MARKO MARULIĆ'S *DAVIDIAS* AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

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UDK: 821.163.42.09Marulić, M.-13
81'322:821.124(497.5).09Marulić, M.
Original research article

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While the *Davidias* was traditionally characterized as a 'Vergilian' epic poem, scholars have proven that Marulić's 'mental library' was much broader. For example, we know from the inventories of his library that Marulić possessed works by two of his younger contemporaries: the epyllion *De raptu Cerberi* by Jakov Bunić and an *Epithalamium* by Matej Andreis of Trogir. Echoes of these works have been recognized in the *Davidias*. It has also been proven that Juvencus, Sedulius, and Arator – whose works Marulić read in Aldus Manutius's edition of the *Poetae Christiani veteres* – were important sources of inspiration for the *Davidias*. This paper further investigates the possible use of contemporary, Neo-Latin sources and models in the *Davidias* to determine if Marulić indeed had Quattrocento poetry on his desk, or in his mind, since the title of his work appears to echo Francesco Filelfo's *Sphortias*, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi's *Borsias* and Ugolino Verino's *Carlias*. Marulić's intertextual dependencies are assessed by examining the presence of common word clusters and by applying stylometric software. The same analysis is performed on Marco Girolamo Vida's *Christias* and Damjan Beneša's *De morte Christi*, two other examples of Biblical epic poetry from nearly the same era, to determine how these poems relate to their literary antecedents and to what extent the *Davidias* stands out.

Keywords: Marko Marulić – *Davidias*, Marco Girolamo Vida – *Christias*, Damjan Beneša – *De morte Christi*, epic tradition, intertextuality, stylometry

When Marko Marulić wrote his *Davidias*, an epic poem about the biblical King David in fourteen books, presumably between 1510 and 1517, he ventured into almost uncharted territory. Not only did he write a full-blown biblical epic poem, but he also did so as a Neo-Latin writer in Dalmatia.[1] The main model for anyone producing a Latin epic poem would have been the *Aeneis*, along with, possibly, Vergil's own Greek models, while also bearing in mind other Latin hexametric writings from Antiquity through the Middle Ages, and Christian epic poetry in particular.

In the programmatic opening verses of the poem – about which more will be said below – Marulić states that, unlike Statius in his *Thebais* or Lucan in the *Pharsalia*, he will not tackle mythological subjects, but rather focus on the true story of God. However, apart from this statement regarding the content of his undertaking, he remains silent about his specific literary models and sources of inspiration. Until recently, editors of the *Davidias* have consistently pointed to his 'Vergilian' inspiration, yet none offered a real *apparatus fontium*.[2] A few scholars have examined specific models, focusing on Marulić's echoes from contemporary Croatian Neo-Latin literature – the epyllion *De raptu Cerberi* by Jakov Bunić of Dubrovnik (1500) and an *Epithalamium* by Matej Andreis of Trogir (1502)[3] – as well as on the reception of Christian poets like Dracontius (*Laudes Dei*), Cyprianus Gallus (*Heptateuchos*), Avitus (*De Mosaicae / spiritualis historiae gestis*), Juvencus (*Evangeliorum libri*), Sedulius (*Paschale carmen*), Prudentius (*Psychomachia*),

[1] The research for this article originated from the preparation of the edition with a facing English translation by Edward Mulholland, which was published in the LYNX book series of which I am the general editor: Marko Marulić, *The Davidiad*, LYSA, Ghent, 2024. For more on the project's origins, see Edward Mulholland, '»Has omnes difficultates… amor peruicit«: The Trials and Triumphs of the First English Translation of the *Dauidias*', CM XXXIII (2024), 5–11. See also the book review by Neven Jovanović in CM XXXIV (2025), 167–173. I am very grateful to Neven Jovanović and Vladimir Rezar for their comments on a first draft of my text, from which I benefitted a great deal, and to Jennifer K. Nelson for vetting my English.

[2] For an overview of previous editions, see Mulholland's edition, Marulić, *op. cit.* (1), 36–38, and Bratislav Lučin, »Bibliografija. Izdanja djela Marka Marulića (Izbor)«, Marko Marulić, *Hrvatski stihovi i proza*, priredio i transkribirao Bratislav Lučin, Stoljeća hrvatske književnosti, vol. 137, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 2018, 79–86. Winfried Baumann, *Die* Davidias *des Marko Marulić. Das große Epos der dalmatinischen Latinität*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt a. M. – Bern – New York, 1984, only adds (at 26–31) some structural parallels between »Vergil und Marulić« to what the editions that where then available had to offer.

[3] Neven Jovanović, »Moja muza, Mnemozina: iz komparativne konkordancije *Davidijade*, *Otmice Kerbera* i *Epitalamija*«, CM VII (1998), 75–94.

Paulinus of Nola (*Carmina*) and Sidonius Apollinarius (*Carmina*).[4] We know for a fact that Marulić owned a copy of Aldus Manutius's edition of the *Poetae Christiani veteres* (1501/02), and that he read it attentively.[5]

We also have some information about the contents of Marulić's library and therefore of his possible models, thanks to two lists totaling almost 200 books. One list was written by Marulić himself and attached to his will (*Repertorium librorum*), the other one was made by his executors after his death (*Inventarium librorum*). These lists demonstrate the multifaceted nature of his literary interests.[6] As far as poetry is concerned, the following are mentioned:

> Sphera theorica, Iginus, Aratus, volumen unum; Virgilius in parvo volumine, Virgilius cum comento, Virgilii Bucholica; Oratius et Juvenalis cum comento; Epistole Oratii poete; Martialis cum comento; Electa ex Marciale et Silvis Statii et Hygino et quedam ex Platone; Statii Thebais et Achileis et Silve cum comento; Statii Silve et Saphos cum comento et opera Claudiani poete; Opianus poeta De natura piscium; Ausonii Epigrammata et alia quedam; Sedulius, Juvencus, Arator poete; Maphei Vegii Carmina et dialogi; Carmina fratris Baptiste Carmelitani; Libellus Jacobi Boni Epidauri De raptu Cerberi; Mathei Andronici Traguriensis Epitalamium.[7]

Since Neven Jovanović has pointed out echoes from the two short contemporary poems mentioned at the end of this list, I wondered if it would be possible to find reminiscences or even citations from other Neo-Latin authors, be it the ones known to have been part of Marulić's library, such as Maffeo Vegio and Battista Mantovano, or others. Therefore, I decided to look for identical word clusters present in both the *Davidias* and other Latin poetic texts that Marulić might have read, and subsequently to use Maciej Eder's *R* scripts for MFW ('most frequent words') stylometric analysis, in order to verify whether it confirms the impression yielded by the frequency of identical clusters.

In a first, exploratory stage, I included not only hexametrical Latin texts from antiquity, but all classical versified Latin texts, including, for example, Phaedrus and Seneca's tragedies, as well as patristic, medieval, and some early modern epic and hexametrical poetry, insofar as they were digitally available to me. I established the following corpus:[8]

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[4] Darko Novaković, »La *Davidiade* di Marulić e gli epici protomedievali latini«, CM IX (2000), 205–218.

[5] On the annotations in his copy, see Neven Jovanović, »Marulićeve marginalije uz Macarija Muzija«, CM XXI (2012), 109–142.

[6] Bratislav Lučin, »*Studia humanitatis* u Marulićevoj knjižnici«, CM VI (1997), 169–203.

[7] *Ibidem*, 190–191.

[8] Texts were mostly drawn from the collections of *Musisque Deoque* (www.mqdq.it), *Poeti d'Italia in lingua latina tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (www.poetiditalia.it) and

1. Titus Maccius Plautus, *Comoediae*
2. Publius Terentius Afer, *Comoediae*
3. Titus Lucretius Carus, *De rerum natura*
4. Gaius Valerius Catullus, *Opera*
5. Publius Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica*, *Georgica*, *Aeneis*
6. Albius Tibullus, *Opera*
7. Sextus Aurelius Propertius, *Opera*
8. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Opera*
9. Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses*, *Opera*
10. Phaedrus, *Fabulae*
11. Aules Persius Flaccus, *Saturae*
12. Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Tragoediae*
13. Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, *Pharsalia*
14. Gaius Petronius Arbiter, *Satyrica*
15. [Italicus], *Ilias Latina*
16. Gaius Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*
17. Publius Papinius Statius, *Thebais*, *Achilleis*, *Silvae*
18. Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus, *Punica*
19. Marcus Valerius Martialis, *Epigrammata*
20. Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis, *Saturae*
21. Gaius Vettius Aquilinus Iuvencus, *Evangeliorum libri*
22. Faltonia Betitia Proba, *Cento Vergilianus*
23. Claudius Claudianus, *Carmina varia*
24. Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Psychomachia*, *Carmina*
25. Cyprianus Gallus, *Heptateuchos*
26. Paulinus Nolanus, *Carmina*
27. Caelius Sedulius, *Paschale carmen*
28. Sidonius Apollinarius, *Carmina*
29. Blossius Aemilius Dracontius, *Laudes Dei*, *Romulea*
30. Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, *De Spiritualis historiae gestis*
31. Arator, *De actibus apostolorum*
32. Aldus Manutius (ed.), *Poetae Christiani veteres*
33. Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *Iohannis*, *Panegyricus*
34. Ekkehard, *Waltharius*
35. Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis*
36. Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus*
37. Francesco Petrarca, *Africa*
38. Maffeo Veggio, *Aeneidos supplementum*, *Carmina*
39. Basinio Basini, *Carmina varia*, *Hesperis*

Croatiae auctores Latini (*CroALa*) (croala.ffzg.unizg.hr); they were orthographically uniformized (changing every *ae* and *oe* into *e*, *j* and *y* into *i*, *v* into *u*) before processing them.

