

Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources: Reality and/or Fiction?¹

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Sources for researching the medieval city (its appearance, social structures, urban institutions, and political system) can be very different in nature, including written sources of various provenances, visual or material sources, contemporary or later than the researched period. Medieval and early modern narrative sources are often unreliable, especially when referring to the early medieval period. They often treat information from very different provenances and varying in veracity as equivalent: various “rumours”, older sources (some of them legendary) and contemporary sources. For this reason, their authenticity and credibility has often been questioned, and they have often been discarded as second-rate or even third-rate sources. There are many controversies in approaches to their research² and one may ask whether we should use the narrative sources at all when searching for answers on the history of medieval cities, discerning truth from fiction, or rather focus on the context in which the narrative sources in question were formed, and the mechanisms of their creation. Nevertheless, a medieval or early modern narrative source may be important (often the only) written source for investigating certain segments of medieval urbanity. Articles in this volume show that the narrative sources shed light on – if not reality – some crucial elements in the cities’ identity, their link with tradition and their own histories. They also function as oral tradition noted down in writing, and as such mirror the urban communities’ collective memory.

In international scholarship, narrative sources have recently been attracting more attention, although less as sources for researching the image of medieval cities.³

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² For example, in the international scholarly conferences “In the beginning, there was *De administrando imperio*: Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Perceptions of Earliest Croatian History,” Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb (February 18, 2010), “*The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* Facing the Challenges of Modern Historiography” in Zagreb (March 3, 2011); or “Hagiographic Legacy of Split: History, Legend, Text. International Scholarly Conference, Split, September 26-27, 2011.”

³ Sophia Menache, “Chronicles and Historiography, the Interrelationship of Fact and Fiction,” *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (2006): 1-13; Girolamo Arnaldi, “Cronache con documenti, cronache ‘autentiche’ e pubblica storiografia,” *Fonti medievali e problematica storiografica* 1 (1976): 351-374; Bernard Guenée,

Most such research projects are linked to the cities of the Holy Roman Empire or the urbanized regions of Italy, England, or the Netherlands. Although the so-called “urban historiography”⁴ is the most interesting discipline for research, information on cities are also found in studies on “regional” history (even though the focus of interest is sometimes hard to define) as well as other genres.⁵ The level of research on narrative sources in Croatia greatly varies from one source to another – some have been analysed in great detail as a genre or in terms of their authorship or the context of writing, yet the urban image of the city in question has rarely been in the focus.

The present volume *Image of the City in Narrative Sources: Reality and/or Fiction?* presents the results of an international scholarly conference organized with the aim of opening a scholarly debate on the narrative sources from the medieval and early

“Histoires, annales, chroniques. Essai sur le genres historiques au Moyen Âge,” *Politique et histoire au Moyen Âge. Recueil d'études sur l'histoire politique et l'historiographie médiévales (1956–1980)*, ed. Bernard Guenée (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1981), 279-298; *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Chronological Guide with Introductory Essays*, ed. J. M. Bak and I. Jurković (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway into the Medieval Mind*, ed. Werner Verbeke, L. Milis, and J. Goossens (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005); conference proceedings *The Medieval Chronicle* (<https://medievalchronicle.org/the-medieval-chronicle/>); *Past and Present in Medieval Chronicles*, ed. Mari Isoaho (Helsinki: Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015); Daniel Power, “Frontiers: Terms, Concepts, and the Historians of Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands 700-1700*, ed. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), 1-12; Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1997); R. Nip, “Changing Demands, Changing Tools: A Survey of Narrative Historical Sources Written during the Middle Ages in the Northern Low Countries,” in *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway into the Medieval Mind*, ed. W. Verbeke, L. Milis, and J. Goossens (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 1-20; Jan van Naaldwijk, *Chronicles of Holland: Continuity and Transformation in the Historical Tradition of Holland during the Early Sixteenth Century* (Hilversum, Verloren, 2011). See also recent research projects, such as <http://www.contactgroepsignum.eu/> or http://www.narrative-sources.be/colofon_nl.php.

⁴ In European historiography, a special research topic is the so-called “urban chronicles,” which are written in various forms and are difficult to define. Cf. Lucia Nuti, *Ritratti di città. Visione e memoria tra Medioevo e Settecento* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996); Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Monographs, 1997); *The Histories of a Medieval German City, Worms c. 1000-c. 1300* (London and Newyour: Routledge, 2014); L. Emets and J. Dumolyn, “Urban Chronicle Writing in Late Medieval Flanders: The Case of Bruges during the Flemish Revolt of 1482-1490,” *Urban History* 43 (2016): 28-45; Elisabeth M.C. van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995); Augusto Vasina, “Medieval Urban Historiography in Western Europe (1100-1500),” in: *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Boston: Brill, 2003), 317-352; Robert Stein, “Selbstverständnis oder Identität? Städtische Geschichtsschreibung als Quelle für die Identitätsforschung,” in: *Memoria comunitas civitas: memoire et conscience urbaines en occident a la fin du moyen age*, ed. H. Brand and P. Monnet (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 181-202; *Social History, Local History, and Historiography: Collected Essays*, ed. R.C. Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Carrie E. Beneš, *Urban Legends: Civic Identity and the Classical Past in Northern Italy, 1250-1350* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

⁵ Recently, we have been witnessing an increasing number of workshops and scholarly conferences on this topic, such as <http://www.cityandsociety.be/node/117> or <https://eauh2016.net/programme/sessions/#session-content-205>.

modern periods as sources for investigating the urban image of (primarily Croatian) medieval cities and beyond. The debate was to open with questions such as: What was the urban image of cities in various types of narrative sources, regarding their character, date, and provenance? How was the urban memory of cities constructed in these sources? Is it possible to reconstruct medieval urbanity on the basis of narrative accounts? What is the level of research on particular medieval cities based on narrative sources? Eventually, to what degree does the image of cities correspond to the reality?

The broad term “narrative sources” used in this volume includes primarily (in generic terms) historiographic writings,⁶ yet also literary and other narrative sources (travelogues, speeches, theological and philosophical writings, epistles, and so on), most of which are actually at the intersection of various genres. (Thus, annals and chronicles belong not only to historiography, but also to the related literary genre.)⁷ Narrative elements are also present in other types of texts (or segments of lengthier texts) of various provenances. In this volume, we have largely focused on narrative sources from the medieval and early modern periods (before the 19th century), when a considerable number of writings belonging to various genres was produced in the Croatian lands. They picture the medieval city to a greater or lesser extent. The level of preservation differs from one city to another, ranging from mere fragments to whole texts: in some urban centres of Dalmatia, an exceptionally rich body of texts has been preserved, while only a small number has been known and/or preserved for the Slavonian region. Of course, one should also consider various “foreign” narrative sources, which are still only partly known and used in the research on the Croatian Middle Ages. The urban image of medieval Croatian cities differs greatly from one source to another, in regard to both the date of writing and the region, as well as the nature and provenance of the given source.

In this Introduction, we cannot offer an exhaustive historical overview of narrative sources from the medieval and early modern periods that are important for research on cities in the Croatian Middle Ages. Therefore, in a mosaic of crucial narrative writings and covering a broad span from the early Middle Ages to the late 18th centuries, we shall mention the most important works and the (local and universal) circumstances of their composition.

The earliest narrative sources, such as saints’ legends and lives, necrologies, or taxonomies of bishops and abbots, are dominated by information on various persons, cults, and ecclesiastical institutions. Hagiography in the Croatian lands tells of

⁶ The rich production (especially in Dalmatian cities) makes it possible to trace the development of historiographical methodology.

⁷ Vjekoslav Štefanić et al., “Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka” [Croatian literature in the Middle Ages], in: *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti I* (Zagreb: Zora – Matica hrvatska, 1969), 33.

a continuity of Latin literary culture from the antiquity in the cities of Byzantine Dalmatia and Istria⁸ as well as the beginnings of narrative writing in the medieval period,⁹ with its Christian interpretation of the history of mankind and a huge mental shift in the understanding of the past with regard to the antique Greco-Roman tradition.¹⁰ The Carolingian period brought new influences (Aquileian, Frankish) and in the 9th century Byzantium strengthened its spiritual ties with Dalmatian cities. Certainly, elements of oral Slavic culture and literature were likewise present in the early Middle Ages. Even though the earliest preserved hagiographies of the local saints date from the 11th, some of them may have a significantly earlier core, continuing the early Christian tradition of passions of the local martyrs (which are difficult to date because of the impossibility of palaeographic analysis).¹¹

⁸ Aleksandar Stipčević, "Djela antičkih pisaca u srednjovjekovnom Zadru" [Works of antique authors in medieval Zadar], *Croatica et Slavica Jadertina* 8 (2013): 47-88.

⁹ Even though the continuity of Latin written culture from Classical Antiquity is not to be doubted, the level of that culture in the early Middle Ages and the preservation of ancient texts are questionable. R. Katičić has argued that the Church of Split, as the heir of the Salonitan church, preserved some ancient texts and records. Radoslav Katičić, "Jezik i pismenost" [Language and literacy], in: *Hrvatska i Europa; kultura, znanost i umjetnost, Srednji vijek (VII-XII. stoljeće): Rano doba hrvatske kulture*, ed. Josip Bratulić et al. (Zagreb: HAZU-AGM, 1997), 339-367, here 339; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Intelektualni i kulturni razvoj. Latinska pismenost hrvatskoga ranog srednjeg vijeka" [Intellectual and cultural development: Latin literacy in the Croatian early Middle Ages], in *Nova zraka u europskom svjetlu. Hrvatske zemlje u ranome srednjem vijeku (oko 550 – oko 1150)*, ed. Zrinka Nikolić Jakus (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2015), 254-271; Vedrana Delonga, "Pismenost karolinškog doba i njeni hrvatski odjeci: latinska epigrafička baština u hrvatskim krajevima" [Literacy in the Carolingian period: Latin epigraphic heritage in the Croatian lands], in: *Arhitektura, skulptura i epigrafika karolinškog doba u Hrvatskoj*, ed. Vedrana Delonga (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2001), 54-87; Radoslav Katičić, *Uz početke hrvatskih početaka. Filološke studije o našem najranijem srednjovjekovlju* [On the beginnings of Croatian beginnings: Philological studies on our earliest Middle Ages] (Split: Biblioteka znanstvenih djela, 1993); Trpimir Vedriš, "Martyrs, Relics, and Bishops: Representations of the City in Dalmatian Translation Legends," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 12 (2006): 175-186, here 174. Cf. Steven Vanderputten, "Une iconographie de l'historiographie monastique: réalité ou fiction?," in: *Medieval Narrative Sources*, 251-269.

¹⁰ Cf. Majiastina Kahlos, "Seizing the History – Christianizing the Past in Late Antique Historiography," in: *Past and Present in Medieval Chronicles*, ed. Mari Isoaho (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015), 11-33; A. Fischer and I. Wood, *Western Perspectives on the Mediterranean: Cultural Transfer in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 400-800* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); William Adler, "Early Christian Historians and Historiography," in: *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. S. Ashbrook Harvey and D. G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 584-602; *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, ed. Brian Croke and Alanna M. Emmett (Sydney: Pergamon Press, 1983); *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History, 5th-6th Centuries*, ed. Brian Croke (London: Variorum, 1993).

¹¹ Ivanka Petrović, "Latinska i glagoljska tradicija sv. Krizogona (Krševana) i sv. Anastazije u hrvatskoj hagiografiji srednjega vijeka" [Latin and Glagolitic traditions of St Chrysogonus and St Anastasia in Croatian medieval hagiography], *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 56-57 (2008), 451-475, here 453; Vjekoslav Štefanić et al., "Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka" [Croatian medieval literature], in: *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti I* (Zagreb: Zora – Matica hrvatska, 1969); Radoslav Katičić, *Litterarum studia. Književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja* [Litterarum studia: Literature and education in the early Croatian Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2007), 274-275 and 370-375. Cf. *Splitska hagiografska baština: povijest, legenda, tekst, Zbornik radova*

From the 10th century, both quantitative and qualitative shifts took place in the field of Latin literacy in the Adriatic. (A particularly important centre of Latin literacy was the metropolitan see of Split.)¹² The 11th and 12th centuries were a period of revival in central Dalmatia, with a number of distinguished personalities (ecclesiastical dignitaries from clerics to bishops).¹³ In Dalmatian cities, records were kept on prominent persons, including taxonomies of bishops, such as the *Catalogus archiepiscoporum de quibus extat memoria*, later incorporated into other works as transcripts. Famous cartularies written in the 12th century, as well as the later ones, had the significance of memorial writings or books of tradition (*libri traditionum*). Foundation charters of monasteries belonged to the literary, “historiographical” genre. Thus, the *Supetar Cartulary* is a chronicle of the Benedictine monastery of St Peter in the Village (*gesta abbatum*) and as such preserved the continuity of literacy.¹⁴

s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa održanoga u Splitu od 26. do 27. rujna 2011 [Hagiographic Legacy of Split: History, Legend, Text. Proceedings of the International Scholarly Conference in Split, September 26-27, 2011], ed. Joško Belamarić, Bratislav Lučin, Marko Trogrlić, and Josip Vrandečić (Split: Književni krug Split – Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, 2014).

¹² The oldest literature of the Dalmatian-Croatian church is linked to the events at the Diets of Split and its allegiance to Rome. Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Splitski srednjovjekovni književni krug” [Medieval literary circle of Split], in: *Zbornik Tomislava Raukara*, ed. Neven Budak (Zagreb: FF Press, 2006), 157-173 and 157-158; Ivanka Petrović, “Salonitansko-splitska hagiografska baština u svjetlu mediteranske kasnoantičke i ranosrednjovjekovne hagiografije” [Hagiographic legacy of Split and Salona in the light of late antique and early medieval Mediterranean hagiography], in: *Zbornik radova s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa održanoga u Splitu*, 25-67; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Poruke Splitskog evangelijarija” [Messages of the Split Evangelistary], in: *Zbornik radova s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa održanoga u Splitu*, 69-83.

¹³ A preserved example is *Passiones beatorum martirum Domnii et Anastasii*, written by Adam of Paris on orders of Archbishop Laurence (1059-1099) on the basis of “older models”; Radoslav Katičić, “Vetustiores ecclesiae spatensis memoriae,” *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3/17 (1988), 17-51, here 20. Bishop Treguan of Trogir, revised the *Vita beati Joannis confessoris episcopi Traguriensis et eius miracula* and Bishop Juraj Kostica of Rab the *Miracula (Historia) sancti Christophori martiris*. Cf. *Život sv. Ivana Trogirskog po izdanju Daniela Farlatija* [Life of Saint John of Trogir, after an edition by Daniele Farlati], ed. Kažimir Lučin (Split: Matica hrvatska, 1998); Milan Ivanišević, “Život svetoga Ivana Trogirskoga” [Life of Saint John of Trogir], in: *Legende i kronike* (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1977); Miroslav Kurelac, “Narativni izvori” [Narrative sources], in: *Rano doba hrvatske kulture. Srednji vijek (VII-XII. stoljeće)*, ed. Ivan Supićić (Zagreb: HAZU-AGM, 1997), 321-336, here 321-323; *Legende i kronike* [Legends and chronicles], ed. Nikola Disopra, Cvito Fisković, Jure Franičević Pločar, Vedran Gligo, Živko Jeličić, Hrvoje Morović, and Vladimir Rismondo (Split: Književni krug – Čakavski sabor, 1977); *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth to Twelfth Centuries)*, vol. 2, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, transl. and annotated by Cristian Gaşpar and Marina Miladinov, introduction to the *Life of Saint John of Trogir* by Ana Marinković (Budapest: CEU Press, scheduled for publication in 2018).

¹⁴ Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Samostanski memorijalni zapisi (*libri traditionum*) srednjega vijeka i uloga svećenika-pisara (pranotara)” [Medieval monastic records (*libri traditionum*) and the role of priest-scribe (proto-notarius)], in: *2. Istarski povijesni biennale – 2nd Istrian History Biennale: Sacerdotes, iudices, notarii... – posrednici među društvenim skupinama / Sacerdotes, iudices, notarii... – Mediators among Social Groups*, ed. Neven Budak (Poreč: Državni arhiv u Pazinu, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Pučko otvoreno učilište Poreč/Zavičajni muzej Poreštine, 2007), 5-19; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Intelektualni i kulturni razvoj,” 265.

In these narrative sources, the ways of communicating with the potential audience are completely different from those in the later periods – the intention of their authors was not to describe the reality, but to glorify the saints. The sporadic mentions of cities are made in passing and idealized. These texts often focus on events beyond the narrow local setting, which led their authors to compile pieces from various older texts.¹⁵ These writings tell us of the mentality of a particular urban setting and must be viewed through the prism of faith and attitudes towards the unquestionable authorities and the collective tradition. In the Christian Middle Ages, history was considered as a sequence of events directed by God from the creation of the world until the end of time – and the periodization of history was adapted to that view. Cities described in the European chronicles of the time are often a combination between real and utopian places. Even the earliest travelogues, which are in the medieval period mostly pilgrim's accounts, are descriptions of the otherworldly where only brief accounts of “this-worldly” places may be found.¹⁶

Some well-known foreign narrative writings from the early medieval period (before the 12th century) contain (limited) descriptions of spaces in the Croatian Middle Ages. These are mostly of Byzantine, Venetian, South Italian, Langobard-Italic, Frankish, or Hungarian¹⁷ provenance,¹⁸ and their image of the Croatian medieval city stems from various information channels, diplomacy, and written sources.¹⁹ One of the most

¹⁵ Thus, the *Korčula Codex* contains parts of works by Josephus Flavius, Paul the Deacon, texts from the *Nomina archiepiscoporum urbis Romae*, etc.; cf. Vinko Foretić, “Korčulanski kodeks 12. stoljeća i vijesti iz doba hrvatske narodne dinastije o njemu” [The 12th-century *Korčula Codex* and its mentions in the period of Croatian national rulers], *Starine JAZU* 46 (1956): 23-44; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum / Pavao Đakon, Povijest Langobarda* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus, 2010).

¹⁶ For example, the travelogue of William of Tours from the 11th century (more on this source in Zoran Ladić's article in this volume). Descriptions of places in these sources may have been influenced by other writings available at the time, such as the so-called “lucidaries”, where various phenomena are interpreted from the Christian perspective. Their often twisted geographical names and descriptions of regions in the known world mirror the way of constructing the picture of the world at the time. These encyclopedic compendia were translated into various languages and spread all over Europe in various redactions. Cf. Amir Kapetanović, “Toponimi u hrvatskim ‘lucidarima’” [Place names in Croatian “lucidaries”], *Folia onomastica Croatica* 14 (2005): 1-22.

¹⁷ *Anonymus Bele regis notarius (Magister P.), Gesta Ungarorum (-c. 936); Chronicon: Medieval Narrative Sources. A Chronological Guide with Introductory Essays*, ed. János M. Bak and Ivan Jurković (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 552. Hungarian historians are of the opinion that a number of Hungarian chronicles were written on the basis of a now lost 11th-century work on the history of the Hungarians. Cf. József (Iosephus) Deér, “Quis fuerit fons primigenius Gestorum Chronicorumque Hungaricorum medii aevi ex saeculo XI-o oriundus at post deperditus”, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, 2 vol., ed. Imre Szentpétery (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1937-1938) (hereafter: SRH), 1, 1-11 (see Marija Karbić's article in this volume).

¹⁸ For example, the *Chronicon venetum (Cronica veneziana)* by John the Deacon (d. 1009). Cf. Kurelac, “Narativni”, 328-330.

¹⁹ Ivan Basić, “Gradovi obalne Dalmacije u *De administrando imperio*: najstarija povijest Splita u svjetlu dvaju pojmova Konstantina VII Porfirogeneta” [Cities of coastal Dalmatia in *De administrando*

famous is certainly *De administrando imperio*, composed by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus with numerous co-authors, which mentions the cities of Kotor, Dubrovnik, Split, and Trogir.²⁰ Regardless of the details on the etymology of individual city names, descriptions of buildings, and various curiosities, the image of the city it offers is limited and superficial, incorporated into a broader picture with political intention.²¹ The cities mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus are in the focus of Željko Rapanić's article "Two Notes on the Salonitans and the Spalatans: Narratives of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Thomas the Archdeacon" and Ivan Basić's "*Spalatensia Porphyrogenitiana*: Contributions to the Study of Poleogenesis and Urban Development in early medieval Split," both included in this volume. And there were other Byzantine authors whose narrative accounts contributed to our knowledge of these regions.²²

imperio: The oldest history of Split in the light of two terms used by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 41 (2010): 65-82.

²⁰ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Greek text ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (rev. ed. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967, 42002); Trpimir Vedriš, "Razgovor ugodni: Konstantin VII Porfirogenet i percepcije najranije hrvatske povijesti" [Pleasant conversation: Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus VII and perceptions of the earliest Croatian history], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 42 (2010): 13-36; Mladen Ančić, "Zamišljanje tradicije: Vrijeme i okolnosti postanka 30. glave djela *De administrando imperio*" [Inventing the tradition: Date and circumstances of writing of chapter 30 in *De administrando imperio*], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 42 (2010): 133-151; Miljenko Lončar, "Dalmatinske etimologije Konstantina Porfirogeneta" [Dalmatian etymologies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus], *Folia onomastica Croatica* 11 (2002): 149-174; Jonathan Shepard, "The Uses of 'History' in Byzantine Diplomacy," in: *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinou et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 91-115.

