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THE MANUSCRIPT MISFORTUNES OF ILIJA CRIJEVIĆ

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Abstract: The poetry of the greatest Ragusan humanist poet, Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cervinus, 1463-1520), has been published in print only recently. This might prompt the conclusion that there was no particular interest in his oeuvre in the past. The survival of the voluminous autographs of Crijević in the Vatican Library seems to have resulted in the scholarly neglect of the manuscript tradition of his works that developed in his native city from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. This manuscript tradition is studied in this essay with the aim of showing that for several centuries Crijević's works were not only copied but that the text was also critically edited. Particular attention will be devoted to the labors of Ivan Marija Matijašević (1714-1791), who pioneered the systematic research on Crijević's texts, as well as to those of Antun Agić (1753-1830), who prepared a manuscript edition of his poetry. Once identified and connected, Agić's scattered manuscript papers provide an invaluable guide to the history of the reception of Crijević's texts in Dubrovnik and beyond. The essay also identifies the hitherto unknown autograph letter Crijević sent to Prince Ferdinand of Naples and establishes that the manuscript dedicated to Paolo Orsini is similarly the poet's autograph. The result of the research underpinning the essay is the list at its end, providing the most complete account so far of the surviving manuscripts of Crijević's works.

Keywords: Dubrovnik, Ilija Crijević, Antun Agić, Ivan Marija Matijašević, humanism, manuscript, autograph

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This article was originally published in Croatian as »Rukopisni udes Ilije Crijevića.« *Colloquia Maruliana* 30 (2021): pp. 173-204. In my uncertain and often difficult journey through the complicated landscape of the Crijević manuscript tradition I was helped immensely, this time as always, by the knowledge and the judicious advice of Ivan Lupić: *Gratias ago tibi*. He has also very kindly translated this essay into English; he wishes to thank Misha Teramura for reading through the translation and for suggesting improvements.

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1.

Fate has, from early on, treated the literary remains of the most distinguished Ragusan humanists in very different ways, starting with those of the theologian and philosopher Ivan Stojković (c. 1390-1443), whose autograph orations, letters and treatises—over one hundred in number—still lie unpublished, while his most important work, *Tractatus de Ecclesia*, was published only in 1983.¹ For the entire generation of humanists that followed Stojković, born in the first half of the fifteenth century, we depend exclusively on the meagre testimonies of the contemporaries phrased as conventional expressions of praise. The poems of Giovanni Lorenzo Regini, the Ragusan notary and teacher from Feltre, thus allow us only to speculate—with various degrees of certainty—that during his sojourn in the city poetry was written by Vuk Bobaljević, Pasko and Nikola Rastić, Junije Gradić, Stjepan Gučetić, and Frano Beneša, but of these only Nikola Rastić (c. 1418-1454) is an author of an actually surviving text.²

Although no works today survive from the pen of Petar Menčetić or Anđel Martinušić, writers born in the middle and in the second half of the fifteenth

¹ Stojković's autographs are today held in the Basel University Library; they are listed in Aloysius Krchňák, *De vita et operibus Ioannis de Ragusio*. Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontific[ia]e Universitatis Lateranensis, 1960: pp. 51-91.

² The surviving text is a letter preserved in two different copies; see Neven Jovanović, »Nicolai Restis Ragusini ad Franciscum Barbarum epistula (a. 1451)«, in: *Classical Heritage from the Epigraphic to the Digital: Academia Ragusina 2009 & 2011*, ed. Irena Bratičević and Teo Radić. Zagreb: Ex libris, 2014: pp. 169-180. Following Kukuljević some scholars note that a codex containing Nikola Rastić's poems was kept in the Benedictine monastery of St. Jacob, near Dubrovnik, but Kukuljević misconstrued what he found in Slade, who in fact writes about a codex containing the poems of Giovanni Lorenzo Regini although he mentions it in an entry devoted to Rastić; see Sebastijan Slade, *Fasti litterario-Ragusini / Dubrovačka književna kronika*, ed. Pavao Knezović. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001: p. 50; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, »Marko Marulić i njegovo doba«, in: *Pjesme Marka Marulića*, ed. Vatroslav Jagić and Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski. [Stari pisci hrvatski, I]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1869: p. XL; Ivan Ostojić, »Benediktinci i benediktinski samostani na prostoru Dubrovačke nadbiskupije«, in: *Benediktinci na području Dubrovačke nadbiskupije*, ed. Želimir Puljić and Marijan Sivrić. Dubrovnik: Dubrovačka biskupija, 2010: p. 158; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 6: *Odabrane biografije (Pi–Z)*. Zagreb–Dubrovnik: HAZU, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2015: p. 135. The Regini codex was discussed and partly published by Rešetar, who received it on loan from Dubrovnik; see Milan Rešetar, »Pjesme Ivana Lovra Regina, dubrovačkoga kancelara XV. vijekax«. *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 3 (1901): pp. 1-43. This codex has since disappeared. [After the Croatian version of this article was published, the Regini codex suddenly emerged again in Dubrovnik: see Borna Treska, »U Dubrovniku pronađen rukopis najstarije pjesničke zbirke na slavenskom jugu«. *Vijenac* 745 (22 September 2022): pp. 12-13.]

century, and although the larger part of the oeuvre of the celebrated Ivan Gučetić (1451-1502) has perished, the general situation is much better and material witnesses more numerous. We thus have works that survive exclusively in early print editions, such as Karlo Pucić's poetry collection *Elegiarum libellus de laudibus Gnesae puellae* (Vicenza, 1499), Frano Lucijan Gundulić's prose narrative *Baptistinus* (Venice, c. 1500), Jakov Bunić's biblical epic *De vita et gestis Christi* and his shorter poems (Rome, 1526),³ while on the other hand there are works surviving only in manuscript form and still unpublished: *Libellus de contentione super pace Venetorum cum magno Turco* by Matej Ranjina or the Latin translation of Xenophon's *Anabasis* by Miho Celije Gradić.⁴ We have authors whose works appeared in early editions, but whose autograph manuscripts have also survived, as for instance Feliks Petančić and Ludovik Crijević Tuberon.⁵ Finally, there are authors with almost entire oeuvres surviving in manuscript and published in print for the first time only in the last century. Among them are the two most prolific poets of Ragusan humanism, Ilija Crijević (1463-1520) and Damjan Beneša (c. 1476-1539). Both of them lived to see published in print only a handful of their epigrams, while both left behind large codices containing for the most part fair copies of their texts and designed, it seems, to define their legacies as authors. In Beneša's case this is indisputable, as he organized his works into two autograph manuscripts and, having copied into one of them his epic poem *De morte Christi* (today MS ZKD 4) and into the other his shorter poems (today MS AMB 78), stated at the end of the second volume his intention to have both the epic and the shorter poems printed.⁶ The plan never materialized. The afterlife of his autograph

³ Regarding the manuscript witnesses of Bunić's earlier work, the epyllion *De raptu Cerberi*, see Neven Jovanović, »Tri rukopisa *De raptu Cerberi* Dubrovčanina Jakova Bunića (1469-1534)«. *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina* 2.2 (2006): pp. 209-215.

⁴ A presentation copy of Ranjina's treatise is today held in the Vatican Library (MS Vat. lat. 4858), while a copy of Gradić's translation of Xenophon is held in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (MS Phill. 1900).

⁵ An autograph copy of Petančić's *Historia Turcica* is held as MS Solger 31.2 in the Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek and his *Genealogia Turcorum imperatorum*, in its shorter version, as MS Lat. 378 in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár in Budapest, while Tubero's autograph *Commentarii de temporibus suis* are held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, MS Lat. X, 155 (=3620).

⁶ Damjan Beneša, *Poemata*, ed. Vlado Rezar. Split: Književni krug, Marulianum, 2017: p. 320. When citing libraries and collections in which individual manuscripts are held I use the following abbreviations: AMB – Arhiv Male braće, Dubrovnik (Archives of the Franciscan Monastery, Dubrovnik); BNCF – Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence; DAD – Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku (State Archives of Dubrovnik); NSK – Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb (National and University Library, Zagreb); ÖNB – Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; ZKD – Znanstvena knjižnica, Dubrovnik (Research Library, Dubrovnik).

manuscripts, mislaid until the late eighteenth century—for example, his works were completely unknown to the otherwise extremely well-informed Saro Crijević (1686-1759)—has recently been traced by Vlado Rezar, who has also described the crucial and pioneering role played by the Franciscan friar Antun Agić (1753-1830) in the editing of Beneša's works.⁷ By following Rezar's admirable example I offer in this essay a contribution to the reconstruction of the fortunes and the misfortunes of the literary remains of Ilija Crijević in Dubrovnik in the course of several centuries.

2.

Almost all of Crijević's known works, in verse as well as in prose, are assembled in two autograph volumes today preserved in the Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) under the shelf-marks Vat. lat. 1678 and Vat. lat. 2939. Before the Vatican volumes are discussed, however, it will be advisable to mention here the handful of Crijević's works known from other sources and not included in the Vatican manuscripts. Among these are several shorter texts printed during Crijević's lifetime: three epigrams published in the first edition of Juraj Dragišić's *De natura angelica* (Florence, 1499), a prose epistle addressed to Šiško Đurđević alongside two epigrams printed with Dragišić's *oratio funebris* dedicated to Šiško's father Junije Đurđević (Venice/Florence?, 1499/1500?), and finally an epigram in praise of Frano Lucijan Gundulić's prose narrative *Baptistinus*, published in Venice around 1500. The poems not featured in the Vatican manuscripts were registered already by Antun Agić, Crijević's early nineteenth-century editor, who in addition to the poems already mentioned copied into his own manuscript collection of Crijević's verse a hexametric poem entitled *Votum pro pontifice aegrotante*, which he had found in Zlatarić's manuscript of Crijević's works (on which more below), as well as an epigram carved into the northern wall of the atrium of the Sponza Palace in Dubrovnik and signed with the initials Æ. L. C. P. L. (Aelius Lampridius Cervinus poeta laureatus). The manuscript poetry collection of the Hvar humanist Pavao Paladinić contains a copy of an epigram sent to Paladinić by Crijević in which the

⁷ Vlado Rezar, »Književna ostavština Damjana Beneše«, in: Damjan Beneša, *De morte Christi*, ed. Vlado Rezar. Zagreb: Ex libris, 2006: pp. [11]-40; Vlado Rezar, »De Damiani Benessae scriptis«, in: D. Beneša, *Poemata*: pp. 11-21.

latter praises the former's poetic gifts.⁸ Further wanting from the Vatican manuscripts is the elegy Crijević addressed to Isabella d'Este of Mantua which he accompanied with a short prose epistle, but both texts survive in the original presentation manuscript the poet sent to Isabella, held today in the Biblioteca Comunale in Mantua under the shelf-mark MS 77 (A. III. 13). On the other hand, MS Vat. lat. 1678 does include the long hexametric poem dedicated to the condottiero Paolo Orsini, but not the preceding prose dedication, which is found today in the presentation copy preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (Fondo Magliabechiano Cl. VII, 203). Finally, this list ought to include a text previously unknown to scholars of Crijević: a short prose epistle accompanying Crijević's elegy addressed to Ferdinand, the future king of Naples (from 1495 to 1496). The elegy itself is preserved in MS Vat. lat. 1678, but it is especially interesting that it is also preserved as part of Crijević's original letter, which was later included by Johannes Sambucus in his large manuscript miscellany, today held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (Cod. 9977), and thus saved for posterity.

The bulk of Crijević's oeuvre is preserved, however, in the two Vatican manuscripts, of which the first one, MS Vat. lat. 1678, contains the majority of his poetic output. This codex records over 8200 verses making up 201 poems: elegies, epigrams, hexametric poems, hymns, odes, and epyllions, with only one short prose text—a preface to one of the elegies. The texts are grouped into four books and, as Novaković discusses in detail in the introduction to his edition of the manuscript, no organizing principle can be discerned, either thematic, generic, or chronological.⁹ The only notable thing is that the fourth book is significantly longer than the preceding three. The other Vatican manuscript, Vat. lat. 2939, distributes the texts in a similar manner: poems and prose texts are mixed, rarely titled, introduced without any respect for chronology. This manuscript contains around 3000 verses and around thirty prose compositions of varying length, i.e., orations, letters, and school lectures.

Apart from the problem of internal organization, the Vatican manuscripts raise further intriguing questions touched upon by previous students of Crijević's

⁸ Sante Graciotti, *Il petrarchista dalmata Paolo Paladini e il suo canzoniere (1496)*. Rome: Società dalmata di storia patria, 2005: p. 178. The manuscript in question is *Pauli Paladini Pharii apud Tarentum habita oratio [Dityrambi et epigrammata]*, Valencia, Universitat de Valencia, Biblioteca Històrica, MS 132.

