

The Epigraphic Heritage of the Renaissance Period in Dubrovnik (15th Century)

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Introduction

Croatia is extraordinarily rich in epigraphic material,¹ in which Dubrovnik occupies a very important place in many respects. However, the origins of epigraphy as an archaeological and auxiliary science of history—whose task is to read, study and interpret inscriptions, i.e. texts carved, cut or written on some hard, permanent material such as stone, wood, bone, metal etc., as well as those made with paint on the same materials²—are also connected with the Croatian towns of Dalmatia and with Dubrovnik itself since the famous Cyriac of Ancona (Ciriaco di Filippo de Pizzicolti d'Ancona or, as he himself used to sign his name, Kyriacus Anconitanus / Kyriacus Anconitanus de Picenicolibus, or in Greek Κυριακὸς ὁ ἐξ Ἀγκῶνος, Ancona, 1391–Cremona, 1452)³ stayed

¹ Cf. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Nadpisi sredovječni i novovjeki na crkvah, javnih i privatnih sgradah it. d. u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* (Zagreb: Knjižara Jugoslavenske akademije; Knjižara Dioničke tiskare, 1891); Frane Bulić, *Hrvatski spomenici u kninskoj okolici uz ostale suvremene dalmatinske iz doba narodne hrvatske dinastije*, reprint (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 1995); Rade Mihaličić and Ludwig Steindorff, *Namentragende Steininschriften in Jugoslavien vom Ende des 7. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im ostlichen Europa 2 (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1982); Vedrana Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj* (Split: MHAS, 1996); Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Latinski natpisi," in *Hrvatska i Europa – kultura, znanost i umjetnost*, vol. 1, ed. Ivan Supićić (Zagreb:HAZU; AGM, 1997), 239–256 (2007); Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Latinska epigrafička baština," in *Hrvatska i Europa – kultura, znanost i umjetnost*, vol. 2, ed. Eduard Hercigonja (Zagreb: HAZU; Školska knjiga, 2000), 105–125; Branko Fučić, *Glagoljski natpisi* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1982); Vinko Grubišić, *Grafija hrvatske lapidarne ćirilice* (München – Barcelona: Knjižnica Hrvatske revije, 1978); Karlo Jurišić, "Posljednji poznati natpisi hrvatskom ćirilicom na prostoru oko Biokova (XIX. st.). Prilog poznavanju hrvatske epigrafike napuštenih pisama," *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 23–24/1997–1998 (1998), 189–212; Mirko Valentić and Lada Prister, *Zbirka kamenih spomenika* (Zagreb: HPM, 2002).

² Raymond Bloch, *Latinska epigrafika*, trans. Anka Milošević (Beograd: Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, 1971). For the study of Latin epigraphy see also James C. Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions* (New York: American Book Company, 1896); John Edwin Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy. An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, rev. ed. S. G. Campbell (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1974); Robert Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju* (Pula: Filozofski fakultet u Puli, 2002).

³ For the life and work of Cyriac of Ancona, cf. Paul MacKendrick, "A Renaissance Odyssey: The Life of Cyriac of Ancona," *Classica et mediaevalia – Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire* 13 (1952): 131–145; Bernard Ashmole, "Cyriac of Ancona," *Proceedings of the*

and worked in Dubrovnik for a period of time. He is commonly regarded as the founder of epigraphy and the father of classical archaeology. As an antiquary, archaeologist, traveller writer and merchant, he travelled throughout and stayed in various places in Italy, Asia Minor and Egypt,⁴ collecting, copying and describing antiquities and works of art, especially Latin and Greek epigraphic monuments. He carefully recorded his observations and insights in travel journals and numerous letters, his life path being traceable through written records within three imagined sections of time (from his birth up to 1435, from 1435 to 1443 and from 1443 to his death).⁵ In his work *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum* he deals with 50-odd inscriptions from our area. His main work in terms of proportions is *Rerum antiquarum commentaria* (i.e., *Commentarii*), running to six volumes preserved only partially as a result of a fire in the 16th century. He associated and corresponded with numerous persons, one of them being Marin Rastić from Dubrovnik (Marinus Michaelis de Restis), to whom he dedicated a short piece of writing entitled *Anconitana Illiricaque laus et Anconitanorum Raguseorumque foedus*.⁶ He also worked with early Croatian humanists Juraj Benja from Zadar and Petar Cipiko from Trogir,⁷ travelling through and visiting on multiple occasions Dalmatia and Istria (between 1412 and 1444) and their towns and places (Dubrovnik, Pula, Mljet, Zadar, Nin, Nadin, Trogir, Hvar, Korčula, Boka kotorska, Vis, Split, Solin/Salona, etc.).⁸

British Academy 45 (1959): 25–41 + plate XVI; Jean Colin, *Cyriaque d'Ancone: le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* (Paris: Maloine, 1981); Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'umanesimo. *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Ancona 6-9 febbraio 1992*, ed. Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 1998).

⁴ Stella Patitucci [Uggeri], "Italia, Grecia e Levante: L'eredità topografica di Ciriaco d'Ancona (Per la storia della topografia nel VI centenario della nascita di Ciriaco)," *Journal of Ancient Topography – Rivista di Topografia Antica* 1 (1991): 147–162.

⁵ *Cyriac of Ancona, Later travels*, trans. and ed. Edward W. Bodnar and Clive Foss (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), XVI–XVII.

⁶ Giuseppe Praga, "Indagini e studi sull'umanesimo in Dalmazia: Ciriaco de Pizzicolli e Marino de Resti," *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 7 (1932), vol. 13, fasc. 78, 262–280. See also Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808. Prvi dio: Od osnutka do 1526.* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1980), 249; Colin, *Cyriaque d'Ancone*, 191. In honor of that event Cyriac wrote this *laudatio*; for *laudationes urbium* see Neven Jovanović, "Marulić i *laudationes urbium*," *Colloquia Maruliana* 20 (2011): 142, 145–148, 154–159, 162–163.

⁷ Cf. Marko Špikić, "Razmjene spoznaja o antici u poslanicama hrvatskog humanizma 15. stoljeća," *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009): 68–71.

⁸ Patitucci [Uggeri], "Italia, Grecia e Levante," 148, 149, 151–155. Cf. Petar Matković, "Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku za srednjega vieka," *Rad JAZU* 42 (1878): 173–175.

Through his work Cyriac of Ancona also made an impact on the Latin writings of his time and is credited with the reform of the humanistic Capitalis in classical Roman style.⁹

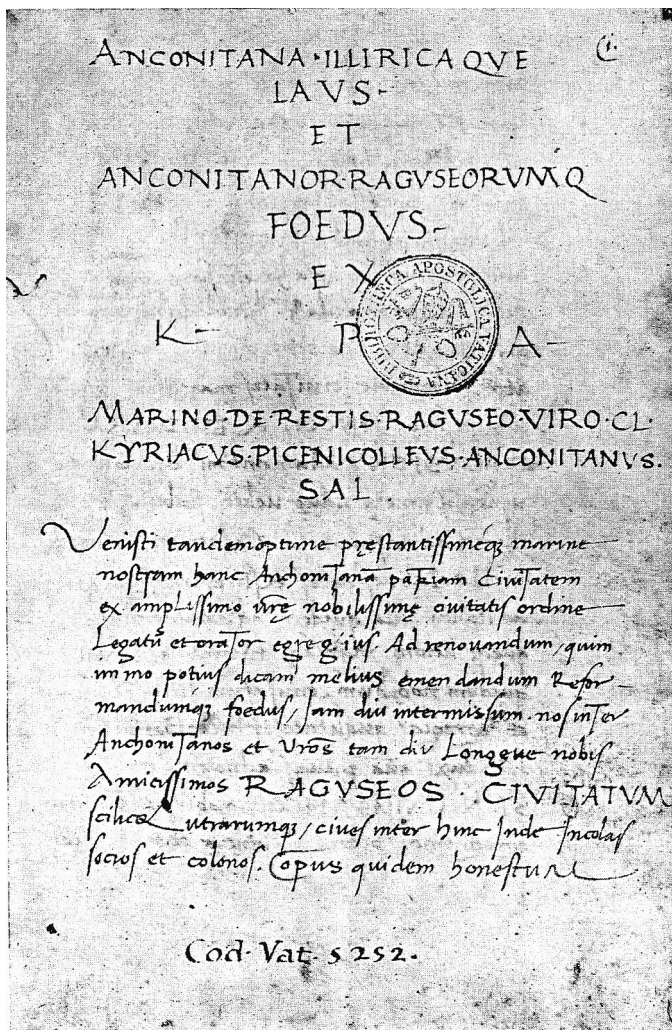


Fig. 1. The title page of the manuscript *Anconitana Illiricaque laus et Anconitanorum Raguseorumque foedus ex Kyriaco Picenicolleo Anconitano*, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5252, 1r (Praga, “Indagini e studi,” 262)

⁹ Cf. Millard Meiss, “Toward a More Comprehensive Renaissance Palaeography,” *The Art Bulletin* 42 (1960): 108.

Epigraphy as a scientific discipline developed in the 15th century (i.e., in the age of humanism and Renaissance), receiving impulses mainly from Rome and Italy.¹⁰ The organized academic work came in the 19th century with the publication of the major collections of inscriptions (*Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, from 1828; *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, from 1863, and others).

The history of epigraphy in Croatia has its origins in the age of humanism. Croatia possesses a large number of epigraphic monuments from various periods, with the early medieval inscriptions of the Croatian rulers at the beginning of the development. All these monuments were at one time or another objects of multiple studies and registrations.

Our first recorded epigraphic scholar would be Petar Cipico from Trogir (d. 1440),¹¹ whereas in Zadar Juraj Benja/Begna (d. 1437) stands out with his interest in inscriptions and other antiquities.¹² Marko Marulić, “the father of Croatian literature,” also excelled in the same field with a collection of inscriptions *In epigrammata priscorum commentarius*,¹³ whereas “the founder of Croatian historiography” Ivan Lučić-Lucius studied and published *Inscriptiones Dalmaticae* (1673).¹⁴ In the monumental work of ecclesiastical history *Illyricum sacrum*, created by Daniele Farlati and his contributors, one finds rich epigraphic material too.¹⁵

¹⁰ Cf. Roberto Weiss, “The Rise of Classical Epigraphy,” in *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), 145–166.

¹¹ Vedran Gligo, “Cipiko, Petar, epigrafičar, soprakomit (Trogir, druga pol. XIV. st. – Trogir, 1440),” in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: LZMK, 1989), 681–682. Cf. Bratislav Lučin, “Kodeks Petra Cipika iz 1436,” *Živa antika* 57, no. 1–2 (2007): 65–85.

