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**Early Yugoslav
literature**

EARLY JUGOSLAV LITERATURE (1000-1800)

BY

MILIVOY S. STANOYEVICH, PH.D.



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PREFACE

The object of the present treatise, as indicated by the title given to it, may seem sufficiently comprehensive. In the small space allotted to me it has only been possible to cover the main facts of the subject without professing to be exhaustive. But I trust that even these outlines, scanty as they are, will be of use as giving some idea of the historical course of literary evolution, and I hope that at some future time they may be more adequately filled out. The actual facts presented here have been chiefly drawn from the original sources. The old MSS. and published works of individual authors, in the larger European and American libraries, form the basis upon which I have relied in preparing this study. However, I have also made use of much of what has already been written in the monographs of many Slavonic historians and in several Jugoslav publications indicated in the footnotes and bibliography.

With respect to the orthography and transliteration of the Slavonic words, use is made here of the system adopted by the *Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umetnosti* (The Jugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts), namely:

Č-č	for English	ti	or	ch	in	tune,	literature
Č-č	"	"	tch	"	tsh	"	watch, ditch
Š-š	"	"	ssi	"	sh	"	passion, fish
Ž-ž	"	"	si	"	zh	"	vision, azure
Đ-đ	"	"	di	"	dy	"	duke, dune
Љ-љ	"	"	lli	"	ly	"	million, failure
Ń-ń	"	"	gn	"	ny	"	mignon, pinion
Ġ-ġ	"	"	dg	"	g	"	bridge, stage

I owe much more than is apparent in these pages to the kindness of my esteemed friends Professors J. D. Prince and J. B. Fletcher, of Columbia University, who have suggested to me verbally at some length many valuable hints as to the

general treatment of the subject. Without their unflagging interest and encouragement this volume would not have been written. My gratitude is also due to Dr. C. A. Manning for his special technical help, and to the librarians of Columbia, Harvard, Yale and the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library, who have enabled me, in almost all cases, to write from a first-hand acquaintance with the literature.

M. S. S.

NEW YORK
April 9, 1921

EARLY JUGOSLAV LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The history of a language is the history of the people who speak it or have spoken it. Virtually it is the history of many tribes, different in origin, manners, and speech. When the people of another powerful race succeeded in crushing these tribes, they usually took possession of the conquered land, and allowed the others to live only on condition of being quiet and doing all the work. It is to these conquests, kept up throughout the Middle Ages, that the majority of European nations owe their geographical limits and even their present names. Their establishment has been mainly the result of greed and military power. New societies have been formed out of the wrecks of the older ones which were violently destroyed, but in the work of reconstruction they have always retained something of their previous existence in their internal constitution and especially in their language.

Languages, like nations, have their periods of growth, maturity, and decay, but while nine-tenths of the vocabulary of a people lives in the *literature* and speech of the cultured classes, the remainder has a robust life in the daily usage of the sons of toil. This limited but more persistent portion of the national speech never fails to include the names of those objects which are the most familiar and the most beloved. Such are, for instance, the names of the nearest relatives, father, mother, brother, two or three of the commoner metals, tools, weapons, cereals, domestic animals; the house and the most striking features in the landscape; the mountain peaks and ranges; the valleys, lakes and rivers; the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky and the clouds. At all times and in every region of the world, these names have had the same clear and well-defined meanings; their visible forms stand as a sort of material lexicon, explaining the more archaic forms of living languages that have ceased to be vernacular.

Many nations have left no written records, and their history would be a blank volume, or nearly so, were it not that in the places where they have sojourned they have left traces of their migrations sufficiently clear to enable us to reconstruct the outlines of their history. The hills, the valleys, and the rivers are the only writing-tablets on which unlettered nations have been able to inscribe their annals, and these may be read in the names that still cling to the sites, and often contain the records of a class of events about which written history is for the most part silent. These connotations which originally had a descriptive import, referring mostly to the physical features of the land, have even the advantage over the common names of a nation's speech of being less subject to the process of phonetic decay. They seem to be possessed of an inherent and indestructible vitality which makes them survive invasions and catastrophes. Wars can trample down or extirpate whatever grows upon a soil, excepting only its native plants and the names of those sites upon which man has established his domicile. Seldom is a people utterly exterminated, for the proud conqueror has need of some at least of the natives to till the soil anew. These enslaved outcasts, though they may hand down no memory of the splendid deeds of the nation's heroes, yet retain a most tenacious recollection of the names of the hamlets which their progenitors inhabited, and near to which their fathers were interred. Ethnographical nomenclature and national tradition are therefore an important factor in all that concerns a nation's early history, and they often furnish most effectual aid in the solution of linguistic problems.

If, then, we would trace the Slavonic languages to their sources, the course to be pursued is clearly marked out. The subject, which covers a wide range of interesting studies, involves, first of all, a critical inquiry into the origin, character, and distribution of the Slavonic race—Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgars, Jugoslavs, Čechoslovaks, and Poles. At various epochs these nations have found their way into central and southeastern Europe and created there new religions, new idioms, and new oral and written literatures. From the complexity of the subject, it is obvious that all these details are not the fruit of any one man's learning, but the result of long

patient labors of many specialists in each of these branches. Availing ourselves of the latest researches of the distinguished scholars whose names we quote as our authorities, and whose acknowledged learning and accuracy need no commendation, we here present a comparative digest of their substance, so arranged as to be neither reduced to the skeleton of a mere abridgment, nor extended to the huge dimensions of a learned work. Supposing the reader to be familiar with at least the outlines of Slavonic literary history, we will not treat it in its entirety or in all the different branches. We will rather dwell on the early literature of one branch—the Southern Slavs or Jugoslavs, who are mainly composed of three peoples of the same race: Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In the course of time common interests drew these people together and brought about a corresponding fusion of their idioms. The traces of their language and literature are still so clearly marked that they easily indicate the degree of power and adherence to national speech and customs which was displayed by each branch in their present unification and amalgamation.

The term *Jugo-Slav* (South-Slav) as now used by most European peoples, has a wider signification than that which it originally bore. The Southern Slavs call themselves *Jugosloveni*, and their land *Jugoslavija*. This is composed of several provinces. In the beginning of the last century one of these provinces (Serbia) gave birth to a few military leaders who became formidable to the invaders of the nation's liberties, and their deeds are known in the West. The name was then extended so as to include the whole people and country which is called Jugoslavia, just as the tribe of Angles, though numerically inferior to the Saxons, gave their name to England and all that the term English now denotes. As the Angles, Saxons and Jutes merged in one British people, and the dialects of Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex in one English tongue, so in Jugoslavia the inhabitants of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia blended in one Jugoslav people, and their kindred idioms practically in one Serbian or Croatian language, which is also, for better understanding, called in Slavonic philology Serbo-Croatian.

The Yugoslav writers of the 17th and 18th centuries: Antun Kanižlić, Emerik Pavić, Matija Relković and especially Iđnat Đorđić, Jeronim Kavašin, and Andra Kačić Miošić, very often mention the words *Iliria*, *Ilir* and *Ilirički*. They thought that these Latin derivatives (Illyria, Illyrius and Illyricus) corresponded to the meaning of *Jugoslavija*, *Jugosloven* and *Jugoslovenski*—the terms created later on in the 19th century. Nevertheless the old Illyria known from the remote ages of the Greeks and Romans has nothing but a part of its territory in common with the Yugoslavs. The conquest of Illyria by the Serbs and Croats began early in the seventh century. In their penetration from Galicia and the Carpathian Mountains to the South and Southwest, the Serbs occupied the eastern half of Illyria while the Croats and Slovenes settled in the western part. Forming permanent settlements in the Balkan Peninsula the Slavs have profoundly modified the ethnical character and the usages of the Illyrians. Not long after this migration had taken place, the aboriginal indigenous Illyrian tribes were scattered all over the peninsula. Many have been absorbed and Slavonized, and those that have been able to resist the Slavic civilization and language are now represented by the Albanians.

When the Southern Slavs came to the Balkans they brought with them their primitive tribal institutions, organized on a basis partly patriarchal (*zadruga*, family community), and partly political (*župa*, county). Several *zadrugas* formed a *pleme* (plur. *plemena*, clans), and several clans were united into a military organization known as *županija* (shire), of which the military leader was called *župan* (sometimes *knez*, chieftain or prince). These *županias* were originally independent of each other, and did not at first acknowledge any alien sovereign. In the course of time those Slavonic clans that settled in the extreme west gradually passed under Roman and those in the east and south-east under Byzantine influence. In the 9th century almost all the Yugoslavs abandoned their old paganism and adopted Christianity. As the new religion came from Rome and Greece, two empires living in permanent disputes, the first Yugoslav literature of religious character appears as a constant struggle between native and exotic elements. It is

difficult for a foreigner to be attracted by these early rudiments of literature which have more historical and linguistic than literary value, and which comprise in this study the epoch from the 10th until the end of the 14th century. This literature was written in the Old Slavonic language, flourished in the great united Serbian State, and vanished with the conquest of that State by the Turks (1389).

The second period may justly be called the period of renaissance. It embraces the age from the end of the 14th to the middle of the 17th century. This literature was no longer written in the old Slavonic dialects but in the pure Serbo-Croatian vernacular. It has no relation with the literature of the ancient period but relies rather on classical models and grew up under the shadow of the earlier civilization of Italy.

The third period presented here is the age of decline. It started after the earthquake in Dalmatia (1667), and lasted to the close of the 18th century. This literature was mostly cultivated in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slovenia. Roman Catholic influence prevailed everywhere, and only few authors are to be found of any importance.

The Yugoslav literature of the new era (19th to 20th century) including the folklore, is more developed, and by virtue of extraordinary richness and variety of its forms, occupies a larger space in a literary history of the Yugoslavs than the literature of any preceding period of the same duration. It is quite modern and possesses a peculiar fascination, but for the present it does not enter into our consideration.

FIRST PERIOD

THE ORIGINS

CHAPTER I

OLD SLAVONIC LANGUAGE

The Old Slavonic language belongs to the Indo-European family. The parentage of the tongue with other Aryan languages stands out clearly if one compares the oldest examples of its original literature with Paleo-Greek or ancient Gothic. In the continuous development of the Indo-European stock, the different languages separated themselves by the ordinary processes of dialectic differentiation and formed distinct branches which gave birth, in their turn, to new phases, just as if each branch contained in itself the germs of an entire group of organisms which were later developed. So was particularized the branch to which are attached the Germano-Balto-Slavonic group. In this grouping the Germanic first diverged; then the Lithuanian, Lettic and Slavonic, each taking on an independent existence. The Slavonic finally itself produced an entirely new series of tongues, dialects and sub-dialects.

I

By the middle of the 9th century the biblical and liturgical books had been translated by Cyril and Methodius, the "Apostles to the Slavs," into a Slavonic dialect which probably was spoken in Macedonia and the hinterland of Thessalonica, or Salonika, where these missionaries were born and lived in their boyhood. The Slavs, like all primitive peoples, practiced divination at first with *črtami i řezami* (marks and cuts) on wood.¹ Later the Southern Slavs used an alphabet called

¹ See "Zapiska mniha Hrabra o slovima slovenskim" in S. Novaković, *Primeri kniževnosti i jezika staroga i srpsko-slovenskoga* (1904), p. 204.

Glagolitic (*Glagolica*, from *glagol*, a word, letter, verb), which has survived as a liturgical script in certain parts of northern Dalmatia.² After their baptism the Slavs were compelled to write the Slavonic tongue with Greek and Latin script, without any proper rule. Constantine, named Cyril in monastic life, was the first teacher who made them an alphabet of 38 letters, hence the name Cyrillic (*Ćirilica*). The question, into which Slavonic dialect the church books were translated, is still unsettled. The older German savants, Schleicher, Brugmann, Schmidt and Leskien, asserted that this dialect was the Old Bulgarian language.³ The Serbian scholars, Solarić,⁴ Karađić, Daničić and some of the Russian historians, believed that this was Old Serbian, while the noted Slavonic philologists Kopitar, Miklošić, Vondrák and Jagić, maintained that Old Slavonic was identical with Old Slovene (of the Pannonic Slavs) as it was spoken in the province of Pannonia, in the 9th century. But there is no doubt that in such decisions much was due to racial and local patriotism or political sentiments.⁵

As the liturgical literary organ of the church, the Proto-Slavonic dialect completely outgrew its original domain. It spread gradually from province to province wherever divine service was carried on in the Slavonic tongue. It penetrated to

² Cf. V. Vondrák "Zur Frage nach der Herkunft des glagolitischen Alphabets," *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XVIII (1896), 541 ff., XIX (1897), 167 ff.

³ "In the meantime if this was really Old Bulgarian how would one call the language spoken by the Bulgars before they have been Slavonized," asks T. Maretić in his work *Slaveni u Davnini* (the Slavs in Antiquity), p. 102 (1902). Of the same opinion is Prof. J. D. Prince, when he expressively declares that "Church Slavonic is not Old Bulgarian, but simply stood in a very close relationship to the Slavonic dialect adopted by the Non-Slavonic Bulgars." See his article "A rare Old Slavonic religious manual" in *Proceedings of the American Philos. Soc.* LV (1916), n.5, p. 359.

⁴ According to Solarić the Old Slavonic is *stari srpski dialekat* (old Serbian dialect), quot. by N. Andrić, *Rad jug. akad.* CL (1902), p. 153.

⁵ It is natural to conjecture that the Proto-Slavonic dialect which was used by Cyril and Methodius in their translations of the Scripture, was the tongue of the Macedonian Slavs, who lived between the Pindus and the Rhodope. Cf. Const. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben* (History of the Serbians), bk. III, ch. 2, p. 176 (1911), and S. Novaković, "Prvi osnovni slovenske književnosti među balkanskim Slovenima" (1893), p. 128.

all the South Slav lands, and was to be found among Serbo-Croats, Bulgars and the Eastern Slavs (Russians). In all these regions the church language prevailed according to medieval conceptions, both as the national and the common speech, just as the Latin type did among the Roman and Teutonic peoples. In exercising its "civil" functions it laid itself open to the different local influences, as to intonation, formation, form and a continually enlarging vocabulary. Since the 11th century one can accurately speak of the Serbian, the Russian and the Bulgarian recensions, or rather of Serbo-Slavonic, Russo-Slavonic, Bulgaro-Slavonic and Croato-Glagolitic. It must be observed that the Church Slavonic of the Middle Ages even took into its scope for a considerable time, tongues which were not Slavonic. This happened to Rumanian in the south, and to Letto-Lithuanian in the north.

Along the Adriatic Sea divine service was performed mostly in Slavonic. In southern Dalmatia the chronicles mention the appointment of the Catholic archbishoprics from the 11th century onwards. They expressly refer to the *Monasteria tam Latinorum quam Graecorum sive Sclavorum*, which differed from each other according to the language of their liturgical books. But there started in northern Dalmatia great struggles which are not settled even today. While the Orient since ancient times has been accustomed to church-books in different languages, Latin has been the prevailing language in the West. The two great Churches of medieval Christianity, the Catholic and the Orthodox, touched each others' borders before the gates of the Dalmatian cities. The Slavonic apostles themselves had a tense struggle in Moravia and Pannonia against the German clergy. In the diocese of Splet (Spalato) the Slavonic Catholic liturgy of the Croats was persecuted by the Romans. Because of lack of knowledge the Glagolitic church-books were regarded by those who used the Latin as Gothic or Aryan. In the 13th century, a new theory arose, and even to this day persists in the national tradition, which ascribed the authorship of these books to no less a person than St. Jerome (346-420). Of him the old Croatian texts speak as the founder of ancient Jugoslav literature, as *sveila kruna*

hrvatskoga jezika (the sparkling crown of the Croatian language), and say that he was a Slav from Dalmatia.⁶ However, modern linguistics and the publication of Slavonic documents by the philologists, Geitler, Sobolevskij, Sreznevskij, and Vondrák, have thrown more light on this question. It was discovered that the Glagolitic originated in South Dalmatia (Dioclea) in the time of Constantine (Cyril) and that it was not much older than the Cyrillic script. The old strife confined itself after these discoveries only to provincial and nationalistic disputes.⁷

The sway of Church Slavonic as the medieval literary speech of all the Orthodox Slavs lasted many centuries. In Russia it obtained until the time of Peter the Great, and among the Serbs and Bulgars until the end of the 18th century. Peter the Great put the first obstacle in the way of the monopoly of Church Slavonic as the Russian literary speech. He ordained a new form, a kind of modernized letter adopted under Dutch influence, and called this the civil alphabet (*graždanskaja azbuka*, or simply *graždanka*) in opposition to the ecclesiastic alphabet. The hitherto superfluously ornamented letters and characters of the abbreviated words and expressions were kept in reserve for church use. Thus the Old Slavonic was limited only to liturgical purposes. Even theology and church oratory and administration were henceforth carried on in the new Russian language, which was used in the church service only on special occasions.

Among the Orthodox Southern Slavs, particularly the Serbians, a mixture of Church Slavonic in its Russian form with a popular rendering was in vogue to the end of the 18th century. Vuk Stefanović Karagić was the first reformer to shake off the remnants of this artificial dialect and to institute a phonetic orthography. The pure speech of the Serbian people came into its own as the common organ of officialdom and literature. The influence of Vuk Karagić in Bulgaria arrived somewhat later and more tardily. So even today all Orthodox Slavs have one and the same church language, which is essentially

⁶ See "Život svetoga Jerolima." *Starine jug. akad.* I (1869), p. 236.

