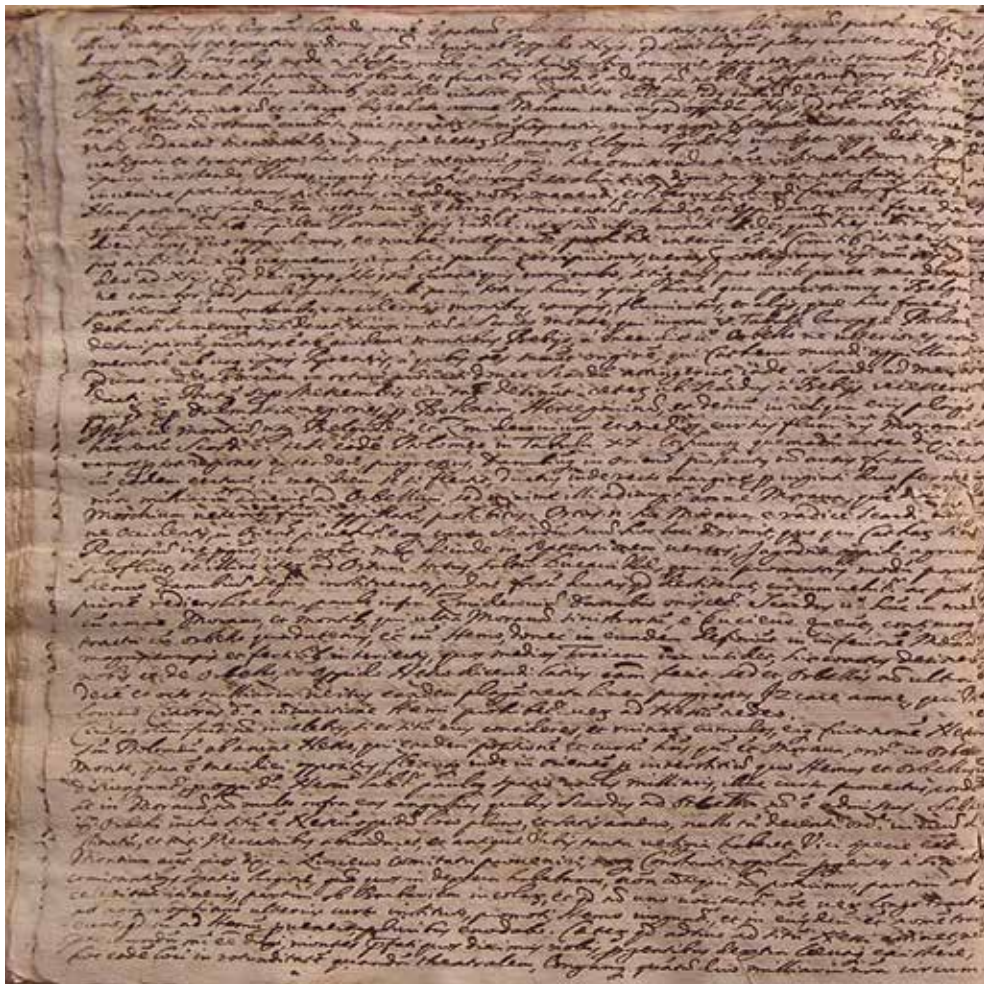


Picture 3. A folio from the Sarajevo manuscript: S 89v

According to the research conducted so far, the oldest manuscript is the one from Dubrovnik, which was found to have been transcribed by Mrnavić's good friend Rafael Levaković (c. 1590 – c. 1649). The Zagreb transcript (transcribed by one person) and the Sarajevo transcript (transcribed by several people, whereby most of the text was transcribed by the person who transcribed the Zagreb copy) were copied from the same template and can be dated to the late 18th or early 19th century, according to the marginal notes made by Alberto Fortis. The Dubrovnik manuscript, although it largely matches the Zagreb and Sarajevo manuscripts, is a shortened version, basically a summary of the first two manuscripts; however, it also contains many parts that cannot be found in the Zagreb and Sarajevo copies. It

lyricarum sive historiae Rhacusanae. Cf. Tamara Tvrtković, "Marko Marulić u djelu Ivana Tomka Mrnavića", *Colloquia Maruliana* 16 (2007), 295-297, and Tamara Tvrtković, *Između znanosti i bajke – Ivan Tomko Mrnavić* (Zagreb-Šibenik: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Gradska knjižnica "Juraj Šižgorić", 2008), 48-52, 87. We would like to thank our colleague Tamara Tvrtković for granting us access to the manuscripts.

is assumed that the transcriber made the Dubrovnik compendium on the basis of a hitherto unknown source (an autograph?), which could have served as a source for both the Zagreb and the Sarajevo transcripts.¹⁰



Picture 4. A folio from the Dubrovnik manuscript: D 25v

As for the published versions, Vrančić's text was first published in its entirety in the work of the Italian travelogue writer Alberto Fortis *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, as an appendix between the first and the second volumes in 1774,¹¹ and the second

¹⁰ Cf. Tvrtković, "Marko Marulić", 295-297, and Tvrtković, *Između znanosti i bajke*, 53-77, 87. For more details on Mrnavić and his book *De Illyrico Caesaribusque Illyricis*, see the previously quoted title.