⁹ Darko Novaković, »Autografi Ilije Crijevića (I): Vat. lat. 1678«. *Hrvatska književna baština* 3 (2004): p. 18.

oeuvre: the dating of the manuscripts, the moment when they were taken out of Dubrovnik and placed in the Vatican Library, their original purpose, and finally the identification of the hand that inscribed them. Regarding the question of the hand, the scholarly opinion that has prevailed is that both manuscripts are Crijević's autographs. The claim was first made by Zabughin and soon endorsed by Sola.¹⁰ Praga rejected the claim, while Škunca, the author of the only full-scale monograph devoted to Crijević, accepted it. After initial doubts, the claim was also endorsed by Nevenić Grabovac and Novaković. In an essay that drew attention to a manuscript commonplace book featuring in its title the statement "Aelii Lampridii Cervini Epidaurii poete laureati," Praga argued that the commonplace book must be autograph because it was put together early, when Crijević was still too young to afford a scribe. From this followed the conclusion that the Vatican manuscripts cannot be autograph, as their ductus is notably different from the ductus of the commonplace book.¹¹ Although at first sharing Praga's doubts about the autograph status of the Vatican manuscripts, Darinka Nevenić Grabovac changed her mind when, as she reports, Miroslav Pantić furnished her with copies of Crijević's autograph letter addressed to Marin Bunić, preserved in the State Archives of Dubrovnik (today no. 281 in the *Litterae privatae* series, *Miscellanea saec. XVI*).¹² Škunca was unfamiliar with Crijević's letter to Bunić, but he knew the Mantuan codex, mentioned above, which features Crijević's epistle to Isabella d'Este in which he explicitly states that the elegy he dedicates to her was inscribed by his own hand ("raptim haec ex archetypo exscripsi"). After comparing the Mantuan codex with the Vatican manuscripts, Škunca concluded that both Vatican manuscripts were inscribed by Crijević. Finally, while at first Novaković advised caution in attributing MS Vat. lat. 1678 to Crijević, prompted by the scribal errors he identified in it, he gradually accepted the prevailing view and stressed the crucial evidentiary role played by Crijević's letter to Bunić as well as the importance

¹⁰ Vladimiro Zabughin, »Elio Lampridio Cerva«. *Dalmazia Italiana, Nuovo Convito* 4 (1919): p. 104; Giuseppe Nicolò Sola, »Aelii Lampridii Cervini operum latinorum pars prior. Prefazione«. *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 16 (1934): p. 526.

¹¹ Giuseppe Praga, »Il Lexicon di Elio Lampridio Cerva«. *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 19 (1935): pp. 271-272. Precisely because the Vatican manuscripts are today considered to be autographs, the attribution of the *Lexicon* to Crijević is brought into question; Darko Novaković, »Crijević, Ilija«. *Leksikon hrvatskih pisaca*, ed. Dunja Fališevac, Krešimir Nemeč and Darko Novaković. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2000: p. 137.

¹² The text of the letter, together with the reproduction of the original document, has been published in: Irena Bratičević, »Knjiga i čitanje u pismima Ilije Crijevića Marinu Buniću«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 21 (2012): pp. 69-88.

of the significant scholarly consensus that both MS Vat. lat. 1678 and MS Vat. lat. 2939 are Crijević's autographs.¹³

In addition to the four autograph manuscripts already mentioned, we can today speak with certainty—and I share this view with Ivan Lupić—of two more autographs by Crijević. One is a parchment codex containing Crijević's dedicatory epistle and a long poem addressed to Paolo Orsini (BNCF Magl. Cl. VII, 203), evidently prepared as the author's gift to the addressee.¹⁴ The other manuscript, previously unknown to scholars, is a letter to Ferdinand, Prince of Naples, preserved in its original form and bound as part of a miscellaneous codex assembled by Johannes Sambucus (ÖNB Cod. 9977, ff. 84-87). The Sambucus codex is a collection of scribal copies and, more often, autographs featuring a variety of authors, such as Gabriele Altilio, who was in fact Ferdinand's teacher, Jacopo Sannazaro, Peter Lotich the Younger, Ianus Pannonius, Sambucus himself, and others. Crijević's letter is a single bifolium. The recto of the first leaf contains the epistle addressed to the Prince, consisting of 10 lines of prose, and 14 verses from the elegy (Figure 1), while the verso contains the remaining 20 verses and the valediction "Vale fauste ac feliciter Militiæ decus." The other leaf contains only the address inscribed on its verso: "Illustrissimo Ferdinando principi / Campano Regio Nepoti / Inuicissimi Ducis Ca/ labryæ Filio Salutem Dicit / SINGULARI / Teathe," while the lower section of the leaf preserves traces of the wax seal.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the paper is damaged and the text cannot be deciphered in its entirety. The date is also undecipherable, but the poem is dated to 1485, and thus to Crijević's early career, because that is when Ferdinand stayed in Chieti (Teathe).¹⁶

We thus have access to Crijević's autographs from different periods of his life. In the context of manuscript studies as a field, all of them constitute extremely

¹³ Darinka Nevenić Grabovac, »Poema Ilije Crijevića *De Epidauro*«. *Živa antika* 20 (1970): p. 249; Stanislaus Škunca, *Aelius Lampridius Cervinus, poeta Ragusinus (Saec. XV)*. Rome: Edizioni Franciscane, 1971: p. 7; Darko Novaković, »Dubrovnik – Verona – Basel: Tri priloga za recepcijski dokumentarij *Institucijek*«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 4 (1995): p. 15, n. 6; D. Novaković, »Autografi Ilije Crijevića«. p. 12. Digital reproductions of Crijević's manuscripts in the Vatican Library are accessible online via the following links: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1678 and https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.2939

¹⁴ The codex was known to Škunca, but he is silent on the identity of the scribe; S. Škunca, *Aelius Lampridius Cervinus*: pp. 8, 144.

¹⁵ The cursive here indicates either the abbreviated or the superscripted letters. MS ÖNB Cod. 9977 is described in: *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, ed. Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis, vol. 6. Vienna: Gerold, 1873: pp. 117-123.

¹⁶ S. Škunca, *Aelius Lampridius Cervinus*: pp. 88-89.

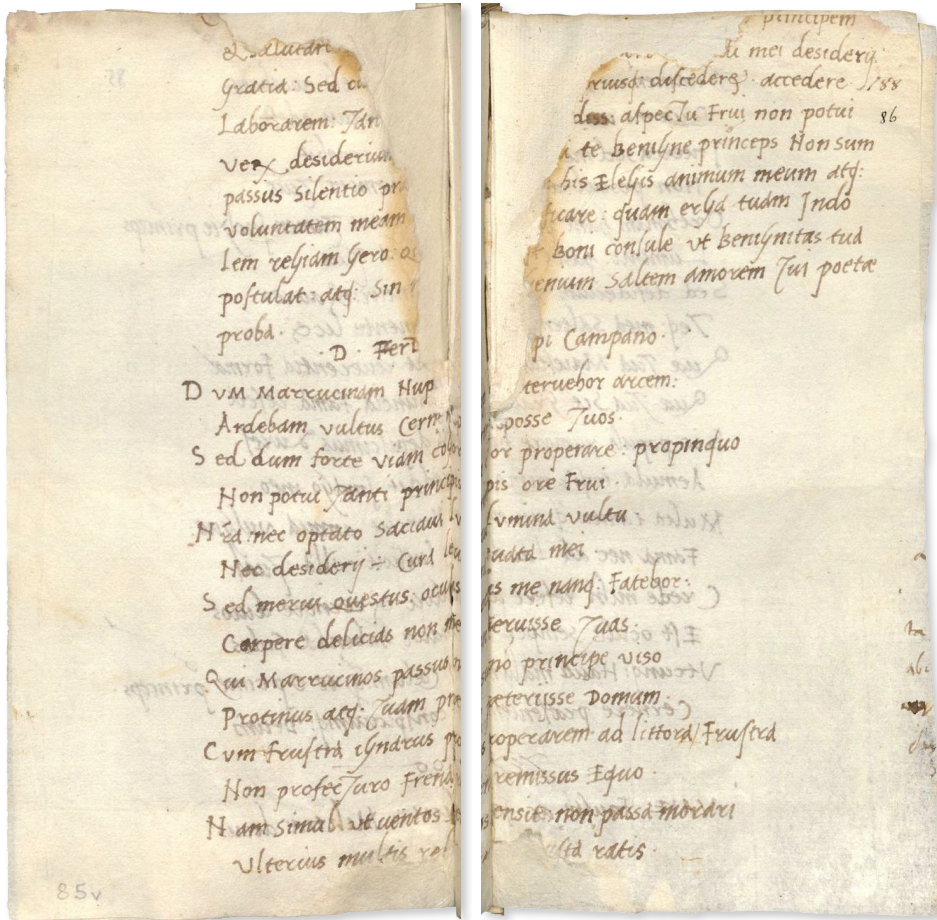


Figure 1: Ilija Crijević's letter addressed to Ferdinand, Prince of Naples; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 9977, ff. 85v-86r.

valuable material deserving to be studied separately and in detail, with attention being paid to the variations, complexities, and mutations of Crijević's ductus over time, depending on the speed of writing, the kind of text being inscribed, and the kind and purpose of the surviving document. It is possible that other Crijević manuscripts will be discovered, not just other autographs of Crijević's works but his own copies of works composed by his contemporaries or by ancient authors. For now, on the basis of the appearance of the hand copying MS Vat. lat. 2939, especially in its initial sections, I think that Crijević could also be the scribe of the codex containing the earliest surviving Latin version of Xenophon's *Anabasis*,

translated by the Ragusan Miho Celije Gradić (died 1527) and today held in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (MS Phill. 1900).¹⁷

It is not widely known that the first person who tackled the problem of Crijević's autographs was Antun Agić, who at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century thoroughly and systematically studied, copied, and edited Crijević's oeuvre. With limited research opportunities and working within a different research culture, Agić was only familiar with the Vatican manuscripts and not with any other Crijević manuscripts from either the fifteenth or the sixteenth century. He thus concluded that MS Vat. lat. 2939 is not Crijević's autograph, but rather that it was written by "a very similar, yet ultimately different hand" from the hand found in MS Vat. lat. 1678. Agić's claim was first published by Kalist Tadin in 1905, when he edited Crijević's epyllion *De Epidaurō*, but Tadin presented the claim, as well as Agić's other findings regarding the Vatican manuscripts or Crijević's life and works, as his own, forgetting to mention their real author.¹⁸ This was noticed by Petar Kolendić, who drew attention to the primary source, Agić's letter from 1815 preserved in the collection of Luka Pavlović.¹⁹ The letter, titled *Notizie sopra la vita e le opere di Elio Lampridio Cervino patrizio Raguseo stese*

¹⁷ More on Celije and the manuscript in: Vlado Rezar, »Novo ime dubrovačkog humanizma: Miho Celije Gradić«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 25 (2016): pp. 5-15, where the first page of the manuscript is reproduced. As a result of archival research Kolendić was able to draw attention to the fact that in 1493 Crijević signed a contract with the well-known calligrapher Feliks Petančić, who was supposed to produce a lavish manuscript copy of no fewer than seven hundred poems by Crijević—many more than we know today. The contract was signed on March 19, but terminated on March 31 at Crijević's request, because Petančić was elected ambassador and was suddenly forced to leave Dubrovnik. Petar Kolendić, »Feliks Petančić pre definitivnog odlaska u Ugarsku«. *Glas SAN* 236, *Odeljenje literature i jezika* 4 (1959): p. 12, n. 90. Kolendić's finding prompted me to compare Petančić's hand, as witnessed in the manuscripts mentioned in note 5 above, with the hand found in Crijević's Vatican volumes. The handwriting is considerably different, as Petančić uses a humanist book script and his letters are much more visibly rounded and much more rarely linked than is the case in Crijević's humanist cursive hand, which leads me to conclude that Petančić's hand is not found in the Vatican manuscripts of Crijević's works.

¹⁸ Calisto Tadin, »Elio Lampridio Cervino«. *Rivista dalmatica* 3 (1905): pp. 265-278.

¹⁹ P[etar] M[arija] K[olendić], »P. Calisto Tadin: Elio Lampredio Cervino (Rivista Dalmatica, Zadar 1905, sv. VI. str. 265-269)«. *Dubrovnik* 15.9 (1906): unpaginated: "[...] a otuda do posljednje strane rasprave [...] prepustio je riječ fra Antunu Agiću, biva uvrstio je uz gotovo neprimjetne preinake drugu polovinu jednoga pisma toga Malobraćanina iz g. 1815 [...] te bi bilo i veće [n]o podesno, da nam ga O. Tadin u obećanoj opsežnoj studiji o Crijeviću ponovo, ali cjelovito, iznese." In the already cited article as well as in a piece published in the journal *Srđ*, Tadin announced the possibility of publishing Crijević's works since he had found the relevant manuscripts in the Franciscan Library in Dubrovnik as well as other material relating to Crijević (perhaps belonging to Agić?), on the condition that a sufficient number of subscribers be found; Kalist Tadin, »Djela Elija Lampridija Cervina«. *Srđ* 6 (1907): p. 711. The edition never appeared.

dal p. Antonio Aghich min. osservante ad istanza del Sig.^r N. N., shows how a scholar living in the early nineteenth century approached, among others, the question of the hand in the Vatican manuscripts, their date, the principle of their organization, and finally the question of the time and manner of their arrival in Rome.