40. Francesco Filelfo, *Satyrae*, *Carmina*, *De iocis et seriis*, *Sphortias*
41. Matteo Zuppardo, *Alfonseis*
42. Gian Mario Filelfo, *Amyris*
43. Battista Spagnoli Mantovano, *Adulescentia*, *Parthenicae*, *Sylvae*, *Carmina varia*
44. Jakov Bunić (Iacobus Bonus), *De raptu Cerberi*
45. Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, *Borsias*, *Carmina varia*
46. Ugolino Verino, *Carlias*, *Carmina varia*
47. Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, *Carmina varia*
48. Macario Muzio, *De triumpho Christi*
49. Matej Andreis (Matthaeus Andronicus Tragurinus), *Epithalamium*
50. Marko Marulić, *Davidias*

Admittedly, some caution is warranted. The title of Marulić's epic poem shows a striking affinity with some Quattrocento works listed above: Francesco Filelfo's *Sphortias*, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi's *Borsias* and Ugolino Verino's *Carlias*. All three are devoted to 'historical' ideal leaders – just as Marulić devoted his poem to the life of an Old Testament king. On the other hand, none of these three works were printed during Marulić's lifetime and, judging by the very limited number of surviving manuscripts, they hardly circulated; also, obviously none of them deals with a biblical character. Filelfo's *Sphortias* survives in eight manuscripts and was first printed in 2015. Strozzi's *Borsias* and Verino's *Carlias* were each transmitted in a single manuscript and were not printed until 1977 and 1995, respectively. Therefore, one should proceed with caution rather than jumping to the conclusion that the *Davidias* was modelled after them.

The same caution should be exercised with quite a few other compositions. For example: Corippus's *Panegyricus* survives in a single manuscript (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 10029), as does his *Iohannis* (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, ms. 686; *editio princeps* 1820); Ekkehard's *Waltharius* survives in six manuscripts (*ed. pr.* 1780); Basinio Basini's *Hesperis* and other poems were not printed until the late 18th century; Zuppardo's *Alfonseis* survives in a single manuscript (Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 1570; *ed. pr.* 1990); and Gian Mario Filelfo's *Amyris* also survives in a single manuscript (Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. Lat. 99; *ed. pr.* 1978).

It goes without saying that identical word clusters alone do not necessarily signify relevant intertextual connections, given the well-known role of epic formulae and other generic expressions. On the other hand, many passages in a poem may qualify as deliberate intertextual reminiscences of a model despite not containing even two identical words in succession, that is, by referring to their models by way of partial correspondences and obvious, yet not literal allusions. Addressing such possible connections would have required close reading of each of the poems taken into consideration in their entirety, which is beyond the scope of the present exploration. Furthermore, apart from merely verbal correspondences,

other features of Marulić's epic technique, such as lexical,[9] metrical,[10] and stylistic aspects,[11] ought to be taken into consideration to produce a more comprehensive analysis of the *Davidias* as a literary achievement before claiming the existence (or absence) of a close relationship with a given predecessor. The present research was therefore not intended to find undisputable proof of deliberate imitation or to offer any in-depth analysis of the intertextual relationship between the *Davidias* and its possible models as a whole, but rather to provide an initial snapshot of plausible candidates for future research concerning Marulić's 'mental library'.[12] Hence, also for reasons of feasibility, the current exploration is limited to an examination of the presence of common word clusters. In an attempt to assess whether such a 'mechanical' counting can be corroborated, I decided to apply stylometric software examining MFW patterns in the *Davidias* as well as in Marco Girolamo Vida's *Christias* and Damjan Beneša's *De morte Christi*, two other examples of Biblical epic poetry from nearly the same era, to determine how these three poems relate to their literary antecedents and to what extent the *Davidias* may stand out.

Further examining the reception of contemporary Neo-Latin writings in Marulić's poem certainly makes sense. We know that he acquired newly printed works during his visits to Venice,[13] so it is plausible that certain titles he owned or read are not included in the two lists of his library's collection. Support for this hypothesis is provided, in fact, by the *Davidias*. In Book VIII, we find two instances of the extremely rare verb *supperno*:

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[9] A few seminal studies: Rosa María Marina Sáez, »El uso de epítetos virgilianos en la *Davidiada* de Marco Marulo. Introducción a los métodos de composición de un poeta renacentista«, in *Actas del IX Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos. Humanismo y Tradición Clásica*, ed. Antonio Alvar Ezquerra, Jesús García Fernández, José Francisco González Castro, vol. 7, Madrid, 1999, 201–206; Johann Ramminger, »Marulus as a Neo-Latin Writer«, CM XX (2011), 123–140; *Id.*, »The Role of Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance Lexicography in the Development of Neo-Latin: Some Examples from the Latin Works of Marcus Marulus«, *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 31 (2011), 75–86.

[10] See, for now: Rosa María Marina Sáez, »El hexámetro de la *Davidiada* de Marco Marulo: tradición y originalidad«, in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. II.2, Homenaje al profesor Luis Gil*, ed. José María Maestre Maestre, Luis Charlo Brea, Joaquín Pascual Barea, Universidad de Cádiz, Alcañiz, 1997, 961–969; Mislav Benić, »Prozodija u Marulićevu epu *Davidias* i Bunićevu epu *De vita et gestis Christi*«, CM XIX (2010), 163–183; Neven Jovanović, »Usporedba opkoračenja u *Juditi* i *Davidijadi*«, CM XXXI (2022), 37–50.

[11] See, for example, Ante Kadić, »*Davidias* de Marulić y su empleo de símiles«, *Studia Croatica* 112 (1989), 12–26.

[12] At the same time, and very pragmatically, it served as a way to collect a reservoir of parallel places to be included in Edward Mulholland's *Davidias* edition.

[13] Bratislav Lučin, *Iter Marulianum. Od Splita do Venecije tragovima Marka Marulića. Da Spalato a Venezia sulle tracce di Marko Marulić*, Viella, Roma, 2008, 129–160.

Sed quadrigarum cunctos (ut fama) iugales
suppernare iubens, numerum servavit equorum,
sufficiens tantum qui centum curribus esset.
[…] Igitur **suppernat** equinum
ille animal, quisquis fastu prius usus iniquo
ad mites humilis morum convertitur actus
et quem flammifero succenderat igne libido […]

Festus refers to Ennius's *Annales* and to Catullus (*carmen* XVII.19) for this verb, yet a Catullus manuscript we know to have been in Marulić's possession (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. 7989, f. 139r)[14] reads »in fossa Liguri iacet **separata** securi«, which is the reading of all relevant manuscript witnesses. This *lectio facilior* error was first corrected by Poliziano, on the authority of a Festus manuscript containing the word *suppernatus* that was shown to him by Manilius Cabacius Rallus, as Poliziano himself relates in the first *Centuria* of his *Miscellanea*.[15] In most copies of the 1489 *Miscellanea* edition, Poliziano and his amanuenses revised his original emendation of *separata* into *suppernata*, further correcting it manually into *expernata* after Michael Marullus criticized his initial intervention.[16] Therefore, we might conclude that Marulić used an uncorrected

[14] Because of the important role of this codex in the transmission of Petronius, I have included the latter when establishing my corpus of Latin texts. On Marulić's ownership of this codex, see Bratislav Lučin, »Marulićeva ruka na trogirskom kodeksu Petronija (*codex Parisiensis lat. 7989 olim Traguriensis*)«, CM XIV (2005), 315–322; *Id.*, »Marul, Katul i trogirski kodeks Petronija (*codex Parisiensis lat. 7989 olim Traguriensis*)«, CM XVI (2007), 5–48; and *Id.*, »Petronije na istočnoj obali Jadrana: *Codex Traguriensis* (*Paris. lat. 7989*) i hrvatski humanisti«, CM XXIII (2014), 133–184, where (at 178) Lučin points out that »Marulić entered numerous interventions in the Catullus part of the manuscript: alongside almost every poem, he wrote a short accompanying note in the margin, some kind of summary, and he entered many emendations into the text of the poems, writing them in the margins or between the lines, or even over the hand *a*. At a rough guess, there must be no fewer than four or five hundred such variants or emendations.«

[15] »Ostendit mihi Romae abhinc quadriennium Manilius Rallus, Graecus homo sed Latinis litteris adprime excultus, fragmentum quoddam Sexti Pompei Festi (nam ita erat in titulo) sane quam vetustum, sed pleraque mutilatum praerosumque a muribus.« See Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellanies,* vol. 1, ed. tr. Andrew R. Dyck and Alan Cottrell (ITRL 89), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA – London, 2020, 364–367. See on this passage also Alessandro Moscadi, »Un emendamento a Catullo 17,19 nel cap. 73 della prima Centuria del Poliziano«, *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 17 (2003), 265–280, who discusses the success (or rather, the lack of it) of Poliziano's emendation in editions of Catullus, pointing out that editors refer to Festus, but omit Poliziano's fundamental contribution to the correction of *separata* into *suppernata*.