⁷ See V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, par. 46-47, pp. 243 sqq. (1913).

restricted to church uses. The limits of its employment are much narrower than those allowed to Latin in the Catholic church.⁸

II

As to the ancient monuments in Old Slavonic, they were mostly written by clergymen of all ranks, and very often by the monarchs themselves, who either chose or were forced to renounce the throne and enter the monastic life. These scribes generally wrote their books in the peaceful retreat of a cloister: at Chilandar, Zograf, Studenica, Dečani, Rilo, and many another monastery in the Balkan Peninsula. Imitating Greek literature, which was very handy to them and extremely rich in content, they borrowed its spirit, its models and its themes.⁹ Next to theology comes hagiography, *i.e.*, the literature of the acts of the martyrs and the lives of the saints, which the Slavs cultivated with great conscientiousness. All other kinds of prose writing on geography, philosophy, rhetoric and the technical sciences, were comparatively neglected. Such works are of value for the most part only in so far as they preserve and interpret old material. There have been collected up to now 5,000 manuscripts, which represent the production of old literature common to all Slavonic nations, but it cannot be affirmed that there are as many finished works.

The translation of the Scriptures by the two brothers Cyril (827-869) and Methodius (d. 885) was one of the most important monuments in the history of Slavonic literature. By their prodigious work a "barbarian" tongue was raised to the dignity of a literary language. It is not known exactly how much of the Scriptures the Slavonic apostles translated, but it seems probable that the whole of the Gospels was rendered

⁸ Leroy-Beaulieu makes the Old Slavonic as the liturgical language responsible for the tardy development of the Russian language. On the other hand, he points out that the language of Cyril and Methodius, in spite of local alterations, has proved a firm bond between Orthodox Slavonic peoples. "If *Kyrie Eleison* were sung in the Russian Church instead of *Gospodi Pomiluy*, there might never have been such a thing as Pan-Slavism." *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, III (1902), 2, pp. 75-76.

⁹ Cf. M. Gaster, *Ilchester Lectures on Greeko-Slavonic Literature* (1887), pp. 10 ff.

into Slavonic by them. Some have asserted that the Old Testament was also translated, but this appears unlikely, since no ancient codex of it exists or has ever been proved to have existed. In the 11th century the Proverbs of Solomon certainly were to be found in Slavonic versions. The Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, the Prophets and Job, were translated during the 13th century in Serbia. Towards the close of the 15th century the whole Bible was already done into Paleo-Slavonic. According to Dobrovský, the different parts of it were not collected till after 1488, when the Čech Bible of Prague was printed.

After the death of Cyril and Methodius, Christianity and Slavdom began to take a firmer hold upon Serbia, Bulgaria, and Russia. Counting the Orthodox, the Russian sects, Uniats and Glagolitics, over 100 million men today listen to the text of the Word of the Lord, as it was translated and interpreted by the two brothers from Salonica, more than a thousand years ago.¹⁰ After the decease of Methodius his numerous disciples were forced to leave Moravia, to seek shelter in Serbia and Bulgaria, and some of them went as far as Dalmatia. Wherever these missionaries sojourned they left traces of their literary activities either as translators or original authors. To them have been ascribed the biographies or legends of the apostles: one is *Vita Constantini Philosophi* or *Žitie Konstanina Filosofova*, and another *Vita S. Methodii* or *Žitie sv. Metodija*.¹¹

¹⁰ On Cyril and Methodius there is an extensive literature. The most important monographs are: J. Dobrovský, *Cyryll und Method, des Slaven Apostel* (1823); F. Rački, *Vek i delovanje sv. Ćirila i Metoda* (I, 1857; II, 1859); V. Bilbasov, *Kirill i Methodij*, 2 vols. (1868-71); A. Hilferding, *O Kirillě i Methodie* (Complete Works, I, 299-340); L. Leger, *Cyrylle et Méthode* (1868); J. A. Ginzler, *Geschichte der Slavenapostel Cyryll und Method* (1861); A. d'Avril, *St. Cyrille et St. Méthode* (1902); A. D. Voronov, *Kiril i Methodij*; *Glavnějšie istočniki dlja istorii sv. Kirilla i Methodia* (1877); F. Pastrnek, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů, Cyrilla a Methoda* (1902).

¹¹ To the legends of Cyril and Methodius have been given the name of Pannonic, Moravian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Italian, etc., according to the country from which they are supposed to have sprung. The best texts of *Vita Constantini*, Latin and Serbo-Slavonic, are published by E. Dümmler and F. Miklošić in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*; Philos. histor. Klasse, XIX (1870), 203-248. A critical edition of *Vita sancti Methodii*, Latin and Russo-Slavonic text, is by F. Miklošić (Vienna, 1870).

The real author of these biographies is not exactly known. They are to be found in a great number of works, which have a high historical value. They are gathered together in a book and translated into modern Russian by V. A. Bilbasov, *Kirill i Methodij* (1868–1871). The Lives of Cyril and Methodius tempted many a writer's pen, and inspired a great quantity of works signed by the most eminent critics. The study of sources, particularly, has received considerable attention in our days. One might almost say that no modern historian has failed to contribute something concerning these two brothers. The researches of the first-class savants, such as Dobrovský, Šafařík, Rački, Miklošić, Jagić, Ginzler, Bilbasov, Voronov, and Pastrnek, called forth new studies and gave renewed impulse to future philologists and men of letters.

Other valuable documents in the old Yugoslav literature which have come down to us are the Slovenian *Brižinski Spomeniki* (the Freisingen Monuments) found in Freising, Bavaria. They are composed of a confession, a sermon and a prayer. The MS. is in Latin script and dates from the year c. 1000, but the composition is older. The language is an adaptation of an old Slavonic translation. The oldest Croatian Glagolitic monument is an inscription on the *Bašćanska Ploča* (Baška Tablet) dating from 1100, while the oldest Serbian Cyrillic document is the *Povelja Bana Kulina* (Covenant of Ban Kulin) a treaty made in 1189 between Kulin, Ban of Bosnia, and Krvaš, *Knez* (President or Prince) of the Republic of Ragusa. Far more stately works than these fragments and inscriptions, are the old codices and chronicles, the best extant specimens of the Paleo-Slavonic language and history. Most of them had been written in the period from the eleventh to thirteenth century. From the eleventh century have been preserved: *Psalterium Sinaiticum* (glagolitic) edited by L. Geitler, 1883; *Codex Marianus* (*Quatuor Evangeliorum*, glag.), ed. V. Jagić, 1883; *Glagolita Clozianus* (glag.), ed. V. Vondrák, 1893; and *Savina Kniga* (Book of Sava, cyrillic), ed. by V. Ščepkin, 1903. From the twelfth century are: *Codex Suprasliensis* (cyr.), ed. S. Severjanov, 1904; *Evangelium Zographensis* (glag.), ed. by V. Jagić, 1879; *Gospel of Miroslav* (cyrillic), ed. Ľub. Stojanović, 1897; *Gospel of Rheims* or "Texte du Sacre"

(glag. and cyr.), ed. L. Leger, 1899; *Chronicle of Presbyter Diocleus* (originally Glag., transcriptions in Lat.), ed. Ivan Kukuļević.¹² The valuable monuments of the fourteenth century are: *Apostolus of Šišatovac* (cyr.) edited by F. Miklošić, 1853; and *Gospel of Nikoļa* (cyr.), ed. by Đ. Daničić, 1864. These monuments possess not only paleographic but high historic value, since they are the first attempt to express in a Slavonic language ideas which have been hitherto foreign. Besides they are the first attempt to show an appreciation of the poetic capabilities of that language, which can hardly be too highly estimated. It is not too much to say that some of these codices possess literary grace and style which were not surpassed in any Slavonic prose for more than five or six centuries after they were written.

¹² *Arhiv za povescnicu jugoslovensku*, I (1851), pp. 1-37. New edition by Ivan Črnčić, *Popa Dukļanina Letopis* (Latin and Croatian), Kraļevica, 1874.

CHAPTER II

OLD SLAVONIC LITERATURE

I

Of enduring importance in the Yugoslav literature of the Middle Ages are poetry and worship, culminating in the songs of the church. These songs ministered far more copiously to the purposes of devotion and edification than architecture, painting and sculpture. Employing word and tone, they spoke more directly to the spirit than the plastic arts and gave more adequate expression to the whole wealth of the world of thought and emotion. Of the various species of sacred poetry, the hymn was the earliest and most important. The hymn was defined as "a lyrical discourse to the feelings." The Christian Church in all periods of its existence has been accustomed to use psalms and chants in public worship. The psalms are portions of the Psalms of David, and they have served as a model for composition of the hymns in the Orthodox Church. As the Greek text of the Psalms of David had no regular metrical structure, the earlier church hymns of the Eastern Church likewise were composed in a peculiar form. They usually begin with a strophe which forms the pattern of the succeeding ones, and is called in technical language *hirmos* (series), because it draws the others after it. The succeeding strophes are called *troparia* (versicles). A number of troparia, from three to twenty or more form an *ode* (O. Slav. *pěsn*) which corresponds to the Latin sequence. Eight odes (sometimes nine) form a *canon*, which represents the highest effort of Orthodox hymnody.

Another form of sacred anthems similar to the canon is the *akathist* ("theotokion") or ascription of praise to the Mother of God. The strophes of which the akathist is composed are called *kontakia* (Lat. *canticum*, O. Slav. *kondak*), and *ikos* (stanza). The kontakion is essentially the same as the troparion, and it is usually followed by the ikos, which is somewhat longer than the preceding strophe.

All these chants, whatever their name may be, have no rhymes. They are divisible into verses (*stichera*), or clauses with regulated caesuras, but printed in the books as prose sentences. Each sentence has two to thirteen syllables, and these are in a continuous series, uniform, alternate or reciprocal. The metre being always syllabic, does not depend on the quantity of vowels or the position of consonants, but on a fixed proportion of accents. Those *stichera* that are not related in any way to other verses in the hymns, are called *idiomela*, and those which serve as the metrical and musical patterns of others are *automela*. Of less frequent occurrence in Old Slavonic hymnody are *katisma* and *katavasia*. *Katisma* are intercalated verses between the odes, and *katavasia* are repetitions of the *hirmos* of the odes.

The vast mass of texts exhibiting these various kinds of anthems are to be found in the *Menea* and the *Octoechos*, and above all in the liturgical books of the Orthodox Church.¹ The texts themselves are for the most part anonymous, but a considerable number of them are the work of the most celebrated hymn-writers. The custom of writing hymns was so general and popular in the Middle Ages that bishops, patriarchs, and even the emperors, wrote them. Thus to the Emperor Justinian (527–565) is ascribed a stirring troparion *Jedinorodni Sine* (The Only Begotten Son) which is now found in the Liturgies of St. Mark and St. Chrysostom. The medieval legends regarded Justinian as a Slav of Macedonia.² He is the originator of the greatest code of laws that has ever been framed, and is the renewer of the magnificent Orthodox cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople which later served as the standard of the church Byzantine style. Being a diligent student and a person of some literary pretensions, he

¹ These sources are supplemented by *Kanonik*, a collection of the Old Slavonic canons edited many times by several notable men. One of these collections is by Prof. Evgraf Lovjagin, *Bogoslužebnye Kanony*, izdanie vtoro (1875), and another by A. Maltzew, *Andachtsbuch (Kanonik)* der Orthodox-Katolischen Kirche des Morgenlandes, deutsch und slavisch (1895).

² Cf. P. J. Šafařík, *Slavische Alterthümer*, vol. II, par. 29. Also J. Bryce, *The English Historical Review*, II (1887), 657 f., and H. F. Tozer, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, II (1869), 370 sq.

wrote a good deal on theological topics and composed church hymns, of which the one mentioned is the best.

In the materials of the church hymn-books many songs were composed by St. Romanos and St. Sergius. Romanos, the poet of the sixth century, is the author of one thousand *kontakia*, among which the *Děva Dnes* (The Virgin Today) is one of the most popular. Krumbacher characterizes him as the "greatest poet of the Byzantine time." His surnames the "Melodist" and the "Christian Pindar" have been quite justified.³ Patriarch Sergius (610-641) was the author of the celebrated akathist *Vzbranoj Voevode* (To the Champion Leader), composed as a thanksgiving to the Virgin Mary for her defense of Constantinople from the attack of Chaganes, king of Persia. Among other writers whose names are found in early church hymnology the most prominent are St. Andrew of Crete (660-732) and St. John of Damascus (8th century) the writers of canons. St. Sophronius (c. 630) and St. Germanus (c. 690) were the poets of *idiomela*, while St. Cosmas of Majumena (d. 760) and St. Joseph the Hymnographer (c. 840) won repute as the most prolific Christian poets.

All these hymns, originally written in Greek, were twice translated into Old Slavonic. The first version was made in the 11th century, but this translation was preserved only in a few of the oldest church books. They were again translated towards the close of the 14th century, and these last renderings are far superior to the first ones. Besides the translations there are many original hymns, especially in celebration of national saints, for instance the hymns to SS. Sava, Simeon, Stefan and other Serbian Orthodox saints.⁴

II

When we now turn to the other lights, we find that the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, which practically coincide with the

³ K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (1897), p. 663.

⁴ A vast number of these old original Serbian hymns will be found in *Serblak* or *Srbĭak* (Serbian Church-book) of which there are numerous editions. Some songs to Serbian saints (*Pesme svecima Srbima*) are published by Daničić in *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva*, IX (1857), 256-267, and fragmentary by S. Novaković, *Primeri knjiž. i jez.*, 3 ed. (1904), 173-179.

“golden” age of Serbian literary activity, were characterized by an output of historical prose writings. Such are the legends and the stories whose origin must also be sought in Greek sources. The Byzantines knew all the legends coming from the Orient or the Occident, that priceless material from which literature drew unstintingly. Through them many of these legends reached the Yugoslavs.

To this category belong, for example, *The Book of Alexander*, the epos assigned to the Pseudo-Callisthenes which gave rise to a whole cycle of heroic romances and of which the Paleo-Slavonic literature possesses three different recensions. The oldest text of this story of Alexander the Great is in a manuscript of the 16th century containing the translation of the chronicle of Malalas, which is merely the copy of a manuscript dating from 1261. The translation itself is unquestionably from a period still more remote. This edition and one other, of Serb recension, were current in Russia until the 18th century.⁵ Another legendary history is the *Trojanski Rat* (Trojan War). Like other Greek myths it was current after the 10th century; and was mostly known through the chronicle of Malalas; one edition of it can be found in the Vatican in a Bulgarian translation of Constantine Manasses (14th century). A. Vostokov recognizes in this work, so very different from the celebrated narratives of Dares the Phrygian and Diktys of Crete, a distinct popular inspiration. He believes that it has been a more or less accurate translation from the original Latin, which came from western Europe. New Glagolitic texts of the same romance have been discovered, in which it is difficult to detect any touches of the old Bulgarian rendering. Jagić has concluded that this legend (*priča*) in the Glagolitic text was first written in Bosnia or Dalmatia, where Latin models most easily made their appearance.⁶

⁵ The text of this book has been published in the *Starine*, jug. akad. III, 1871; the *Glasnik*, II odejeđe, v. IX, 1878, and in other Slavonic publications.

⁶ V. Jagić, *Historija kniževnosti* (1867), V, 3, p. 97f. The Glagolitic text of “Trojan War” in his *Primeri starohrvatskoga jezika*, II (1866), and the Cyrillic in *Arhiv za povesnicu jugoslovensku*, IX (1868), 121–136. Miklošić has published the text with Latin translation according to the manuscript of Manasses in *Starine jug. akad.* III (1871), pp. 147–188.

From the 11th century date the legends of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, one of the most popular and widely disseminated of medieval romances, founded on the biography of Buddha, and the celebrated tales of *Stephanit and Ichnilat*, borrowed from the Indian fables of "Pančatantra." Both of these romances have been diffused throughout western Europe, not without having undergone serious modifications. The Slavonic text of the former is of the 15th and the latter of the 13th century. To this group of tales belongs also the *Physiologus* (Naturalist) a collection of stories, describing animals real or fabulous and giving each an allegorical interpretation. Thus the story is told of the lion whose cubs are born dead and receive life when the old lion (father) breathes upon them, and of the phoenix which burns itself to death and rises on the third day from the ashes; both are taken as types of Christ. The unicorn (*inorog*) also which only permits itself to be captured in the lap of a pure virgin is a type of the Incarnation; the pelican that sheds its own blood in order to sprinkle therewith its dead young, so that they may live again, is a type of the salvation of mankind by the death of Christ on the Cross.⁷ This book originated in the cities on the eastern and southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea among the writers of the Alexandrian school. That school was generally known with its taste for symbolism. It was written in the second century and in the Middle Ages formed the basis of numerous bestiaries and

⁷ Other animals are equally represented here, for instance, the charadrius (*kaladrinon*), a bird presaging recovery or death of sick people. The owl or *nyktikorax*, loves darkness and solitude. The eagle renews its youth by sunlight and bathing in a fountain. The hoopoe (*popunac*) redeems its parents from the ills of old age. The viper (*aspida*) is born at the cost of both its parents' death. The serpent (*zmiija*) puts aside its venom before drinking, is afraid of man in a state of nudity, hides its head and abandons the rest of its body. The fox (*lisica*) catches birds by simulating death. The panther allures its prey by sweet odor and sleeps for three days after meals. The partridge (*jarebica*) hatches eggs of other birds. The beaver (*kastor*) gives up its testes when pursued. The otter (*enydria* or *vidra*) enters the crocodile's mouth to kill it. The turtle-dove (*grlica*) takes but one consort in its life. The swallow (*lastavica*) brings forth but once (in Aristotle: twice, "Hist. Animal." V, 13). The elephant (*slon*) conceives after partaking of mandrake, and brings forth in the water. The hyena is an hermaphrodite. The diamond found by night, and powerful against all danger.

lapidaries, which influenced a great number of authors. Certain passages in Dante,⁸ Chaucer and Shakespeare would be unintelligible without some knowledge of these medieval text books of zoölogy. However, with the rapid progress of the natural sciences the *Physiologus* was abandoned by scholars and left to take its chances among the tales and traditions of the uneducated masses. Its symbols found their way into the rising literature of the vulgar tongues, and helped to quicken the fancy of the artists employed upon church buildings and furniture. The Yugoslav texts of the *Physiologus* exist only in late MSS. of the fifteenth century which have been considerably changed from the Greek and Syriac originals.⁹ One must not omit mentioning among documents whose Yugoslav origin is absolutely certain, the fantastic story of the Emperor *Solomon and Kitovras*, which is so well known even unto our day from the Russian manuscripts. There is a whole cycle of legends about this king, to whose wisdom, renowned in the Orient, was attributed a magic power over souls—surely a fit subject for the western epic of the Middle Ages.¹⁰

In some of the above mentioned legends we can easily detect traces of the influence of the Bogomils, a mystic sect which possessed many adherents in Bulgaria, Serbia and particularly in Bosnia, where they were called *Patareni* or *Babuni*.¹¹

⁸ Cf. R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*. Columbia University Press (1902). See in particular chapters: IX (the lion), ch. XII (the fox), XIII (the panther), XXVI (the beaver), XXVII (the otter), XXVIII (the elephant), XXXIX (the eagle), LVIII (the serpents), etc.