The letter dates from that phase of Agić's work on Crijević's manuscripts that took place after his first visit to Rome (1807-1808), where he spent time not simply copying Crijević's texts but also collecting large quantities of material regarding the cultural environment within which Crijević developed as a poet, primarily the activities of the Roman academy of Pomponio Leto. Although he was unfamiliar with other documents inscribed by Crijević's own hand, Agić was certain that MS Vat. lat. 1678 was the poet's autograph, basing his assessment on the evidence of the marginal additions, especially the longer ones, which were entered by the same hand that copied the main text: "Dei parti de' suoi talenti esistono nella Biblioteca Vaticana due Codici. Uno è segnato col numero 1678, e contiene sole poesie. Che questo sia stato scritto col proprio pugno dell' autore, io argomento da due addizioni marginali fatte molti anni dopo, con inchiostro diverso, ma senz' alcun dubbio con mano medesima." Agić believed that Crijević began copying this manuscript in 1493 with the intention of producing a printed edition dedicated to King Vladislaus II, which is why he had placed all the key texts in the first book, but noted further that, as he proceeded with his scribal work, Crijević entered texts without any regard either for thematic unity or for chronology.

On the other hand, Agić considered MS Vat. lat. 2939 to be a scribal copy, citing as his argument the errors he had found in it, but also relying on the judgment of two authorities, Gaetano Marini, the first custodian, and Angelo Battaglini, the second custodian of the Vatican Library: "Il secondo di questi codici, che porta il numero di 2939. è scritto con carattere molto simile a quello di Elio, ma tuttavia diverso, come del 1807. mi hanno assicurato Monsign.^r Gaetano Marini, e il Sig.^r Canonico Battaglini, degnissimi custodi di quella gran Biblioteca, e giudici infallibili di sì fatte materie; e come si può ancora dedurre da molti errori, che per entro vi si legono." Finding in this codex, as in the other one, material copied without regard for chronology, Agić supposed that an anonymous scribe entered texts individually as he chanced upon them after Crijević's death.²⁰ The same problem was addressed by Agić in a later letter, dating from 1823, in which he

²⁰ Agić's letter is found in: *Osobni arhivski fond Luka Pavlović*, HR-DADU-283, vol. 50, f. 243r-252v (DAD), quotations from f. 250r-v. The letter is not a scribal copy, as Kolendić claimed, but is in fact written in Agić's own hand and bound among Pavlović's copies of other letters and original documents. There is no information about the identity of the addressee.

hypothesized that the scribe responsible for MS Vat. lat. 2939 worked from Crijević's early drafts, which contained numerous corrections: "Il secondo codice degli opuscoli Eliani esistente nella Biblioteca Vaticana sotto il num. 2939. di certo deve essere stato unito insieme da varie carte e quinternetti, che dopo la morte di Elio si sono trovati volanti e confusi; e forse (perchè alcuni di questi erano i primi abbozzi dell' autore, e perciò pieni di cancellature e di richiamate) sono stati messi in pulito da altra mano molto simile, ma pure diversa da quella dal mio Poeta."²¹

The second Vatican codex, MS Vat. lat. 2939, confused Agić in two ways. First, the absence of absolute similarity in ductus between this codex and MS Vat. lat. 1678, of whose autograph status Agić was certain. Indeed, in the first part of MS Vat. lat. 2939 the minuscule letters are straight, whereas in the other codex they are consistently slanted; furthermore, they appear more regular and consistent, with frequent flourishes, while the ascenders and the descenders in letters such as *f*, the long *s*, *l*, *d*, *b*, *q* and *j* make the upper and the lower sections appear considerably wider than the central section. But already around folio 30, Crijević begins to write faster, his handwriting starts to lean to the right, and the flourishes disappear, so that the appearance of the handwriting gradually changes as we move toward the end of the codex and begins to resemble more and more the handwriting of MS Vat. lat. 1678. This initial dissimilarity probably misled not just Agić but also the Vatican custodians whose assistance he sought and who, perhaps, did not carefully study the codex from beginning to end. The other somewhat surprising element that in Agić's view argued against the autograph status of MS Vat. lat. 2939—despite the fact that the hand seemed to him very similar to Crijević's own hand—were the numerous and sometimes almost inexplicable textual errors. There were indeed errors in MS Vat. lat. 1678 as well, but they are extremely rare and not very significant (for instance, *increbescere* for *increbrescere*, *peccase* for *peccasse*, *longae* for *longe*, and so on). But in MS Vat. lat. 2939 the errors are much more frequent, while some of them create the impression that Crijević was nodding off while copying his text—a criticism, as we shall soon see, also directed against some of the later scribes of Crijević's texts: *fiomantes* for *fumantes*, *lymtha* for *lympha*, *astrogiae* for *astrologiae*, *parmanet* for *permanet*, *quorum virtutum* for *quarum virtutum*, *deceat Adam*, *deceat Solomon* for *docet Adam*, *docet Solomon*, *liberalitatem inauditatem* for *liberalitatem inauditam*. The examples definitely raise interesting questions for autograph studies

²¹ A letter addressed to an unnamed correspondent, written in Zakynthos in 1823: *Memoriae*, ser. 21.2, vol. 113, f. 2r (DAD).

and deserve to be discussed separately, bearing in mind that when copying his own texts (and both MS Vat. lat. 2939 and MS Vat. lat. 1678 are fair copies, not authorial drafts) the author himself is but a scribe, prone to err in ways similar to those of other scribes, most often due to mere lack of concentration.

Finally, attention should be paid to one more hypothesis advanced by Agić in the 1815 letter addressed to an unnamed correspondent. According to this hypothesis, the humanist writer Jakov Bunić (1469-1534), author of the Latin epyllion *De raptu Cerberi* and of the Latin epic *De vita et gestis Christi*, was the very person who arranged for MS Vat. lat. 2939 to be made and then took both Crijević manuscripts to Rome with the intention of having them printed, when in 1525 he traveled there to publish his own *opera omnia*: “Credo ancora di non errare affermando, che questo secondo sia stato compilato per ordine e a spese di Giacomo Bona genero postumo di Elio; e che per opera del medesimo ambi i detti codici abbiano avuto l’ onore di essere riposti nella Biblioteca Vaticana in occasione, che questi n’ è portato in Roma per offrire a Clemente VII le sue sacre poesie, ivi stampate.”²² Agić was led to this hypothesis by his conviction that Jakov Bunić was the husband of Crijević’s younger daughter Marija, which is why he refers to him in the passage just quoted as “Ilija’s posthumous son-in-law.” At the time of Crijević’s death Marija was unmarried, but today we know that in fact she never married but entered instead the convent of the Sisters of St. Clare in Dubrovnik. Jakov Bunić’s wife was indeed called Marija Crijević, as Agić knew, but he did not know that she was the daughter of Nikolino Crijević and that she married Bunić long before Crijević’s death, in 1496.²³

It is still unknown when and under what circumstances Crijević’s autograph volumes were taken out of Dubrovnik, nor do we know when and how they reached the Vatican Library. Rački’s hypothesis that they were placed there together with the papers of Stjepan Gradić has been rejected because of the low shelf-mark numbers they bear, which indicate that they were incorporated into the library collections already during the sixteenth century.²⁴ Körbler thought the

²² *Osobni arhivski fond Luka Pavlović*, vol. 50, f. 250v.

²³ Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 4: *Odabrane biografije (A – D)*. Zagreb – Dubrovnik: HAZU, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2013: p. 132.

²⁴ D. Novaković, »Autografi Ilije Crijevića«: p. 17. The Vatican Library catalog that describes MS Vat. lat. 1678 is silent on the question of provenance: Bartolomeus Nogara, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti, Codices Vaticani latini*, vol. III, Codd. 1461-2059. Rome: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1912: pp. 164-172. There is still no adequate catalog description for MSS Vat. lat. 2193-9733.

most likely explanation was that they had found their way into the Vatican Library as part of the bequest of Pope Paul III, Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549), who was Crijević's friend from his youth and to whom, Körbler further suggested, the poet could have presented the manuscripts while Farnese was still a cardinal. A search of the available inventories of Latin manuscripts in the Vatican Library limits the period of their possible acquisition to the second half of the sixteenth century, as the manuscripts are not mentioned in the 1550 general inventory prepared by the *scriptor latinus* Ferdinando Ruano (MSS Vat. lat. 3967-3969) or in earlier inventories of manuscripts.²⁵ The first of Crijević's manuscripts, MS Vat. lat. 1678, is listed in the inventory compiled most probably between 1565 and 1580, in the course of the cataloging undertaken by the brothers Federico and Marino Ranaldi. Their work was associated with the enormous increase and the consequent rearrangement of the library collections, which led to the migration of the library into a new building. The Ranaldi inventory, today kept as MS Vat. lat. 8185/II, lists the Crijević MS Vat. lat. 1678 among the manuscripts of ancient and modern poets under the title "Aelii Lampridij carmina ex papyro in nigro" (f. 353r).²⁶ It appears again in MS Vat. lat. 7131, in the new categorization of Vatican manuscripts undertaken by Domenico Ranaldi between 1591 and 1595, under the title "Aelij Lampridij poemata libri sex ex papyro in nigro" (f. 219r).²⁷ During the next stage of Domenico Ranaldi's cataloging work the Crijević manuscripts received the

²⁵ In addition to Ruano's, the manuscripts are not mentioned in the following inventories or lists of lent items and of new acquisitions: MS Vat. lat. 3949 from 1484-1521; MS Vat. lat. 3950 from 1518-1521; MS Vat. lat. 3951 from 1533; MSS Vat. lat. 3963 and 3965, both from 1548-1555.

²⁶ For the dating of the inventory in MS Vat. lat. 8185/II, which includes items that arrived in the Library after Ruano prepared his inventory in 1550, see Pierre Petitmengin, »Recherches sur l'organisation de la Bibliothèque Vaticane à l'époque des Ranaldi (1547-1645)«. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 75.2 (1963): pp. 574-575.

²⁷ For the dating of this inventory, see P. Petitmengin, »Recherches sur l'organisation de la Bibliothèque Vaticane«: p. 588. The description "in nigro" means that the manuscript was originally bound in black leather over wooden boards; Assunta Di Sante, »La Biblioteca rinascimentale attraverso i suoi inventari«. *Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra umanesimo e rinascimento (1447-1534)*, ed. Antonio Manfredi. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010: p. 313. The rebinding of the volumes in the brown leather found over the boards today can be dated on the basis of the two coats of arms featured on the spine: the upper section of the spine normally received the coat of arms of the current pope, while the lower section received the coat of arms of the current cardinal librarian; Antonio Manfredi, »Antichi inventari e legature di manoscritti: una linea di ricerca«. *Gazette du livre médiéval* 29 (1996): p. 7. MS Vat. lat. 1678 features the coats of arms of Pope Pius IX and of Cardinal Luigi Lambruschini, which means that it was rebound between 1846 and 1853, when both of them were in office. MS Vat. lat. 2939 was rebound earlier, between 1779 and 1799, as it bears the coats of arms of Pope Pius VI and Cardinal Francesco Saverio de Zelada.

numbers under which they are still known as well as their current placement in the library. In the ensuing centuries the manuscripts were consulted only by the few scholars interested in Crijević, such as Ivan Marija Matijašević, who left on the last leaf of one of the surviving copies of an oration by Crijević (today MS AMB 753) the following note: “In Bibliotheca Vaticana. Aelii Lampridii Cervarii Poetae Laureati Poematum Libri 6. et varia fragmenta Num. 1678. Opera multa et diversa Num. 2939.” In what follows it will be shown that it was Matijašević who, after returning to Dubrovnik from Rome in 1751, sparked interest in Crijević’s manuscript legacy among his fellow Ragusans.

3.

The first written traces indicative of the extent to which Crijević’s works and the forms in which they circulated were known in Dubrovnik are not found until two centuries after the poet’s death. In his well-known letter to Rado Miličić (1707), surviving only through the excerpts made by Saro Crijević, Ignjat Đurđević mentions a large manuscript volume containing Crijević’s poetry (“un grosso volume d’ elegantissimi poemi latini, che vive tuttavia manoscritto”). Đurđević probably had access to the volume in question, as in his collection of biographies of illustrious citizens of Dubrovnik, *Vitae et carmina nonnullorum illustrium civium Rhacusinorum*, composed between 1707 and 1716, he quotes a number of Crijević’s verses from which he draws information about the poet’s life. Almost all of these quotations were taken over by Saro Crijević in his own entry on Ilija Crijević included, some thirty years later, in his *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, but his knowledge was evidently more comprehensive and he even endeavored to enumerate the surviving manuscripts of Crijević’s works. Furthermore, he quoted verses not found in Đurđević’s *Vitae*, and he knew and quoted from Crijević’s funeral oration dedicated to Martol Džamanjić, available to him in a manuscript copy made in 1682 from MS Vat. lat. 2939 by Tommaso de’ Giuli (de Iuliis) at the request of Stjepan Gradić, who verified the accuracy of the transcription with a seal and a signature before sending it from Rome to Dubrovnik.²⁸ Regarding the

²⁸ Serafin Marija Crijević, *Dubrovačka biblioteka / Bibliotheca Ragusina*, vol. I, ed. Stjepan Krsić. Zagreb: JAZU, 1975: p. 21, where the last name is erroneously given as “Tuliis”. Several manuscript copies of this oration exist today, and all of them regularly include the notes by Tommaso de’ Giuli and Stjepan Gradić, but the original transcription of the Vatican *scriptor* has not yet been located. Gradić became the second custodian of the Vatican Library in 1661, while in 1682 and then from 1683 until his death he held the office of the first custodian. His hand is found on one of the leaves early in MS Vat. lat. 2939, where he provides a list of the texts found in the volume.

