Reading Croatian Latin through Lucretius

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Abstract / Résumé

To demonstrate and explore possibilities of large-scale searching in digital text collections of Latin literature, I query the *Croatiae auctores Latini* (CroALa) corpus, comprising a selection of Latin texts written by Croatian authors (or authors connected with Croatia) during the thousand years between 976 and 1984, for matches of clausulae from *De rerum natura*. A search for some 7,400 Lucretian clausulae over some 228,000 verses currently in CroALa results in 1,994 cases of at least one match, with 5,529 unique lines of Croatian Latin poetry matching the clausulae. A simple heuristic decision chain is used to concentrate on interesting matches; some of them are presented and interpreted as a brief introduction to Croatian Latin *sub specie Lucretii.*

Pour démontrer et explorer les possibilités d'une recherche à grande échelle dans les collections de textes numérisés en littérature latine, j'ai interrogé le corpus *Croatiae auctores Latini* (CroALa) qui contient une sélection de textes latins écrits par des auteurs croates (ou liés à la Croatie) sur près de mille ans, entre 976 et 1984, afin de trouver des correspondances avec des *clausulae* du *De rerum natura.* Une recherche portant sur quelque 7 400 *clausulae* de Lucrèce dans environ 228 000 vers du CroALa a révélé 1 994 cas présentant au moins une correspondance, pour 5 528 lignes de poésie latine croate correspondant à une clausula lucrétienne. Une simple chaine de décision heuristique a ensuite été utilisée pour repérer les correspondances intéressantes ; un certain nombre d'entre elles sont présentées et interprétées comme une brève introduction au latin croate *sub specie Lucretii.*

Modern Latin philology finds itself in a paradoxical situation. Never before has more Latin been accessible to readers; but in proportion with the amount of accessible text grows the temptation not to read it. One kind of textual avoidance is manifested in the fact that Latin texts are read in translation, so that discussions of them tend to focus on the aspects that are language neutral. Another kind of avoidance is caused precisely by the fact that we are facing millions of words. These millions are well beyond normal human capabilities of synthesis, and we cannot deal with such huge corpora without resorting either to abstractions and generalizations, or to various kinds of reading without reading, such as statistical analysis or statistical modelling. Thinking

critically about huge amounts of Latin is an enticing challenge; but reading without reading makes a philologist uncomfortable. Is it possible to think about more Latin, but to remain true to philology as a practice of reading?

Testing one approach to this challenge, I will take a large set of well-defined expressions, firmly anchored to specific lexical and prosodic features of the Latin language and to one of its canonical texts, and use the set to orient an exploratory reading of a Latin corpus that is little known and little studied.

The set of expressions consists of clausulae from about 7,400 hexameters of Lucretius' *De rerum natura.* The little-known corpus comprises some 228,000 verses from the *Croatiae auctores Latini,* a collection of Latin texts written by Croatian authors (or authors connected with Croatia) in the thousand years between 976 and 1984.

Croatian Latin

In the zone of contact between Roman Pannonia and the Mediterranean, from the river Drava to the Adriatic, the Latin language was in continuous active use from antiquity until the end of the nineteenth century. For a number of political, cultural, and religious reasons, the language of the Romans and of the Roman Catholic Church became a lasting important feature of Croatian identity. The educated elite of a small Slavic-speaking community chose to write, speak, and think in Latin in order to participate more easily, and on more equal terms, in the international republic of letters. Consequently, a significant part of the Croatian cultural heritage consists of various writings in Latin, covering the belles lettres and scholarship, politics and religious matters, and private correspondence and documents of public administration. An ambition of the freely available open source digital resource *Croatiae auctores Latini* (CroALa, first published in 2009) is to capture as much of this variety as possible.[1]

The current edition of CroALa, from December 2014, is made up of 451 prose and poetic documents of different length, from over 786,000 words to just 5, with over 5,220,000 words in all. In the documents, there are 569 texts—some documents contain more individual textual units—most of which, 531, were written between 1433 and 1866 (chronologically, CroALa groups texts by thirds of centuries). Two hundred twenty-six of 451 documents, and 237 texts in them, contain at least one line of poetry, amounting to 242,041 verses, roughly equal in size to the corpus of pagan Latin poetry from Ennius to Sidonius Apollinaris, as reported by Paolo Mastandrea.[2] This corpus of Croatian Neo-Latin verse, however, is today little known, and less read.

The Clausula and Lucretius

The hexameter clausula is a long-recognized privileged locus of text reuse in Latin literature. In the words of Mastandrea, during the whole time span of

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[1] Jovanović et al. 2009.

[2] Mastandrea and Tessarolo 1993: VII.

Latin literature (its medieval and neo-Latin afterlife included), "la memoria dei poeti ha eletto la clausola sia come luogo di squisiti richiami, sia come deposito di passive imitazioni."[3] Lexical similarities in the clausula are at the same time easy to identify and prominent as an intertextual gesture. This is why I decided to make them an entry point to reading verses in CroALa.

The usual approach to an unknown literature is either deductive—we start from literary history, from a survey of genres, periods, and topics, and progress to individual authors and texts—or random: we start from wherever chance takes us, or whatever catches our eye. The attempt to read Croatian Latin poetry from Lucretian clausulae falls somewhere in between. Our attention will be focused on passages verbally connected with Lucretius, and we will thus be introduced to Croatian Latin *sub specie Lucretii.* This will be an experiment in the study of literary reception; but it will also be an exercise in discovery. From a "bag of verses," similar to the "bag of words" model used in natural language processing and information retrieval (where, for classification purposes, grammatical structure and word order are disregarded, but frequency of occurrence of words is considered relevant), we will proceed to interesting points in a collection of unknown texts. When necessary, I will supply relevant background information on texts and their authors.

As shown in chapters of *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius* (Gillespie and Hardie 2007) and *Lucretius and the Early Modern* (Norbrook et al. 2016), in the Early Modern period *De rerum natura* was often read and studied closely and eagerly, on a par with the works of Vergil and Ovid, or Catullus and Martial. It is true that an interest in the key text of ancient Epicureanism had to be concealed, especially in Italy (whose culture strongly influenced Croatia), by strategies that Valentina Prosperi calls the "dissimulatory code."[4] However, for a range of users of Neo-Latin—from humanists to Jesuit teachers—Lucretius was attractive not solely because of his philosophy, but also for the sublime quality of his verse, as well as for a number of excellently formulated commonplaces about the fragility of the human condition, the effects of sexual desire, and the imperative of liberating the mind from fear of death and the unknown.

There is no chapter on Lucretius and the Slavic world in *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius,* and *Lucretius and the Early Modern* deals primarily with Italy, France, and Great Britain. Neither is there a general study of the reception of Lucretius in Croatian literature in any of the languages this literature used (Croatian, Latin, Italian, German). The relevance of Lucretius was, however, suggested long ago, in the seminal 1895 article by Milivoj Šrepel (1862–1905) on Benedikt Stay from Dubrovnik (1714–1801), a Jesuit-educated priest famous in his time for his Neo-Latin didactic poetry.[5] More material

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[3] Mastandrea and Tessarolo 1993: VII.

[4] Gillespie and Hardie 2007: 8.

[5] Šrepel 1895. For Stay and his Neo-Latin circle in Enlightenment Rome, see also Haskell 2003: 178–244.

was added recently, by a number of Lucretian loci noted in Latin verses of the canonical Croatian author Marko Marulić from Split (1450–1524), and in those of the famous Croatian-Hungarian poet Janus Pannonius (1434–1472).[6]

A Quantitative Report

The first stage of my exercise was to identify Lucretian clausulae in verses in CroALa and gather some information on the extent and quality of reuses of these clausulae.[7] To this end, I prepared a complete set of 7,407 clausulae from the *De rerum natura* in Bailey's 1922 edition (this edition was used because it has been made freely available for research by the *Perseus Digital Library*).[8]

The set comprised three types of hexameter endings: the most usual two-words clausula (e.g., *labentia signa*, Lucr. 1.2); the one with three words, where the penultimate word is three letters long or shorter (e.g., *cum sit agendum*, Lucr. 1.138; in the *De rerum natura* there are 659 such lines), and a single word extending over the fifth and sixth foot (e.g., *dissoluatque*, Lucr. 1.223; 191 occurrences in Lucretius).[9]

I did not remove repetitions of clausulae, though some recur frequently in Lucretius' work. Retaining the recurring endings made possible additional insights into poetic memory, through speculations on *which* verse, and which context, was more memorable.