⁹ The Serbo-Slavonic texts of the *Physiologus* were published by A. Aleksandrov, *Fiziolog*, Kazan, 1893, and S. Novaković, "Slovo o veštih hodeštih i leteštih," *Starine jug. akad.*, XI (1879), 181ff., and fragmentary in his *Primeri Kniževnosti i jezika*, 3 ed. (1904), 584ff. For criticism see G. Polivka, "Zur Geschichte des Physiologus in den slavischen Literaturen," *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XIV (1892), 374 ff.; XV (1893), 246 ff.; XVIII (1896), 523 ff. A critical Greek text with German translation, notes and commentaries, was edited by F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889.

¹⁰ The narratives of Solomon and Kitovras are familiar to us from the Russian renderings of the 15th century. They have been widely circulated in popular poetry, in Serbian lore and Russian bylinas.

¹¹ The Slavonic word *Bogomil* (*Bog* God + *mil* dear, a lover of God) is equivalent to the Greek *Theophilos*. The self-laudatory term of Cathari

In Bosnia and Hum (Hercegovina) they had some special privileges and were protected by Ban Kulin, who was himself a converted Bogomil. This heresy began to spread among the Southern Slavs at the same time as Christianity. It probably came from Asia Minor, and was related to the Eastern dualistic system of philosophy. In common with other new Armenian and Manichean sects, the Bogomils accepted the dualism of the creative principle: the good personified in God, the evil personified in *đavo* (devil), one representing the invisible and spiritual, the other the physical and tangible. They wanted the abolition of the mass, the sacraments and the veneration of the saints. In state politics they were against capital punishment, armament and war. The spiritual tinge of their doctrine made them adverse to marriage from which their priests abstained totally. From a similar point of view we can explain another of their moral precepts, *viz.*, vegetarianism, which was founded not on the nature-worship of Buddhism, or on Tolstoy's humanitarian enthusiasm, but on the abhorrence of the flesh and every thing begotten by it. Being a monotheistic sect they preferred the Mohammedan Allah to the Christian Trinity, and when the Turks conquered the Balkans most of them embraced Islam. There was a closer similarity between that religion and Bogomilism than between the latter and either the Eastern or Western Churches. This view is supported by the fact that in Bosnia and Hercegovina there are more Serbs of the Mohammedan religion (converted from the Bogomils) than in any other Yugoslav province.¹²

The teaching of the Bogomils exercised particular attraction upon the fertile imagination of the Slavic masses and fostered

("pure," hence "Puritans") assumed by those Bogomils in western Europe was converted by the Germans into the generic term of *Ketzer* or heretic. The Italian word *Bugiardo*, *i.e.*, liar, and the French *Bougre* or *Boulgre*, *i.e.*, rogue, are lasting testimonies of the repute in which Bulgarian veracity, deservedly or undeservedly was held; not to mention other similar epithets derived from the same root.

¹² For more of the Bogomils and their doctrine, see F. Rački, "Bogomili i Patareni," *Rad jug. akad.* 1870: VII (84-179), VIII (121-187), X (160-263). C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (History of the Bulgars), ch. IX, pp. 155 ff. Prag, 1876, and E. Gibbon, "The History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire," ed. by J. B. Bury, v. VI (1902), pp. 540 sq.

the growth of an extensive popular poetic literature which has long been neglected and condemned by the official Church. Of such writings are the apocrypha, some of which are most obscure and some of which actually did inspire the Old or the New Testament; one portion came from Byzantium, but another doubtless had a Bulgarian or Bogomil origin. The apocryphal books (*lažne knjige*) fall into different categories: works relating to certain personages or events in the Old or New Testaments which are not contained in the Christian canon; later works inspired by traditions and conceptions antipathetic to the Church; and finally books of magic, incantations and sorcery. The apocryphal writings, which are by their origin Oriental, *i.e.*, strictly speaking apocryphal, became diffused throughout all Christian countries in the Middle Ages in spite of the condemnations and anathemas of the Church. They were to be found in France, England and Germany, just as in Ethiopia and Syria. The Middle Ages added another element to this literature, through its contribution of numerous legends and superstitions. Byzantine literature especially was rich in apocryphal writings and the Southern Slavs being neighbors to the Greeks borrowed from them.

Slightly known until very recently, the Slavonic documents of this nature, in original or in translation, reveal to us a vast amount of the religious and popular poetry of the Orthodox Slavs. Many more Russian manuscripts have escaped destruction than Serbian, and they up to the present have been the chief source for the study of this most precious material. The Yugoslav origin of many apocryphal texts is now proved without a doubt, and this certainty will become more pronounced when there have been collected and published these manuscripts which have hitherto been but little studied. For a number of these apocrypha we have the originals; for a number of others the texts belong to the 13th and even to the 12th century, absolutely retaining the pure form of the Paleo-Slavonic characteristic of this period, the most remote of Yugoslav literature.

The notice of the Church was early attracted to these writings, and to keep the faithful from error the Church made up an index known under the name of a collection of "canonical

and apocryphal books." The most ancient text of the canonical books is that of the Paleo-Slavonic *Nomocanon* (*Krmčija* or *Zakonu pravilo*), compiled by the Serbian Archbishop Sava in the 13th century,¹³ while the paternity of numerous apocryphal books was attributed to Jeremiah, a Bulgarian priest.

The apocrypha are divided into two categories: those of the Old and those of the New Testament. Among the first are the *Narratives of Adam*, which contain certain details not included in the Bible concerning the life of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Paradise, their expulsion, the penitence of Adam, his sufferings, and his pact with the devil—all mingled with symbols announcing in advance the coming of the Savior.¹⁴ Next in order comes the *Book of Enoch*,¹⁵ preserved in a manuscript of the 16th century under the name of the "Slavonic Enoch;" one of the *Narratives of Abraham*,¹⁶ his revelations and his death (in a manuscript of the 15th century); and the legends relating to Solomon, already mentioned. In the *Apocalypse of Baruch* is presented Baruch's voyage to heaven, with poetic descriptions of dawn, twilight and other natural phenomena.¹⁷ Among the apocrypha most widely circulated are to be found the *Paralipomena of Jeremiah*,¹⁸ a story of the destruction of Jerusalem, and *Isaiah's Vision*, both in a manuscript of the 14th century.

Apocryphal literature relating to the New Testament is, in the main, composed of the following works: the *Gospel of St. Thomas*,¹⁹ which treats of the life of Christ (a manuscript of the

¹³ See M. Murko, *Geschichte der älteren südslavischen Literaturen*, IX, 3, p. 149 (1908), and N. Milaš, *Krmčija savinska*, Zadar, 1884.

¹⁴ Serbo-Slavonic and Latin text with commentaries published by V. Jagić, "Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adambuches," *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*; Philo.-histor. Kl., XLII (1893), 1-104.

¹⁵ S. Novaković, "Apokrif o Enohu," *Starine jug. akad.* XVI (1884), 66 sq. An English translation by W. R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, edit. R. H. Charles (1896).

¹⁶ Cf. Comments and text by G. Polivka, "Die apokryphische Erzählung vom Tode Abrahams," *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XVIII (1896), 112-125.

¹⁷ Edited by S. Novaković, "Otkrivenje Varuhovo," *Starine jug. akad.* XVIII (1886), pp. 203 ff.

¹⁸ Edited by G. Polivka, "Priča proroka Jeremije o plećeñu Jerusalima," *Starine jug. akad.* XXI (1889), 221 sq.

¹⁹ Edited by P. A. Lavrov, *Apokrifitskie teksty* (1899).

15th century); the *Gospel of Nicodemus*,²⁰ on the sufferings and death of our Savior (the original from the 5th and MS. from the 15th and 16th centuries); the *Protevangelium of James*, ascribed to St. James the Less, the brother of the Lord, containing the oldest story of the Conception of the Virgin extending to the death of Zacharius, written in the second century, of which the Slavonic MS. dates from the 15th century; *Abgar's Epistles*, a legend describing how the Emperor Abgar of Edessa wrote a letter to Jesus Christ and received from Him a reply;²¹ the *Acts of the Apostles*: Peter, Paul, Andrew, Mathew, Thomas and John. Then there is a long series of miraculous revelations which are not recognized among the canonical books: the *Questions of the Apostle Bartholomew* addressed to the Savior after His descent to hell and His resurrection; the *Voyage of the Virgin in Hades*, a very poetic narrative of a voyage which Mary made to the infernal regions and her intervention in favor of the fishermen (Serbian MS. from the 12th century); the *Questions of John Bogoslov* directed to the Lord on Mt. Tabor, and to Abraham concerning the future life; the *Voyage of the Apostle Paul* to the infernal regions; and the *Discussions of the Patriarch Methodius* about the pagan empire in recent times, the latter one of the most widely circulated pieces of ancient Yugoslav literature.²²

Scientific study of the apocryphal books has recently led to curious discoveries about medieval Christian superstitions. The majority of the spurious documents have been discovered, but scientific analyses of them are far from being complete. We can affirm that from this time on we shall become better acquainted with the Slavs of these primitive times and that they will furnish us with surprising facts concerning the ancient popular and poetic literature of the East and the West.²³

²⁰ "Jevanđeje Nikodimovo," ed. by Daničić, *Starine jug. akad.* IV (1872), pp. 130 sq. Also by Ľub. Stojanović, *Glasnik srp. uč. društ.* LXIII (1885), pp. 89 ff. A discourse on this Gospel is by Polivka, in *Časopis musea českého* LXIV (1890) and LXV (1891).

²¹ The text by S. Novaković, *Starine jug. akad.* XVI (1884), 57 ff.

²² Most of the last mentioned apocrypha are published by N. Tihonravov, *Pamjatniki otrečenoj ruskoj literatury*, tom II (1863).

²³ For further bulky materials on apocryphal literature in general, see P. A. Lavrov, *Apokrifičeskie teksty*, Petrograd, 1899; M. N. Speranskij,

III

Of much greater importance and wider diffusion than hagiographa and apocrypha in Old Slavonic literature are the *stare srpske biografije* (the ancient Serbian biographies) of the Serb rulers and archbishops. While the apocrypha, hagiographa and romances are mostly translations from Greek, the biographies are original works, and are the best representatives of ancient Jugoslav culture as well as valuable documents of bygone ages.²⁴ The list of writers of this sort is headed by the name of a king: Stefan Prvovenčani, the "first crowned" (d. 1223), who wrote a biography of his father Nemaña, or Simeon in monastic life.²⁵ Another biographer of the 13th century is St. Sava (1171-1236), the youngest son of Nemaña, and the first Serbian archbishop. He also wrote a life of his father, *Život sv. Simeuna*, one of the most attractive literary relics of this period.²⁶ Besides this he left two *Typiks* (Statute-books), one made for the monastery of Chilandar, and another for the monastery of Studenica, of which he was hegumen.²⁷ Many other writings of the same sort exist. St. Sava attained great glory among the Serbians for his efforts to spread general education among the people. He founded with his father on the peninsula of Athos the celebrated monastery of Chilandar (1192), which became one of the best known cen-

Slavjanskija apokrifičeskija evangelija, Moskva, 1895; A. N. Pypin, "Ložnyja i otrečennyja knigi ruskoj stariny" in *Pamjatniki starinnoj ruskoj literatury*, III (1862) ed. by Gf. Gr. Kušelev-Bezborodko; N. S. Tihonravov, *Pamjatniki otrečenoj ruskoj literatury* (2 vols. Moskva, 1863); Ivan Franko, *Apokrifi i legendy*, I-IV (1896-1906). Jugoslav apocrypha are mostly published by Jagić and Novaković in *Starine jug. akad.*, see especially vols. III (1869); IV (1871); VI (1874); VIII (1876); X (1878); XI (1879); XVI (1884); XVIII (1886).

²⁴ Cf. S. Vulović, "Iz stare srpske književnosti," *Godišnica Nikole Čupića*, VII (1885), p. 88.

²⁵ Published by P. J. Šafařík, *Památky dřevního písennictví jihoslovanův*, v Praze, 1851 (2 ed. 1873). Another text by Pater Martynov in *Pamjatniki dřevnej písennosti*, III (1880), 19-70.

²⁶ Edited by Šafařík, *Glasnik srp. uč. druž. XX* (1866), 157 sq.

²⁷ Ed. J. K. Jireček, *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva*, XL (1874), 132 sq. One of the first chapters of the *Typik* for Studenica is Sava's biography of Nemaña, which later on was published as a separate work.

ters of culture, attracting the Jugoslavs whose activity maintained Serbian independence for several centuries. In addition to Chilandar, the monasteries of Žiča, Mileševa, Dečani, Peć, Đurđevi Stubovi and Bańska must be mentioned. These were built by Nemaña himself or by the members of his dynasty. They were foci of religious culture and in the dark days became havens of refuge for the national traditions.²⁸

The work of Sava was continued by one of his disciples, a Chilandar monk, Domentijan,²⁹ who wrote a *Life of St. Sava* (1241) and a *Life of St. Simeon* (1264). The former was revised in the 14th century by a certain Teodosije.³⁰ To Archbishop Danilo, who administered the Serbian church from 1323–1338, a whole series of lives of Serbian kings is attributed: Radoslav, Vladislav, Uroš and his wife Queen Helena, Dragutin, Milutin and Stefan Dečanski. This collection, known later under the title of *Carostavnik* (Tsars' Chronicle) or *Rodoslov* (Genealogy), overflows with such a wealth of enthusiasm that its historical value suffers. In the first copies, which always bear the name of Danilo, the *Rodoslov* is carried to the end of the 18th century.³¹ The *Life of Stefan Dečanski* was written by Gregory Camblak (Samblak or Tsamblak, 1364–1420), a name which is met again in Russian history and which is a living proof of the literary unity which existed between Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania. Both Bulgarian and Serbian versions of this biography are extant. It is beyond doubt that the author himself endeavored to write in the true Paleo-Slavonic or ecclesiastical style.³²

P. Šafařík pretends that Serbian literature shows a greater originality and taste the more ancient it is. The narrative

²⁸ For a more extensive monograph of St. Sava, see A. Gavrilović, *Sveti Sava*. Beograd, 1900.

²⁹ *Život sv. Simeuna i sv. Save*, napisao Domentijan. Ed. by Đ. Daničić. Beograd, 1865.

³⁰ In 1860 Đ. Daničić published *Život svetoga Save* and ascribed its authorship by mistake to Domentijan instead of to Teodosije.

³¹ Published by Daničić, *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*. Napisao arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi, Zagreb, 1866.

³² Ed. by Ivan Kukuļević (Bulgarian version) in *Arhiv za povescnicu jugoslovenksu*, IV (1857), 1–29, and J. Šafařík (Serb version) in *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva*, XI (1859), 35 sq.

by Domentijan in particular appears to him to be a witness "of the striking intelligence and the broad culture" of this writer; "it is one of the most precious jewels of the entire earlier Slav literature."³³ He places it far above the revision made by Teodosije, who, according to Šafařík, has disfigured Domentijan's work. Daničić however has made the observation when publishing the two, that there is to be noticed no great difference, and Jagić maintained that the spun-out narrative of Domentijan is actually more lacking in facts than the biography of Nemaña by Stefan Prvovenčani. Domentijan is a garrulous monk who turned into rhythmic phrases the narrative of Stefan; the revision of Teodosije, if one studies it with care, bears witness to a greater degree of taste, and he varies less often from the account of Stefan, than does Domentijan.³⁴

Among the works not produced in monasteries, and of which the subject may be considered more truly national, it is well to note two, which are highly interesting and unique in their way, *Zakon Vinodolski* (the Law of Vinodol) and *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (the Code of Stefan Dušan). The Law of Vinodol was written in 1288 in Novi, a city on the Croatian seacoast.³⁵ It is a collection of older statutes and characterizes well those people for whom it was composed. The Codex of Stefan Dušan was accepted by the two Parliaments (*Sabor*, Congress) of 1349 and 1354. Like a great number of other legislative documents of the Middle Ages the *Zakonik* is not a product of a single thought; the entire nation, at least the entire political nation, collaborated in it. The Code of Dušan established the authority of law and put an end to the arbitrary power of the nobles. However, its main importance lies in the fact that it permits us an insight into the

³³ "Eine der Hauptzierden der gesammten ältern slavischen Literatur." (P. J. Šafařík, *Geschichte der serbischen Literatur*, Abt. I, 230 f., 1865).