¹¹ Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, I-II (Venezia: Presso Alvise Milocco all'Apolline, 1774), V-XL-VII.

time in the first volume of the Hungarian edition *Monumenta Hungariae historica – Scriptores* in 1857.¹² A small part of the travelogue can also be found in the fifth volume of József Koller's *Historia episcopatus Quinqueecclesiensis*.¹³ The Croatian translation of Vrančić's travelogue, done by Darko Novaković, can be found in the translated edition of Fortis's *Put po Dalmaciji*.¹⁴

Comparing the autograph and the transcripts

As we have already stated, Vrančić's travelogue is cited within the second book of Mrnavić's text *De Illyrico Caesaribusque Illyricis* as part of the description of the province of Dardania, but not in its entirety. Mrnavić omits the very beginning of the travelogue (autograph *Fol. Lat.* 2380, III, ff. 81-82) and starts the text with Vrančić's departure from Buda on 26 July and his arrival in Tolna: *Die, inquit, 26. Buda digressi, naves ingressi primo noctis crepusculo Tolnam venimus...*¹⁵ The leg of the journey from Buda to Belgrade, i.e. from 26 July to 1 August (autograph *Fol. Lat.* 2380, III, ff. 82-92v) is condensed, and then Vrančić's text is faithfully rendered from the moment the envoys left Belgrade on 1 August and travelled by land towards Smederevo: *At prima die Augusti, relictis in portu ad Belgradum navibus...*¹⁶ Mrnavić also leaves out the part of Vrančić's text which lists the Roman inscriptions on stone monuments near Niš (autograph *Fol. Lat.* 2380, III, pp. 102-103v).¹⁷

Although priority should undoubtedly be given to the autograph of the *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* over its transcripts, it seemed opportune to investigate the relationship between Vrančić's autograph and the three transcripts of Mrnavić's text to see which of the manuscripts is closest to Vrančić's original and what the hitherto unknown template on the basis of which the transcripts of *De Illyrico Caesaribusque Illyricis* were made might have looked like, at least as far as the part relating to Vrančić's travelogue is concerned.¹⁸ As can be seen from Table 1 in the appendix, the philological comparison of the manuscripts shows

¹² László Szalay, ed., *Verancsics Antal. Összes munkái*, vol. 1 (= *Monumenta Hungariae historica. Scriptores* II) (Budapest: Eggenberger, 1857), 288-334.

¹³ József Koller, ed., *Historia episcopatus Quinqueecclesiensis*, V (Posonii et Pestini: Sumptibus Joannis Michaelis Landerer, 1782-1784), 340-344.

¹⁴ Antun Vrančić, "Putovanje iz Budima u Drinopolje", in: Alberto Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, ed. Josip Bratulić, trans. Mate Maras and Darko Novaković (Split: Marjan tisak, 2004), 115-145.

¹⁵ Cf. Hrvatska (hereafter: HR) - Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu (hereafter: NSK) - R 7195, p. 118.

¹⁶ Cf. HR-NSK-R 7195, p. 121.

¹⁷ Cf. Tvrtković, *Između znanosti i bajke*, 84-85.

¹⁸ In the Zagreb manuscript, Vrančić's travelogue (not including the condensed part) is quoted on pp. 121-151, in the Sarajevo version on ff. 78-92, and in the Dubrovnik version on ff. 24-29.

that in all three transcripts there are many similarities in terms of differences in readings, additions, omissions, and inversions, but the Dubrovnik manuscript is certainly closest to Vrančić's original in that, apart from being the most correct in terms of its Latin, it contains the least number of different readings in relation to the Zagreb and Sarajevo manuscripts, which indicates that the transcriber of the template accurately transcribed Vrančić's autograph in these places. We have noticed about twenty places where the readings differ significantly, and here are just a few interesting examples:

Example 1. In the autograph on f. 108v, the word *aurium* in the sentence *Capitis et colli et aurium monilia perpendenda diligentius* ("The chains on the head, neck, and ears should be considered more closely.") is problematic.¹⁹ In the Dubrovnik manuscript, its form is identical, while in the Zagreb and Sarajevo manuscripts, instead of *aurium*, the word is *navium*, which significantly changes the meaning of the sentence, or rather makes the translation meaningless.

Example 2. In the autograph on f. 78v, in the sentence *Verum quotannis eo excusso identidem illis reficitur* ("But every year after it is demolished [sc. the bridge over the river Iskar], they [sc. the inhabitants of Sofia] rebuild it."), there is an ablative absolute with the participle *excusso*.²⁰ The Dubrovnik manuscript brings it faithfully, while in the Zagreb and Sarajevo manuscripts we find the form *discenso*.

As far as additions and inversions are concerned, most of such examples appear in all three transcripts, with the Zagreb copy containing the most additions. As for inversions, the Dubrovnik copy contains one which does not appear in the Zagreb and Sarajevo transcripts. When it comes to lacunae, they are also mostly consistent in all three manuscripts, although the Zagreb manuscript again has the greatest number of them. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in the Dubrovnik manuscript there are places where whole phrases are omitted (e.g. the expression *ultra Philipopolim* on f. 90v in Vrančić's autograph) or even whole sentences (*Non tamen a religione Christiana prohibentur* on f. 87 of Vrančić's autograph), which have been retained in the Zagreb and Sarajevo manuscripts.

A comparison of the Zagreb and Sarajevo manuscripts shows that the former contains far more differences in relation to Vrančić's autograph, including a much larger number of different readings, additions, lacunae, and inversions than is the case with the Sarajevo transcript. The numerical data related to the deviations between the transcripts are shown in the table below:

¹⁹ Hungary (hereafter: HU) - Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest (hereafter: OSZK) - *Fol. Lat.* 2380, III, fol. 108v.

²⁰ Hungary (hereafter: HU) - Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest (hereafter: OSZK) - *Fol. Lat.* 422, II, fol. 78v.

	Zagreb manuscript	Sarajevo manuscript	Dubrovnik manuscript
differences in readings	158	104	78
additions	14	10	10
omissions	43	31	33
inversions	7	6	7

Comparing the autograph and the editions

A philological comparison of the autograph and the two complete editions (Fortis and Szalay) shown in Table 2 leads us to conclude the following: among the deviations from the original, we expectedly find that divergent readings are the largest in number, of which the Fortis edition contains a total of 89 and the Szalay edition markedly fewer, 65, which would indicate that the Hungarian edition is far more reliable in that respect. In the Fortis edition, frequent differences in the transcription of toponyms, hydronyms, etc. were observed, such as: *Erdevod* instead of *Erdewd* in the autograph, *Kemzeg* instead of *Kewzeg*, *Ulok* instead of *Illok*, *Handor* instead of *Nandor*, *Sarnovo* instead of *Sarnow*, *Czarevo Brod* instead of *Czarew Brod*, *Tarnavo* instead of *Tarnaw*, *Hormanles* instead of *Hormanly*, *Vatren* instead of *Vethren*, *Topoliza* instead of *Topolniza* etc.

