

Ines Ivić

**THE CULT OF SAINT JEROME IN DALMATIA IN THE
FIFTEENTH AND THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2016

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Ines Ivić

(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

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I, the undersigned, **Ines Ivić**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

In present day Croatia, Saint Jerome has a special place among the national saints. His role as the patron saint of Croatia and of the humanists was in the focus of research. But there has been no detailed study about the development of his cult in Dalmatia. This thesis will deal with the formation of the regional cult of the saint through the three phases of development: the implementation of the Slavic cult, the transformation of the humanist cult in the fifteenth century and the ethnic appropriation of the Saint in the writings of the Dalmatian humanists in the sixteenth century. Based on archival material and artworks preserved in Trogir and Dubrovnik, the focus of this study is on the manifestations of the worship in these two cities. These manifestations are observed through the perspective of the private and official worship, identifying the major promoters of the cult and commissioners of the art depicting Saint Jerome: the Cipiko and Sobota families in Trogir and the Gozze and Gradi families in Dubrovnik. The major contribution of this work is the interpretation of the regional cult of Saint Jerome in the light of the establishment of Venetian rule in the Dalmatian communes after 1409. This study explains how the implementation of the centralized government and the restriction of the autonomy of the Dalmatian communes contributed to the formation of the notion of togetherness on the territory of Dalmatia, expressed through the figure and the patronage of Saint Jerome.

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Introduction

In Croatia today, Saint Jerome has a special status as national patron. It is a reflection of a long tradition of worshipping the saint based on the fact that he was born somewhere on the border of the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia, the territory of present-day Croatia. Today, as a result of the strong cult, a national or regional determinant is added to his name: Jerome the Croat or Jerome the Dalmatian. This national identification of the saint has roots in the Middle Ages, but its culmination was during the later centuries where the saint served as a political tool in the Croatian national self-determination, mostly through the institutions consecrated to him. Even before the implementation of the humanist cult, Jerome was already identified as Slavic saint and was worshipped as the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet and Slavic liturgy. But this aspect of his cult was celebrated mostly in closed monastic communities. Only with the dissemination of the humanist cult he became venerated in the whole region.

In Croatian historiography, the cult of the saint has been addressed sporadically, but generally it was within larger topics and not exclusively only about Jerome. So far no study has united all known aspects of the worship of the saint and interpreted it through the perspective of historical, cultural and artistic contexts. Since this topic is extensive, my focus will be on the implementation of the humanist cult in Dalmatia. This thesis will clarify the construction process of regional identity based on the Glagolitic tradition and supported by the spread of the humanist cult from Italy. The largest contribution of my thesis will not only be in the systematization of the already known data, but also a different interpretation of it, in order to prove the thesis that in the fifteenth century the cult of Saint Jerome served as the expression of regional

affiliation in Dalmatia. It will be a relevant supplement to the already existing reflections on the saint's role as a Dalmatian patron, which have never went far as it is in this thesis.

The work will discuss these main questions: What were the stages of the construction of the regional identity? Who were the main promoters of the implementation of the humanist cult and its transformation into a regional one? How did the historical circumstances affect the addition of the "ethnic" prefix to the saint? In which way did the artistic manifestations of the cult represent certain identities of the saint? To answer these questions, works of art and writings of Dalmatian humanists, which attempted to prove Jerome's Dalmatian origin, will be interpreted.

In foreign historiography the cult of Saint Jerome was studied in detail in several books. Eugene Rice in *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* is dealing with different topics: the historical Saint Jerome, the beginning of the cult in Italy, the humanist revival of the saint and its dispersion around Europe.¹ Unfortunately, he failed to include any examples from Dalmatia, which could be a good contribution to this account since the strong cultural, political and religious connections between the two shores of the Adriatic Sea were present through the centuries, especially in the Middle Ages.

Another relevant book was written by Daniel Russo *Saint Jérôme en Italie: Étude d'iconographie et de spiritualité (XIII-XIVe siècles)*. It contains an extensive and profound analysis of iconographic types of the saint in Italy, explains the wider context of its formation, but also gives a large number of visual examples and comparative material outside Italy.² I am aware that Croatian medieval art became known to foreign

¹ Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

² Daniel Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie: étude d'iconographie et de spiritualité (XIIIe-XVe siècle)* (Paris; Rome: Découverte ; Ecole française de Rome, 1987).

scholars only in the last few decades, so it is understandable why it was excluded from this study.