¹² Kruno Krstić, “Humanizam kod južnih Slavena,” in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 4 (Zagreb: LZ FNRJ, 1960), 289; Jelena Kolumbić, “Benja, Juraj (Georgius Begna),” in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: JLZ, 1983), 673–674.

¹³ Cf. Bratislav Lučin, “Jedan model humanističke recepcije klasične antike: *In epigrammata priscorum commentarius* Marka Marulića” (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2011). See also: Xavier Espluga, “First Steps in the History of Epigraphic Tradition for Split and Salona,” in *Zbornik u čast Emilija Marina za 60. rođendan*, ed. Hrvatinić Gabrijel Jurišić, Kačić: zbornik Franjevačke provincije Presvetoga Otkupitelja / *Acta Provinciae ss. Redemptoris Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Croatia* 41–43 (2009–2011): 395–412.

¹⁴ *Ioannis Lucii Inscriptiones Dalmaticae. Notae ad memoriale Pauli di Paulo. Notae ad Palladium Fuscum. Addenda, vel corrigenda in opere De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae. Variarum lectionum chronici Ungarici manuscripti cum editis* (Venetiis: Typis Stephani Curtii, 1673). Cf. Jadranka Neralić, “Epigrafika u djelima pisaca hrvatske povijesti” (MA thesis, University of Zagreb, 1988).

¹⁵ Daniele Farlati, *Illyrici sacri tomus tertius: Ecclesia Spalatensis olim Salonitana* (Venetiis: apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1765); *Illyrici sacri tomus quartus: Ecclesiae suffraganeae metropolis*

While the abovementioned individuals were active in Dalmatia, the inscriptions from Pannonia were described by Matija Petar Katančić (1750–1852).¹⁶

In the 19th century there were two driving forces behind collecting and describing epigraphic records, namely Mijat Sabljar¹⁷ and Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski.¹⁸ Among many other individuals Frane Bulić occupies a special place, particularly for early Christian and medieval epigraphy.¹⁹

How the things just described looked from the viewpoint of a foreign researcher of our monumental heritage is well documented in the book on the medieval art monuments of Dalmatia written by the respected Viennese professor of art history Rudolph Eitelberger von Edelberg:

The inscriptions in Dalmatia early attracted interest among scholars. One of the most excellent native minds, the canon Johannes Lucius from Trogir, was publishing Dalmatian inscriptions as early as 1673. Since that time a large number of new inscriptions have been found. I was able to see such findings in several places, where I established the fact that many inscriptions known to Lucić and Farlati were now lost. No other branch of archaeology is as important for the knowledge of topography, institutions and local history as inscriptions are, but only few other monuments are so intensely exposed to destructive forces. Dalmatia is more abundant in inscriptions than any other province; it surpasses all the *Kronländer*. There is a considerable number of very interesting and instructive inscriptions not only from the Roman period, but also from the Middle Ages. Exactly for that reason it is necessary to attract the attention of lovers of art and antiquity, to survey the condition of the inscriptions precisely and to think about means by which they could be made useful for the scholarship.²⁰

Spalatensis (Venetiis: apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1769); *Illyrici sacri tomus quintus: Ecclesia Jadertina cum suffraganeis, et Ecclesia Zagrabiensis* (Venetiis: apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1775); *Illyrici sacri tomus sextus. Ecclesia Ragusina cum suffraganeis, et Ecclesia Rhiziniensis et Catharensis* (Venetiis: apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1800). In vol. 6, p. 2, see the inscription beside the half-capital of Aesculapius (Dubrovnik).

¹⁶ Cf. Ivan Knezović, "Katančićev Andautonij: vrhunac znanstvenog istraživanja arheologije i stare povijesti na zagrebačkom području u 18. st.," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 40 (2008): 11–47.

¹⁷ See *Muzeologija*, 28 (1990), ed. Branka Šulc and Višnja Zgaga, special issue: Mijat Sabljar. Cf. Martina Juranović-Tonejc, *Putne bilješke Mijata Sabljara (1852. – 1854.). Crkveni inventar* (Zagreb: Ministarstvo kulture RH; Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, 2010).

¹⁸ Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski kao epigrafičar," *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu* 8–9 (1996): 85–90.

¹⁹ Frane Bulić, "Razvoj arheoloških istraživanja i nauka u Dalmaciji kroz zadnji milenij," *Zbornik Matice hrvatske o tisućoj godišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva I/1* (Zagreb: MH, 1925), 93–246.

²⁰ Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Srednjovjekovni umjetnički spomenici Dalmacije u*

Throughout the 20th century epigraphy continued its development, as a result of stronger institutional commitment both in terms of protection and registration and in terms of finding new inscriptions and their interdisciplinary study.²¹

The Epigraphy of Dubrovnik

Irrespective of its time of creation, the epigraphic heritage of Dubrovnik has always been on the horizon of native and foreign scholars and historiographers of Dubrovnik. It suffices to mention the following names from the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: Francesco Maria Appendini in his work *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de'Ragusei* (1802–1803) described inscriptions from Dubrovnik;²² Stefano Skurla in a booklet *Ragusa: cenni storici* (1876) didn't bypass these monuments either.²³ We have already mentioned Eitelberger von Edelberg, who published several inscriptions in his significant work *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens*, maintaining there that in Dubrovnik "the largest Dominican and Franciscan monasteries, the ancient burial sites of the Ragusans, recorded but superficially the vaults of inscriptions they possess."²⁴ Giuseppe Gelcich presented in the book *Dello sviluppo civile di Ragusa considerato ne'suoi monumenti storici ed artistici* (1884) inscriptions too, according to its title.²⁵ A large number of inscriptions, including those from Dubrovnik, can also be found in the extensive work *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria with Cettigne in Montenegro and*

Rabu, Zadru, Nimu, Šibeniku, Trogiru, Splitu i Dubrovniku, trans. Libuše Jirsak (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2009), 195–196. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations of quotations in Croatian are my own.

²¹ For development of epigraphy in that period see Duje Rendić-Miočević, "Epigrafika. Hrvatska," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 3 (1958), s.v.; Marina Šegvić, "Epigrafija (epigrafika)," *Hrvatski leksikon*, vol. 1 (1996), s.v.; Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju*, 35–47.

²² Francesco Maria Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de'Ragusei*, vol. 1 (Ragusa: dalle stampe di Antonio Martecchini, 1802), 29, 30, 31, 34, 44, 45, 46, 47, 60, *et passim*; vol. 2 (Ragusa: dalle stampe di Antonio Martecchini, 1803), 106, 107, 108, *et passim*.

²³ Stefano Skurla, *Ragusa: cenni storici* (Zagabria: a spese dell'autore, 1876), 51, 69, 71, 72, 78, 79, 87, 88, 91, 94–97, 102, 105, 106, *et passim*.

²⁴ Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Srednjovjekovni umjetnički spomenici Dalmacije*, 196 (chapter about Dubrovnik: 199–231).

²⁵ Giuseppe Gelcich, *Dello sviluppo civile di Ragusa considerato ne'suoi monumenti storici ed artistici* (Ragusa: Carlo Pretner, 1884), 12–17, 20–25, 30, 38, 40, 41, 43, 50, 54, 56, *et passim*. Cf. Stjepan Čosić, "Jelčić, Josip (Gelcich, Gelčić, Gjelcich, Đelčić; Giuseppe)," in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 6 (Zagreb: LZMK, 2005), 419–421.

the *Island of Grado* by the famous British architect Thomas Graham Jackson.²⁶ The work *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur und Plastik des XV. Jahrhunderts* by Hans Folnesics also features inscriptions from Dubrovnik's buildings.²⁷

Numerous brief epigraphic papers can be found in various periodicals from Dubrovnik,²⁸ but also in other journals (e.g., *Viestnik Hrvatskoga arkeološkičkoga društva*, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, etc.). Luko Zore, for instance, wrote a series of articles titled "Dubrovačka epigrafija" (The epigraphy of Dubrovnik) in the magazine *Slovinac – list za književnost, umjetnost i obrtnost*.²⁹ Dubrovnik's inscriptions were published by Vid Vuletić-Vukasović on the pages of the journal *Starohrvatska prosvjeta – glasilo Hrvatskoga starinarskoga društva u Kninu*. The editorial staff, however, had to comment on almost every single inscription contributed by him.³⁰ The development of epigraphy in terms of registration and description was encouraged by various trade associations as well as by the foundation of museums.³¹

The epigraphy of Dubrovnik is not overlooked by historians and art historians in their papers (e.g., Vinko Foretić, Cvito and Igor Fisković, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, Milan Pelc, etc.) and, moreover, Stanko Kokole wrote major studies on the activity of Cyriac of Ancona in Dubrovnik by analysing his inscriptions on the Rector's Palace and the Great fountain.³²

²⁶ Thomas Graham Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria with Cettigne in Montenegro and the Island of Grado*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), 298, 334, 337, 350, 355, 358, 361, 373, 382, 384.

²⁷ Hans Folnesics, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur und Plastik des XV. Jahrhunderts in Dalmatien*. Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Institutes der K. K. Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege (Wien: Kunstverlag Anton Schroll; Co., 1914), Anhang III, 195.

²⁸ Cf. Ivo Perić, *Dubrovačka periodika 1848–1918* (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti IC JAZU, 1980), 58–60.

²⁹ Luko Zore, "Dubrovačka epigrafija," *Slovinac – list za književnost, umjetnost i obrtnost* 5, no. 16 (1882): 254; no. 17 (1882): 267–268; no. 18 (1882): 285–286; no. 20 (1882): 318; no. 21 (1882): 333–334; no. 22 (1882): 349–350; no. 23 (1882): 366; no. 24 (1882): 380–382; no. 25 (1882): 396; no. 26 (1882): 413–414.

³⁰ Vid Vuletić-Vukasović, "Sredovječni natpisi. A. Natpisi dubrovački," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta – glasilo Hrvatskoga starinarskog društva u Kninu* 3, no. 1 (1897): 28–30; 3, no. 2 (1897): 74–77; 3, no. 3–4 (1897): 132–137; 7, no. 1 (1903): 17–20; 7, no. 2 (1903): 89–94; 8, no. 1–2 (1904): 20–27.

³¹ For more information about Ivan (d. 1743) and Antun (d. 1774) Alethy/Aletić from Dubrovnik and their "museum" see Neralić, *Epigrafika u djelima pisaca hrvatske povijesti*, 35.