²¹ Annals (*res gestae*), typical of the medieval period, recorded the important events chronologically without considering their circumstances, and were intended to be continuously supplemented. Chronicles (*historiae rerum gestarum*) were a more evolved narrative form for describing events, chronologically often organized according to reigns or other parameters. In theory, the difference between them was in their narrative strategies, the way of putting the chronology together. However, in practice these genres were rarely clearly defined; instead, they were variants of the same genre, compilations that included information from various accessible narrative sources and supplemented them in as needed. Even their authors rarely distinguished between writing annals, chronicles, or historical accounts. Thus, the annals became more exhaustive and adorned with time, since they aimed at legitimizing their topic politically or theologically. Already the Frankish annals had turned into a longer and more complex form. Cf. Patric J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1994); Mari Isoaho, "Introduction" in: *Past and Present in Medieval Chronicles*, ed. eadem (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015), 1-10; B. Guenée, "Histoires, annales, chroniques: essai sur les genres historiques au moyen âge," *Economies sociétés, Civilizations* 28/4 (1973), 997-1016; K.H. Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976); *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²² These include Johannes Scylices, who described the period from 812-1077 in his *Epitome historion*, as well as Nikefor Birenius, Georgios Kedrenos, Johannes Zoranas, and Kekaumenos. Work of these authors is less well known in the Croatian historiography even though the narrative sources of later periods, such as the early modern city chronicles, used them extensively and therefore they are crucial for understanding them. Cf. Kurelac, "Narativni", 328-330; Zdenka Janeković Roemer, "On

The city as a topic of narrative sources became more prominent from the 12th century, which was due to the intense urbanization of Europe as well as the development of literacy.²³ It is from this period that one can observe greater focus on the city as a motif and subject of writing. Various annals, chronicles, memoirs, and histories (mostly hybrid genres) bring various amounts of information on Croatian medieval cities. The number of universal, “great chronicles” – those describing the history of countries and peoples – decreases,²⁴ replaced by a larger number of works of regional and local character (even though some of them still contain elements of universal chronicles). Accounts of events are still combined with theological, philosophical, and other considerations, and information of very varied provenance and veracity are treated as equivalent. The choice of topics (and the chronology) are selective and pragmatic, since their production was linked to the systems that determined what was to be remembered and what forgotten.

Some of these writings describe various past and contemporary events, phenomena, or geographical places more exhaustively, and the image of actual cities in their spatial coordinates remains more or less limited. Thus, the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (*Libellus Gothorum quod latine Sclavorum dicitur Regnum, Gesta Regum Sclavorum*) from the 12th century, although written as a heterogeneous chronicle of Duklja, contains plenty of (truthful and fantastic) descriptions of the Croatian lands, including individual cities.²⁵ And of course, one should especially single out the famous *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon from Split (1200-1268),

the Influence of Byzantine Culture on Renaissance Dubrovnik and Dalmatia,” *Dubrovnik Annals* 11 (2007): 7-24.

²³ In northern Croatia, literary production can be traced back to the time of the foundation of Zagreb’s bishopric (late 11th c.), mostly related to ecclesiastical affairs.

²⁴ Susan Reynolds, “Medieval *origines gentium* and the Community of the Realm,” *History* 68 (1984): 375-390.

²⁵ Eduard Peričić, *Sclavorum Regnum Grgura Barskog. Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* [*Sclavorum Regnum* by Gregory of Bar. *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1991); *Letopis popa Dukljanina* [*Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*], ed. Ferdo Šišić (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1928); *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina* [*Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*], ed. Vladimir Mošin, trans. S. Mencinger and V. Štefanić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1950); Mladen Ančić, “Ljetopis kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije / Vrijeme nastanka i autorstvo Hrvatske redakcije Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina” [*Chronicle of the kings of Croatia and Dalmatia / On the origins and authorship of the Croatian redaction of the Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*], *Zgodovinski časopis* (Ljubljana) 44/4 (1990): 521-546; repr. in: *Zvonimir kralj hrvatski, zbornik radova* (Zagreb, HAZU - Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1997), 273-304; Ludwig Steindorff, “Reichseinteilung und Kirchenorganisation im Bilde der Chronik des Priesters von Dioclea,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 93 (1985): 279-324. Some scholars are of the opinion that *De administrando imperio*, *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, and Milecije all used an older (local) source for describing the earliest “history” of Dubrovnik; see Radoslav Katičić, “*Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo*. Tragom najstarijih dubrovačkih zapisa” [*Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo*. Tracing the earliest writings of Dubrovnik], *Dubrovnik* 4 (1997): 39-74; idem, “*Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo*,” *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 18 (1988): 5-38.

written as a historical overview of Split's ecclesiastical organization, yet containing an abundance of other materials and incorporated sources,²⁶ chiefly on medieval Split, but also on other Dalmatian cities²⁷ (many of these data cannot be found elsewhere).²⁸ Parts of Thomas' work can be classified as the so-called *laudationes urbium*,²⁹ such as Miletius' verses on the earliest history of Dubrovnik, written in the same period.³⁰

The more systematic functioning of urban administrations in the 13th century (in the Eastern Adriatic) resulted in a large number of notarial documents, as well as those of fiscal and normative character. Their presence is also felt in the narrative sources of the period, and these new elements of narration are a link between the traditional chronicles and professional records. Local information and the urban institutional framework encourage the birth of various new genres:³¹ thus, the urban *encomium* quite logically appears at the time when the cities became a key factor of general social development and economy. A city's privileged status, autonomy,

²⁶ For example, *Memoriale bonae memorie domini Thomae quondam archidiaconi ecclesie spatensis, Catalogus* (Catalogues of Split's archbishops) from the late 12th century; *Katalog splitskih nadbiskup* pisan krajem 12. St; *Thomae Archidiaconi Spalatensis / Archdeacon Thomas of Split, Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / History of the bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text by Olga Perić, ed., trans. and annotated by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2006); Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Archdeacon Thomas of Split (1200-1268) – A Source for Early Croatian History," *Review of Croatian History* 3 (2007): 1 and 251-270.

²⁷ Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Zadar i zadarska crkva u djelu *Historia Salonitana* (Salonitanska povijest) Tome Arhidakona" [Zadar and its church in the *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon], in: *Sedamnaest stoljeća zadarske Crkve. Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa o 1700. obljetnici mučeništva sv. Stošije (Anastazije)*, ed. Livio Marijan (Zadar: Zadarska nadbiskupija, 2009): 259-275.

²⁸ This work is considered as a *Gesta episcoporum* (showing the history of Split's church through the deeds of its bishops and archbishops), which again classifies it as a *historia*. Thomas used the generally accepted authors to describe the earlier periods, as well as diplomatic sources preserved at the ecclesiastical archives and other available sources, especially those related to the church. M. Matijević Sokol has emphasized that Thomas himself classified his work as being an autobiography/memoire and *partim scripta, partim relata, partim opinionem sequens*, occasionally referring to actual diplomatic documents, privileges, and decrees of church diets; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "O nekim stilskim, jezičnim i strukturnim osobitostima Salonitanske povijesti Tome Arhidakona Splićanina" [On some stylistic, linguistic, and structural specificities of the Salonitan history by Thomas the Archdeacon from Split], in: *Spalatumque dedit ortum. Collected papers on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split*, ed. Ivan Basić and Marko Rimac (Split: Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, 2014), 223-238, here 235.

²⁹ *Laudationes urbium* could be written in prose or verse and praised (or criticized) individual cities. They could also be sections within longer texts (as they are not a literary genre, but a thematic type and occur within various genres) and covering a longer period of time.

³⁰ The earliest layer may be from the 11th century, but it is preserved in Ragnina's *Annals* from the 16th century. Cf. Neven Jovanović, "Dubrovnik in the Corpus of Eastern Adriatic Humanist *Laudationes Urbium*," *Dubrovnik Annals* 16 (2012): 23-36, here 32; Ante Konstantin Matas, *Miletii Versus* (Dubrovnik: J. Flori, 1882).

³¹ Deborah M. Deliyannis, *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 10-12; van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, 25; Vasina, "Urban Historiography in Western Europe 1100-1500," in: *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, 327-341 and 345.

and also rivalry with regard to other cities legitimated its search for its own urban identity and a need to records its own glorious history. Several cities were especially prominent in this respect: Split, Zadar, and Dubrovnik – at the time where redactors or writers of hagiographies of patron saints still prevailed.³²

As for the period before the last decades of the 13th century, the authors of narrative accounts are still typically ecclesiastical dignitaries.³³ With the emergence of official lay notaries in the Eastern Adriatic, an increasing number of secular authors emerged, especially urban officials or noblemen. In Northern Croatia as well, particularly in the 14th century, a significant growth in literary culture and education can be observed, although still largely influenced by ecclesiastical dignitaries (August Kažotić, Archdeacon John of Gorica)³⁴ or institutions (the chapters of Zagreb and Čazma).³⁵ Zagreb and some fortified towns in the Croatian lands are also mentioned in Hungarian chronicles, such as the oldest preserved chronicle of Hungary, the *Gesta Hungarorum* by an anonymous royal notary from the 13th century: in this volume, it is mentioned in the articles by Marija Karbić and László Veszprémy.³⁶

³² Eduard Hercigonja, *Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga sednjovjekovlja* [The triscriptural and trilingual culture of the Croatian Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1994), 140-141; Radoslav Katičić, “*Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo*. Tragom najstarijih dubrovačkih zapisa” [*Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo*. Tracing the earliest writings of Dubrovnik], in: *Uz početke hrvatskih početaka. Filološke studije o našem najranijem srednjovjekovlju* (Split: Književni krug, 1993), 131-160.

³³ Cf. P. De Griek, “L’image de la ville et l’identité monastique dans l’oeuvre de Gilles Li Muisis (1272-1353),” in: *Medieval Narrative Sources*, 139-162.

³⁴ In 1334, John of Gorica (1280-1353) collected the legal norms used to administrate the chapter of Zagreb (*Statuta Capituli Zagrabiensis*). In the 17th century, they were complemented with the so-called “Chronicle of Zagreb” as an introduction, but the authorship of that addition is spurious (and so is the authorship of the so-called “Fragment of the Annals” preserved in the work of Baltazar Adam Krčelić. The “Chronicle of Zagreb” brings only some data on the foundation, privileges, and so on (see Marija Karbić’s article in this volume). Imre (Emericus) Szentpétery, “Chronicon Zagrabiense cum textu Chronici Varadiensis collatum”, SRH I, Chronique de Morée (1204-1205), ed. J. Longnon, Paris (1911); C.A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians. A Critical and Analytical Guide* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1953), 109-110; M. Švab, “Prilog kritici odlomka ‘Kronologije’, djela pripisivanog arhidakonu Goričkom Ivanu” [A contribution to the critical evaluation of the ‘Chronology’ attributed to Archdeacon John of Gorica], *Historijski zbornik* 35 (1982): 119-160; Lujo Margetić, “Neka pitanja tzv. Zagrebačke kronike i Popisa biskupa” [Some questions on the so-called “Chronicle of Zagreb” and the “List of Bishops”], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 17 (1993), 1-16.

³⁵ Rafo Bogišić, “Humanizam u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj” [Humanism in northern Croatia], *Papers of the Institute for Scientific Research Work in Varaždin* 2 (1988), 411-427, here 415.

³⁶ *Anonymus and Master Roger: Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii Gesta Hungarorum / Anonymus, Notary of King Béla the Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2010). Other Hungarian chronicles also mention cities in present-day continental Croatia, such as Požega in the “Pozsony Chronicle” from the 14th century; cf. Stanko Andrić, *Potonuli svijet. Rasprave o slavonskom i srijemskom srednjovjekovlju* [The sunken world: Essays on Slavonia and Srijem in the Middle Ages] (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje i Grafika d.o.o. Osijek, 2001), 114-115.

From the 14th century onwards, there was an increasing interest in modern, everyday history of the cities, and the chroniclers used descriptions of the present and past of their cities to face social challenges. This was, of course, related to humanism and its cultural discourse. Authors of various histories, chronicles, and diaries were often members of those social groups that had access to official documents, such as public officials or members of the city patriciate. In Split, Miha Madijev de Barbazanis³⁷ and the so-called A Cutheis³⁸ can be singled out for the 14th century. Some works had elements of diary entries,³⁹ such as the *Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patriti Jadrensis*.⁴⁰ Diaries were the trend of the times and private persons used to keep private memoirs, in which their interest often extended to the social reality and history of their cities.

Works from the same period may, of course, differ with regard to whether they were written by ecclesiastical or secular persons, local or foreign ones, whether they had private or public incentive, or whom they were intended for. Thus, the *Memoriale* is comparable to the anonymous *Obsidio Iadrensis*⁴¹ and a “pro-Venetian” chronicle

³⁷ Miha Madijev, a patrician from Split, wrote a chronicle of Roman emperors and popes in 1358 that chronologically continued Thomas’ work: *Historia de gestis Romanorum imperatorum et summorum pontificum*. Only a segment of the second part has been preserved, referring to the time from 1290 onwards. Cf. *Miha Madijev de Barbazanis, Počinje historija izdana od Mihe Madijeva de Barbazanis iz Splita o podvizima rimskih careva i papa, dio drugog dijela godine Gospodnje MCCXC* [Miha Madijev de Barbazanis, On the Deeds of Roman Emperors and Popes, Part of the Second Part of 1290] ed. Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1977); Ferdo Šišić, “Miha Madijev de Barbazanis,” in *Rad JAZU* 153 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1903).

³⁸ This anonymous author known as Cutheis wrote a work called *Summa historiarum tabula de gestis civium Spalatinorum*, which describes various events in Split during the period from the Black Death of 1348 to the political conflicts. The author states that he used compilations of manuscripts by various citizens of Split. Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Splitski srednjovjekovni književni krug” [The literary circle of medieval Split], 170; “A Cutheis, Tabula,” in *Legende i kronike* [Legends and chronicles], ed. Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1977), 185-202.

³⁹ Chris Given-Wilson, “Official and Semi-Official History in the Later Middle Ages: The English Evidence in Context,” in: , in: *The Medieval Chronicles V*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, Brill, 2008), 1-16, here 3-4. Such humanist and Renaissance “diaries/chronicles” emerged in Italy in the mid-14th century; cf. Gustav-Rene Hacke, *Europäische Tagebücher* (Munich and Wiesbaden, Limes, 1986); however, there are no classical *ricordanze* in Croatian medieval cities (see Zrinka Nikolić Jakus’ article in this volume). Cf. James S. Grubb, “Memory and Identity: Why Venetians Didn’t Keep *ricordanze*,” *Renaissance Studies* 8 (1994): 375-387.

⁴⁰ Even though the *Memoriale* is actually at the intersection of genres – annals, chronicle, memoir report – events from the author’s contemporary public life, primarily in Zadar, but also in other Dalmatian cities, are here mixed with those from his family; cf. Andrea Zlatar, “*Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patritii jadrensis*,” *Dani Hvarskega kazališta: građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 17 (1991): 241-252; Vesna Jakić-Cestarić, “Obiteljska pripadnost zadarskog kroničara Paulusa de Paulo,” [Family origin of Zadar’s chronicler Paulus de Paulo], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 23 (1984): 267-285; Damir Karbić and Lovorka Čoralić, “Prilozi za životopis Pavla de Paulo” [Contributions to Paulus de Paulo’s biography], *Rasprave iz hrvatske kulturne prošlosti* 1 (Zagreb: HAZU, 1998): 63-75.

⁴¹ Miroslav Kurelac and Damir Karbić, “Uvod – Ljetopis *Obsidionis Iadrensis libri duo*, njegovo historiografsko i povijesno značenje” [Introduction: The “*Obsidio Iadrensis libri duo*,” its

of Zadar, the anonymous *Chronica Jadratina*),⁴² as well as the *Annals* written by the Venetian doge Andrea Dandolo.⁴³ In this volume, these sources are addressed by Ivan Majnarić, who writes about the Croatian nobility of Zadar's hinterland during the Siege of Zadar in 1345/46. Sandra Begonja has used the *Obsidio Iadrensis* as a comparative source for analysing the urban development of Zadar in the 14th century.

In the Eastern Adriatic, humanism appeared early, in the 15th century, owing to the contacts with Italian centres (going there for studies, arrival of officials such as notaries or teachers) as well as the traditional use of Latin (of course, not only in narrative sources, but also in legal and administrative ones).⁴⁴ Humanism had an impact on education, the revival of classical literary genres, and generally a new attitude towards history and urban heritage. When describing the cities, the authors relate them to their ancient past, even though some place the emphasis on the present.⁴⁵

From the late Middle Ages, the so-called "communal histories" appear, which focus primarily on the history of individual cities.⁴⁶ Especially Dubrovnik produced

historiographical and historical significance], in *Obsidio Iadrensis/Opsada Zadra, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* 54. *Scriptores VI*, ed. Branimir Glavičić et al. (Zagreb: HAZU, 2007); Neven Budak, "Obsidio Jadrensis kao povijesno i književno djelo naše rane renesanse" [The "Obsidio Jadrensis" as a historical and literary work of our pre-Renaissance], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 23 (1983-1984), 353(133)-358(138); Olga Perić, "O autorstvu djela Obsidio Iadrensis" [On the authorship of the "Obsidio Iadrensis"], in *Sedamnaest stoljeća zadarske Crkve: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o 1700. obljetnici mučeništva sv. Stošije (Anastazije), Zadar, 16.-18. studenoga 2004.*, vol. 1: *Od ranokršćanskog razdoblja do pada Mletačke Republike*, ed. Livijo Marijan (Zadar: Zadarska nadbiskupija – Sveučilište u Zadru, 2009), 291-297.

⁴² Miika Kuha, "Note intorno alla tradizione manoscritta di *Chronica Venetiarum* di Benintendi de' Ravagnani," *Arctos (Acta Philologica Fennica)* 46 (2012), 79-94.

⁴³ In his Venetian history, Dandolo included a considerable number of data on the Eastern Adriatic (often borrowed from the available local sources). *Andreae Danduli chronica per extensum descripta, Rerum italicarum scriptores* 12/1, ed. Ester Pastorello (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1942); Stjepan Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija do 1918*. [Croatian historiography before 1918] (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 2004), 20. The *Chronicon Venetum* reveals the knowledge and use of the Salonitan history by Thomas the Archdeacon; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Historia Salonitana post Thomam – recepcija Salonitanske povijesti do prvotiska" [Reception of the Salonitan History before its first print], *Humanitas et litterae ad honorem Franjo Šanjek*, ed. Lovorka Čoralčić and Slavko Slišćević (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina and Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009), 99-112.

⁴⁴ *Leksikon hrvatskih pisaca* [Lexicon of Croatian Writers], ed. Dunja Fališevac, Krešimir Nemeč and Darko Novaković (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2000); *Dani Hvarskog kazališta: hrvatski humanizam: Dubrovnik i dalmatinske komune* [Days of the Hvar Theatre: Croatian Humanism: Dubrovnik and the Dalmatian communes], ed. Nikola Batušić et al. (Split: Književni krug, 1991); Michael B. Petrovich, "Dalmatian Historiography in the Age of Humanism," *Medievalia et humanistica* 12 (1958): 84-103.

⁴⁵ Exceptions include Ivan Lipavić and Ivan Pridoević in Trogir and Nascimbene in Dubrovnik; Bratislav Lučin, *Marulićev opis Splita* [Marulić's depiction of Split] (Split: Književni krug Split, 2005); Relja Seferović, "Strani učitelj i domaći povjesničar: Nascimbene Nascimbene i Serafin Cerva o retorici" [Foreign teacher and local historian: Nascimbene Nascimbene and Serafin Cerva on rhetorics], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 45 (2007): 47-116.

⁴⁶ Zrinka Blažević, "Između komunalnog patriotizma i protonacionalnog univerzalizma: identitetski modeli u ranomodernoj dalmatinskoj historiografiji" [Between communal patriotism and proto-

a large number of such writings in order to legitimate its specific autonomous status. The earliest include the *Historia Ragusii* by Giovanni Conversini from Ravenna (1350-1410), a teacher and notary in Dubrovnik, addressed to an anonymous Venetian person,⁴⁷ and the *History* by Dubrovnik's physician Giovanni Maria Filelfo (1426-1480).⁴⁸ Authors of these urban biographies were mostly foreigners who lived in the city temporarily or permanently, as communal officials, but later on their local counterparts joined in as well. These sources are unsystematic and abound in moralizing and philosophical considerations and quotations from the Latin classics at the cost of actual information about the city.⁴⁹

A related type of source are the humanist "chronicles" of the local clergy, which contain some notes on various Dalmatian towns and their churches: thus, Dujam Hranković describes some settlements on the island of Brač in his *Braciae insulae descriptio* from 1405, written on the basis of unnamed manuscripts and mixing legends, authentic data, and epigraph transcripts.⁵⁰ Stjepan Biličić, abbot of

national universalism: Identity models in early modern Dalmatian historiography], in: *Dalmatien als europäischer Kulturraum: Beiträge zu den Internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposien "Dalmatien als Raum europäischer Kultursynthese" und "Städtische Kultur in Dalmatien. Die Genese eines europäischen Kulturraums"*, ed. W. Potthoff et al. (Split: Filozofski fakultet, 2010), 93-129; Norbert Kersken, "High and Late Medieval National Historiography," in: *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, 214; Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley, CA: University of Berkeley Press, 1990), 81-83.

⁴⁷ Conversini's work, with its exaggeratedly negative conclusions, served as a source for Filip de Diversisu (1440) and Jakov Lukarević (1605); Đuro Körbler, "Iz mladih dana triju humanista Dubrovčana 15. vijeka" [Three humanists from 15th-century Dubrovnik as young men], *Rad 206* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1915), 223.