Even though scholars researching this text by Vrančić can use both editions when it comes to these incorrect readings, challenges arise in places where they both deviate from the autograph. There are several such examples, and they may lead the reader to misunderstand the text, which may in turn result in mistranslation. The following examples illustrate this most aptly:

Example 1. In the autograph, on f. 79v, we find the sentence *Hic autem excubiae sic aguntur* (“Here guard duty is performed in the following way.”).²¹ Fortis transcribes *hic* with *hae*, which automatically changes the meaning of the sentence,²² while Szalay uses the form *haec*, which does not fit into the sentence grammatically at all.²³

Example 2. On the same folio below is the problematic reading of the adverb *quoquam* in the sentence *Viae publicae locum in montibus deligunt eminentius iminentem sic, ut et viam ipsam habeant sub oculis et latissime quoquam versus commode possit prospicere...* (“On the hilly part of the road, they chose a higher place so that they would have the road in front of their eyes and easily be able to look out very far in any direction...”).²⁴ Fortis transcribes this

²¹ HU–OSZK–Fol. Lat. 422, II, fol. 79v.

²² Fortis, *Viaggio*, XXXIII.

²³ MHH 1 (= II), 318.

²⁴ HU–OSZK–Fol. Lat. 422, II, fol. 79v.

as *quaqua*,²⁵ which does not change the meaning to any significant degree, while in the Hungarian edition we find the form *quaque*.²⁶

Example 3. The last example we will note is on f. 94v in the autograph. In the sentence *Vectus inde per multos convallium anfractus aliquot locis pro montium sinuationibus dilatatur...* (“Passing then through many winding valleys, in several places it [sc. the river Struma] expands before the meandering of the mountains...”) ²⁷ instead of *pro* in Vrančić’s manuscript, in the Fortis edition we find the preposition *per*²⁸ and in Szalay *prae*.²⁹

It should be noted that there are also differences in readings between the two editions due to grammatical or syntactic inconsistencies in the autograph, where one publisher clearly decided to present the original faithfully despite obvious syntactic ambiguities, while the other intervened in the text. What follows are some examples of such differences in readings between the two editions.

Example 1. In the autograph, on f. 107v, in the sentence *Hic saltus simili modo atque Lucauiza e Scardo instar promontorii protensum est ex Orbello in ortum...* (“This gorge, similarly to Lukavica from Skard, extends like a branch from Orbel towards the east...”),³⁰ the participle *protensum*, which is part of the predicate, should agree with its subject *hic saltus*; therefore, it should read *protensus*. Szalay resolves this *lapsus calami* from the original with the correct *protensus*,³¹ while Fortis leaves the form *protensum*.³²

Example 2. There are also reverse examples, when Fortis intervenes in the text and Szalay preserves the original from Vrančić’s autograph, like the one in the sentence on f. 89: *Accesserat, quod et pauimenta eius altius quam pro urbana mundicie et conditione temporis adeo erat luto obrutus ac fedatus...* (“This was also due to the fact that its sidewalk, more than what would correspond to the city order and weather conditions, was covered with mud and dirtied...”).³³ Fortis replaced *pavimenta* with *pavimentum* here, and the participles *obrutus* and *fedatus* with the forms *obrutum* and *foedatum*.³⁴

²⁵ Fortis, *Viaggio*, XXXIII.

²⁶ MHH 1 (= II), 318.

²⁷ HU-OSZK-Fol. Lat. 422, II, fol. 94v.

²⁸ Fortis, *Viaggio*, XLIV.

²⁹ MHH 1 (= II), 330.

³⁰ HU-OSZK-Fol. Lat. 2380, III, fol. 107v.

³¹ MHH 1 (= II), 311.

³² Fortis, *Viaggio*, XXVII.

³³ HU-OSZK-Fol. Lat. 422, II, fol. 89.

³⁴ Fortis, *Viaggio*, XL; MHH 1 (= II), 326.

As for other deviations from the autograph, the most numerous are omissions, of which there are seventeen in the Fortis edition and eleven in Szalay's. Larger lacunae have also been found in both editions, such as:

autograph	A. Fortis	autograph	L. Szalay
instituerat, pudore forsan ductus, quod destiterat, circumuehitur ³⁵	instituerat, *** circumvehitur ³⁶	Zuha Clyszura, merito et Bulgaris, etiam Rascianis Zuha Clyszura ³⁷	Zuha Clyszura *** ³⁸

In terms of frequency, these are followed by inversions – there are thirteen examples in Fortis and one in Szalay. The least numerous are additions, six of them in Fortis, and none in Szalay. The following table shows the statistical data regarding the discrepancies between the autograph and the editions:

	ed. A. Fortis	ed. L. Szalay
differences in readings	89	65
additions	6	0
omissions	17	11
inversions	13	1

Conclusion

The textual transmission of Vrančić's travelogue was certainly lively, as confirmed by the existence of one autograph and three transcripts (although part of the introduction has been omitted and part has been retold), as well as two complete and one fragmentary published editions. A philological comparison of Vrančić's autograph and the manuscripts of Mrnavić's *De Illyrico Caesaribusque Illyricis*, which quotes most of Vrančić's text in the second book, shows that all three copies are prevalently consistent in terms of different readings, additions, omissions, and inversions. Still, the closest to Vrančić's autograph is the Dubrovnik manuscript, as it contains fewer deviations from the original (primarily in terms of different readings) compared to the Zagreb and Sarajevo manuscripts. The correct readings, which are consistent in the Dubrovnik copy and in Vrančić's autograph, and the deviations we find in the same places in the Zagreb and Sarajevo copies indicate that the Dubrovnik transcriber either used another template in which Vrančić's text was more accurately transcribed, or he was more

³⁵ HU-OSZK-Fol. Lat. 2380, III, fol. 105v.