³² Stanko Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku: renesančna epigrafika, arheologija

However, the only catalogue work so far, recording almost all of the Latin inscriptions, not from the entire area of Dubrovnik, though, or from the territory of the former Republic of Ragusa, but only those within the city walls, found both in situ and in the city's lapidariums, is by Tamara Gović—*Epigrafski spomenici u Dubrovniku* (Epigraphic monuments in Dubrovnik), published in 2004 by the Episcopal Ordinariate of Dubrovnik. A total of 467 Latin and Italian inscriptions were registered there alongside a Croatian translation, a summary in French, a brief commentary and selected pictorial materials.³³ In writing the book, the author drew on the manuscript catalogue of Dubrovnik antiquities from Đino Sukno (*Corpus inscriptionum Ragusinarum*), kept today at the Society of Friends of the Dubrovnik Antiques.

The Dubrovnik Inscriptions of the Renaissance Period

Humanism as a large-scale movement (i.e., a system of thinking, beliefs and values based upon the ancient world with the human in the center of interest and as the measure of all things) emerged very early in Dubrovnik, considering the time frame of the first impulses from Italy as the epicenter of the movement born in the High Middle Ages.³⁴ The wish to study and to become acquainted with the written culture of classical antiquity resulted in the *studia humanitatis* documented in Dubrovnik by the works of Karlo Pucić, Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, Ilija Crijević, Jakov Bunić and Damjan Beneša.³⁵

The Renaissance as a stylistic, art history epoch in the European culture of the 15th and 16th century based precisely on the humanistic concepts (the ancient world as a perpetual ideal) formed its building expression particularly in the area of architecture and sculpture. Despite the many

in obujanje antike v humanističnem okolju mestne državice sredi petnajstega stoletja," *Arheološki vestnik – Acta archaeologica* 41 (1990): 663–697; Stanko Kokole, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Revival of Two Forgotten Ancient Personifications in the Rector's Palace of Dubrovnik," *Renaissance Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (1996): 225–267.

³³ Tamara Gović, *Epigrafski spomenici u Dubrovniku* (Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik, 2004). Cf. also: Tamara Gović, "Epigrafički spomenici u Dubrovniku: zavjetne crkve i ladanjska zdanja" (MA thesis, University of Zagreb, s.a.).

³⁴ Ivan Božić, "Pojava humanizma u Dubrovniku," *Istoriski pregled* 2, no. 1 (1955): 6–18; Krno Krstić, "Humanizam kod južnih Slavena," in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 4 (Zagreb: LZ FNRJ, 1960), 287–303.

³⁵ Mirko Tomasović and Darko Novaković, *Judita Marka Marulića / Latinsko pjesništvo hrvatskoga humanizma* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994), 62–63.

hardships of the Croatian early modern period (the Ottoman Wars), the Renaissance made essential contributions to European culture in the Croatian lands through its creations “both in a receptive and creative manner.”³⁶ The place of Dubrovnik in all of this is of extraordinary significance.³⁷

Both humanism as a movement and the Renaissance as a style are deeply rooted in Dubrovnik³⁸ and it is precisely the inscriptions along with the buildings carrying them that are one of the aspects of their manifestation. The aim of the paper is to perform an analysis of selected Renaissance Latin inscriptions containing *a humanistic vocabulary*. The inscriptions show faithfully the level of literacy of a particular society as well and they serve to mark and to commemorate certain events that are important to the community in question. So it is safe to say that the Dubrovnik Renaissance inscriptions reflect the humanistic endeavours and learning of individuals living in this community, but also the broader, basic literacy of the population as a whole.³⁹

We intend to contextualize the selected inscriptions historically, to transcribe them, and to decipher the abbreviations. In that way we wish to point out a portion of this specific and rich monumental heritage of Dubrovnik to be found on public constructions and sacral buildings.

³⁶ Milan Pelc, *Renesansa* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2007), 7.

³⁷ Cf. *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika XV i XVI. stoljeće: urbanizam, arhitektura, skulptura, slikarstvo, iluminirani rukopisi, zlatarstvo*, ed. Ante Sorić et al., catalogue (Zagreb: Muzej MTM, 1987); *Likovna kultura Dubrovnika 15. i 16. stoljeća. Znanstveni skup uz izložbu “Zlatno doba Dubrovnika,”* ed. Igor Fisković (Zagreb: Muzejsko galerijski centar, 1991); *Hrvatska renesansa. Katalog izložbe*, eds. Miljenko Jurković and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, exhibition catalogue (Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2004); Eduard Hercigonja, ed., *Hrvatska i Europa – kultura, znanost i umjetnost*, vol. 2.

³⁸ *Dubrovnik – časopis za književnost i znanost*, n.s., 6 (1995): 4, ed. Miljenko Foretić, Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Dubrovnik, special issue: “O humanizmu i renesansi u Dubrovniku”; Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode. Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma* (Zagreb: HAZU; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 1999).

³⁹ See Zdenka Janeković Römer, “Čast i glas grada Dubrovnika i njegova slavitelja Filipa de Diversisa,” in Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela*, ed. Vladimir Stipetić, trans. Zdenka Janeković-Römer (Zagreb: Dom i svijet; Ekonomski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2007), 14–15; Pelc, *Renesansa*, 15–16. Cf. Vladimir Stipetić, “Ekonomski pogledi Filipa de Diversisa,” in Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela*, 53.

1. *The Inscription on the Franciscan Church of St. Jerome in Slano*

Among the numerous inscriptions of the Dubrovnik area one of them stands out. It is an inscription from the Franciscan monastery in Slano, or more precisely, the one found in the monastic church of St. Jerome, carved in Gothic majuscule, representing through its content the transitional time between the late Gothic and the early Renaissance period,⁴⁰ showing “a strong humanistic feeling of the author.”⁴¹ In the last line of the inscription, containing the dating, there is beside Christian elements a mention of Phoebus (Phebus, Gr. Phoibos), an epithet of the ancient Greeks and Romans applied to the god of sun and light, health and order—Apollo.

After having acquired (bought) in 1399 Primorje (the Littoral), the Ragusans founded a Franciscan monastery in Slano under the administration of Bosnian friars.⁴² According to De Diversis the Friars Minor monastery in Slano was erected “with the approval of the Senate” and “for the salvation of the souls of the people of that area who were also schismatic” (*consensu Senatus Ragusini aedificatum pro salute animarum personarum eius regionis quae etiam scismaticae erant*).⁴³

The monastery was built with gifts of the faithful and ecclesiastical land revenues on the site once occupied by an early Christian complex from the 5th century. The monastic church of St. Jerome has one nave and its construction was finished in 1461. A five-storey bell tower and a sacristy were built next to it. Up to 1478 the monastery was under the administration of the Bosnian Vicariate, and the patronage of the church belonged to the respected and powerful family of Gradić. Later, the Ohmučević and Tasovčić families also participated in the preservation of the church.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Latinska epigrafička baština,” in *Hrvatska i Europa – kultura, znanost i umjetnost*, vol. 2, 113.

⁴¹ Anđelko Badurina, *Franjevački samostan u Slanom (povijesni razvoj i analiza prostora; konzervatorske smjernice)* (Zagreb: Centar za povijesne znanosti; Odjel za povijest umjetnosti, 1981).

⁴² Anđelko Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana u urbanizaciji dubrovačkog područja* (Zagreb: IPU; KS, 1990), 89–90.

⁴³ Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004), 144. The opposite view: Donato Fabianich, *Storia dei frati minori dai primordi della loro istituzione in Dalmazia e Bossina fino ai giorni nostri*, part 1, vol. 1 (Zara: tip. Fratelli Battara, 1863), 215–218.

⁴⁴ Badurina, *Franjevački samostan u Slanom*, 1, 3–6.

The inscription on the front of the church reveals by name three distinguished members of the Gradić family—Junije (Gjono, Ivan, recorded in source material between 1358 and 1402) and his two sons, Matej and Marin. The first one is found in sources between 1379 and 1444, the second one from 1396 on.⁴⁵ They made a vow and had a small church (sacellum) built in honour of St. Jerome, immortalising their act of devoutness through the inscription in question.

This tablet with the accompanying inscription does not probably refer to the present-day church, but rather to the one preceding it and/or becoming its architectural element.⁴⁶



Fig. 2. The inscription on the Church of St. Jerome in Slano
(*Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, 115)

⁴⁵ Ivica Prleuder, “Gradić (de Gradi, de Gradibus, de Gradis, de Gratiis, Grade, Gradi, Gradia, Gradius, Grede, Gredichi), dubrovačka plemićka obitelj,” in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 5 (2002), 112.

⁴⁶ Badurina, *Franjevački samostan u Slanom*, 6–7; Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana u urbanizaciji dubrovačkog područja*, 89, 138n154^a.

The text of the inscription:

CLARA GRADUM SOBOLES. IUNIUS. PATRICIUS OLIM
 URBIS ET IPSE DECOR. GENERI QUOS EDIDIT EQUOS
 MORIBUS EGREGII. PATRIE DUO LUMINA NATI
 PECTORE ET ELOQUIO. MATHEUS INSIGNIS ET INGENS
 EMULUS INUIDIE. RECTIQUE MARINUS AMATOR
 INSTITUUNT HAS HIERO. SACER TIBI NUMINIS EDES
 CONDENTUM. UOTIS HEC MUNERA PARUA SACELLI
 ASSENSUM DIGNARE PATER. PRECIBUSQUE FAUETO
 AT UOS CLERA(!) COHORS: QUIBUS HEC SACRARIA CULTUS
 POSTERIORA DABIT. PER SECUA ET UTILIS USUS
 ESTE SUI MEMORES. PATRU(m) SIMUL ATQUE NEPOTUM
 QUIS PRO UERBA DEO. GRATIQUE REPENDITE UOCES
 UOTAQ(ue) PERPETUO. UESTRUM PIA QUISQ(ue) FREQUENTET
 MILLE QUATER CENTUM. PARTUM POST UIRGINIS ALME
 BISQ(ue) DECEM IUNCTOS. PHEBUS PATER EGERAT ORBES.

An epigraphic and palaeographic commentary:

The epigraph from the Franciscan monastery of St. Jerome in Slano was carved in Gothic majuscule letters on a stone tablet with profiled border inserted into the front wall of the church (on the right side of the portal). The inscription is dated to the year 1420 and is composed of seven double verses along with one single verse (a total of 15 verses of text). The usage of abbreviations is negligible: PATRU(m), UOTAQ(ue), QUISQ(ue), BISQ(ue), produced primarily by the lack of the letter field in the respective line. The text shows instances of monophthongisation (*equos/aequos*, *patrie/patriae*, *alme/almae*, *emulus/aemulus*, etc.), which is characteristic of medieval Latin.