large manuscript volume containing Crijević's elegies, epigrams, odes, hexametric poems, and hymns, Saro Crijević attested—or perhaps just speculated—that it existed in several manuscript copies in different private libraries in Dubrovnik (“in privatis bibliothecis Ragusii reperitur”), while his knowledge of MS Vat. lat. 2939 depended on Gradić's note accompanying the transcription of the funeral oration, in which it was stated that the manuscript source in the Vatican Library contained orations and other works by Crijević—but who took it to Rome, when, and why remained a mystery. Slade's statement from 1767, “Quae elucubravit, non exiguo comprehenduntur codice Biblioth. Vatic. num. 2939, ne codices enumerem Ragusinos,” similarly suggests that the Ragusan antiquarian community for a while knew only of the existence of MS Vat. lat. 2939, but not MS Vat. lat. 1678.²⁹ At the turn of the nineteenth century when Appendini was composing his *Notizie*, he was able to add to the list of known works Crijević's orations dedicated to Juraj Krusić and Rinaldo Graziani, but all his other information derived exclusively from Saro Crijević's *Bibliotheca Ragusina*.³⁰

However, there was at least one person in the mid-eighteenth century who knew more about Ilija Crijević than his contemporaries. This was Ivan Marija Matijašević (1714-1791), who studied the history of Dubrovnik on a large scale—from matters ecclesiastical and political to questions of literary and cultural history—and left behind valuable evidence of his research. For instance, in his manuscript compendium, known as *Zibaldone*, Matijašević included copies of two letters by Crijević addressed to Marin Bunić which are otherwise unknown.³¹ Also, he advanced an intriguing hypothesis that Crijević participated in the publication of Dragišić's *Oratio funebris habita pro magnifico et generoso Iunio Georgio patritio Ragusino*, which appeared in Florence in 1499 or 1500. The book includes a dedicatory epistle written by Crijević and addressed to Šiško Đurđević as well as two epigrams, but Matijašević also states that the book was published “colle stampe da Elio Cervino,” whom he then styles “editore.”³² Finally, he had knowledge of Crijević's will and searched for biographical details in archival sources and in Italian publications, he knew that the oration addressed to Graziani

²⁹ S. Slade, *Fasti litterario-Ragusini*: p. 1. Thus also I. Kukuljević, »Marko Marulić i njegovo doba«: p. XXXIX.

³⁰ Francesco Maria Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de'Ragusei*, vol. II. Dubrovnik: Antonio Martecchini, 1803: pp. 128-129.

³¹ Published in: I. Bratičević, »Knjiga i čitanje u pismima Ilije Crijevića Marinu Buniću«.

³² Ivan Marija Matijašević, *Zibaldone*, MS AMB 435, vol. 3, p. 621. The information was relayed by S. Slade, *Fasti litterario-Ragusini*: p. 108.

was found in MS Vat. lat. 2939, and when he copied a handful of Crijević's poems into his Zibaldone he recorded that he took interest in the poet during his stay in Rome, where he had consulted Crijević's manuscripts: "Quorum [sc. carminum] duos codices vidi, alterum in Biblioth. Vaticana inter Latinos num.º 1678, alterum Ragusii in Bibliotheca nobilium de Bona Vucichjevich."³³ It is precisely the mention of the manuscript held in the library of the Ragusan patrician family Bunić Vučić, and the attention Matijašević devoted to it, that constitute his greatest contribution to the study of the manuscript misfortunes of Ilija Crijević.

The *Memoriae* series in the State Archives of Dubrovnik preserves under the number 91.1 a previously overlooked Matijašević manuscript bearing the following title: *Excerpta ex carminibus Aelii Lampridii Cervini Poetae Laureati Ragusini*. There can be no doubt that the manuscript belonged to Matijašević: his hand, found in numerous manuscript witnesses elsewhere, retains stability over time and is easily recognizable. *Memoriae* 91.1 is an unbound gathering consisting of 22 closely written leaves and containing excerpts from the poetry of Ilija Crijević. Matijašević normally copied only a few lines from the beginning and end of each poem, recorded the number of lines in each poem, and sometimes provided the title (Figure 2). In the lower section of the title leaf he inscribed the following note: "Codex manu exaratus aetate ipsius poetae servatur in Bibliotheca Seraphini Bona Joannis filii Ragusii." The reason for Matijašević's decision to excerpt rather than copy may be explained by the date he recorded as part of the title (An. MDCCLV: V Kal: Mart., meaning 26 February 1755), which suggests that the manuscript was lent to him for one day only or that he was given access to it in the Bunić family library on only one occasion. Although the Bunić library was one of the richest private libraries in ancient Dubrovnik, too little is known about it today. In Matijašević's day the library was owned by Saro Bunić Vučić (1712-1771), the great-grandson of the poet Ivan Bunić Vučić and the grandson of the poet Saro Bunić Vučić. According to Saro Crijević, the poet Saro Bunić (c. 1632-1712) inherited an already respectable family library, augmented it by adding a number of books from various fields, and stipulated in his will that two priests should be employed to take care of the library after his death.³⁴ The reason for the stipulation may have been a break-in at the library during which—again

³³ MS AMB 435, p. 34. With brief interruptions, Matijašević stayed in Rome from 1728 to 1751.

³⁴ Serafin Marija Crijević, *Dubrovačka biblioteka / Bibliotheca Ragusina*, vol. II, ed. Stjepan Krsić. Zagreb: JAZU, 1977: p. 83. The stipulation is mentioned in: Nikica Kolumbić, »Bunić, Saro«. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* 2 (1989): p. 503.

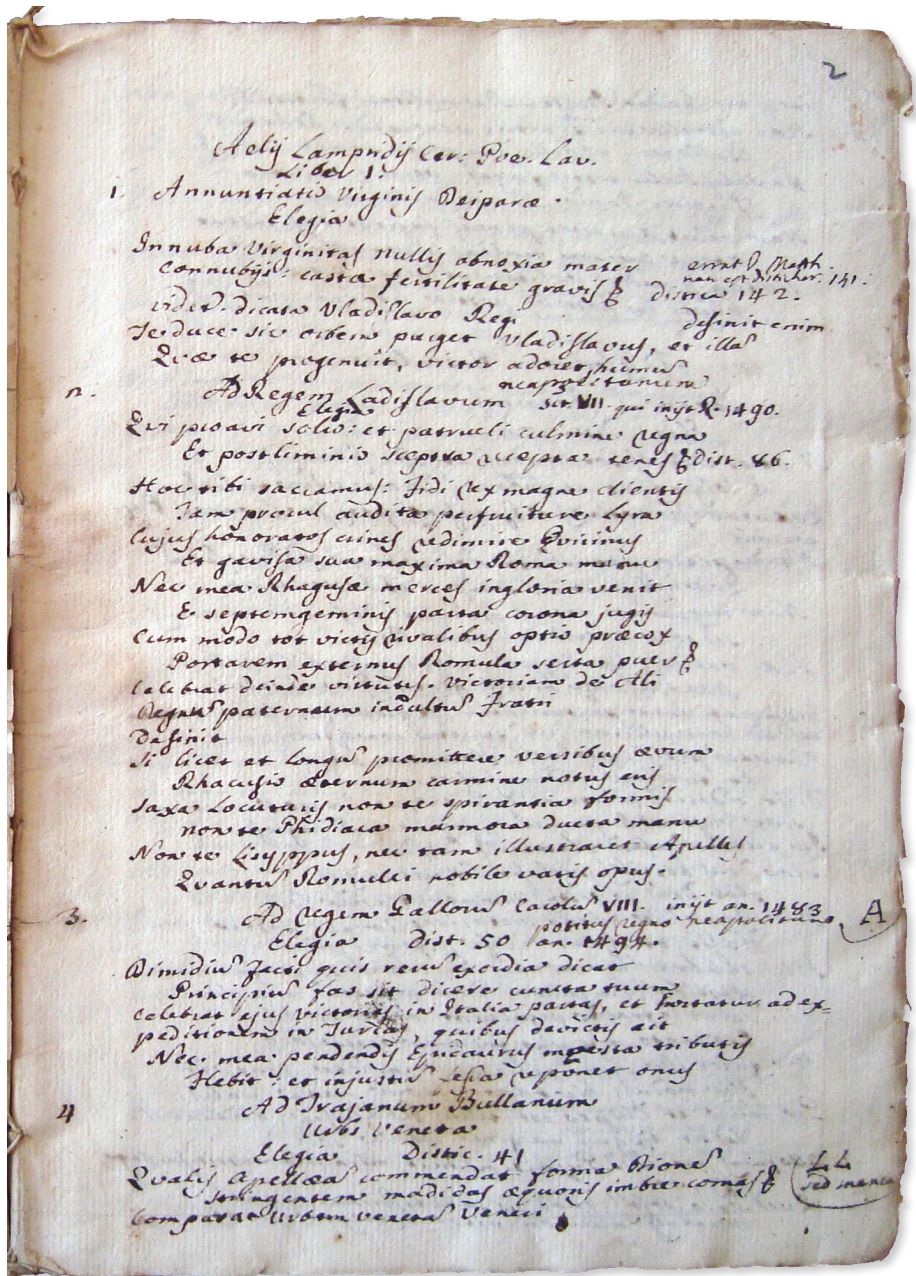


Figure 2: Ivan Marija Matijašević's excerpts from a nonextant manuscript containing Crijević's poetry and formerly belonging to the Bunić Vučić family; State Archives of Dubrovnik, Memoriae, ser. 21.2, vol. 91.1, f. 2r.

according to Saro Crijević—the autograph copy of Tubero’s *Commentarii de temporibus suis* was stolen and at a later date sold to Apostolo Zeno in Venice.³⁵ Just like the Tubero manuscript, the Crijević manuscript used by Matijašević in 1755 disappeared from the library. Everything we know about this manuscript today depends exclusively on Matijašević’s excerpts and on his assessment that the manuscript dated back to the poet’s own era. If Matijašević was correct in his assessment, it would seem that the Crijević manuscript from the Bunić library was produced around the same time as the Crijević autograph volumes in the Vatican Library.

Moreover, the Bunić manuscript was almost identical in content to MS Vat. lat. 1678. Judging from the extracts made by Matijašević, it contained nothing that was not present in the Vatican manuscript. While Matijašević carefully noted down every poem and the number of lines it contained, his approach to the copying of the text was arbitrary: from some poems he copied only a few words from the beginning, from others dozens of verses, and in some cases he copied entire texts. Matijašević numbered the poems, but since the numbering is not present in MS Vat. lat. 1678, which only divides the poems into four books, and since Matijašević entered the numbers in the margins and interlineally, it would appear that the poems in his source were unnumbered, and that the numbering was introduced by Matijašević—as it was in various other poetic manuscripts that were in his possession. This numbering was later adopted by Agić, who had access to Matijašević’s excerpts and left there some notes in his own hand. For instance, on folios 8v-9r Agić observes that Matijašević’s source was incomplete and that it lacked those leaves that, judging from MS Vat. lat. 1678, contained the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth book of poems, which is why in Matijašević’s numbering the first book has 30, the second 10, and the third 155 poems. Since

³⁵ Vlado Rezar, »Latinitet Ludovika Crijevića Tuberona«, in: Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, *Commentarii de temporibus suis*, ed. Vlado Rezar. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001: pp. XIII-XIV. On the whereabouts of Tubero’s autograph today see note 5 above. The richness of the Bunić family library is also mentioned by Anselm Bandur: *Animadversiones in Constantini Porphyrogeniti libros De thematibus et De administrando imperio*, in: Anselm Bandur, *Imperium orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*, pt. 4, vol. 2. Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1711: p. 44 (separate pagination), where he mentions a manuscript copy of the Statute of Dubrovnik. In a letter sent from Rome on August 7, 1728, Đuro Matijašević informs Ivo Aletin that the library of Saro Bunić contains carefully executed manuscript copies of the complete works of Ivan Lukarević and begs him to approach either the heirs or their librarian, the priest Andrija Piskulić, in order to have a copy made of a poem devoted to St. Margaret of Cortona; *Korespondencija Đura Matijaševića i Iva Aletina*, MS AMB 313, p. 566.

MS Vat. lat. 1678 obviously shows that at some point in the fourth book Crijević gave up the idea to divide poems into books (in his manuscript the first book contains 32 poems, the second 11, the third 29, each with around 1000 lines, while the fourth book alone contains 129 poems amounting to roughly 5000 lines), Agić divided the fourth book into three new books, and his division into seven books was adopted by Novaković in the recent print edition of the poems.

My collation of the text preserved in Matijašević's excerpts against the Crijević Vatican autograph has not yielded any variant readings. Therefore, the Bunić manuscript, had it survived, would not have constituted a relevant witness in the transmission of Crijević's texts, but its existence in Dubrovnik nonetheless tells us something about the literary culture of the city. It tells us that a faithful copy of the Crijević autograph was made in Dubrovnik before the autograph was sent to Rome, that this copy was kept—somewhat jealously—in a private library in the city, and that there were people in eighteenth-century Dubrovnik who were interested in Crijević's poetry and motivated enough to study it, primarily the all-too-deserving Ivan Marija Matijašević, but also those who came after him and who devoted themselves to the preservation and study of Crijević's literary remains.

4.