[16] Louis Verreth, »Poliziano Correcting Poliziano. A Preliminary Survey of Handwritten Corrections in the Editio Princeps of the *Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima*«, *Quaerendo* 54 (2023), 77–102, at 16–17: »Though originally adopting in Catullus' line 17.19 the

copy of the *Miscellanea* or that he decided to ignore the handwritten intervention, or maybe even that he was familiar with Marullus's caustic epigram. At any rate, the Catullus manuscript on which Marulić worked so intensely cannot have been his source for the use of this rare word. The most plausible conclusion, I believe, is that he learned it from Poliziano's *Miscellanea*, illustrating the relevance of including contemporary publications when studying sophisticated and well-read Neo-Latin authors like Marko Marulić.

For the first part of my investigation, I used Laurence Anthony's *AntConc*, a freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis, in particular its N-Gram Tool. This scans a text corpus for all 'N'-sized clusters: two-word clusters, three-word clusters, etc. It allows for the finding of common expressions in a corpus, as well as singling out clusters occurring in two (or more) separate text files.[17] This yielded the statistics in **Table 1**, where the N2, N3, N4, N5, and N6 columns show the number of clusters of two, three, four, five, or six identical words that the *Davidias* has in common with each preceding literary work (or set of works), in absolute quantities. As far as digrams (N2) and trigrams (N3) are concerned, the ratio per thousand and per ten thousand is calculated next to it. While N2- and N3-grams may indicate an unconscious reading substrate, N4-grams and higher most likely indicate deliberate allusion.

Strikingly yet unsurprisingly, Vergil stands out in this respect. The only N6 cluster shared by the *Davidias* and any of its predecessors is a full verse that Marulić borrowed from the *Aeneis*:

Dav. 2.184	Dixit et adversos telum contorsit in hostes.
Aen. 12.266	Dixit et adversos telum contorsit in hostes.

Furthermore, the same poem was the source of a sequence of five words (N5) in four more cases:[18]

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now widely accepted *suppernata* based on Festus' use of the word *suppernatus*, Poliziano changed his reading shortly after the printing of *Fl.* into *expernata* (suspecting transpositions in the manuscripts' reading *separata*) […]. Although the change into *expernata* has not been made in all copies of *Fl.* consulted, the many copies which do contain it hint towards the fact that Poliziano rectified the error relatively early. He did so on the basis of criticism raised in several of Michael Marullus's poems which touched upon topics presented in Poliziano's book, in this case deriding Poliziano for the prosodic oddity which *suppernata* creates. The correction was later incorporated into the *Emendationes*.« Michael Marullus's criticism is in his epigram III.39, *In Ecnomum* (his nickname for Poliziano): »Quid separatam, vane, suppernas, rogo, / alnum Catulli nobilem, / plebi otiosae scilicet risum parans, / oblitus ut soles pedis?« See Michael Marullus, *Poems*, ed. tr. Charles Fantazzi, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA – London, 2012, 134–135, and 417–418, n. 52.

[17] See www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc. I used *AntConc* version 4.2.4 (2023).

[18] In the *AntConc* calculations shown in the chart, an N6-gram is considered to contain two N5-grams. Additionally, it should be noted that if a certain cluster appears multiple

Dav. 1.92	Est Iesseus, magni genus alto a sanguine Iudae.
Aen. 5.45	Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum
Dav. 2.306	Nunc hos, nunc illos aditus sine fine requirit,
Aen. 5.441	nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
Dav. 5.455	atque diem clauso componat vesper Olympo
Aen. 1.374	ante diem clauso componat vesper Olympo
Dav. 9.237–238	dum licet ac gratas audire et reddere voces.
	Sic David, sic ipse sequens respondit Urias:
Aen. 6.689–690	nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?
	Sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum

In the latter case, the N5-gram spans two verses, but the N4 cluster »audire et reddere voces« occurs twice more in the *Aeneis* (*Aen.* 2.409: »ac veras audire et reddere voces«; *Aen.* 6.689: »et notas audire et reddere voces«) and it also appears in Proba's Vergilian *Cento* (1.271: »aut notas audire et reddere voces«).

One N5-gram may seem to connect the *Davidias* with Verino's *Carlias*, but both adapted the cluster from Vergil (as I do not believe the common transposition of *totam* would suffice to conclude that Marulić had the *Carlias* at hand):

Dav. 9.315	Interea totam vulgatur fama per urbem
Carl. 9.21	Cum subito totam vulgatur fama per urbem
Aen. 12.608	hinc totam infelix vulgatur fama per urbem

It should be noted that the numerous N3 and N4-grams that the *Davidias* shares with post-classical epic poems are mostly common borrowings or echoes, primarily from Vergil, but also from Ovid and epics of the Silver Age.[19] Naturally,

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times in either the *Davidias* or one of its antecedents, it is counted as a single correspondence. In other words, the number of correspondences between, e.g., the *Davidias* and a long text will be relatively lower than when compared to a short text.

[19] The most recurring N4-grams in the entire corpus investigated: »haec ubi dicta dedit« (31 times in 14 texts); »nec mora nec requies« (16 times in 8 texts); »vix ea fatus erat« (15 times in 7 texts); »non aliter quam cum« (13 times in 6 texts); »nunc huc nunc illuc« (12 times in 9 texts); »at parte ex alia« (11 times in 7 texts); »nihil est quod non« (10 times in 9 texts); »iam magis atque magis« (10 times in 8 texts); »per mare per terras« (10 times in 7 texts); »si vera est fama« (9 times in 7 texts); »haud aliter quam cum« (9 times in 5 texts); »haec est illa dies« (8 times in 8 texts); »sed quid ego haec« (8 times in 6 texts); »non igitur mirum si« (8 times in 5 texts); »non aliter quam si«, »nunc hos nunc illos«, »si credere dignum est«, »tanto pro munere grates« (7 times in 7 texts); »si qua est tibi« (7 times in 6 texts); »nunc haec nunc illa« (7 times in 5 texts); »et genus et nomen«, »nec tela nec hostes«, »qui mare qui terras«, »quid verbis opus est«, »tendens ad sidera palmas« (6 times in 6 texts); »et nihil est quod« (6 times in 5 texts); »audire et reddere

this applies pre-eminently to Maffeo Vegio's *Aeneidos supplementum*. However, Proba's *Cento* stands out even more than Vergil himself, which may be due to the *Cento*'s inclusion in the *Poetae Christiani veteres*, a collection that Marulić avidly read (and annotated).

Furthermore, while Marulić may not have had access to certain unedited epic poems, as mentioned above, reading other works by the same humanists may have influenced his vocabulary and style. For instance, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi's *Borsias* was not edited until 1977; however, his *Carmina* were printed by Aldus Manutius in 1513. Similarly, Francesco Filelfo's *Sphortias* remained unedited until recently,[20] but his ten books of *Satyrae* were printed in Milan in 1476 (with reprints in Venice in 1502 and Paris in 1508), and his five books of *Carmina* (*Odes*) were published in Brescia in 1497.

Nevertheless, the *Davidias* shares a high number of N4-grams with the *Sphortias: nunc haec, nunc illa* (*Sphor.* 1.417, 1.590, 5.97, *Dav.* 1.233); *nunc hunc, nunc illum* (*Sphor.* 6.453, *Dav.* 3.487, 4.51); *haec ubi dicta dedit* (*Sphor.* 1.748, *Dav.* 4.492, 14.84); *in dextrum laevumque latus* (*Sphor.* 6.696, *Dav.* 14.273); *nec vis ulla virum* (*Sphor.* 1.689, *Dav.* 7.263); *non aequa mente ferebant* (*Sphor.* 1.50, *Dav.* 6.18); *nunc hos, nunc illos* (*Sphor.* 8.712, *Dav.* 2.306); *nunc huc, nunc illuc* (*Sphor.* 8.734, *Dav.* 2.415); *procul nostris a moenibus* (*Sphor.* 8.142, *Dav.* 2.98); *quibus est abs te* (*Sphor.* 5.129, *Dav.* 6.27); *sic est orsa loqui* (*Sphor.* 6.748, *Dav.* 14.44); *tanto in discrimine rerum* (*Sphor.* 6.543, *Dav.* 5.433). Most of these clusters are of course quite generic, and *haec ubi dicta dedit* is a Vergilian evergreen (*Aen.* 2.790, 6.628, 7.323, 7.471, 8.541, 10.633, 12.81, 12.441), omnipresent in all Neo-Latin epic, yet the the *Sphortias* is the only Neo-Latin epic poem registering a double-digit overlap with the *Davidias*. Does this imply that Marulić must have had access to Filelfo's poem? Not necessarily: the *Christias* has five N4-grams in common with the *Sphortias*, and as many as eight with the *Davidias*, but there are no indications that Vida had access to either one. Filelfo, on the other hand, had connections with people from or living in Dalmatia, both in the Republic of Dubrovnik and in the cities under Venetian rule, including Girolamo Genesio, Marulić's Greek teacher. Furthermore, Filelfo's son Senofonte spent the last decade of his life in Dubrovnik

voces«, »genus alto a sanguine«, »haud aliter quam si«, »nam quid ego memorem« (6 times in 4 texts); »eripe me his invicte«, »et soror et coniunx«, »me his invicte malis«, »nec enim sine numine«, »prima repetens ab origine«, »si credere fas est«, »si fas est dicere«, »si quid adhuc superest«, »sic ore locuta est«, »tollens ad sidera vultus«, »tum magis atque magis« (5 times in 5 texts); »ille ego sum qui«, »ille nihil contra sed«, »mors erat ante oculos«, »nunc hunc nunc illum«, »quae te dementia cepit«, »quem procul ut vidit«, »quis furor iste novus«, »si qua est ea«, »vulgatur fama per urbem« (5 times in 4 texts).