A rather big cross pommy lies in the upper left corner of the tablet, while in the lower left and right corner lie in relief two coats of arms of the aforementioned noble Dubrovnik family (a shield split diagonally with a cascading line, symbolising the name of the family—Lat. *gradus*, step, stairway).⁴⁷

A photograph, transcription and translation of the inscription were published by A. Badurina. He asserts that the inscription with its shape and length of seven double verses and one single verse “has nothing similar in the history of Dubrovnik’s architecture in general.”⁴⁸ In other words,

⁴⁷ Cf. Prlender, “Gradić,” s.v.

⁴⁸ Badurina, *Franjevački samostan u Slanom*, 18–19; Badurina, “Sakralna arhitektura,” 115, 324. Cf. also Vid Vuletić-Vukasović, “Nadpis u Slanom kod Dubrovnika od g. 1420.,” *Viestnik Hrvatskoga arheologiškoga društva* 4, no. 1 (1882): 23; Vid Vuletić-Vukasović,

the inscription is humanistic in its content, but not in its appearance, since it clearly displays Gothic stylistic features.⁴⁹

2. Inscriptions on the Rector's Palace

The Rector's Palace—an exceptional creation of the architecture of Dubrovnik and a symbol of its independence—has undergone in the course of history different architectural and stylistic transformations (the Gothic, Renaissance, baroque period), but has also suffered considerable damage (from explosions, earthquakes, fires, etc.).⁵⁰

Among the few partly larger, partly smaller inscriptions identified on the Rector's Palace the following ones are to be singled out: the Gothic inscription on the relief of an allegory of *Iustitia* on the ground floor (“*Iussi summa mei, sua vos cuicumque tueri*”),⁵¹ the inscription of Niccolò della Ciria next to the capital of Aesculapius, the inscriptions of Cyriac of Ancona above the window of the notarial chancellery, the inscription on the ribbon held by an angel/personification of the Holy Prudence/Wisdom or “*Mens–Βουλή*” in the atrium, and, finally, the inscription at the entrance to the council chamber on the first floor (“*Obliti privatorum publica curate*”)⁵² as well as a series of smaller inscriptions.⁵³

We will direct our attention here only to three exceptionally important pieces: the one by Niccolò della Ciria next to the half-capital of Aesculapius and the two inscriptions by Cyriac of Ancona.

Based on the intense political and economic upswing of Dubrovnik in the 15th century, the proud Ragusans wanted the city to be associated with the classical tradition as well, trying to elevate it to be equal in that

“Sredovječni natpis u Slanomu kod Dubrovka od godine 1420.,” *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 2, no. 4 (1890): 385–386.

⁴⁹ Cf. Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 666.

⁵⁰ Nada Grujić, “Onofrio di Giordano della Cava i Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku,” in *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske*, eds. Predrag Marković and Jasenka Gudelj (Zagreb: IPU; Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2008), 9–50; Katarina Horvat-Levaj and Relja Seferović, “Barokna obnova Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku,” *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 27 (2003): 162–183. Cf. Božo Cvjetković, *Dubrovački dvor* (Zagreb: Društvo hrvatskih srednjoškolskih profesora, 1922).

⁵¹ Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 670, 677.

⁵² Cf. Nella Lonza, “*Obliti privatorum publica curate*: precii i srodnici jedne političke maksime,” *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 44 (2006): 25–46.

⁵³ Gović, *Epigrafski spomenici u Dubrovniku*, 69–79. Cf. Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 670–676.

respect to other, larger communities and plutocratic centres, and to express the idea itself on the main public buildings in the cultural, artistic and ideological respect.⁵⁴

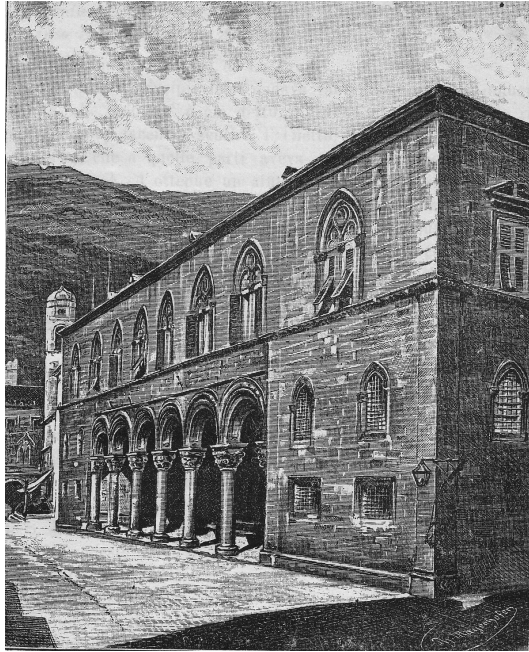


Fig. 3a. The Rector's Palace (Gelicich, *Dello sviluppo civile di Ragusa*, 16/17)

2.1. The inscription of Niccolò della Ciria beside the Half-capital of Aesculapius

An inscription composed in hexameter in honour of Aesculapius, the god of medicine, can be found on the south side of the building, in the portico of the Rector's Palace. It stands as a reflection of the new intellectual trends of humanism resting on the ancient tradition of Epidaurus as the predecessor of Dubrovnik, in which Aesculapius was born according to

⁵⁴ Igor Fisković, "Antički motivi u simboli dubrovačke državnosti," in *Umjetnost na istočnoj obali Jadrana u kontekstu europske tradicije. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Opatiji u svibnju 1992., posvećenog djelu prof. dr. Radmile Matejčić*, eds. Nina Kudiš and Marina Vicelja (Rijeka: Pedagoški fakultet, 1993): 217–225; Fisković, "Povijesni biljezi dubrovačkog identiteta," *Dubrovnik*, n.s., 4, no. 4 (1993): 79–99; Fisković, "Humanistička promišljanja i renesansna ostvarenja u urbanizmu Dubrovnika," *Dubrovnik*, n.s., 6, no. 4 (1995): 148–162; Fisković, *Reljef renesansnog Dubrovnika* (Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Dubrovnik, 1993).

the legend.⁵⁵ Aesculapius—the Latin name form for the ancient Greek god of medical skill Asclepius (Ἀσκληπιός)—in this inscription is a symbol and link between Epidaurus (modern Cavtat)⁵⁶ and Epidaurus in Argolis in the Peloponnesus, where the shrine of Aesculapius is situated. The intention was to present ancient Epidaurus/Cavtat and modern Dubrovnik as the actual place of birth of the protector of healers.⁵⁷

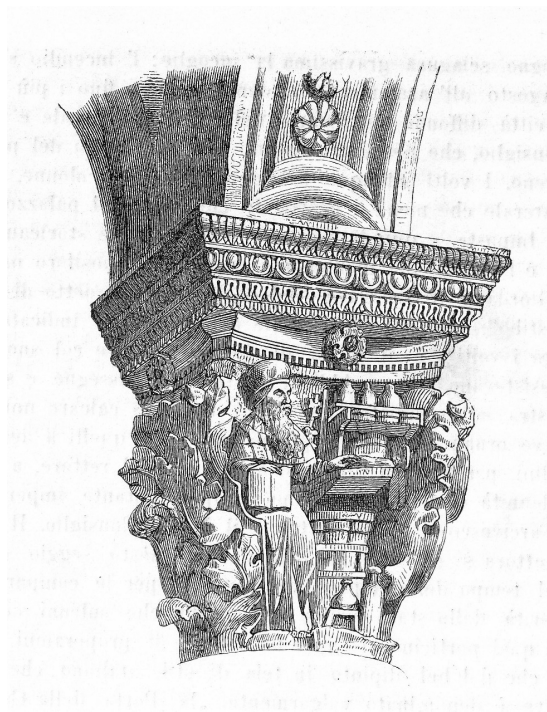


Fig. 3b. The capital of Aesculapius (Gelcich, *Dello sviluppo civile di Ragusa*, 64)

⁵⁵ Matijević Sokol, "Latinska epigrafička baština," 104.

⁵⁶ For the ancient Epidaurus (Cavtat) see Nenad Cambi, "Antički Epidaur," *Dubrovnik*, n.s., 17, no. 3 (2006): 185–217.

⁵⁷ Cf. Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche*, vol. 1, 27–39, the inscription 30–31. See also: Rafo Ferri, "Prilog poznavanju ilirske mitologije," *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 2 (1953): 419–429; Vladimir Bazala, "Kult Eskulapa u Epidauru i u Dubrovniku," *Farmaceutski glasnik – glasilo Farmaceutskog društva Hrvatske* 9, no. 11–12 (1955): 11–12, 550–552; Vladimir Bazala, "The Cult of Aesculapius at Epidaurus (Cavtat) and Dubrovnik," in *Communication au XVIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de la Médecine* (extrait de Tome I du Congrès, Athènes: XVII. Congrès International d'Histoire de la Médecine, 1960), 155–166, table 1.

In finding a solution to the question of the inscription's authorship,⁵⁸ we are much indebted to the account left by Diversis, saying that a poet and a very educated scholar Niccolò della Ciria from Cremona, the chancellor of Dubrovnik (1437–1440), established that “Aesculapius was by descent from Epidaurus, now called Dubrovnik” (Aesculapium Epidauri quod nunc Ragusium dicitur, oriundum fuisse). For that reason Ciria “endeavoured with utmost zeal to have his figure carved in sculpture and produced a dedicated versified epitaph inscribed into the wall” (summo studio elaboravit, ut insculperetur illius symulacrum, cui epitaphium metricum muro infixum edidit).⁵⁹ The message sent out by this inscription, however, is much deeper than mere literal reading could reveal. The emphasis and the asserted link between Epidaurus (Cavtat) and Dubrovnik as the predecessor and the lawful descendant and successor respectively were a result of Dubrovnik's political agenda of that time (i.e., of Dubrovnik's claim to the area of Konavle, south of the city).⁶⁰

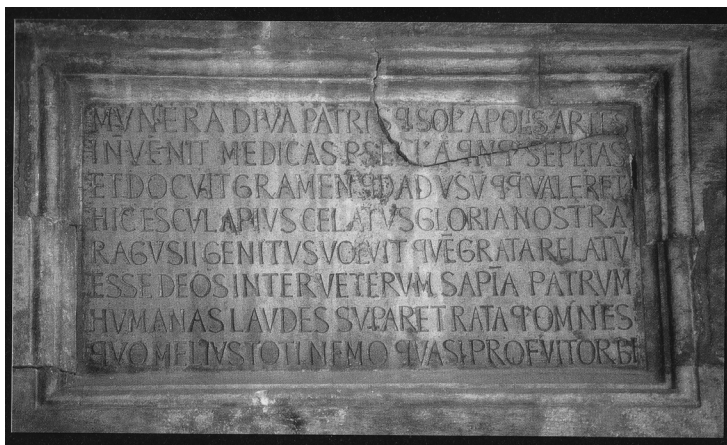


Fig. 3c. The inscription beside the half-capital of Aesculapius
(*Hrvatska i Europa*, vol. 2, 103)

⁵⁸ A different view: Grga Novak, “Quaestiones Epidauritanae,” *Rad JAZU* 339 – *Odjel za društvene nauke* 13 (1965): 117; Vladimir Bazala, *Pregled hrvatske znanstvene baštine* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1978), 45, and later by other authors.