The Matijašević excerpts were annotated by Antun Agić, who entered marginal comments that primarily focus on the differences between the Vatican manuscript and Matijašević's partial transcription of the Bunić manuscript: Matijašević omitted three poems, while on two occasions two poems are combined into one, and there is a significant lacuna in the transcription due to the damaged state of the manuscript Matijašević was copying from—the Bunić manuscript probably lacked two leaves containing around 120 verses.

Agić's annotations belong to that phase of his research when he already knew well the Vatican manuscripts and had already copied the poetic texts from them (Agić's transcripts are today preserved in MS AMB 409, dating from 1808). Agić's work on Crijević had begun exactly twenty-five years before and was encouraged by Matijašević, who had left him his notes on Crijević as well as the excerpts just described. In Agić's surviving papers the Matijašević excerpts are usually referred to as *Breviarium Matthaeanum*. Agić writes about this in a piece entitled *In Aelii Lampridii Cervini vitam praefatio*, which survives as an unfinished draft containing

Agić's corrections (preserved today in the State Archives of Dubrovnik, *Memoriae* 92). The preface is important because it sheds some light on the manuscript situation Agić encountered and on the course of his editorial work. As he states in the preface, he began looking for manuscripts of Crijević's works as early as 1783, at a time when they were—so he believed—much fewer in number than some forty years before, when Saro Crijević was composing his *Bibliotheca Ragusina*.

As Agić relates, he first found a manuscript containing 69 poems by Crijević in the Benedictine monastery of St. Jacob in Dubrovnik, among the papers of Ignjat Đurđević. The poems were found among Đurđević's own compositions, such as paraphrases from Virgil, Martial, and Horace. Not omitting to offer a sarcastic account of Đurđević's handwriting, calling it horrible (“de pessima litterularum effingendarum ratione, quae doctissimi illius viri semper fuit propria, nihil dico”), Agić stated his dissatisfaction with the state of the text, apparently riddled with errors that distorted the spelling, the punctuation, and indeed the meaning of Crijević's poems. The conclusion he reached was that Đurđević had probably copied the texts while still a schoolboy and a half-awake one at that (“nonnisi a Georgeio vix pubere, dum scholas frequentaret, eoque oscitante ac prope dormiente, exscripta dici possent”).³⁶ Finally, Agić records his memories of the French siege of Dubrovnik in 1806, during which the Đurđević papers, alongside other manuscripts and printed books from the rich library of the Benedictine monastery, disappeared without trace.³⁷

The second manuscript Agić had access to belonged to the Ragusan poet Marin Zlatarić (1753-1826). It contained a great number of Crijević's poems, but the text was inaccurate, partly—as Agić surmises—because the scribe was ignorant and the source manuscript corrupt (“et ex amanuensis, ut puto, ignorantia, et exemplaris eidem propositi vitio mendosissimum”). The manuscript included everything that was found in Đurđević's papers as well as a number of other texts, but at the time of writing Agić did not know what became of the manuscript after Zlatarić's death.³⁸ Finally, Ivan Marija Matijašević, whose merits as a researcher of things Ragusan Agić praises at length, presented Agić with a copy of seven poems by Crijević otherwise not known to him, one oration, and one manuscript

³⁶ Both quotations in: *Memoriae*, ser. 21.2, vol. 92, f. 2v (DAD).

³⁷ For a noteworthy example of the way in which some of the valuable books from the Benedictine library of St. Jacob can be tracked down, see Ivan Lupić, »Marulić u Dubrovniku«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 30 (2021): p. 14, n. 19.

³⁸ As Marin Zlatarić died in 1826, and Agić in 1830, this statement enables us to date Agić's otherwise undated preface to the last four years of his life.

booklet that proved crucially important for Agić's future work, the *Breviarium Matthaeanum*. When dating the manuscript from the Bunić library—and working only from the excerpts—Agić agreed with Matijašević. He even considered the possibility that the manuscript was inscribed by Crijević himself, and if not by him, then by some learned person who collated the transcription against the autograph and subsequently corrected it. As he states, he looked for this manuscript in the house of Bunić's heirs, but although he thoroughly and carefully went through the entire library, he did not manage to find it there.

Agić's work on Crijević's texts gained fresh force when the French occupation of Dubrovnik compelled him to leave the city and travel to Rome, where he continued to assemble materials about Crijević and to copy and collate textual witnesses. After his sojourn in Rome, Agić traveled to Fano, where in 1808 he completed a manuscript that collected almost everything Crijević wrote as a poet (today MS AMB 409; Figure 3). Agić's collection of Crijević's poetry was in the end divided into nine books: the first seven were a copy of the entire MS Vat. lat. 1678, while the remaining two brought together all the verses found among the prose texts in MS Vat. lat. 2939 as well as the poems found only in Ragusan manuscript witnesses.³⁹ Agić dated the poems and provided explanatory notes, including references to the places in classical and humanist authors, and he commented on textual variants, on his own emendations, and on Crijević's prosodic and lexical choices. Finally, he added an index of incipits. His preface describes the state of the text and the principles of his manuscript edition, which modernized the punctuation and adapted the spelling (“interpunctionem omnium primum ad nostrorum temporum modulum reducere statui; orthographiam vero ex parte eandem quam codices praeferunt retinendam et ex parte immutandam duxi”). To the best of his abilities Agić also corrected the errors, filled the lacunae, and expanded the abbreviations (“errores qui manifeste se produnt pro ingenii viribus corrigere, lacunas ubi potero implere, compendiarias litteras interpretari satagam, utque meam tibi fidem plane probem, ubique brevem addam notam qua docearis quid codices exhibeant quidve ego censuerim”). All of his interventions were

³⁹ Agić envisioned one manuscript volume for all of Crijević's poetry and one for all of his prose. At the end of MS AMB 409, just before the flyleaf, we find inserted a leaf onto which Agić began to copy Crijević's prose works. It bears the title *Aelii Lampridii Cervini orationes et epistolae*, after which is found the beginning of the oration *Laudatio funebris in obitu Georgii Crucii*, furnished with detailed commentary, but the text breaks off already on the verso. The leaf has Agić's new pagination and its margins are more damaged and darker than the rest of the volume, all of which clearly indicates that it did not originally belong to MS AMB 409. I am not familiar with any other manuscript containing Crijević's prose works copied by Agić's hand.

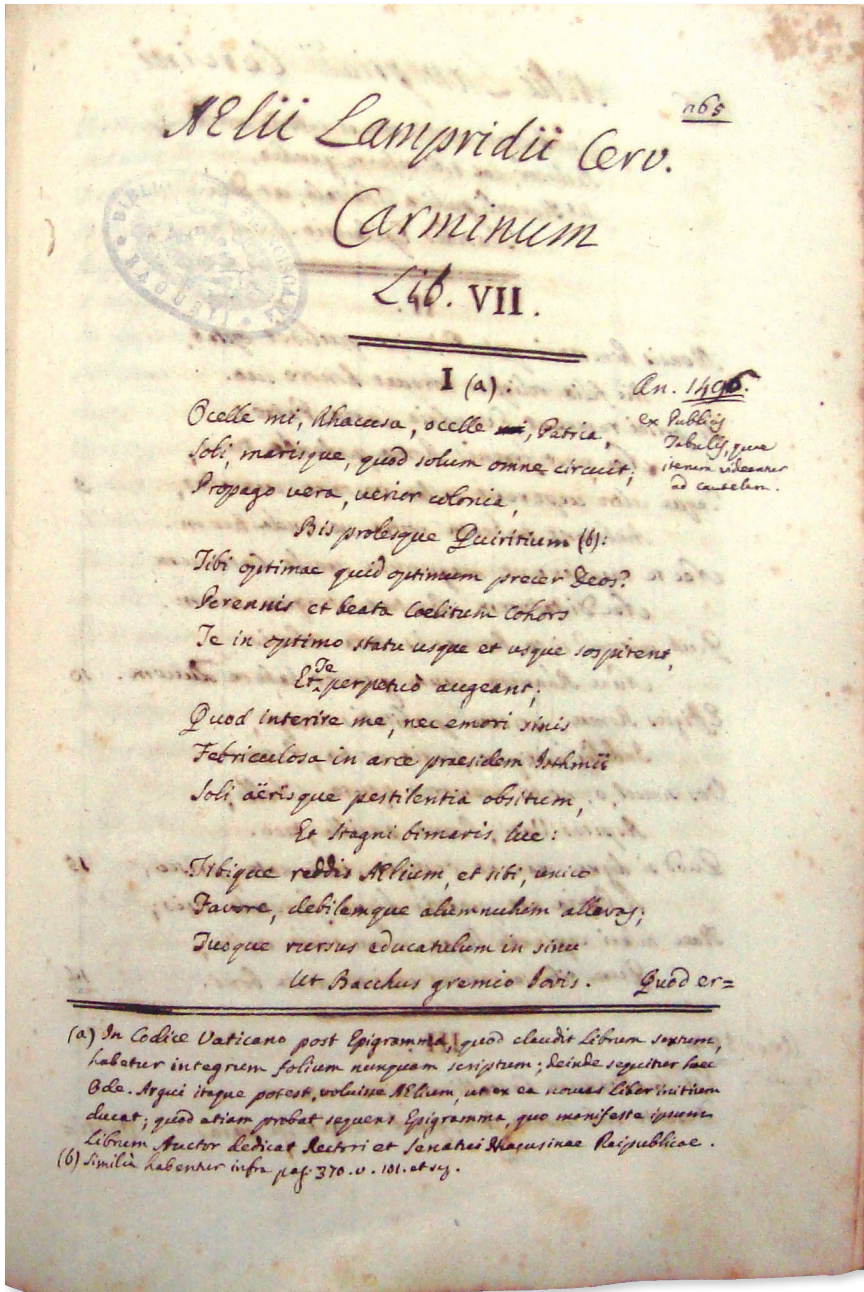


Figure 3: Crijević's poetry copied by Antun Agić; Archives of the Franciscan Monastery, Dubrovnik, MS 409, p. 265.

recorded in the apparatus. When he was unsure about particular emendations, he refrained from offering them lest the sense of the text be distorted (“*inexplicatas et non impletas relinquam eas potius quam auctoris mentem forsitan repugnantem ad alienos sensus detorquebo, id ipsum indicans nota subiecta*”).⁴⁰

The only poetic work by Crijević that Agić was at that time unable to obtain was the elegy addressed to Isabella d’Este, accompanied by a prose epistle. In his account mentioned above, preserved in the State Archives of Dubrovnik as MS *Memoriae* 92, Agić relates that he managed to acquire a copy of the two texts from the autograph manuscript found in Mantua some fifteen years later, thanks to the assistance of the then bishop of Zakynthos, Lujo Skakoc from Trogir, and an influential friend of his based at the court in Vienna.⁴¹

The same account also informs us that Agić’s aim was not to have his manuscript edition from 1808 immediately printed; instead, he wanted the manuscript to be available to his fellow citizens so they could read it and copy it: “*Volumen itaque hoc meum universam ferme Aelianam poesim continens compegi anno 1808. et annotationibus quibusdam pleraque loca illustrantibus adpersi [...] anno 1810.*

⁴⁰ *Aelii Lampridii [...] carmina libris IX. comprehensa*, MS AMB 409, pp. IX-X. To illustrate Agić’s critical approach, I quote here his note attached to a line in a poem addressed to Gaspare Biondo after he was crowned poet laureate in Rome (6,3, line 35): “*Omnia quae vidi Rhacusina manuscripta hoc loci lacunam praeferunt; in codice vero Vaticano scriptum erat nescio quid verbi, deinde abrasum et aliud superadditum, ita tamen ut bene dignosci nequeat quid ibi legendum sit. Videtur appositum fuisse *metuère*, at quem sensum tunc redderet hoc verbum? Crediderim equidem Aelium prius scripsisse *notuère*, ut sensus sit: ‘quid dicam quod quae clara sunt, magis innotescunt, et virtus quae notuit ac in plurium cognitionem venit, instigat multos ipsius aemulandae causa?’.* Certe M. Antonius Sabellicus (omnium ipsius operum tom. 4. Elegia 12. v. 21) verbi *notuère* corripuit primam syllabam inquiens: ‘*Hinc Veneris notuere lares*’. At cum animadvertisset Aelium syllabam illam produci debere, tunc verbum illud abrasit, aliudque induxit non satis bene expressum. Substitui posset *patuère*, sed codice repugnante, quod non patiar. Posset etiam legi *mature*, quae quidem vox, interpunctione mutata in hunc modum: ‘*Quid? quod clara magis, mature et cognita virtus / Instigat multos etc.*’, aliquem sensum redderet, sed Latinis auribus forsitan duriolem. Sensus esset: ‘*quid dicam quod virtus magis clara, et mature*’, hoc est longe prius quam in hominibus manifestari consuevit, in adolescente vix vicesimum primum aetatis annum ingresso *cognita* ac divulgata per honorem coronae poeticae, quam peto ex iustitia mihi debitam, *instigat multos etc.*’. Certe huic sensui favent et quae prius dixerat in hac ipsa elegia, et quae dixit posterius a v. 61. de sua iuvenili aetate. De significatione vocabuli *mature* videatur A. Gellius *Noct. Atticar.* lib. 10. cap. 11« (MS AMB 409, pp. 224-225).