³⁴ See V. Jagić, *Historija kniževnosti*, I (1867), ch. VI, sec. 3-4.

³⁵ Vinodol in the 13th century was a district between Seń (Zengg) and Reka (Fiume), ruled by the Croatian princes Frankopans. The *Zakon Vinodolski* was published with introduction by A. Mažuranić, *Kolo*, III (1843), and by Fr. Rački in the *Monumenta historico-iuridica Slavorum meridionalum*, IV (1890). Another text with Russian version is by V. Jagić, Petrograd, 1880. A French translation, *La loi du Vinodol*, is by Jules Preux, Paris, 1897.

life and the degree of civilization to which the Southern Slavs of that time, the most brilliant of their whole history, had attained, somewhat as the Russian *Pravda* of Jaroslav shows the degree of civilization of the Eastern Slavs.³⁶

³⁶ Dušan's Codex has been published several times. The best editions are by F. Miklošić, *Lex Stefani Dušani* (1856), and by S. Novaković, *Zakonik Stefana Dušana*, 2 ed. 1898. The interpretations of the Code are by N. Krstić, *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva*, VI (1854), VII (1855) and C. Jireček, "Das Gesetzbuch des serbischen Caren Stephan Dušan," *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XXII (1900), pp. 144-214.

SECOND PERIOD

THE AGE OF RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER III

REPUBLIC OF DUBROVNIK AND THE RENAISSANCE

While the Orthodox Serb writers were following the paths laid out by the earlier authors, and among the Croatians of the West, Glagolitic literature was becoming dominated more and more by Catholicism, there grew up, among the Serbo-Croats of the Adriatic littoral toward the close of the 15th century a literary movement which is unique in early Slavonic literature. Formed by particular historic circumstances, a poetical school of the most remarkable talent budded forth, with its center at Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and its language the pure popular dialect.¹

During more than two centuries (15th-17th) this new movement threw its bright rays towards the north, east and south. The history of the South Slav world does not offer anything to compare in intellectual intensity with this phenomenon. The Serbs or Croats from Dalmatia took up their residence at Venice and there were a number of ancient Slavic families in that celebrated republic. Politics, commerce and religion drew these two countries together, and made openings for the Italian *Rinascimento* to widen its scope. The science, faith, art, institutions, customs and usages of a polished and refined society gained a rapid triumph. The results moreover were so rich in content that there gradually started under the Latin influence a well maintained and steady current of production. This movement known in history as the Revival

¹ The word *Dubrovnik* derives its meaning probably from *dub* (oak), or *dubrava* (oak-wood) which at one time covered the hills where the present city is situated. Cf. L. Leger, "La République de Raguse," *Revue des sciences politiques*, XL (1918), p. 42, and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, I (1848), ch. V, p. 277.

of Learning or Renaissance, fired to a high pitch the little republic, which became the Mecca of Yugoslav intellectual life. The easy communication among the free republics, and the commerce which had developed the wealth of the country and enlarged the mental capacity of the population, were in direct contrast to the dire despotism and the civil wars from which Serbia was suffering at the time of the Turkish invasion.²

I

Situated on a craggy peninsula, the territory of Dubrovnik was too small and in part too sterile to provide sufficient foodstuffs for the population. Consequently it was upon trade and industry that the citizens had to depend for their means of livelihood. Trade, both sea-borne and overland, received a great additional impetus from the extension of Venetian traffic and from the increasing civilization of the Slavonic States. At Ragusa, Venice, Florence, Rome, and elsewhere in Italy, the aristocracy as well as the middle classes were interested in trade. We find members of all the noble families in the Ragusan settlements in Serbia, Bosnia and Albania, and no nobleman disdained to travel overseas with his own goods. Members of noble families engaged in trade were constantly making voyages on their own ships, and later they were employed as *scribani*.³ No one could be a *scribanus* unless he belonged to the Ragusan nobility.

The Ragusan vessels were found in every part of the Mediterranean Sea. From the commercial provisions contained in the various treaties between Ragusa and Venice, we

² The City (later Republic) of Ragusa was founded in the 7th century by refugees from Epidaurum (now Captat). During the 13th century it acquired through trade and crafty diplomacy, lordship over a territory of some 750 square miles, extending from the shores of the Boka Kotorska to the mouth of the Neretva, including the neighboring islands. It maintained its independence until 1808, when, with the rest of Dalmatia, it was annexed to the Illyrian Kingdom (as a French possession). In 1814 it passed to Austria, and in 1918 was united with its mother country, Jugoslavia. See J. Cvijić, *La Peninsule Balkanique* (1918), livre II, chap. VIII, p. 359, and L. Vojnović, *Pađ Dubrovnika*, I-II, Zagreb, 1908.

³ *Scribanus* (Serb. *pisar*) is an officer employed by the nobleman (*vlaste-lin*) or magistrate.

learn that the former traded with all parts of the Eastern Roman Empire, Syria, Egypt, Tunis, Barbary, Italy and Spain.⁴ At Constantinople, the privilege granted by the Comneni were renewed by the Latin Emperors Baldwin I and Henry. The Ragusans traded especially with the Morea, and the feudal duchy of *Klarentza* (Cyllene, Ital. Chiarenza) or *Clarence*,⁵ bringing silk to Ancona (Slav. *Jakin*) and other parts of Italy. At the same time they kept up their connection with the Greek princes who held sway over the fragments of the Byzantine Empire, namely, the Emperors of Nicaea and Trebizond and the despots of Epirus.⁶ When the Byzantine Empire was re-established in 1261, all the exemptions and privileges were re-confirmed, first by Michael Palaeologus, and later, in 1322, by Andronicus II.⁷

Other countries with which Dubrovnik had commercial intercourse were Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia and Hungary. In the early days of the second Bulgarian Empire (12th century), the Venetians could not trade with it, as they supported the Latin Empire at Constantinople in withstanding the Bulgarian invasions. The Genoese were equally cut off because the Venetians excluded them from the Bosphorus. The field therefore lay open to the Ragusans alone and they were favorably received by the Tsar Assen II (1218-1241), who called them his "trusted beloved guests."⁸ With Bosnia

⁴ Č. Mijatović, a Serbian historian, asserts that after the fall of the Serbian State, *viz.*, in the 17th and 18th centuries, Ragusa traded with America, and that some of its citizens came to power and influence in Spain and Mexico. See *Glasnik srp. uč. druš.* XXXIII (1872), p. 226.

⁵ Whence the title of the English Duke of Clarence was derived. See V. de Saint-Martin, *Nouveau dictionnaire de géographie universelle*, I (1879), p. 749.

⁶ After the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders, Epirus continued to hold out against their arms, and was ruled by the despots Michael I (who died in 1214), Manuel (1214-1241), and Michael II (1241-1271), all of whom granted valuable privileges to the Ragusans. See G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, "Griechische Original-Urkunden zur Geschichte des Freistaates Ragusa," in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wien. Akad. der Wissenschaften*; Philos.-hist. Klasse, Bd. VI (1851), Hft. IV, 507 sq.

⁷ W. Heyd, "Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge," I (1885), p. 475.

⁸ *Vsevernii ljubovnii goste*. See Fr. Miklošić, *Monumenta serbica* (1858), VII, p. 3.

and Serbia the Dalmatian trade became extremely active. In 1351 according to Cerva (Crević), the Serbian emperor, Dušan, established an embassy at Dubrovnik. He founded there a large library filled with Greek and Latin books, and sent capable young men to study literary and humanistic sciences.⁹ Three years later Dušan himself visited Dubrovnik,¹⁰ and granted to the Ragusans concessions to exploit Serbian mines which were a source of considerable revenue to the State. The mines of Illyria were well known even in the Roman times. They were abandoned during the barbarian inroads, and it was not until the 12th and 13th centuries, at the time of the rise of the Serb States, that the industry revived. Wonderful tales were told by medieval travelers of the golden splendor and richness of the Balkan mines and cities. As late as 1453 the Byzantine historian Kritoboulos of Imbros, speaking about the expedition of the Sultan Mohammed II (whose secretary he was) against George Branković, asserted that Serbia was a very fertile land and had all kinds of production in abundance. But the characteristic in which she surpassed other countries was her plentiful possession of gold and silver; everywhere one could dig he found large deposits of the precious metals in great quantities and even better than those in the Indies.¹¹ The Serbian kings Stefan Uroš I (1243-1276)

⁹ *Primarios et ad litterarum studia aptiores suae gentis juvenes*. Cit. by V. Jagić, *Rad jug. akad.* IX (1869), p. 206.

¹⁰ Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, p. 314. Leopold Ranke assumes that Dušan visited Ragusa in 1347, where he was received with European honors, and was acknowledged as its protector. *Sämmtliche Werke*, Bd. XLIII-XLIV (1879), p. 10.

¹¹ La terre (*i.e.*, Serbie) y est très fertile et capable de tout produire, en abondance, aussi bien en céréales qu'en arbres. Elle a aussi des troupeaux, c'est-à-dire des brebis, des porcs, des vaches et de beaux chevaux en grande abondance, et beaucoup d'autres animaux mangeables et utiles, apprivoisés et sauvages; elle en offre des races distinguées et produit tout ce qu'il faut pour leur nourriture. Mais ce qui forme son plus grand bien et ce par quoi elle surpasse de beaucoup toutes les autres terres, c'est qu'elle offre, comme d'une fontaine, de l'or et de l'argent, et partout où l'on creuse se présentent des éjections d'or et d'argent en grand nombre et très belles, meilleures même que celles Indes. (Kritoboulos, *Vie de Mahomet II*, livre II, par. 30-31, traduit par le Dr. Ph. A. Déthiero, *Monumenta hung. historica*.—Scriptores, XXI, Buda-Pest, 1866?)

and his son Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321) summoned German miners from Transylvania, called Saxons (Slav. *Sasi*), so as to benefit by their skill, but they employed many Ragusans also. The ore was extracted from galleries and shafts, many of which are still in existence. The refining of the metal was carried on at Ragusa or Venice.

Gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron were the chief products of the mines of Bosnia and Serbia. Gold, of which the earliest mention is in 1253, was found chiefly in the *Novo Brdo* (Novus Mons), now only ruins, between Priština and Vrańe, but at that time the largest city in the interior of the Balkan Peninsula. It was said in old chronicles that this city yielded about 200,000 ducats per year. Other principal mining centers were in Bosnia: Kreševo, Fojnica, Srebrenica, and Zvornik; in Serbia, besides Novo Brdo: Rudnik, Krupań, Kučevó, and Kopaonik; in Zeta (Montenegro): Brskovo or Brescoa.¹² At the end of the 13th century in Brskovo there was a mint, where the *grossi de Brescoa* were coined. The kings of Serbia (Rascia) beginning with Stefan Uroš I, struck their own coins in imitation of the Venetian ducats, but with considerable amount of debased metal, whence Dante's allusion (*Paradiso*, XIX, vv. 139-141):

*E quel de Portogalo e di Norvegia
li si conosceranno e quel di Rascia,
che male aggiusta il conio di Vinegia. . .*

And he of Portugal and of Norway
shall be known, and he of Rascia,
who counterfeited ill the coin of Venice.¹³

¹² A very elaborate and interesting account of the Ragusan trade and the Serbian mines in the Middle Ages is given by C. J. Jireček, "Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien des Mittelalters" (1879), pp. 41-58.

¹³ It is historical fact that the Venetian Government on Oct. 29, 1282, pronounced these coins false and gave an order to destroy them in all those Adriatic cities which were under its protectorate. "Die vigesima nona octobris capta fuit pars: quod occasione destruendi dennarios grossos de Brescoa . . ." (*Monumenta spectantia hist. Slav. merid., Listine*, I, 1868, p. 133.) Although Dante was not *flagello dei principi* (the scourge of princes) as was his contemporary P. Aretino, he undoubtedly was inclined to the republican form of government, hence his stigmatization of a Serbian king as falsifier is easy to understand, but why the Venetian Government

In Brskovo as well as in other mining districts the Ragusans had their colonies or settlements. At the head of the colony were the consul and two judges, usually noblemen appointed by the Republic. At the Royal Court in Skopje (then the Serbian capital) resided an ambassador in whose charge were all the Ragusan settlements in Serbia.

Communication between Ragusa and the settlements in the interior was carried on by means of couriers.¹⁴ These couriers carried official correspondence from the Republic to the ambassadors and consuls, and legal notices, writs, reports of judicial proceedings, etc., to the Ragusan traders. They were not allowed to convey private correspondence, which was usually sent by caravan, or in the case of the chief merchants by their own special messengers, save on the return journey.¹⁵ The time employed by these caravans and messengers was usually ten days from Ragusa to Skopje, seventeen to Sofia, and twenty-five to Constantinople. The official correspondence to the various representatives in the Near East is preserved in the archives of Dubrovnik in 138 volumes, under the heading of *Lettere e Commissioni di Levante*.

II

The traffic and trade carried on with the Byzantine, Italian and Slavonic States proved to be a source of great public and private wealth. The Ragusan merchants succeeded in making

issued such a denunciatory decree is not clear. All Serb coins of that time bear the effigies of the Serbian kings and Serbian inscriptions. The discrimination of these *grossi* one may see in the figures given by Philaethes in his translation of *Dante Alighieri's Göttliche Comödie* (1866), p. 247, and in the collection of old Serbian coins by Janko Šafařík, *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva*, III (1851), pp. 191 *sq.*

¹⁴ Lat. *cursores*, It. *corieri*, Serb. *listonoše, knižnici* or *knigonoše*.

¹⁵ The Ragusan caravans (*turma*) consisted chiefly of horses and were under the charge of Vlach drovers. These Vlachs or Rumans of the Balkans were nearly all shepherds and cattle-drovers, with markedly nomadic habits. There are hardly any distinctive traces of them to be found now in Dalmatia, save in the name Morlacchi (Maurovlachs) given to the Slavs generally by ignorant Italians of the coast towns. In Macedonia, however, the Kutso-Vlachs (*Cincari, Tsintsari, or Zinzari*) are numerous. Their language belongs to the Neo-Latin group and they still ply the trade of wandering merchants and inn-keepers. (Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* pp. 60-61.)

their port a real emporium of Eastern commerce. They accumulated large fortunes by intelligent management, sagacity and indefatigable industry. The proceeds obtained from their trade and industry were used for the promotion of literature and the arts of refinement. The literary treasures of ancient Greece and Rome were collected in libraries for public use. The city itself was beautified by the erection of magnificent buildings: churches, museums, and picture-galleries which still attract visitors from every land. Most of these edifices were built in the Byzantine and Gothic styles, but many of them also have original Slavonic features. As the Dalmatians of the maritime cities came into contact with the nations of Eastern and Western Europe, they imitated first Byzance and later Italy and Spain. The Byzantine influence in Ragusa and notably in Serbia, Macedonia and Croatia can be traced in art and literature as late as the 12th century.¹⁶ After that time the Latin civilization prevailed not only in literature but also in architecture, painting, and sculpture.¹⁷

It is not difficult to explain why the Latin civilization mastered Ragusa. Young Dalmatians went to the neighboring peninsula to finish their studies, and an especially large number were gathered at the University of Padua. To Italy penetrated the western European customs, and the works which marked the end of the Middle Ages. Latin literature, which persisted in spite of the protest of the church and its doctrines, had already been cultivated with some success in Dalmatia where it had become, so to speak, naturalized. There Provençal poetry had been also known for some time—that cult of love songs and admiration for women or “divine worship of beauty.”¹⁸ An effect of the Renaissance was to reinstate the ancients and to create the inspiration for the study of the

¹⁶ Cf. M. Dimitrijević, “L’Architecture religieuse en Vieille Serbie et en Macedoine.” *La revue slave*, I (1905), p. 41 f.

¹⁷ See T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II (1887), p. 204 f.; also his article “Serbian Church Architecture” in *South Slav Monuments*, ed. by M. I. Pupin, v. I (1918), p. 7 sq.

¹⁸ On the subject of idealization of women in the period of the Renaissance, see the study of Prof. J. B. Fletcher, *The Religion of Beauty in Woman*, New York, 1911.

classical works. In a word, the literary and scientific influences which operated in Italy, were really transferred to the other side of the Adriatic. What Cicero once said about Greek and Latin literature, *artissimo vinculo coniuguntur atque associantur*, may be said even more truly of the Italian and Ragusan literatures. This parallelism between Italian and Dalmatian letters lasted as long as the Dalmatian literature itself endured; it commenced by considering the works of the ancients, the religion of classical antiquity, and admiration for Boccaccio and Petrarch; it finished by imitating Giambattista Guarini and Metastasio. Dalmatian writers were successful in all the directions towards which the Renaissance had inclined Italy: epic poetry, lyrics and the drama.¹⁹ It was not only exterior conditions of literary development which provoked curious likenesses, but the social position of the writers as well. Authors were accustomed to exercise a certain authority, gathering around them a little group of friends and disciples to inspire with their spirit.

This flowering was in fact a very peculiar and exceedingly odd event. A little republic whose population did not surpass a few dozen thousands of inhabitants, produced from the end of the 15th century a relatively prodigious number of writers and savants, and a great majority of them of superior merit. Many states, and not the least powerful, would be incapable of producing illuminated books such as these authors illustrated. Although the position which this culture occupied, halfway between Italy and Byzance was without doubt a very favorable one, that would not suffice to explain fully such a brilliant movement, and it is necessary to reckon with the latent fund of national forces which this literature kept in reserve. The Renaissance moreover did not come from Italy alone. The Greeks contributed a large part to the Revival of Learning. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, many Byzantines sought refuge in western countries, and some retired to Dubrovnik. There lived Demetrius Chalcondylas, E. Marulus,

¹⁹ An essay of the Ragusan drama, its sources and imitations, was made under the intelligent scrutiny of A. Pavić, *Historija dubrovačke drame* (1871). See also W. Creizenach, "Das serbo-croatische Drama in Dalmatien" in his work *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, II (1901), pp. 506-526.