⁵⁹ Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, 149.

⁶⁰ Zdenka Janeković, “Stjecanje Konavala: antička tradicija i mit u službi diplomacije,” in *Konavle u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa Konavle u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti, održanog u Cavtatu od 15. do 27. studenog 1996. godine*, vol. 1, ed. Vladimir Stipetić (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku, 1998), 36–37.

The text of the inscription:

MVNERA DIVA PATRIS Q(ui) SOL(us) APOLI(ni)S ARTES
INVENTIT MEDICAS P(er) SEC(u)LA Q(ui)NQ(ue) SEP(u)LTAS
ET DOCVIT GRAMEN Q(uo)D AD VSV(m) Q(uo)Q(ue) VALERET
HIC ESCVLAPIVS CELATVS GLORIA NOSTRA
RAGVSII GENITVS VOLVIT QVE(m) GRATA RELATV(m)
ESSE DEOS INTER VETERVM SAPI(enti)A PATRVM
HVMANAS LAVDES SVP(er)ARET RATA Q(uod) OMNES
QVO MELIVS TOTI NEMO QVASI PROFVIT ORBI

An epigraphic and palaeographic commentary:

The inscription has been published many times previously and apart from the domain of the humanities it is often present in various medical editions precisely because of the mention of the god of healing Aesculapius.⁶¹

The inscription was inscribed in humanist square capitals with very small or no spacing between the words (in continuo), but with some uncial forms for Q and G, while the medieval tradition shows in the abbreviations P(er) and Q(ue).⁶² Suspensions were also used, for example, SOL(us), as well as contractions indicated by an apostrophe or a line above the letters (*signum contractionis*), such as SAPI(enti)A, and *litterae insertae*, e.g., LI in APOLI(ni)S.

The letter style of the inscription commonly dated to around 1440, or somewhat earlier, emerged in Italy, in Toscana, in the first half of the 15th century.⁶³ On the east coast of the Adriatic we find it in the baptistry of the Cathedral of Šibenik on the ribbon, i.e., statue of the prophet Simon, a work by Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac.⁶⁴

The rather extensive damage of the tablet in the upper right corner could, to all appearances, have been the result of a powder explosion on August 8, 1463, on which occasion the Rector's Palace was utterly devastated (*magna furia et strage dictum palatium in ruinam traxit*).⁶⁵

⁶¹ Cf. Vladimir Bazala, *Poviestni razvoj medicine u hrvatskim zemljama* (Zagreb: Hrvatski izdavački zavod, 1943), 11–14; Ana Borovečki and Slobodan Lang, “Zdravstvene i socijalne institucije staroga Dubrovnika,” *Revija za socijalnu politiku* 8, no. 3–4 (2001): 302.

⁶² Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 668.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Radovan Ivančević, “Prilozi problemu interpretacije djela Jurja Matejeva Dalmatinca. Deset teza o razdoblju 1441–1452,” *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 3–6/1979–1982 (1984): 37–38, 33, photograph 12.b; and notes in Fisković, *Reljef renesansnog Dubrovnika*, 119–120n75. Cf. Predrag Marković, *Katedrala sv. Jakova u Šibeniku: prvih 105 godina* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2010).

⁶⁵ Cf. Grujić, “Onofrio di Giordano della Cava,” 18. See also: Katarina Horvat-Levaj

2.2. *Inscriptions of Cyriac of Ancona*

Although various statements about the time of Cyriac's stay in Dubrovnik can be found in pertinent writings, it is precisely his letters and other sources that help us clarify this issue. According to S. Patitucci Uggeri he visited and stayed in Dubrovnik on several occasions.⁶⁶ However, one particular stay was in many respects the most important one. The famous Italian humanist stayed in Dubrovnik in 1443, or, more precisely, after having set out from Italy for Dubrovnik in October, in January 1444 he continued his journey to the Levant.⁶⁷ Accordingly, he stayed in Dubrovnik for a fairly long time and during that time composed the inscriptions in question.⁶⁸ In addition to that, Cyriac even sent a letter of his, addressed to the cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, from Dubrovnik, dating it: "Ex Ragusio, Nonas Decembres, Eugenii pontificatus anno XIII."⁶⁹

Cyriac visited surrounding areas (Cavtat/Epidaurus) too, searching for ancient inscriptions. A testimony to that, written in his own hand, is to be found in a codex of the C version of the Statute of Dubrovnik,⁷⁰ in which, more importantly, he also entered the templates of the text for the tablets on the Rector's Palace and Great Fountain. Therefore, the discovery made by A. Šoljić, who was able to establish that the aforementioned codex contained Cyriac's apographs and autographs, is of great significance.⁷¹

That all of the records/transcripts really belong to Cyriac—although they are in fact "edited" drawings—is clearly shown by the notes accompanying them, which are undoubtedly his autograph. For that purpose, it is sufficient to look at and compare Cyriac's manuscripts as described by D. Fava⁷² as well as, for example, facsimiles published by E. W. Bodnar.⁷³

and Relja Seferović, "Barokna obnova Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 27 (2003): 163–164.

⁶⁶ Patitucci [Uggeri], "Italia, Grecia e Levante," 149, 153, 154, 155.

⁶⁷ Cyriac of Ancona, *Later travels*, XVII, 4–7.

⁶⁸ Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 663–697; Kokole, "Cyriacus of Ancona," 225–267.

⁶⁹ Cyriac of Ancona, *Later travels*, 8–15.

⁷⁰ See *Liber Statutorum Civitatis Ragusii compositus anno MCCLXXII – Statut grada Dubrovnika sastavljen godine 1272*. (Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2002).

⁷¹ Ante Šoljić, "O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," *Analiz Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 40 (2002): 137–142.

⁷² Domenico Fava, "La scrittura libraria di Ciriaco d'Ancona," in *Scritti di Paleografia e diplomatica in onore di Vincenzo Federici*, ed. Renato Piattoli (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1944 [1945]), 295–305, tables 13–23.

⁷³ Cyriac of Ancona, *Later travels*, tables I–X. Cf. *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*:

It would not seem far-fetched to assume the existence of a larger body of work by Cyriac, possibly a copy of multiple different epigraphic monuments from the Dubrovnik area, whose part later came to serve as the front and back endpapers of the codex of the *Statute of Dubrovnik*.

During his stay in Dubrovnik in 1443 and 1444, Cyriac created, then, the inscription on the Rector's Palace and the inscription on the Great Fountain, using on both of them the motif of the ancient Epidaurus—irrespective of whether he designed the idea himself or under the impression of the inscription about Aesculapius. Dubrovnik was styled as: EPID(aurae) RAGVSEAE CIVIT(atis)—or rather—EPIDAVR(am) RAGVS(am) N(ec)N(on) ILLYRIDIS VRBEM.

Further, it is rightly assumed that he may also be the author of the inscription (in Latin) held by an angel (a work by Petar Martinov from Milano)⁷⁴ and at the base of the same statue (in Greek) in the atrium of the Rector's Palace.⁷⁵ The role of Cyriac's friend Marin Rastić in his activities in Dubrovnik has been pointed out too, and rightly so.⁷⁶

Models for his inscriptions Cyriac used to draw from the rich fund of ancient inscriptions he searched for and recorded his entire life.

Beside his epigraphic inclinations, Cyriac through his work could have influenced the decoration of the Rector's Palace with sculpture, which can especially be seen in the case of the angel statue—a personification of the Holy Prudence or, on the other hand, of the “Μens-Βουλή,” comparable to the one on the island of Thasos.⁷⁷

Epigraphical and archaeological collections including copies of drawings by Ciriaco d'Ancona (Codex Ashmolensis) – http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?QuickSearchA=QuickSearchA&q=Codex+Ashmolensis&sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page&search=Search; accessed January 24, 2013.

⁷⁴ Cvito Fisković, “Petar Martinov iz Milana i pojava renesanse u Dubrovniku,” *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 27 (1988): 89–144.

⁷⁵ Kokole, “Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 668–685; Kokole, “Cyriacus of Ancona,” 232–237.

⁷⁶ Kokole, “Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 665–666; Lučin, “Jedan model humanističke recepcije,” 31. Cf. Šoljić, “O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku,” 137–138.

⁷⁷ Cf. Kokole, “Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 672–685; Kokole, “Cyriacus of Ancona,” 232–237, 244–261.

Cyriac's copy of two ancient inscriptions from Cavtat (Tiha cove):

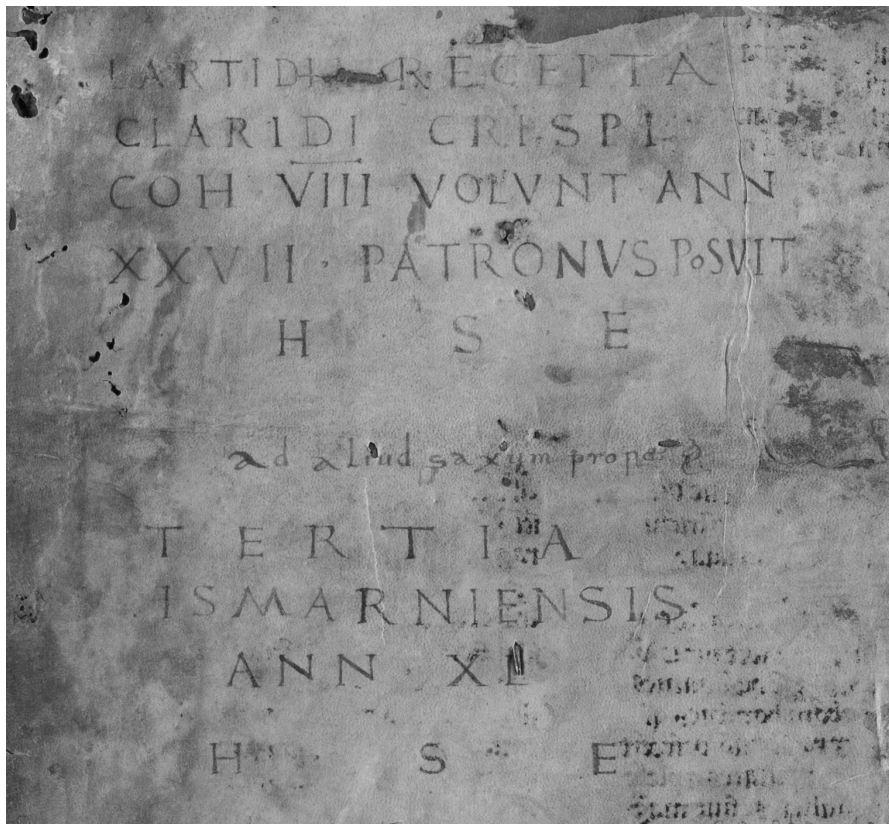


Fig. 4. The front endpapers of the *Statute of Dubrovnik* (the Dubrovnik State Archives, *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, photographed at the Central Photolaboratory of the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb)