⁴¹ Agić does not name this influential friend, but the note left in the manuscript (MS 77 [A. III. 13]) by Leopoldo Volta, the director of the Biblioteca Teresiana in Mantua, informs us that in 1823 a faithful copy was made at the request of Baron Francesco Maria Carnea Steffaneo, the imperial advisor and formerly the Austrian imperial commissioner for Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania.

illud mecum detuli, municipibus meis legendum exscribendumque cupientibus libentissime oblaturus.” After he brought the manuscript to Dubrovnik, it was copied by his former classmate, the medical doctor and scribe Miho Grgurević (1754-1820). Agić relates that later, when he no longer lived in Dubrovnik, he tried to learn what happened to this new manuscript copy after Grgurević’s death, but was told that its whereabouts were unknown. This prompted him to protest, and not for the first time, against the keeping of literary treasures in private hands: “mihique Rhacusio scribitur penitus ignorare ad quem hoc exemplar devenerit. Ad hominem certe vel nimis imperitum, vel maxime invidum, qui solus Aelianae poesis videri cupiat possessor. Utcumque sit, cum apud privatum hominem delitescat (modo adhuc existat), tanquam deperditum apographum istud ego doleo.”⁴²

5.

Although Agić had to accept, with obvious disappointment, that the result of his labors did not meet with the reception he had hoped for when he released it into the world, Ragusan manuscript culture did not cease to exist—even if it was evidently on the decline. This is clear from the surviving manuscripts and from the work of other people who, though perhaps not as dedicated or as talented as Agić, concerned themselves with the copying and editing of Crijević’s texts. Grgurević’s transcription of Agić’s manuscript edition of Crijević did in fact survive, but it left Dubrovnik early on. As we shall see, there are some indications that Grgurević was not a mere copyist of Agić’s manuscript.⁴³ After Grgurević, Luka Pavlović (1821-1887) also copied Agić’s manuscript edition, possibly sharing the work with a collaborator, and his transcription contains notes that are more extensive than the notes of the underlying exemplar.⁴⁴

⁴² *Memoriae*, ser. 21.2, vol. 92, 3r-3v (DAD).

⁴³ Grgurević’s transcript is today kept in: *Osobni arhivski fond Mate Ivčević*, HR-DAST-373, ser. 3, vol. 461 (Državni arhiv, Split). Ivčević left a note in the manuscript, dated 1881, in which he recorded that he had received the manuscript as a present from the Split monsignor Silvestro Guina (1793-1882). Guina was the director of the elementary school in Dubrovnik from 1821 to 1825. In his scribal work Grgurević mostly focused on Ragusan latinists, and his biggest project was the transcription of the monumental works by Saro Crijević (*Prolegomena in Sacram metropolim Ragusinam*, *Sacra metropolis Ragusina* and *Bibliotheca Ragusina*) surviving today in nine volumes (MSS AMB 212-220). In identifying his hand I relied on the numerous excuse letters he wrote and signed as a physician for various officials of the Ragusan Republic (*Diplomata et acta saec. XVIII*, ser. 76, vol. 137 and 193, DAD).

⁴⁴ For this manuscript, see *Osobni arhivski fond Luka Pavlović*, vol. 19 (DAD). On Pavlović’s possible collaborator, see Ivan Lupić, »Tekstološka načela, kritička izdanja i kroatistička znanstvena zajednica«. *Forum* 51.7-9 (2012): pp. 918, n. 68.

Furthermore, there are among the surviving manuscripts of Crijević's works witnesses that can help us determine to a certain extent the state of the text found in the older, presumably lost manuscripts: those of Bunić, Đurđević, and Zlatarić, the three manuscripts that Agić considered the most valuable.⁴⁵ One in particular—today MS AMB 68—deserves our attention because in one of its parts it contains a carefully constructed critical apparatus, which is not common for Ragusan manuscripts.⁴⁶ The manuscript comprises 156 leaves and on its first page bears the following title: *Elii Lampridii Cervini Rhacusani carmina elegiaca, oratiunculae et epistolae soluta oratione*. At the bottom of the same page is found the ownership note “1800. Simonis Can.^{ci} Trosani,” written by Šimun Trošani himself (1754-1818). Trošani was a Ragusan priest who from 1793 onward held the office of a canon at the Church of St. Jerome in Rome. He was a student of Ivan Marija Matijašević's and was later trained as a bookbinder in Italy. A Latin elegy he addressed to Rafo Radelja (1769-1831), a productive scribe and bibliophile, survives in manuscript. The poem was sent by Trošani together with the books he bound for Radelja (“*Ite meis compti manibus, tandem ite, libelli*”; MS AMB 1920). In the early nineteenth century Trošani prepared for the press several prayer books in Croatian and a multilingual collection of poems written by his fellow citizens on the occasion of the death of the physician Đuro Detorres. The letters that passed between Agić and Čulić tell us that Agić knew Trošani and was in contact with him.⁴⁷

The main text of MS AMB 68 was copied by two scribes. From p. 3 until p. 216 the hand is that of Nikola Taljeran (c. 1775-1819), a Ragusan priest and scribe. Taljeran suddenly stops copying in the middle of line 189 of Crijević's epyllion

⁴⁵ The manuscripts I have been able to locate so far are given in the Appendix at the end of this article. My list has twenty-five manuscripts more than Škunca's list, which has been considered the most complete; cf. S. Škunca, *Aelius Lampridius Cervinus*: pp. 7-10.

⁴⁶ There are several literary manuscripts that survive in Dubrovnik in which variant readings are recorded either in the margin, interlineally, or after the main text. The most impressive example is MS AMB 2403, a transcript of Ivan Gundulić's *Osman* made by Ivan Luka Volantić, who collected textual variants from at least twenty different manuscript copies; see Ivan Lupić and Irena Bratičević, »Jaoh, a sada sve je inako': o kritičkoj izdaji Gundulićeva *Osmana*«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 26 (2017): pp. 113-123.

⁴⁷ I have found among the papers of Ivan Marija Matijašević various excuse letters sent to him by the parents of his students. In one of these, dating from 1767, Nikola Trošani excuses his son Šimun for missing school, claiming that there was a legitimate reason for his absence (“*per non essere venuto ieri tutto giorno a scola, essendo [sic] stato legitimamente impedito in casa*»; MS AMB 2338). Early in 1793 Trošani wrote from Rome to the Ragusan government officials to thank them for the scholarship worth 150 scudos which he used to pay for the training in bookbinding, but also for the purchase of equipment and for his return to Dubrovnik; see *Diplomata et acta saec. XVIII*, ser. 76, vol. 159/3198, 208 (DAD). MS AMB 1412 contains the autograph of Trošani's will, which I rely on when identifying his hand in other manuscripts.

De Epidaurō; pp. 217-226 are empty, while from p. 227 to p. 304 the other scribe takes over, continuing exactly with the line abandoned by Taljeran. The manuscript is unfinished: at the bottom of p. 304 we come to line 92 of the Soderini elegy and that is where the copying stops, with the abbreviation *ec.* and three empty leaves following. The second hand is similar to Trošani's, but I cannot claim with certainty that it is indeed his.⁴⁸

The manuscript includes 73 poems by Crijević, two of his orations (to Krusić and to Graziani), and two epistles (to Soderini). Based on the provenance of individual texts, it can be divided into two parts, as suggested by two notes found in the manuscript: the first note (p. 259) informs us that the 66 poems from the beginning were taken from Ignjat Đurđević's manuscript ("extracta sunt a codice exarato manu p. Ignatii Georgii existente in Bibliotheca S. Jacobi in Visgniza"), while the second note (p. 262) tells us that the remaining poems and the prose were retrieved from an old manuscript found among the papers of Ivan Marija Matijašević, not however mentioned by Matijašević in his "breviary" ("exscripta sunt ex pervetusto ac semeso exemplari incerta manu exarato, sed hoc quoque mendis scatente, quod inter schedulas p. Mathei repertum est. Hoc notandum, quod praedictorum carminum nulla fit mentio in saepe memorato eiusdem Breviario poematum Aelii Lampridii").⁴⁹ The two notes are separated by three epigrams taken from Matijašević's "breviary," where they had been copied in their entirety.

Whoever it was that organized the transcription from Đurđević's manuscript was also well acquainted with Matijašević's "breviary" and included it as a relevant witness. At the beginning of the manuscript we find the incipits of the poems included in Matijašević's excerpts, i.e., the Crijević manuscript from the Bunić library, but not found in Đurđević's transcript (*Series alphabetica opusculorum Ēlii Lampridii Cervini, quę adhuc desiderantur iuxta eorumdem breviarium a p.*

⁴⁸ For Taljeran as a scribe see what is stated in I. Lupić, »Tekstološka načela«: p. 932, n. 89, where he and I first identify his hand, and later confirm it in I. Lupić and I. Bratičević, »Jaoh, a sada sve je inako«: p. 126, n. 117. Taljeran's handwriting is small, most often spaced out, with some very characteristic letter forms, such as the underlined *r*. We have located his transcripts of the works of Ragusan Renaissance writers, both Croatian and Latin, as well as of his contemporaries. Some of his transcripts are signed with his initials D[on] N. T.

⁴⁹ These two notes are quoted in full in: Mijo Brlek, *Rukopisi Knjižnice Male braće u Dubrovniku*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1952: p. 81. The note about the Đurđević manuscript likewise states that among the papers containing Crijević's poems are also found Đurđević's paraphrases of Virgil, Horace, and Martial, alongside other school compositions, while the numerous errors prompt a comment similar to that of Agić, suggesting that Đurđević must have been falling asleep, if not indeed sleeping, while copying.

Mattei exaratum). Every incipit of the 126 poems included in this list is accompanied by the number given to it in Matijašević's manuscript. On the other hand, every poem copied from Đurđević's transcript always carries a number that corresponds to Matijašević's and includes a transcription of Matijašević's annotations whenever they existed. If there is a discrepancy in the number of lines between the Matijašević manuscript and the Đurđević manuscript, this is regularly noted.

Moreover, in the first part of the manuscript, copied by Taljeran, certain words or, less commonly, sequences of words are underlined and marked by letters, which refer to the notes placed at the end of each poem. The notes vary in nature, but the majority are concerned with the variant readings found in other manuscript witnesses: sometimes in the Matijašević excerpts, but much more frequently in a manuscript identified as *D. Slat*. This abbreviation suggests that the manuscript in question may be the same as the manuscript which Agić consulted in the library of Marin Zlatarić (Slatarich or Slatarichius), whose great-great-grandfather was the sixteenth-century poet Dominko Zlatarić (hence *D. Slat*). It may, of course, also be a later copy of that manuscript. The intriguing implication is that manuscripts of Crijević's poetry were owned by three distinguished Ragusan poets: Dominko Zlatarić in the sixteenth century, Ivan Bunić Vučić in the seventeenth, and Ignjat Đurđević in the eighteenth.

The special interest of this manuscript lies in the fact that it possesses a critical apparatus. It is important to understand the logic of this apparatus if we are to understand the fortunes of Crijević's texts in the Ragusan manuscript tradition. The editor of the manuscript obviously understood his task in very broad terms. While the variant readings from other manuscripts are noted by the simple use of sigla (*D. Slat.*, *P. Giorgi*, *Brev. Matth.*, and so on), at times he provides additional comments, offers conjectures and explanations, and cites Crijević's potential sources (Figure 4). His interventions can be grouped into four categories, for each of which I provide a few examples (the apparatus does not repeat the words commented upon, but I provide them here for the sake of clarity):

1. variant readings without the editor's commentary:

multas] *D. Slat.* turmas

Virtutum hanc, illam populus] *D. Slat. legit* Virtutum turba hanc, illam

Bullanum] *D. Slat.* Bolanum. *P. Giorgi legit* Bollanum [the reading of the main text corresponds to what is found in Matijašević]

titulos et nomina credas] *Est et alia lectio in Brev. Matth.* Titulos, lucemque putamus

Nec reor immemorem mea musa benigno / Hospitio cujus largiter usa fuit] *P. Seraphinus Cerva in vita ipsius Lampridii ita legit hoc Distycon*: Nec reor immemorem cujus Musa benigno Hospitio toties largiter usa fuit.⁵⁰

2. variant readings with the editor's commentary:
quod solum] *apud D. Slatarichium perperam legitur*: quę solum tibi] *D. Slat. ni fallor, melius legit*: sibi Scilicet] *P. Matth. optime legit* Si licet.⁵¹
3. conjectural readings:
martique] *An matri?*
gemuit dirę Novercę] *D. Slat. legit male*: potentia Novercę. *Forsan legendum portenta?*
Quiritum] *legendum puto* Quiritium
juxta] *Amarem melius legere*: justa, *pro equa, seu propitia*.⁵²
4. explanatory notes and identification of sources:
intermenstrua] *nempe nova*
Marcum] *Forsan Marcum Barbum Cardinalem, qui obiit 1491. ut videre est apud Zenum in Dissertat. Vossianis T. 2. p. 251.*
Civica] *Felicitas illa multis salutem dare, et ad vitam ab ipsa morte revocare, et mereri clementia Civicam. Seneca Lib. 1. de Clementia Cap. Ult. prope finem*.⁵³

⁵⁰ I leave the spelling and the punctuation intact. The first three examples are taken from the poem *Ad Traianum Bullanum urbs Veneta* (1,4 in Novaković's edition; MS AMB 68, p. 20); the readings found in the main text correspond to what is found in the Vatican manuscript of Crijević's poetry. The fourth example is found in the elegy to Gaspare Biondo (6,3; MS AMB 68, pp. 178-179); the reading in the main text of the Vatican manuscript is *lucemque putamus*, but another variant is given in the margin as *et nomina credas*. The fifth example is taken from the elegy addressed to Paolo Cortese (6,2; MS AMB 68, p. 182); the Vatican distych is closer to what is found in the Đurđević manuscript, the only difference being that instead of the lacuna it has the reading *nostri*.