⁴⁸ Filelfo wrote both in verse (*Ragusaeis*) and in prose (*Historia de origine atque rebus egregie gestis urbis Ragusae*). He improvised his myth on the city's foundation without much understanding, only partly basing himself on Milecije and the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. Even though the Senate did not approve of his work, some later chroniclers nevertheless cited him; cf. Riccardo Picchio, "Povijest Dubrovnika prema interpretaciji humanista Giovana Maria Filelfa" [History of Dubrovnik according to the interpretation of humanist Giovanni Maria Filelfo], *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 1/1 (1973): 15-22; Nestore Pelicelli, "Due opere inedite di G. M. Filelfo: La Raguseide e Storia di Ragusa," *Rivista Dalmatica* 5 (1902/03): 5-33 and 139-176; Ivan Božić, "Dubrovački kancelar Ksenofon Filelfo" [Dubrovnik's chancellor Xenofon Filelfo], *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 9/1 (1967): 225-245; *Philelfiana. Nuove prospettive di ricerca sulla figura di Francesco Filelfo*, ed. Silvia Fiaschi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2015).

⁴⁹ Writing the history of a single city can be traced back to Italian medieval historiography and the so-called "chronicles" by Giovanni Villani, Leonardo Bruni, Flavio Biondo, Sabellico (1392-1463), and others. These local patriots had a considerable impact on the cities of the Eastern Adriatic; cf. Gary Ianziti, *Leonardo Bruni and the Uses of the Past: Writing History in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2012).

⁵⁰ Vitalino Brunelli "Catalogo sistematico dell' i. r. biblioteca ginnasiale-provinciale di Zara," *Programma dell' i. r. ginnasio superiore di Zara* 45 (1901/02): 39; Vedrana Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj* [Latin epigraphic monuments in early medieval Croatia] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1996); Radoslav Katičić, *Litterarum studia* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998), 243-244; A. Ciccarelli, *Osservazioni sull'isola della Brazza, e sopra quella nobiltà* (Venice, 1802), 91-94; Andre Jutronic, "Dujam Hranković i njegov 'Opis otoka Brača' iz godine

St Nicholas' church in the Šibenik canal, wrote a "chronicle" of Šibenik's churches in 1449, which is a miscellany of local "history", descriptions of territories and ecclesiastical institutions, social events, theological considerations, and so on.⁵¹

In the high and late Middle Ages, travelogues flourished as functional records written by both secular and ecclesiastical persons.⁵² These authors largely looked at the city "from the outside," from a narrow perspective or even without proper knowledge of the local reality. Their view of the city also depended on their education, social status, and interest, as well as the aim of their visit – whether they had come for religious reasons, trade,⁵³ or diplomacy.⁵⁴ In his article titled "Croatian Regions, Cities-Communes, and Population in the Eastern Adriatic: Travelogues Written by Medieval European Pilgrims," Zoran Ladić mentions renowned and less known pilgrims and travellers who mentioned Croatian medieval cities in their travelogues: from Geoffrey de Villehardouin in the 13th century⁵⁵ to Fitz Simmons de Simonis from the 14th or Pietro Casola in the 15th century.⁵⁶ Using the example of Casola's

1405." [Dujam Hranković and his "Description of the island of Brač" from 1405], *Brački zbornik 2* (1954), 105-116; Dujam Hranković, *Braciae insulae descriptio*, in: *Legende i kronike*, 217-220.

⁵¹ Krsto Stošić, *Sela šibenskog kotara* [Villages in the district of Šibenik] (Šibenik: Tiskara "Kačić", 1941); Fran Gudrum, "Latinski rukopis svećenika Dalmatinca iz petnaestog stoljeća" [Latin manuscript of the Dalmatian Priest from the 15th century], *Journal of Archaeological Museum in Zagreb* 6 (1902), <http://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/basex/persona/bilicicstjepan01>.

⁵² See, for example, Stjepan Krasić, "Opis hrvatske jadranske obale u putopisima švicarskog dominikanca Feliksa Fabrija (Schmida) iz 1480. i 1483/1484 godine" [Description of the Croatian Adriatic in the travelogues of the Swiss Dominican Felix Fabri (Schmid) from 1480 and 1483/1484], *Analiza Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 39 (2001): 133-216; Slaven Bertoša and Antonio Giudici, "Europski putnici u Istri od XV. do XIX stoljeća" [European travellers in Istria from the 15th-19th centuries], *Tabula – časopis Odjela za humanističke znanosti* 11 (2013), 7-35; Carlo A. Combi, *Saggio di bibliografia istriana, pubblicati a spese di una societa patria*, Capodistria, G. Tondelli, 1864. 53 Other interesting types of source include diaries and letters written by foreign merchants; Darko Darovec, ed. *Stari krajepisi Istre* [Old travelogues of Istria]. Koper: Knjižnica Annales Majora, 1999.

⁵³ Other interesting types of source include diaries and letters written by foreign merchants, which describe Croatian medieval (and later) settlements, local customs, and the dangers of trade routes. Cf. Paola Pinelli, "Florentine Merchants Travelling East through Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and the Balkans at the End of the 15th Century," in: Conference Proceedings in Honor to Academician Desanka Kovačević Kojić (Banja Luka: SANU, 2015), 189-202.

⁵⁴ Aryeh Grabois, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge* (Paris and Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1998); Lorenzo Lozzi Gallo, "The City of Zara in Medieval German Literature," *Plurimondi* 6/12 (2013), 85-99; Milorad Pavić, "Prilog poznavanju hodočasničkih putovanja od Venecije do Svete Zemlje u XVI. stoljeću" [A contribution to our knowledge on pilgrim travels from Venice to the Holy Land (16th century)], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 59 (2007), 33-47; Zoran Ladić, "Prilog proučavanju hodočašćenja iz Zadra u drugoj polovici 14. stoljeća" [A contribution to the research on pilgrimages starting from Zadar in the second half of the 14th century], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 33 (1993), 18-19.

⁵⁵ The Old French chronicles from the Fourth Crusade were written by knights and witnesses of the conquest and fall of Constantinople in 1204. Cf. Petar Skok, *Tri starofrancuske hronike o Zadru u godini 1202* [Three Old French chronicles on Zadar in 1202] (Zagreb: JAZU, 1951).

⁵⁶ Petar Matković, "Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku za srednjega veka" [Travels in the Balkans during the Middle Ages], *Rad JAZU* 42 (Zagreb JAZU, 1878): 56-184; M. Margaret Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem* (Manchester: University Press, 1907); *Viaggio a Gersualemmè di Pietro Casola*, ed. Anna Paoletti (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001).

work as well as works of some other authors, Donal Cooper has analysed travelogues as sources for art history in this volume. In this volume, Dušan Mlacović has written about medieval Rab in travelogues (16th-19th centuries). Humanist travelogues often emphasized the link between some cities and classical heritage. Another interesting source is the travel guide by humanist Ciriaco di Filippo Pizzicolti titled *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum*. This traveller and expert in epigraphy, who visited the Eastern Adriatic on several occasions during the 15th century, contacted some local humanists (such as Juraj Benjo or Petar Cipiko) and visited Pula, Zadar, Korčula, Split, Trogir, and other places; his work includes descriptions of places, monuments, epigraph transcripts, letters, and drawings.⁵⁷

Following the inclusion of the Eastern Adriatic region (except for the Republic of Dubrovnik) into the *Stato da mar* in the second half of the 15th century, a new type of source emerged: various instructions and reports of state officials with elements of narration.⁵⁸ Thus, Antonio Vinciguerra, a Venetian *provveditore* in Krk, describes the circumstances in that city (he was also a notary in Doge's chancery).⁵⁹ There is also a travel report written by the Venetian *sindicus* Zan Battista Giustiniano, whose travelogue on Istria, Dalmatia, and Venetian Albania, written in 1553, brings various information on Eastern Adriatic cities, such as population, income, number of noble families, the state of fortifications, and so on.⁶⁰ Correspondence between certain

⁵⁷ Jasenka Gudelj, "The Triumph and the Threshold: Ciriaco d'Ancona and the Renaissance Discovery of the Ancient Arch," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 22 (2014): 159-176; Giuseppe Praga, "Ciriaco de Pizzicolti e Marino de Resti," *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 7 (1932): 262-280; Stanko Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku: renesansna epigrafika, arheologija in obujanja antike v humanističnem okolju mestne države sredi petnajstega stoletja" [Ciriaco d'Ancona in Dubrovnik: Renaissance epigraphy, archaeology, and antique reminiscences in the humanist context of city-states in the mid-15th century], *Arheološki vestnik* 41 (1990): 663-698; idem, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Revival of Two Forgotten Ancient Personifications in the Rector's Palace of Dubrovnik," *Renaissance Quarterly* 49/2 (1996): 225-267; Francesco Suriano, *Il Trattato di terra santa e dell'oriente di frate Francesco Suriano missionario e viaggiatore del scolo XV*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich (Milan: Tipografia editrice artigianelli, 1900). Many of these descriptions are complemented with city veduttas, e.g. Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli, Per Mare e per Terra, insieme a quello di Terra Santa* (Venice: Giacomo Franco, 1598). Cf. *Viaggio in Oriente di un nobile del Quattrocento, Il pellegrinaggio di Miliaduse d'Este*, ed. Alda Rossebastiano and Simona Fenoglio (Turin: UTET, 2005).

⁵⁸ The earliest *dispacci* referring to Dalmatia come from the 1530s. Cf. *Dispacci antichi di ambasciatori, rettori ed altre cariche e lettere antiche, 1321-1599*, Archivio di Stato, Venice. *Provveditori alle fortezze* were established in 1542. Cf. J.R. Hale, "The First Fifty Years of a Venetian Magistracy: The Provveditori alle Fortezze," in: *Renaissance. Studies in Honour of Hans Baron*, ed. A. Molho and J.A. Tedeschi (Florence, G. C. Sansoni, 1971), 499-529.

⁵⁹ There is also his report/*relatio* on the city of Krk titled *Giurisdizione antica di Veglia* from 1481, where he describes the island and the city of Krk, their history, and the mode of governance, as well as the "colonization" of the urban area, allegedly for reasons of repair and necessity. Cf. Tomislav Galović, "Krčka kronika (La cronica di Veglia) Antonija Vinciguerra iz 15. stoljeća" [The *Chronicle of Krk* by Antonio Vinciguerra from the 15th century], *Krčki kalendar* (2016 [2015]): 137-142; Iva Brusić, "Antonio Vinciguerra: the Ideological Initiator of the Venetian Appearance of the City of Krk," *Ikon* 5 (2012): 345-350.

⁶⁰ *Giovanni Battista Giustiniano, Itinerario di Giovanni Battista Giustiniano, sindaco in Dalmazia ed Albania (annorum 1525-1553)*, ed. Šime Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae* 2 (Zagreb: JAZU,

humanists may also be considered as a narrative source in a broader sense of the term – in this respect, letters and epistles written by Zadar's archbishop M. Valaresso to noblemen in various Dalmatian cities are particularly interesting.⁶¹ Vallaresso wrote on the current ecclesiastical affairs, but also described the local antiquities.⁶²

With time, such communal histories evolved – largely into the so-called “urban annals” or “city chronicles”,⁶³ but also integrated in other genres. They describe the “most significant events” in the city's history from the “earliest times” to the moment of writing. Their function was to preserve the memory of the city in order to pass on and also explain the “knowledge” on the city to the contemporaries and the future generations. In chronologically linear histories with characteristic narrative structures, the social and political identity is linked to the territory of the city and its surrounding. Some histories have been preserved, others are known only from later quotations: for example, two 16th-century chronicles from Zadar, written by Frane Grisogogno⁶⁴ and Frane Fumato,⁶⁵ respectively. In Dubrovnik, there was a significant circle of historiographers in the 15th-16th centuries (the so-called “older chroniclers of Dubrovnik”) focusing on the history of their city.⁶⁶ The most renowned

1877); *Dalmacija godine gospodnje 1553. – Putopis po Istri, Dalmaciji i Mletačkoj Albaniji 1553. Godine – Zapisao Zan Batista Giustinian* [Dalmatia A.D. 1553 – Travelogue through Istria, Dalmatia, and Venetian Albania from 1553, written by Zan Batista Giustinian], ed. Ljerka Šimunković (Split: Dante Alighieri, 2011). One should also consider the report of Marino Sanudo the Younger to the general *provveditore* Sebastiano Giustiniano on the uprising on the island of Hvar. Cf. Neven Jovanović, “Retoričke strategije u latinskim izvještajima” [Rhetorical strategies in Latin reports], in 38. *dani Hvarskog kazališta* (Hvar, 2011), an unpublished paper; Radovan Samardžić, “Nekoliko francuskih putopisaca XVII veka o Dalmaciji i Dubrovniku” [Several 17th-century French travelogue writers on Dalmatia and Dubrovnik], *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 7/1 (1963): 361-377.

⁶¹ Letter of Ivan Sobota to M. Vallaresso, the archbishop of Zadar (1541). Cf. Luka Jelić, “Regestum litterarum zadarskoga nadbiskupa Mafeja Vallaressa (1449 do 1496 god.)” [Regestum litterarum of Zadar's archbishop Mafeo Vallaresso (1449-1496)], *Starine JAZU* 29 (1898): 44-45.

⁶² Epistles were a popular humanist medium for expressing admiration and spreading knowledge on classical antiquity and other subjects of antiquarian interest, and were mostly a mixture of reality and historical imagination; cf. Marko Špikić, “Razmjene spoznaja o antici u poslanicama hrvatskog humanizma 15. stoljeća” [Exchange of knowledge on classical antiquity in Croatian humanist epistles from the 15th century], *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009): 63-81, here 72.

⁶³ Nenad Ivić, *Domišljanje prošlosti. Kako je trinaestostoljetni splitski arhiđakon Toma napravio svoju salonitansku historiju* [Invention of the past: How Thomas, a 13th-century archdeacon in Split, wrote his Salonitan history] (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1992), 10. In traditional historiography, histories are often called chronicles, even though they are actually not the same genre – they are often compilations filled in according to the need of the time, using the available text and responding to the social circumstances.

⁶⁴ In the 18th century, it was still preserved in the house of Count Faustino Fanfogna; cf. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 38; Vitaliano Brunelli, *Storia della citta di Zara*, I (Venice, 1913), 14.

⁶⁵ According to Brunelli, it is not a chronicle, but a collection of sources for the history of Zadar; Brunelli, *Storia*, I, 14.

⁶⁶ Konstantin Jireček, “Beiträge zur ragusanischen Literaturgeschichte,” *Archiv für slavische Pilologie* 21 (1899): 399-542; Irena Benyovsky Latin, “Grad i zaleđe u narativnim vrelima: konstruiranje tradicije o ranosrednjovjekovnim doseljenjima u Dubrovnik iz slavenskog zaleđa” [The city and its hinterland

and quoted among them are the *Annals* by an anonymous author⁶⁷ and works by Nikola Ragnina,⁶⁸ Serafino Razzi,⁶⁹ Giacomo Luccari,⁷⁰ and Lodovico Beccadelli (1501-1572).⁷¹ Chronicles related to the city of Venice often include information on Eastern Adriatic cities, primarily those that were part of the Venetian Republic.⁷²

In communal histories, many of which are compilations, it was important to note down those things “which were worth writing about,” and the motive behind it was twofold: to search for the earliest “history” of the city and its citizens, and to create continuity between that past and the time of writing.⁷³ The earliest history of a city mostly focused on explaining who and how shaped the area of the city and its surrounding territory.⁷⁴ Urban biographies not only focused on the historical experience of a city, but also had that experience as one of their main aims. The subjects they dealt with were partly commonplaces, borrowed from older textual models and supplemented according to the present needs, including commonplaces on the origin of the city, its geographical situation, the patron saint who guaranteed

in narrative sources: Constructing the tradition on early medieval settlement of Dubrovnik from the Slavic hinterland], *Acta Histriae* 25 (2017): 1-38.

⁶⁷ The *Anonymous' Annals* date from the period from the 11th-15th centuries and were probably written by five or six authors. *Annales Ragusini anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, ed. Natko Nodilo (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, MSHSM 14, 1883).

⁶⁸ Around 1553.

⁶⁹ Serafino Razzi, *La Storia di Raugia* (Lucca: Per Vicentio Busdraghi, 1595). Cf. Stjepan Krasić, *Serafino Razzi, Povijest dubrovačke metropolije i dubrovačkih nadbiskupa* (Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik, 1999).

⁷⁰ His (personalized) history of the city is titled *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa* (Venice: Ad instantia di Antonio Leonardi, 1605).

⁷¹ Beccadelli, who was present at the Council of Trent, dedicated a number of poems and epistles to Dubrovnik, and also left in manuscript a now lost work on the history of Dubrovnik and Split, which Appendini titled *Cronaca sulle cose di Ragusa e di Spalato* drugi joj da ju naslov *Notizie storiche della citta di Ragusa*. (See <http://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/basex/persona/croala.publika.beccadelli.l.viaf88988256>); cf. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 53; Natko Nodilo, “Prvi ljetopisci i davna historiografija dubrovačka” [The earliest annalists and the ancient historiography of Dubrovnik], *RAD JAZU* 65 (1883): 92-128.

⁷² Freddy Thiriet, “Les chroniques vénitienes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l’histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 66 (1954), 241-292; Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (Venezia: Tipi di T. Gattei, 1884); Roberta Sinagra, *Le cronache veneziane in volgare della biblioteca del Museo Correr (Fondo Correr) – Catalogo*. Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Venezia. Faccoltà fi Lettere e Filosofia. Anno accademico 1992/93 (unpublished); *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi*, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1970); Gina Fasoli, “La Cronique des Veniciens di Martino da Canal”, *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser. 2 (1961), 1, 42-74.

⁷³ Zdenka Janeković Römer, “Grad trgovaca koji nose naslov plemića: Filip de Diversis i njegova Pohvala Dubrovnika” [A city of merchants with noble titles: *Filip de Diversis and his laudes of Dubrovnik*], in: *Filip de Diversis, Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika 1440*, ed. eadem (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004), 9-31.

⁷⁴ Željko Rapanić, “Marginalia o ‘postanku’ Dubrovnika” [Marginalia on the “foundation” of Dubrovnik], *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 12 (1988): 15-38. The city was perceived as a safe and stable “refuge” surrounded by tyrannic rulers. Such imaginary stories were subsequently filled with invented events set in a later political context.

its safety, the achievements of its citizens, its enemies and wars, or the most important buildings. The concept of space was limited to a narrow interest zone – primarily the city and the surrounding territory under its control, as well as the immediate neighbours, the only exception being those areas and events that had an impact on the region as a whole. In such narratives, urban space is not described only as physical space, but also as social space or “ethnoscape”, which includes not only the material aspects, but also the concepts of refuge, political space, space of freedom and renewal, welfare, law, and harmony. That is why descriptions of urban space are often a mixture of historiographic, legendary, and hagiographic discourses, i.e. elements of real and/or imaginary space.⁷⁵

Besides communal histories, various other genres gain profile in this period – a particularly popular one being the *laudationes urbium*, a specific subgenre, defined by content rather than form as it could be prose or poetry, published separately or as part of a larger text.⁷⁶ The *laudationes* could also be combined with each other in terms of complementation, comparison, or quotation. It is in this generic context that the famous *Description of Dubrovnik* by Filip de Diversis, an Italian-born teacher in Dubrovnik, was written, offering a (subjective) picture of Dubrovnik in the 15th century⁷⁷: on this subjects see the article by Zdenka Janeković Römer in this volume⁷⁸. In her contribution to the volume, Ana Plosnić Škarić has analysed the description of Trogir in a poem by Ivan Lipavić from 1465.⁷⁹

Early humanist historiographies are still characterized by a non-critical approach: myths and legends do not vanish, but rather acquire a new dimension, adapted to the new times. Some of the topics that are found in later narratives are still commonplaces borrowed from older narrative sources and complemented or paraphrased according

⁷⁵ Dunja Fališevac, *Slike starog Dubrovnika* [Images of old Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2013), 281-296; Ivana Brković, *Semantika prostora u dubrovačkoj književnosti 17. stoljeća* [Semantics of space in Dubrovnik's 17th-century literature], PhD diss. (Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2011).

⁷⁶ Luka Špoljarić, “The First Dalmatian Humanists and the Classics: A Manuscript Perspective,” in *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*, ed. Zara Martirosova Torlone, Dana LaCourse Munteanu, and Dorota Dutsch (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 46-56. According to N. Jovanović, there is a genetic link between various *laudationes urbi* (as later authors use the earlier texts). Neven Jovanović, “Marulić i *laudationes urbium*” [Marulić and *laudationes urbium*], *Colloquia Maruliana* 20 (2011): 141-163.

⁷⁷ Vitalino Brunelli, *Filip de Diversis, Situs aedificiorum, politiae et laudabilium, consuetudinum inclytae civitatis Ragusij ad ipsius senatum descriptio*, 1 (Zadar, 1880); *Filip de Diversis, Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika 1440* [Filip de Diversis: *Description of the Glorious City of Dubrovnik* (1440)], ed. and trans. Zdenka Janeković Römer (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004); Mirko Tomasović, “Pohvalnice Dubrovniku” [*Laudationes* of Dubrovnik], *Dubrovnik* 1 (1992): 130-135.

⁷⁸ *Laudationes urbium* were popular within a number of genres, such as the *epyllion* titled *On Epidaurus* (De Epidauro) by I. Crijević (1504-1505?); cf. Neven Jovanović, “Dubrovnik in the Corpus of Eastern Adriatic Humanist *Laudationes Urbium*,” *Dubrovnik Annals* 16 (2012): 23-36.