The text of both copies

The first inscription (above the transcript one finds several sentences of Cyriac's barely legible, damaged and tannin-coated handwriting):

LARTIDIA RECEPTA
 CLARIDI CRISPI
 COH · VIII · VOLVNT · ANN
 XXVII · PATRONVS POSVIT
 H · S · E

The second inscription (Cyriac's note: "ad aliud saxum prope"):

TERTIA
ISMARNIENSIS
ANN · XL
H · S · E

The text of both inscriptions according to the *CIL*

The first inscription:

Lartidia Recepta / C(ai) Lartidi Crispi | (centurionis) / Coh(ortis) VIII
Volunt(ariorum) ann(or)um / XXVII patronus pos(u)it / h(ic) s(ita) e(st)⁷⁸

The second inscription:

Tertia / Ismarniensis / ann(or)um XL / h(ic) s(ita) e(st)⁷⁹

Valuable information about and an account of the activity of Cyriac in Dubrovnik are preserved in the minutes of the Lesser Council from December 18, 1443. To be more specific, the heads of the construction/renewal of the Rector's Palace were permitted to make tablets for the inscriptions whose templates had been entered at the end of the *Statute of Dubrovnik* by Cyriac personally:

Captum fuit de dando libertatem officialibus fabrice regiminis quod [possint] debeant facere expensam necessariam in sculpi et scribi faciendo in petra viva . . . epigramata epitafiorum scripta et annotata in fine libri statutorum nostrorum manu ser Chiriachi de Anchona . . .⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *CIL* III, 1742. Cf. Grga Novak, *Povijest Dubrovnika*, vol. I, *Povijest Dubrovnika od najstarijih vremena do početka VII. stoljeća (do propasti Epidauruma)*, supplement, *Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku 10–11/1962–1963* (1966): 45, photograph 22; Marina Šegvić, "Stanovništvo Konavala u rimsko doba," in *Konavle u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti*, 13, 18; Miroslav Glavičić, "Epigrafska baština rimskodobnog Epidaura," *Archaeologia Adriatica* 2, no. 1 (2008): 56n60. The transcript was also published by Daniele Farlati (*Illyrici sacri tomus sextus*, 2) and Valtazar Bogišić, *Pisani zakoni na slovenskom jugu. Bibliografski nacrt: I. Zakoni izdani najvišom zakonodavnom vlašću u samostalnim državama* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1872), 100.

⁷⁹ *CIL* III, 1758. Cf. Šegvić, "Stanovništvo Konavala," 14, 20; Glavičić, "Epigrafska baština rimskodobnog Epidaura," 59n75. The transcript was also published by Bogišić, *Pisani zakoni na slovenskom jugu*, 100.

⁸⁰ Cf. Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 687–688n21. (The Dubrovnik State Archives, *Acta Consilii minoris* 9, 220r, December 18, 1443); Šoljić, "O ranjoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," 138.

Shortly after, on January 12, 1444, the Lesser Council requested the Grand Council to pay ten golden ducats to Cyriac from Ancona for his kind and valuable services, and the latter gave its approval on the very next day:

Captum fuit de eundo ad mayus Consilium pro donando de denariis nostrae communis ser Cheriaco Anchonitano pro eius bono deportamento et affectione erga nostram rem publicam tam Anchone quam hic Ragusii demonstrata ducatos auri decem.⁸¹

This also confirms the presence of Cyriac in Dubrovnik at the beginning of January 1444.

However, it took almost three full years for the tablets to be finished and ready for insertion. Thus on March 24, 1446 the Lesser Council made the decision that the tablets containing the inscriptions composed by Cyriac should be set up (*de duabus pianchis super quibus schulpte sunt litere ordinate per ser Chyriacum de Anchona*), ordering that one tablet should be put above the window of the notarial office (*supra fenestram notarie inferatam*) and the second one on the Great Fountain (*et alteram ad fontanam magnam communis*).⁸²

By all accounts, B. Galić was the first historiographer to attribute the inscription on the Rector's Palace to Cyriac of Ancona.⁸³

The inscription *Civitati* . . . is an ambiguous and complex monument featuring—as Z. Janeković Römer put it—all the fundamental pieces of the message the authorities wanted to convey: the ancient origin, the aristocracy acting in the public interest, the support of St. Blaise, the primacy of the senatorial rank, the loyalty to the crown of Hungary, but also the awareness of one's own statehood.⁸⁴

a) the inscriptions by Cyriac of Ancona above the window of the notarial chamber

⁸¹ Cf. Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 687–688n21. (The Dubrovnik State Archives, *Acta Consilii minoris* 10, 7v, January 12, 1444); Šoljić, "O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," 138.

⁸² Cf. Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 687–688n21 (The Dubrovnik State Archives, *Acta Consilii minoris* 10, 225v, March 24, 1446); Šoljić, "O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," 138; Grujić, "Onofrio di Giordano della Cava," 16n73.

⁸³ Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 688n24.

⁸⁴ Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode*, 387.



Fig. 5a. Statute of Dubrovnik, 2v, photographed at the Central Photolaboratory of the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb

Cyriac's template of the inscription ad palatium:

CIVITATI
RAGVSEI NOBILES PROVIDENTISSIMIQ(ue)
CIVES
BLASII MART(yris) PONTIF(icis)Q(ue) S(ancti)S(simi) PRAECL(arae) HVIVS
EPID(aurae) RAGVSEAE CIVIT(at)is) PATRONI AVSPICANTE
NUMINE
AD PRID(ie) IDVVM SEXTILIVM AVGVSTVM FAVSTVM FELICISS(imum)Q(ue) DIEM
EX S(enatus) C(onsulto) ET AMPLISS(imi) ORDINIS DECRETO
ATRIVM PRAETORIANVM HOC INSIGNE VT PUBL(icam)
CIVITATIS AULAM ET SENATORIAM AED(EM)
AEDILIBUS OPTVMIS(!) CVRANTIBV(s) V VIR(is) OPTIMVM IN OMNEM
OPORTVNMQVE PRAESENTM ET POSTERITATIS VSVM AERE PVBL(ico)
DICANDVM EXORNANDVMQVE
DEDERE
A(nno) D(omini) MCCCCXXXV.



Fig. 5b. The inscription by Cyriac of Ancona on the Rector's Palace
(*Hrvatska i Europa*, vol. 2, 115).

The text of the inscription:

CIVITATI
RAGVSEI NOBILES PROVIDENTISSIMI QVE
CIVES
BLASII MARTYRIS PONTIF(ici)S(ancti)S(sim)i PRAECL(arae) HVIVS EPIDAVRAE
RAGVSEAE CIVITATIS PATRONI AVSPICANTE NVMINE
AD PRID(ie) IDVVM SEXTILIVM AVG(ustum) FAVSTVM FELICISS(imum) QVE DIEM
EX S(enatus) C(onsulto) ET AMPLISSIMI ORDINIS DECRETO
ATRIVM PRAETORIANVM HOC INSIGNE VT PUBL(icam) CIVIT(at)is AULAM ET
SENATORIAM AEDEM AED(ilibus) OPTVMIS(!) CVRAN[t]IB(us) V VIR(is) OPTIM[us] IN OMNEM
OPORTVNVM Q(ue) PRAESENTEM ET POSTERITATIS VSVM AERE PVBLICO
DICANDVM EXORNANDVM Q(ue) DEDERE
K(yriacus) A(nconitanus)
A(nno) D(omini) MCCCCXXXV SIGISMVNDVS IMP(erator) A(nno) II.⁸⁵

An epigraphic and palaeographic commentary:

The inscription was executed in monumental square capitals, based on the model of ancient dedicatory inscriptions. With regard to the wording of the template, the divergences prove to be a lot smaller than in the case of the inscription on the Great Fountain. The template does not contain any initials of Cyriac, nor a date after a ruler. Further, in several cases the words on the tablet were executed in an abbreviated form, while the template has them written out. This is especially significant in the case

⁸⁵ Cf. Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 686.

of the abbreviation AED which is to be resolved as AED(ilibus), not as AED(ificavere). It has to be granted, though, that abbreviations generally depended primarily on the stonemason's arrangement of the text field and on the monumental appearance of the inscription itself.

The capitals are Roman with the characteristic letters M, G, Q, and the abbreviations show the usual repertoire: suspensions—PONTIF(icis)Q(ue), S(ancti)S(simis), PRAECL(arae), etc.; in the words CVRAN[t]IB(us) and OPTIM[u]M the contraction was not indicated due to the lack of space.

There are some instances of the use of *litterae insertae* (CI in CIVITATIS, LI and CI in FELICISS(imum)QVE, etc.), and only one example of *litterae contiguae* (i.e., the ligatures AE i NT in the word PRAESENTEM).

The words are separated by a dot in the middle of the letter and *hederae distinguentes* are also present (lines 11 and 13).

On both inscriptions the name of Cyriac of Ancona was realised by means of the initials KA (= *Kyriacus Anconitanus*), although he himself used the initials KAP (= *Kyriacus Anconitanus de Picenicollibus*) more often.⁸⁶

In epigraphic and palaeographic terms we find it difficult to agree with the assertion that Cyriac used the letters from the two ancient inscriptions he had copied in Cavtat for the inscriptions on the Rector's Palace and Great Fountain. The Cavtat inscriptions are, as a matter of fact, of inferior quality.⁸⁷ Cyriac probably just "enhanced" them himself when copying. It is more likely that he used some of the many other ancient monuments in Cavtat.⁸⁸

The inscription on the Rector's Palace is comparable with regard to the shape of the letters to none other than Cyriac's copy (ca. 1443, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 254, fol. 81) of an ancient Roman inscription.⁸⁹ Therefore, it is easy to endorse the assertion made in scholarly publications⁹⁰ that Cyriac was, in many respects, the leading figure in the application of the Roman square capitals in the inscriptions of his time.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Cyriac of Ancona, *Later travels*, XXn1.