The set of Lucretian clausulae was then used to query verses in CroALa, made searchable as an XML database. I performed two global searches, instructing the computer the first time to find literal matches, and the second time to use "fuzzy string searching"—that is, approximate matching of patterns. Not knowing what would be found, I decided not to limit searches to verse endings, but to allow Lucretian phrases to match anywhere in the CroALa poetic lines.

The first search resulted in 1,994 clausulae from *De rerum natura* with at least one match in CroALa. For comparison, Mastandrea's and Tessarolo's repertory includes some 2,640 clausulae from Lucretius repeated by other Roman authors. Clausulae matched in CroALa were spread across all six books of the *De rerum natura*, occurring most frequently in Book 5 (405 occurrences) and least frequently in Book 3 (286). In the second, fuzzy search, matches were found for 3690 clausulae, ranging from 700 in Book 5 to 577 in Book 6.

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[6] Marulić: Novaković 1999. Janus Pannonius: Mayer and Török 2006, 2014.

[7] The complete dataset of this exploration, including XML databases, queries, and texts, is available online (Jovanović 2015).

[8] Bailey 1922; Crane 1987.

[9] The single-word clausula type was omitted from Mastandrea and Tessarolo 1993, though Mastandrea judged it worthy of a concordance of its own (Mastandrea and Tessarolo 1993: X).

In CroALa, 121 documents were found to contain 5,529 unique lines matching Lucretian clausulae literally, while 153 documents contained 15,625 fuzzy matches. The documents were produced by 66 Croatian poets (omitting those from documents by more than one author, and anonymous ones), with nine additional authors discovered by fuzzy matching. In origin, the authors were predominantly from Dubrovnik (25) and other Dalmatian cities (Šibenik 8, Split 8, Trogir 5). Five authors were active in Zagreb (in continental Croatia, the modern capital), and the rest were scattered mostly in the coastal part of the country.

Chronologically, there is a continuity in distribution of matches from the second third of the fifteenth to the second third of the nineteenth century. Significant gaps appear earlier and later (they reflect partly the uneven coverage of periods in CroALa): in periods from 1266 until 1300, from 1366 until 1433, and from 1866 until 1933. The periods with the most matching documents are the eighteenth century (37) – the Enlightenment can be hypothesized as a Lucretian age in Croatian Latin – and the sixteenth century (34). The distribution of authors differs slightly: slightly more authors with Lucretian matches are found in the sixteenth century (20) than in the eighteenth (17); cf. Table 1.

A hub of Lucretian usage turns out to be Dubrovnik, the small city-state that retained its independence the longest (1358–1808) and the leader in Early Modern Croatian literature in other regards as well. Authors from Dubrovnik composed verses with matches for clausulae of the *De rerum natura* in each third of a century from the end of the Quattrocento until the second third of the Ottocento (with the exception of the period 1600–1633), the high point being the period 1733–1799 (28 documents with matches, 10 authors). In the Cinquecento, and then again from the 1630s until the 1830s, in Dubrovnik there appeared chains of literary predecessors and successors,

Table 1. Documents and authors with matches of Lucretian clausulae in CroALa, by centuries

Century	Documents	Authors	Matches	Average matches/ document	Average matches/ author
13	1	1	1	1.00	1.00
14	2	2	3	1.50	1.50
15	11	7	69	6.27	9.86
16	34	20	715	21.03	35.75
17	15	11	270	18.00	24.55
18	37	17	4063	109.81	239.00
19	15	10	302	20.13	30.20
20	1	1	11	11.00	11.00

Table 2. Fifteen authors in CroALa ranked highest by frequency of matching clausulae

Author	Place	Period	Matches of clausulae
Stay	Dubrovnik	17.2–17.3	2,563
Kunić	Dubrovnik	17.2–17.3	662
Zamanja	Dubrovnik	17.3–18.1	510
Bunić	Dubrovnik	14.3–15.1	185
Bošković, R.	Dubrovnik	17.2–17.3	174
Vičić	Rijeka	16.3	140
Marulić	Split	14.3–15.1	125
Rastić	Dubrovnik	18.1	113
Rogačić	Dubrovnik	16.3	102
Getaldić	Dubrovnik	18.2	98
Beneša	Dubrovnik	15.2	94
Đurđević	Dubrovnik	17.1–17.2	81
Didak Pir	Dubrovnik	15.2–15.3	67
Ferić	Dubrovnik	17.3–18.1	66

Note: The decimal places show thirds of centuries (17.2 = the second third of the seventeenth century).

of teachers and students, as well as networks of friends supporting each other. First there was a close-knit triad of poets with interests in epic, especially on religious themes: Ilija Crijević (1463–1520), Jakov Bunić (1469–1534), and Damjan Beneša (1477–1539). From 1630s-1830s there were 14 authors, often priests and Jesuits, many of them active in Rome: Junije Palmotić (1607–1657), Stjepan Gradić (1613–1683), Benedikt Rogačić (1646–1719), Ignjat Đurđević (1675–1737), Vice Petrović (1677–1754), Baro Bošković (1699–1770), Ruđer Bošković (1711–1787), Benedikt Stay (1714–1801), Rajmund Kunić (1719–1794), Bernard Zamanja (1735–1820), Đuro Ferić (1739–1820), Džono Rastić (1755–1814), Antun Sivrić (1765–1839), and Luko Stulli (1772–1828).

By far the most Lucretian matches—2,563, which is more than in all 13 authors ranked next when taken together (2,417; cf. Table 2)—were found in two extensive didactic epics by Benedikt Stay, *Philosophiae libri* VI (1774; 11,229 verses) and *Philosophia recentior* (1755–1791; 24,209 verses). This was to be expected. The affinities between Stay and Lucretius are well known and, to some extent, studied. The *Philosophiae libri,* an attempt to versify the physics of Descartes, had been openly intended to be "a veritable Lucretius-by-numbers,"[10] and the work was admired as such in its time. In the *Philosophiae libri* there are 1,135 verses that match 1,055 Lucretian clausulae,

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[10] Haskell 2003: 178–244.

while in *Philosophia recentior* 1,428 verses match 883 clausulae; the two poems share 521 matching clausulae (these insights offer an immediate starting point for hypotheses about the poet's style).

Also expected, or at least not surprising, is the high frequency of Lucretian clausulae in the poems of Stay's friends and compatriots, Kunić (662) and Zamanja (510).[11] Kunić translated into Latin the *Iliad* (in 1776), Zamanja the *Odyssey* (in 1777) and Hesiod; Zamanja was also the author of two shorter didactic epics, the *Echo* (1764) and the *Navis aeria* (1768). The noteworthy frequency of 174 Lucretian clausulae is encountered in the poetry of the Jesuit scientist Ruđer Bošković (author of the didactic epic *De solis ac lunae defectibus*, 1761, and some shorter poems). Bošković added a copious scholarly commentary to Stay's *Philosophia recentior* that presented not only the natural philosophy of Isaac Newton, but also that of Bošković himself.

What is new and surprising for Croatian literary history is the notable presence of Lucretian clausulae in two religious epics of the Theatine monk Kajetan Vičić (Rijeka, 1650/1655—before 1700). Vičić's poetry, long forgotten and only recently partially described by Gorana Stepanić,[12] includes a strongly anti-Protestant *Thieneis* (a life of Saint Cajetan of Thiene, in six books and 5,415 verses, Padua, 1686) and a *Jesseid* (a life of the Virgin Mary, in 12 books and 13,523 verses, Prague, 1700). In the *Thieneis* there are 37 Lucretian matches, in the much longer *Jesseid* 103.

There appears also a remarkable genre shift. Junije Rastić wrote satire, elegiac verse epistles, and some translation and epigrams, but no epic or didactic poetry, and yet there are 113 matching clausulae from *De rerum natura* found in 6,583 verses of Rastić's posthumously published poetry (*Carmina,* Padua 1813). A similar shift is detectable also in Ignjat Đurđević (who did try his hand at epic poems, though they remained unfinished, but wrote mostly shorter verse; there are 81 matches in his poems) and Didacus Pyrrhus (1517–1599), a Portuguese Marrano Jew who spent the larger part of his life in Dubrovnik, writing mostly epigrams and elegies (with 67 Lucretian matches).

Narrowing Down

The numbers analyzed above provide only rough approximation and a first orientation; additional steps were necessary to distinguish among interesting and less interesting occurrences of Lucretian clausulae in CroALa. For these steps, I developed a simple procedure of asking questions, represented as a flowchart in Figure 1. The procedure will help to illustrate variety of Croatian reuses of phrases from *De rerum natura*. For decisions about what to read first I have adopted the vague and unscholarly category of "interesting."