[20] Jeroen De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo and Francesco Sforza. Critical edition of Filelfo's* Sphortias, De Genuensium deditione, Oratio parentalis *and his Polemical Exchange with Galeotto Marzio* (Noctes Neolatinae 22), Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York, 2015.

(Ragusa), where he married Jakobina Turčinović and died on August 27th, 1470.[21] Two letters addressed to Senofonte in 1452 and 1453 suggest that Filelfo kept his son apprised about his work on the *Sphortias* and sent him samples of his writing.[22] Although these letters predate Senofonte's move to Dubrovnik, we might assume that Filelfo continued sending his son samples of his work and, therefore, that a copy of the *Sphortias* was shipped to, and perhaps copied in, Dubrovnik and was subsequently available to Marulić. Apart from the many verbal echoes,[23] it is also worth noting the parallel in the programmatic opening lines of each poem. Both authors proudly declare that they will not indulge in mythological fiction, but will instead present historical or sacred truth:

Marko Marulić, *Davidias*, liber I
Davidis memorare pii gesta inclyta regis
instituo. Quis **nunc** dignas in carmina vires
suppeditet? **Non** Cirrhaeae de vertice rupis
descendens lauroque caput praecinctus Apollo,
non Nysae numen, furiata mente Lyaeus
Pieridumque chorus. Nam **non ego** dicere Troiae
excidium Thebasve paro **nec** sparsa cruore
Thessala Romano bellis civilibus arva,
sed caelo cognatum **opus** arcanisque sacratum
mysteriis. Quorum qui solus crederis autor,
solus, magne Deus, **mihi** iam cantanda ministres.
Gens quondam Iudaea potens opibusque virisque,
orbe sub Eoo residens, non inscia **verae**
religionis erat; ritus moremque sacrorum

[21] See Jeroen De Keyser, »Dalmatia and Dalmatian Connections in the *Epistolarium* of Francesco Filelfo«, CM XXVII (2018), 75–94, 98–100.

[22] In PhE·10.31 (9 October 1452), Filelfo announces that he has embarked on two projects dedicated to Duke Francesco Sforza, sending samples to his son: »Et quoniam significasti non nullos esse Romae qui cuperent horum aliquid legere, quae a me in praesentia scribuntur, duorum operum veluti frontispicia (tum *Sphortiados*, tum *De vita et rebus gestis Francisci Sphortiae*) cum hisce litteris ad te dedi.« Apparently, Senofonte showed the sample to his *familiares* and then provided his father with some feedback: in PhE·10.40 (12 January 1453) Francesco replies why *Sphortias* should be spelled with *ph* rather than *f*: »Scripsisti proximis litteris aliquos istic esse, qui cupiant scire quare *Sphortiada* per *ph* et non per *f* litteram notarim; ad haec, qua ratione *plaerunque* in prima syllaba per *ae* diphthongum scripserim. Accipe quod petis utrunque breviter.« See for both letters Francesco Filelfo, *Collected Letters. Epistolarum Libri XLVIII*, ed. Jeroen De Keyser (Hellenica 54), 4 vol., Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria, 2015, 2017², vol. 2, 522 and 529.

[23] For these I refer to the apparatus and the *Index locorum* included in Edward Mulholland's edition.

edidicit monstrante Deo, referentibus ipsis
e caelo afflatis certissima quaeque prophetis.

Francesco Filelfo, *Sphortias*, liber I
Prisca vocent alios, qui nil nisi ficta referre
et simulata velint vanique simillima somni.
At **nos vera** iuvant, quae nostro maxima saeclo,
nemine posterior meritis nec laude priorum,
Sphortiadum lux clara ducum columenque ruentis
Italiae, gessit Franciscus, solus in omnes
idem animo ingenioque vices infractus et acer.
Hunc igitur canimus, duce qui virtute superbae
insidias semper Fortunae vicit et iras.
Unde novum temptemus **opus**? Dic, diva, quid haeres?
Non satyris agimus, lyricis **nec** plectra movemus
carminibus. Fortis agitamus in agmina turmas.

The overlap between the *Davidias* and Battista Spagnoli Mantovano's poetry, as can be seen in the N-gram chart, should come as no surprise, since we know that Mantovano's writings were part of Marulić's library. In fact, he may also have had in mind the opening verses of Mantovano's *Parthenice prima sive Mariana*, which expresses similar intentions:

Battista Mantovano, *Parthenice prima sive Mariana*
Sancta Palaestinae repetens exordia Nymphae,
difficiles ortus et formidata profundo
incrementa Iovi, mores Hymenaeaque festa
Virginis et sacri referam miracula partus,
actaque et acceptos mundi melioris honores.
Sed neque Pierii fontis, **neque** Phocidis undae
nunc vada sunt tentanda **mihi**: maiore Camena
et maioris **opus nunc** est ope numinis. Ergo
Tu **mihi**, Diva, fave, caelum cui militat omne,
quam trepidant Erebi sedes, cui terra fretumque
Vota precesque ferunt. Nostro Tu sola labori
sis praesens, operique Tuo largita futuro
praesidium, nostrae, veniens, illabere menti.

The presence of Petrarch's *Africa* should not be surprising either. Its *editio princeps* was published in Venice by Aldus Manutius in 1501, and scholars have

already proven that Petrarch influenced Marulić's writings, in particular his *Judita*, which was written in the vernacular.[24]

To allow for a more solid assessment of the data yielded by these N-gram analyses, I repeated the same procedure with two other points of comparison: two other examples of hexametric Biblical epic poems relatively close to the *Davidias* in time and space. These are the *Christias* by Marco Girolamo Vida (1485–1566), first published in Cremona in 1535,[25] and *De morte Christi* by the Croatian author Damjan Beneša (1477–1539),[26] which remained unedited during the poet's lifetime.[27] **Table 2** displays the most salient divergences between the three poems side by side: N2 in ‰, N3 in ‱, and N4 and N5 in absolute numbers.[28]

First of all, as expected, Vergil emerges as the primary role model for all three poets, though Beneša stands out as he seems to have had in mind the *Georgica* even more than the *Aeneis*. Like Marulić, Vida even cites a single six-word cluster from Vergil, though here it is not a full hexameter:

Aen. 1.586–587 Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa repente
scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.
Chr. 2.801–802 Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa iuventus
caeca ruit, densaque omnes indagine cingunt.

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[24] See Marko Marulić, *Istorija svete udovice Judit u versih harvacki složena*. Povodom petstote obljetnice prvotiska kritičko, studijsko i preslikano izdanje priredio Zvonko Pandžić, Franjevački samostan Male braće, Dubrovnik, 2021, especially at 56–57 and 86–95. Marulić also translated Petrarch's sonnet *Vergine bella*: see Bratislav Lučin, »Polifonija Marulićeva prepjeva Petrarkine kancone *Vergine bella*«, in *Petrarca i petrarkizam u hrvatskoj književnosti – zbornik radova,* ed. Bratislav Lučin i Mirko Tomasović, Književni krug, Split, 2006, 285–304.

[25] Critical edition: Marcus Hieronymus Vida, *Christias*, ed. tr. com. Eva von Contzen, Reinhold F. Glei, Wolfgang Polleichtner, Michael Schulze Roberg, 2 vol., WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, Trier, 2013. Edition with facing English translation: Marco Girolamo Vida, *Christiad*, ed. tr. James Gardner (ITRL 39), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2009.

[26] Critical edition: Damjan Beneša, *De morte Christi*, ed. Vladimir Rezar, Ex Libris, Zagreb, 2006.

[27] In the English summary at the end of his edition, Rezar states (at 399) that »The epic is the fruit of the poet's later years, finished shortly before his death, and in form and content is most indebted to a contemporary poetic creation on a similar theme, Vida's epic *Christias*«. Some echoes from Vergil, Ovid, Lucretius, Lucan, and Horace are listed at 70–74; parallel places in Vida and Bunić are given at 75–79.