⁸⁷ Šoljić, "O ranjoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," 139: "Before he made a template for dedicatory inscriptions, Cyriac copied two antique inscriptions in Cavtat first, and then used their antique letters for new inscriptions which were to be carved on the palace or fountain!"

⁸⁸ See Glavičić, "Epigrafska baština rimskodobnog Epidaura," 43–62.

⁸⁹ Meiss, "Toward a More Comprehensive Renaissance Palaeography," photograph 31.

⁹⁰ Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 663–667; Šoljić, "O ranjoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," 142.

⁹¹ See: Nicolette Gray, *A history of lettering: creative experiment and letter identity* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 122–136.

b) inscriptions by Cyriac of Ancona on the ribbon held by an angel/ personification of the Holy Prudence or the “Mens–Βουλή,” and at the base of the same statue (in Greek) in the atrium of the Rector’s Palace



Fig. 5c. The inscription by Cyriac of Ancona on the ribbon held by an angel/ personification of the Holy Prudence or the “Mens–Βουλή,” and at the base of the same statue (in Greek) in the atrium of the Rector’s Palace
(*Likovna kultura Dubrovnik*, 103)

The text of the inscription:

PIO, IVSTO PROVIDOQ(ue) RAG(useorum) SENATVI SACRA MENS:
IVST[itiam] PIETATEMQ(ue) CIVNTO, VICIO VACANTO, CAETERIS SPECIMEN [sunto]⁹²
K(yriacus) [A(nconitanus)]

Ἐρὰ Βουλῆ

An epigraphic and palaeographic commentary:

Though short, the inscription provides enough data for an analysis. It was executed in two lines in humanistic square capitals. The design had to follow the surface, i.e. the ribbon held by the angel. The words in the text are separated by a dot at the middle height of the letters. The text contains suspensions: PROVIDOQ(ue), RAG(useorum), PIETATEMQ(ue). In shaping the inscription the following were used: *litterae insertae* (e.g., TO in IVSTO, DO in PROVIDOQ(ue), CI in VICIO), ligatures, or rather, *litterae contiguae* and *nexus litterarum* (e.g., Æ in CAETERIS, NTO in VACANTO). The word IVST[itiam] is now damaged, but the original had it written out.

We can also assume, as A. Šoljić proposes,⁹³ that the damaged section of the ribbon can be reconstructed as: K(yriacus) [A(nconitanus)].

At the base of the statue stand, carved in Greek letters, the words: Ἐρὰ Βουλῆ.

Conspectus generalis as well as a comparison with other items assigns this inscription in terms of authorship to the epigraphic heritage of Cyriac of Ancona,⁹⁴ although the question of an exact date of the inscription still remains open.

3. Ciriac's Inscription on the Great Fountain

Having ventured into the making of the inscriptions on the Rector's Palace, Cyriac did the same for another important monument characteristic of Dubrovnik: the Great Fountain / Great Fountain of Onofrio (*fons sive fontana*).

⁹² Cf. Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 672, 676; Kokole, "Cyriacus of Ancona," 234.

⁹³ Šoljić, "O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," 142n25.

⁹⁴ Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 672; Šoljić, "O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," 142n25.

For every single human community water is of the utmost importance and bringing it to the community which lacks it is just as important.⁹⁵

The idea of building the Great Fountain was conceived in the spring of 1437. The construction itself was underway between 1437 and 1444, although the fountain was functional as early as January 27, 1438, as stated expressly, inter alia, in the inscription on the fountain. The fountain was set up on a spot between two Franciscan monasteries—the former monastery of St. Clare and the Friars Minor monastery.⁹⁶ The construction of the fountain was managed by the “excellent architect of our time”—as the inscription on the fountain puts it—Onofrio di Giordano della Cava. The construction of both the fountain and the aqueduct as a whole is very well documented. From numerous contracts and records preserved in different collections of the Dubrovnik State Archives, over narrative sources such as that of Philippus de Diversis’s *Situs aedificorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclitae civitatis Ragusii*,⁹⁷ up to the fountain inscription itself, we get a detailed insight into the process of genesis of this great and significant public edifice. In chronological order, based on selected documents, it looks as follows:

- June 20, 1436—a contract for the construction of an aqueduct and a fountain in Dubrovnik
- March 20, 1437—the resolution on the building of the fountain is passed
- April 8, 1437—a presentation and approval of the fountain building project
- October 16, 1437—permission to continue the preparatory works for the fountain (stopped because of the plague)
- November 2, 1437—a contract to build the foundations
- February 7, 1438—a contract about the shape and dimensions of the fountain

⁹⁵ Cf. Relja Seferović and Mara Stojan, “Čudo vode: prolegomena za ranorenesansni vodovod u Dubrovniku,” *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 44 (2006): 95–137.

⁹⁶ “pro cuius receptaculo et emissionem pie, liberaliter, et magnifice apud monasterium Sanctae Clarae (quia ibi amplius fuit spatium) situs, fundatus et perpulchre fabricatus est fons, volvens in circuitu passus XVIII altitudine quinque, latitudine vero sex, lapides extrinsecus vivi politi et mensurati sunt, diversa affixa videntur super quibusdam columnis parvis animalium simulacra. Scaturit aqua XVI foraminibus, unde XVI personae simul lympham auriunt,” Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, 153–154 [Croatian translation: 44–45].

⁹⁷ Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, 58–62 (Croatian), 152–154 (Latin); Fisković, *Reljef renesansnog Dubrovnika*, 46–48.

- October 1, 1438—a contract to build the parapet
- September 1, 1439—a contract to build the arches
- December 18, 1443—approval for the making of a tablet with an inscription, designed by Cyriac, for the Great Fountain⁹⁸
- December 24, 1444—the construction of a vault from hewn stones⁹⁹
- March 24, 1446—the Lesser Council decides on the installation of the tablet with an inscription *ad fontanam magnam communis*.¹⁰⁰

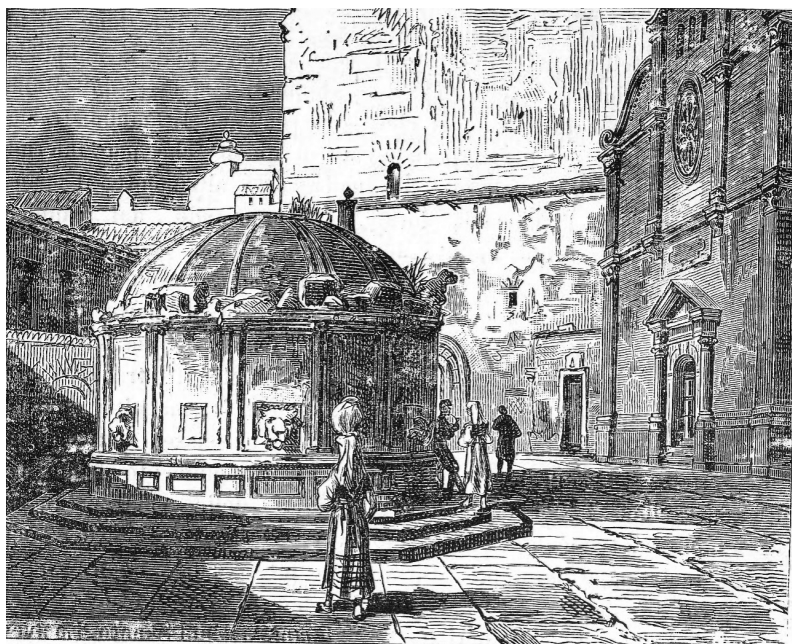


Fig. 6. The Great Fountain (Gelcich, *Dello sviluppo civile di Ragusa*, 54)

⁹⁸ Cf. Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 687–688n21. (The Dubrovnik State Archives, *Acta Consilii minoris* 9, 220r, December 18, 1443); Šoljić, “O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku,” 138.

⁹⁹ Renata Novak Klemenčić, “Velika česma u Dubrovniku,” *Kolo – časopis Matice hrvatske* 18, no. 2 (2008): 5–35; first published in the Slovenian language: Renata Novak Klemenčić, “Dubrovniška Velika fontana,” *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n.s., 39 (2003): 57–91. See also: Folnesics, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur und Plastik*, 88–106; Risto Jeremić and Jorjo Tadić, *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture starog Dubrovnika*, vol. 1 (Beograd: Centralni higijenski zavod, 1938), 36–47.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 687–688n21 (The Dubrovnik State Archives, *Acta Consilii minoris* 10, 225v, March 24, 1446); Šoljić, “O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku,” 138; Grujić, “Onofrio di Giordano della Cava,” 16n73.

The Great Fountain¹⁰¹ was actually the final phase and crown of the construction of a large water facility running almost 12 km—from the Vrelo Spring by the village of Šumet down to the city itself. The inscription on the stone tablet put on the Great Fountain in 1446 by a decision of the Lesser Council was designed by Cyriac of Ancona (de duabus pianchis super quibus sculpte sunt litere ordinate per ser Chyriacum de Anchona, alteram poni faciant ... et alteram ad fontanam magnam comunis).¹⁰² The large tablet on the Great Fountain deservedly celebrates its builder, bearing witness to the undertaking successfully completed. To be more precise, the builder was under the obligation to make such a facility that would ensure as much water flowing out in the city as flowing in at the spring.¹⁰³ In other words, a rather risky business.¹⁰⁴

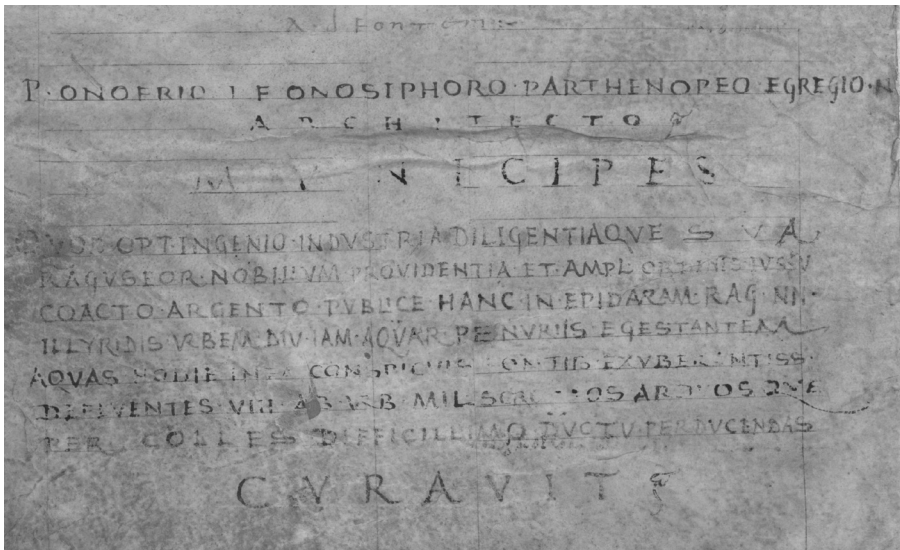


Fig. 6a. *Statute of Dubrovnik, 2v*, photographed at the Central Photolaboratory of the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb

¹⁰¹ Cf. Novak Klemenčič, “Velika česma u Dubrovniku,” 25–26; Pelc, *Renesansa*, 320–322.