⁷⁹ Cf. Šime Jurić, “Tri kodeksa značajna za kulturnu povijest Trogira” [Three codices of importance for the cultural history of Trogir], *Mogućnosti* 27/10-11 (1980), 1108-1113.

to the new needs. Praising the city, which was one of the aims of urban biographies, included the myth on the foundation and construction of the city, as well as the expansion of its territory. This implied a construction of space and the circumstances, as well as the appearance of various protagonists – ancient, pseudo-ancient, or non-ancient. Ancient protagonists symbolized a crucial feature of the city and were placed in the context of classical culture,⁸⁰ but they could also be legendary personalities of Slavic provenance, situated in the spatial context and “events” of the hinterland. Construed conceptual space, the protagonists, and the plot are often written in a way that makes them transferrable to the present time of writing as well as the past: it was crucial to send the message about the city and its inhabitants. Of course, it depended on the specific local historical legacy of each particular city, that is, on the actual political and cultural circumstances. Tradition was used for political purposes, but could also result from a desire to transmit the cultural capital to an educated community.

Methodologically, the prevalent approach to historical sources was that of compilation and citations served primarily to demonstrate the author’s erudition, not voice his critique. This was also the reason for compiling works of ancient authors and antique epigraphic monuments,⁸¹ collections of the latter being particularly popular.⁸² A *corpus epigraphicum* of his city of birth was also compiled by Marko Marulić, a famous literary author from Split.⁸³ His work includes a description of the city,⁸⁴ which belongs to the *laudationes* in terms of genre (although they are not a genre in itself, but appear within various texts, as part of other genres). Marulić’s interest in heritage did not stop at transcribing epigraphic monuments: he was the

⁸⁰ Neven Jovanović, “Classical Reception in Croatia: An Introduction,” in: *A Handbook to Classical Reception*, 15-20.

⁸¹ This can be observed in Petar Cupiko, Juraj Benja, Ivan Stojković, Marin Rastić, Marin Marinčić, and Ivan Lipavić; cf. Iva Kurelac, “Writing about the Past of a Country from the Communal Viewpoint: Features, Models and Examples in Croatian Humanist Historiography,” in: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy: Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy*, vol. 2, ed. Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 251-268.

⁸² The beginnings of epigraphy in the Eastern Adriatic were marked by Cyriacus from Ancona, who had an impact on domestic authors. Collecting and transcribing gradually evolved in research and interpretation, eventually also emulation. Cf. Branislav Lučin, “*Litterae olim in marmore insculptae*: Humanistička epigrafija na istočnoj obali Jadrana do Marulićeva doba” [*Litterae olim in marmore insculptae*: Humanist epigraphy in the Eastern Adriatic before Marulić], *Croatica et Slavica Jadertina* 10 (2015): 191-230; Jadranka Neralić, “Povijesni izvori za antičku epigrafiju u Dalmaciji” [Historical sources for ancient epigraphy in Dalmatia], *Građa za povijest Dalmacije* 24 (2012): 295-368; Tamara Gović, *Epigrafski spomenici u Dubrovniku* [Epigraphic monuments in Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik, 2004).

⁸³ With his work *In epigrammata priscorum commentaries*, Marulić wanted to preserve classical antiquities, primarily inscriptions from Salona; cf. Šime Ljubić, “*Latinae antiquae Salonis repertae a Marco Marulo Spalatensi collectae et illustratae*,” *Rad JAZU* 36 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1876), 83-90.

⁸⁴ Branislav Lučin, *Iter Marulianum: Od Splita do Venecije tragovima Marka Marulića / Da Spalato a Venezia sulle tracce di Marko Marulić* (Rome: Viella, 2008).

author of the first Croatian translation of the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*⁸⁵ and in 1510 translated the *Regum Delmatię atque Croatię gesta* into Latin.⁸⁶ Enthusiastic antiquarians also included Bishop Toma Niger (1450-1531)⁸⁷ and Šimun Kožičić Begna, bishop of Modruš (1460-1536).⁸⁸

Authors who wrote on cities in the context of broader regional history wrote from a very local angle, projecting their subjective political views and needs.⁸⁹ In the narrative sources from the Eastern Adriatic, there is a perceptible difference between the narrow coastal strip of the city and the urban territory, between the developed and wealthy urban society and the hinterland as a “different world” – different culture and customs, sometimes also different religion. These elements were more important for the chroniclers than mere historical facts, which they also often ignored.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁵ With the help of his relative and friend Dmino Papalić, Marulić found a transcript of the *Croatian Chronicle* in the Makarska littoral. A contemporary of Marulić, Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, was the first who explicitly mentioned the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.

⁸⁶ Branislav Lučin, “Regum Delmatię atque Croatię gesta a Marco Marulo Spalatensi patritio Latinitate donata,” *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009): 28-61.

⁸⁷ As an archdeacon, Niger collected documents for compiling the annals of the church of Salona and Split. His history of bishops of Salona and Split – *Pontificum Salonitanorum et Spalatensium series ex scriniis Romanis et variis antiquis approbatis monumentis collecta* – is no longer extant. Cf. Lovro Katić, “Novi arhivski podaci o Tomi Nigeru” [New archival data on Toma Niger], *Anali Historijskog Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 4-5 (1956): 231-234; Stanko Josip Škunca, “Toma Niger Mrčić – diplomat i humanist” [Toma Niger Mrčić: Diplomat and humanist], *Radovi Zavoda povijesne znanosti HAZU Zadru* 43 (2001): 255-273. Another prominent personality is Juraj Begna (15th c.), who also collected inscriptions and manuscripts from monastic archives: cf. Giuseppe Praga, “Indagini e studi sull’umanesimo in Dalmazia: Il Codice Marciano di Giorgio Begna e Pietro Cippico,” *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia* 6 (1932): 210-218.

⁸⁸ He has compiled a collection of ancient monuments called *Collactanea*, very important for the history of Zadar, and wrote on the history of Zadar’s church in his *Memorie sulla Dalmazia*. Cf. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 38. Begna compiled the meanwhile lost *Monumenta vetere Illyrici Dalmatiae Urbis et Ecclesiae Salonitanae ac Spalatensis*. Cf. Anica Nazor, “Šimun Kožičić Benja i njegova glagoljska tiskara u Rijeci” [Šimun Kožičić Benja and his Glagolitic printing house in Rijeka], in: *Š. Kožičić* (Zagreb and Ljubljana: Knjižice krsta, 1984), 5-24; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Zbirka isprava u Arhivu Provincije franjevac trećoredaca glagoljaša” [Collection of documents in the archive of the Province of the Franciscan Glagolitic Third Order], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 47/1 (2015): 111-117.

⁸⁹ During the Cinquecento, an increasing number of Italian authors wrote regional history, but from a local perspective. Cf. Iva Kurelac, “Writing about the Past”; eadem, “Funkcija svjedočanstva i konstrukcije u tradicionalnoj i predkritičkoj historiografiji hrvatskog humanizma: od Jurja Šižgorića do Dinka Zavorovića” [The function of testimony and construction in the traditional and pre-critical historiography of Croatian humanism: From Juraj Šižgorić to Dinko Zavorović], *Acta Histriae* 19 (2011): 263-280, here 265.

⁹⁰ This self-representation was important for both foreign policy and diplomacy. Urban identity was based on confessional, legal, and ethnic elements, linked to narrower or broader imaginary communities, from Christianity to the commune or territory. Cf. Lovro Kunčević, “Civic and Ethnic Discourses of Identity in a City-State Context: The case of Renaissance Ragusa,” in: *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010), 149-177.

surrounding peoples were often named according to the perspective of the author, whose motives are often difficult to reconstruct. Authors of chronicles were in control of the discourse, and they mostly belonged to the nobility and/or the Church, so that they defined the names of peoples, countries, origins according to their position and needs. In early modern cultural constructs and perceptions, attitude towards the *other* and different often perceived them only in relation to oneself – “relationistically” and – in service of a particular policy “instrumentalistically”.⁹¹ In his article for this volume, Ivan Majnarić writes on this stereotypization and exteriority.⁹²

The notion of people from the hinterland and their territories was often redefined in the narrative sources with regard to the education, motivation, and era of the author, which resulted in various names and interpretations. Thus, *Illyricum* could denote Dalmatia and its immediate hinterland, but also the entire area inhabited by the Slavs – Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, or Dardania and Moesia.⁹³ Authors of chronicles constructed a relationship with the wider Slavic community, with which their own co-citizens could be related by language as well as origin. A specific attitude towards the Slavic population is also manifest in the so-called “geographical treatises”, such as *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici* by canon Juraj Šižgorić (Georgius Sisgoreus Sibenicensis) from 1487, based on the Illyrian ideology (who also mentions the cities of Dubrovnik, Salona, Split, Trogir, and especially Šibenik).⁹⁴ Palladius Fuscus from

⁹¹ Zrinka Blažević, “Osmanistički diskurs kao polje de/stabilizacije kulturalnih inskripcija Drugoga” [Osmanist discourse as a field of de/stabilizing the cultural inscriptions of the Other], *Kolo, Časopis Matice hrvatske* 16/2 (2006): 211–232; *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008); Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky, “Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism in East Central Europe in the Early Modern Period,” in: *Whose Love of Which Country*, 1–75, here 46–47.

⁹² Including a bibliography, e.g. Emmanuel Lévinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1969); Homi K. Bhabha, “The Other Question – The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse,” in: *The Location of Culture*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 66–84.

⁹³ Vlado Rezar, “Kako su Pečenezi postali praocima Bosanaca” [How the Pechenegs became the ancestors of the Bosnians], *Vijenac* 167 (2000): 28; Kunčević, “Civic and ethnic discourses,” 163, 165, and 166; Josip Vrandečić, “Dalmatinski gradovi između regionalizma (*ius soli*) i hrvatskog nacionalizma (*ius sanguinis*): teritorij kao čimbenik samoidentifikacije u dalmatinskim protonacionalnim ideologijama” [Dalmatian cities between regionalism (*ius soli*) and Croatian nationalism (*ius sanguinis*): Territory as an element of self-identification in Dalmatian proto-national ideologies], *Glasje, časopis za književnost i umjetnost* 5 (1998): 52–79. The notion of “Illyrian” or “Slavic” was only linked to the territorial, ethnic, or religious aspects, having lost its linguistic function. The term “Illyrian” as referring to the people of Slavic origin appeared in the 15th century as a result of the renewed interest in classical antiquity, serving to solve the issue of discontinuity caused by the Slavic incursions in the 6th and 7th centuries and supporting the theories on the continuity of cultural heritage in the areas of ancient Dalmatia and Illyria.

⁹⁴ Šižgorić dedicates chapter 9 to the origin of the name. As for the cities, he draws data from various other available sources. He may have used the *Historia Salonitana* even though, unlike some other authors, he does not refer to it explicitly. J. Šižgorić: *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku* [On the situation of Illyria and the city of Šibenik], ed. Veljko Gortan (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1981); Kurelac, “Funkcija svjedočanstva,” 266; Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, “Tradicija o našim krajevima u

Padua,⁹⁵ who worked in Trogir, Šibenik, and Zadar as a teacher, judge, and chancellor, wrote a chorography called *De situ orae Illyrici* (1504-after 1509),⁹⁶ which may be classified as a *laudatio*.⁹⁷

There are other works written by Dalmatian humanists, both lost⁹⁸ and preserved, that use theories on the origin of the Slavs⁹⁹ in (re-)constructing local history and proving its continuity, such as Vinko Pribojević's work on Hvar¹⁰⁰ or the *Illyrica historia* by Faust Vrančić from Šibenik (1551-1617).¹⁰¹ Owing to the specific geopolitical

antičkom razdoblju kod dalmatinskih pisaca XVI i XVII stoljeća" [Tradition about our region during classical antiquity in Dalmatian authors from the 16th and 17th centuries], *Živa antika* 34 (1984): 155-164, here 157; Maja Kožić, "U spomen Jurju Šižgoriću povodom petstote obljetnice njegova djela *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku*" [Homage to Juraj Šižgorić on the 500th anniversary of his work *On the Situation of Illyria and the City of Šibenik*], *Etnološka tribina* 17 (1987): 69-76; Nevenka Bezić-Božanić, "Dalmatinski gradovi i Dubrovnik u djelima hrvatskih latinista" [Dalmatian cities and Dubrovnik in the writings of Croatian Latinists], *Dani Hvarskoga kazališta: Grada i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 18 (1992): 277-283.

⁹⁵ *Paladije Fusko, Opis obale Ilirika* [Palladius Fuscus, Description of the Coast of Illyricum], ed. Bruna Kuntić-Makvić (Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, 1990).

⁹⁶ In his *Commentaria sui temporis (De bello inter Venetos et Turcos*, in three books); cf. M. Kurelac, "Paladije Fusko – Palladius Fuscus, život i djelo" [Palladius Fuscus: Life and work], in: *Paladije Fusko, Opis obale Ilirika*, passim.

⁹⁷ Fuscus included an overview of the topography of the Adriatic coast and the ancient sources mentioning it, basing himself on the available literature. Cf. Matijević Sokol, "Historia Salonitana post Thomam."

⁹⁸ In this period, Ivan Polikarp Severitan from Šibenik wrote a now lost work called *Historia Dalmatiae* or *De laudibus Dalmatiae*; cf. Krsto Stošić, *Galerija uglednih Šibenčana*, Šibenik, 1936, 73-74. Another lost work is a poem called *Laus Dalmatiae* by Mihovil Vrančić (I would like to thank Iva Kurelac for the information).

⁹⁹ The uncritical humanist interpretation of the ethnogenesis of the Slavs was based on the Bible, Appian's *Roman History*, the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, the legend on Čeh, Leh, and Meh, and the *Salonitan history*. Cf. Iva Kurelac, "Oblici humanističke i ranonovovjekovne historiografske metodologije rada na srednjovjekovnim narativnim izvorima: primjer djela *Historia Salonitana*" [Form of humanist and early modern historiographic methodology applied on medieval narrative sources: The case of the *Historia Salonitana*], *Colloquia Maruliana* 21 (2012): 91. It is believed that the rediscovery of Tacitus' *Germania* in the early 16th century resulted in a so-called "barbarian turn": the appearance of non-classical peoples as legitimate founders and ancestors in communal histories. Thus, the Slavs could also become a powerful tool in the hands of learned humanists. Domagoj Madunić, "Strategies of Distinction in the work of Vinko Pribojević," in *Whose Love of Which Country*, 177-202, here 181; Ernst Breisach, *Historiography Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 154.

¹⁰⁰ In his speech on the Slavs (*De origine successibusque Slavorum*), held in Hvar in 1525, Pribojević introduced the idea of Panslavism. Trying to prove that the Slavic population was native to Illyricum, he spoke about the past and also present of Hvar and the Hvarans. Cf. *Vinko Pribojević, O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena* [Vinko Pribojević, *On the Origin and Fame of the Slavs*], ed. Miroslav Kurelac (Zagreb: Golden marketing – Narodne novine, 1997); *Vinko Pribojević, O porijeklu i zgodama Slavena* [Vinko Pribojević, *On the Origin and Deeds of the Slavs*], ed. Grga Novak (Split: Književni krug, 1991); Iva Kurelac, "Funkcija svjedočanstva," 268; Milivoj Zenić, *U pohvalu od grada Šibenika* [In praise of Šibenik] (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 2002).

¹⁰¹ Lovorka Čoralić, "Oporuke dalmatinskih patricija u Mlecima (XV.-XVIII. st.)" [Last wills of Dalmatian patricians in Venice (15th-18th c.)], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti ZPDZ HAZU*

circumstances and the Ottoman threat, Croatian humanism was specific in its political engagement and a strong concern for Christianity (Roman Catholicism).¹⁰² Koriolan Cipiko from Trogir, who wrote his memoir *De bello Asiatico, Petri Mocenici Imperatoris gesta* in 1477,¹⁰³ described the situation under the Ottoman threat, but also included some sketchy information on various cities (Dubrovnik, Kotor, Skadar). Antonio Rosaneo (Antun Rozanović) described an attack of the Ottoman fleet on Korčula in 1571, but also included a description of the appearance and “history” of the city of Korčula.¹⁰⁴ Besides family libraries, Korčula was also home to a library in the Franciscan monastery and the Chapter library.¹⁰⁵

General education and written communication were becoming more complex at the time, which greatly influenced the methods and content of communal histories. Extensive libraries were founded, which made manuscripts more accessible (and book with the invention of movable print), which ensured broader reception and increased uniformity of texts.¹⁰⁶ The trend was to use classical sources, lexicographic compendia, encyclopaedias, and dictionaries that contained summaries of various antique materials.¹⁰⁷ In the cities, there were erudite circles whose members exchanged ideas, books, and sources. In Trogir, even before the famous Andreis and Lučić, local

17 (1999), 98 and 107-108; eadem, “Legati hrvatskih iseljenika u Veneciji vjerskim ustanovama u domovini” [Legations of Croatian emigrants to Venice, benefiting religious institutions in their homeland], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 17 (1993): 71-73. Cf. Danko Zelić, “Faust Vrančić i dioba predmeta iz ostavštine Antuna Vrančića u Šibeniku 1576. i 1579.” [Faust Vrančić and the division of objects from the legacy of Antun Vrančić in Šibenik, 1576 and 1579], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 35 (2011): 103-114; Iva Kurelac, “Modaliteti recepcije glagoljaške tradicije u dalmatinskoj historiografiji 16. i početka 17. stoljeća” [Modalities of reception of the Glagolitic tradition in Dalmatian historiography (16th and early 17th c.)], *Ricerche slavistiche* 13 (2015): 341-365.

¹⁰² Vlado Rezar, “Dubrovački humanistički historiograf Ludovik Crijević Tuberon” [Humanist historiographer Ludovik Crijević Tuberon from Dubrovnik], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 37 (1999): 47-94, here 49; Davor Dukić, *Sultanova djeca: predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja* [Children of the Sultan: Images of the Turks in early modern Croatian literature] (Zadar and Zagreb: Thema and Ibis grafika, 2004).

¹⁰³ Koriolan Cipiko, *O azijskom ratu / Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta (De bello Asiatico)*, trans. and ed. Vedran Gligo (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977).

¹⁰⁴ Antun Ružić, *Povijest korčulanske pobjede proti Uluz-Aliji Algjerskome polukralju održane dne 15 kolovoza 1571 godine* [History of Korčula's triumph over Uluz-Aliya, regent of Algiers, which took place on August 15, 1571], Dubrovnik, D. Pretner, 1871); Vinko Foretić, “Turska opsada Korčule g. 1571.” [Ottoman siege of Korčula in 1571], *Vesnik vojnog muzeja* 5 (1958). He is also the author of the *Storia della chiesa cattedrale di Curzola; Obrana Korčule 1571-1971*, ed. Ivo Matijaca (Korčula, 1971).

¹⁰⁵ Danko Zelić, “Stariji istraživači Korčule” [Early researchers on Korčula], in: *700 godina Korčulanske biskupije: zbornik radova*, ed. Igor Fisković and Marko Stanić (Korčula: Župni ured Svetog Marka - Korčula, 2005), 53-66, here 54.

¹⁰⁶ Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁷ Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

antiquarians explored the past of the city and its district, e.g. Ivan Kažotić, Dominik Andreis, and others in the 16th century.¹⁰⁸

In the period of humanism, standards were established according to which *historia* was understood as a representation of the past, acquiring an outspoken utilitarian dimension with an aim of presenting the urban community to itself. The city was now understood as a microcosmos whose past was transmitting political or moral messages, with an emphasis on well-ordered (ideal) city (and state) and the happy community of citizens – of course, with a wise administration above it, supported by the patron saint) – thus, a community as it should have been, not necessarily as it was. In this volume, Zrinka Pešorda Vardić analyses the image of social order in Dubrovnik (primarily concerning the position of commoners) transmitted through Dubrovnik's historiography – the image of stable, wealthy population in a well-ordered city / republic. This idea is mirrored in narrative writings as well, not only historical ones, but also theoretical and philosophical.¹⁰⁹ The image of the city in individual treatises, in the framework of various topics and instructions, ranged between a desired ideal and the actual local experience (e.g. in the works of Dubrovnik's authors Benedikt Kotruljević (*On Trade and the Perfect Merchant*)¹¹⁰ and Nikola Gozza (*Governo della famiglia*).¹¹¹ One of the well-known “utopian” treatises that influenced such an image was the *Happy City* by the Croatian author Frane Petrić (1553) – even though this work is not easy to define in terms of genre.¹¹² Petrić was certainly one of the greatest

¹⁰⁸ Dunja Babić, “Opis Trogira i njegova teritorija s kraja 16. stoljeća” [A late 16th-century description of Trogir and its territory], *Grada i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije* 24 (2012): 9-53; Dominik Andreis, “Rasprava o stjecanju i čuvanju sjevernih granica trogirskog područja” [Treatise on the acquisition of Trogir's territory and defence of its borders], in: *Povijest grada Trogira II* (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1978), 379-398.

¹⁰⁹ Erna Banić-Pajnić, “Istraživanje hrvatske filozofije - (samo) kritički osvrt” [Research on Croatian philosophy: A (self-)critical evaluation], *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 31 (2005): 29-42.

¹¹⁰ Zdenka Janeković Römer, “Obitelj u Dubrovniku u kasnom srednjem vijeku i njezin teoretski odraz u djelu Benedikta Kotruljevića” [Family in Dubrovnik during the late medieval period and its theoretical assessment in the work of Benedikt Kotruljević], in: *Dubrovčanin Benedikt Kotruljević: Hrvatski i svjetski ekonomist XV. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Hrvatski računovođa, 1996.).

¹¹¹ Cf. Nikola Vidov Gučetić, *O ustroju država* [On the organization of states], trans. Snježana Husić and Natka Badurina (Zagreb: Goden marketing and Narodne novine, 2000), 192; Ljerka Schiffler, *Nikola Vitov Gučetić* (Zagreb: Studentski centar Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1977).