[28] In this chart, the actual original N2 ‰ and N3 ‱ ratios were adjusted to compensate for the difference in size of each poem: as the *Davidias* counts 42,226 words, *De morte Christi* 53,401, and the *Christias* 38,936, the outcome for Beneša's poem was multiplied by 0.79, the one for Vida's by 1.08.

The number of N4-grams suggests that Vida also read Battista Mantovano's *Parthenicae*. This impression is confirmed by the high N3 ‰ ratio for all of Mantovano's works in the *Christias*. Quite surprising, for a Christian poem, are Vida's close intertextual ties with Lucretius.[29]

In general, regarding almost all antecedents, the N2 ‰ and the N3 ‰ ratio is systematically (much) lower in *De morte Christi* than in the *Davidias*, and higher in the *Christias*. Apart from the omnipresence of the *Georgica* in *De morte Christi*, and the strong presence of the *Ilias Latina* in the *Davidias*, a most notable exception is the case of Francesco Filelfo. Marulić's apparent affinity with Filelfo's writings, particularly the *Sphortias*, contrasts with the lower numbers concerning Vida's and Beneša's biblical poems.

In addition to the N-gram examination, I performed a stylometric investigation using Maciej Eder's *R* scripts for stylometric analysis. His *stylo*-script produces a most-frequent-word (MFW) list for a given corpus, establishes the frequencies of the MFWs in the individual texts and performs so-called distance calculations using various statistical procedures, resulting in graphs representing the relative similarity between the corpus's texts.[30] The basic principle of computational stylistics is that every author has a stylistic fingerprint closely connected to their vocabulary, and that authorship can be determined based on frequently used functional words, such as prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns etc. This approach has primarily been used to identify falsifications or assign *adespota* to a writer. Here, I applied it from a 'genetic' perspective, not to corroborate or refute the attribution of authorship to a text, but rather to explore the genetic antecedents of someone's

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[29] On Vida's reception of the epic tradition, see Stefano Cianciosi, *Ancient Latin Epics in Girolamo Vida's* Christiad, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2025, whose chapter 2 in particular analyses »The Presence of Lucretius«.

[30] This software is freely available at https://computationalstylistics.github.io. For a first orientation, an explanation of the terminology used in this section, and further reading, I refer to two seminal articles: Maciej Eder, Mike Kestemont, Jan Rybicki, »Stylometry with R: A Package for Computational Text Analysis«, *R Journal* 16.1 (2016), 107–121; and Maciej Eder, »Visualization in stylometry: Cluster analysis using networks«, *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 32.1 (2017), 50–64. I am grateful to Tom Deneire for first introducing me to these tools: see Tom Deneire, »Filelfo, Cicero and epistolary style: a computational study«, in J. De Keyser (ed.), *Francesco Filelfo, Man of Letters*, Brill, Leiden, 2018, 239–270. For a most interesting application of stylometry on, *inter alia*, the epistolary exchange between Abelard and Heloise, see Jeroen De Gussem, *Collaborative Authorship in Twelfth-Century Latin Literature. A Stylometric Approach to Gender, Synergy and Authority*, PhD thesis, Ghent – Antwerp, 2019; I refer to chapters 2 and 3 of this study for a methodological underpinning of the application of computational stylistics on Latin philology. Some case studies of Latin poetry are to be found in Benjamin C. Nagy, *Classical Latin verse: style beyond lexis / Klassieke Latijnse verzen: stijl die verder gaat dan woordkeuze*, PhD thesis, Antwerp – Kraków, 2025.

fingerprint. In other words, I try to assess how closely related (or not) the stylistic fingerprint of author A's is to that of author B and, subsequently, to what extent the outcome of this reconnaissance overlaps with the kinship we observed when tacking stock of the shared N-grams.

For the first experiment, I used *stylo* to determine the similarities between all the texts included in my corpus, as listed above. Unsurprisingly, it showed that Plautus, Terence, and, to a lesser extent, Lucretius are stylistic outliers compared to all the other texts. After removing all prose and reducing the corpus to a selection of more kindred texts (epic poems and some other, mostly hexametrical poetry), a cluster analysis based on the 1000 MFW produced **Figure 1**, where these writings are classified in branches as in a family tree, showing which other works are their closest 'relatives'. It turns out that *stylo*'s MFW analysis reveals stylistic similarities and even an author's unique fingerprint. Mantovano's [43] three works are gathered in a separate branch, as are Francesco Filelfo's [40] four collections – even if the epigram collection *De iocis et seriis* is written in elegiac distichs, and his *Carmina* are in a wide range of Horatian meters, while the *Satyrae* and *Sphortias* are hexametrical. The tool places Filelfo's son Gian Mario [42] – who was homeschooled by his father – quite nearby.[31] Furthermore, *De morte Christi* [52] is in a separate branch with the *Christias* [51], and the *Davidias* [53] is close to the pair consisting of Petrarch's *Africa* [37] and Strozzi's *Borsias* [45], and all five are relatively close to the patristic triad consisting of Iuvencus's *Evangeliorum libri* [21], Cyprianus's *Heptateuchos* [25] and Sedulius's *Paschale carmen* [27], and, one level up, to Mantovano's [43] poems.

Stylo also allows for two-dimensional rendering of its Principal Component Analysis (PCA) feature.[32] When applied to a set of fifteen major antique and Neo-Latin epic poems, a plot emerges that is displayed in **Figure 2**. While Filelfo's [40] poems were grouped in a separate branch in **Figure 1**, here we find the *Davidias* in the same quadrant as Filelfo's *Sphortias* and Petrarch's *Africa* [37], and relatively close to Mantovano's *Parthenicae* [43].

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[31] **Table 1** displays a relatively high N3 and N4-gram overlap between the *Davidias* and the *Amyris*. It is all but impossible that Marulić read Gian Mario's unedited epic poem, but this 'false positive' could be due to the fact that both he and Filelfo junior were independently influenced by Filelfo senior.

[32] For the methodology of the PCA procedure in stylometry, with references to preceding scholarship, see José Nilo G. Binongo and M. Wilfrid A. Smith, »The application of principal component analysis to stylometry«, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, Volume 14.4 (1999), 445–466; and Hugh Craig, »Principal components analysis in stylometry«, *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 39 (2024), 97–108.

Since experiments showed that notable distortions occur in a corpus consisting of both longer and shorter texts, I divided the longer texts into 5000-word segments. This allowed for the inclusion of shorter texts and for a more balanced comparative analysis of all samples. The result is the plot displayed in **Figure 3**.[33] Again, the *Davidias* is in the same quadrant as the *Sphortias* and the *Africa*, though its closest neighbors are the members of the aforementioned patristic triad. It is also notable that Mantovano's *Parthenicae* are nearby and that Proba's *Cento Vergilianus* is closer than Vergil himself. All these indicators confirm Marulić's close reading of his *Poetae Christiani veteres* collection, his interest in Battista Mantovano's poetry and, possibly, his familiarity with Petrarch's *Africa* and Francesco Filelfo's *Sphortias*.

In conclusion, as to identifying the *Africa* and the *Sphortias* as potential role models for the *Davidias,* the results of this exploration appear to call for a more thorough investigation that goes beyond the presence of identical word clusters or an overlap in most frequently used words. In the case of Filelfo, his other poetry should be taken into consideration as well, since the printed *Satyrae* and *Carmina* were more likely to be available to Marulić than the unedited *Sphortias*. Marulić's reading of other writings by Filelfo – whose epistles and translations from Greek were widely available in numerous printed editions by the end of the fifteenth century – may have influenced his vocabulary and phrasing, while the perceived affinity to the *Sphortias* may also partly be due to the presence of formulaic language in Latin poetry in general, and in the epic tradition in particular. In the case of Petrarch's *Africa*, there is a good chance that Marulić had access to a printed edition of it, and as to Mantovano we even know for certain that he did. A comprehensive investigation of the reception of his poetry poetry in the *Davidias*, especially of the *Parthenicae*, is therefore warranted.

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[33] Texts included in this chart: 05Verg_Aen (63754 words, 12 samples of 5000 words, 3754 words dropped at the end), 05Verg_Buc (1 sample, 769 w. dr.), 05Verg_Geo (2 samples, 4201 w. dr.), 09Ov_Met (15 samples, 3099 w. dr.), 13Luc_Phar (10 samples, 1085 w. dr.), 15Ital_Ilias (1 sample, 1608 w. dr.), 16Val_Arg (7 samples, 2363 w. dr.), 17Stat_Theb (12 samples, 2696 w. dr.), 18Sil_Pun (15 samples, 1499 w. dr.), 21Iuv_Ev (3 samples, 4782 w. dr.), 22Pro_Cent (1 sample, 39 w. dr.), 24Prud_Psy (1 sample, 1009 w. dr.), 25Cyp_Hep (6 samples, 4425 w. dr.), 27Sed_Pas (2 samples, 1162 w. dr.), 37Pet_Afr (8 samples, 3095 w. dr.), 39Bas_Hes (8 samples, 4897 w. dr.), 40Phil_Sphor (9 samples, 588 w. dr.), 43Man_Part (9 samples, 4248 w. dr.), 44Bun_Cer (1 sample, 1707 w. dr.), 50Mar_Dav (8 samples, 2226 w. dr.); total number of samples in the corpus: 131. *Stylo* settings: mfw = 5000; culling = 0; distance measure = classic delta; normal.sampling, sample size = 5000.