However, the book by Julia Verkholtantsev, *The Slavic letters of Saint Jerome*, deals with the Slavic identity of the saint, not only in Dalmatia, but also among other Slavs, explaining the manifestation of the cult in Bohemia, Poland and Silesia. This work represents an excellent starting point in the research of Jerome's Dalmatian identity.³

In Croatian historiography, the articles that are to some extent dealing with Saint Jerome can be separated into three groups. The first one mentions Jerome in the light of the Glagolitic tradition and the attribution of the invention of the Glagolitic letters to him. Works by Vesna Badurina Stipčević and Marija Pantelić deal with the cult of saint in the liturgical Glagolitic manuscripts and they bring the comparative material and transcriptions of saint's office contained in the breviaries.⁴ The second group includes the articles dealing with the artistic features of the representations of Saint Jerome. Even though the saint has a developed iconography, present in Dalmatia in many types, the art historians were mostly dealing with one type and neglecting others. In the discussion of Jerome's character in the artistic representations, a series of small reliefs depicting the saint in a cave deserves a special place.

³ Julia Verkholtantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and Its Legacy, Or, How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an Apostle of the Slavs* (DeKalb, IL: NIU Press, 2014).

⁴ Vesna Badurina Stipčević, "Legenda o Jeronimu u starijoj hrvatskoj književnoj tradiciji" [The Legend of Jerome in the Older Croatian Literary Tradition], *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach* 85 (2013): 17–26; Vesna Badurina Stipčević, "Legenda o svetom Jeronimu u hrvatskoglagoljskom Petrisovu zborniku (1468.)" [The Legend of St. Jerome in Croatian Glagolitic Petris Miscellany (1468)], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 47 (2016): 337–50; Marija Pantelić, "Kulturno-povijesni značaj hrvatskih glagoljskih kodeksa" [Cultural and Historical Significance of the Croatian Glagolitic Codices], *Crkva u svijetu* 11 (1976): 237–46; Marija Pantelić, "Odras sredine u hrvatskoglagoljskim liturgijskim kodeksima 14. i 15. stoljeća" [The Reflection of the Milieu in the Croatian Glagolitic Codices of the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Centuries], *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 21 (1971): 324–32; Marija Pantelić, *Hrvatsko glagoljsko srednjovjekovlje [Croatian Glagolitic Middle Ages]* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2013).

It is discussed by many prominent Croatian art historians, who described them as small house altars, while this thesis will bring a new interpretation of these reliefs serving as the external markers of the ethnic, Dalmatian and Slavic, affiliation.⁵ And the last group mentions Jerome in the context of humanists' writings, mostly focusing on Marko Marulić and his writings on Jerome.⁶

This thesis is based on four types of sources: archival documents, liturgical manuscripts, artworks and literal works. Most of the relevant documents, especially concerning Dubrovnik and Trogir, were already published, mainly in Jorjo Tadić *Građa o slikarskoj školi u Dubrovniku XIII-XV veka*, witnessing the existence of the long lost artworks with the representations of the saint.⁷ My aim is not to go into an iconographic and formal analysis of presented artworks, but rather into a social and cultural function of the commissioned works and the role their commissioners had on the dissemination of the cult. The last group of sources includes works by Marko

⁵ Samo Štefanac, "Osservazioni sui rilievi di S. Girolamo nel deserto dalla cerchia di Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino e Andrea Alessi.," *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 36 (1996): 107–19; Ivo Petricoli, "Alešijev reljef Sv. Jeronima u Zadru" [Alessi's Relief of Saint Jerome in Zadar], *Vijesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 56–59 (1957–1954): 270–73; Anne Markham Schulz, "Nepoznati reljef sv. Jeronima iz kruga Andrije Alešija" [Unknown Relief of Saint Jerome From the Circle of Andrea Alessi], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 20 (1976): 113–18; Ivo Petricoli, "Prilog Alešijevoj i Firentinčevoj radionici" [Contribution to Alešij's and Fiorentino's Workshop], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 15 (1963): 67–74.