³⁶ Fortis, *Viaggio*, XXV.

³⁷ HU-OSZK-Fol. Lat. 2380, III, fol. 108.

³⁸ MHH 1 (= II), 312.

careful in his transcription in relation to the Zagreb and Sarajevo transcribers, provided that the assumption that all three transcripts were based on the same source is correct. It should be pointed out that these conclusions are based solely on the comparison of that part of the manuscript in which Vrančić's text was transcribed, and that it would certainly be necessary to compare other parts of the three transcripts in detail in order to obtain additional confirmation. The differences in the readings between Vrančić's autograph and the transcripts of the travelogue show that these are not always a result of the transcribers' negligence, but occasionally of their effort to correct Vrančić's mistakes. Thus, *Mysia* from Vrančić's autograph, which generally refers to the ancient province on the Balkan Peninsula south of the lower Danube and the lower course of the Sava and east of the Drina, is consistently transcribed in all three transcripts as *Maesia* / *Męsia* (or *Moesia*), and the name of its inhabitants *Mysi* as *Maesi* / *Męsi*. The transcribers repeatedly intervened when they found grammatical inconsistencies in the autograph, for example in the sentence *Addito illi etiam lacu in medio, quum nos ne ipsum quidem conspeximus, tanta siccitate exaruerat*,³⁹ where the word *quum* from the autograph is replaced by the correct form *quem*. Deviations from the autograph in terms of additions, omissions, and inversions are mostly consistent in all three transcripts, but they are the most numerous in the Zagreb copy. Furthermore, some lacunae can be found in the Dubrovnik manuscript that are not present in the Zagreb or Sarajevo copies. Such deviations are mostly the result of mistakes made by the transcriber.

As for the editions, the statistics based on comparing the autograph with the Fortis and Szalay editions favour the Hungarian edition, i.e. they confirm that it is certainly the Szalay edition that the readers and researchers of Vrančić's text can rely on with greater confidence. However, the fact that this edition also contains a large number of deviations from the autograph, that it was printed more than 160 years ago, and that it is not equipped with a critical apparatus indicates that there is a need to re-edit Vrančić's travelogue according to modern philological standards. The importance of this venture is self-evident if we take into account that the *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim* is a first-hand report in which Antun Vrančić documented his first diplomatic trip to Constantinople and that it is the only travelogue preserved in his literary legacy.

³⁹ HU-OSZK-Fol. Lat. 422, II, fol. 78v.

APPENDIX

Table 1. Comparison between the autograph and the transcriptions⁴⁰

	B (autograph)	Z (R 7195; transcription)	S (E-541; transcription)	D (no call number; transcription)
	92v Mysiae	121 Męsie	78 Maesiae	24 Maesiae
	92v terra	121 terram	78 terram	24 terram
	92v Sarnow	121 Sarnovo	78 Sarnovo	24 Sarnouo
	92v ac	121 a	78 a	24 a
	92v totum	121 toto	78 toto	24 totum
	93 penitius	121 penitus	78 penitus	24 penitus
	93v quod	122 per	78 per	24v quod
	94 quintae	122 quinque	78 quintae	24v quintae
	94v vocant	123 dicunt	78v dicunt	24v dicunt
	94v sit	123 ait	78v sit	24v sit
	95 tricorneam	123 tricornem	78v tricornem	24v tricornem
	95 sit condita	123 est condita	78v sit condita	24v sit condita
	95 Acuminici	123 Acuminaci	78v Acuminaci	24v Acuminaci
	95 Kamoncz	123 Kemence	78v Kemence	24v Kemence
	95 Zalonkemenum	123 Zlankamen	78v Zlankamen	24v Zlankamen

differences in readings
Fol. Lat. 2380

⁴⁰ B = Vrancić's autograph from the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár in Budapest; Z = transcript from the National and University Library in Zagreb; S = transcript from the National Museum in Sarajevo; D = transcript from the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik. Examples that deviate from the autograph are given in shaded cells. The table does not include examples in which a difference in spelling has been found (e.g. *y* instead of *i* and vice versa or *e* instead of *ae*, etc., such as *Kucievo* instead of *Kuciaevo*, which most often appear in names of toponyms, hydronyms, etc.) and those where the transcriber apparently made a careless mistake (e.g. *magnineque* instead of *magnitudineque*, etc.). Examples of the same deviations that frequently appear in the text are included in the table only once (e.g. *Mysia* from Vrancić's autograph is always *Męsia* in the Zagreb copy, and *Maesia* in the Sarajevo and the Dubrovnik copy, the place *Tarnaw* is always *Tarnavo* in the transcripts, etc.).

	<i>B</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>D</i>
differences in readings <i>Pol. Lat. 2380</i>	95v Getas	123 Pethas	79 Gethas	24v Gethas
	96 positum sit	124 positum est	79 positum est	24v positum est
	96 Mezew	124 Mezeum	79 Mezeum	24v Mezeum
	96 educere	124 ducere	79 ducere	24v ducere
	97v eiusmodi	125 huiusmodi	79v huiusmodi	25 huiusmodi
	97v illorum	125 eorum	79v eorum	25 eorum
	98v ii	126 tum	80 tum	25 tum
	98v quinam	126 quoniam	80 quinam	25 quinam
	98v imuberibus	126 puberibus	80 imuberibus	25 imuberibus
	98v emissio	126 emissione	80 emissione	25 emissione
	98v siluis	126 silvas	80 silvas	25 silvas
	99 Mysi	126 Męsi	80 Maesi	25 Maesi
	100v ac	127 et	80v ac	25 <i>illegible</i>
	104 et	128 inquit	80v inquit	25v inquit
	104 his	129 iis	82 iis	25v iis
	104 immorati	129 morati	82 morati	25v morati
	106 Nesso	130 Nisso	82 Nisso	25v Nisso
	107 longamque	131 longumque	82 longumque	25v longumque
	107v milliaria	131 millia	82 milliaria	25v milliaria
	107v protensum	131 pretensum	82v protensum	26 protensum
	108 et	131 est	82v est	26 <i>illegible</i>
108v aurium	132 navium	82v navium	26 aurium	
109v partis	132 partim	83 partim	26 partim	
109v quae	132 qui	83 qui	26 qui	
109v habent	132 habet	83 habet	26 <i>illegible</i>	
111 horarum	133 hora	83v hora	26 hora	