J. Lascaris, and several others, celebrated over all Europe for their learning.²⁰ After their arrival, schools for the study of the ancients were established and carried on. Of those Dalmatian students who flocked to the courses of study offered at the schools and universities of the neighboring peninsula, many later became known outside of their country and obtained European reputations. From Dubrovnik came Ivan Stojković (1395-1443), one of the most celebrated theologians of the 15th century,²¹ and Ilija Crević or Cerva (1463-1520), a crowned poet-laureate at the Quirinal in his 22nd year.²² In the annals of art the name of Dubrovnik was not less glorious, and it would be easy to draw up a long roll of celebrities.

The list of Dalmatian poets since the 15th century is lengthy. A small part of their work has been published, either in past centuries or in our own day, and that only since interest has arisen in this history. Mention of the manuscripts is scattered through various Dalmatian biographies, and in the great collections of different European states. We shall only stop to consider the best known authors, who are regarded in Jugoslav literature as classical.²³

²⁰ *Vid.* Talvi, "Historical View of the Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nations" (1850), p. 128.

²¹ *Cf.* P. Matković, "Prilozi k trgovačko-političkoj historiji republike dubrovačke," *Rad* jug. akad. VII (1869), p. 235.

²² See C. Jireček, *Archiv f. slav. Philologie*, XIX (1897), pp. 45 ff.

²³ For the sources of information regarding the Ragusan Renaissance and foreign influences, see V. Lamanskij, "Nacionalnosti italijanskaja i slavjanskaja v političeskom i literaturnom otnošenijah" (1865); F. Rački, "Prilozi za povest humanizma i renaissance u Dubrovniku," *Rad*, LXXIV (1885); A. Pavić, "Prilog k historiji dubrovačke hrvatske književnosti," *Ibid.* XXXI (1875); S. Ćubić, "O odnošajah među Dubrovčani i Mletčani," *Ibid.* V (1868); Iv. Kasumović, "Utecaj grčkih i rimskih pesnika na dubrovačku liričku poeziju," *Ibid.* ICC (1913), CCI (1914), CCIII (1914), CCV (1914); M. Korelin, "Rannyj italjanskij gumanizm i ego istoriografija" (1892); M. Medini, *Povest hrvatske književnosti u Dalmaciji i Dubrovniku*, vol. I. Zagreb, 1902.

CHAPTER IV

THE POETS OF THE 15TH CENTURY

I

One of the precursors of the Ragusan poets was Šiško Menčetić (1457-1527). He had an especial talent for composing those love songs which the troubadours and their joglars brought to the world. The Provençal school had declined since the end of the 13th century, but its influence reigned for a long time in the palace of Alphonse V at Milan, where that king spent his exile. In Italy Petrarch was the most illustrious representative of this conventional lyricism, and he had many imitators. As has been pointed out, Ragusa had too extended a commerce and too intimate relationships with distant countries to remain untouched by foreign customs and civilizations. Provençal poetry was not slow in penetrating there. Jagić by a comparison of the poems of Petrarch and his disciples (Petrarchists) with those of the Dalmatian writers has shown the influence which the poetic theory of love has exerted upon the Dubrovnik school, the theory as conceived by the Provençal singers.¹ In the writings of Menčetić love is a subject which occurs again and again, and his *Pesni Luvezne* (Love Poems) form a veritable "Slavonic Canzoniere," in the Provençal-Italo-Castilian style. The prevailing characteristics of these poems are exaggeration and hyperbolism in emotion and expression. The poet sometimes repeats the same idea varied by allusions and wit, giving to his verses a gem-like form, as an acrostic of his name or the names of his heroines. The motifs of his *chansons d'amour* are taken from Petrarch, whom he greatly admired, and very often one can find entire stanzas translated from him. The verse is Alexandrine, with rhyme on the caesura, and contains twelve syllables.

The contemporary and coadjutor of Menčetić was Đore Držić (d. 1510). Subsequent writers held these two poets in

¹ See V. Jagić, "Trubaduri i najstariji hrvatski lirici," *Rad jug. akad.*, IX (1869), pp. 215 sq.

high esteem and regard them as the Dioscuri. Iđnat Đorđić, a Dalmatian biographer, compared them to Petrarch and Boccaccio. Rađina praised them for having been the first to make known the poetry of their country. Although they knew Italian very well, they did not wish to work in a foreign field already overdone. They wrote in their own national language and became the glory of their people. In their works, it is true, there is nothing which recalls actual life; but in Italy this sort of poetry was as artificial and conventional; it was merely a kind of writing exercise.² Nevertheless the great merit of the poets from Ragusa lay in their efforts to develop the Yugoslav language. Each of their works makes a step in advance in the use of the Serbian or Croatian dialect, purifying and ennobling it. Rađina³ rendered the sonorous Slav languages their due by stating that they offered no less potentialities than Italian and Latin. Furthermore it seems that real popular poetry was not held in contempt by the early writers. In some of their poems one finds among other things, certain verses which by their character and the sentiment which they inspire, are singularly like the national *pesma* (song), if indeed it is not that. From this point of view there is a remarkable progress from Menčetić-Držić and their immediate successors. They took a real interest in popular poetry, in searching for and imitating authentic creative works.⁴

II

A short time after the above mentioned amorists came Han-nibal Lucić (c. 1485-1553). He also wrote love songs, but more especially a drama, *Robiđa* (Slave-girl), the theme of which was taken from the Croatian wars against the Turks.

² As people fell in love by fashion so they composed songs which did not always correspond to their real feelings. Cf. Ivan Milčetić, "O poslanicama u dubrovačko-dalmatinskoj periodi hrvatske literature" (1882), p. 54.

³ See *infra*.

⁴ The poems of Menčetić and Držić have been edited by V. Jagić, *Stari pisci hrvatski*, v. II (1870). For a good account of these two lyricists, see also V. Jagić, "Die Acrosticha bei Menčetić u. Držić," *Archiv f. slav. Phil.* V (1881), 87 sq.; C. Jireček, "Der Ragus. Dichter Š. Menčetić," *Ibid.* XIX (1897), pp. 22-89, and "Beiträge zur ragusanischen Literaturgeschichte," *Id. Ibid.* XXI (1899), pp. 399-542.

One of the most curious of his songs is that which was composed *U pohvalu gradu Dubrovniku* (In honor of the city of Ragusa), and which pulses with the sincere and emotional respect which this free Republic inspired abroad:

*Moj pisni zbrajiti nikakor ni moći
sve kraje, čestiti Dubrovnik gdi opti.*

*Kroz gore, kroz luge, po svitu svej miče
trgovce brez druge zabave ni priče;*

*po stranah, ke gleda sunce na daleče,
i koje prik reda i s redom ke peče,*

*sve trge primaju, mirno ke donosi,
i ke oni daju, on mirno odnosi;*

*pače još tko hodi po svitu, nastoji
svak, da kako godi ime mu posvoji.*

*i da se poviđi negov, premda nije,
za neka svak vidi dobro ga svudi je.*

*Dostojan je svudi ovi grad da slove
da ga Bog i ljudi vazda blagoslove.*

My songs cannot enumerate all the lands
with which the famous Ragusa communicates.

Over mountains and through forests, all the world over,
does she send merchants without let or hindrance;

Through lands where the sun shines from afar,
where it burns moderately and blazes overmuch;

All receive the wares which they peacefully bring,
and what they give, she peacefully carries away;

And still there are in the world those who endeavor
by all means to appropriate her name,

And declare her their own city, though she is not,
for everybody knows that good is good everywhere.

Worthy is the city that she should everywhere be praised
that God and men should bless her.

However, the patriotism of this poet did not limit itself to the walls of Dubrovnik. It was a true Slavic soul which beat

in his bosom; he wept at the thought of his people suffering under the Turkish yoke; he implored the help of Providence and blushed to think that the Slavs were not protected by others, that they were brothers abandoned by brothers. The *Robiña* of Lucić is the first original attempt at drama, properly speaking. It treats of a girl of noble family who is abducted by the Turks and who is put up to be affianced in the market-place, where she is ransomed by a young hero, Ban Derenčin, and set at liberty. Such a subject would readily lend itself to heated outbursts against the Musulmans. However in all the writings for the theatre at Dubrovnik the hatred of the Christians against the infidels, the struggle of the Cross against the Crescent, was never allowed to be openly displayed. This shows the pacific and prudent policy of the Dubrovnik Republic; under her hands much was undertaken against the Turks, but she had too much wisdom to commit any overt act of provocation.

The fourth of the renowned Dalmatian poets of this period was Mavro Vetranic (1482-1576). Son of an old patrician family, he entered the Benedictine order and later became superior of a very important monastery. Because of a difference with one of the ecclesiastics, he retired to a modest cloister in an adjoining island and lived as a veritable hermit. He never came to the point of giving up his works, or abandoning his relationships with his friends, his disciples or the contemporary writers. After his death a number of songs and elegies in Croatian, Italian and Latin were composed in his honor. He left a collection of mysteries: *Posvetilište Abramovo* (The Sacrifice of Abraham), *Uskrsnuće Isukrstovo* (The Resurrection of Christ), and *Suzana Čista* (Susanna the Chaste). His language is elegant and pure, his verse easy and pleasing. "The Sacrifice of Abraham" is certainly one of the best Bible-dramas and one of his *chefs-d'œuvre*. The personages are well presented and the situations treated with acknowledged skill. Certain details show that the author knew the popular songs and understood how to apply them. There is a very poignant poetic feeling in Sarah's grief over her son Isaac, and this recalls in a striking manner the charm of the Serbian *naricaña* (lamentations):

*O dragi moj sinče, dušice ljuvena,
 gizdavi jelenče od luga zelenal
 tko mi te usplaši i s majkom razdieli,
 što majku ne utaži, da grozno ne cvieli?
 Orle zlatoperi, kamo si poletil?
 što majci zaperi u srce jadan stril?
 Paune pozlatan, kud zajde po travi?
 jur ve je treći dan da majku ostavi.
 Moj sivi sokole, mitaru priliepi,
 što majci na pole srdače prociepi,
 Kragujče gizdavi, reci mi Boga radi
 u koj si dubravi loveći ostao sad?
 Tko mi će ljubiti tve lice pribilo
 i tebe bluditi vazamši na krilo?*

O my cherished son, my little well-belovéd,
 my beautiful little deer of the green forest!
 Who hast thee away from thy mother a-frighten'd,
 why didst thou not console mother from grim sobbing?
 My golden-winged eagle, where hast thou flown?
 why pierced the heart of mother with poisoned arrow?
 My golden peacock, where hast thou hidden in grass,
 and now three days is thy mother left all alone.
 My own gray falcon, my ornamented nestling,
 why hast thou torn the heart of forsaken mother,
 My gilded birdling, tell me in the name of God,
 into what forest wert thou lured by the chase?
 Who will for me kiss thy white face
 and take thee to her bosom, oh my wandering son.

(*Posvet. Abram. IV, 2.*)

There is also a poem by Vetranić called *Remeta* (The Hermit) in which he describes with a charming grace the lonesome life on his Dalmatian island of St. Andrews. The diction is very vivid and realistic, with many metaphors and images. In his strange composition *Putnik* (The Pilgrim), Vetranić takes the reader over the mountains, the valleys and the solitary places of Dalmatia, and fills in his descriptions with historic narratives. This entire poem is a medley, a strange tissue of the most unrelated subjects. It is an allegory representing man in three stages: in sin, in repentance and in omniscience, somewhat similar to Dante's "Divine Comedy" and Komensky's "Labyrinth of the World." Besides *Putnik*, Vetranić has several other poems with didactic motifs.

CHAPTER V

LYRICS AND DRAMA OF THE 16TH CENTURY

In the 16th century the Ragusan literature continued as in the preceding period. Taken as a whole the literature of this era reaches its zenith, especially in regard to poetry: lyric, epic and dramatic. But besides these forms of poetry there is a new one, *poslanice* (rhymed letters), usually written by one friend to another. In addition, there is a new form of dramatic poetry, *pastirske igre* (pastoral plays, Ital. *pastorali*). Tragic as well as comic plays (*šaljive igre*) received due attention. The poets who have taken the lead in this creative movement are Andra Čubranović, Nikola Naješković, Dinko Rašina, Dinko Zlatarić and Marin Držić.

I

Andra Čubranović (fl. 1535), a native of Dubrovnik, was a Dalmatian poet who did not belong to the nobility. Like the Italian artist Benvenuto Cellini, he was originally a goldsmith, but later deserted this craft and betook himself to that of the muses. The most distinctive and best known of his works is the *Jeđupka* (literally the "Egyptian", Gypsy Woman) published for the first time in Venice (1599) and later in Dubrovnik. It is composed of seven parts or cantos, in which the Romany woman makes diverse predictions to six young ladies in the familiar fashion by telling them their secrets. Crević (Cerva), a noted Ragusan historian and critic describes the production of the *Jeđupka* in this wise: The author was on one occasion following a young lady, the object of his affections, and urging his addresses, when she turned round and said scornfully: *Quid porro Egyptius iste?* (What does that gypsy want with me). The despised poet and lover took up the word of reproach and he wrote this poem.¹ To the first five ladies the disguised gypsy predicts the usual good

¹ Quot. by L. Zore, *Stari pisci hrvatski*, VIII (1876), p. vi, Introd.

fortune (*dobru sreću*), but to the sixth she expresses love and admiration, although the fair patrician is far removed in station above her "fortune-teller."

It seems very likely that Čubranović wrote his *Jeđupka* for carnival fêtes. The Italian carnival was never held without some special poetry, or small pieces for the theatre being composed.² These sportive customs were to be found also on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. A number of Dalmatian writers, Čubranović among others, wrote these masquerades. The *Jeđupka* is certainly one of this sort. We know for a fact that this piece was recited in public at Dubrovnik in 1527. Čubranović is very superior to his predecessors, notably in the purity of his language and the poetic charm of his narrative. His verses are light and vivid, and characterized by rare rhymes and many archaisms, which are really ornamentations of his poetry. According to Šafařík, the *Jeđupka* is a splendid flower in the garden of the Yugoslav muses. It was very popular in its time, and was imitated by other writers, perhaps because it was based on the happy idea of declaring love in allusions. For two or three centuries this poem was imitated, but none of the imitations equalled the original.³

Of Nikola Naješковиć (1510–1587), a native of Dubrovnik, it is known that he was not only an author and poet, but a scientist as well. It is not generally realized that he attacked the system of Galileo,⁴ but his love songs and especially his comedies and pastorals, which he had performed in his friends' houses or on the public stage, live after him. His bucolics and his "comédie erudite" are imitations of the Italian, with the exception that his *vilas* (a kind of mischievous sprite) replace the *ninfe* (nymphs) of the Italian writers. He was the first who really gave a truly dramatic character to his compositions. The critics distinguish two kinds of pastorals, those of

² Especially was this done in the days of the Medici, when much more attention was paid to the *mascherate* or *balli in maschera* (masked balls) than in modern times.

³ One of the best studies on Čubranović and his *Jeđupka* is to be found in L. Zore, "O Jeđupci Andrije Čubranovića," *Rad*, XXVII (1874), pp. 53–68. See also M. Medini, "Čubranović und seine Beziehungen zu der einheim. und der italien. Literatur," *Archiv f. slav. Phil.* XXII (1900), 69–106.

⁴ In his work "Dialogo sulla sfera del mondo." Venice, 1579.

Dubrovnik and those of the Island of Hvar. In both types the theme is the same, that of the love of a shepherd for a *vila*; yet some are idyls, some comedies, and some farces. His writings are strongly heightened with pastoral and Renaissance fancies, but somewhat languorous and overwrought. They bear evident marks of unequal workmanship, curtness alternating with redundancy, and carelessness with elaboration.⁵ But his rhymed letters (about 40 in all), directed to Ragusan notabilities and his contemporaries, are emotional and full of melancholy tenderness.⁶ There is no doubt that Naješković influenced his successors. Some of his poems and works have been lost; others are fragmentary, and many are more or less disfigured by corruptions and disarrangement. Thus the restoration and interpretation of this poet's works is one of peculiar delicacy and difficulty.

II

Another remarkable poet of the sixteenth century is Dinko Rašina (1556-1607). He was born of a well-to-do Ragusan family. Upon returning home from foreign countries, he took part in public affairs. He was made president of the republic seven times, and wrote extensively in Serbian (about 450 poems) and Italian (about 30). He is the first of the Ragusan poets to introduce eclogues and elegies; yet love songs are the most important part of his work. The character of Rašina is reflected in his poems. He was a man of generous impulses and a gentle, unselfish disposition. His tenderness and Platonic love are enhanced by a refinement and delicacy which are rare among his predecessors of the 15th century. If he refers to the "shrewish Latin girl" Livia, he does it by way of warning and not in any petty spirit of triumph or revenge. Although he

⁵ In the English literature Naješković has some common features with A. Pope (*Pastorals* and *The Rape of the Lock*), in Italian with A. Tassoni (*La secchia rapita*), in French with N. Boileau (*Le lutrin*) and J. Gresset (*Lutrin vivant* and *Le siècle pastoral*).