¹⁰² Cf. Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 687–688n21 (The Dubrovnik State Archives, *Acta Consilii minoris* 10, 225v, March 24, 1446); Šoljić, “O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku,” 138; Grujić, “Onofrio di Giordano della Cava,” 16n73.

¹⁰³ Cf. Jeremić and Tadić, *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture starog Dubrovnika*, vol. 1, 39; Seferović and Stojan, “Čudo vode,” 105, 135.

¹⁰⁴ See: Seferović and Stojan, “Čudo vode,” 113.

Cyriac's template of the ad fontem inscription:

P(osuerunt) ONOFRIO I(ordani) F(ilio) ONOSIPHORO PARTHENOPEO EGREGIO N(ostri) [T(emporis)]
 ARCHITECTO
 MVNICIPES
 QVOD OPT(imo) INGENIO INDVSTRIA DILIGENTIAQUE SVA
 RAGVSEOR(um) NOBILIUM PROVIDENTIA ET AMPL(issimi) ORDINIS IVSSV
 COACTO ARGENTO PVBLICE HANC IN EPIDAVRAM RAG(usam) N(ec)N(on)
 ILLYRIDIS VRBEM DIV IAM AQVAR(um) PENVRIIS EGESTANTEM
 AQVAS HODIE IN EA CONSPICUIS FONTIB(us) EXVBERANTISS(ime)
 DEFLVENTES VIII AB VRB(e) MIL(ia) SCRVP EOS ARDVOSQVE
 PER COLLES DIFFICILLIMO DVCTV PERDV CENDAS
 CVRAVIT



Fig. 6b. The inscription by Cyriac of Ancona on the Great Fountain
 (photo: Jadranka Bagarić)

The text of the inscription:

P(osuerunt) ONOFRIO I(ordani) F(ilio) ONOSIPHORO
 PARTHENOPEO EGREGIO N(ostri) T(emporis)
 ARCHITECTO
 MVNICIPES
 QVOD OPT(imo) INGENIO ET DILIGENTIA SVA RAGVSEOR(um) NOBIL(ium) PROVI-
 DENTIA ET AMPL(issimi) ORDINIS IVSSV COACTO ARGENTO PVBL(ico) HANC IN
 EPIDAVR(am) RAGVS(am) N(ec)N(on) ILLYRIDIS VRBEM DIV IAM AQVAR(um) POENVRIIS(t) EGESTANT-

EM AQVAS IN EA HODIE ET A(nte) [diem] VI. K(alendas) FEBR(uarias) KYRIACEO FAVSTO ET FELICISS-
IMO DIE CONSPIC(uis) FONTIB(us) EXVBERANTISSIME DEELVENTES(!) VIII
AB VRB(e) MIL(ia) SCRVP EOS ARDVOSQ(ve) PER COLLES DIFEICILLIMO(!) DVCTV
PERDVXIT

K(yriacus) A(nconitanus)

A(nno) D(omini) MCCCCXXXVIII [ante diem] VI. K(alendas) FEBR(uarias)

ALBERTO IMP(eratore) DESIG(nato) A(nno) I¹⁰⁵

An epigraphic and palaeographic commentary:

13 lines of text in humanistic square capitals were carved into the large marble tablet in honour of the builder of the Great Fountain—the architect Onofrio Onosifor. The author of the wording, Cyriac of Ancona, was indicated with the initials KA. Among the first to attribute this inscription directly to Cyriac of Ancona was J. Collin.¹⁰⁶

The inscription, published several times before,¹⁰⁷ has one unique feature—the same as the one on the Rector’s Palace—its written template has been preserved. As mentioned before, the codex of the *Statute of Dubrovnik*—according to a study by A. Šoljić—holds within its covers an autograph of Cyriac of Ancona containing the text of this inscription. This is a fortunate circumstance, since the record in the *Statute* was executed almost entirely in extenso (i.e., without the abbreviations—most of the words abbreviated on the tablet were here written in their full form).

The final inscription differs in many respects from the template.¹⁰⁸ Apart from the differences in morphology and syntax, the template lacks the entire date section featured on the inscription on the Great Fountain, and Cyriac’s signature at the end is missing too. In addition to this, there are alterations in the order of words as well as their omission and/or supplementation. It is hard to establish exactly the person who gave the inscription its final form. Hypothetically speaking, Cyriac could have visited and stayed once more in Dubrovnik during his many travels throughout the Adriatic. Such an assertion is, however, very much subject to criticism, and further archival research will have to be carried out before we have an answer to that question.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 685.

¹⁰⁶ Colin, *Cyriaque d’Ancône*, 338–339.

¹⁰⁷ Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 665, 668–669, 685–686; Kokole, “Cyriacus of Ancona,” 238–240.

¹⁰⁸ Šoljić, “O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku,” 140–142.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Kokole, “Ciriaco d’Ancona v Dubrovniku,” 693n112.

The inscription contains many abbreviations as a result of the length of the text itself and certainly the limited space on the tablet. We find here, without exception, abbreviations omitting the last part of words (i.e., suspensions): P(osuerunt), I(ordani), F(ilio), N(ostri) T(emporis), OPT(imo), RAGVSEOR(um), NOBIL(ium), AMPL(issimi), etc.

All words are separated from each other by a dot at the middle height of the letters.

The letter *P* found at the very beginning of the inscription most probably stands—despite various possibilities¹¹⁰—for P(osuerunt).

The element NT in the word DILIGENTIA was done with a ligature, as was the case with VR in the word VRBEM etc.

Littere insertae: LI in DILIGENTIA; CO in COACTO, etc.

The stonemason's errors are: POENVRIIS, DEELVENTES, DIFEICILLIMO.¹¹¹

Interestingly enough, the same date occurs twice in the inscription, the difference being that in the first instance (January 27) it wrongly indicates that it was a Sunday instead of a Monday: A(nte) [diem] VI. K(alendas) FEBR(uarias) KYRIACEO FAVSTO ET FELICISSIMO DIE.¹¹²

The distance expressed in miles matches the actual length of the Ragusean Renaissance aqueduct, although it can also be interpreted as MIL(ia)[passum]. Since the calculation stays the same (8x1.481=11.848 km), a supplement of that kind is not necessary.

The date at the end was formulated according to the Christian era, using the ancient Roman calendar to express the day of the month and the regnal years of the city's sovereign king Albert the Magnanimous (1397–1439) from the House of Habsburg, who, in addition to other territories, ruled briefly over the Kingdom of Hungary between 1438 and 1439.

¹¹⁰ Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviatarum – Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane* (Milano: Editore Ulrico Hoepli, 2005), s.v.

¹¹¹ A different view: S. Kokole, "Ciriaco d'Ancona v Dubrovniku," 666–667. Cf. Piergiorgio Parroni, "Il latino di Ciriaco," in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'umanesimo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Ancona 6-9 febbraio 1992 (Accademia Marchigiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti)*, ed. Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 1998), 269–289.

¹¹² Cf. Šoljić, "O ranoj renesansi u Dubrovniku," 140–141.

Instead of a Conclusion

The epigraphic heritage of Dubrovnik occupies a very important place in the holdings of medieval and modern inscriptions from the Adriatic, especially the items of the Renaissance period, being contemporaneous and parallel with the best humanistic ideas and artistic creations of that time. Therefore, it deserves to be treated, studied, conserved, catalogued and published as a whole. The selected inscriptions described here illustrate the level of research of this valuable heritage—an archive in stone (“saxa loquuntur”), but also the differences in some interpretations. The inscriptions from Dubrovnik, or rather the epigraphic legacy of the former commune, later Republic of Dubrovnik,¹¹³ should once again be registered, described according to the modern principles and published (each inscription should have: a photograph, a transcript with abbreviations resolved, a translation, a historical/epigraphic/palaeographic and, if necessary, linguistic commentary as well as a bibliography). This can be done only within the framework of a scientific project spanning several years which should include historians, art historians, Latin and Italian philologists, archaeologists and other experts. Only in such an interdisciplinary manner can we hope to present this piece of Croatian cultural history adequately and to make it accessible to a variety of humanities and scientific disciplines and all other interested audiences.

¹¹³ For example, cf. Niko Kapetanić, *Konavoski epigrafički spomenici iz vremena Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2000).

Dubrovačka epigrafička baština renesansnog doba (15. stoljeće)

Sažetak

Na primjeru nekoliko latinskih natpisa iz razdoblja renesanse autor ukazuje na dio specifične i bogate spomeničke baštine Dubrovnika. Riječ je o natpisima koji se nalaze na javnim građevinama i sakralnim objektima. U dubrovačkom kraju ističe se natpis isklesan gotičkom majuskulom iz franjevačkog samostana u Slanom (na crkvi sv. Jeronima), koji svojim sadržajem ovdje predstavlja prijelazno razdoblje između gotike na zalazu i renesanse na početku, ali neupitno humanističkog izričaja. U samom pak Dubrovniku, na južnoj strani u portiku Kneževa dvora nalazi se natpis uklesan humanističkom kvadratnom kapitalom koji slavi boga ljekarništva Eskulapa. Nastao je kao odraz novih duhovnih strujanja humanizma koja se oslanjaju na antičku tradiciju Epidaura kao prethodnika Dubrovnika u kojemu bi po predaji bio rođen Asklepije (Eskulap). Godine 1443./1444. u Dubrovniku boravi glasoviti talijanski humanist Ciriak iz Ancone (Ciriaco di Filippo de Pizzicolti d'Ancona), koji sastavlja natpise na trijemu Kneževa dvora i na Velikoj fontani te u humanističkom duhu utječe na opremanje Kneževa dvora skulpturom. U ovom se radu kontekstualiziraju i analiziraju spomenuti natpisi. Također se donosi njihova transkripcija, pri čemu se kratice razrješuju.