⁶ Vinko Grubišić, "Trojica humanista o rodnome mjestu svetog Jeronima: Flavio Biondo, Marko Marulić i José de Espinoza de Sigüenza" [Three Humanists on the Birthplace of Saint Jerome: Flavius Blondus, Marko Marulić and José de Espinoza de Sigüenza], *Colloquia Maruliana* 17 (2008): 287–98; Josip Bratulić, "Il poeta Marko Marulić e la tradizione glagolitica in Croazia," *Colloquia Maruliana* 9 (2000): 227–39; Vinko Grubišić, "Sveti Jeronim prema Deset govora Petra Pavla Vergerija i Instituciji Marka Marulića" [Saint Jerome in Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder's Work Sermones Decem Pro Sancto Hieronymo and Marko Marulić's De Institutione Bene Vivendi Per Exempla Sanctorum], *Colloquia Maruliana* 16 (2007): 107–17; Matej Petrić, "Marko Marulić: Rasprava 'In eos qui beatum Hieronymum italum fuisse contendunt'" [Marko Marulić: The Discussion 'In eos qui beatum Hieronymum italum fuisse contendunt'], *Spectrum - ogledi i prinosi studenata teologije*, no. 1–2 (2011): 36–44; Darko Novaković, "Novi Marulić: Vita diui Hieronymi" [New Marulić: Vita diui Hieronymi], *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (1994): 5–24; Mate Suić, "Marko Marulić - In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse contendunt," *Mogućnosti: časopis za književnost, umjetnost i kulturne probleme* 44 (1997): 228–41; Andrea Zlatar, "Marulićev polemčki spis In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum esse contendunt" [Marulić's Polemical Treatise In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum esse contendunt], *Dani Hvarskoga kazališta. Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 15 (1989): 212–20.

⁷ Jorjo Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi u Dubrovniku XIII-XV* [Documents About the Painting School in Dubrovnik from the Thirteenth Until the Sixteenth Century], Naučna knjiga (Belgrade, 1952).

Marulić, Juraj Šižgorić, Vinko Pribojević and others. They are referring to the saint for his erudite virtues and devotional life, and also are praising his regional origin and deeds he did for his compatriots. Their works also give insight into a contemporary discussion on Jerome's origin between Dalmatian and Italian humanists who were considering him as one of their own. In this thesis, I will reflect only on those works that are exclusively dealing with the question of Jerome being a Dalmatian or an Italian saint, such as Marulić's *In eos qui beatum Hieronymum italum fuisse contendunt*.

The first chapter will deal with the general revival of the cult in Italy, its manifestations through different mediums and in different contexts, together with the most prominent individuals, Giovanni d'Andrea and Pier Paolo Vergerio. The second chapter will discuss the Slavic identity of Saint Jerome and the political connotations linked with the attribution of the invention of Glagolitic letters to him. The following chapter analyzes the dispersion of the cult through the private and public worship, identifying the main protagonists and their motives of worship. The major contribution of this chapter will be an analysis of the cult in the context of the Venetian purchase in Dalmatia in 1409 and the manifestations of the regional identity.

In historiography different terms are used for the same expression. Since my thesis is dealing with the cult in Dalmatia I will refer to Jerome's regional identity as Dalmatian since in the most of the written sources he is denominated as a Dalmatian. Following that logic, I use the same denomination for the Dalmatian authors who wrote about him. This term does not exclude Croatian denomination from the present point of view. But since the cult of Saint Jerome was not present on the whole territory of medieval Croatia, the use of term Croatian could be misleading. When discussing the wider idea of identity constructed during reign of the Venetian Republic, I will use the term Slavic as the translation of Italian word *schiafone*, referring to all people living on

the Eastern Adriatic Coast, from Istria to Boka Kotorska. In terms of language, for the spoken Slavic language – Croatian Chakavian dialect – I will use the term vernacular.

1. The Humanist Revival of the Cult of Saint Jerome in Italy

Saint Jerome, one of the church fathers and the translator of the Bible, did not gain general popularity until the Late Middle Ages. It is to assume that In the beginning, after his death, cult was reserved for closed circles of veneration, mainly connected with his burial place in Bethlehem, near the entrance to the cave where Christ was born, upon which the Church of Nativity was later erected. The low reception of the cult in the first centuries after his death may be explained by the inaccessibility of the place of cult and the unstable political situation: the destruction of the Church of Nativity during the Samaritan revolts in the fifth and the sixth centuries and the establishment of the Muslim rule in the seventh century. In the West, at the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, his cult was first introduced to Italy and then by the end of the sixteenth century he was worshipped in the whole Western church. In this chapter, I shall briefly present Jerome's life and the revival of his cult in late medieval Italy. Special attention will be paid to the broader religious and historical context in which this revival occurred.