¹¹² Petrić's model city was based on equality, private property, and civic dignity; *Frane Petrić, Sretan grad* [Frane Petrić: *The Happy City*], trans. Vladimir Premec, ed. Milivoj Solar (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998); Ivica Martinović, “Bibliografija o Frani Petriću između dviju obljetnica 1979.–1997.” [Bibliography on Frane Petrić between two anniversaries, 1979-1997], in: *Frane Petrić – o 400. obljetnici smrti hrvatskoga renesansnog filozofa*, ed. idem, *Dubrovnik* 8/1-3 (1997), 613-630; Ljerka Schiffler, “Filozofija politike i povijesti u djelu Frane Petrića” [Political philosophy and philosophy of history in the writings of Frane Petrić], in: *Frane Petrić, Izabrani politički spisi* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing and Narodne novine, 1998); Relja Seferović, “O retoričkoj kulturi u Dubrovniku Petrićeva vremena” [On rhetorical culture in Dubrovnik in the age of Frane Petrić], *Filozofska istraživanja* 119/3 (2010): 431-449.

polyhistor of his time in this region, with several of his works dedicated to the critical way of writing history.¹¹³

In this period, older narrative texts were still circulating within a specific group of readers, who used them as sources for their own writings. As authoritative texts, they influenced the new histories of the city with their form, motifs, and topics. In the humanist period, a considerable part of historiographic production (especially on medieval topics) was thus still based on the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, which remained widely read in Dalmatia and beyond, in various redactions and transcripts, influencing subsequent historiography.¹¹⁴ Other basic works included the *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon and *De administrando imperio*.¹¹⁵

From this period, chronicles increasingly include the tradition of nobility, who had preserved the “memory” of their origins, including legends.¹¹⁶ Genealogies are compiled and their data enter communal histories – for example, in Dubrovnik. This is the subject of Nenad Vekarić’s study in this volume, as he used the genealogy of the Gozze family to test the veracity of its information by means of demographic analysis.¹¹⁷ Urban “biographies” often contain legends on the first settlers and inhabitants. The ancestors of urban elites had to be of fine origins (patrician, Roman) or rulers. Some works of ecclesiastical authors are linked to the history of their religious orders, but also the cities where they lived. Many of them have been lost: among others, a history of the Dominican order by Bernardo Ghetaldi from Dubrovnik, written in 1500.¹¹⁸

Humanism had a strong influence on the littoral at the time when the hinterland had already largely come under the Ottoman rule.¹¹⁹ Also the narrative writings in the northern Adriatic, unlike the urban centres of central and southern Dalmatia, largely

¹¹³ Frane Petrić (Franciscus Patricius) was one of the greatest Croatian scholars of the Renaissance: philosopher, polyhistor, and erudite.

¹¹⁴ Thus, the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* were used in Dubrovnik with preference when writing chronicles as it legitimated the desired origin of the Slavic newcomers as rulers (since they could not be associated with classical antiquity). Equally importantly, it contained a legend on colonization directly from Rome, which emphasized the republican tradition of Dubrovnik and its citizens.

¹¹⁵ Even though this work was first printed only in 1611, it circulated in Dubrovnik in a manuscript form; cf. Tibor Živković, “Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Ragusan authors before 1611,” *Historical Review* 53 (2006): 145-164.

¹¹⁶ From the 15th century, genealogies of noble families were compiled that included data gathered from the notarial records and family traditions, which also contained information on the city.

¹¹⁷ Early in the 15th century, Matija Držić compiled a now lost genealogy called *De Nobilium familiarum (Ragusinarum) origine usque ad. A. 1400*; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Chronicon breve regni Croatiae Joannis Tomasich Minoritae, Arkic za povjestnicu jugoslavnesku* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1868), 6; Francesco Maria Appendini, *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle antichità storia e letteratura de’ Ragusei, divise in due tomi e dedicate all’eccelso Senato della Repubblica di Ragusa* 2 (Ragusa: Martecchini, 1803).

¹¹⁸ Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 38.

¹¹⁹ Urszula Borkowska, “The Ideology of ‘antemurale’ in the Sphere of Slavic Culture (13th-17th Centuries),” in: *The Common Christian Roots of European nations. An International Colloquium in the Vatican* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1982), 1106-1122.

remained constricted to the monastic communities after the Battle of Krbava,¹²⁰ especially the Franciscans, who wrote not only in Latin and Italian, but also in the Glagolitic script. Important authors include Šimun Klimantović (1464? – 1544?), member of the Franciscan Third Order, who transcribed and compiled Glagolitic miscellanies¹²¹ related to the Ugljan – Zaglava – Galevac – Zadar – Rab – Krk area.¹²² Friar Franjo Glavinić (1585-1652) wrote two known works: *Historia Tersattana*¹²³ and *Origine della Provincia Bosna Croatia*.¹²⁴

There are considerable differences between individual narrative writings in the Croatian lands. In continental Croatian lands humanist authors included both ecclesiastical dignitaries and noblemen, the commissioner often being the (Hungarian) royal court.¹²⁵ Cities are often mentioned as parts of larger thematic units, e.g. histories of religious orders, such as the Paulines.¹²⁶ An interesting series of sources includes hagiographies of St John Capistrano, in which both local and foreign friars included information on the town of Ilok under the Ottoman threat – the topic of Stanko Andrić's contribution to this volume.¹²⁷ In an era of great changes and discontinuities – especially after the battle of Krbava and until the late

¹²⁰ Ines Srdoč-Konestra and Saša Lajšić, “Fra Šimun Klimantović (...) Ni pisac ni pod piscem pisac” [Friar Šimun Klimantović (...) Neither a writer nor a writer beneath one], *Fluminensia* 20 (2008): 75-95.

¹²¹ Miscellanies were compilations written on the basis of older liturgical texts, Franciscan constitutions, rules of the Third Order, transcripts of older chronicles, authors' commentaries, and other sources. Cf. Srdoč-Konestra and Lajšić, “Fra Šimun Klimantović,” 78-79; Rudolf Strohal, “Glagolska kronika fra Šimuna Klimantovića” [Glagolitic chronicle by friar Šimun Klimantović], *Vjesnik kr. hrvatskoslavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 4 (1911): 212-219.

¹²² That is, the broader areas of medieval Slavonian-Croatian and Bosnian Kingdom. The author describes with emotion the Turkish incursions in the Croatian territory, but some of the utterly local events, preserved in collective memory. Cf. Amir Kapetanović, “Naracija Klimantovićeve kronike” [Narration in Klimantović's chronicle], in: *Perivoj od slave: Zbornik Dunje Fališevac* (Zagreb: FF press, 2012), 155-168.

¹²³ It focuses primarily on the history of the Franciscans in Trsat, rich in tradition. Cf. Daniel Patafta, *Franjo Glavinić, Historia Tersattana (Povijest Trsata) / Origine della Provincia Bosna Croatia (Postanak Provincije Bosne Hrvatske)* (Rijeka, Povijest Provincije Bosne Hrvatske, 2015); Krešimir Filić, “Franjo Glavinić, hrvatski kulturni pregalac XVII st.” [Franjo Glavinić, a Croatian cultural worker from the 17th century], *Bogoslovska smotra* 43 (1973); *Zbornik radova o Franji Glaviniću*, ed. Eduard Hercigonja (Pazin: Istarsko književno društvo “Juraj Dobrila”, 1989).

¹²⁴ His *Origine della Provincia Bosna Croatia* (1648) is largely on the Franciscan history under the Ottoman threat.

¹²⁵ Marianne Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World: Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1986).

¹²⁶ According to Krčelić, Marko of Dubrava (*Marcus de Dombro*) was active in the north during the 15th century. He was the prior of the Pauline monastery of Remete and Lepoglava, and the author of a now lost *Chronicon Ordinis S. Pauli primi Eremitae*.

¹²⁷ Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2000); Ive Mažuran, *Čudesa Ivana Kapistrana / Miracula Ioannis de Capistrano. Ilok, A.D. 1460*. (Osijek: Historijski arhiv u Osijeku, 1972).

17th century – narrative works of various genres and intentions¹²⁸ were directly or indirectly related to the anti-Ottoman discourse (the so-called *antiturca*).¹²⁹ Even when such writings focused on specific cities, it was in the context of descriptions of defence measures and construction of fortifications. Thus, Nikola (Stepanić) Selnički (1553-1602) wrote the (now lost) *Historia obsidionis Sisciae*. Bishop Nikola Mikac likewise described the fortifications of Sisak in his work *Obsidio Sisciensis*.¹³⁰ Texts with similar topics include the *History of the Siege of Petrinja and Serdar's Defeat* (*Historia obsidionis Petriniae et cladis Szerdarianae*).¹³¹

Some authors, as the witnesses or contemporaries of specific events, wrote letters and epistles that contain notes on actual and also invented areas of what was then the Croatian lands.¹³² Details on cities are also found in various diplomatic reports

¹²⁸ Neven Jovanović, “Croatian anti-Turkish writings during the Renaissance,” in: *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 491-515; *Govori protiv Turaka* [Anti-Turkish speeches], ed. Vedran Gligo (Split: Logos, 1983); Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*; Filip Hameršak, “Na Hergešićevu tragu – kako utvrditi tekstovne korpuse novijega hrvatskoga predinformatičkoga razdoblja?” [On Hergešić's trail: How to establish textual corpora of late Croatian pre-informatical era], *Studia lexicographica* 1 (2007): 117-128.

¹²⁹ Public appeals and speeches were addressed to various European authorities, and they are mostly preserved in administrative reports, some also as private letters; cf. Neven Jovanović, “*Antiturcica iterata* – ponovni pogled na hrvatsku renesansnu protutursku književnost” [*Antiturcica iterata*: Another look at Croatian anti-Turkish writing during the Renaissance], *Colloquia Maruliana* 25 (2016): 101-146; Miroslav Kurelac, “Hrvatski protuturski pisci XV. stoljeća” [Croatian anti-Turkish authors of the 15th century], in: *Rasprave iz hrvatske kulturne prošlosti* 1, ed. Tomislav Raukar and Ante Gulin (Zagreb: HAZU, 1998), 77-92.

¹³⁰ Cf. Martin Juraj Kovačić, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum minores*, vol I. Budapest (1798), p. 201–205.

¹³¹ Vladimir Rezar, “Opsada Petrinje (1596) u spisu Nikole Stepanića Selničkoga” [Siege of Petrinja (1596) in the work of Nikola Stepanić Selnički], *Petrinjski zbornik* 1 (1998): 29-49.

¹³² Juraj Divnić informed Pope Alexander VI on the defeat at Krbava; cf. Neven Jovanović, “Antonio Fabregues o Krbavskoj bici” [Antonio Fabregues on the Battle of Krbava], *Povijesni prilozi* 41 (2011): 173-187; and Stjepan Brodarić wrote on the Battle of Mohács in his *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima* (Vinkovci: Kulturno informativni centar “Privlačica”, 1990), where he mentions Ilok (cf. Marija Karbić's article in this volume). Juraj Hus and Bartol Jurjević wrote on their life in captivity, and there are other narrative sources (letters, epistolary collections) more or less linked to the Ottoman threat, in which data on various cities are often included in passing or connected to defence measures (Ivan Vitez de Sredna, Janus Pannonius, Nikola Modruški, Stjepan Brodarić). Cf. Miroslav Kurelac, “Ivan Vitez od Sredne i Jan Panonije (Ivan Česmički) između anarhije i tiranije” [Ivan Vitez de Sredna and Janus Pannonius between anarchy and tyranny], *Dani Hvarškoga kazališta: Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 16 (1990): 222-246; idem, “Kulturna i znanstvena djelatnost Ivana Viteza od Sredne (1405-1472)” [Cultural and scholarly activity of Ivan Vitez de Sredna], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 12 (1983): 21-34; Dražen Nemet, “Prikaz Janusa Pannoniusa u djelu Antonija Bonfinija *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*” [Janus Pannonius in Antonio Bonfini's *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*], *Podravina: časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja* 9 (2010): 45-58; Serafin Hrkač, “Nikola Modruški”, *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 2/3-4 (1976): 145, n. 1; Luka Špoljarić, *Nicholas of Modruš, 'The Glory of Illyria': Humanist Patriotism and Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Rome* (PhD diss. Central European University Budapest, 2013); idem, “Ex libris Nicolai Episcopi Modrussiensis: Knjižnica Nikole Modruškog”, *Colloquia Maruliana* 21 (2012): 25-68; Miroslav Kurelac, “Nikola Modruški

or functional travelogues (written in diplomatic or geostrategic purposes), where information was often obtained from collocutors in diplomatic circles,¹³³ as evident in the works of Feliks Petančić¹³⁴ or Antun Vrančić.¹³⁵

Another type of sources is works of foreign authors linked to the Hungarian court, who offer some insights into the towns and cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Thus, Marco Antonio Bonfini (Bonfinius), an Italian who lived in the 15th-16th centuries at the court of Matthias Corvinus and Vladislaus II of Hungary, is the author of a text in which he included a number of data on Croatian medieval cities¹³⁶ such as Dubrovnik, but also towns and cities of the Sava-Drava interfluvium (subject of Marija Karbić's article in this volume).¹³⁷ Bonfini quotes, among other sources, the *Hungarian Chronicle* (*Chronica Hungarorum*) by János Thuróczy (Johannes de Thurocz), the *protonotarius* of Matthias Corvinus. This chronicle was, in turn, written on the basis of earlier annals and mentions, among others, the cities of Zagreb, Požega, and Ilok (cf. Karbić).¹³⁸ Nikola (Miklós) Istvánffy, who was interested in political and military events in Hungary, brings descriptions of the position and defence structures of individual cities (especially Zagreb in the 16th century), as well as transcripts of some of their privileges (e.g. those of Zagreb Sisak, and Požega).¹³⁹

(1427–1480). Životni put i djelo” [Nicholas of Modruš (1427–1480): Life and work], in: *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*, ed. Mile Bogović (Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), 123-142; Marko Špikić, “Razmjene spoznaja o antici u poslanicama hrvatskog humanizma 15. stoljeća” [Knowledge exchange on classical antiquity in Croatian humanist letters from the 15th century], *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009): 63-79.

¹³³ Milorad Pavić, “Prostorna percepcija istočnojadranskih otoka u očima stranih putnika od XVI. do XVIII. stoljeća” [Spatial perception of Eastern Adriatic islands in the eyes of foreign travellers (16th-18th centuries)], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 54 (2012): 47-68.

¹³⁴ A famous example of Central European “anti-Turkish” literature is Feliks Petančić’s *De itineribus quibus Turci sint aggregandi*, written in 1502 and published in 1522 in Vienna. Cf. Irena Miličić, “Feliks Petančić i njegov renesansni bestseler” [Feliks Petančić and his Renaissance bestseller], *Povijesni prilozi* 44 (2013): 155-168; Petar Matković, *Putovanja po Balkanskom Poluotoku XVI vieka. X. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567. Godine* [Travelling across the Balkans in the 16th century: 10. The travelogue of Marco Antonio Pigafetta, or the second journey of Antun Vrančić to Constantinople in 1567] (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1890), 110.

¹³⁵ *Putovanje iz Budima u Drinopolje (Iter Buda Hadrianopolim)* is a precious source on life in the areas under the Ottoman rule. It was published by Alberto Fortis in his *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774).

¹³⁶ Antonius Bonfinius, *Antonii Bonfinii Rerum Ungaricarum decades quatuor cum dimidia* (Hanoviae: Typis Wecheliani, apud Claud. Marnium, 1606).

¹³⁷ *Rerum Hungaricarum decades IV cum dimidia seu libris XLV comprehensae*; Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 30-31.

¹³⁸ Cvito Fisković, “Hrvatski renesansni umjetnici na dvoru Matije Korvina” [Croatian Renaissance artist at the court of Matthias Corvinus], *Dani Hvarškoga kazališta: Građa I rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 16 (1990), 216-221; Borislav Grgin, “Antonio Bonfini on Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia in the Fifteenth Century János Thuróczy, Chronicle of the Hungarians,” *Medievalia Hungarica Series 2* (Bloomington, IN, Eastern and Central European Studies, 1991).

¹³⁹ The *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV ab anno 1490. ad annum 1605.* terminologically follows the practice of older Renaissance historiography, using geographical terms from classical antiquity and emphasizing the links of various noble families with ancient Roman nobility. Cf. Iva

Brief notes on Croatian medieval cities can also be found in various chronicles from other Mediterranean regions (especially the Italian peninsula). Thus, in Venetian chronicles one finds various data on those Eastern Adriatic cities that were under its rule at the time.¹⁴⁰

Critical historiography evolved in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, with humanism and the Early Modern Period, and was first manifested on the level of vocabulary.¹⁴¹ Thus, in Dubrovnik there were authors with a traditional approach as well as those who embraced the new trends, although subjectivism is still very present. In Dubrovnik's 17th-century "ideologist of Panslavism", Mavro Orbini,¹⁴² one can still feel the influence of Pribojević's Panslavism (as well as Glagolitic heritage and some medieval narratives, such as the Priest of Duklja). Ludovik Crijević Tuberon tried to be "objective" and apply critical thinking in his *Commentaria de temporibus suis*, yet nevertheless uses the Priest of Duklja as a credible source.¹⁴³

Mandušić, "Ugarski povjesničar Nikola (Miklós) Istvánffy (1538.–1615.) i njegovo djelo *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis* u hrvatskoj historiografiji" [Hungarian historian Nikola (Miklós) Istvánffy (1538-1615) and his *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis* in Croatian historiography], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 33 (2009): 33-67; Marianna D. Birnbaum, *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: P.E.N. Croatian centre and Most/ The Bridge, 1993).

¹⁴⁰ *Venetiarum historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. Roberto Cessi and Fanny Bennato (Venice: Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, 1964).

¹⁴¹ According to I. Kurelac, the "uncritical position" of some authors from this period was not always a result of inability to find adequate historiographical solutions, but also of catering for the needs of the local communities or the municipal authorities. Kurelac, "Funkcija svjedočanstva," 256-281; traditional descriptions of the city's past were used (sometimes with revisions and new dimensions) for political propaganda, reasserting urban autonomy and the social status of its citizens. Cf. Nikica Kolumbić, "Dubrovački humanisti u okviru hrvatskog humanizma" [Dubrovnik's humanists in the context of Croatian humanism], *Dubrovnik: časopis za književnost i znanost* 4 (1995): 129-137.

¹⁴² Orbini is the author of the famous work *Il regno dagli Slavi* (1601), while Luccari's history focuses on Dubrovnik's past and functions, according to S. Ćosić, as a "local variant on Orbini's ideas." Stjepan Ćosić, "Mavro Orbini i raskol dubrovačkog patricijata" [Mavro Orbini and the dissension among Dubrovnik's patriciate], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 43 (2011): 37-56. Another interesting example is the partial transcript of *Il regno dagli Slavi*, a book called *Memorie scarse di Ragusa Cavate dell' Istoria celebre Di Don Mauro Orbini Raguseo Abbate Melitense in cui si vede la sua origine, la guerre che fece, il progresso del suo dominio, i nomi degli antichi Re. Di Rascia, Bosna, Croazia, Servia, Zenta, Chelmo*. It was probably copied by a local author, who used only those parts of Orbini's work that referred to Dubrovnik (including maps of Dubrovnik's territories). Zrinka Blažević, „Intertekstualni odnosi između Orbinijeva Kraljevstva Slavena i latinskih historiografskih djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića“. *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 43 (2011), 97–111; Stjepan Ćosić, "Mavro Orbini i raskol dubrovačkog patricijata". *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 4 (2011), 37–56. 42, 47-8, 51. A special issue of *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* (43, 2011) has been dedicated to Orbini and his *Il regno dagli Slavi* as the proceedings of an international conference. Cf. *Mavro Orbini, Kraljevstvo Slavena* [Mavro Orbini and his *Kingdom of the Slavs*], ed. Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999).

¹⁴³ *Commentariolus Ludovici Cervarii Tuberonis De Origine & incremento Urbis Rhacusanae*. (Rhacusii: Typis Andreae Trevisan, 1790); *Ludovicus Tubero Cerva, Commentarii de temporibus suis* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001); Vladimir Rezar, "Dubrovački humanistički historiograf Ludovik Crijević Tuberon" [Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, a humanist historiographer from Dubrovnik], *Anali*

Besides a general overview of historical events,¹⁴⁴ the author included a considerable amount of information on Dubrovnik¹⁴⁵ (but also on Ilok, for example: cf. Karbić in this volume).¹⁴⁶

De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo (1602) by Dinko Zavorović, an author active in the late 16th and early 17th century, marked a turning point with regard to traditional historiography.¹⁴⁷ Zavorović's manuscript is a fine example of writing on the broader, regional history of Dalmatia from the perspective of local communities or individual Dalmatian communes. Zavorović criticized medieval narrative sources such as the *Historia Salonitana* and the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, as well as Marulić's redactions, and used diplomatic sources to interpret historical facts.¹⁴⁸ Zavorović is also the author of a *Trattato Sopra le cose di Sebenico*, a political history of Šibenik from its foundation to the beginnings of the Venetian rule (1412).¹⁴⁹

The 17th century marked a break with the traditional humanist programmes, as well as the beginning of an increased interest in political and national history. The famous historian Ivan Lučić (Joannes Lucius, 1604-1679),¹⁵⁰ celebrated as the "father of Croatian historiography," was the first author who actually used critical approach to historical theories, subjects, and sources. Among a number of historiographic

zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku 37 (1999): 47-94; idem, "De origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae Ludovika Crijevića Tuberoni (kritičko izdanje, prijevod i komentar)" [*De origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae* by Ludovik Crijević Tuberon (critical edition, translation, and commentary)], *Anali zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 51 (2013): 75-153.