⁵¹ The examples are taken from *Ode ad Rhacusam* (7,1; MS AMB 68, p. 203), *Ad Barbum Venetum* (3,14; MS AMB 68, p. 52), and from the elegy addressed to Gaspare Biondo (6,3; MS AMB 68, p. 180); the three readings preferred by the editor in the apparatus are also found in the Vatican manuscripts.

⁵² The first two examples are from the poem addressed to Paolo Orsini (5,4; MS AMB 68, p. 152), and in both cases the conjectural reading is identical to the readings of the Vatican manuscript, just as in the third example, which is taken from *Ode ad Rhacusam* (7,1; MS AMB 68, p. 203). However, in the last example, taken from the poem addressed to the college of cardinals (5,2; MS AMB 68, p. 117), the Vatican autograph reads *iuxta*, which the manuscript editor considered an error.

⁵³ The examples are taken from the following elegies: *ad principem Insubrum* (3,8; MS AMB 68, p. 45), *ad Marcum* (3,18; MS AMB 68, p. 61), and to Gaspare Biondo (6,3; MS AMB 68, p. 178).

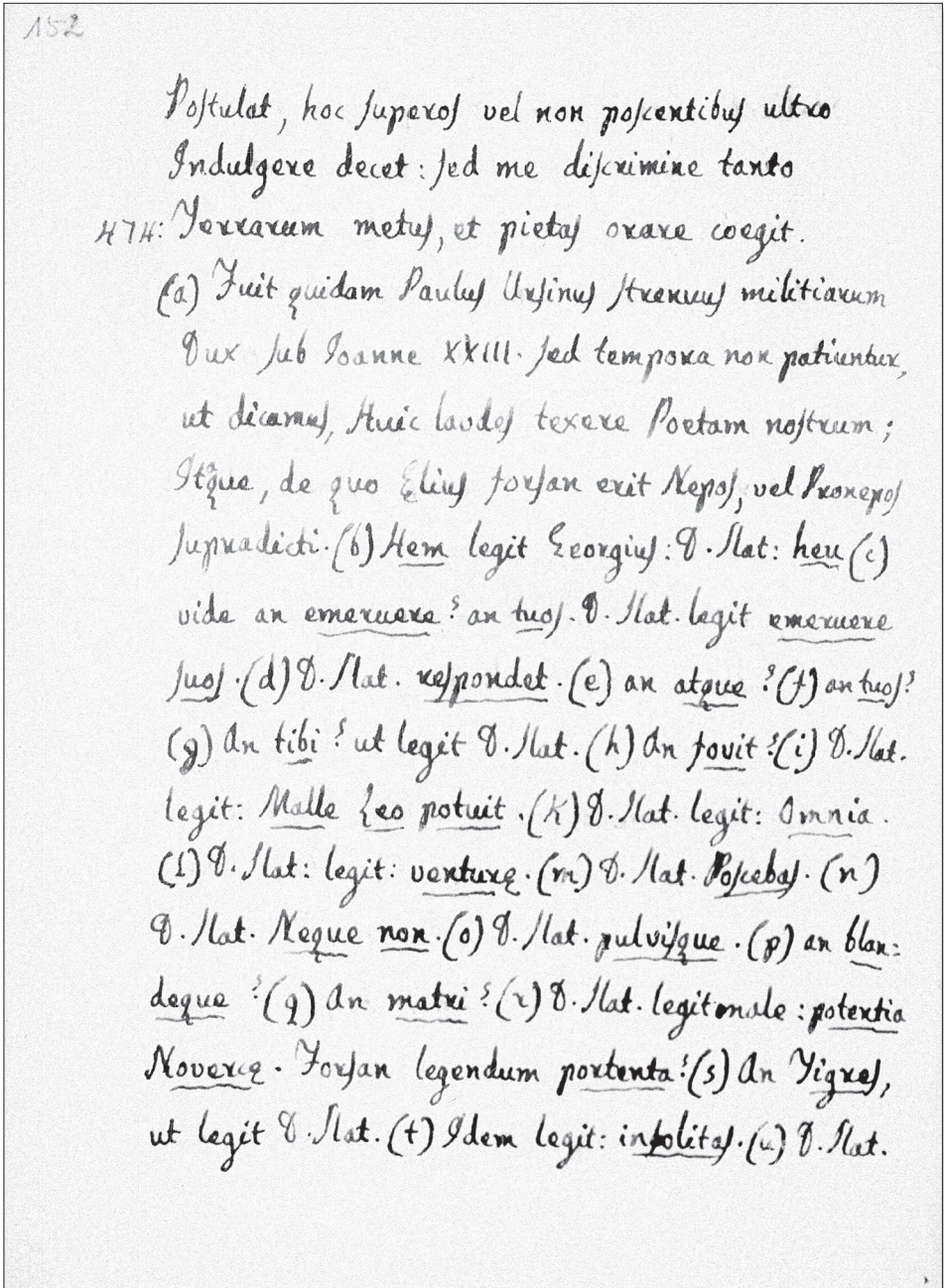


Figure 4: Crijević's poetry copied by Nikola Taljeran and furnished with a critical apparatus; Archives of the Franciscan Monastery, Dubrovnik, MS 68, p. 152.

The manner in which the apparatus of MS AMB 68 records textual variants is reliable: it does not reject even the obvious errors or lacunae, while the only things it excludes are differences in spelling. The entire apparatus shows that its purpose was not simply to record the state of the text as found in *D. Slat.* as a textual witness that would have been only temporarily available to the editor. Instead, the editor used *D. Slat.* as the basis for a careful edition of the text: he thought about possible emendations, the most accurate readings, and the requisite explanatory notes. It is not clear whether Taljeran was responsible for the critical editing of the text or whether he was simply the scribe who copied an already edited text. I leave that question open, just like the question of this manuscript's connection to the editorial work of Antun Agić. Some connection to Agić must be imagined because the manuscript refers to *Breviarium Matthaeianum*, which was owned by Agić, because the note regarding Đurđević's manuscript is similar to Agić's description of it, and finally—if we assume that the manuscript *D. Slat.* comes from the library of Marin Zlatarić—because here we find juxtaposed the three most important manuscripts belonging to the first phase of Agić's work (Bunić's via Matijašević's excerpts, Đurđević's as presented in the main text, and Zlatarić's as presented in the critical apparatus). Even though I am able to identify one of the scribes of MS AMB 68, I am still unable to date the manuscript with precision. On the one hand, the title leaf has the year 1800 written next to the name of the owner, but on the other hand when identifying the persons mentioned in the poem addressed to Biondo the apparatus refers to Agić's notes collected in Rome ("Vid. Adversaria a p. Aghich collecta Romae"), which would mean that the manuscript could not have been written before 1810. This conundrum nonetheless clearly shows that Agić's editorial work was known and used in Dubrovnik very early on (Taljeran died in 1819).⁵⁴ Another interesting point is that several lacunae Taljeran left in MS AMB 68 were later filled in by Miho Grgurević, who seems to have collated different manuscript witnesses while working on his own copy of Agić's MS AMB 409.⁵⁵

Several other manuscript witnesses linked to MS AMB 68 have survived. One of them, MS ZKD 373, is fragmentary in nature, consisting of a single

⁵⁴ The note is in MS AMB 68, p. 180. The notes Agić collected in Rome are today dispersed across several different manuscripts and collections, the largest manuscript being MS AMB 1767/I-III.

⁵⁵ Grgurević fills lacunae on pp. 167, 169, 170, 173 of MS AMB 68.

unbound gathering of twelve leaves and inscribed by an anonymous scribe. It does contain the Soderini elegy (7,20), but only from line 91 onward, and is in content identical to MS AMB 68, including the notes relating to the Đurđević and the Matijašević manuscripts. The beginning of the manuscript is missing, while the surviving part corresponds to what is found on the last fifty pages of MS AMB 68. However, the apparatus in the two manuscripts is different. The scribe who took over from Taljeran in MS AMB 68 neglected to include textual variants, while MS ZKD 373 has them all the way through, but in such a way that the variants from *D. Slat.* appear only in the section copied from the Đurđević manuscript. Another manuscript worth mentioning is MS AMB 195, copied in its entirety by Rafo Radelja (1769-1831), one of the most prolific Ragusan scribes at the turn of the nineteenth century. The first part of the manuscript, from the title *Ælii Lampridii Cervini patricii Ragusini et poetæ laureati carmina, oratiunculae et epistolae soluta oratione* onward, differs from the Taljeran manuscript only in a few details. It does not feature the list of poems not copied but present in Matijašević's excerpts; however, the title of every poem contains a reference to Matijašević's *Breviarium*. The critical apparatus is identical, except that on a rare occasion variant readings are omitted, as are some poems found toward the end and the two notes from MS AMB 68 concerned with the sources from which texts were copied. On the other hand, in the latter part of the manuscript Radelja copies poems not found in MS AMB 68. One other feature that connects this manuscript to MS AMB 68 are references to Agić's editorial work (in notes such as "sine titulo in Biblioth. Vaticana" or "sic p. Ant. Aghich in suis adnotationibus"). We can also include in this group the manuscript copied by Marko Marinović (1791-1871), today MS NSK R 5230. It includes the notes concerning Matijašević's excerpts and follows, with only minor divergences, the order of the poems found in Taljeran's transcription, but it does not include the critical apparatus.

The critical apparatus is an important tool by means of which it is today possible to identify among the surviving manuscripts exactly those witnesses featured in the apparatus, or at least their later copies. Thanks to the variants found in the apparatus and to Agić's observation that the poem *Votum pro pontifice aegrotante* was only found in the manuscript owned by Marin Zlatarić, we can establish with certainty that a copy of Zlatarić's manuscript still survives. This manuscript was formerly held in the Franciscan library in Dubrovnik, but has since been acquired by Ivan Dubravčić and included in his private collection

of manuscripts as number 6.⁵⁶ It was copied in its entirety by Rafo Radelja in 1793, the date recorded on the title page. The first section of the manuscript contains Đurđević's works (*Vitae et carmina nonnullorum illustrium civium Rhacusinorum; Raccolta di varii distici, epigrammi Italiani e Latini da certi manoscritti ricavata dal R^{mo} Pre abbate d. Ignazio Giorgi monaco Melitense*), while the last section contains the poetry of Ivan Lukarević. The section entitled *Aelii Lampridii Cervini Rhacusini carmina* (pp. 143-292) contains 64 poems.

When we compare the readings under the siglum *D. Slat.* in the critical apparatus found in Taljeran's transcript with the readings of this manuscript, we see that they are everywhere identical, and they prove true Agić's claim that the text of Zlatarić's manuscript was often corrupt. It is marred by a number of lacunae, non-existent forms (such as *Horreldi* for *Horrendi*), metrically impossible verses (e.g., *Ergo necessarium defendere, Virgo, pudorem*), and by abbreviations incorrectly expanded (regularly *quid non* instead of *quid enim*, and similar examples). There is one other manuscript that contains the same corrupt text, but it has not survived in its entirety. It is MS DAD *Memoriae* 91.2, of which only one gathering survives, containing 24 poems inscribed by a hand with which I am not acquainted.

There is no explicit indication in either of the two manuscripts that they were copied from the Zlatarić manuscript, but the identification of the source was made possible by the textual notes found in other manuscripts. The surviving manuscript editions from the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century therefore enable us to identify younger manuscripts that were actually copied from older, now perished exemplars: thus, Bunić's manuscript is preserved, though only in part, in the excerpts of Matijašević (MS DAD *Memoriae* 91.1), Đurđević's manuscript was copied by Nikola Taljeran in the early nineteenth century (MS AMB 68), while Zlatarić's manuscript survives as a copy made by Rafo Radelja also in the nineteenth century (MS Dubravčić 6).

⁵⁶ This manuscript was in fact manuscript 286 in the library of Inocent Čulić in the nineteenth century, as noted by Gorana Stepanić, *Hrvatsko pjesništvo na latinskom u sedamnaestom stoljeću: stilske tendencije i žanrovski inventar*, doctoral dissertation. University of Zagreb, 2005: pp. 73-74. After Dubravčić's death his collection was sold off, and I do not know where it is today. Photocopies of manuscript number 6 are kept in the Department of Classics at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zagreb.

6.

Soon after Antun Agić completed his manuscript edition of Crijević and released it into the world, it was made use of in a print edition, usually referred to as the first printed anthology of Latin writing in Croatia. This print edition, compiled by Urbano Appendini (1777-1834), a Piarist father and teacher in the Ragusan college, included 76 poems by twelve Ragusan poets. Appendini published this selection alongside his own poems under the joint title *Urbani Appendini carmina; accedunt selecta illustrium Ragusinorum poemata*. The book came out in 1811, just three years after Agić finished his editorial work. Crijević is the first poet featured in the anthology, represented by three of his elegies (to Paolo Cortesi, to the Ragusan Senate on the occasion of sending emissaries to Poland, and to Ivan Gučetić). After providing a short biography of Crijević, Appendini notes that three years before Antun Agić had copied Crijević's poems from the Vatican manuscript and richly furnished them with historical and philological notes: "Eius carmina tribus abhinc annis summo labore exscripsit ex codice Vaticano eruditissimus Antonius Aghichius Ragusinus Ordinis Minorum, in IX. libros distribuit, perpetuisque adnotationibus cum historicis, tum philologis locupletissime illustravit."⁵⁷ It may be unfair that Agić's monumental labors were so casually incorporated into an anthology whose primary aim was, obviously, self-promotion, but at least Appendini was judicious enough to choose his texts from the most reliable edition available in manuscript circulation.