1.1. Jerome as a Historical Character

What was known about Jerome in Middle Ages was mostly reconstructed from his writings since there was no other writings about Jerome's life in Late Antiquity. He was born around year 345 C.E. in Stridon, on the border of the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia, in a Christian family, according to his self-portrayal included in his *De Viris Illustribus*.⁸ At an early age his parents sent him to pursue his studies in

⁸ Saint Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, trans. Thomas P. Halton (Washington: CUA Press, 2010), 167.

Rome, in what was then known as one of the best grammatical schools in the empire, led by the famous grammarian Aelius Donatus, where he acquired, among other things, the basics of Greek language.



Figure 1 Gustav Droysen, “The Roman provinces of the Lower Danube after the Diocletian's division,” Map reproduced from Plate 16 in *Allgemeiner historischer Handatlas in 96 Karten mit erläuterndem Text*. Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1886

Even though he was Christian, his devotion grew more intensive during this Roman period where he visited the catacombs and the holy places sanctified by the first martyrs. Proven took the sacrament of baptism in Rome. His early twenties were marked by constant travelling; he spent some time in Trier, the imperial capital at the time, for career reasons, where he might have an administrative employment.⁹ His journey continued in Aquileia and other cities of Northern Italy and Dalmatia, which

⁹ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 2. J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome : His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998), 25.

probably included a visit to his birth city.¹⁰ At that time, Aquileia was a regional religious center boasting with a recently built basilica and was one of the places where the earliest monastic communities were also formed. It is here where Jerome became familiar with ascetic practices and soon joined a group of ascetic clerics formed by his friends, practicing fasting and devotional prayer. There he also started to expand his theological knowledge transcribing books and writing his own theological commentaries.¹¹

The milestone in Jerome's youth life was a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when he was around 27, and which could be described as Jerome's pilgrimage to the "seat of wisdom". On his route he stopped in Antioch where he stayed longer than planned and began to work on the improvement of his Greek, learning from the Christian priest Evagrius. He studied Aristotle and Christian theology.¹² Staying in Antioch contributed to his linguistic skills and gave him the opportunity to read and study a wide range of ancient authors. The Antioch period was important not only for his education, which later helped him translate the Bible, but also for his spirituality. In a famous dream, he saw Christ as a judge, accusing him of being Ciceronian because of his strong affection for pagan classics. Jerome postponed his journey to Jerusalem and as a sign of a penance went to live as a hermit in the Syrian desert. His life was not easy, living among beasts, sleeping on the ground, drinking only water and fighting the temptations while remembering the pleasures of Rome. In a later letter to Eustochium, one of his female followers, he expressed his ascetic doctrine, remembering and

¹⁰ The Roman province of Dalmatia extended to a larger territory than the medieval and present-day Dalmatia. It included modern Albania, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo.

¹¹ Kelly, *Jerome*, 32.

¹² Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 3.

describing the struggle of his bodily urges and passions, recounting how he was imagining Roman parties and women dancing while fasting.¹³

The ascetic period in the desert was crucial for the construction of the image of the penitent saint and the part of the letter to Eustochium became an essential part of the saint's *Officium*.¹⁴ Jerome's rejection of the materiality and the minimization of carnal needs, like food and water, was his way to salvation, to perceiving Christ through the mystic visions he had. On the other hand, it was also a way to redeem himself for the sins that he had committed in his adolescent years. The days in the desert were filled with prayer and intellectual work, since he took his library with him, and it is possible that he spent time interacting with Syrian anchorites, dispersed over the desert.¹⁵ Jerome's commitment to the ascetic way of life is reflected in his two biographies of desert saints, the *Vita Pauli* (*The Life of Saint Paul the First Hermit*) written around 376 and the *Vita Malchi* (*The Life of Malchus the Monk*) written around 390.¹⁶ After four years in the desert, Jerome went back to Antioch and Constantinople, and finally ended up in Rome around 382, where at the persuasion of Pope Damasus he started to revise Latin translations of the Bible, comparing them to the Greek original, which resulted in the new translation today known as Vulgate Bible.¹⁷ Although his reputation in Rome was growing—he was considered one of the most likely candidates to be the new pope—soon he encountered the first opponents. Jerome himself wrote that “once, people called me holy, humble, and learned and said

¹³ Jerome, *The Letters of St. Jerome*, ed. Thomas Comerford Lawler, trans. Charles Christopher Mierow (New York: Newman Press, 1963), 139. Patricia Cox Miller, “The Blazing Body: Ascetic Desire in Jerome's Letter to Eustochium,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1 (1993): 21–45.