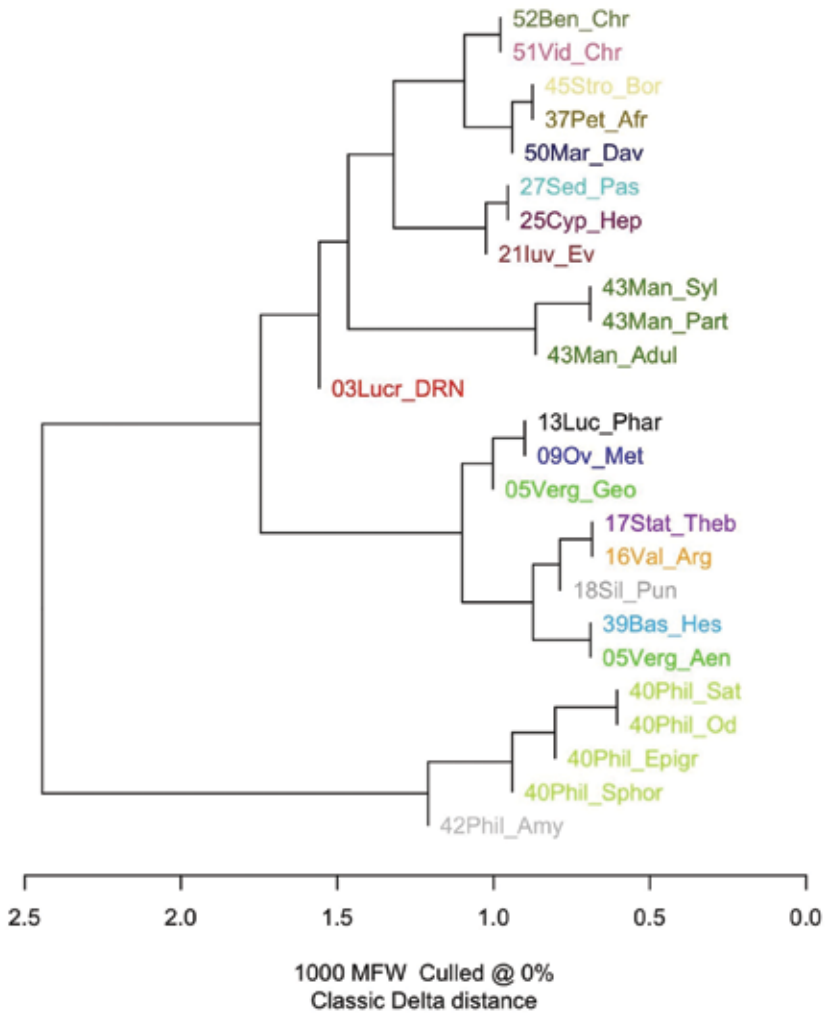


Figure 1: Cluster analysis of 1000 most frequent words.

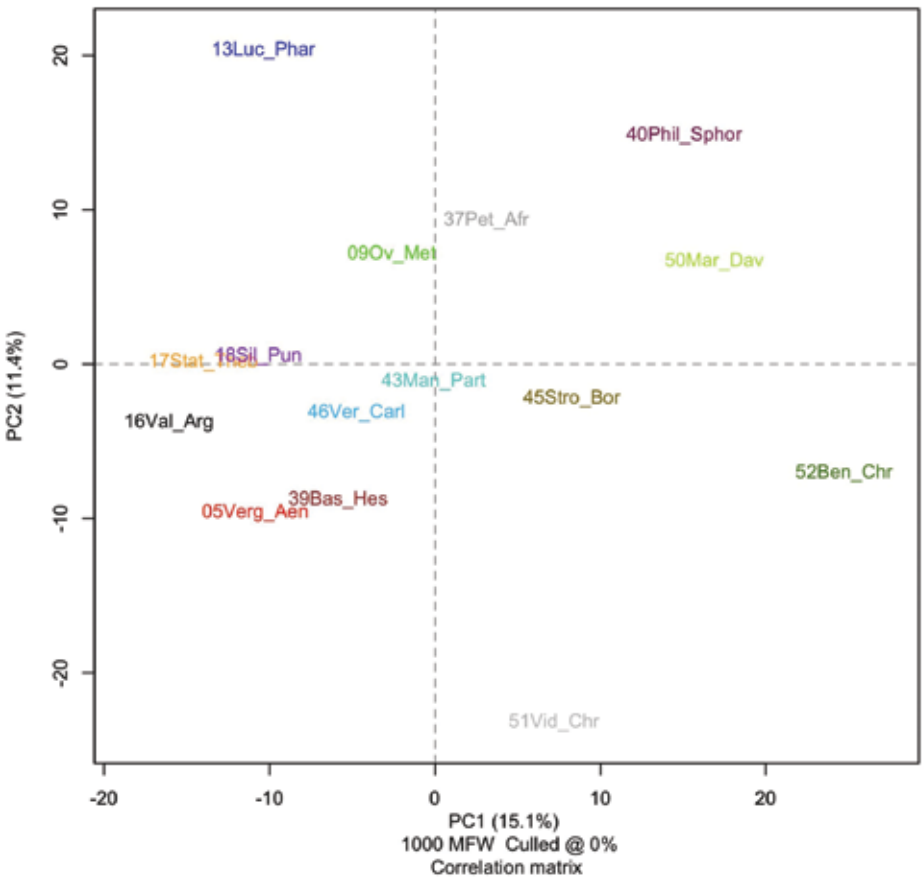


Figure 2: Principal components analysis of 1000 most frequent words.

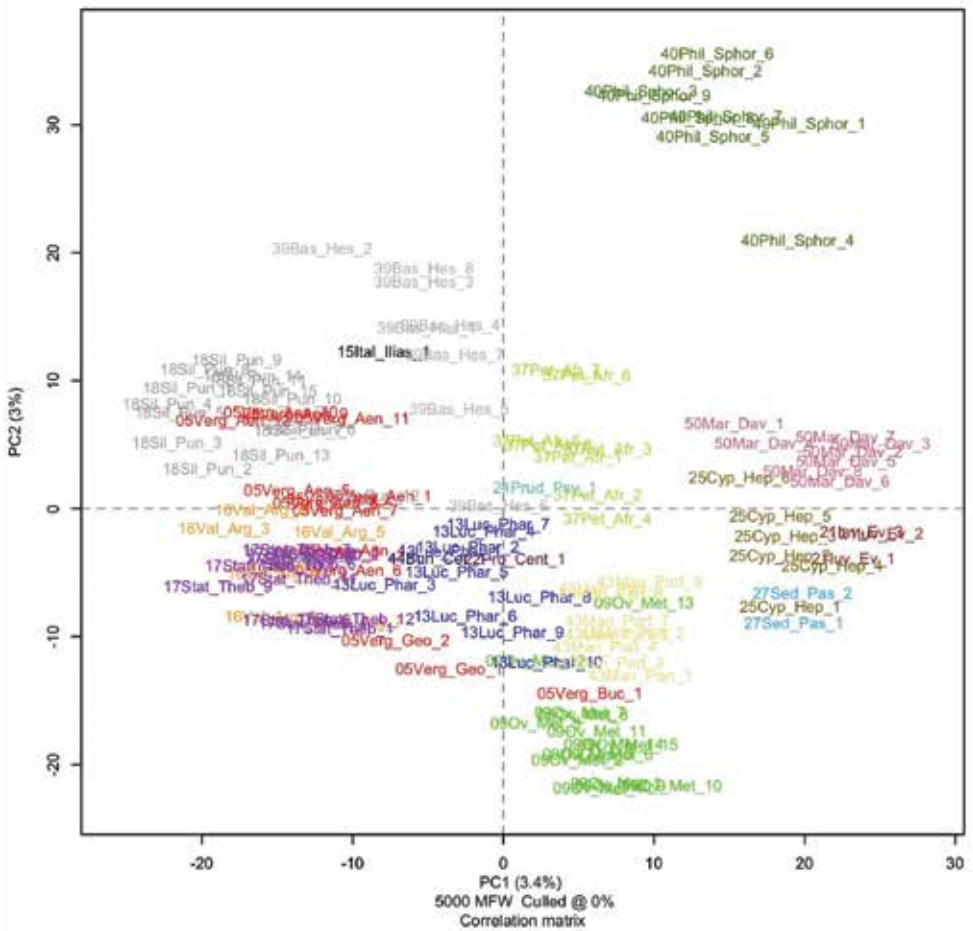


Figure 3: Principal components analysis of 5000 most frequent words.