B		Z	S	D
111 hi	134 qui	83v qui	26 qui	
112v cubis	134 cuppis	84 cuppis	26v cuppis	
77 ab	135 vel	84 ab	26v ab	
77 pertransiimus	135 transivimus	84 transivimus	26v transivimus	
77v Ciabrus	135 Ciabri	84 Ciabrus	26v Ciabrus	
78 situ	136 situm	84v situ	26v situ	
78v verum	136 rerum	84v verum	26v verum	
78v excusso	136 disenso	84v disenso	26v excusso	
78v Tarnaw	136 Tarnavo	84v Tarnavo	26v Tarnavo	
78v quum	136 quem	84v quem	26v quem	
78v protenso	136 pertenso	84v pertenso	26v pertenso	
79 ut	136 et	84v ut	26v ut	
79 Vaccharel	136 Vacarev	85 Vacarev	26v <i>illegible</i>	
79 per	136 par	85 per	26v per	
79 coire	137 coisse	85 coisse	26v coisse	
79v et viam	137 etiam	85 etiam	26v etiam	
79v quoquam	137 quaque	85 quaque	27 quaque	
80 fortuna	137 fortunam	85 fortuna	27 fortuna	
80 Vaccharel	137 Vaccarev	85 Vacharel	27 Vacharel	
80v enitentes	137 enites	85 enitentes	27 enitentes	
80v ardua	137 arduas	85 ardua	27 ardua	
80v tota	137 toto	85 tota	27 tota	
80v milliari	137 milliario	85v milliario	27 milliari	
81 iudicio	138 inditio	85v inditio	27 iudicio	
81 Vetren	138 Vetrem	85v Vetrem	27 Vetrem	
81 supra	138 super	85v super	27 super	

Fol. Lat. 422

differences in readings

Differences in readings		Fol. Lat. 422			
B	Z	S	D		
81 protendebatur	138 protenditur	85v protenditur	27 protenditur		
81v constrata	138 constructa	85v constrata	27 constrata		
82 Graeciae	138 regionis	85v regionis	27 regionis		
82 partim	139 olim	86 olim	27 olim		
82 secure	139 securi	86 securi	27 securi		
82v etenim	139 etenim	86 etenim	27 enim		
82v maxima	139 maxime	86 maxime	27 maxime		
82v Pantaliam	139 Pantaleam	86 Pantaliam	27 Pantaliam		
82v dum	139 dumque	86 dumque	27 <i>illegible</i>		
82v circa	139 circum	86 circa	27 circa		
82v altitudinem	139 multitudinem	86 multitudinem	27 multitudinem		
83 horridaque	139 orridaque	86 horridaque	27 horridaque		
83 vocari	139 vocare	86 vocare	27 uocari		
83 a	139 in	86 in	27 in		
83v paganos	139 pagano	86v pagano	27 pagano		
83v eo	140 ipso	86v eo	27 <i>illegible</i>		
83v lenique	140 leviq̄ue	86v leviq̄ue	27 leviq̄ue		
84 elatum	140 alatum	86v elatum	27v elatum		
84 confirmaret	140 affirmaret	86v affirmaret	27v affirmaret		
84v voluerit	140 noluit	86v voluerit	27v uoluerit		
84v descriptione	140 describere	87 descriptione	27v descriptione		
85 his	141 iis	87 iis	27v iis		
85 directos	141 directus	87 directos	27v directos		
85v celebriori	141 celeriori	87 celebriori	27v celebriori		
85v conturpatum	141 conturpatus	87 conturpatus	27v conturpatus		
85v ripae	141 ripa	87 ripae	27v ripae		

differences in readings		Fol. Lat. 422			
B	Z	S	D		
85v iunctum	141 iniunctum	87 iniunctum	27v iunctum		
86 praextu	141 preextit	87v preextitit	27v <i>illegible</i>		
86v recaepit	142 recipit	87v recipit	27v recipit		
86v insigniorum	142 insigniorem	87v insigniorum	27v insigniorum		
87 utrinque	141 utrique	87v utrinque	27v utrinque		
87 fenestris	141 fenestris	87v fenestris	27v fenestris		
87 expiciat	141 respiciat	88 respiciat	27v respiciat		
87 prohibentur	141 prohiberentur	88 prohibentur	27v ***		
87 iniecto	141 iniectis	88 iniectis	27v iniectis		
87 constitissemus	141 constituissemus	88 constitissemus	27v constitissemus		
87 quomodo	141 quo	88 quo	27v quo		
87 prodiisse	141 pendiisse	88 prodiisse	27v prodiisse		
87v Rupezam	141 Rupezam	88 Rupezam	27v Rupezam		
87v aquaeductuum	141 aquaeductum	88 aquaeductum	27v aquaeductuum		
88 degenerant	143 degerant	88 degenerant	27v degenerant		
88 cauum	143 vacuum	88v vacuum	28 uacuum		
88v dedicatum	143 dicatum	88v dicatum	28 dicatum		
89 promiscueque	143 promiscuaque	88v promiscueque	28 <i>illegible</i>		
89 ac	144 et	88v ac	28 <i>illegible</i>		
89v postea	144 posteaque	89 postea	28 postea		
89v conspectum	144 conspectu	89 conspectu	28 conspectum		
90 ac	144 et	89 et	28 et		
90 ommittatur	144 ommittam	89 ommittam	28 ommittam		
90 quod	144 quo	89 quod	28 quod		
90 VIII	144 VII	89 VII	28 VIII		
90 sesqui	144 sex qui	89 sesqui	28 sesqui		