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[11] Bricko 2002, reporting on phrases of Latin poets used by Kunić and Zamanja, mentions Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Tibullus, Statius, Ausonius, and Valerius Flaccus, but not Lucretius.
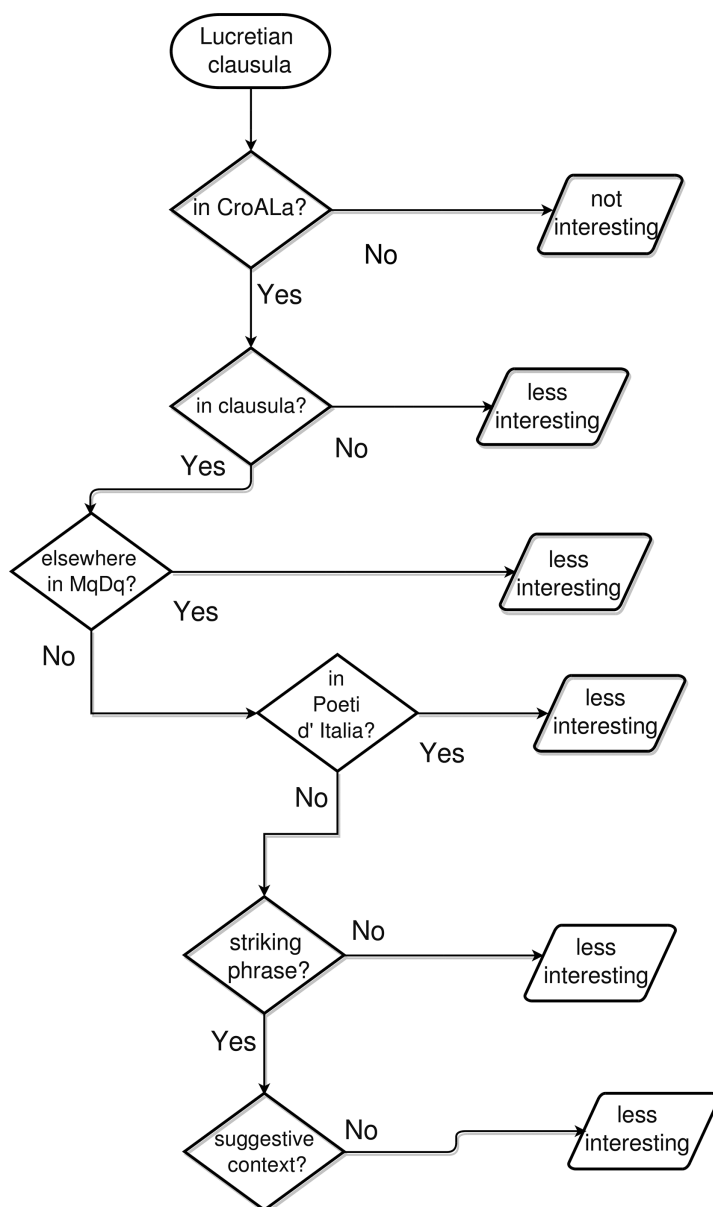
[12] Stepanić 2002.

Figure 1. Flowchart of decisions for reading Lucretian clausulae in CroALa.

Notes: The siglum Mqdq denotes *Musisque deoque* (Mastandrea et al. 2005) and *Poeti d'Italia* is Mastandrea et al. 1999.

Of course, this does not mean that the other passages are "less interesting"—that a confrontation between Lucretius and these is not possible.

The first step is self-evident: we check whether a clausula is found in CroALa or not. Next, we differentiate between reuses of a clausula in final and in non-final position in verse.

Clausulae in CroALa
Take the clausula *postera saecla* (Lucr. 3.967; "the after-generations" in W. Ellery Leonard's translation from 1916 [Lucretius Carus 1921]). It appears in the following lines in CroALa:

> *Postera saecla.*
> The after-generations. (*Petrus Partenius artium et medicinae doctor ad Federicum Chrysogonum artium et medicinae doctorem*, 20, in Grisogono, *Speculum astronomicum*, 1507)
> Exemplo et terrent *postera saecla* gravi.
> "And frighten the next generations with their warning examples." (Kunić, *Epigrammata*, before 1794; 5.217.8)
> *Non mutata, potes servare in* postera saecla.
> "[If gravity remains] unchanged, you may keep for next generations [measures of things]." (Stay, *Philosophiae recentioris*, 1755; 4.1900)
> *Plurima; nunc sat erunt faciendo in* postera saecla.
> "[It will be useful to follow] many [such signs]; now it will be enough to create [a prophecy] for the next generations." (Stay, *Philosophiae recentioris*, 1755; 6.2229)
> *Qualia nec deinceps* postera saecla *ferent.*
> "[Souls] such as even the next generations will never produce." (Rastić, Carmina, 1816; *Elegia II. Ad clarissimos viros Michaelem de Sorgo et Matthaeum de Georgiis diutius peregrinantes*, 32)

Petrus Partenius, Kunić, and Rastić use the clausula outside the hexameter (in the Adonean of the Sapphic stanza, and in the second half of the pentameter). Stay's context will be in closer relationship to the context in *De rerum natura,* where Lucretius speaks about death and generation change:

> *Materies opus est ut crescant postera saecla;*
> *Quae tamen omnia te uita perfuncta sequentur;*
> *Nec minus ergo ante haec quam tu cecidere, cadentque.*
> *Sic alid ex alio numquam desistet oriri*
> *Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.*

> For stuff must be,
> That thus the after-generations grow;
> Though these, their life completed, follow thee;
> And thus like thee are generations all

369

Already fallen, or some time to fall.
So one thing from another rises ever;
And in fee-simple life is given to none,
But unto all mere usufruct. (Lucr. 3.967-97)

In Book 4 of *Philosophia recentior*, Stay discusses the technique of using a pendulum to experimentally measure gravity, which can be applied not only across space, but also through time. Here the Lucretian phrase seems to be more of a rhetorical flourish:

Mensuras quoniam referendo ad pendula fila,
Quae decies sextis huc illud cursibus aequant
Partem horae sextam decies, tum quisque notarit
Si prius, in patriis quam longum finibus hoc sit
Filum, alia, poterit, quam debeat in regione
Esse loci longum, cognoscere, quantaque constet
Quasque peregrinas ideo mensura per oras.
Sic quoque, si gravitas eadem perdurat in annos
Non mutata, potes servare in postera saecla
Mensuras rerum, serosque docere Nepotes.

Because, comparing the measures with strings of the pendulum which by their sixty movements to and fro equal the sixtieth part of an hour, then, if one has noted before, in one's homeland, how long is the string, one will be able to learn how long the string should be in another region, and so what is the measurement in foreign countries. Likewise, if this gravity remains unchanged over the years, one will be able to store for the after-generations measurements of these things, and so teach our remote grandchildren. (Stay, *Philosophiae recentioris*, 1755; 4.1892–1901)

The passage in Book 6, however, argues with Lucretius, distinguishing between the *elementorum Venus* (Stay, *Philosophiae recentioris* 6.2210), the Nature, which controls only the material world, and the unnamed *impetus et vis*, which rules over the *mundus melior,* the world of the mind.[13] Stay fore-

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[13] In his commentary, Bošković paraphrases the passage this way: *Hic eidem vi suos designat limites: ea est mutua inter omnia materiae puncta, et ad sensibilem Mundum pertinet, nam ab ea pendet in mea theoria impenetrabilitas, cohaesio, gravitas, quin immo omnis sensibilitas ipsa, nullum autem in animas jus habet, sive eae Brutorum animae sint minus perfectae, sive nostrae spirituales, ac perfectiores animi. Addit tamen esse et aliam vim alterius generis, nimirum non materialem, quae in animos quoque possit; ac certis quibusdam legibus agens, eos inflectat, et varios motus excitet, eos nimirum, quos in nobis ipsis indeliberatos experimur quamplurimos. Eas leges ait nunc quidem incognitas esse nobis, quas olim fortasse posteritas deteget,*

shadows the happier future when it will be possible to understand also this force, which shapes our involuntary mental processes:

Attamen est aliquis quoque mentibus impetus, et vis
Indita, non qualis late per corpora fusa est,
At quadam tamen inflectens ratione, agitansque
Interius nostros animos, ut protinus inde
Possint tam varii gigni sub pectore motus.
Sed penetrare animis animorum impervia nondum
Contigit, et seriem arcanam cognoscere morum,
Excutere et latebras omnes, motusque repostos.
Tempora forte manent nostros ea fausta Nepotes.
Se produnt aliqua, at longe modo tenuia nobis
Indicia, ista sequi, quaesisse et proderit olim
Plurima; nunc sat erunt faciendo in postera saecla
Augurio, et tanta spe mentibus alliciendis.