¹⁴⁴ Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Osmanlis, Islam and Christianity in Ragusan Chronicles (16th-17th Centuries)," in: *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium: Approaching the "Other" on the Borderlands. Eastern Adriatic and beyond, 1500-1800*, ed. Egidio Ivetic and Drago Roksanđić (Padua: Università degli Studi di Padova, 2007), 61-79.

¹⁴⁵ Rezar, "Dubrovački humanistički historiograf," 47-94.

¹⁴⁶ Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, *Commentarii de temporibus suis*, ed. Vlado Rezar (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001).

¹⁴⁷ In pre-critical historiography and the tradition of Croatian Baroque Slavism, one should also mention Tomko Mrnavić, who early in the 17th century wrote his *De Illyrico Caesaribusque Illyricis dialogorum libri VII* and *Descriptio urbis Spalatensis*. Cf. Tamara Tvrtković, "Descriptio urbis Spalatensis Ivana Tomka Mrnavića," *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009): 303-313.

¹⁴⁸ Iva Kurelac, "Oblici humanističke," 89-105; eadem, "Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta Marka Marulića u djelu *De rebus Dalmaticis* Dinka Zavorovića" [*Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta* by Marko Marulić in Dinko Zavorović's *De rebus Dalmaticis*], *Colloquia Maruliana* 20 (2012): 301-320.

¹⁴⁹ Iva Kurelac, "Dinko Zavorović, Faust Vrančić i Toma Suričević u svjetlu epistolarne razmjene" [Dinko Zavorović, Faust Vrančić, and Toma Suričević in the light of their correspondence], *Colloquia Maruliana* 17 (2008): 73-89.

¹⁵⁰ Miroslav Kurelac, *Ivan Lučić Lucius, otac hrvatske historiografije* [Ivan Lučić Lucius, the father of Croatian historiography] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994); *Ioannis Lucii, Notae ad commentariolum Marci Maruli*, in: *Ioannis Lucii De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (Amstelaedami: apud Ioannem Blaeu, 1666), 444-450; *Ioannis Lucii Inscriptiones Dalmaticae. Notae ad memoriale Pauli di Paulo. Notae ad Palladium Fuscum. Addenda, vel corrigenda in opere De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae. Variae lectiones chronici Ungarici manuscripti cum editis* (Venetiis: typis Stephani Curtij, 1673).

works,¹⁵¹ he wrote the *Memorie istoriche di Tragurio ora detto Traù*, with his own maps of Trogir and its surrounding.¹⁵² Lučić also gave his contribution to the evolution of critical editing, since he transcribed many narrative sources that are no longer preserved in original,¹⁵³ such as the aforementioned works by Miho Madi and the so-called A. Cutheis, the diary of Pavao de Paulo, or the *Obsidio Jadrensis*, all with critical annotations. Another history of Trogir was written by Lučić's contemporary and fellow Tragurian, Pavao Andreis (1610-1686): it is the *Storia della città di Traù*,¹⁵⁴ covering the period from the foundation of the city to the author's own time.¹⁵⁵ Other interesting works by the same author include his manuscript *Operaria*,¹⁵⁶ and a precious booklet called *Chiese in Traù*.¹⁵⁷ Works of these two Tragurians, Ivan Lučić and Pavao Andreis, are crucial not only for the history of Trogir, but also for that of other medieval cities, such as Šibenik. Lučić's circle included historian Šimun Ljubavac (Gliubavac) from Zadar (1608-1663), author of a geographic and historical description of Zadar's territories: *Agri Jadrensis illustrator Memorie istoriche*, as

¹⁵¹ His most important work - *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* from 1666 - offers an overview of Croatian history before the 15th century and abounds in various types of material - transcripts of older sources (archival documents now lost, libraries) and maps that are extremely valuable for urban history.

¹⁵² His *Vita B. Ioannis confessoris episcopi Traguriensis et eius miracula* from 1657 is an important source for Dalmatian history from the 11th until the 13th century.

¹⁵³ Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575) is considered the father of critical editing. He was the initiator and one of the main figures among the "Magdeburg Centuriators," who published the first critical history in 13 volumes: *Ecclesiastica historia*. Cf. Marina Schumann, *Matija Vlačić Ilirik: Historiograf s predumišljajem* [Matthias Flacius Illyricus: Historiographer with an agenda] (Zagreb: Teološki fakultet "Matija Vlačić Ilirik", 2017), with an overview of the previous literature.

¹⁵⁴ *Pavao Andreis, Povijest grada Trogira* [History of Trogir], ed. Vladimir Rismondo (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977).

¹⁵⁵ Nine of the planned ten books were published. The translation of the body of St John, the patron saint of the city, is described in his work *Traslazione di San Giovanni vescovo di Traù*, 1681. The *Operaria* remained in the manuscript form. Unlike Lučić, Andreis only occasionally interpolated transcripts of documents in his work. Cf. Danko Zelić, "Chiese in Trau – rukopis Pavla Andreisa u Muzeju grada Trogira" [*Chiese in Trau – Pavao Andreis' Manuscript at the Municipal Museum of Trogir*] *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 33 (2009), 91-114; Arnolf Bacotich, "Della vita e delle opere di Paolo Andreis," *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 3 (1927), 273-280.

¹⁵⁶ *Operaria, quanto possiede, da chi amministrata, con quali fondamenti, ragioni della medesima, oblihi, et incombenzee raccolto da Paolo Andreis nob. Travrino anno MDCL*, State Archive in Zadar (Manuscript Collection); Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Razvoj srednjovjekovne Operarije – institucije za izgradnju katedrale u Trogiru" [The development of medieval *Operaria*, an institution in charge of building the cathedral of Trogir], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 34 (2010): 1-18. In this collection of documents, Andreis transcribed those related to the history of the city (especially ecclesiastical), such as royal donations and lists of *operaria*, and included very interesting details about the construction and furnishing of the cathedral. Ivan Lucius archived the documents as an *operarium* and later on, in 1650, Ivan Lucius, Pavao Andreis had them copied into a special book titled *Operaria*.

¹⁵⁷ It also contains crucial data on the churches of Trogir (lists of monasteries, matricules, and so on). The manuscript is preserved at the Municipal Museum of Trogir, in the Garagnin Fanfogna Library; cf. Zelić, "Chiese in Traù", passim; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Izvjestje o putovanju po Dalmaciji u jeseni godine 1854. od Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog" [Report on a travel through Dalmatia in autumn 1854], *Neven* 4 (1855): 278-279.

well as two other works on the city: *Diarii di Zara* and *Memorie di Zara*.¹⁵⁸ In the 17th century, antiquarian interests, collecting documents, and writing history were all indicators of local patriotism, but also indicated a higher social status, since not everybody had access to these materials.¹⁵⁹

In the period following the Council of Trent, interest in ecclesiastical history increased, with an emphasis on *ad fontes*.¹⁶⁰ Thus, in 1611, Teodor Dido, Bishop of Korčula, wrote the *Directorium Episcoporum Ecclesiae Curzulensis*.¹⁶¹ In northern Croatia, historiographer Rafael Levaković used the diocesan archive in Zagreb for his treatises on the Zagreb church, diocese, and chapter.¹⁶² Benko Vinković wrote his (now lost) history of the Zagreb cathedral.¹⁶³ Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652-1713), a

¹⁵⁸ Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 134; Boško Desnica, “Šimun Ljubavac, jedan dalmatinski erudit XVII vijeka” [Šimun Ljubavac, a 17th-century erudite from Dalmatia], *Glasnik Primorske Banovine* (1938); Miroslav Kurelac, “Povijesni zapis nazvan *Anonimna kronika* u rukopisu Naučne biblioteke u Zadru” [A historical document called *Anonymous Chronicle* in manuscript at the Scholarly Library of Zadar], *Historijski Zbornik* 23-24 (1970): 363-374.

¹⁵⁹ On the island of Hvar, nobleman Aleksandar Gazarović (Alessandro Gazzari, 1637-1706) studied the history of the city and the island of Hvar, as well as Vis and Brač. He left a work called *Avvenimenti storici della città di Lesina* i *Historia d'Illustrissimi Prelati di Lesina e Brazza* in manuscript, ed. Grga Novak in *Starine JAZU* 57 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1978); Brunelli, “Catalogo sistematico,” 41; Niko Duboković Nadalini, *Inventar javnih crkvenih i privatnih arhiva otoka Hvara (Dodatak)* [Inventory of public ecclesiastical and private archives on the island of Hvar (Supplement)] (Split, Historijski arhiv, 1957), 16; In the same century, Ivan Kašić (Giovanni Cassio) wrote his *Storia di Nona* and *Storica dissertazione sulla città di Zara*, as well as the collection *Monumenta Ecclesiae cathedralis Nonae*, which preserves various 13th-century documents from Nin in transcript. Cf. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 142.

¹⁶⁰ Lučić's friend Valerije Ponte (d. 1610), a Bergamo-born canon in Zadar, wrote among other things a work called *De ecclesia Jadrensi eiusque Episcopis et Aechiepiscopis*, today at the Archive of HAZU; Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 137; cf. Bare Poparić, “Pisma Ivana Lučića Trogirana” [Letters by Ivan Lučić of Trogir], *Starine JAZU* 31 (1905): 276-320. Another friend of Lučić, Stjepan Gradić from Dubrovnik, wrote a work called *Notizie della Congregazione Melitense*.

¹⁶¹ *Directorium Episcoporum Ecclesiae Curzulensis, digestum a Reverendissimo Domino D. Theodoro Dedo, ex Ordine Praedicatorum assumpto, eiusdem diocesis episcopo, praesulatus suo anno primo*, 1611; Stjepan Krasić, *Pet stoljeća dominikanske nazočnosti u Korčuli: 1498.-1998*. [Five centuries of the Dominican order in Korčula, 1498-1998] (Zagreb, Hrvatska dominikanska provincija, 1998), 235-238.

¹⁶² His most renowned work is *De structura et qualitate Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis i de fundatione Ecclesiae et episcopatus zagrabiensis*; Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 98; Marko Jerković, “Iz Levakovićeve ostavštine: popis svećenstva Zagrebačke biskupije” [From Levaković's legacy: A list of clergy in the Zagreb diocese], in: *Zbornik o Rafaelu Levakoviću. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa “Fra Rafael Levaković”*, ed. Pavao Knezović (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2010), 275-288; P. Knezović used fragments of two Latin works (*Historiola episcopatus ac Dioecesis ecclesiae Zagrabiensis* and *Descriptio ecclesiae Zagrabiensis*) to analyze Levaković's methodology in describing spaces and landscapes, noting the author's tendency to schematize, create enclosed micro-entities, and use monochromy - all of which characterize him as a Baroque writer. Pavao Knezović, “Opuscula Rafaela Levakovića (uvodne napomene)” [Rafael Levaković's *opuscula*], in: *Zbornik o Rafaelu Levakoviću*, 337-394.

¹⁶³ Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 93-94.

Senj-born polyhistor active in Zagreb,¹⁶⁴ wrote a number of historiographic works and is most famous for his *Croatia rediviva*, which concludes the 17th century and its tradition of early modern Illyrism),¹⁶⁵ but he also collected all sorts of antiquarian material, among which his numerous notes on cities are of particular interest for our purpose.¹⁶⁶ Another type of narrative source that should be mentioned are the visitation, which in the Croatian lands first appear in the 16th century and which, even though reports of papal legates from local dioceses, contain all sorts of data on cities and towns (such as those of Archbishop N. Venier from 1583 and 1587, with his descriptions of ecclesiastical institutions in Pag, Biograd, and various smaller settlements, or the *Visitatio ecclesiarum Jadrensis Metropolitanæ* by Archbishop L. Stella from 1617). The visitators were supposed to check all ecclesiastical buildings, including the smallest chapels, the functioning of confraternities and hospitals, and all other ecclesiastical structures, as well as the state of the clergy and the religious orders; but they also included details on their foundation in the earlier (medieval) period.¹⁶⁷

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the writings of Serlio and Palladio triggered a “search for antiquities” all over Europe and caused an increase in international interest in the Croatian lands and their cities - especially the Eastern Adriatic ones, owing to their antique legacy. Thus, the French military engineer Antoine Deville wrote and illustrated his *Descriptio portus et urbis Polae* in 1633, which was a combination of an

¹⁶⁴ Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illyrism] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2008), 176-192; eadem, “Intertekstualni odnosi između Orbinijeva Kraljevstva Slavena i latinskih historiografskih djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića” [Intertextual relations between Orbini’s *Il regno dagli clavi* and the Latin historiography of Pavao Ritter Vitezović], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 43 (2011): 97-111, here 100-101; Sándor Bene, “Illyria or What You Will: Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli’s and Pavao Ritter Vitezović’s ‘Mapping’ of the Borderlands Recaptured from the Ottomans,” in: *Whose Love of Which Country*, 351-404. Vitezović also wrote memorials, which evolved in the so-called “pragmatic historiography” and interpreted the past from the perspective of modern interests (especially in the Habsburg Monarchy). They usually focused on particular political institutions in their long continuity, and the materials used were structured as a narrative. Cf. Zrinka Blažević, “Genius *grandibus aptus*: historiografska produkcija Pavla Rittera Vitezovića” [Genius *grandibus aptus*: Historiographical production of Pavao Ritter Vitezović], in: *Pavao Ritter Vitezović i njegovo doba (1652-1713)*, ed. Alojz Jembrih and Ivana Jukić (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2016), 149-164, here 157.

¹⁶⁵ From 1690-1705, Vitezović published 27 books that are known today: 16 in Croatian, and 11 in Latin.

¹⁶⁶ For example, the collection of transcripts of medieval documents, inscriptions, etc. titled *Manuscriptum authenticum Pauli Ritter aliter Vitezovich*. Vitezović also produced the prints and engravings published in 1679 in Valvasor’s *Topographia ducatus carnioliae modernae*.

¹⁶⁷ Tea Perinčić, “Prilog istraživanju apostolskih vizita Agostina Valiera u dalmatinskim i istarskim biskupijama” [A contribution to the research on the apostolic visits of Agostino Valier to Dalmatian and Istrian dioceses], *Povijesni prilozi* 17 (1999), 157-176; eadem, “Rapska komuna u vizitaciji Agostina Valiera 1579. godine” [The commune of Rab in the visitation of Agostino Valier (1579)], *Rapski zbornik* 2 (2012): 1-11; Ivan Vitezić, *La prima visita apostolica postridentina in Dalmazia (1579)* (Rome, Verlag, 1957).

official report to Venice, a travelogue, and an treatise on architecture, as it contained a description of the city and its antique monuments (such as the Amphitheatre). Besides Pula, Split began attracting major attention.¹⁶⁸

The 18th century is notable for the emergence of erudite and polyhistorians in the Croatian lands, who were great enthusiasts concerning classical antiquity and the revived local Latin culture.¹⁶⁹ Various memoirs, journals, and chronicles resulted from this tradition, focused on specific topics – histories of personalities, families, or religious orders, or of specific cities. Thus, Junije Resti from Dubrovnik (1669-1735) wrote a famous history of his city (*Chronica Ragusina*),¹⁷⁰ in which he critically analyzed some of the well-known medieval legends.¹⁷¹ In the 18th century, writing histories of individual cities was still an act of local piety and patriotism.¹⁷²

Some have been lost in the meantime (including a number of chronicles, memoirs, and journals from Zadar)¹⁷³ and some are still insufficiently known and researched.

¹⁶⁸ Jasenka Gudelj, “Pula and Split: The Early Modern Tale(s) of Two Ancient Cities,” in: *A Handbook to Classical Reception*, 21-34, here 28.

¹⁶⁹ Romanity was also used as a cultural rather than ethnic notion. Roman tradition and Romanity, same as Roman Catholic Christianity, were elements of distinction with regard to the hinterland; cf. Zdenka Janeković Römer, “Slavensko i romansko tkanje dalmatinskog i dubrovačkog identiteta” [Slavic and Roman elements in the identity of Dalmatia and Dubrovnik], in: *Povijest hrvatskoga jezika: Književnost i kultura devedesetih. Zbornik radova 40. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole*, ed. Krešimir Mićanović (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagrebačka slavistička škola, Hrvatski seminar za slaviste, 2011), 207-226; *Slika antike u novovjekovlju / L'immagine dell'antichità nella ricezione moderna / The Image of Antiquity in Modern Times*, ed. Olga Perić (Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, Hrvatsko društvo klasičnih filologa, 2000), 1-20; Vladimir Vratović, *Hrvati i latinska Europa* [The Croats and Latin Europe] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1996), 7-8.

¹⁷⁰ Resti's *Croniche di Ragusa* have remained preserved in a transcript made by S. Cerva: *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii (ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451) item Joannis Gundulae (1451-1484)*, ed. S. Nodilo (Zagreb: JAZU, 1893). Resti made a considerable use of the *History* written by Ivan Marinov Gondola, rewriting and extending it to include the archival documents collected by his ancestor Frano. The manuscript is nowadays preserved in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, in a transcript from 1860 titled *Annali ossia Notizie dell'origine della Repubblica di Ragusa e delle cose più cospicue occorse in diversi tempi della medesima, raccolte da varii manuscritti antichi*.

¹⁷¹ Ignjat Giorgi, abbot of the Benedictine monastery on the island of Mljet, dedicated some chapters of his uncompleted *History of Illyria* to the (legendary) foundation of Dubrovnik, history of Epidaurus, and similar topics.

¹⁷² In the early 19th century, his fellow citizen Tomo Basiljević (1756-1806) wrote an essay titled *Remarques sur les petites villes et sur les petis (sic) États*, in which he claimed the following: “All small towns are generally similar and differ from each other only in their governments... an omnipotent and very serious senator considers his small state as the universe. A river of eloquence runs from his mouth as to what is going on in the town hall. After all, his mind is occupied only with his own greatness: he is interested in family histories, superstitious stories, the price of wine, and oil, the harvest and price of cabbage. Tomo Basiljević, *Bilješke o malim gradovima i o malim državama* [Notes on small towns and small states], trans. Žarko Muljačić, *Dubrovnik* 4 (1970): 134-135; Aleksandar Gazzari researched the history of Hvar (*Avvenimenti Storici di Leina, compendiat in tre libri*) and Gasparo Negri, bishop of Poreč, that of his city: *Memorie storiche della città e diocesi di Parenzo*; Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 58.

¹⁷³ Brunelli, *Storia*, I, 17.

Thus, historian Brunelli mentions L. Licini as the author of a book of *Notizie storiche su Zara e Nona*¹⁷⁴ and Fondra's *Notizie storiche della città di Zara, capitale dela Dalmazia*.¹⁷⁵ Julije Bajamonti, an Enlightenment author from Split (1744-1800), left behind an uncompleted work on the history of Split from 1797, titled *Memorie della città di Spalatro in Dalmazia*,¹⁷⁶ in which he emphasized his role as a compiler of "historical records" and polemicized against some medieval and early modern authors.¹⁷⁷

After the Council of Trent, Church history was in the focus of interest of local historiography. Thus, Serafin Marija Cerva¹⁷⁸ wrote important works on the history of Dubrovnik's Church: *Prolegomena in sacram metropolim Ragusinam* and *Sacra metropolis Ragusina*.¹⁷⁹ Marko Dumanić (Dumaneo, 1628-1701) wrote about the Church of Split in his *Chronicon Pontificale Spalatense*.¹⁸⁰ In his *Notizie storiche della*

¹⁷⁴ According to some sources, he was the head of the provveditorial chancery in Zadar (*Marchio Sorari*). Brunelli, *Storia*, I, 16.

¹⁷⁵ Lorenzo Fondra, *Istoria della insigne reliquia di San Simeone profeta che si venera in Zara* (Zara, Fratelli Batara, 1855).

¹⁷⁶ *Julije Bajamonti, Zapisi o gradu Splitu* [Julije Bajamonti and his *Notes on Split*], ed. Duško Kečkemet (Split: Nakladni zavod Marko Marulić, 1975). His work was published in Venice only in 1786, under the title *Memorie della peste che regne in Dalmazia negli anni 1783-1784*. Bajamonti also wrote a *Storia di San Doimo, primo vescovo di Salona* (1767); cf. Goran Nikšić, "Klasicistička estetika i prosvjetiteljske ideje u književnim opusima Giulija Bajamontija i Luke Stullija" [Classicist aesthetics and Enlightenment ideas in the literary oeuvres of Giulio Bajamonti and Luka Stulli], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 40 (2003/2004): 263-302; Ivan Milčetić, "Dr. Julije Bajamonti i njegova djela" [dr. Julije Bajamonti and his work], *Rad JAZU* 192 (1912): 97-250; Josip Vrandečić, "Dalmatinski gradovi," 52-79.

¹⁷⁷ Arsen Duplančić, "Ostavština Julija Bajamontija u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu i prilozi za njegov životopis" [Legacy of Julije Bajamonti in the Archaeological Museum Split and contributions to his biography], in: *Splitski polihistor Julije Bajamonti: zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 30. listopada 1994. godine u Splitu*, ed. Ivo Frangeš (Split: Biblioteka knjiga Mediterana, 1996), 13-80.

¹⁷⁸ Serafin Cerva wrote crucial works for the history of Dubrovnik's church, especially his *Prolegomena in sacram metropolim Ragusinam*, MS 35-IV-13, and *Sacra metropolis Ragusina* I-V, MS 35-IV-14/1, both preserved at the library of the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik; cf. Relja Seferović, "Strani učitelj i domaći povjesničar: Nascimbene Nascimbeni i Serafin Cerva o retorici" [A foreign master and a local historian: Nascimbene Nascimbeni and Serafin Cerva on rhetorics], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 45 (2007): 47-116.

¹⁷⁹ *Prolegomena*, MS 35-IV-13 *sacra*, I-V, MS 35-IV-14/1, both preserved at the library of the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik. Serafin Maria Cerva, *Sacra Metropolis Ragusina, sive ragusinae provinciae pontificum series variis ecclesiarum monumentis atque historicis, chronologicis, criticis commentariis...*; original preserved at the library of the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik (sign. 36-IV-14).