⁶ Rhymed letters (Lat. *epistolæ*, Slav. *poslanice*) had in Ragusa relative literary value. Their value depended upon the persons by whom and to whom they were written, as well as upon the subject thereof. *Vid.* Ivan Milčetić, *op. cit.* p. 4.

may have been treated cruelly by his love, he does not invoke curses upon her head. He goes often to his Nika's grave, which is hung with garlands and wet with tears, and bemoans his fate to the remains there. Apart from his original poems, Rađina's contribution to posterity includes translations from Propertius, Tibullus, Catullus, Virgil and many good verses from the Greek poets: Theocritus, Maschus, Philemon and others.⁷

The ground covered by Rađina in reference to lyrics was later extended by Dinko Zlatarić (1558-1610). He was born at Dubrovnik, finished his studies at the University of Padua, and while still very young, being only twenty-three, was appointed rector of the University gymnasium (*Almae Universitatis philosophorum et medicorum Patavini gymnasii rector dignissimus*). After having remained for some time in various foreign countries, he returned home.

The poems of Zlatarić consist of those published in Venice 1597, *Pesni u Smri* (Poems to Death), mostly epitaphs to his friends, and *Pesni Razlike* (Various Poems), dedicated to the Ragusan poetess, Zuzorić, a woman of singular beauty and varied accomplishments. In the society of this lady, Zlatarić found the intellectual sympathy and encouragement which were essential for the development of his powers. His poems give a very clear image of the social life of Dubrovnik. They record the different stages of passion through which the poet passed, and show the strong feelings with which he was affected. Returning to his birthplace from Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, he lived as an equal with the men of the greatest intellectual activity and refinement, as well as of the highest social and political eminence.

Among his other works Zlatarić twice translated Tasso's celebrated pastoral play "Aminta" to which he gave the Slavonic name *Ľubmir*. Later he also translated the *Electra* of Sophocles, and Ovid's *Pyramus and Thisbe*.⁸ Didactic

⁷ For various details on Rađina's translations from Latin and Greek classics reference should be made to Fr. Maixner, "Prievodi Rađine Dinka iz latinskih i grčkih klasika," *Rad jug. akad.* LXX (1884), 196-222.

⁸ Taken from *Metamorphoses* (IV, 55-465).

poetry occupied a large place in his writings as it did in that of Rašina.⁹

One of the greatest names among the Ragusan dramatists in the period of the Renaissance is Marin Držić (c. 1518–1567) who was born of a plebeian family in Dubrovnik. In Yugoslav literature this author is compared with Molière. We are not directly concerned here with his dramas, *The Book of Jesus* and *Hecuba*, which are religious and antiquated. He is more attractive in his *Tirena* and *Đuho Krpeta*, two allegorical plays glorifying love. In his *Ljubav Venere* he reminds us of Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis." To another genre belong the comedies *Novela od Stanca* (The Tale of Stanac), a sympathetic versified story with much local coloring, and *Dundo Maroje*, a five-act comedy written in prose. Dundo or *ĕika* (uncle) Maroje is father of a prodigal son, Maro, who spends his youthful days in luxurious Rome with a courtesan of the upper class. When the father comes to the city to see his son's business, the latter deceives him. In the meantime the father plays a trick upon the son and takes his borrowed merchandise back home with him. Characteristic comedies are *Mande* and particularly the *Skup* (Avarus), which was an imitation of the "Aulularia" of Plautus, the model of Molière's "L'Avare." Remarkable but not finished are the *Arkulin*, *Pomet*, and *Pjerin*. The last one is a "comedy of errors" and was based on the "Menaechmi" of Plautus and the "Andria" of Terence.¹⁰

⁹ The renderings of Zlatarić from Tasso are more successful than those from Sophocles, although even here he is too liberal in Slavonizing the Italian proper names and changing the sense of whole verses. Cf. A. Pavić, "Prilog k historiji dubrovačke hrvatske kniževnosti," *Rad jug. akad.* XXXI (1875), p. 148 f.

¹⁰ In regard to the origin and character of Držić's dramas, reference can be made to M. Šrepl, "Skup M. Držića prema Plautovoj Aululariji," *Rad*, XCIX (1890), 185 ff.; P. Budmani, "Pjerin M. Držića," *Ibid.* CXLVIII (1902), 51 sq.; G. Polivka, "Der Geizige in Ragusa," *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen und Lit.* (Braunschweig, 1888, pp. 433–42); V. Jagić, "Die Aulularia des Plautus in einer südslav. Umarbeitung aus der Mitte des XVI Jahrh.," (*Festschrift Johannes Vahlen*, ch. XXXIII, pp. 615 sqq. Berlin, 1900); P. Popović, "M. Držić i Molière," *Iz kniževnosti*, Beograd, 1906.

III

Among the "poetae minores" of the 15th and 16th centuries reference must be made to Marko Marulić (1450-1524) and Petar Hektorović (1487-1567). The former left two religious epics, *Judith* (1521), one of the first printed books in Yugoslav literature, *Susanna*, and several translations (*Catonis Distichia Moralis*, M. Belcari's *St. Panuzio*, etc.); the latter wrote a poem, *Ribańe* (Fishing), and gave new stamina to the old Yugoslav literature by including certain national songs (*bugarštice*), which he heard from popular bards. Stepan Gučetić (fl. 1525) composed a parody, *Derviš*, of 50 sestines, a masterpiece of airiness and ingenuity.¹¹ Nikola Dimitrović (d. 1553) gave us *Seven Penitential Psalms* (1549) and several religious odes called *Pesni Duhovne* (Spiritual Songs). His *Pričice* (Epigrams) and his rhymed epistles from Alexandria are characteristic because of their vigorous and realistic style. Petar Zoranić (1508-1550) is mentioned with his pastoral, *Planine* (The Mountains), and Marin Gazarević (c. 1580-1623) with his dramas, *Lubica*, a pastoral play, and *Prikazańe sv. Beatrice, Faustina i Simpliciija bratje*.¹² Juraj Baraković (1548-1628) wrote *Vila Slovinka* in thirteen cantos, including a folk song "Mother Margareta." We have from Brne (Barne or Bernardo) Karnarutić (1553-1600) *Vazetje Sigeta Grada* (The Capture of Sziget the City), the first epic poem in Croatian literature,¹³ and from his confrère, Antun Sasin (d. 1640), the epic, *Razboj od Turaka* (The Destruction of the Turks). The latter wrote also two pastoral plays, *Filida* and *Flora*, and one farce, *Malahna*, all in the style and tone of the comedy of the time.¹⁴ Savo Bobaļević

¹¹ Appendini, Šafařik, Kukuļević and Šurmin ascribe this poem to Gučetić, while I. A. Kaznačić, M. Rešetar, M. Medini, and P. Popović believe that its author is Stepan Đorđić (fl. 1630).

¹² Published by Yugoslav Academy in *Stari pisci hrvatski*, XX (1893), pp. 219-237.

¹³ The first edition of this epic was published at Venice in 1584. Velimir Gaj published a new edition with introduction and *tumač* (glossary) at Zagreb, 1866.

¹⁴ *Vid.* P. Popović, "Antun Sasin dubrovački pesnik XVI veka," *Glas srpske akademije*, XC (1912), pp. 1-67.

(1530–1585) is regarded as the Ragusan Anacreon; he is one of the founders of the *Akademija Složnih* (Accademia dei Concordi), a literary society to which, among others, belonged the poetess Cveta (Flora) Zuzorić (1555–1600), the “Aspasia of Ragusa.”

Satire was fostered in Dubrovnik particularly by Miho Bunić (d. 1590), who wrote among other things a macaronic poem against women, entitled *Sedam Opačina* (Seven Vices), and one drama, *Jokasta*, founded on the “Phoenissae” of Euripides.¹⁵ Marin Burešić (c. 1510–1562) is a didactic poet and the translator of *Nauci Katonovi* (Proverbia Catonis), published in 1562. Frano Lukarević (b. 1530) left the *Atamante*¹⁶ and a pastoral, *Verni Pastir* (The Faithful Shepherd), both of these dramas patterned after Italian playwrights. Savko Gučetić (d. 1603) is the author of the *Dalida*, which resembles Shakespeare’s “Romeo and Juliet,” and the *Ariadna*, which was adapted from the Italian writer Vincenzo Giusti.

¹⁵ See A. Leskien, “Zur Jokasta des M. Bunić,” *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* V (1881), 628 sq.

¹⁶ Cf. M. Rešetar, “Das original des Atamante,” *Ibid.* XXIV (1902), pp. 205–209.

CHAPTER VI

GUNDULIĆ AND HIS TIMES

In the succeeding (17th) century the Ragusan literature attained its greatest height. Lyrics, drama and epics are more developed than in the preceding century, especially epic poetry. The drama becomes ampler in quantity and more refined. The pastorals and comedies almost entirely disappear. Classicism is the basis of the literature of this time. It is interesting to note that poetry changes even in its external form; in the previous two centuries the verse was mostly of twelve syllables and here it is of eight. The classic representatives of this period are Ivan Gundulić, Junije Palmotić, and Ivan Bunić.

I

Ivan Gundulić (1588–1638) is the greatest epic poet of the Yugoslav littoral and was not unjustly styled *rex Illyrici carminis*, since he was the best representative of the golden age of Ragusan literature. He was born in Dubrovnik on the 8th of January, 1588, of a prominent cultured family. His father was president of the Republic and gave him an excellent education. In 1609 he entered the civil service and later occupied high positions in the Republic as commissioner, justice and senator. He was married in 1628 and had three sons one of whom was also a poet. In 1622 Gundulić published *Suze Sina Razmetnoga* (The Tears of the Prodigal Son), an elegy on the well-known biblical theme, and in 1628 his most original play, *Dubravka*, was acted at Ragusa with great success. With this beautiful pastoral Gundulić became the poet of freedom and patriotism. Of no less significance are his still extant dramas: *Ariadna*, *Proserpina*, *Dianna*, *Armida*, and his metrical tale, *Љubavnik Sramežljiv* (The Bashful Lover). The last one is his only amatory poem and tells the old story of the timid lover who sent his declaration to his sweetheart in a billet-doux. Yet his principal claim for notice by posterity is his

Osman, a masterpiece which his contemporaries declared immortal, and which remains today the honor of Yugoslav literature and the most remarkable work of the Ragusan period. Gundulić, it seems, sought a subject which, lending itself to the art of poetry, would glorify the Slavonic race and especially his beloved fatherland. Indeed, what more prolific and richly endowed motif could he have chosen than that of the war of 1621 between Poland and Turkey, in which the Moslems received such a severe check in their invasion of Europe! His epos is composed in the Italian style of that time. It is clear that he wished to take for his models Ariosto and Tasso, particularly the latter. Other passages prove that the writer was inspired by Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Homer. The inevitable errors of the pseudo-classicism of the century are evident. But leaving aside some other colder imitations, the work of Gundulić is full of beauties of the first order. He carefully studied the events of which he wrote and the geography of the country through which he was to take his reader. He knew the history, not only of Poland and Dalmatia, but of all the Slavs and especially of the Southern Slavs, the richness of whose literature inspired in him an eloquent pride. He felt himself to be a Slav, and all the fibres of his being trembled at the thought of the decisive struggle in which Christians were engaged against Mohammedans, and the Slavs against the barbarians. This patriotism found its expression in magnificent descriptions of the romantic Balkan scenery at Kosovo, Marica, Smederevo, and Dubrovnik. Of the latter city he sings:

*Ah, da bi u vik jakno sade
živio miran i slobodan
Dubrovniče, bieli grade,
slavan svijetu, nebu ugodan! . . .*

*Još sred usta žuta zmaja,
i nokata biesna lava,
oko tebe s'oba kraja
slovinska je sva država.*

*Robovi su tvoji susedi,
teške sile svim gospode;
tve vladanje samo siedi
na pristoju od slobode. . .*

Oh, mayst thou live as now thou dost,
 a-tune with freedom, peaceful town,
 thou castle white, thou heaven's trust,
 Dubrovnik, city of renown! . . .

Though still within the dragon's mouth,
 to fierce and fiery lions a mate—
 yet round thee spreads from north to south
 the all-pervading Slavic state.

Neighbors to thee, the bondsmen are,
 oppressive violence grinds them all—
 beyond great powers near or far
 thou art our freedom's seneschal. . .

(Canto VIII, vv. 569 ff.)

To realize the epoch-making character of the *Osman*, it must be remembered that it was the first epic anticipating the unification of the Southern Slavs. It sings of the kings of the Nemaña family, the bans of Bosnia and Croatia, with the same enthusiasm as it glorifies the patrons of Dubrovnik. The poet apostrophizes the heroism of Miloš Obilić, Marko Kraļević and Herceg Stepan. He personifies George Branković with his twelve sons as the "Jugoslav Laocoon." According to his poetic imagination even Alexander the Great is a Serbian (*Srbljanin*) because he ruled Macedonia, which later on was inherited and governed by the Serbians:

*U pjesan se stavi odavna
 od Lesandra Srbljanina
 vrh svih cara cara slavna. . .*

It was written in the song long ago
 of Alexander the Serbian
 a glorious emperor above all emperors. . .

(Canto III, vv. 66-68.)

As Gundulić did not keep aloof from political life he was profoundly moved in the sphere of government, religion, morals and human feelings which were then changing the world. In uttering the enthusiasm of the hour, and all the new sensibilities that were stirring in his own heart, he had divined at the decisive turn of Slavdom what the future would disclose. He had more sympathy for the national ideals than any of the earlier Yugoslav writers. The effort of the preceding generation (Čubranović, Vetranić, Sasin) to

attain a mastery of form and of artistic execution had failed. It was left for this poet to bring diction and rhythm to as high a pitch of artistic perfection as had ever been attained before him. The structure and diction of the *Osman* is a large and varied instrument. The supremacy of this poet among all the poetic artists of his country is in that subtle fusion of the music and the meaning of language which touches the most secret springs of emotion. He evokes the emotions of reverence and of yearning for a higher spiritual life, and the sense of nobleness in human affairs. These and other qualities of his genius make him by universal acknowledgment the greatest literary artist which Dubrovnik produced.¹

II

The contemporary of Gundulić was Junije Palmotić (1606–1657), who was also descended from a noble family of Dubrovnik. In his youth he began to compose verses in Latin, but Gundulić persuaded him to give up such sterile work. He then started to study with ardor the Yugoslav language. Be-

¹Gundulić wrote eighteen works, of which eleven were dramas. Most of them perished during the earthquake and fire of 1667. His *Osman* in 20 cantos (in stanzas of four lines of eight feet) was printed for the first time in Ragusa in 1826, but two cantos (XIV–XV) are lost. It is generally believed that the Ragusan Senate suppressed them from consideration for the Sultan, the protector of the Republic, those two songs having been violently anti-Turkish. They were replaced later by fine compositions of P. Sorkočević (1749–1828) and Ivan Mažuranić (1814–1890). The best edition of the complete works of Gundulić was published by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Stari pisci hrvatski*, vol. IX, Zagreb, 1877). Important contributions to biography and textual criticism on Gundulić are contained in the following treatises: F. M. Appendini, "Memoria sulla vita e sugli scritti di Gian Francesco Gondola," Ragusa, 1827; A. Jensen, *Gundulić und sein Osman*, 1900; M. Ban, "O Ivanu Gunduliću," *Glas srpske akademije*, IV (1888), pp. 1–32; A. Pavić, "O kompoziciji Gundulićeva Osmana," *Rad jug. akad.* XXXII (1875), 104 ff.; L. Zore, "O kompoziciji Gundulićeva Osmana," *Ibid.*, XXXIX (1877), 151 ff.; "Alegorije u Gundulićevoj Osmanidi," *Idem*, *Ibid.* XCIV (1889), 199 ff.; F. Marković, "Estetička ocena Gundulićeva Osmana," *Ibid.* XLVI, XLVII, L, LII (1879–80); R. Brandt, "Istoriko-literaturnij razbor poemi I. Gundulića Osmana," Kiev, 1889; M. Rešetar, "Die Metrik Gundulić's," *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XXV (1903), 250 ff.; Ossip Makowej, "Beiträge zu den Quellen des Gundulićschen Osman," *Ibid.* XXVI (1904), 71–100.

cause at Dubrovnik the national dialect was changed by its mixture with Italian, he went to Bosnia where the Slav spirit had been kept most pure. There he applied his clever talent to many different things. But he did not prove himself capable of great originality in the choice of his subjects, although he was one of the most prolific writers in the Ragusan period.

Four of his important dramas are *Pavlimir*, *Danica*, *Bisernica* and *Captislava*. Narratives connected with the founding of Dubrovnik inspired his *Pavlimir*. This is a sort of Ragusan "Aeneid," Pavlimir corresponding to Aeneas. He comes from abroad, founds the city of Dubrovnik, marries the beautiful Margareta, whom he discovers there, and becomes *otac slovenskog naroda* (the father of the Slavonic people). The *Danica* is a dramatized episode from Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso" (IV-VI), transplanted and acclimatized to the Bosnian and Ragusan soil. Danica is the enslaved daughter of the Bosnian king, Ostoja. She was saved by the Ragusan knight Matijaš, who later became the ban of Croatia. Some motifs of this play are akin to Shakespeare's comedy "Much Ado About Nothing." *Captislava* is less historic and more fantastic; the chief rôles are played by ghosts and nymphs. Captislava (read: Tsāptislava) is the daughter of the King of Captat (Tsāptat or Epidaurum). She is in love with the Hungarian prince, Gradimir, but the father wants her to marry a Serbian prince. A nymph helps her in this cabal, and she elopes with the Hungarian prince, while her sister marries the Serbian prince.² The *Bisernica* is still more fantastic. It is virtually the continuation of the *Captislava*, and almost all important rôles are played by *vilenice* (nymphs) and *vilenici* (dragons).