	<i>B</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>D</i>
differences in readings <i>Fol. Lat. 422</i>	90v lapidis	145 lapides	89 lapidis	28 lapidis
	90v fornicibus	145 forniculis	89 fornicibus	28 fornicibus
	90v exageratus	145 exageratis	89 exageratus	28 exageratus
	90v ingruerint	145 ingruunt	89 ingruunt	28 ingruunt
	91 et	145 etiam	89v etiam	28 etiam
	91 difficilem	145 difficile	89v difficile	28 difficilem
	91 periculosum	145 periculosum	89v periculosum	28 periculosum
	91v et Brutus cum Cassio	145 cum Bruto et Cassio	89v cum Bruto et Cassio	28 cum Bruto et Cassio
	91v tumulorum	145 cumulorum	89v cumulorum	28 cumulorum
	91v erectorum	145 evectorum	89v evectorum	28 erectorum
	91v ut	145 et	89v ut	28 ut
	91v III.	146 quarto	89v quarto	28 quarto
	92 quod	146 quid	89v quid	28 <i>illegible</i>
	92 huc	146 huic	89v huic	28 <i>illegible</i>
	92 esset	146 esse	90 esset	28 esset
	93 amnem	146 autem	90 amnem	28v amnem
	93 sententiam	147 sententia	90 sententia	28v sententiam
	93v astipulatur	147 astipulat	90 astipulat	28v adstipulat
	94 curiculo	147 vinculo	90v vinculo	28v uinculo
	94 oram	147 horam	90v oram	28v oram
94 attribuunt	147 attribuunt	90v attribuunt	28v attribuunt	
94 Tonza	147 Toncia	90v Toncia	28v Toncia	
94 Athyra	147 Atlyra	90v Atlyra	28v Athyra	
94 ut	147 et	90v ut	28v ut	
94v ante	148 antea	90v antea	28v ***	
94v pro	148 per	90 per	28v per	

	<i>B</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>D</i>
differences in readings	95 detinetur	148 detinent	91 detinent	28v <i>illegible</i>
	95 pergrata	148 pergrata	91 pergrata	28v pergrata
	95 uti	148 ubi	91 ubi	28v uti
	95 dimittit	148 demittit	91 demittit	28v demittit
	96 maiore	149 maior	91 maior	28v maior
	96 receipt	149 recipit	91 recipit	29 receipt
	96v Tabaclar	149 Tabachar	91v Tabachar	29 Tabachar
	97 easque	149 eaque	91v easque	29 easque
	97 alluit	150 aliud	91v alluit	29 alluit
	97v Hormanly	150 Hormaly	91v Hormaly	29 Hormanly
	98 Zagarensi	150 Zagaresi	92 Zagaresi	29 Zagaresi
	98 is	151 his	92 his	29 is
	98 Zagarensis	151 Zagarev	92 Zagarev	29 Zagarensis
	98v Ciermenium	151 Citumenium	92 Ciermenium	29 Ciermenium
	94v sit	123 sit ut	78v sit	24v sit
	100 dictusque,	127 dictusque, est	80v dictusque, est	25 dictusque, est
	104v Ptolomei	129 Ptolomei descriptionem	81 Ptolomei descriptionem	25v Ptolomei descriptionem
	77v nobis	135 nobis in	84 nobis	26v nobis
	78 niuium	136 nivium tumescit	84v nivium tumescit	26v niuium tumescit
79 non	136 non adeo	84v non adeo	26v non adeo	
79 milliaria	136 milliaria passuum	85 milliaria	26v milliaria	
85v emporiolium	141 emporiolium Tartaricum	87 emporiolium Tartaricum	27v emporiolium Tartaricum	
86 Ploudin	141 Ploudin Zolnanda Pulandena	87v Ploudin Zolnanda Pulandena	27v Ploudin Zornanda Pulandena	
90v sed	145 sed ex	89 sed ex	28 sed et	
91v III.	146 quarto Eneados dum	89v quarto Aeneidos dum	28 quarto Aeneidos dum	
additions	<i>Fol. Lat. 422</i>			
	<i>Fol. Lat. 2380</i>			
	<i>Fol. Lat. 422</i>			
	<i>Fol. Lat. 422</i>			

	<i>B</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>D</i>	
additions	91v Pollydori	146 Pollydori agit	89v Pollydori agit	28 Pollydori agit	
	92v Macedonia	146 Macedonia scribit	90 Macedonia scribit	28v Macedonia scribit	
	93 Neapolim	147 Neapolim et	90 Neapolim	28v Neapolim	
	93v altum sit	122 altum ***	78 altum ***	24v altum ***	
	94 aperiam Claudii	122 aperiam ***	78v aperiam ***	24v aperiam ***	
	94 quamquam et	122 quamquam ***	78v quamquam et	24v quamquam et	
	95 Danubium perfacile	123 Danubium ***	79 Danubium perfacile	24v Danubium perfacile	
	95 quemadmodum et	123 quemadmodum ***	79 quemadmodum ***	24v quemadmodum ***	
	97 pergentes tractu	125 pergentes ***	79 pergentes ***	25 pergentes ***	
	97v alios ex ultima venisse Thracia, alios ex Asia, tamque extime ad confinia	125 alios ***	79v alios ***	25 alios ***	
	98 erat caeteris	126 erat ***	80 erat ***	25 erat ***	
	98 Ciganos, sive Cinganos	126 Ciganos ***	80 Ciganos***	25 Ciganos ***	
	98v sequebantur, lamentabiles voces edentes et	126 sequebantur, ***	80 sequebantur, *** et	25 sequebantur, ***	
	omissions	99 quique prius	126 quique ***	80 quique ***	25 quique ***
99 nunc iam		126 nunc ***	80 nunc ***	25 nunc ***	
99v Brancio alterum		126 Brancio ***	80 Brancio ***	25 Brancio ***	
100 Rasgni nuncupatum		127 Rasgni ***	80v Rasgni ***	25 Rasgni ***	
101v intellectum, ut etiam		128 intellectum, ***	82 intellectum, ***	25 intellectum, ***	
101v Sexta inde		128 Sexta ***	82 Sexta ***	25 Sexta ***	
102 memoriae causa et tuae benevolentiae		128 memoriae ***	82 memoriae ***	25 memoriae ***	
108 vero ulterius		131 vero ***	82v vero ulterius	26 vero ulterius	
108 peragrati venimus		131 peragrati ***	82v peragrati venimus	26 peragrati uenimus	
Fol. Lat. 422					
Fol. Lat. 2380					