¹⁴ Badurina Stipčević, “Legenda o Jeronimu,” 19. Most of the Dalmatian Glagolitic breviaries between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries contain the same *officium* for Saint Jerome, composed of the hymn in his honor, the short biography and the part of his letter to Eustochium.

¹⁵ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 11.

¹⁶ David Salter, *Holy and Noble Beasts: Encounters with Animals in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), 22.

¹⁷ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 12.

that I was worthy to become pope. Now they think me a scoundrel, trickster, liar and criminal allied to devil.”¹⁸ The members of the Roman clergy were offended by his criticism of their corruption, abundance, hypocrisy and false piety to which he served as an example of ascetic and monastic life. The antagonism against Jerome grew when Roman aristocratic women joined his circle, most famously Paula and her daughter Eustochium, who followed him to Antioch in 385 when he was forced to leave Rome.¹⁹ It is this aspect of his life that was later used as a moral example in the Roman Curia during the Avignon papacy.²⁰

Jerome settled in the Holy Land, followed by Paula and other admirers with whom he established a monastery near the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Daily life in the monastery was a combination of a religious life with daily labor, where Jerome continued his intellectual work writing commentaries on the Bible and other theological works. Jerome died on 30 September 420 in Bethlehem, and was buried in the tomb carved near the entrance to the cave where Jesus was born.²¹ There is not much evidence of the first cult of the saint in Bethlehem. It is to assume that it developed around his grave, where the chapel of Saint Jerome stands today, but it did not become a widely spread cult and he was not recognized as a saint until the early Middle Ages when the first Lives of Saint Jerome were written.

¹⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Rita Lizzi Testa, “The Ascetic Portrayed: Jerome and Eusebius of Cremona in the Italian Art and Culture of the Renaissance,” in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron* (Leuven; Paris; Dudley: Peeters, 2007), 323.

²¹ Thomas F. Head, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 192. The day of his death was noted in Martyrology of Saint Bede the Venerable. More on the beginning of the cult of Saint Jerome: E. Gordon Whatley, Anne Booth Thompson, and Robert Upchurch, “Saint Jerome: Introduction,” in *Saints’ Lives in Middle English Collections* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), 109–26.

1.2. The Beginnings of the Cult in the West

The first life of Saint Jerome was the one he wrote; he included himself in his *De viris illustribus* as the last chapter of the book and for a long time it was the only account on his life.²² As opposed to other Church fathers, Jerome's life was not written by a contemporary, as in the case of Ambrose or Augustine. This might be explained by the strong antagonisms towards Jerome both in Rome and in the Holy Land.²³ Between the eighth and the thirteenth century, however, several lives of Jerome were written. The first two, *Hieronymus noster* and *Plerosque nimirum*, were written around the same time in the middle of the ninth century independently from each other, but both authors, to this day unknown, used the same source: Jerome's biography from his own work.²⁴ The lives include the simplified biography of the saint, with an emphasis on his intellectual work and only mentioning Paula and Eustochium, without comments on their relationship.

In *Plerosque nimirum*, the author included the story of Jerome and the lion which later became his main attribute.²⁵ Taming the lion had several symbolic meanings. First of all, it represented oppression of the bestial in the man, overcoming of the passions, neglect of carnal needs and victory of morality. In a Christian interpretation, the thorn also characterizes the first sin, and taming the lion represents the victory of holiness and grace over sinfulness—an allegory of washing away the sin with the baptism.²⁶ Jerome's life is included in later medieval hagiographical

²² Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, 167.

²³ Whatley, Thompson, and Upchurch, "Saint Jerome: Introduction," 110.

²⁴ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 23; Whatley, Thompson, and Upchurch, "Saint Jerome: Introduction," 110; Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie*, 20–26.