Table 1: Number of N-grams (N2, N3, N4, N5, N6) shared by Marulić's *Davidias* and various Latin texts.

	Work	#words	N2	‰	N3	‰	N4	N5	N6
1.	PlautCom	181672	1518	8.36	23	1.27	0	0	0
2.	TerCom	54969	837	15.23	15	2.73	0	0	0
3.	LucrDRN	49072	1047	21.34	29	5.91	1	0	0
4.	CatOp	13254	475	35.84	10	7.54	1	0	0
5.	VergBuc	5768	277	48.02	8	13.87	1	0	0
5.	VergGeo	14201	464	32.67	15	10.56	2	0	0
5.	VergAen	63754	1953	30.63	160	25.10	28	6	1
6.	TibOp	12447	494	39.69	8	6.43	0	0	0
7.	PropOp	25534	831	32.54	27	10.57	0	0	0
8.	HorOp	44403	1045	23.53	23	5.18	0	0	0
9.	OvMet	78821	2020	25.63	87	11.04	4	0	0
9.	OvAlia	141683	2750	19.41	116	8.19	3	0	0
10.	PhaeFab	9484	275	29.00	2	2.11	0	0	0
11.	PersSat	4544	195	42.91	4	8.80	0	0	0
12.	SenTrag	54239	972	17.92	8	1.47	0	0	0
13.	LucPhar	51085	1345	26.33	47	9.20	4	0	0
14.	PetrSat	20211	514	25.43	8	3.96	1	0	0
15.	ItalIlias	6608	331	50.09	21	31.78	2	0	0
16.	ValArg	37377	1176	31.46	38	10.17	5	0	0
17.	StatTheb	62702	1454	23.19	49	7.81	2	0	0
17.	StatAch	7230	293	40.53	6	8.30	0	0	0
17.	StatSilv	25216	755	29.94	17	6.74	1	0	0
18.	SilPun	76540	1689	22.07	48	6.27	4	0	0
19.	MartEp	58990	1370	23.22	46	7.80	3	0	0
20.	IuvSat	25174	780	30.98	19	7.55	0	0	0
21.	IuvenEv	19784	737	37.25	25	12.64	2	0	0
22.	ProCent	5047	320	63.40	20	39.63	5	0	0
23.	ClaudOp	51751	1169	22.59	19	3.67	1	0	0

24.	PrudPsy	6009	227	37.78	7	11.65	1	0	0
24.	PrudCarm	58655	1337	22.79	38	6.48	1	0	0
25.	CypHep	34435	1065	30.93	38	11.04	4	0	0
26.	PaulCarm	54800	1584	28.91	42	7.66	2	0	0
27.	SedPas	11162	461	41.30	8	7.17	0	0	0
28.	SidCarm	22147	642	28.99	8	3.61	0	0	0
29.	DracLaud	15076	559	37.08	12	7.96	0	0	0
29.	DracRom	15508	589	37.98	17	10.96	0	0	0
30.	AvitMos	20049	675	33.67	17	8.48	1	0	0
31.	AratAp	30802	554	17.99	9	2.92	0	0	0
32.	AldPCV	52812	1648	31.21	59	11.17	6	0	0
33.	CorIoh	29336	922	31.43	38	12.95	4	0	0
33.	CorPan	10253	421	41.06	13	12.68	0	0	0
34.	EkkWal	9363	481	51.37	16	17.09	2	0	0
35.	WaltAl	31362	1080	34.44	40	12.75	0	0	0
36.	AlainAn	27762	642	23.13	24	8.64	0	0	0
37.	PetAfr	43096	1427	33.11	52	12.07	1	0	0
38.	VegAen	4050	215	53.09	9	22.22	1	0	0
38.	VegCarm	27336	951	34.79	27	9.88	1	0	0
39.	BasHes	44897	1439	32.05	51	11.36	3	0	0
39.	BasCarm	35400	1281	36.19	39	11.02	2	0	0
40.	PhilSphor	45574	1575	34.56	78	17.12	12	0	0
40.	PhilOd	26954	840	31.16	28	10.39	1	0	0
40.	PhilSat	65238	1649	25.28	53	8.12	2	0	0
40.	PhilEpigr	30137	872	28.93	31	10.29	2	0	0
41.	ZupAlf	18318	768	41.93	22	12.01	3	0	0
42.	PhilAmy	32415	1220	37.64	42	12.96	5	0	0
43.	ManPart	49257	1521	30.88	74	15.02	2	0	0
43.	ManAdul	14024	544	38.79	18	12.84	1	0	0
43.	ManSylv	29969	998	33.30	26	8.68	1	0	0
43.	ManOp	176268	3311	18.78	182	10.33	7	0	0
44.	BunCer	6708	270	40.25	4	5.96	0	0	0

45.	StroBor	35390	1378	38.94	62	17.52	4	0	0
45.	StroCarm	39889	1373	34.42	37	9.28	2	0	0
46.	VerCarl	64418	1513	23.49	83	12.88	7	1	0
46.	VerCarm	64102	1908	29.77	92	14.35	8	0	0
47.	PontCarm	133475	2392	17.92	82	6.14	3	0	0
48.	MutTrium	1922	90	46.83	1	5.20	0	0	0
49.	AndEp	2825	116	41.06	3	10.62	0	0	0
50.	MarDav	42226							

Table 2: Comparison of the presence of N-grams (N2, N3, N4) from various Latin texts in Marulić's *Davidias* (*MDav*), Vida's *Christias* (*VChr*), and Beneša's *De morte Christi* (*BChr*).

		MDav **N2 ‰**	***VChr*** **N2 ‰**	***BChr*** **N2 ‰**	***MDav*** **N3 ‰**	***VChr*** **N3 ‰**	***BChr*** **N3 ‰**	***MDav*** **N4**	***VChr*** **N4**	***BChr*** **N4**	***MDav*** **N5**	***VChr*** **N5**	***BChr*** **N5**
3.	*LucrDRN*	21.34	28.70	19.98	5.91	22.23	4.02	1	17	0	0	3	0
5.	*VergBuc*	48.02	54.67	35.20	13.87	24.34	4.11	1	0	0	0	0	0
5.	*VergGeo*	32.67	54.00	34.43	10.56	29.66	17.80	2	5	4	0	0	1
5.	*VergAen*	30.63	50.58	23.79	25.10	64.37	10.28	28	49	7	6	7	2
9.	*OvMet*	25.63	27.14	19.80	11.04	13.98	5.51	4	6	2	0	0	0
13.	*LucPhar*	26.33	25.09	21.82	9.20	6.55	4.79	4	1	0	0	0	0
15.	*ItalIlias*	50.09	45.76	27.86	31.78	17.98	3.59	2	1	0	0	0	0
16.	*ValArg*	31.46	37.33	24.92	10.17	16.18	5.50	5	5	0	0	0	0
17.	*StatTheb*	23.19	29.01	18.86	7.81	13.43	3.02	2	5	1	0	0	0
18.	*SilPun*	22.07	27.22	19.06	6.27	12.70	3.72	4	7	1	0	0	0
21.	*IuvenEv*	37.25	37.34	30.91	12.64	16.38	7.59	2	2	1	0	0	0
22.	*ProCent*	63.40	105.28	52.28	39.63	130.53	34.44	5	9	3	0	1	0
24.	*PrudPsy*	37.78	40.98	31.68	11.65	21.57	6.57	1	0	0	0	0	0
25.	*CypHep*	30.93	29.48	22.76	11.04	11.29	7.34	4	1	1	0	0	0
27.	*SedPas*	41.30	42.96	31.21	7.17	13.55	4.25	0	0	0	0	0	0
37.	*PetAfr*	33.11	33.53	26.56	12.07	14.28	7.33	1	6	2	0	0	0

38.	*VegAen*	53.09	66.93	43.11	22.22	37.33	5.85	1	2	0	0	0	0
39.	*BasHes*	32.05	37.65	23.82	11.36	21.41	5.10	3	9	0	0	1	0
40.	*PhilSphor*	34.56	31.42	23.56	17.12	13.03	6.76	12	5	0	0	0	0
40.	*PhilOd*	31.16	27.29	23.24	10.39	5.21	2.34	1	1	0	0	0	0
40.	*PhilSat*	25.28	22.65	19.77	8.12	5.63	4.12	2	1	4	0	0	0
40.	*PhilEpigr*	28.93	24.44	21.52	10.29	6.09	2.62	2	1	0	0	0	0
42.	*PhilAmy*	37.64	30.95	26.54	12.96	9.00	2.92	5	2	0	0	0	0
43.	*ManPart*	30.88	34.23	24.38	15.02	16.88	5.13	2	11	0	0	4	0
43.	*ManAdul*	38.79	42.20	32.11	12.84	16.94	6.20	1	1	1	0	0	0
43.	*ManSylv*	33.30	33.12	25.46	8.68	9.73	5.01	1	0	0	0	0	0
44.	*BunCer*	40.25	50.07	38.28	5.96	12.88	7.07	0	0	0	0	0	0
45.	*StroBor*	38.94	42.78	27.77	17.52	19.23	9.82	4	2	0	0	0	0
50.	*MarDav*	–	35.22	27.41	–	19.69	8.04	–	8	2	–	0	0
51.	*VidChr*	–	–	30.70	–	–	9.54	–	–	1	–	–	0