	B	Z	S	D
	108v loquendum est	132 loquendum ***	82v loquendum est	26 loquendum est
	77 ipsa urbe	135 ipsa ***	84 ipsa ***	26v ipsa ***
	78 Chrysis nostro	136 Chrysiso ***	84v Chrysiso ***	26v Chrysiso ***
	78 appellat Chrysiium	136 appellat ***	84v appellat ***	26v appellat ***
	79 periculo rotarum	136 periculo ***	84v periculo rotarum	26v periculo rotarum
	79v officium est	137 officium ***	85 officium ***	27 officium ***
	80 commiserint, aeque penis multantur, ac si ipsi re vera commississent	137 commiserint. ***	85 commiserint, aeque poenis multantur, ac si ipsi re vera commississent	27 commiserint, aeque poenis multantur, ac si ipsi re vera commississent
	80 die post	137 die ***	85 die ***	27 die ***
	80v mox in	137 mox ***	85 mox in	27 mox in
	80v quam pro	138 quam ***	85v quam ***	27 quam ***
	81 supra etiam	138 super ***	85v super etiam	27 super etiam
	82 Philippopolim, aut Trimontium	139 Philippopolim ***	86 Philippopolim ***	27 Philippopolim ***
	82v ubique aliis	139 ubique ***	86 ubique ***	27 illegible
	84v belli gerendi	140 belli ***	86v belli ***	27v belli ***
	84v XIII. Augusti	140 XIII. ***	86v XIII. ***	27v XIII. ***
	86v hospitia, quae	142 hospitia, quę	87v hospitia, quae	27v hospitia, ***
	86v obscuriora, ne inhabitanda hominibus	142 obscuriora, ***	87v obscuriora, ***	27v obscuriora, ***
	87 Non tamen a religione Christiana prohibentur.	141 Non tamen a religione Christiana prohiberentur.	88 Non tamen a religione Christiana prohibentur.	27v ***
	87v interfluat? Respondit	142 interfluat? ***	88 interfluat? ***	27v interfluat? ***
	90v Topolniza ultra Philippopolim	145 Topolniza ***	89 Topolniza ***	28 Topolniza ***

Fol. Lat. 422

omissions

	<i>B</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>D</i>
omissions	92 aequora. Est et in VI.	146 aequora.***	89v aequora.***	28 aequora.***
	92 iniiciebat, qui	146 iniiciebat, ***	90 iniiciebat, qui	28 iniiciebat, qui
	93 sententiam it	147 sententia ***	90 sententia ***	28v sententiam ***
	94 oram hanc	147 horam ***	90v oram hanc	28v oram hanc
	94v iam a nobis ante	148 iam a nobis antea	90v iam a nobis antea	28v iam***
	97 quidam authores	150 quidam ***	91v quidam ***	29 quidam ***
	98 quo iam	150 quo ***	91v quo iam	29 quo iam
	95 facile audeo	123 audeo facile	78v audeo facile	24v audeo facile
	96 duo etiam	124 etiam duo	79 etiam duo	24v etiam duo
	104 ibidem immorati	128 morati ibidem	82 morati ibidem	25v morati ibidem
inversions	110 alligamus accipitribus	133 accipitribus alligamus	83 accipitribus alligamus	26 accipitribus alligamus
	80v Vetren posteriori	137 posteriori Vetrem	85v posteriori Vetrem	27 posteriori Vetren
	85 est impositus	141 est impositus	87 est impositus	27v impositus est
	87v se a	143 a se	88 se a	27v se a
	90 ne quid ommittatur, quod... pertineat	144 ne quid, quod... pertineat, ommittatur	89 ne quid, quod... pertineat, ommittatur	28 ne quid, quod... pertineat, ommittatur

Table 2. Comparison between the autograph and the editions

differences in readings		autograph	ed. A. Fortis (1774)	autograph	ed. L. Szalay (MHH 1, 1857)
<i>Fol. Lat. 2380</i>					
81 huiusmodi	V eiusmodi			81 etiam	288 et
81v desineret	VI desisteret			81 quibusdam	288 quibus clam
81v naszadis	VI hassadis			83 navigantibus	290 navigantes
83 Erdewd	VI Erdevod			84 milliarum	291 millium
83 Kewzeg	VII Kemzeg			84v occurit	291 apparuit
83 Orbasziorum	VII Orbassinorum			85v mutuoque	292 et mutuo
83 supra	VII super			88 sitas	294 sitae
84v Illok	VIII Ulok			89 perinde	295 proinde
84v quod	VIII quia			90 turribus et	296 turribusque
87 loco	IX situ			93 arbore	298 arborum
87 post	X posteriori			93 duum	298 duorum
89 facta	XII factum			93 apertis	299 opertis
89v eum	XII eam			93v quam	299 quod
89v tractum	XII noctem			94v praeterquam	300 praetereoque
89v meridie	XII meridiem			95 haberi	300 habere
90 orientem	XIII occidentem			96v Jeszenizam	302 Jeszenizae
90v copulatam	XIII computatam			96v situm	302 situs
91v cognosci	XIV cognoscere			97 ita	302 ubi
91v Nandor	XIV Handor			98 flumen	303 fluvium
92v Sarnow	XV Sarnovo			98v colla	303 collo
93 cuiuspiam	XV cuiusdam			98v emissio	303 emissione
95 et	XVI ut			100 memorant	305 memoratur
96v cetera	XVIII ceterum			101v viatore	306 viatorum
97 capta est	XVIII caperetur			105 in tabula 20	309 in tabula N.
<i>Fol. Lat. 2380</i>					