Though there are a certain impact and force acting on minds as well, dissimilar to the one controlling the bodies, and still following a certain principle, and moving our souls from the inside, so that thence may arise various movements in our breasts. But we have not succeeded yet to penetrate with our souls the inaccessible part of the soul, and we do not understand yet the concealed chain of character, we have not yet searched all retreats and hidden activities. Those happy times probably await our grandchildren. Some signs have been revealed to us, but they are quite tenuous; it will be useful to follow them and find out more; but at the moment they are enough to prophecy for the after-generations, and to attract the minds with a great ambition. (Stay, *Philosophiae recentioris*, 1755; 6.2218–2230)

The claim about the polemic with Lucretius is supported by another Lucretian element in the passage: *tenuia* (Stay, *Philosophiae recentioris*, 6.2227), the striking attribute prominent in the passage on perception,

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uti nimirum et gravitatis lex usque ad Newtonum fuit prorsus incognita. ("Here he defines boundaries for that force; it works both ways among all points of matter, and belongs to the perceptible world; in my theory, from that fore depend impenetrability, cohesion, gravity, and even the perceptibility itself. But it has no power over souls, either the less perfect ones of the animals, or over our spiritual and perfect ones. The poet adds, though, that there is another force, of a different kind, the immaterial one, which can affect the souls as well; acting under certain well-defined laws, it alters the souls, producing various movements - those which we mostly feel arising in ourselves without our will. The poet says that these laws are at the moment unknown to us, but the posterity will probably discover them, as it was with the law of gravity, which before Newton was completely unknown.") Stay 1760: 285.

Lucr. 4.722–822 (*rerum simulacra … tenuia*). Lucretius began that passage by referring to the external world, which influences the internal: *Nunc age quae moueant animum res accipe, et unde/Quae ueniunt ueniant in mentem percipe paucis* ("Now mark, and hear what objects move the mind,/And learn, in few, whence unto intellect/Do come what come," 4.722–723).

Clausulae in Musisque Deoque

Returning to the flowchart, next I want to find out whether the clausula matched in CroALa is exclusively Lucretian. Does it appear in any other Roman author?

Consider the phrase *montibus altis*. In the digital collection *Musisque Deoque*[14] we find it in 42 verses. It occurs seven times in Lucretius alone (who is the earliest attested author to use the phrase). Five of the Lucretian occurrences are in the clausula. Later the phrase appears nine times in Vergil, twice in Horace, and in at least 14 later authors. So, when the phrase is seen to be used in 38 lines in CroALa (or in 62 lines with fuzzy matching), it appears to be a less individualized stylistic feature, an instance of Latin poetic diction in general.

It is easier to think about individual contexts when there are fewer repetitions in the corpus. The phrase *lunaeque meatus* is used three times by Lucretius (1.128: *Nobis est ratio, solis lunaeque meatus*, "Then be it ours [with steady mind to clasp …] the law behind/The wandering courses of the sun and moon"; 5.76: *Praeterea solis cursus lunaeque meatus*, "also the sun's courses, and the meanderings of the moon"; and 5.774: *Solis uti uarios cursus lunaeque meatus*, "the various courses of the sun and the moon's goings") and once by Lucan (9.6: *Quodque patet terras inter lunaeque meatus*, "There 'twixt the orbit of the moon and earth," Lucanus 1905). Its reuse by Vičić in the *Jesseis,* when Mary urges the Apostles to go and spread the Good News all over the world, does not fit any of these ancient contexts. Lexically, however, it is more similar to the Lucretian passages, in which *lunaeque meatus* occurs near *solis*:

> *Consilia heroes securaque lumina poscunt.*
> *Illa sciens Nati imperium, superare iubentis*
> *Discipulos totum, qui circumfunditur orbe,*
> *Oceanum solisque vias Lunaeque meatus*
> *Voce sequi; vastoque iacens procul insula ponto*
> *Audiat hoc clamore Deum noscatque potentem*
> *Cunctorum authorem scelerisque piamina discat;*
> *"Ite viri," dixit, "populoque inferte salutem*
> *Qui procul est caeloque graves praedicite messes!"*

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[14] Mastandrea et al. 2005.

The brave men seek advice, and comforting looks. She [Mary] knows the will of her Son, who has ordered his disciples to cross the whole Ocean encompassing the world, to follow with their voices ways of the Sun and paths of the Moon; even the island lying far away, across the great sea, should hear this shouting and through it learn about the powerful God, the maker of everything, and should embrace atonement for the sin. So she says, "Go, gentlemen, and bring salvation to the people far away, and prophesy the rich heavenly harvests!" (Vičić, *Jesseidos libri,* 1700; 12.25.14-22)

The prior part of the phrase in *Jesseidos* 12.25.17, *solisque vias*, appears elsewhere in classical Latin: in Vergil (*Aen.* 6.796), Tibullus (2.4.17), Manilius (1.443), and Hosidius Geta (*Med.* 459). Thus it seems that the Neo-Latin poetic periphrasis *Oceanus solisque viae Lunaeque meatus*, standing for "the whole wide world," is a fusion of various classical components: part Vergil and Tibullus, part Lucretius and Lucan.[15]

Clausulae in Poeti d'Italia in lingua Latina
The last example reminds us that Croatian Latin authors did not inhabit an exclusively classicist universe, hermetically isolated from their own time. We can assume that they were open to stimuli from everything they read—from the ancient pagan and Christian literature to writings of their contemporaries, writings in Latin as well as in the vernacular. To identify cases of parallelism with newer poetry, I performed a further check: when a clausula was present exclusively in Lucretius and not elsewhere in ancient Latin poetry (as covered by *Musisque Deoque*), I queried also the collection *Poeti d'Italia in lingua latina* (first published in 2002), a database that complements *Musisque Deoque* by making digitally searchable a selection of Latin poems "produced in Italy or in Italian cultural environments during the period from around the birth of Dante until the first half of the sixteenth century."[16]

An early example of verse with a Lucretian clausula is found in a poetic prologue to city statutes of Split. Both the prologue and the statutes were composed in 1312 by a Perceval from Fermo; the verse *Nobilitas hominis uirtutum clara propago* ("Man's nobility—illustrious scion of virtues") ends with a phrase that *Musisque Deoque* attests only in Lucretius 1.42, *Possumus aequo animo nec Memmi clara propago* ("With thought untroubled ... /The

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[15] *Lunaeque meatus* is absent from the *Poeti d'Italia* Neo-Latin database, but it may have originated from another Neo-Latin work; the lines 328–330 from *Paradisus, sive Nuptiae primorum parentum, Adami et Evae* (1645) by the Dutch humanist Gaspar Barlaeus (1584–1648) read as follows: *Quemque procul reliquis secrevi partibus orbem,/Extra anni Solisque vias Lunaeque meatus/Differet imperium* ("[Adam] will spread his rule also over the world which I have separated from others, far outside the ways of the Sun and paths of the Moon"). Cf. Homepage Heinsius-project 1995.

[16] Mastandrea et al. 1999.

illustrious scion of the Memmian house"); moreover, there are only two attestations for the phrase in other positions in verse.[17] In CroALa, *clara propago* is also used by four later authors: by Ivan Polikarp Severitan from Šibenik in his brief epics *Solimaidos libri tres* (1509: preface to Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, 9, and 1.81) and *Feretreidos libri tres* (1522: 1.80; 1.167); by Bunić in *De vita et gestis Christi* (1526: 12.652); by Didacus Pyrrhus in *Cato Minor* (1596: 3.1, 2, in penultimate position: *Iane, facit generis clara propago tui*, "Ianus, it is suggested by the illustrious scion of your race"); and four times by Kunić in *Homeri Ilias Latinis versibus expressa* (1776: 4.256; 9.104; 10.248; 17.580). Of 11 occurrences in CroALa, *clara propago* appears 10 times as clausula.

A search in *Poeti d'Italia in lingua latina* turns up 19 occurrences of *clara propago* in 14 authors, four times before 1337 (and therefore probably before Perceval's poem). Among the authors is Angelo Poliziano, who used the clausula in his *Iliadis Homerice libri quatuor* (1470–1475; 4.254). The fact is suggestive because Poliziano's later fellow translator, Kunić, reused the phrase as well. By and large, such a frequency of *clara propago*, an expression well suited to encomiastic settings, makes it a feature of the Italian medieval and neo-Latin versifying tradition; Lucretius addressing Memmius coined the phrase, Italian authors made it popular.