¹⁸⁰ The manuscript is lost, but D. Farlati used it for his *Illyricum sacrum*. Dumaneo collected books, manuscripts, and sources, which he used for his research on the history of Split and Dalmatia. His work on famous Spalatans (*Sinopsis virorum illustrium Spalatensium*) was complemented by Jerolim Dumanić; Andrea Ciccarelli, *Opuscoli riguardanti la storia degli uomini illustri di Spalato, e di parecchi altri Dalmati* (Ragusa, 1811), 12-42, <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.346>. The Garanjin-Fanfogna library in Trogir preserves Dumanić's autograph *Brevis notitia Archiepiscoporum Salonitanae et Spalatensis Ecclesiae*, mentioned also by Kukuljević in his *Slovník*. Seraphinus Maria Cerva, *Prolegomena in Sacram metropolim Ragusinam. Editio princeps*, ed. Relja Seferović (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 2008).

diocesi e citta di Parenzo (1764), Gasparo Negri informs us not only on ecclesiastical history, but also on the appearance of medieval Poreč.¹⁸¹

The 18th century was also characteristic for biographies and syntheses that had the function of accumulating cultural and literary capital. Thus, Ignjat Giorgi wrote a collection of biographies of famous citizens of Dubrovnik: *Vitae illustrium Rhacusinorum* (1707-1716), while Marko Dumanić left behind an incomplete work called *Synopsis virorum illustrium Spalatensium et aliam virorum illustrium ex Dalmatiae urbibus*. Older writings and sources were abundantly used.¹⁸² Among the erudite men of Dubrovnik, a prominent place is held by the Jesuit Ivan Marija Matijašević (1714-1791).¹⁸³ His most important work is the so-called *Zibaldone*, in which he gathered and transcribed a large body of documents (many of which are not preserved elsewhere) crucial for the history of Dubrovnik.¹⁸⁴ In Korčula, important names include Jakov Salečić, who translated Rozanić's chronicle of the city from Latin to Italian, and Antun Paulini (1696-1757) with his history of Korčula, in which he incorporated integral transcripts of documents from the archive of the Korčula diocese and municipality, as well as segments from earlier authors on the geographic and natural features of the island.¹⁸⁵

Another trend was collecting books and manuscripts in order to create libraries (both private, owned by families, and monastic ones) or to write syntheses. The aforementioned Dubrovnik Dominican Serafino Maria Cerva wrote the famous *Bibliotheca Ragusina* (1740-1742),¹⁸⁶ while his fellow citizen, Franciscan Sebastijan Dolce Slade (1699-1777) wrote the *Fasti Litterario-Ragusini* (1767).¹⁸⁷ These works

¹⁸¹ Gasparo Negri, "Memorie storiche della città e diocesi di Parenzo raccolte ad uso e comodo de'diletti suoi diocesani," *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archaeologia e storia patria* 2 (1886): 127-181; 3 (1887): 111-178.

¹⁸² Rafo Bogišić, *Hrvatska književna historiografija 18. stoljeća* [Croatian literary historiography in the 18th century] (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997).

¹⁸³ Mattei transferred a large number of manuscripts from various sources (mainly the Jesuite collegiums) to the Franciscan library, adding annotations; cf. Josip Lučić, *Dubrovačko povijesno iverje* [Dubrovnik's historical splinters] (Dubrovnik: Matica Hrvatska, 1997), 129. He also wrote lexicographical works, the most important one being his collection of documents and transcripts called *Zibaldone I-III (Storia Ragusina)*, no. 433, 434, and 435.

¹⁸⁴ Many of the originals are meanwhile lost. Both Mattei and Cerva included integral or partial transcripts of documents from lost or destroyed ecclesiastical archives (the archive of Lokrum, the archive of the monastery of St Mary de Castello, and others). Cf. Lučić, *Dubrovačko povijesno iverje*, 129 (on Ivan Marija Matijašević and his manuscripts in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik). Ignjat Giorgi also referred in his works to some sources that are not available today. Matei and Slade exchanged notes while writing.

¹⁸⁵ Zelić, "Stariji istraživači Korčule," 55.

¹⁸⁶ This work remained in manuscript and was then published by Petar Kolendić, *Biografska dela Ignjata Đurđevića* [Biographic works by Ignjat Đurđević], *Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda* 7 (1935).

¹⁸⁷ Sebastian Slade, *Fasti Litterario-Ragusini / Dubrovačka književna kritika* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb, 2001), 89 and 108.

contain titles of works (also on cities) that were available to the authors in ecclesiastical or state archives, and monastic libraries, not all of which are extant today. Their work was continued by the Piarist Francesco Maria Appendini (1768-1837),¹⁸⁸ whose work titled *Notizie storico critiche sulla antichità, storia e letteratura de Ragusei* (1802-1803) turns a new page in the literary historiography of the 19th century.

In the 18th century, one of the crucial works of primarily ecclesiastical, but also urban history is the *Illyricum sacrum*, eight volumes on the history of bishoprics in the Croatian lands.¹⁸⁹ It was initiated by F. Riceputi (1667-1742), who collected sources for his great history of Illyricum from foreign and local archives, *memoria* of episcopal sees, private and municipal archives.¹⁹⁰ Daniele Farlati continued his work¹⁹¹ and started writing this colossal work of history (four volumes were published by him and the rest by his successor, J. Coleti).¹⁹² Even though Farlati was not always critical enough with the sources he used, his work is of extraordinary value¹⁹³ and influenced greatly all further writing of ecclesiastical history in this region.¹⁹⁴

In northern Croatia, the spirit of Enlightenment also resulted in the compilation of lexicographic editions, voluminous dictionaries, and important biographical

¹⁸⁸ Francesco Maria Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità storia e letteratura de' Ragusei* I-II (Ragusa: Antonio Martecchini, 1803); Relja Seferović, "Politička retorika Francesca Marije Appendinija pred kraj Republike" [Political rhetorics of Francesco Maria Appendini towards the end of the Republic], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 53 (2015): 311-349, here 312.

¹⁸⁹ *Illyricum sacrum* I-VIII (Venice, 1751-1819).

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Josip Kolanović, "Građa za *Illyricum sacrum*" [Sources for the *Illyricum Sacrum*], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 4 (1980): 141-154.

¹⁹¹ Daniele Farlati used manuscripts catalogues of the archbishops of Salona and Split, but he published only four: Cutheis' catalogue, the catalogue of Sforza Ponzoni, the archbishop of Split, the catalogue from the *Collectanea* of Šimun Kožičić Begna, bishop of Modruš, and the anonymous Roman catalogue. Cf. Radoslav Katičić, "Vetustiores ecclesiae Spalatensis memoriae," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 17 (1987): 17.

¹⁹² Miroslav Vanino has published a considerable amount of hitherto unknown materials from the archive of the Jesuite order that sheds light on the collection of sources for the *Illyricum sacrum*. M. Vanino, "*Illyricum sacrum* i Filip Riceputi," *Croatia sacra* 2 (1931); cf. Miljen Šamšalović, "Građa za *Illyricum sacrum* sačuvana u Padovi" [Sources for the *Illyricum sacrum* preserved in Padua], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 3 (1960): 429-432.

¹⁹³ I. Coleti, *De vita Danielis Farlati*, in: *Illyricum sacrum* V (Venetiis, 1775), vii-xi; E. Patriarca, *Quattro lettere inedite del padre D. F. storico della Dalmazia*, in: *Per nozze Floreani-Violino* (San Daniele, 1934); idem, *La Dalmazia in un carteggio di uomini dotti con gli artefici dell' "Illyricum sacrum"* (Udine, 1935).

¹⁹⁴ Thus, Gašpar Vinjalić (1707-1781) used it extensively for his *Compendio storico e cronologico delle più memorabili occorse agli Illiri e Slavi in Dalmazia, Croazia e Bosnia (1514-1769)*, where he also mentions the forts of Trsat, Senj, Modruš, Karlobag, Brinje, Perušić, Knin, Lovno, Omiš, and others. *Kratki povijesni i kronološki pregled zbivanja koja su se dogodila Slavenima u Dalmaciji, Hrvatskoj i Bosni 1514-1769* [A brief historical and chronological overview of events that happened with the Slavs in Dalmatia, Croatia, and Bosnia, 1514-1769], ed. Bruno Pezo (Split: Književni krug Split, 2010). The work is divided into chapters on the Turkish conquest of Dalmatia, events during the War of Crete, the War of Morea, etc. In 1773, he submitted the manuscript to the state revisor Gian Antoniju Bommanu, who published the first two volumes under his own name and revisions in 1775, under the title *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica della Dalmazia, Croazia e Bosna*.

collections, especially linked to specific religious orders, bishops, and canons.¹⁹⁵ The aforementioned Baltazar Adam Krčelić (1715-1778) wrote, among other things,¹⁹⁶ work of biography called *Scriptorum ex Regno Sclavoniae a saeculo XIV. usque ad XVII. inclusive collectio*,¹⁹⁷ as well as various texts focusing on individual cities, such as the *Notitia Szamobor ex eorundem privilegiis desumpta, Historia canonicorum Zagrabiensium, Descriptio civitatis Zagrabiensis*.¹⁹⁸ Works of Toma Kovačević (1664-1724)¹⁹⁹ continued those written by Benko Vinković, a 17th-century bishop and historiographer of Zagreb:²⁰⁰ we can single out two here, the *Catalogus Praesulum Zagrabiensium*²⁰¹ and the *Historia provinciae seu bonorum venerabilis capituli Zagrabiensis Siscianorum*.²⁰²

¹⁹⁵ Thus, Adam Aloižije Baričević wrote his *De scriptoribus Pannoniae Saviae collectanea* and Josip Jakošić the *Scriptores Interamniae vel Pannoniae Saviae nunc Slavoniae dictae* (1795). Cf. Tea Shek Brnardić, "The Enlightenment in Eastern Europe: Between Regional Typology and Particular Micro-history," *European Review of History* 13 (2006), 411-435.

¹⁹⁶ His famous diary titled *Annuae* remained in manuscript, and his work *De regnis Dalmatiae Croatiae et Sclavoniae notitiae praeliminares* was printed in Zagreb in 1770. Cf. Tea Shek Brnardić, *Svijet Baltazara Adama Krčelića. Obrazovanje na razmeđu tridentskoga katolicizma i katoličkoga prosvjetiteljstva* [The world of Baltazar Adam Krčelić: Education at the intersection between Tridentine Catholicism and Catholic Enlightenment] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009); *Baltazar Adam Krčelić. Annuae sive Historia 1748-1767.*, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb, 1901); *Baltazar Adam Krčelić, Annuae ili historija 1748-1767.*, trans. Veljko Gortan (Zagreb, JAZU, 1952).

¹⁹⁷ Some of the information, for example, he borrowed from the *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* or from Bonfini's *Rerum Hungaricarum decades libris XLV comprehensae*.

¹⁹⁸ In terms of genre, these writings also had autobiographic elements. Cf. Andrea Zlata, "Krčelićeve *Annuae* i tradicija latinske autobiografije" [Krčelić's *Annuae* and the tradition of Latin autobiographie], *Dubrovnik* 5 (1994): 39-46; eadem, *Autobiografija u Hrvatskoj: nacrt povijesti žanra i tipologija narativnih oblika* [Autobiography in Croatia: An outline of the history of the genre and the typology of narrative forms] (Zagreb: Mala knjižnica Matice hrvatske, 1998); Baltazar Adam Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve zagrebačke* [History of the Zagreb cathedral] (Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1994); Stjepan Krivošić, "Baltazar Adam Krčelić (1715-1778)," *Rad JAZU* 375 (1978): 107-229; Lucija Krešić, "Krčelićev odnos prema Levakovićevom spisu *De ecclesiae Zagrabiensis fundatione*" [Krčelić's attitude towards Levaković's *De ecclesiae Zagrabiensis fundatione*], in: *Zbornik o Rafaelu Levakoviću*, 261-274.

¹⁹⁹ In manuscript (nowadays in the Archive of HAZU), partly preserved by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski.

²⁰⁰ Toma Kovačević made an older transcript of one of Levaković's writings.

²⁰¹ Here he included biographies of 61 bishops of Zagreb, from Duh to Đuro Branjuga (11th-18th centuries), based on the materials preserved at the Chapter and Diocesan Archive in Zagreb. He also wrote a collection of biographies of Zagreb's canons from 1578 until 1720: *Sequitur catalogus regulatus demortuorum canonicorum Zagrabiensium sine aliqua interruptione, deductus ab an. 1578* (where medieval canons are described very briefly), as well as two manuscripts on the problems of the Chapter, titled *Historia ternae rebellionis Stribrensis* and *Manifestatio dissidiorum civitatis Montis Graecensis Zagrabiensis sum capitulo Zagrabiensi*. On the Poor Clares in Zagreb, he wrote briefly in *De sanctimonialibus* and on the Chapter of Zagreb in the *Iniuriae, adversitates et incommoda capitulo Zagrabiensi iam ab extris iam a domesticis illata*.

²⁰² On history from the ancient times until 1682, based on charters and letters; Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, 207. Kovačević also compiled the "histories" of the Franciscan and Pauline orders of Čazma and their monasteries in Banska Croatia. Cf. Vjekoslav Klaić, "Tomo Kovačević, povjesničar hrvatski (1664.-1724.)," [Tomo Kovačević, a Croatian historian (1664-1724)], *Bogoslovska smotra*

Zagreb and Lepoglava were two centres of higher education in Croatia, which was largely in the hands of religious orders, the Jesuits and the Paulines.²⁰³ The post-Tridentine tradition promoted the education of priests²⁰⁴ (Zagreb's chapter library, the Metropolitana, was established in the late 17th century). Educated clergy was primarily interested in Church history, which they used to prove the primacy of Roman Catholic tradition.²⁰⁵ Religious orders (especially the Franciscans) took part in the new Enlightenment trends and published both printed and manuscript documents about their orders, intended for a broader readership.²⁰⁶ The second half of the 18th century also saw the foundation of a number of printing houses in Croatian cities, first in northern Croatia and then at the coast, which made books accessible to a wider circle of people. Until the 19th century, the language officially used for most purposes was still Latin, which the authors also preferred because it bridged the linguistic and dialectal differences in various Croatian regions.²⁰⁷

It was a time when travelogues were very much in fashion throughout Europe. In the 18th century, a famous example is the *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774) written by the

13 (1925): 66-91; Ljudevit Ivančan, *Stanovi zagrebačkih kanonika* [Residences of Zagreb's canons] (Zagreb, Croatia sacra, 1931), 33-35; J. Barlè, "Dr. Ljudevit Ivančan," *Jugoslavenski istoriski časopis* 3/4 (1935): 767-768.

²⁰³ Other catalogues of the Pauline order include those by Ivan Krištolovec (*Catalogus auctorum et scriptorum ex Religionis ordinis s. Pauli primi Eremitae*), Nikola Benger (*Annales*), and Josip Bedeković (*Catalogus vivorum et mortuorum fratrum Ordinis Sancti Pauli Eremitae croatoslavonicae professorum*), and of the Jesuit order the one compiled by Đuro Bašić (*Elogia jesuitarum Ragusinorum qui usque ad annum 1764.*); cf. Ivan Majnarić and Luciano Guerci, "Crkvene strukture i vjerski život" [Church structures and religious life], trans. Ana Badurina, in: *Povijest. Doba prosvjetiteljstva (18. stoljeće)*, ed. Ivo Goldstein and Teodora Shek Brnardić (Zagreb, Europa press holding, 2008), 505-545.

²⁰⁴ Shek Brnardić, "Svijet Baltazara Adama Krčelića," 143 and 150; Neven Budak, *Hrvatska i Slavonija u ranom novom vijeku* [Croatia and Slavonia in the early modern period] (Zagreb: Moderna vremena, 2007); Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, "Introduction: Culture and Identity," in: *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800: Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, ed. Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla A. Hesse (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Lucija Krešić, "Latinistička književna produkcija franjevacu u 18. stoljeću" [Latinist literary production of the Franciscan order in the 18th century], in: *Zbornik o Mati Zoričiću: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa "Mate Zoričić i prosvjetiteljstvo u redovničkim zajednicama tijekom 18. stoljeća"* (Skradin, 2011), 203-218.

²⁰⁵ Davor Dukić, "Das Türkenbild in der kroatischen literarischen Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts," in: *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, ed. Reinhard Lauer and Hans Georg Majer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 157-191; Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, DC, Palgrave, 1999); Zdenko Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come: The Counter-Reformation, the Republic of Dubrovnik, and the Liberation of the Balkan Slavs* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1992).

²⁰⁶ Thus, Grga Čevapović (1786-1830) wrote histories of his province: *Synoptica memorialis catalogus observantiae minorum Provinciae s. Joannis a Capistrano Buduae* and *Recensio observantis minorum Provinciae s. Joannis a Capistrano*; and Josip Pavišević the *Recensio conventuum iuxta antiquitatem eorumdem provinciae s. Joannis Capistranensis ... e veteribus manuscriptis collecta* (Osijek, 1783).

²⁰⁷ Joanna Rapacka, "Uloga latinskog jezika u regionalnim sustavima i općenacionalnom sustavu hrvatske culture" [The role of Latin in regional systems and the general national system of Croatian culture], *Hrvatska književna baština* 2 (Zagreb: Ex libris, 2003), 373-394.

Venetian travelogue writer Alberto Fortis,²⁰⁸ which has triggered debates because of his depiction of the inhabitants of Venetian Dalmatia (an “outside” view on Croatia).²⁰⁹ His descriptions of cities vary depending on his opinion of their residents, and he also included a number of geographical and ethnographical data.²¹⁰ However, his work is not only a travelogue, since he also included transcripts of older *laudationes* (e.g. on Šibenik) and segments of older travelogues (such as Antun Vrančić’s *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim*). There are writings from this period that also describe larger regions and states, using the older descriptions of cities, as well as maps and vedutas – a fine example is the *Grundliche beschreibung des Konigreich Dalmatien* (1723).²¹¹

Before the 19th century, “urban histories” were largely written without attempting an analysis of their character or their role in a broader geographical setting. Instead, they were characterized by an interest in specific details and a chronological view of events. The aim of this “antiquarian” historiography was to enhance the nostalgic feeling of local specificity. Prominent local intellectuals engage in archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics. In general histories of political and institutional processes cities were not analyzed as their autonomous motors, but simply viewed as a part of large historical processes and events. The 19th century showed an increased

²⁰⁸ Nikola Markulin, “Prijatelj našega naroda: Prikazbe Drugoga u djelu *Viaggio in Dalmazia* Alberta Fortisa” [“A friend of our people”: Representations of the Other in Alberto Fortis’ *Viaggio in Dalmazia*], *Povijesni prilozi* 38 (2010): 213-233.

²⁰⁹ As an Enlightenment author, Fortis described these regions in the spirit of amazement at the “noble savages”, from the angle of his own ethnocentrism; cf. Žarko Muljačić, “Iz korespodencije Alberta Fortisa” [From the correspondence of Alberto Fortis], *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske* 23 (1952): 69-140; idem, “Novi podaci o Albertu Fortisu i o njegovim putovanjima po našim krajevima” [New data on Alberto Fortis and his travels through these regions], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta Zadar* 4 (1962/63): 87-106; idem, “Dubrovački prosvjetitelji i Gaetano Filangiezi” [Enlightenment in Dubrovnik and Gaetano Filangiezi], *Dubrovnik* 8 (1965): 36-39; idem, “Dva nepoznata pisma Alberta Fortisa” [Two hitherto unknown letters of Alberto Fortis], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 32 (1966): 243-251; Smiljka Malinar, “Language and Speakers of the Kvarner Area in the investigations of Alberto Fortis,” *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia* 56 (2012): 3-31.

²¹⁰ He, of course, explained it through the “races” of different origins in Dalmatia, some of which were descendents of the Roman colonies (*abitatori delle Città maritime*) and viewed positively, others judged negatively as the “Transalpines” (inhabitants of the hinterland or smaller settlements), while the Morlaks were perceived through the prism of exoticism. The society of Zadar was described as culturally advanced just like in Italy, while other cities were largely derided: Novalja for some of its customs, Senj, Krk, and Pag for their superstitions, Rab for the laziness of its population. Cf. Markulin, “Prijatelj našega naroda”, 218; Vjekoslav Jelavić, “Doživljaji Francuza Pouillet-a na putu kroz Dubrovnik i Bosnu (godine 1658)” [Adventures of the Frenchman Pouillet on his travels to Dubrovnik and Bosnia (1658)], *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u BiH* 20 (1908): 23-75.

²¹¹ *Grundliche beschreibung des Konigreich Dalmatien ... Zu Ende sind J. Lucii inscriptiones Dalmaticae beygefüget*, Conrad Monath, 1723. A copy is preserved at the Fanfogna Garanin Library in the Municipal Museum of Trogir (sign. X d 7).

interest in national history and in collecting historical sources.²¹² Well equipped public libraries multiplied and historical sources became more accessible owing to their publication in historiographic collections. With the accelerated urbanization process in the late 19th and early 20th century, interest in the city as an object of historical and social investigation increased. Pioneers of research on urban history shaped the research methodology during the first half of the 20th century.²¹³

Western European historiography evolved significantly in the early 19th century, primarily under the influence of the then leading German historiography. In Croatia, its process of development as a modern scholarly discipline started around 1850.²¹⁴ Thus, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski was involved in systematic collection of narrative sources (as well as diplomatic and epigraphic ones) while accumulating the materials for his bibliographic *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih (Lexicon of Yugoslav Artists)*.²¹⁵ While travelling in the mid-19th century, he made an inventory of the sources (manuscripts and architectural monuments). He also had great knowledge of authors such as Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Thomas the Archdeacon, and Ivan Lučić, as well as biographical and bibliographical writings such as those by Cerva,

²¹² E.g. in the Monumenta Germaniae historica (MGH) project, launched in 1819.