In addition to these four dramas, in which Palmotić celebrated the exploits of Slavic heroes, he wrote several imitations based on Latin and Italian sources. Thus the material for his *Alčina* was taken from Ariosto, and for the *Armida* from Tasso. The mythological play *Atalanta* is based on Ovid's "Metamorphoses" (bk. X), and the *Natecañe Ujača i*

² On the text of this drama, see the article of R. Brandt, "Prinos k tekstu Palmotičeve *Captislave*," in the *Grada za povest kniževnosti hrvatske*, IV (1904), pp. 150 ff.

Ulisa (The Racing of Ajax and Ulysses) on the same work (bk. XIII). However, Ovid was the model not only for these two dramas, but for a third, *Elena Ugrađena* (The Raped Helen). His *Lavinia* and *Došastje od Enee k Ankizu* (The Coming of Aeneas to Anchises) are two dramatic compositions of which the subject-matter was borrowed from Virgil's "Aeneid." To this category of dramas belong also the *Achilles*, following the "Achilleis" of P. Statius, and the tragi-comedy, *Hypsipyle*, relating to episodes in the "Argonautica" of V. Flaccus.

Upon the whole, Palmotić was unquestionably a poetic and dramatic creative force, but he was not a genius who was able to reject the traditional form and create a new one. He managed to get more from the old materials than any one else before him, and in certain directions he even added something new. His biographers say that he was a marvellous improvisator, and a master of all the resources of the harmonious Serbian language. His songs and satires were quite the rage in society. While one person was singing a verse, he was composing another, more entertaining and gay. His early education had left deep traces on him. Religious feeling inspired his earliest work *Christiada* and most of his lyric poems. The *Christiada* was printed in 1670. It is an epic of twenty-four cantos. Its content is a mixture of Christian traditions and remnants of Greek, Latin and Slavic mythology. It was patently remodelled on the similar work of Marco Vida (an Italian poet of the sixteenth century) with a large number of *remaniements* or rehandlings. In Yugoslav letters this poem has about the same claim as Klopstock's "Messias" in German and Milton's "Paradise Lost" in English literature.³

One of the best Ragusan lyric poets of the 17th century is Ivan Bunić (d. 1658). There are few documents dealing with his life. It is known that he was a nobleman who occupied

³ The complete works of Palmotić have been edited by the Yugoslav Academy (*Stari pisci hrvatski*, vols. XII-XIV, XIX, Zagreb, 1882-4, 1892). A summary bearing on the text and interpretation of his dramas and poems is given by M. Rešetar, "Zur Textkritik von Palmotić's Dramen," *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XV (1893), 381 ff. "Zur ersten Ausgabe des Christias des J. Palmotić," *Id. Ibid.* XXIV (1902), 209 ff.; A. Pavić, "Junije Palmotić," *Rad jugosl. akad.* LXVIII (1883), LXX (1884); Ivan Kasumović, "Izvori Palmotićevih drama *Ipsipile* i *Akila*," *Ibid.* CLVI (1904), pp. 135 ff.

a high position in public service, and he received the title of *Vir multarum artium et consumati iudicii*. He wrote a collection of love songs entitled *Plandovaña* (Otiosities), several eclogues, *Pastirski Razgovori* (Pastoral Conversations), one book of sacred poems, *Pesni Duhovne* (Spiritual Songs) and one epic, *Mandaļena Pokornica* (Magdalene the Penitent).

The lyrics of Bunić are in more perfect form than the poetry of his predecessors of the 16th century. He was able to combine with spiritual delicacy and fineness of perfection, that *humanitas*, which is so essential to the poets of the Renaissance. His eclogues are modelled on the "Idyls" of Theocritus, but the names of the personages (Љubdrag, Љubica, Radmilo, Raklica, Zagorko, Zorka, etc.) are Jugoslav. These pastoral songs, for the most part, express the sentiment inspired by the beauty of human relationships and the world at large. They suggest the charm of Dalmatia, the fresh life of the Ragusan spring, the delicate hues of the wild flowers and the quiet beauty of the pastures and orchards of his native district. His *Spiritual Poems* are mostly reflections on God, man and life. They are pleasing, philosophical, and sublime. *Magdalene the Penitent* is the same Mary Magdalene who was mentioned by the Evangelists⁴ as the "sinner" out of whom "seven devils were gone forth." As Gundulić divided the *Tears of the Prodigal Son* into three *plača* (bewailings), so Bunić divided his poem into three *cvileña* (wailings). The first one sings of the entrance of Magdalene to the church, where she sees Christ and begins to weep, confessing her sins and anointing his feet. In the second wailing Mary goes to the house of one Simon, where she again finds Jesus, and where she moistens his feet with her tears, and wipes them with her hair, and Jesus says to her: *Tebi gresi su oprošteni, jer si mnogo ljubila* (Unto thee are thy sins forgiven, for thou hast loved much). In the third canto she sees Christ crucified, assists at the entombment, and witnesses his resurrection. At last she has a vision, and talks with Him. The poem includes some splendid lyric passages full of the purest religious fervor.

⁴ *The New Testament*, Luke, VII, 36-50; VIII, 1-3; X, 39; John, XI, 2, 5, 32; XII, 3; XXII, 11, 16; Matth., XV, 39; XXVI, 7; Mark, XIV, 3; XVI, 1.

THIRD PERIOD

THE AGE OF DECLINE

CHAPTER VII

THE ACADEMIES AND SOCIETIES

I

In the 18th century Yugoslav literature began to decline, not only in Ragusa but also in the other provinces. Serbia proper was under the domination of the Turks; Croatia and Slovenia, under Austria, while the Republic of Dubrovnik, after the terrible earthquake of 1667, was reduced in wealth and population. Besides, Ragusa was suffering from the vexatious attitude of the Venetians and the Turks, who were conspiring together for the destruction of the last *Antemurale Christianitatis* in the Balkan Peninsula. So long as the Ragusan commonwealth was independent and vigorous, Slavonic life rested on the identity of the man with the citizen. The city state, as in old Greece and later in Rome, was the highest unit of social organization.¹ The whole training and character of the man were planned for his membership in the city. The market-place, the assembly, the "academies" were places of frequent meetings, where the sense of citizenship was quickened, and where common standards of opinion or feeling were formed. Poetry, music, sculpture, literature and art, in all their forms, were matters of public interest. The cultural achievements of Dalmatia reached their apex in the 17th century. No doubt many exquisite works were produced at a later period, but they do not exhibit any creative talent, and more or less conspicuously belong to the decadence

¹ Cf. Ivan Smirnov, "Gorodskija obščiny Dalmacii v X-XI vĕkĕ," *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvĕšćenija*, čast 214, pp. 289-306, April, 1881. See also his study, "Otnošenija Venecii k gorodskim obščinam Dalmacii s XII do poloviny XIV vĕka" (1880).

of Ragusan learning. The only new literary phenomenon of the period was the rise of a school of history, chronology and biography. The eighteenth century bears a peculiar stamp. It is the century of compilations, researches, copying and commenting upon the manuscripts, collecting the materials and preserving them for future generations.

For literary and scientific purposes there were founded at Dubrovnik in the 18th century several societies or "academies." As indicated above, one of these societies existed even in the 16th century, the *Akademija Složnih*. Now there were four more societies. One was the *Akademija Dangubnih* (Academia Otiosorum), founded at the end of the 17th and continued in the 18th century. Its president or director was for a certain time Ignjat Đorđić, and its founder Đura Matijević (1669–1728), linguist and satirist.² The members of the Academy were: Ivan Aletić Natali (d. 1743), lexicographer; Stepo Rusić (d. 1770), author of *Petar Aleksiević*, an epic glorifying the reforms of Peter the Great and Russia at large; Ignjat Gradić (1655–1728), author of the *Plam Severski* (Northern Glow), also an apotheosis of Russia and the "northern hero," *i.e.*, Peter the Great; Bernardo Zuzorić (1683–1762), a Jesuit orator who left us *Besede Duhovne* (Spiritual Sermons); Frano Lalić (d. 1722), who wrote *Bestužanstvo* (Indolence), a philosophical and didactic composition; Vićentije Petrović (1677–1754), a lyricist;³ Ivan Bunić, Jr., born in 1662, died in 1712, who was several times president of the Republic, and from whom remained only a few translations of the Latin poets.

Another society was the *Akademija Pokladnih* (Academy of the Bacchanals). Its membership is not definitely known. More important than this was the *Akademija od Šturaka* (Academy of the Crickets), founded in 1719 in opposition to the Academy of the Otiosi. Its president was Frano Getaldić (fl. 1650) and the founders, Antun Gleđević and P. Kontistić. This academy did not have such a reputation as the Academia

² Some of Matijević's poems have the following titles: *Women in the Present Times*; *A Little Poem in Praise of Shrews*; *Against Worldly Love*.

³ For his biography and some of his Latin poems, see Đura Kerbler, *Rad jug. akad.*, lib. 186 (1911), pp. 185 ff.

Otiosorum neither because of its works nor because of its members. At times it was the laughing-stock of the town.—The *Akademija Slovenskog Jezika* (Accademia della Lingua Slava) was also a literary society, with its seat not in Ragusa but in the eternal city of Rome. Its main goal was the cultivation of the Slavonic languages and literature. It appears that the members of that society were in correspondence with the Academy of the Otiosi.

II

As said before, the president of the Academy of the Otiosi was Ignat Đorđić (1675–1737). His name however was not known so much in connection with that position as through his poems, his religious compositions and his historical writings. While still a youth he studied rhetoric, poetry and philosophy, perfecting his philologic knowledge of Greek, Latin and French. Entering the great council in his twentieth year, he had the intention of marrying, as he was the last male descendant of his family. Later he changed his mind and went to Rome where he entered the Jesuit order and remained about eight years. Returning home he lived as a man of letters. In 1706 he entered the Benedictine order, changing his first name from Nikola to Ignat. After that time he travelled several times to Italy (Naples, Padua and Venice) for scientific and literary researches. One of his works is in Latin, *Vitae et Carmina nonnullorum illustrium civium Ragusinorum*, edited by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1905). It is one of the best sources for the biographies of the Ragusan authors. Other works are in Serbian, but unfortunately some of them have remained in manuscript form, especially the love songs, written before he entered the order of Jesuits. Like his predecessor Bunić, he wrote *Eclogues*, but with somewhat better success than the latter. He left two epic poems, *Uzdasi Mandalene Pokornice* (Sighs of Magdalene the Penitent) and *Pripoves od Kraļa Selimira* (The Story of King Selimir), one parody, *Marunko i Pavica*, written in the style of Gučetić's "Derviš," and one drama, *Judith* (not finished). He made the best and most complete translation of the Psalms, *Saltir Slovenski* (The Slavonic Psalter). He turned into Serbian

verse the prayers of St. Thomas Aquinas, *Razlike Pesni Duhovne* (Various Spiritual Songs), Virgil's "Aeneid" (first book), and works of some Italian writers.

Of all these writings the most important is the *Sighs of Magdalene the Penitent*, composed about 1705 and published in 1728. The material which Đorđić took for his *Magdalene* is a little different from Bunić's.⁴ His poem is based on a legend which took root in the Latin Church during the Middle Ages. According to this tradition, Mary Magdalene belonged to a wealthy family at Magdala and Bethany; she abused all her admirable gifts to tempt others to sin, and after the Ascension she remained at Bethany till the disciples were scattered by persecution which followed the martyrdom of Stephen. Mary, her sister Martha, and her brother Lazarus, with some other companions were placed in a boat by their persecutors and were providentially carried without oars or sails to Marseilles, where by their preaching and miracles they converted the heathen. Lazarus was made bishop, while Mary, remembering her sins, retired to the wilderness and lived a life of extreme asceticism for thirty years. Finally she was carried up to heaven in the arms of ascending angels.⁵ The story is extended and dilated by Đorđić into eight cantos or *uzdisańa* (the sighs) with 681 strophes. The metrical structure of this poem is not always regular, but the diction is vivid and light, with ample antitheses and rhetorical figures. It is not without significance that one of his contemporaries pronounced it the best poem of its time. For more than two centuries no real attempt has been made to supplant it—with few attempts to correct or add to it even a line.⁶

⁴ See *supra*.

⁵ *Vid.* "De S. Maria Magdalena apud Massiliam," in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii, V (1868), 188 *sg.*

⁶ M. A. Vidović translated this epic into Italian, *Sospiri di Maddalena penitente* (1829). Of the Italian authors who cultivated the same theme are Antonio Alemanni (or Alamanno) with his comedy, *La rappresentazione della conversione di Santa Maria Maddalena* (1521), and Erasmo da Valvasone (1523-1593) with his epic poem, *Lagrima di santa Maria Maddalena*. Of modern European plays dealing with the same subject the most popular are Paul Heyse's *Maria von Magdala* (1899) and Maurice Maeterlinck's *Marie Magdaleine* (1910).

CHAPTER VIII

THE MORALISTS AND MINOR AUTHORS

I

The faint flame of Yugoslav literature flickered out before the 18th century had reached its close. Intellectually, it was certainly not a glorious century in Illyria's (Yugoslavia's) development, and yet there had been some germs of vitality and elements of promise in it. What might have happened had the nation been spared the desolation of the Turkish inroads, it would be difficult to say, but it is certain that the general unrest produced by the wars retarded the growth of literature. The main fact is that the Yugoslav people fell into a slavish imitation of the customs and ideas of foreign countries. The Croats imitated the Italians, the Slovenians both the Italians and the Germans, and the Serbs, Orthodox in religion, imitated the Russians. That this period of imitation and assimilation lasted so long was due to the untoward political and social conditions. However, some indications of a revival of intellectual life could be found in a period of romanticism, which was soon followed by a rationalistic movement. This however agitated at first the surface of national life, and its real significance was perceived only in the succeeding century. The principal representatives of these movements, who are at the same time the first Yugoslav moralists, are Andra Kačić Miošić and Dositije Obradović.

Andra Kačić Miošić (1702-1760) is the Yugoslav Percy and the first national bard. He was born in Brist, Dalmatia, and as son of a country gentleman, had to go to the monastery of Zaostrog for his first education. Later on he studied philosophy and theology at Buda-Pest. Returning home he became lecturer on the same subjects in the city of Šibenik. Being interested in Yugoslav folklore, as a public-spirited man he travelled in his spare time from town to town and took notes of national traditions. In this way he wrote his *Razgovor Ugodni Naroda Slovenskoga* (Pleasant Talk of the Slavonic People), a book of 260 poems, or *Pesmarica* (The Book of

Songs), as it was popularly called.¹ These *Razgovors* are not real folk songs, but only historical narratives, collected and written in the ballad-style of the medieval minstrels and Russian *kobzars*. In addition to almost every one of his ballads the author gives commentaries on the Slavonic countries, and records in prose by chronological order the heroes they produced. He strengthened the Yugoslav idea of national consciousness, and his work soon became one of the most popular among the masses.² His main characteristics are purity of language and simplicity of style. In 1764 his *Pesmarica* was translated into Latin, *Descriptio Soluta*, by Emerico di Budua (Emerik Pavić). Miošić wrote other books (*Elementa Peripatetica*, pub. 1752, *Korabljica*, pub. 1836), but they are of less literary value.

Associated with Miošić as moralist and popular writer was the philosopher Dositije Obradović (1742–1811), the founder of the rationalistic school in Serbian literature. He was born in Čakovo, Banat, the son of a furrier. At first he was apprenticed to a trade, but later proceeded to the monastery of Hopovo, Syrmia.³ Here he spent considerable time, and became a monk, changing his original name Dimitrije into Dositije. Showing more aptitude for learning than consecration to the Church, he escaped from the cloister and visited Croatia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Corfu, Greece, and Asia Minor. He learned Latin, Italian and Greek, and studied the moral and philosophical sciences which flourished at that time among the Greeks. Still wishing to study and acting as a private teacher, he visited Germany, France and England, and made the acquaintance of their languages and literatures.⁴ In 1806 Obradović returned to Belgrade, now the capital of Jugoslavia, where he ended his days as an educator

¹ It was first published in Venice, 1756, ten years prior to the publication of the famous Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765).

² P. Solarić (see *infra*) called him *najveći iliričeski pesmotvorac* (the greatest Yugoslav poet), although he never pardoned him for using *skjavel* or *schiavet* (i.e., Latin letters in Slavonic words) instead of Cyrillic. Quoted by N. Andrić, *Rad jug. akad.*, lib. 150 (1902), p. 163.

³ See T. Ostojić, *Dositej Obradović u Hopovu* (1907).

⁴ During his stay in England he extensively read Swift, Pope and Addison (*Spectator* and *Vision of Mirza*). In some of his letters he gave good

and man of letters, much as Emerson, with whom he has some points in common, did at Concord, Mass.

The life of Obradović is an example of a real self-made man, one of those noble spirits who begin with nothing and succeed by their extraordinary perseverance. He takes rank among the foremost Yugoslav writers who mastered the philosophical rationalism of the 18th century. He left several works. The first and perhaps the finest one is his autobiography, *Život i Priključenija* (Life and Adventures), written in the vernacular as spoken in Serbian towns. It was published in 1783 and is full of didactic eloquence and abiding enthusiasm for letters and sciences. The work abounds in vehement protests against the ignorance and the idleness of the monks, which he had experienced personally, and which destroyed one of the most cherished ideals of his youth. It immediately made a great impression on his contemporaries, and soon was followed by the publication of the *Saveti Zdravoga Razuma* (Counsels of Pure Reason) and especially by his *Fables of Aesop and Other Writers* (1788). The *Saveti* are a collection of essays which rise into the region of moral and religious meditation. The fables (*basne*), of which some are taken from Phaedrus, Lessing and La Fontaine, are accompanied by long original commentaries or *naravoučenija* (morals), written in a lively and interesting manner for the practical life of his readers. To him belongs the credit of being the first who introduced fable-writing not only into Serbian but into Slavonic literature in general.⁵ In 1803 he published *Ethics or Moral Philosophy*, one of the most remarka-

accounts of the literary and social life of England in the eighties of the eighteenth century. He had especially well-founded opinions on English women and girls, characterizing them as extremely beautiful creatures (*prekrasna stvoreña*). He says further: "If I had a thousand eyes, I would not be tired looking at them for a thousand years! The longer you look, the handsomer they appear to you. Do you wish to be safe, go straight on your way, do not glance at them, for if you only raise your eyes towards them and look, you couldn't proceed farther; you will remain there forever. . ." (*Život i priključenja Dimitrija Obradovića*, II, 1893, p. 106—Srpska književna zadruga, n. 8).