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Jeroen De Keyser

DAVIDIJADA MARKA MARULIĆA I NJEZINI PRETHODNICI

Pišući *Davidijadu* oko 1510.–1517., Marko Marulić stupao je na gotovo neistraženo područje. U programatskim uvodnim stihovima epa Marulić izjavljuje da se, za razliku od Stacija u *Tebaidi* ili Lukana u *Farsaliji,* neće baviti mitskim temama, već istinitom pričom o Bogu. Autor, međutim, ne govori ništa o svojim specifičnim književnim uzorima i nadahnućima. Donedavno su priređivači i interpretatori *Davidijade* dosljedno isticali njezinu »vergilijansku« inspiraciju, no još nemamo valjan *apparatus locorum*. Proučavani su pojedini izvori *Davidijade*, posebno odjeci suvremene hrvatske novolatinske književnosti kod Marulića, kao i recepcija kasnoantičkih kršćanskih pjesnika. Pouzdano znamo da je Marulić posjedovao primjerak izdanja *Poetae Christiani veteres* (1501./1502.) Alda Manucija i da ga je pomno čitao. Donekle poznajemo i knjige Marulićeve knjižnice, a time i njegove moguće uzore. Nakon što je Neven Jovanović uočio u *Davidijadi* odjeke dviju kratkih pjesama Marulićevih suvremenika, ovaj članak istražuje je li moguće pronaći reminiscencije ili čak citate daljnjih neolatinskih autora. Pronalaze se identične skupine riječi u *Davidijadi* i drugim latinskim pjesničkim tekstovima koje je Marulić mogao čitati, a zatim se koriste *R*-skripta Macieja Edera za stilometrijsku analizu MFW-a (*most frequent words,* 'najučestalije riječi') kako bi se provjerile pretpostavke potaknute učestalostima jezičnih podudarnosti.

Već naslov Marulićeve epske pjesme pokazuje dojmljivu srodnost s pojedinim humanističkim epovima: *Sforcijadom* Francesca Filelfa, *Borsijadom* Tita Vespasiana Strozzija i *Karlijadom* Ugolina Verina. Ta su tri djela posvećena idealnim vladarima koji su povijesne ličnosti – dok Marulić pjeva o životu kralja iz povjesnice Starog zavjeta. No nijedno od spomenuta tri djela nije tiskano za Marulićeva života, a, sudeći po vrlo malom broju sačuvanih rukopisa, njihova je cirkulacija bila ograničena. Opreznost nas stoga sprečava da zaključimo da se *Davidijada* ugleda na ove pjesme. Ista je opreznost nužna i kod drugih kasnoantičkih i srednjovjekovnih epskih djela koja su sačuvana u tek nekoliko rukopisa. Identične skupine riječi nisu nužno indicija relevantnih intertekstualnih veza, s obzirom na dobro poznatu ulogu epskih formula i drugih generičkih izraza. Stoga ovo istraživanje nije tražilo nedvojbeni dokaz planiranog oponašanja ni dubinsku i cjelovitu analizu intertekstualnog odnosa *Davidijade* i njezinih mogućih modela, već smo htjeli pružiti početni pregled kandidata za daljnja istraživanja Marulićeve »mentalne knjižnice«. U procjeni valjanosti takvog »mehaničkog« brojanja korišten je stilometrijski softver; uspoređivali smo profil MFW u *Davidijadi*, *Kristijadi* Marca Girolama Vide i *De morte Christi* Damjana Beneše (Vidino i Benešino djelo pripadaju biblijskoj epici iz gotovo istog razdoblja).

Za prvi dio istraživanja korišten je *AntConc* Laurencea Anthonyja, računalni program za korpusnu analizu i konkordanciju, posebice njegov alat za N-grame.

Alat skenira tekstualni korpus u potrazi za skupinama svih veličina 'N': od dvije riječi, od tri riječi itd. Tako se u korpusu pronalaze ponovljene skupine, a mogu se izdvojiti one koje se javljaju u dva teksta (ili više njih). Ovdje se, zanimljivo, ali ne i iznenađujuće, ističe imitacija Vergilija u *Davidijadi*. Ali Marulićevo djelo dijeli velik broj skupina sa *Sforcijadom* Francesca Filelfa. Znači li to da je Marulić imao pristup Filelfovoj pjesmi? Ne nužno. No, Filelfo je imao veze s ljudima iz Dalmacije ili onima koji su u Dalmaciji boravili, a njegov sin Senofonte proveo je posljednjih deset godina života u Dubrovniku. Primjerak *Sforcijade* mogao je biti poslan u Dubrovnik i ondje prepisan te je potom mogao dospjeti u Split, do Marulića. Osim brojnih verbalnih odjeka uočili smo i paralelu u programatskim uvodnim stihovima obiju pjesama. Podudarnosti *Davidijade* i poezije Battiste Spagnolija Mantovana ne bi trebale iznenaditi, jer znamo da su se Mantovanova djela nalazila u Marulićevoj knjižnici. Uvodni stihovi *Davidijade* pokazuju sličnost i s početkom Mantovanove *Parthenice prima sive Mariana*. Očekivana je i prisutnost Petrarkine *Afrike* u *Davidijadi*. *Editio princeps* Petrarkina epa objavljena je u Veneciji 1501. godine, a znanstvenici su već prepoznali Petrarkin utjecaj na Marulićeva djela, osobito na *Juditu*.

Kako bi se provjerili podaci dobiveni analizama N-grama, isti je stilometrijski postupak ponovljen s dvjema drugim pjesmama: *Kristijadom* Marca Girolama Vide i *De morte Christi* hrvatskog autora Damjana Beneše. Vergilije se otkriva kao glavni uzor za sva tri pjesnika, iako se Beneša donekle izdvaja; dubrovačkog su pjesnika *Georgike* nadahnule čak i više nego *Eneida*. Iznenađuju jake intertekstualne veze Vidine kršćanske pjesme i Lukrecija. Uz sveprisutnost *Georgika* u *De morte Christi* i uočljiv udio *Latinske Ilijade* (*Ilias Latina*) u *Davidijadi*, posebno se ističe odnos prema pjesništvu Francesca Filelfa. Marulićeva očita naklonost Filelfovim djelima odudara od mnogo ograničenijih odjeka Filelfa u pjesmama Vida i Beneše.

Osim analize N-grama stilometrijska su istraživanja provedena pomoću skripta za program *R* koja je pripremio Maciej Eder. Skripta generiraju popis najučestalijih riječi (MFW) za zadani korpus i potom grafički prikazuju sličnosti tekstova korpusa. Polazna je pretpostavka računalne stilistike da svaki autor ima stilistički »otisak prsta« koji se sastoji od često korištenih funkcionalnih riječi kao što su prijedlozi, veznici, zamjenice. Ovaj se pristup najčešće koristi za otkrivanje falsifikata ili za ustanovljavanje autorstva anonimnih djela. No, ovdje se Ederova skripta ne primjenjuju radi provjere autorstva, nego radi otkrivanja predaka nečijeg »otiska prsta«. Drugim riječima, željeli smo procijeniti koliko stilski profil autora A jest (ili nije) sličan onome autora B. Kad se skripta primijene na skup od petnaest glavnih antičkih i novolatinskih epskih pjesama, zatječemo *Davidijadu* u istom kvadrantu s Filelfovom *Sforcijadom* i Petrarkinom *Afrikom*, te relativno blizu Mantovanova epa *Parthenicae*. Također je zapaženo da je Probin *Vergilijevski centon* bliži *Davidijadi* od samog Vergilija. Ti podaci potvrđuju Marulićevo

pomno čitanje zbirke *Poetae Christiani veteres*, njegov interes za poeziju Battiste Mantovana i, moguće, poznavanje Petrarkine *Afrike* i *Sforcijade* Francesca Filelfa.

Zaključno, rezultati ovog istraživanja polazište su za temeljitiju analizu, tumačenje koje bi otišlo dalje od identičnih skupova riječi ili podudarnosti najčešće korištenih riječi. U slučaju Filelfa bilo bi potrebno uzeti u obzir i druga njegova djela, budući da su Maruliću bile dostupnije tiskane Filelfove *Satire* (*Satyrae*) i *Pjesme* (*Carmina*) nego neizdana *Sforcijada*. Što se tiče Petrarkine *Afrike*, vjerojatnost da je Marulić imao pristup tiskanom izdanju velika je, a što se tiče Mantovana, znamo sa sigurnošću da je bilo tako. Stoga je opravdano sveobuhvatno istraživanje recepcije Mantovanove poezije, osobito *Parthenicae*, u *Davidijadi*.

Ključne riječi: Marko Marulić – *Davidijada*, Marco Girolamo Vida – *Kristijada*, Damjan Beneša – *De morte Christi*, epska tradicija, intertekstualnost, stilometrija

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