Another early match in CroALa, though attested in *Poeti d'Italia*, contextually connects more strongly to Lucretius. In 1465, Ivan Lipavić composed an elegy on his return to Trogir after a plague. The poem includes the following elegiac couplet:

> *Sol redit et radiis armatis undique terram*
> *illustrans; subito cuncta serena patent.*

> And the Sun returns, with its warlike rays illuminating the earth; at once everything is clear and bright. (*Joannes Lipauich post pestem Tragurium rediens composuit*, 1465; 25–26)

In wording and, to some extent, in context (Lipavić's warlike *sol … radiis armatis* is analogous to violent lashings in the Lucretian verses: *radii solis cogebant … verberibus crebris*),[18] Lipavić's verses are similar to Lucretius' explanation of the origin of the universe:

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[17] Sen. Phoen. 334 *Agite, o propago clara generosam indolem* ("Go, you glorious offspring, [prove] your noble character"); Carm. epigr., Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae 2, 04210, 2 *Quem clara retinet membra dignaque propago* ("[the tomb] inhabited by the glorious limbs and worthy offspring").

[18] *Radiis armatis* enables another intertextual connection, with the famous Easter hymn of Venantius Fortunatus, *Ad Felicem episcopum de Pascha* (*Tempora florigero rutilant distincta sereno*, "Season of luminous days, marked bright with the birth of flowers"), 5–6: *Armatis radiis elementa liquentia lustrans/Adhuc nocte brevi tendit*

Inque dies quanto circum magis aetheris aestus
Et radii solis cogebant undique terram
Verberibus crebris extrema ad limina in artum,
In medio ut propulsa suo condensa coiret

and day by day
The more the tides of ether and rays of sun
On every side constrained into one mass
The earth by lashing it again, again,
Upon its outer edges (so that then,
Being thus beat upon, 'twas all condensed
About its proper centre) (Lucr. 5.483–486)

Another phrase appearing in the passages of Lucretius and Lipavić, *undique terram*, can be found once in *Poeti d'Italia,* in a *Carmen* by Iacopo da Piacenza (d. 1349). Da Piacenza's context is also warlike, but in a literal sense, not applied to landscape as in Lucretius and Lipavić:

Iam turrim invadit, murosque ascendit in altum
Et ruit in vigiles: iam possidet undique terram.

[The troop] is already in the tower, it has climbed the high walls, it attacks the guards; all country is occupied now. (Iacopo da Piacenza, *Carmen*, 361–362)

Stylistically Unremarkable Clausulae
When it is confirmed that a clausula is attested only in Lucretius, and nowhere else in *Musisque Deoque* or *Poeti d'Italia,* the next decision to make is whether the expression is stylistically marked or unremarkable. A striking Lucretian phrase without parallels elsewhere would signal a thought-provoking intertextual link; but less colourful expressions can be worth a look as well.

Discussing the senses in Book 4, Lucretius uses a clausula *fertur eorum* (Lucr. 4.689: *Sed tamen haud quisquam tam longe fertur eorum/Quam sonitus*, "None of them,/However, is borne so far as sound or voice"). The clausula reappears in Marulić's *Dauidias*, when the narrative reports that Joab, carrying out David's orders imperfectly, did not count the tribes of Levi and Benjamin (1 Chronicles 21:6):

Pertransisse quidem numerum tunc fertur eorum
Improba pertesus Dauidis iussa Ioabus

They say that Joab has passed over their number, disgusted by David's ungodly orders (Marulić, *Dauidias,* 1510; 13.274–275)

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in orbe diem ("Illuminating with its warlike rays the liquid-clear elements, though night still briefly stays, it brings day to the world").

375

It is, of course, possible that Marulić arrived at the clausula independent of Lucretius; a single occurrence (it is a hapax legomenon in CroALa) is at the same time prominent and unconvincing. But then we find the poet from Split using another exclusively Lucretian clausula: *indicat ipsa*. Lucretius' paradoxical conclusion of an argument gets transformed into a framework for a pithy paradoxical saying put into the mouth of the Biblical Jonathan speaking to David about Saul.

> *Solque pari ratione manere et luna uidetur*
> *In statione. ea quae ferri res indicat ipsa*

> And likewise sun and moon
> Seem biding in a roadstead—objects which,
> As plain fact proves, are really borne along. (Lucr. 4.395–396)

> *Nec prodest fingere uerbis*
> *Diuersum, quando mentem frons indicat ipsa.*

> It is of no use to pretend, speaking otherwise, when your intention
> is plainly proven by your brow. (Marulić, *Dauidias*, 1510; 3.133–134)

The phrase does appear elsewhere in *Musisque Deoque*, but in the non-dactylic form *res ipsa indicat* (Ter. *Ad.* 338; *Eun.* 658, 705; *Hec.* 395 *ipsa indicat res*) or grammatically changed (Paulinus of Nola criticizing Jupiter: *Nunc serpens, nunc taurus erat, nunc cygnus et arbor/Seque immutando qualis fuit indicat ipse*, "Now he was a snake, now a bull, now a swan and a tree, and by changing himself proves plainly what he really was," Paul. Nol. *carm.* 32.59–60).[19] An attractive interpretation is made possible by a prosodic and acoustic parallelism. Both Lucretius and Marulić use *qu-* and later a monosyllabic word followed by *indicat ipsa*, with a heavily spondaic metrical scheme after the caesura : ‖ x – – – – – – ◡◡ – ◡ (I am diagramming the feet in which both lines are prosodically identical; x marks the only difference). I would regard that as a manifestation of Marulić's auditory memory (or auditory association), probably enhanced by moralistic variation as suggested by Paulinus of Nola.[20]

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[19] The database *Poeti d'Italia* has two cases of *indicat ipsa*, but medieval (therefore of restricted circulation) and in different metrical configuration: Stefanardo da Vimercate (Milan, 1230?–1297), *de controversia hominis et fortune*, 1076: *Ortu, quod species indicat ipsa rubens* ("[the Moon announces windy weather] in its rising, as it is signaled by its ruddy appearance"); Bonaiuto da Casentino (d. Bologna 1312), *diversiloquium* 1.10 *Murorum veterum fuit, indicat ipsa ruina* ("It was [part of] the old walls, as is signaled by the ruins").

[20] Novaković 1999 lists in the *Index locorum* for Marulić's minor poems (the so-called Glasgow verses, preserved in the MS U. 8. 2 of the Glasgow University Library) 12 parallels with the *Carmina* of Paulinus of Nola.

Traces of Lucretius in CroALa do not stop here. Bunić varies the clausula in his life of Christ, amplifying rhetorically the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 7:15–18):

Num senticosis feruens e uepribus uua
Prodeat? aut suber dulces dat tetrica ficos?
Artis opus, quam quisque colit, nonne indicat ipsum
Artificem? studiis quibus ille incumbit, eisdem
Semper olet, bonus officio uir constat honesto,
Floribus omnis uti propriis et fructibus arbos.

Does from a thorny bramble spring glowing grape? Does the sour cork tree bear figs? Does not a work of art practised by anyone signal who is the artificer? The activity which one undertakes leave its everlasting smell; a good man abides by his honorable service, just as each tree abides by its proper flowers and fruits. (Bunić, *De vita et gestis Christi*, 1526; 6.451–456)

Marulić transferred the notion from the natural world to the world of morals; Bunić keeps it in Marulić's semantic field, though in their time there are poems with similar ideas, similarly expressed, where God himself is seen as the artificer of the natural world. An example is Giovanni Gioviano Pontano's *De laudibus divinis*:[21]

Tum Deus humanos effingere molliter artus
Membraque de tenui ducere coepit humo.
Cunctaque formarat studio perfecta magistro,
Quaeque artem referant artificemque suum

Then God started to shape carefully human limbs and organs from common earth, and he had formed everything perfectly, led by his superior knowledge; everything should be a reminder of his art and of its artificer (Pontano, *De laudibus divinis*, c. 1458; 1.65–68)

An unremarkable clausula that can nevertheless be interpreted as a dialogue with Lucretius is *certare videntur*, as used by Franjo Milašinović (1808–1883), priest and teacher active in Zagreb, in his macaronic burlesque *Viator Zagorianus Jožko Hranjec* (1850). The unfortunate tourist visiting a spa in Zagorje (north of Zagreb) and undergoing a bloodletting session is discovered in a bathhouse by some rustic women, angry because they believe he has been spying on them as they bathe:

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[21] Cf. also Pseudo-Ambrose's *Versus de naturis rerum* 7–8: *Quis tantas rerum naturas mente reuoluet?/Artificem laudant ars, opus, ingenium.* ("Whose mind can embrace such nature of everything? The art, the work, the talent praise the artificer.")