²¹³ Such as Henri Pirenne, Karl Bücher, Fritz Rörig, or Hans Planitz. In the early 20th century, urban history was researched positivistically: the city was perceived as the locus of crucial historical processes - economic growth, political change, social conflicts - and thus the motor of civilisation and modernity. Cf. Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969); A. Lees, "Perceptions of Cities in Britain and Germany 1820-1914," in: *The Pursuit of Urban History*, ed. D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (London: Hodder Arnold H&S, 1983), 151-166.

²¹⁴ In 1847, the Croatian parliament discussed the need of systematically collecting historical sources. This was particularly advocated by Ivan Kukuljević, who in 1850 became the first president of the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities, in charge of systematic collection of various types of sources from the Croatian and South Slavic regions. In its periodical *Arkiv*, published from 1851 and edited by Kukuljević, a number of sources crucial for Croatian and South Slavic history were published during the 1850s. Before the foundation of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1866, this society was the chief institution publishing historical sources. Cf. Mirjana Gross, *Historijska znanost, Razvoj, oblik, smjerovi* [Historical discipline: Evolution, forms, trends] (Zagreb: Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1976); eadem, *Suvremena historiografija, Korijeni, postignuća, traganja* [Modern historiography: Roots, achievements, quests] (Zagreb: Znanje, 1996); Mario Strecha, "O nastanku i razvoju moderne hrvatske historiografije u 19. stoljeću" [On the emergence and development of Croatian historiography in the 19th century], *Povijest u nastavi* 3 (2005): 103-116.

²¹⁵ Ivana Mance, "Kukuljevićev *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*: povijest umjetnosti kao bibliografski univerzum" [Kukuljević's *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*: Art history as a bibliographical universum], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 32 (2008): 285-296; eadem, *Zrcalo naroda. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: povijest umjetnosti i politika* [Mirror of the People: Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, art history, and politics] (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2012), 107-148; Tomislav Jakić, "O postanku i sastavu biblioteke Ivana Kukuljevića" [On the foundation and composition of Ivan Kukuljević's library], *Rad JAZU* 324 (1962), 145-170; Petar Rogulja, *Hrvatska nacionalna bibliografija i Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski* [Croatian national bibliography and Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski] (Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, 1989); Miroslav Kurelac, "Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: život i djelo" [Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: Life and work], *Encyclopaedia moderna* 18 (1998): 5-12.

Slade, or Appendini. His library also contained a number of transcripts of sources (presently at the Archive of HAZU in Zagreb).²¹⁶

Kukuljević brought together the first generation of Croatian historians, among them Franjo Rački and Šime Ljubić, who started publishing primary sources.²¹⁷ Thus, Ljubić published a three-volume collection of *Commisiones et relationes Venetae* (1876-1880), reports of Venetian emissaries to Dalmatia from 1433-1571, intended for the government in Venice.²¹⁸ In his function as the president of JAZU, Rački launched a series called *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* (MSHSM), intended to published various sources important for Croatian history and modelled upon the famous German series *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The MSHSM was published from 1868 and included larger, compact clusters of sources sorted according to topics and time. A subseries titled *Scriptores* published works of older (especially Ragusan) historiography in their entirety, such as Anonymous, Ranina, or Resti (edited by Natko Nodilo).²¹⁹ In 1901, Tadija Smičiklas edited the *Annuae* by Baltazar Adam Krčelić.²²⁰

In 1877, Rački published the *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, its third part (*excerpta e scriptoribus*) containing segments of selected narrative sources, mainly of foreign provenance: Frankish, Venetian, Hungarian, and Byzantine,²²¹ chronologically systematized.²²² The collection has had a huge impact

²¹⁶ Kukuljević was particularly interested in Dalmatia, aware of the fact that this region was perceived as cosmopolitan, a view enhanced by its links to classical antiquity. In the context of Croatian national integration, Kukuljević focused on the (early) Middle Ages as the then recognized point of origin for any nation. Cf. Ivana Mance, "Ivan Kukuljević u Dalmaciji 1854. i 1856. godine: spomenici srednjovjekovlja kao uporište hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta" [Ivan Kukuljević in Dalmatia, 1854 and 1856: Medieval monuments as the foundation of Croatian national identity], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 57 (2015), 239-256, here 243; eadem, "Kukuljevićev Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih," 285-296.

²¹⁷ Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Studia diplomatica. Rasprave i prinosi iz hrvatske diplomatike* [Studia diplomatic: Discussions and contributions concerning Croatian diplomatics] (Zagreb: FF Press, 2014), 41-43.

²¹⁸ *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium: Tomus 1: Annorum 1433-1527* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1876); *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium: Tomus 2: Annorum 1525-1553* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1877); *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium: Tomus 3: Annorum 1553-1571* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1880).

²¹⁹ In 1883, the *Annales Ragusini anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina* were published, and in 1893 the *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii* - both edited by S. Nodilo. In 1894, Franjo Rački edited the *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon.

²²⁰ Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Vesna Gamulin, "Tadija Smičiklas kao izdavač povijesne građe" [Tadija Smičiklas as an editor of historical sources], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 18 (2000), 107-116.

²²¹ Matijević, *Studia diplomatica*, 51; Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, MSHSM VIII (Zagreb: JAZU, 1877).

²²² Cf. Franjo Rački, "Scriptores rerum Chroaticarum pred XII. stoljećem" [Scriptores rerum Chroaticarum before the 12th century], *Rad JAZU* 18 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1880).

on Croatian medieval studies.²²³ By 1918, as many as 43 volumes had been published in the MSHSM series and its various subseries, after which the series stagnated, with new volumes published only sporadically.²²⁴ The journals *Starine* (1869) published shorter narrative sources and those related to a particular subject.²²⁵ Today, most sources published by JAZU (HAZU) are open-access and available at the Academy's website, in its Digital Repository.

In the period between the two World Wars, in 1928, Ferdo Šišić published the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.²²⁶ Another crucial source for the medieval period not only in Croatia, but in the entire South Slavic region, *De administrando imperio*, was published by Božidar Ferjančić in 1959, in the series *Vizantinski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*.²²⁷ In the 1960s and 1970s, Grga Novak continued the work of Šime Ljubić and published new volumes of the *Commissions et relations Venetae* (1572-1680).²²⁸ Before the 1970s, only a few narrative sources were published that were relevant for the image of the medieval city,²²⁹ but that decade saw the publication of some prominent hagiographies and chronicles linked to Dalmatian cities.²³⁰ Since the

²²³ According to Mladen Ančić, this way of organizing the sources obscured the view on any source as a whole, creating an illusion of a continued "great Croatian chronicle." Mladen Ančić, "Kako danas citati rasprave Franje Račkoga" [How should one quote the writings of Franjo Rački today], in: *Franjo Rački, Nutarnje stanje Hrvatske prije XII. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2008).

²²⁴ The *Monumenta* also contained the *Commissions et relations Venetae*. Cf. Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Izdavanje povijesnih izvora" [Publishing historical sources], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 17 (1999): 181-184. For an approximate list of editions, see Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, *Uvod u studij povijesti. Historiografski praktikum* [Introduction to historical studies: A historiographical practicum] (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008), 101-112.

²²⁵ Thus, in 1898 Jelić edited the *Regestum litterarum zadarškoga nadbiskupa Mafeja Vallaressa* [Regestum litterarum of Zadar's archbishop Mafeo Vallaressa] (1449-1496).

²²⁶ Ferdo Šišić, *Letopis Popa Dukljanina* [Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja] (Belgrade: Zaklada tiskare Narodnih novina, 1928).

²²⁷ Božidar Ferjančić, *Vizantinski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije* 2 (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka – Vizantološki institut, 1959).

²²⁸ *Commissions et relations Venetae Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 4 (1572-1590), ed. Grga Novak (Zagreb: JAZU, 1964); *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 5 (1591-1600), ed. Grga Novak (Zagreb: JAZU, 1966); *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 6 (1588-1620), ed. Grga Novak (Zagreb: JAZU, 1970); *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 7 (1621-1671), ed. Grga Novak (Zagreb: JAZU, 1972); *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 8 (1620-1680), ed. Grga Novak (Zagreb: JAZU, 1977).

²²⁹ In 1951, Petar Skok published the chronicles of Robert de Clari and Geoffrey de Villehardouin in his *Tri starofrancuske kronike o Zadru*.

²³⁰ In 1972, Ive Mažuran published the miracles of St John of Capistran in an edition of the Archive of Osijek: "Čudesna Ivana Kapistrana / Miracula Ioannis de Capistrano. Ilok, A.D. 1460." *Građa za historiju Osijeka i Slavonije* 4 (Osijek: Historijski arhiv u Osijeku, 1972). In 1977, a translation of parts of the following hagiographies and chronicles was published: the "History of St Doimo and St Anastasia," the "Life of St John of Trogir," the "Life of St Rainer," the "History of Miha Madijev de Barbazanis," and A Cutheis' "Tabula," the "Description of Brač" by Dujam Hranković, and the

1950s, the *Croatian Latinists* edition has also published narrative sources on the cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: in 1951, Grga Novak edited Vinko Pribojević,²³¹ in 1952 Veljko Gortan translated and edited Krčelić's *Annae*,²³² and from 1975-1980 Stjepan Krasić published the writings of S. Cerva from Dubrovnik.²³³ Since the 1990s, the increased interest in Croatian historiography has resulted in the publication of more narrative writings: since 1994, Croatian Institute of History, with its Department for Latinist Historiography, has been publishing works by Krčelić, Slade, Tuberon, and Ratkay in critical editions.²³⁴

Some of these valuable sources have been published recently, accompanied by excellent scholarly studies and equipped with a critical apparatus. Let me mention some of them: Vitezović's *Croatia Rediviva* edited by Zrinka Blažević,²³⁵ *Life of St John of Trogir* edited by Kažimir Lučin,²³⁶ *The Happy City* by Frane Petrić, edited by M. Solar (1998),²³⁷ Mavro Orbini's *Il regno dagli Slavi* edited by Franjo Šanjek (1999),²³⁸ Filip de Diversis' speeches celebrating the Hungarian kings and the *Description of the Glorious City of Dubrovnik*, both edited by Zdenka Janeković Römer,²³⁹ and Benedikt Kotruljević's treatise *On Trade and the Perfect Merchant* edited by the same scholar.²⁴⁰ Relja Seferović has edited the *Prolegomena* of Serafino Cerva²⁴¹ and Stjepan Krasić the *History of Dubrovnik* by Serafino Razzi.²⁴² Olga Perić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and Radovan Katičić²⁴³ edited the *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon in

"Chronicle of Brač" by Vicko Prodić; *Legende i kronike* [Legends and chronicles], ed. Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977). One of the editors, V. Gligo, published Koriolan Cipiko's writing *On the Asian War* in the same year: *O azijskom ratu / Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta (De bello Asiatico)*, trans. and ed. Vedran Gligo (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977); *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe*.

²³¹ Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*.

²³² Krčelić, *Annae*.

²³³ Stjepan Krasić, *Seraphinus Maria Cerva, Bibliotheca Ragusina in qua Ragusini scriptores eorumque gesta et scripta recensentur*, 1-3 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1975-1980). In 1983, the first edition of Filip de Diversis (*Description of Dubrovnik*) published in the journal *Dubrovnik*.

²³⁴ Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve*, 2001. Tuberon's *Comentarii de temporibus suis* have been translated and edited by Vlado Rezar, the *Faste* by Sebastijan Slade have been edited by Pavao Knezović, and Juraj Rattkay's *Memoria Regum et Banorum Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae, & Sclavoniae* has been edited and translated by Zrinka Blažević, Mijo Korade and Mirko Valentić.

²³⁵ *Pavao Ritter Vitezović*, ed. Zrinka Blažević (Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, 1997).

²³⁶ *Život sv. Ivana Trogirskog*, ed. Lučin.

²³⁷ Milivoj Solar, *Frane Petrić, Sretan grad* (Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1998).

²³⁸ *Mavro Orbini*, ed. Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999).

²³⁹ Zdenka Janeković-Römer, *Filip de Diversis* (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004).

²⁴⁰ It was first published in 1985, with a translation by Ž. Muljačić, the second edition was published by Luko Paljetak in 1989, the third in 2005 (with Muljačić's translation), and in 2009 the latest, edited by Z. Janeković Römer (Dubrovnik: HAZU).

²⁴¹ Cerva, *Prolegomena; Prolegomena za Svetu dubrovačku metropoliju*, ed. Seferović.

²⁴² Razzi, *Povijest Dubrovnika*.

²⁴³ *Historia Salonitana Toma Arhiđakona, Povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika*, prir. Olga Perić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol – Radoslav Katičić (Split. Književni krug, 2003).

2003. In 1990, HAZU revived the MSHSM series and in 2007 the *Obsidio Iadrensis* was published, edited by V. Gortan and V. Vratović. Recently, the historiography of Dubrovnik has gradually been seeing the light of day thanks to the efforts of Zdenka Janeković Römer, Relja Seferović, Lovro Kunčević and Vlado Rezar.

However, a large number of manuscripts remains unresearched in archives and libraries (both local²⁴⁴ and international²⁴⁵): some have been digitalized, others are completely inaccessible. Insufficiently researched sources include mostly those of ecclesiastical provenance, preserved at monastic libraries, chapter archives, or in Vatican Archive in Rome.²⁴⁶ However, the accessibility of sources is indispensable for comparative analyses. Šime Jurić made an important contribution in the last century with his bibliography *Iugoslaviae scriptores Latini recentioris aetatis*,²⁴⁷ and recently a volume on narrative sources in Central Europe edited by Ivan Jurković and János Bak (“Chronicon”) has been published. Another important repository of writings by the Croatian Latinists is *In CroALa Inventa*, especially the part with the *Laudationes urbium Dalmaticarum*, edited by Neven Jovanović.²⁴⁸

Data from the narrative sources have been used very differently in research on medieval urbanity: some very thoroughly, others only partially, selectively, or insufficiently critically. There is a wide range of approaches, from total rejection to absolute acceptance. But eventually, not all narrative sources are equally credible. They have also been used by scholars from various historical disciplines: classical philologists, historians, art historians, historians of literature, and linguists - and their approach naturally depended on their purposes. Whereas some traced the emergence of narrative records and the context of writing, others have been looking for the authentic historical core of the story. Some have also used these sources only as additional comparative material in their research otherwise based on “first-class” sources, written or material.

²⁴⁴ For example, State Archive in Dubrovnik, *Memoriae*, series 21.2; Archive of HAZU, MS II d 55 [Joannis de Ravenna], *Hystoria Ragusii*, or MS I c 59/506, Resti Junius, *Chroniche di Ragusa*; National and University Library (NSK), Collection of Manuscripts and Rare Books (<http://www.nsk.hr/zahtjev-zbirka-rukopisa-starih-knjiga/>).

²⁴⁵ For example, in Venice, Biblioteca del' Museo Correr, *Codice Cicogna*, and various other international libraries.

²⁴⁶ Jadranka Neralić, *Priručnik za istraživanje hrvatske povijesti u Tajnom vatikanskom arhivu od ranog srednjeg vijeka do sredine XVIII. stoljeća – Schedario Garampi* [A handbook for researching Croatian history in the Secret Vatican Archives from the early Middle Ages until the mid-18th century - Schedario Garampi] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2000).

²⁴⁷ Šime Jurić, *Iugoslaviae scriptores Latini recentioris aetatis* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1968).

²⁴⁸ <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.17:1:0:-1:0.laud.1926>; <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/laud.form.html>. Besides these digital repositories, many original editions are today accessible on various international websites (such as www.archive.org or www.cerl.org).

An attempt to find a historical reality in these texts is problematic from the very start, since it is impossible to discern the actual flow of events on their basis. When there is only meagre information in other types of sources, which is especially the case for the early Middle Ages, narrative sources may appear particularly attractive as they offer an instant solution or at least some general picture that can, by using a “critical method”, by peeling off the layers of legends, inventions, and embellishments one may perhaps obtain grains of historical truth. Reconstructing the image of a city thus on the basis of narrative sources thus becomes a modern narrative that fills in the *horror vacui* and ensures the “necessary” continuity of events and processes. Thus, these data may acquire more value or authenticity than they actually deserve. It seems that - regardless of their nature - narrative sources often remain the main lead in the logic of reconstructing history. Nevertheless, a combination of data from narrative sources cannot serve as a firm starting point for reconstructing the image of a city at our will.

Since many early medieval sources have reached us in later transcripts, we cannot rely on their palaeographic analysis, and even a linguistic one often cannot help us reach the original core of the story. Authors often altered the older texts when using them, which resulted in creations that may not even contain any original detail. The terminology used in describing the earlier times is often adapted to the needs of the author’s contemporary settings, projecting them onto the past. Some terms may be taken from general dictionaries and handbooks, without any link to the local urban tradition. Eventually, some narrative sources reveal several compilers, and titles have often been altered so as to fit specific redactions, adapted to various local circumstances.

Narrative sources are a historical fact in themselves - they are sources, not history.²⁴⁹ Their authors did not have an analytical or critical distance to medieval cities, but used an eclectic approach to describe the cities and their wider regions by looking at them through the prism of their own interests, ideologies, and prejudices, losing the overall picture.²⁵⁰ Their historiographic ideas emerged in relation to

²⁴⁹ Cf. Hayden White, *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1987); Donald J. Wilcox, “The Sense of Time in Western Historical Narratives from Eusebius to Machiavelli,” in: *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, ed. E. Breisach (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University Press, 1985); Ivić, *Domišljanje prošlosti*.

²⁵⁰ Sophia Menache, “Chronicles and Historiography: The Interrelationship of Fact and Fiction,” *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 333-345; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles,” in: *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 13-16 July 1996*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999); Bernd Schneidmüller, “Constructing the Past by Means of the Present: Historiographical Foundations of Medieval Institutions, Dynasties, Peoples, and Communities,” in: *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 167-192; Keith Winchschuttle, “A Critique of

the context of their time and the purpose of their writing, which often reflects the author's social status and experience, the availability of data that he is using, as well as his personal interest and style of writing. What may seem important to us is often completely different from what mattered to the authors of narrative writings, and the notions on which our interpretation is based often differ from their own drastically. Those writings were created with mental tools and for purposes that often evade our understanding. So to what extent may we use such sources at all when looking for the answers to our research question? This brings us back to the main problem that we sought to discuss in our conference: are the narrative sources from the medieval and early modern periods actually fiction or do they contain some sort of *realia* that we may be looking for when lacking other sources? And if they are there, do we have the right tools to discern and separate them from various narrative discourses that they consist of? What are the methods of evaluation and mechanisms that should be used to "deconstruct" narrative sources?

Despite all these limitations and the narrowed perspective, many consider the value of narrative sources as unquestionable when it comes to the medieval period, since - as said before - these are often our only research sources on some periods and events from the urban past. Data from such sources may be juxtaposed to the known historical events and other types of sources, especially for the periods of developed literacy, and complement the results obtained from "first-class" sources. When using them for the research on medieval city, one should take into account the historical legacy and the socio-political circumstances in which their authors lived. Narrative sources were mostly written by ecclesiastical persons, from the high Middle Ages also by secular authors, by local people or foreigners who lived (temporarily or permanently) in the city, and sometimes by complete outsiders. They are also a result of the long-term creative activity of the urban community, rather than just works of individual minds. Narrative sources also preserve the oral urban tradition of the past generations and reveal the general "social knowledge" of the local setting.²⁵¹

When interpreting them, one should also know the structure of the holdings in which they were preserved, since they were not accessible to everyone - be it for the limited distribution of knowledge, deficient system of data preservation, secrecy of information, or lack of literacy.²⁵² Another question is that of the influence that the consulted sources had on the structuring and thematizing the new text - the focus could have been on the used sources and literature, but these could also serve merely

the Postmodern Turn in Western Historiography," in: *Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Q. Edward Wang and Georg G. Iggers (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 271-285.

²⁵¹ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-25.

²⁵² The work of Serafino Cerva (*Bibliotheca Ragusina in qua Ragusini scriptores eorumque gesta et scripta recensentur*, I-IV) contains a long list of Ragusan author and their writings, not all of which have remained preserved to the present day.

as a generic basis for organizing the author's new work. The way of reading previous texts was completely different than it is today, with different trends and a different understanding of authority. Along with the major impact of older sources, the emphasis was often on the exposition of the historical events from the author's own time. Thus, we must ask ourselves what significance the older sources had for our authors and their audiences. Was the purpose of their reuse antiquarian, moralizing, didactic, or some other? The used sources are sometimes quoted, at other times merely paraphrased or borrowed without a reference – be it directly or through an intermediary. Their interpretation is hardly possible without a serious philological analysis. Along with establishing a tradition, legacy, or impact in our narrative source, one should also consider their reception in the given time and space - what were the selection processes, the understanding of the selected material, and the ways of reusing it?

Investigated critically and - whenever possible - in an interdisciplinary way, narrative sources can make a considerable contribution to the comprehensive image of a city. They may reveal various causal processes such as the city's expansion, urban planning, or the influx of newcomers, reflecting the collective memory of the past generations. Even in early medieval sources, which rarely contain actual historical information, certain narrative elements and motifs may offer insights into the mentality and identity of urban communities. With all their flaws, narrative sources often remain our guidance in the logic of historical reconstruction. Scholarly research has often shown that some data preserved in narrative sources could considerably contribute to our knowledge of the medieval city.