²⁵ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 37. The story of Jerome and the lion is probably one of the best-known stories from his life. The story itself derived from Aesop's fable *The lion and the shepherd*. One day a lion showed up in the monastery with an injured paw which had a thorn in it. Despite the fear of the other monks, Jerome approached the lion and took the thorn out. After the lion recovered he stayed in the monastery as a domestic animal.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 39–40.

compilations such as the *Speculum Maius* by Vincent of Beauvais, and the more important *Legenda Aurea* by James of Voragine. James of Voragine focusses on the lion episode (almost two-thirds of the Life), but he also introduces new elements in his biography such as a story of somebody's planting a woman's robe in his cell. Since he was most likely to be elected as the new pope, this episode is considered to be intentional slander by his opponents in order to force him to leave Rome.²⁷

In the thirteenth century a set of forged letters appeared, apparently written by Jerome's disciples Eusebius of Cremona, Pseudo-Cyril and Pseudo-Augustine, giving more detailed accounts of Jerome's life, especially about his miracles during the life and after his death.²⁸ Why did those letters appear as late as the thirteenth century and what was the purpose of forging the accounts of Jerome's life? The *Translatio corporis beati Hieronymi*, written around 1290, states that Jerome appeared in a dream of one eastern monk and ordered him to rebury his body in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, since Bethlehem was under the rule of Saracens. The choice of this Roman church as the re-burial place was not accidental. It had a chapel, the Bethlehem crypt that resembled the cave of the Nativity and holding the relics of the crib in which Jesus was born.²⁹ In the Jubilee Year of 1300, Rome was represented as a substitute for the Holy Land, the holy place of many martyrdoms and possessor of precious relics.³⁰ In the topographical disposition of Roman churches, the Santa Maria Maggiore symbolized Bethlehem, while the neighboring church of Santa Croce

²⁷ Whatley, Thompson, and Upchurch, "Saint Jerome: Introduction," 112. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 597–601.

²⁸ More about this: Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, chap. 3: The cult. On the influence of the pseudo-authors on the emergence of the cult of Saint Jerome in Italy: Lizzi Testa, "The Ascetic Portrayed."

²⁹ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 56.

³⁰ Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998). Since the beginnings of Christianity, Rome held its place on the map of European pilgrimages. Its popularity grew around 1300 when Pope Boniface VIII have granted indulgence for everyone who would visit Rome in the jubilee year.

in Gerusalemme represented Jerusalem. In this context, it is easy to understand the relevance of the pseudo-letters. Their aim was to help promote the established cult of Jerome in Rome and to attract as many pilgrims as possible. It is not known who made those forgeries, but it is most probable that it was made by some Dominican friars, connected to the canons of Santa Maria Maggiore.³¹

The flourishing of Jerome's cult must be analyzed in the context of the papal residence in Avignon. It is here that his figure came to be used as the model of exemplary Christian life. The presence of the cult in Avignon is shown by the frescoes made around 1360 in the church of Saint Didier, where Saint Jerome is depicted as a cardinal next to Bishop George.³² The eremitical aspect of Jerome's life came more into a focus in the fifteenth century with the blooming of the Franciscan observance and the foundation of different congregations of the eremitical brothers imitating Jerome's life.³³ Jerome's cult flourished fast and with great intensity because it was easy to identify with him and his multiple identities were used in different contexts of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, an unstable time for the Avignon papacy. Jerome's cult, however, had other aspects. For the humanists, Jerome was a role model. For the Franciscan and Dominican observant reform, started in the late fourteenth century, he represented a reflection of the monastic ideal.

1.2.1. Giovanni d'Andrea and Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder

The re-evaluation of Jerome in the West began in the fourteenth century with Giovanni d'Andrea (1270-1348), a canon and professor of law at the University of

³¹ Pietro Paolo Vergerio, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome: An Edition and Translation of Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo*, ed. John M. McManamon (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 12.

³² Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie*, 59.

³³ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 69.

Bologna, who wrote *Hieronymianus liber* or *De Laudibus de Sancti Hieronymi* (1337-1346), a compilation of texts written by Jerome as well as earlier works about him: lives, testimonies of his miracles and his glory and a selection from Jerome's work.³⁴ His devotion to Jerome has developed into an infatuation; he signed himself as Giovanni Girolamo³⁵ and named his son after his patron saint. For Giovanni d'Andrea, the complete absence of Jerome's cult in Italy was shameful. Driven by his personal piety he started to promote the cult by painting scenes from the life of Jerome on the façade of his house, followed by explanatory verses. Then throughout Italy, especially in Tuscany, he began to promote building and the consecration of churches to Saint Jerome.³⁶ He also claimed that he has "established the way he should be painted, namely, sitting in a chair, beside him the hat that cardinals wear nowadays and at his feet the tame lion; and I have caused many pictures of this sort to be set up in diverse places."³⁷