Hae žegetant, illae šćipant, hae cornua raptant
Illae zagutire volunt, pars jedna vtopiti,
Pars alia inclamat dicens hoćemo ga škopiti,
Omnes pod pupkom za rog certare videntur.

Some tickle him, some pinch him, some pull off his cupping horns/
some want to strangle him, others propose to drown him,/others
shout 'let's geld him',/all seem to exert themselves to get at the horn
below his navel. (Milašinović, Viator Zagorianus, 1850; 77–80)

This is the only occurrence of *certare videntur* in CroALa (not only in
clausula, but anywhere). In *Musisque Deoque* the phrase is used only by
Lucretius,[22] in his description of insatiable sexual desire in *De rerum natura* 4:

Sic in amore Venus simulacris ludit amantis
Nec satiare queunt spectando corpora coram
Nec manibus quicquam teneris abradere membris
Possunt errantes incerti corpore toto.
Denique cum membris collatis flore fruuntur
Aetatis, iam cum praesagit gaudia corpus
Atque in eost Venus ut muliebria conserat arua,
Affigunt auide corpus iunguntque saliuas
Oris et inspirant pressantes dentibus ora,
Nequiquam, quoniam nil inde abradere possunt
Nec penetrare et abire in corpus corpore toto;
Nam facere interdum uelle et certare uidentur:
Vsque adeo cupide in Veneris compagibus haerent,
Membra uoluptatis dum ui labefacta liquescunt.

Thus in love
Venus deludes with idol-images
The lovers. Nor they cannot sate their lust
By merely gazing on the bodies, nor

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[22] In *Poeti d'Italia* the clausula is used once, by a sixteenth-century poet, Fabio
Barignani, in *Gigantomachia,* where it seems much less contextually motivated: *Rupi-
bus evellunt nutritaque robora ripis,/Florentes segetes camposque boumque labores/
Praecipites super arva trahunt; certare videntur/Maiorem dederit quis ripa undante
ruinam* (333–336) ("[The floods] tear away [the stones] from the cliffs and oaks from
the river-banks, they drag rashly along the fields the ripe crops, the soil, the toil of
oxen; they seem to contend where they will make more damage, while the bank is
lost under the wave"). A lexically similar expression appears in a very different context
in a prefatory epigram to Herodotus' *Historiae* (1566): *Cur placuit cunctis? An quod
certare videbant/Iudicii dotes dotibus ingenii?* ("Why did everybody like him? Was
it because they saw how his gift of judgment competes with the gifts of his talent?")

378

They cannot with their palms and fingers rub
Aught from each tender limb, the while they stray
Uncertain over all the body. Then,
At last, with members intertwined, when they
Enjoy the flower of their age, when now
Their bodies have sweet presage of keen joys,
And Venus is about to sow the fields
Of woman, greedily their frames they lock,
And mingle the slaver of their mouths, and breathe
Into each other, pressing teeth on mouths—
Yet to no purpose, since they're powerless
To rub off aught, or penetrate and pass
With body entire into body—for oft
They seem to strive and struggle thus to do;
So eagerly they cling in Venus' bonds,
Whilst melt away their members, overcome
By violence of delight. (Lucr. 4.1101–1114)

The macaronic clash of lofty Latin and local dialect, in a grossly comical situation, is already funny; the clausula, which reveals Milašinović as an engaged reader of Lucretius' "racy" passages and directs other readers there (or reminds them of these passages), hinting at a more sophisticated layer behind the—if you will excuse the pun—bathroom humour.

Remarkable
We have reached the final phase. Now we have a clausula used (in its literal form) only by Lucretius—not by other Roman authors, not by medieval and neo-Latin authors—and appearing in CroALa as a verse ending; and I have decided that the clausula is, as an expression, more exciting than *fertur quorum* or *indicat ipsa*. Do such clausulae lead to interesting readings?
     First, an example of a *iunctura verborum* divorced from its context. *Genitalis origo* appears in *Musisque Deoque* three times, but only in *De rerum natura* 5 (Lucr. 5.176, 324, 1212; the clausula is absent from *Poeti d'Italia*). Each time Lucretius uses it in a polemical question, such as

     An, credo, in tenebris uita ac maerore iacebat,
     Donec diluxit rerum genitalis origo?

     As though, forsooth, in darkling realms and woe
     Our life were lying till should dawn at last
     The day-spring of creation! (Lucr. 5.175–176)

In CroALa, Janus Pannonius and Ignjat Đurđević reach for the clausula outside questions and polemics. To them it is one of the devices with which to achieve the effect of sublimity (and so, we can say, *De rerum natura*

379

is present more generally—as a poem of endless nature). In 1468, Janus describes a flood:

> *Quin ipse Oceanus, rerum genitalis origo,*
> *qui certa ambitam lege coërcet humum,*
> *transiliit per tot servatos saecula fines,*
> *nec satis ora sibi quattuor esse putat*

> But the Ocean itself, the day-spring of creation,
> encompassing the land with clear boundaries,
> now crossed the border honoured through centuries,
> and does not think it enough to have four entrances (Pannonius, El. 31
>   Meyer, 129–132)

Đurđević uses the clausula near the end of the monologue of Margaret of Cortona, who wishes never to have been born, certain that her lover lost his life because of their illicit lust:

> *O utinam numquam vitalia munera lucis*
> *Hausissem, vel me Genitricis ab ubere raptam*
> *Oppressisset atrox manibus Libitina cruentis,*
> *Aut ad inane chaos penitus resoluta reverti*
> *Huc possem, fuit unde mihi genitalis Origo!*
> *Ah pereat funesta dies, qua forma virilis*
> *Lubrica foemineis oculis mea lumina traxit!*

> Oh, had I never tasted the life-giving gift of light, if only I were torn from my Mother's womb and destroyed by savage Death with bloody hands, or if only I could dissolve completely and return to the empty Chaos, there from where I came at birth! Oh, let the sad day perish when the deceitful masculine beauty had attracted the gaze from my feminine eyes! (Đurđević, *Sanctae Margaritae Cortonensis conversio*, 1738; 187–193)

Margaret speaks from the heart, not rationally – but her view of her origin in the "empty chaos," or "widening chasm" (the expression is Ovidian; cf. *ars* 2.470; *fast.* 4.600) is "materialistic," in the sense that it is not something that a Christian would say; we can consider it a poetic misreading of Lucretius' *namque est in rebus inane* (Lucr. 1.330). *Resolvere* is also a vivid Lucretian term.[23]

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[23] Cf. a concentration of words used by Đurđević in the announcement Lucr. 2.62–66: *Nunc age, quo motu genitalia materiai/Corpora res uarias gignant geni-tasque resoluant/Et qua ui facere id cogantur quaeque sit ollis/Reddita mobilitas magnum per inane meandi,/Expediam: tu te dictis praebere memento.* ("Now come: I will

A memorable Lucretian clausula can become a signal of a memorable Lucretian thought. The ending *pellacia ponti* appears twice in *De rerum natura,* first in a simile illustrating atomic processes (Lucr. 2.559), and then in a description of the primitive condition of man:

> *Sed quasi naufragiis magnis multisque coortis*
> *Disiectare solet magnum mare transtra cauernas*
> *Antemnas proram malos tonsasque natantis,*
> *Per terrarum omnis oras fluitantia aplustra*
> *Vt uideantur et indicium mortalibus edant,*
> *Infidi maris insidias uirisque dolumque*
> *Vt uitare uelint, neue ullo tempore credant,*
> *Subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti.*

> But, just as, after mighty ship-wrecks piled,
> The mighty main is wont to scatter wide
> The rowers' banks, the ribs, the yards, the prow,
> The masts and swimming oars, so that afar
> Along all shores of lands are seen afloat
> The carven fragments of the rended poop,
> Giving a lesson to mortality
> To shun the ambush of the faithless main,
> The violence and the guile, and trust it not
> At any hour, however much may smile
> The crafty enticements of the placid deep. (Lucr. 2.552–559)

> *At non multa uirum sub signis milia ducta*
> *Vna dies dabat exitio nec turbida ponti*
> *Aequora lidebant nauis ad saxa uirosque.*
> *Sed temere incassum frustra mare saepe coortum*
> *Saeuibat leuiterque minas ponebat inanis,*
> *Nec poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti*
> *Subdola pellicere in fraudem ridentibus undis.*
> *Improba nauigii ratio tum caeca iacebat.*

> But not in those far times
> Would one lone day give over unto doom
> A soldiery in thousands marching on
> Beneath the battle-banners, nor would then
> The ramping breakers of the main seas dash
> Whole argosies and crews upon the rocks.

untangle for thy steps/Now by what motions the begetting bodies/Of the world-stuff beget the varied world,/And then forever resolve it when begot,/And by what force they are constrained to this,/And what the speed appointed unto them/Wherewith to travel down the vast inane:/Do thou remember to yield thee to my words.")