At the same time as Agić's manuscript edition of Crijević's poetry was reaching a wider audience, his work on Crijević continued. The letters he sent to Inocent Čulić tell us that wherever he traveled—to Malta, Zakyntos, or to Corfu, to Rome or to Assisi, where he eventually died—he always carried with him manuscript volumes containing his research notes on Crijević as well as on Beneša and Kunić, the other two poets whose texts he studied. Agić corresponded with various learned men who helped him collect information or copied textual witnesses for him. For example, Ivan Kapor from Korčula, a canon at the Church of St. Jerome in Rome, copied for him some of Crijević's prose texts from MS Vat. lat. 2939. Agić worked on an edition of Crijević's prose orations and epistles,

⁵⁷ Urbano Appendini, *Urbani Appendini cler. reg. scholarum piarum et in Lyceo Ragusino philosophiae ac matheseos professoris carmina; accedunt selecta illustrium Ragusinorum poemata*. Dubrovnik: Typis Martecchinianis, 1811: p. 198.

but also continued working on Crijević's poems, and discussed with Čulić a possible print edition of Crijević's works after all.⁵⁸

After Agić's death in Assisi in 1830 his papers were sent back to the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, where they are still found. The hundreds of pages he left behind tell us that Agić continued to do research on Crijević: not just his poetic texts, but his orations and letters; not just his texts, but his career as a poet, the Roman environment in which Crijević's early poetic achievements took shape, the historical and cultural contexts that, according to Agić, were indispensable for a proper understanding of Crijević's works. Agić's learned, systematic approach to Crijević, the great judiciousness with which he edited the text, and the wide-ranging knowledge that formed the basis of his commentary make him, without question, one of the greatest literary scholars of old Dubrovnik.

⁵⁸ It appears from Agić's letters sent to Čulić from Lopud in 1815 that a friend of Čulić's was interested in publishing Crijević's works. For this reason, Agić on several occasions informs Čulić about his vision of the edition and mentions manuscripts he encloses. The potential publisher is regularly referred to as "il vostro amico" or "l'amico Dalmatino," and in one letter he says he would like to know who this Dalmatian friend interested in Crijević's oeuvre in fact is. However, further letters offer no clue as to the identity of the publisher or the success of the project. In a letter from 1819, when he was already in Rome, Agić writes that he would like to publish a selection of the most interesting works by Crijević together with a history of the Roman academy in the fifteenth century, and that he has found a person willing to finance the project, but he also complains about the shortage of time at his disposal. Regrettably, this project also failed. Agić's letters to Čulić are today found in MS AMB 2272.

Appendix

CENSUS OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING CRIJEVIĆ'S WORKS

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome

Vat. lat. 1678 (autograph; 201 poems and a prose introduction, 206 ff.)

Vat. lat. 2939 (autograph; over 30 prose texts—orations, letters, epistles, lectures—and 30 poems, 209 ff.)

Vat. lat. 9197 (14 poems in *carmina variorum*)

Vat. lat. 9202 (2 poems in *carmina variorum*)⁵⁹

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence

Magl. Cl. VII. 203 (autograph; dedicatory epistle *Aelii Lampridii Ceruini poetae laureati ad Paulum Ursinum suum principem praeclarum*, poem *De laudibus Pauli Ursini sui principis eiusdem Aelii poetae laureati*, 14 ff.)

Biblioteca Comunale, Mantua

Ms. 77 (A. III. 13) (autograph; dedicatory epistle *Aelius Lampridius Ceruinus poeta laureatus Isabellae suae principi*, poem *Aelius Lampridius Ceruinus poeta laureatus Isabellae principi Mantuanae se commendat*, 11 ff.)

Arhiv Male braće, Dubrovnik

AMB 68 (copied by Nikola Taljeran and an unidentified scribe, 18th/19th century; *Elii Lampridii Cervini Rhacusani carmina elegiaca, oratiunculae et epistolae soluta oratione*, 310 ff.)

⁵⁹ The information about MSS Vat. lat. 9197 and 9202 is taken from Škunca, *Aelius Lampridius Ceruinus*: p. 8.

AMB 195 (copied by Rafo Radelja, *Aelii Lampridii Cervini patricii Ragusini et poetae laureati carmina, oratiunculae et epistolae soluta oratione*, 290 ff.)

AMB 243 (collection of various orations, copied for Inocent Čulić, 19th century; pp. 137-160: Crijević's orations for Miho Džamanjić, Juraj Krusić, and Rainaldo Graziani)

AMB 256 (Antun Agić's transcript of Damjan Beneša's *opera omnia*, early 19th century; p. 604: *Aelii Lampridii Cervini epigramma quo respondet elegiae a Benessa ad ipsum datae*)

AMB 409 (Antun Agić's transcript from 1808, *Aelii Lampridii e patricia Rhacusinae Reipublicae Cervinorum familia poetae in Quirinali Academia laurea corona insigniti carmina libris IX. comprehensa*, 460 ff.)

AMB 433 (Matijašević's *Zibaldone*, vol. I, second half of the 18th century; pp. 20-22: Crijević's letters to Marin Bunić)

AMB 435 (Matijašević's *Zibaldone*, vol. III, second half of the 18th century; pp. 55-60: several letters by Crijević copied in their entirety or excerpted; pp. 641-642: epigram carved onto the main city gate in Ston)

AMB 585 (Ivan Kapor's letters to Antun Agić sent from Rome in 1809, with transcripts of orations and poems from MS Vat. lat. 2939)

AMB 753 (copy made for Ivan Marija Matijašević in 1755 containing his title and the note, *Oratio Aelii Lampridii Cervarii in funere Michae Zamagnii Stephani filii*, later corrections and several epigrams entered by Agić, 7 ff.)⁶⁰

AMB 2473 (transcripts by Agić and others, 18th/19th century, pp. 1-2: the beginning of the oration for Krusić; pp. 29-58: orations for Krusić and Graziani, verses concerning St. Blaise, letters and verses addressed to Soderini)

⁶⁰ The description of this manuscript corresponds to the manuscript Škunca lists as MS AMB 1247 (1126), fasc. XXII; S. Škunca, *Aelius Lampridius Cervinus*: p. 10. However, MS AMB 1247 today contains texts unrelated to Crijević. The catalog of Čulić's library lists under number 1126 the same title as given by Škunca, *Variae orationes a viris Dalmaticis et Rhagusaeis elucubratae et a p. Innocentio de Spalato minorita in unum collectae*, plus a gathering containing Crijević's oration number XXII. Čulić's manuscript 1126 is today MS AMB 1761, but the Crijević gathering is not included in it today. It is likely that it was at some point taken out of the volume and later cataloged as MS AMB 753. Folio 1r of this manuscript has the number XXII written on it.

Državni arhiv, Dubrovnik

Miscellanea saec. XVI, F. III: *Litterae privatae*, 281 (autograph, Crijević's letter to Marin Bunić)

Memoriae 54 (Čulić's transcript of Dragišić's funeral oration for Junije Đurđević, with the accompanying texts by Crijević, 19th century, 6 ff.)

Memoriae 85 (Agić's transcript of the poems *Ecce theatrales* and *Prologus in Plautum* with notes, early 19th century, 2 ff.)

Memoriae 87 (copy of the dedicatory epistle to Isabella d'Este, without the elegy, early 19th century, 2 ff.)

Memoriae 91.1 (Matijašević's transcript from 1755, *Excerpta ex Carminibus Aelii Lampridii Cervini poetae laureati Ragusini*, 22 ff.)

Memoriae 91.2 (copy by an unidentified scribe, 24 poems, 19th century, *Aelii Lampridii Cervini Rhacusini carmina*, 24 ff.)

Osobni arhivski fond Luka Pavlović 19 (transcript made from Agić's MS AMB 409 or from a later copy, 19th century, *Aelii Lampridii e patricia Rhacusinae Reipublicae Cervinorum familia poetae in Quirinali Academia laurea corona insigniti carmina libris IX comprehensa et notis referta a p. Antonio Aghich O. M. Rhacusino*)

Osobni arhivski fond Ernest Katić, box 22, G 63 (Marko Marinović's miscellany, made before 1823, *Raccolta di varii scritti antichi e poesie, riguardanti l' origine e l' epoca della fondazione dell' antico Epidaurò, presentemente detto Ragusa-vecchia, come anche della città di Ragusa e Cattaro*, pp. 141-164: *De Epidaurò*; pp. 170-183: 12 more poems by Crijević or excerpts from poems featuring Dubrovnik and its environs)

Znanstvena knjižnica, Dubrovnik

ZKD 51 (two independent gatherings containing Crijević's poetry copied from the Vatican manuscripts; the first is copied by an unidentified scribe, the second by Agić, 19 century, 44 ff.)

ZKD 367 (Agić's transcript of miscellaneous Ragusan poetry, 18th/19th century; 7r: two epigrams by Crijević printed in Dragišić's *De natura angelica*)

ZKD 373 (manuscript fragment copied by an unidentified scribe, identical in content to MS AMB, 12 ff.)

ZKD 634 (Stjepan Tomašević's transcript of Latin and Croatian poems, mid-19th century; p. 2: *Ad divum Blasium, De flumine Arione [Elius Cervinus]*)⁶¹

Knjižnica biskupijskog sjemeništa, Dubrovnik

38 (Antun Agić's transcript, 18th/19th century, *De Epidaurō*, 14 ff.)

Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb

R 5230 (Marko Marinović's miscellany from 1810, *Miscellanea ossia Raccolta delle varietà ricavate dai moderni ed antichi autori*; pp. 229-272: *Raccolta di vari versi in latino composti dal rinnomato Raguseo Elia Lampridio Cervino*; 21 poems by Crijević)

R 5255 (Antun Agić's transcript from 1817, 5 poems by Crijević associated with the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto, together with two poems by Beneša and Agić's notes on members of the Academy)

Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb

I. c. 63 (gathering copied by Đuro Ferić found in a larger composite manuscript [no. 1], transcript of the preliminary texts in Juraj Dragišić's, including three epigrams by Crijević)

II. a. 40 (Saro Crijević's *Adversaria*; p. 177: transcript of Crijević's epigram on Dragišić's *De natura angelica*)

Državni arhiv, Split

Osobni arhivski fond Mate Ivčević, 3/461 (Miho Grgurević's transcript, based on Agić's MS AMB 409, *Aelii Lampridii Cervini poetica latinis*, 253 f.)

Ivan Dubravčić's Collection of Manuscripts (now dispersed)

6 (Rafo Radelja's miscellany from 1793, containing also Ignjat Đurđević's *Vitae et carmina nonnullorum illustrium civium Rhacusinorum* as well as his poems, and also poems by Ivan Lukarević; pp. 143-292: *Aelii Lampridii Cervini carmina*, 64 poems)

⁶¹ Škunca cites this manuscript as ZKD 282, adopting the number given it in the printed catalog instead of providing the manuscript shelf-mark; S. Škunca, *Aelius Lampridius Cervinus*: p. 10.

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Cod. 9977 (*Carmina variorum*, assembled by Iohannes Sambucus, 16th century, f. 84r-87r: Crijević's original letter with a short prose introduction and the elegy *Illustrissimo Ferdinando principi Campano*, autograph)

Cod. ser. n. 4497 (Đuro Ferić's *Zibaldone storico*, Part 1, late 18th century, excerpts from *Bibliotheca Ragusina* by Saro Crijević, f. 177r-186v: transcript of Dragišić's incunable *Oratio funebris habita pro Junio Georgi* with Crijević's accompanying texts; *Oratio in funere Michaelis Zamagnae*)

Cod. ser. n. 4498 (Đuro Ferić's *Zibaldone storico*, Part 2, late 18th century, f. 1r-17r: several orations poems, and poems by Crijević copied from MS Vat. lat. 2939; excerpts from other authors regarding Ragusan history)

Lost Manuscripts

Manuscript from the Bunić Vučić family library, probably from the 16th century, consulted there in the 18th century by Ivan Marija Matijašević, who made extracts from it (today DAD, *Memoriae* 91.1); according to Agić, the manuscript was no longer found in the library in the late 18th century

Ignjat Đurđević's transcript, late 17th or early 18th century, found among his papers in the library of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Jacob in Dubrovnik, untraceable after 1806; a copy of this manuscript is today the first part of MS AMB 68 (pp. 1-259)

Manuscript from the library of Marin Zlatarić (1753-1826), possibly formerly belonging to the poet Dominko Zlatarić (1558-1613); untraceable after Marin Zlatarić's death; a copy of this manuscript is in the Ivan Dubravčić collection, number 6

Manuscript owned by Ivan Marija Matijašević, probably one of the oldest, mentioned in MS AMB 68 (p. 262); an early copy of this manuscript is the second part of MS AMB 68 (pp. 262-304).