⁵ In this way Obradović was the forerunner of the illustrious Russian fabulist, Krylov, whose fables appeared about fifty years later.

ble of his speculative works. His compositions *Pervenac* (First Essay) and *Mezamac* (Last Essay) are of no high merit.

The writings of Obradović enjoyed an excessive popularity at the time of his death, but since then they have undergone apparent diminution, and will probably continue to decrease in popularity. This eminent philosophical reformer and *prosvetitelj* (enlightener) was a very honest man—no sophist, no rhetorician. In a lucid, intelligible and convincing style, he placed before Yugoslav readers views of an advanced character, with the value of which he was sincerely impressed. However, as to the durability of his books, he is fervid without being exhilarating, heartfelt without being convincing. Skeptical, precise and plain, his books inspire respect, but unfortunately do not attract new generations of admirers.⁶

II

In the 17th and 18th centuries literature was cultivated in the Southern Slav provinces by a great many persons who have no place at all, or but a secondary place, in the history of the development of style. They must not, however, be entirely overlooked, and for practical purposes they may be divided into three classes. Firstly, there were those who continued to imitate their predecessors in poetry. Secondly, there were those who had something to say about scientific

⁶ The complete works of Obradović have been published several times. The first edition is by G. Vozarević, in 10 vols., Beograd-Kragujevac, 1833–1836; second edition, Zemun, 1850; third ed. by Narodna Biblioteka Braće Jovanovića, Pančevo, 1882–1884; fourth State ed. by J. Skerlić, Beograd, 1911. The selections of his works were published by Srpska književna zajednica of Belgrade as follows: *Život i Priključenija*, I–II (1893); *Basne*, I (1895), II (1896); *Domaća Pisma* (1899); *Izbor iz Poučnih Sastava* (1904). There are in Yugoslav and foreign languages many accessible essays bearing on the life and works of Obradović; some of the best of these are: And. Gavrilović, *Dosiđeje Obradović, književne rasprave, novi prilozi, misli i beleške*, Beograd, 1900; K. Radčenko, *Serbski pisatelj Dositej Obradović i jego literaturnaja dejatelnost*, Kiev, 1897; *Ibid.* "Einige Bemerkungen über das Leben und die literarische Thätigkeit Dosithej Obradović's," *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XXII (1900), pp. 594 ff.; M. Šević, *Dositheus Obradović, ein serbischer Aufklärer des XVIII Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1899; Ivan Šerčer, "O Dositeju Obradoviću," *Rad jug. akad.*, lib. 134 (1898), 161–189; L. Leger, "La renaissance intellectuelle de la nation serbe: Jean Raïtch et Dosithée Obradovitch," *Journal des savants*, Sept.–Oct. 1911.

speculation. Thirdly, there was the mass of miscellaneous writers, historians, autobiographers, chroniclers, translators, and the like, who with infinite patience and self-satisfaction built up the secret history of the age or helped to preserve its documents. Concerning these lesser writers of the republic of letters, it is to be confessed that their writings present no features of great interest, apart from the facts or the ideas with which they deal. Every one of them has a tendency to wordiness; all become tedious at last from their untiring sinuosity. They are didactic and scholastic in their attitude to literature; their ambition makes them often cumbrous, and they are delightful only when some gleam of human experience seduces them into forgetfulness. Everything points to the necessity of relieving Yugoslav literature by elements of lucidity, brevity and grace—those qualities, in fact, which one can find only in the authors of the 19th century.

The writers who mostly attract our attention after the earthquake in Dalmatia are Petar Kanavelić (1637–1719), Jaketa Palmotić (1623–1680), V. Pucić (d. 1666), Vladislav Menčetić (d. 1666) and Antun Gleđević (1659–1728). Kanavelić and Palmotić are the poets who sought motifs for their poems in the disaster of 1667 and in the deeds of arms. The latter wrote an epic, *Dubrovnik Ponovljen* (Ragusa Renewed), in twenty cantos. Gleđević is the author of several dramas, of which the more important are *Zorislava*, *Ermiona*, *Olimpia*, *Belizario*, and *Damira*.⁷ Traces of historic events are also to be found in the poems of Petar Zriński (1621–1671) and Frano Krsto Frankopan (d. 1671), two Yugoslav patriots and martyrs, who were decapitated by the Habsburgs in Vienna (1671). They are followed in epics and historic works by Pavle Vitezović (1652–1713), Jeronim Kavašin (c. 1640–1714), and Matija Rejković (1732–1798). All these poets were highly ideal in their conceptions and strongly patriotic, with an ardent love of liberty.⁸

⁷ The complete works of this author are published by the Yugoslav Academy (*Stari pisci hrvatski*, vol. XV, 1886).

⁸ Kavašin's epic *Bogatstvo i uboštvo* (Riches and Poverty), consisting of 32,658 verses in thirty cantos, was published with introduction by Ivan Kukuļević at Zagreb, 1861.

In prose composition, as in poetry, the national spirit is marked by an abundant output. Among the historians most deserving of notice is Mavro Orbin (d. 1614), whose *Il Regno de gli Slavi* is a monumental work.⁹ It is distinguished by clearness of exposition and is the first attempt to deal with the history of the Slavs as a comprehensive whole.¹⁰ Other historians are Ivan Valvazor (1641-1693), who dealt with the geography and cultural history of Slovenia, and Juraj Križanić (1617-1680?), the father of Panslavism (*Sveslavenstvo*), whose historical and politico-economic writings, done in Russian, contain much interesting information about the social life of all Slavonic peoples.¹¹ George Branković (1645-1711) wrote a chronicle of over 2,000 pages, which remained in MS. form and was only partially published after his death. Like Križanić he was an ardent partisan of Russia, and as such an object of suspicion to the Austrian Court, which kept him in prison for many years until he died.¹² With him must be mentioned Jovan Rajić (1726-1801), who wrote the *History of the Serbs, Croats and Bulgars*, the first systematic work on the past of the Yugoslavs, and Hristifor Žefarović (d. 1753), whose *Stemmatography* for a long time has been regarded as the best book on Slavonic heraldry. The works of other historians, Vasilije Petrović (1709-1766), Miho Milišić (1711-1798), Adam Krčelić (1715-1778), and Jovan Muškatirović (1743-1809), are of only local importance.

The men of science who deserve to be remembered are Marin Getaldić (1566-1627), Ruđer Bošković (1711?-1787), Manojlo Janković (1758-1792), and Atanasije Stojković (1773-1832). For a time Getaldić held the chair of professor of mathematics in the University of Louvain. His

⁹ The Russian translation of this work, *Istoriografija počatija imene Slavy*, was made by Theofan Prokopovič, and published in Petrograd, 1722.

¹⁰ This work was one of the principal sources from which Gundulić took material for his epic *Osman*.

¹¹ The Panslavistic teaching and adventures of Križanić are extensively treated by V. O. Kluchevsky in his *History of Russia*, III, 12, pp. 255 ff. (English translation, London, 1913); see also Iv. Kukuļević in his *Arhiv za povescnicu jugoslovensku*, X (1869), pp. 11-75.

¹² *Vid.* Gavriilo Vitković, "Kritički pogled na prošlost Srba u Ugarskoj," *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva XXVIII* (1870), pp. 133 ff.

book *Promotus Archimedis* was written in Latin and published in Rome, 1603. He is said to have applied algebra to geometry before Descartes, and to have been the first to effect equations of the fourth degree. Bošković was a pattern of the blended erudition that distinguishes the eighteenth century scholarship. He is one of the first savants who adopted Newton's gravitation theory. Born at Ragusa, he studied mathematics and physics at the Collegio Romano. In 1764 he was called to the chair at the University of Pavia, and in 1773 was appointed Director of Optics to the French Ministry of Marine at Paris. His most important works are *Theoria Philosophiae Naturalis* (1758), expounding the molecular theory of matter as well as his philosophical principles, and *Opera Pertinentia ad Opticam et Astronomiam*, which appeared in 1785 in five volumes quarto. In addition to these he published *Elementa Universae Matheseos* (1752), the substance of the course of study prepared for his pupils, and *De Solis ac Lunae Defectibus* (1760) in 5,000 lines.¹³ Janković and Stojković were contemporaries of Bošković, but the intellectual distance between these men is so great that they seem to belong to different ages.¹⁴ The superficial essay, *Fizičeskoe Sočinenie* (Treatise on Physics) of Manojlo Janković cannot be compared in any way with the brilliant treatises of Getaldić or Bošković.

¹³ The peculiarity of this last work, which makes it unique in Yugoslav literature, is that it is a reasoned system of philosophy and natural phenomena, written in Latin verse, and in the special strain of *De Rerum Natura* by Lucretius, the poet and physicist. The poem as a whole shows such unrelieved intensity of thought and feeling coupled at times with sombreness that Delambre, his rival in physics, characterized it as "uninstructive to an astronomer and unintelligible to any one else." Sources for the life of Bošković abound in Italian, French and English archives. On the occasion of his centenary (1887), the Yugoslav Academy devoted three volumes of its main organ (*Rad*) to the memory of the great scientist, including the biography, bibliography and criticism of his works. (See "Život i ocena dela Ruđera Josipa Boškovića, uspomeni prve stogodišnjice smrti njegove," *Rad jug. akad.*, vols. 87, 88, 90, Zagreb, 1887-88.)

¹⁴ Manojlo Janković was more noted as a philosopher and man of letters than as a scientist. He was a native of Novi Sad, Banat, and his critics regard him as a rude precursor of Vuk Karađić, the reformer of Serbian language.

III

Works of a religious tendency were written by the following authors: Matija Divković (d. 1631), Bartolomej Kašić (1575-1650), Tomaž Hren (1560-1630), Atanasije Grgičević (1590-1650), Juraj Habelić (1609-1678), Matija Kastelec (1623-1688), Pavle Posilović (d. 1651), Vid Andrijašević (d. 1688), Antun Kanižlić of Požega (1700-1777), Blaž Kumerdej (1738-1805), Vićentije Rakić (1750-1818), Ivan J. Lučić Pavlović-Makaranin (1758-1818), Emerik Pavić (1716-1780), Tomaš Mikloušić (1767-1855), and Juraj Japelj (1744-1807). The last is the reputed translator of the whole Bible into the Slovenian vernacular, *Svetu Pismu Stariga (in Novega) Testamenta* (1784-1802). Before Japelj, the Scripture was translated by the famous Slovenian reformers, Primož Trubar (1508-1586), with many Germanisms, and Juraj Dalmatin (1550-1589), who translated it into *pravi slovenski jezik* (the true Slovenian language). But their translations are colored by Luther's teaching, while the popular version of Japelj is made for the Catholics. The works of these first theologians have many times been the cause of vehement dogmatic controversies, which have never ceased in Jugoslavia among the ecclesiastical writers.

In the domain of linguistic production, there were many works written during this period, but they show little originality and much foreign influence. Through the whole 18th century Serbia was indirectly under the sway of Russia, or rather of the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁵ In the meantime Slovenia and Croatia, owing to their dependence on Austria and Hungary, were moulded by the Roman Catholic Church. Of the Yugoslav authors who followed the Russian models it is worth while to mention Zaharija Orfelin (1726-1785), Grigorije Trlajić (1766-1811), and Pavle Solarić (1781-1821). Orfelin

¹⁵ Hence the expression *Russo-Slavonic* language, which was not readily understood by the Serbian reading public, and which through the influence of the living dialect began later to approach nearer to Serbian than to Russian, and was called *Slaveno-Serbski* (Slavo-Serbian). In the 19th century this artificial literary jargon was superseded by the modern *Serbian language* due to the efforts and reforms of Vuk Karagić.

was the editor of the first Yugoslav review, *Slaveno-Serbski Magazin* (1768). Trlajić, the "Slavonic Xenophon" as D. Obradović called him, is the translator of Marcus Aurelius, Fénelon ("Télémaque"), and some German authors. Solarić was a gifted pupil of Obradović. He left several translations from German, French, Italian and English, as well as some original linguistic and geographical essays.¹⁶

The works of Croatian and Slovenian authors, like the Serbian, hardly contributed anything towards progress in linguistic science and literature. Among them are Ivan Žiga Popović (1705-1774), and Marko Pohlin (1735-1801), who wrote grammars, dictionaries and other books for the Slovene population in Carniola and Carinthia. The Franciscan monk, Lovro Ľubuški (c. 1713), is the author of *Gramatica Latino-Illyrica* (1742), a discourse of minor philological value. Of especial interest is Tito Brezovački (1754-1805), comedist and poet, a man endued with an intellect pellucid and brilliant. He wrote in Latin as well as in Croatian (erroneously called "Slavonian" from the province of Slavonia). Many satirical poems were published in the periodicals of that time. In both his ribald songs and comedies he applied his rare powers of observation to studying the peculiarities of every class of people, their humors, prejudices and passions. To all these he knew how to appeal with exquisite propriety. His play *Matijaš Grabancijaš Đak* (Matijaš the Magic Student) was the first Croatian book written in *štokavski* dialect—the dialect which later was accepted as the literary language in all Jugoslavia.

¹⁶ How much Solarić was influenced by English literature is difficult to say. His translation *Mudroľubac Indijski* (The Indian Philosopher) is from a French book, "L'art de vivre heureux dans la société," and this is only an extract from the famous Chesterfield's "Letters." See N. Andrić, *Rad jug. akad.*, lib. 150 (1902), p. 143.

CHAPTER IX

EPILOGUE

The literature of the Southern Slavs in the period of decline (18th century) does not appear much superior in its *genre* to the church literature of the first period. We have seen that in early stages of Serbian society the art of writing was monopolized by monks and priests. These ecclesiastics were the first who attained a distinct literary utterance, in their translations of the Scriptures and their chronicles of national religious development. Their sacred books, canons, biographies, apocrypha and epic rhapsodies supplied a standard of literary taste. But these literary monuments, being only pale semblances of the extensive Grecian literature, remained sterile and without any wider influence. They were destitute of ideas and sentiment, and served as the pleasure of a small caste of noblemen. They did not have the slightest influence either on the people or on the Renaissance writers of the Adriatic coast. There are several political and religious causes for this exclusiveness, but one of the most evident is the dualism of language and orthography. The medieval Serbian literature was written in the Old Slavonic dialect which was not easily intelligible to the masses of the people, as Latin (*sermo urbanus*) became a sealed book to the Italian and French people (who spoke *sermo rusticus*). On the other hand, the Renaissance literature of Dubrovnik was written with the Latin alphabet and this was not accessible to the eastern Yugoslav authors, who used exclusively the Cyrillic script, not only in the 18th but even in the 19th century. These centrifugal forces acted disastrously on Yugoslav literature at large and created a tribal particularism and confusion of which traces are still extant.

The Slavonic revival of the Ragusan period did not produce Petrarchs, Calderons, Ronsards, and Chaucers. The chief representatives of the age, Šiško Menčetić, Marin Držić, Gundulić and Palmotić, were great on the human but weak on the artistic side. They have in full measure the energy, the sincerity and the strong feeling which are necessary

for the creation of a literary work, but they lack the sense of form which is required to perfect the artistic conception. It is not too much to say that no work of magnitude by any writer of the Yugoslav Renaissance is constructed on a preconceived plan. Most of them write as their mood prompts them; they give free rein to their emotion and thus become its slaves instead of its masters. They compose poems and dramas too fluently and too easily, without having sufficiently refined their ideas in the crucible of imagination, without having transmuted the rough ore into the gold of poetry. They go on writing after their inspiration is exhausted, and as a rule inspiration comes to them only in short passages. It is needless to multiply instances. The artistic execution of these men of letters surpasses their artistic conception, but it is the execution of gifted amateurs rather than of trained artists. For all their admiration for Greek poetry, our classicists failed to learn from their masters the lesson of self-restraint, simplicity, and moderation, of patient and accurate workmanship.

This failure to realize the classical ideal of literary art was due to the lack of the critical spirit. The Ragusan authors formed practically a literary school among the members of which existed great personal friendship. And we know from experience that friendship and solidarity are a hindrance to originality; mutual admiration is fatal to self-criticism. To create this spirit of rational criticism was the work of Dositije Obradović. But he came too late; his spiritual and intellectual force was turned in another direction. The work of Obradović was perfected by Vuk Karađić, Đura Daničić, and Ćludovit Gaj. These men brought into connection the two branches of the Yugoslav people by employing to a considerable extent both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. They also used themes drawn from the culture of both divisions of the people. In this way Yugoslav literature became national in spirit, as the works of these reformers and their followers were accepted as classical. But to trace the history of that new development of the nineteenth century, to investigate the various causes which made Yugoslav literature national instead of provincial, social instead of individualistic, rational instead of imaginative, lies beyond the scope of the present treatise.

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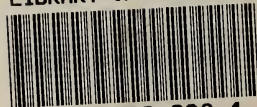
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