differences in readings		Fol. Lat. 422		Fol. Lat. 422		ed. I. Szalay	
autograph	ed. A. Fortis	autograph	ed. A. Fortis	autograph	ed. I. Szalay	autograph	ed. I. Szalay
78v quidam	XXXII quidem	90 quod		90 quod	327 quia		
78v conspeximus	XXXII conspexerimus	92 postquam		92 postquam	327 postque		
78v eum	XXXII eo	92 dum		92 dum	327 quum		
79 fusa est	XXXIII fuga est	93 sententiam		93 sententiam	329 sententia		
79v hic	XXXIII hae	93v scripserit		93v scripserit	329 scripsit		
79v quoquam	XXXIII quaqua	94v pro		94v pro	330 prae		
80 superantur	XXXIII superentur	95v conspicuus		95v conspicuus	331 conspicuis		
80 custodit	XXXIII custodiat	96 recepit		96 recepit	332 recipit		
81 supra	XXXIV super	96v quoniam		96v quoniam	332 quum		
82 Graecorumne	XXXV Graecorum	96v producendam		96v producendam	332 producendum		
83 quod	XXXV quia	97 via		97 via	332 vita		
83 utrique	XXXVI utrinque	97v sortitus		97v sortitus	333 sortitum		
83v Vethren	XXXVI Vtren	97v aridis		97v aridis	333 arduis		
84 elatum	XXXVI elatam	98 Bessica		98 Bessica	333 Bessira		
85 ac	XXXVII et	98v Gergoua		98v Gergoua	334 Gergona		
85v Philippos	XXXVII Philippo						
85v quae	XXXVII qui						
85v etiam	XXXVII et						
86v coecae	XXXVIII coeca						
87 expiciat	XXXVIII expicit						
87v nunc	XXXIX modo						
88 degenerant	XXXIX degenerent						
88 quam primum	XXXIX quum primum						
88v sumitates	XXXIX summita es						
89v transiur	XL transitu						
90v exageratus	XLI exageratum						

	autograph	ed. A. Fortis	autograph	ed. L. Szalay
differences in readings	91v insigium	XLII illustrium		
	91v etiam	XLII et		
	93v Solinusque	XLIII Solinus, qui		
	93v quae	XLIII quia		
	94 veteres	XLIV veterum		
	94v ante	XLIV antea		
	94v qui	XLIV quod		
	94v pro	XLIV per		
	95v sinistram	XLV sinistra		
	97 foedatur	XLVI foedetur		
97 id	XLVI hoc			
97v Hormanly	XLVII Hormanles			
98v expositionem	XLVII positionem			
additions	81 XXI. Iulii	V vigesima prima Iulii MDLII		
	81 auditi	V auditi, qui		
	86 arx	IX arx quondam		
	99v Brancieuo	XX Brancieuo, seu		
	78v nec	XXXII nec in		
	81v Graecos	XXXIV Graecos et		
	81v sui non	VI sui ***		85v ditonem suam 292 ditonem ***
	81v ipse scilicet	VI ipse***		86 memorata erat 293 memorata ***
	82 natura aquis	VIII natura ***		96 Turcae excurrere, aut exercitum educere 301 Turcae excurrere, ***
	85 quarto hic	IX quarto ***		96 una atque 301 una ***
95 affirmare etiam	XVII affirmare ***		100 pagus situs 304 pagus ***	
98v quam quae	XIX quam ***		108 Zuha Clysura, merito et Bulgaris, etiam Rascianis Zuha Clysura 312 Zuha Clysura ***	
omissions			Fol. Lat. 2380	

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Diana Sorić*
Teuta Serreqi Jurić**

Tekstualna transmisija putopisa Antuna Vrančića *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*

Sažetak

U sklopu književne produkcije hrvatskog humanista, diplomata i prelata Antuna Vrančića (1504. – 1573.) nalazi se putopis *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*, koji je nastao kao svjedočanstvo Vrančićeve prve carigradske misije 1553.-1557. godine u koju je bio poslan po nalogu cara Ferdinanda I. (1503. – 1564.). Spis je sačuvan u autografu i u trima primjercima rukopisa u sklopu geografsko-historijskog djela *De Illyrico Caesaribusque Illyricis* hrvatskog humanista Ivana Tomka Mrnavića (1580. – 1637.) te je dvaput objavljen, u 18. i 19. stoljeću. U radu se na temelju saznanja do kojih su autorice došle radeći na pripremi kritičkog izdanja tog Vrančićeva teksta daje uvid u tekstualnu transmisiju djela *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*. Filološka usporedba autografa i sačuvanih prijepisa daje odgovor na pitanje koji je primjerak najbliži Vrančićevu izvorniku, dok usporedba autografa i izdanja ukazuje na to kako je nedovoljna pouzdanost postojećih izdanja za jezično-stilske ili historiografske interpretacije zbog grešaka koje se u njima prenose i ugrožavaju čitanje teksta, uz nedostatak kritičkoga izdanja, dovoljan razlog za novu filološku obradu toga Vrančićeva djela prema načelima suvremene neolatinistike.

Ključne riječi: Antun Vrančić, *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*, putopis, humanizam, tekstualna transmisija

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