But ocean uprisen would often rave in vain,
Without all end or outcome, and give up
Its empty menacings as lightly too;
Nor soft seductions of a serene sea
Could lure by laughing billows any man
Out to disaster: for the science bol
Of ship-sailing lay dark in those far times. (Lucr. 5.999–1006)

Absent elsewhere in *Musisque Deoque,* absent in *Poeti d'Italia,* in Cro-ALa *pellacia ponti* appears twice, both times in Kunić's epigrams (5.1260 and 9.226, cited here in full). Usages show the clausula functioning as a verbal component of the commonplace "the sea is treacherous":

In Quintum, qui iterum fit amator formosae puellae
Quinte, venis iterum formosae in jura puellae;
Tam cito libertas viluit illa tibi?
Tam cito, quos passus, fugerunt mente labores,
Et dolor et lacrymis omnia plena tuis?
Do veniam, blandi si quem pellacia ponti
Ducit inexperto pandere vela mari,
Illi sed veniam quis det, qui naufragus audet
Rursus vesano credere se pelago?

To Quintus, who falls in love with a beautiful girl once again. Quintus, you once again fall subject to the power of a beautiful girl; did your freedom lose its value so soon? So soon from your mind have fled all your sufferings, and pain, and how your tears had filled everything? I can understand if the enticement of the placid deep persuades one who is inexperienced to raise sail, but who is to excuse a shipwrecked man who once again dares to expose himself to the cruel sea? (Kunić, *Epigrammata,* before 1794; 5.1260)

Nulla fides pelago est
Quo, miser, insano lucri correptus amore,
Daphni, ruis vasti per vada salsa maris?
Quas tibi divitias fingis? Quae gaudia vitae
Plurima et haud casso parta labore bona?
Terra fidem servat, credit quae semina, reddit
Agricolae multo foenore cultus ager.
Nulla fides pelago est: placidi pellacia ponti
Humanum lusit, ludet et usque genus.
Obrutus hic fluctu manes descendit ad imos,
Hic redit ad patriam nudus inopsque domum.
Quinte, mane; cari monitus ne sperne sodalis,
Quaeque tibi metuit, ne patiare, cave.

382

The sea is not to be trusted. O Daphnis, whereto do you rush, smitten by the crazy passion for profit, across the salty wastes of the immense sea? What fortunes do you dream of? What abundance of pleasure, what riches to come from the well-invested efforts? The land remains loyal, from the seeds it has received the field, once tilled, returns rich interest to the farmer. The sea is not to be trusted; the enticement of the placid deep has deceived mankind, and always will deceive it. Some, drowned in waves, descend to the underworld; some return home naked and wretched. O Quintus, stay; do not reject advice from your good friend, and do avoid what he fears will happen to you! (Kunić, *Epigrammata,* before 1794; 9.226)

My concluding example is a single clausula that acts as a veritable signpost—it leads us to a passage in CroALa responding to a specific Lucretian passage, the one from which the clausula originates. The clausula is *desidiaeque*; in *Musisque Deoque* it appears only in the proem of the *De rerum natura* 5, in the third of Lucretius' four praises of Epicurus (Lucr. 5.1–54).[24] Epicurus is greater than Hercules, who fought terrors that were unique, far removed, and avoidable:

Herculis antistare autem si facta putabis,
Longius a uera multo ratione ferere.
Quid Nemeaeus enim nobis nunc magnus hiatus
Ille leonis obesset et horrens Arcadius sus?
Denique quid Cretae taurus Lernaeaque pestis
Hydra uenenatis posset uallata colubris?
Quidue tripectora tergemini uis Geryonai
...
Tanto opere officerent nobis Stymphala colentes,
Et Diomedis equi spirantes naribus ignem
Thracis Bistoniasque plagas atque Ismara propter?
Aureaque Hesperidum seruans fulgentia mala,
Asper, acerba tuens, immani corpore serpens
Arboris amplexus stirpem quid denique obesset
Propter Atlanteum litus pelagique seuera,
Quo neque noster adit quisquam nec barbarus audet?
Cetera de genere hoc quae sunt portenta perempta,
Si non uicta forent, quid tandem uiua nocerent?
Nil, ut opinor: ita ad satiatem terra ferarum
Nunc etiam scatit et trepido terrore repleta est
Per nemora ac montis magnos siluasque profundas;
Quae loca uitandi plerumque est nostra potestas.

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[24] *Poeti d'Italia* has five occurrences of *desidiamque* and one of *desidiasque*, never in final position.

Neven Jovanović

At nisi purgatumst pectus, quae proelia nobis
Atque pericula tumst ingratis insinuandum?
Quantae tum scindunt hominem cuppedinis acres
Sollicitum curae quantique perinde timores?
Quidue superbia spurcitia ac petulantia? quantas
Efficiunt clades? quid luxus desidiaeque?
Haec igitur qui cuncta subegerit ex animoque
Expulerit dictis, non armis, nonne decebit
Hunc hominem numero diuum dignarier esse?

But if thou thinkest
Labours of Hercules excel the same,
Much farther from true reasoning thou farest.
For what could hurt us now that mighty maw
Of Nemeaean Lion, or what the Boar
Who bristled in Arcadia? Or, again,
O what could Cretan Bull, or Hydra, pest
Of Lerna, fenced with vipers venomous?
Or what the triple-breasted power of her
The three-fold Geryon ...
The sojourners in the Stymphalian fens
So dreadfully offend us, or the Steeds
Of Thracian Diomedes breathing fire
From out their nostrils off along the zones
Bistonian and Ismarian? And the Snake,
The dread fierce gazer, guardian of the golden
And gleaming apples of the Hesperides,
Coiled round the tree-trunk with tremendous bulk,
O what, again, could he inflict on us
Along the Atlantic shore and wastes of sea?-
Where neither one of us approacheth nigh
Nor no barbarian ventures. And the rest
Of all those monsters slain, even if alive,
Unconquered still, what injury could they do?
None, as I guess. For so the glutted earth
Swarms even now with savage beasts, even now
Is filled with anxious terrors through the woods
And mighty mountains and the forest deeps-
Quarters 'tis ours in general to avoid.
But lest the breast be purged, what conflicts then,
What perils, must bosom, in our own despite!
O then how great and keen the cares of lust
That split the man distraught! How great the fears!
And lo, the pride, grim greed, and wantonness-
How great the slaughters in their train! and lo,

384

Debaucheries and every breed of sloth!
Therefore that man who subjugated these,
And from the mind expelled, by words indeed,
Not arms, O shall it not be seemly him
To dignify by ranking with the gods? (Lucr. 5.22–52)

The only occurrence of desidiaeque in final position in CroALa is in *Euthymia sive De tranquilitate animi. Carmen didascalicum* (1690), a didactic poem in six books and 8,211 verses by a Jesuit from Dubrovnik active in Rome, the ascetic writer Benedikt Rogačić.[25] *Euthymia* is a practical course in Christian–Stoic ethics, its diatribes "reminiscent of the Roman satirical tradition" and presenting "the Christian inner life in pagan dress, tailored to the special needs of a proud, sophisticated, contemporary Roman readership" (Haskell 2003: 253, 257):

> 27. *Plurima cum porro adversis haerentia fatis*
> *Commoda sint; primum, longeque ante omnia ponas,*
> *Heroum eximiis nusquam quod latior ausis*
> *Angusto quam calle aperit sese area: nusquam,*
> *Fortunae glomerata inter quam Nubila, virtus*
> *Plus radiat. Quid enim rarum ac memorabile, fortem*
> *Si praestes animum, facili dum vita suoque*
> *Provehitur cursu? Nemo, discriminis expers,*
> *Haesurum capiti Phoebeae frondis honorem*
> *Rettulit. Aeolii rupto cum carcere montis,*
> *Indomitis rapidi certant Aquilonibus Euri,*
> *Arcturusque minax fundo maris aequor ab imo*
> *Eruit, impingitque rati; tunc ars tua, Tiphy,*
> *In pretio, clavique sagax dignoscitur usus.*
> *Agminibus nullus fac misceat agmina Mavors;*
> *Fortis et ignavi periit discrimen: Achilli*
> *Par prope Thersites. Nemeae portenta, tricorpor*
> *Geryones, sus Arcadicus, fera bellua Lernae,*
> *Iunonisque odium, nec mollia iussa perenni*
> *Amphitryoniaden misere in saecula fama.*
> *Debeat ut multum Theseo, Alcmenaeque parenti;*
> *Plus tamen Eurystheo, plus debuit ille nouercae:*
> *Plus Iove patre virum evexit Iovis aspera coniux.*

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[25] In CroALa there is one more use of *desidiaeque*, but outside clausula. A verse epistle of Ilija Crijević to Alessandro Farnese (after 1493) says, *Tu quoque torpentes, Ignauia, parce per arctus/Serpere, Desidiaeque nefas: cui publica cura est/Credita, non illum senio marcescere fas est*. ("You too, Idleness, stop flowing through the sluggish limbs, and the sin of slothfulness too; one who is expected to take care of the common good should not languish in grief." Crijević, Carmina, 5.1.144–146).

28. Fortuiti quoties igitur quaecunque Mali vis
Aggreditur; belli fac tempus adesse gerendi
Sis memor, armatumque inferri cominus hostem:
Quicum iam, terris caeloque faventibus, ampla
Compositus velut in cavea ingentique theatro,
Experiare manus. Tecum dein talia: Vires
Promendum: ambigui praesens vocat alea Martis.
Nunc agitur, qui sim: virtutis, desidiaeque
Spectator Mundus. Quid tum? Certaminis ipse
Immemor, abiecta cuneis ridentibus hasta
Ceu trepidus puer, imbellis vel foemina, turpes
Exquiram latebras? Avertite, sydera. Praestat
Quolibet arma tenentem infesto occumbere letho,
Dedecoris tanti quam stigmate nomen inuri:
Scilicet immotus saeva Gladiator arena
Provocet adversum nudis vitalibus ensem,
Impavidamque animam per hiantia vulnera fundat;
Me levior durae exanimet violentia sortis?
Immo, age, crudeles quantum libet augeat iras.
Hoc iuvat: augebit palmae decus acrior hostis:
Fama suis crescet cum cladibus: ingentemque,
Par mensura Virorum, ingentia vulnera prodent.
Nemo suae doluit quod plurima suppetat artis
Materies, faber. Ars Hominis pulcherrima, virtus;
Aerumnae, virtutis opus: nec gratuler illis?
Tanta nec oblatae complectar praemia laudis?

27. Moreover, there are many advantages to adverse fortune; first and foremost, nowhere is there a wider field for heroic undertakings than on the narrow path; the virtue shines brightest among the dark mass of Fortune's clouds. For what is there rare or memorable if you are courageous while your life flows easily and peacefully? Nobody has earned the honour of laurels without a danger. When the southeast winds fight with the indomitable northern ones, having escaped from the prison in the mountain of Aeolus, and when the threatening Bootes mixes and stirs the ocean waters, throwing them on a ship – then is your skill precious, Tiphys, and your expert use of the rudder will find acclaim. If there is no Mars to incite armies, there will be no difference between a courageous man and a coward; Thersites will be almost equal to Achilles. Hercules achieved the eternal glory because of the Nemean monster, of the three-bodied Geryon, of the Arcadian boar, of the wild beasts of Lerna, because of Juno's wrath, and because of harsh orders given to him. Although he owes much to Theseus and to his mother Alcmena, he owes even more to Eurystheus and to his

step-mother; his father Jupiter did not bring him more glory than his father's harsh wife.

28. Therefore the violence of each evil brought by fortune is welcome; just remember that now is the time to wage war, and to engage the well-armed enemy in close combat; with him now fight hand-to-hand, under the auspices of heaven and earth, as if in a large theatre or on a giant scene. Talk to yourself so: "Now bring forth your forces; you are summoned to a hazardous game of Mars. Now is the time to show who I am; the world will be the audience to my courage and to my weakness. And then what? Will I forget the combat, throw away the spear to the laughter of the whole auditorium, and, as a frightened boy or a weak woman flee to a shameful retreat? Stars forbid! It is better hold a sword in your hand and meet any kind of death than to be marked by the sign of such a shame; a gladiator, standing still in the middle of a cruel arena, bares his breast to invite the contender's blade, and lets his fearless life flow out from his gaping wounds; should I be scared witless by bad luck, which is much less violent? Bring it on, let it rage as much as it will! I like it; the cruel the enemy, the larger the glory. The fame grows together with the disaster; a great man will be proven by great wounds, that is the real measure of heroes. No artisan had ever regretted that there is too much material for his art. Virtue is the most beautiful art of man; suffering is virtue's artwork; should I not be glad? Should I not embrace such prize, the fame that is being offered?" (Rogačić, *Euthymia*, 1690; 3.946–994)

Lucretius and Rogačić share a list of the labors of Hercules. Lucretius mentions the Nemean lion, the Arcadian boar, the Cretan bull, the Lernaean hydra, Geryon, the Stymphalian birds, the horses of Diomedes, and golden apples of the Hesperides; Rogačić's shortened and reordered version has the Nemean lion, Geryon, the Arcadian boar, and the Lernaean hydra. Noticeable further parallels are the expressions *horrens Arcadius sus* (Lucr. 5.24)—*sus Arcadicus* (Rogačić 3.963), the fact that Rogačić periphrasis for the lion is *Nemeae portenta* (Rogačić 3.962), while a verse in the quoted passage of Lucretius talks about *Cetera de genere hoc quae sunt portenta perempta* (Lucr. 5.37); moreover, there are central analogies of struggle—fighting wild animals in Lucretius, and dueling in war or in the arena in Rogačić—as well as series of statements and questions addressing the reader. Writing as a Christian Stoic, Rogačić changes the use of the figure of Hercules. For Lucretius, Epicurus surpasses Hercules; for Rogačić, Hercules is one in a string of examples of people turned into heroes by the bad things happening to them. The role of *desidia* is also different: to Lucretius, it is one in a group of internal evils haunting humanity, while to Rogačić it is the opposite of virtue.

387

Conclusion

Trying to explain and demonstrate digital macroanalysis of literary texts, Matthew Jockers turns to the antithesis of search, in which "we go after a single nugget, carefully panning in the river of prose," and "the literary equivalent of open-pit mining or hydraulicking" (Jockers 2013), in which thousands or tens of thousands of query results in whole libraries of texts are tackled. I find the brutality of Jockers' metaphor very apposite, and the sense of unease caused by it worthy of serious consideration. That is why I have proposed here a middle way between "macroanalysis" and "normal" close reading—a combination of exploratory large-scale querying of a textual corpus and careful narrowing down to a few interesting interpretations. I hesitate to call these interpretations "representative" even for the partially random set of texts currently comprised by CroALa; but, first, I am able to make the *complete* data set of search results, the queries that produced them, and the texts that were searched available for further exploration; second, the very notion of "representativeness" may be a phantasm in the case of a little-known and under-researched literary phenomenon such as Croatian Latin literature.

My first goal was to gather data for presence of Lucretius in this literature. The 5,529 unique lines matching 1,994 Lucretian clausulae—supposing the matches are not *all* accidental or caused by a more general tradition of Latin poetic diction—support a claim that such presence exists, and that it is much stronger than we would suspect.

The second goal was to introduce some of the Croatian Latin authors *sub specie Lucretii.* This has been done for a broad spectrum of periods and genres—from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, from religious and didactic epic to macaronics—though in a collection of mostly brief examples. If encountering this collection stimulates more readings in CroALa texts, or in other medieval or neo-Latin literary corpora, another important objective of this experiment will be achieved.

Third, and perhaps most awkwardly, in interpreting reuses of Lucretian clausulae, I have tried to avoid thinking about textual parallels in terms of "discovering sources" or "identifying imitations." It was hard; such an approach is almost a reflex for philologists, and the notion of "free-playing" intertextuality brings on anxiety quite similar to that caused by "text mining." To counter it somewhat, I have introduced a vague heuristic category of "being interesting" and a chain of decisions for separating the "more interesting" observations from the "less interesting." The pseudo-heuristic is crude and wide open to criticism (e.g., I have not discussed matches that I considered, but chose not to present here); it did provide a basic structure for displaying "Lucretian nuggets" in Croatian Latin poetry. Can a similar exploration be undertaken for another author, in another corpus? Can we discover an author's conspicuous *absence* from Croatian Latin? *Multas hoc pertinet ad res noscere*—in Leonard's translation of Lucr. 6, 938–939, "To know this doth import for many things."

388

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