As much as d'Andrea considered himself as the most deserving for having created the iconographical type of Jerome, the most commonly known until today, similar representations are found even before he published his work. Among them is the famous painting by Simone Martini, the *Polyptych of Saint Catherine*, the so-called *Pisa polyptych* made around 1320 depicting Jerome with the long red drape wearing a cardinal's hat.³⁸ Russo claims that even though the d'Andrea text was known to

³⁴ Ibid., 64. Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie*, 60–64. There are three printed editions of Hieronymianus liber. The first one was in Cologne in 1428 by Konrad Winters. The second edition was published in Paris in 1511 by Jean Petit, Jean Frellon, François Regnault. The last edition, one published in Basel in 1514 reproduces the earlier Paris edition.

³⁵ Girolamo is Italian version of Jerome's name.

³⁶ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 64–69. He dedicated a chapel to Saint Jerome in Bologna cathedral, on the road to the Florence he helped the construction of the parish church consecrated to Jerome and has contributed to the construction of the Carthusian monastery, dedicated to his patron saint, as he pointed out in his work.

³⁷ Ibid., 65; Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie*, 59. Hieronymianus (Basel ed. [1514]), fol. 16

³⁸ Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie*, 58.

Jerome and Augustine, as it is evident from the letters he exchanged with Petrarch.⁴¹ However, Giovanni d'Andrea is one of the outstanding individuals whose work and personal devotion contributed to the establishment of a cult in Italy, primarily in Bologna and Florence. By the end of the sixteenth century, the cult of Saint Jerome was present in the whole of Italy where various iconographical types developed.⁴²

Another individual who contributed to the development of the cult in Italy was Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder (1370-1444), a canon lawyer born in Capodistria (Koper, Slovenia). He had an impressive career during which he served the Carrara family in Padua, the two popes, Innocent VII and Gregory XII, and finally until his death in Buda he served as a secretary to Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.⁴³ Vergerio studied in Florence, Padua and Bologna, and he might have become familiar with the rising cult of the saint. He adopted Jerome as his patron saint while he resided in Bologna. His devotion to the saint stemmed from his family who venerated him as family patron. The family's devotion to the saint might be connected with the opinion that identified Stridon with Capodistria, which probably affected a special worship in the area. The family was worshipping the saint for another reason as well - as a sign of gratitude for the family's rescue during several ambushes in 1380, which they attributed to Jerome's heavenly intercession. Vergerio's

⁴¹ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 84; Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie*, 64. In the dispute with Giovanni d'Andrea, he attacks him for extravagantly praising Jerome. Even though Petrarch preferred Augustine over Jerome, his influence can be traced in Petrarch's literary works. More about this: David Marsh, "Petrarch and Jerome," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 49 (2004): 85–98; Benedetto Clausi, "Questione di modelli: Petrarca, Gerolamo e lo Hieronymianus di Giovanni d'Andrea," *Aevum* 85, no. 2 (2011): 527–66.

⁴² More about emergence of the cult in Italy, its spreading and different iconographical manifestations: Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie*; Bernhard Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol: Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984).

⁴³ John M. McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator* (Tempe: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University, 1996). This comprehensive biography of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder discusses the development of humanist education as a reflection of the moral qualities propagated by Vergerio. In this context McManamon also analyzes how Saint Jerome became the humanist patron saint as an exemplary intellectual man, but also as a devoted Christian whose morality is reflected in his work. Vergerio's portrait of the humanist is based on his written works but also on his public activities, primarily speeches through which he promoted Christian ideals.

commitment to Jerome is expressed in sermons he held in his honor on his feast day, the 30th of September.⁴⁴ Even though he classifies his orations as sermons, probably because they were delivered on Jerome's feast days and in his honor, Vergerio's speeches are actually panegyrics, public speeches in someone's glory and honor, inherited from Antiquity and very popular in Late Middle Ages.

Ten of his sermons survived and they give us insight into the perception of the saint at the time.⁴⁵ Two aspects of his character were praised with great devotion. First, the eremitical side of his character was celebrated as an opposition to the temptations of the modern world. His first sermon was delivered to the members of Benedictine order "who are imitators of the life of that man and comprise just a part of what he begun to harvest long ago through sound training".⁴⁶ In this sermon Vergerio is comparing the small number of monks in his time with the number in Jerome's time, explaining that with the immorality of his time. In order to praise this part of his character Vergerio is citing Jerome's letter to Eustochium several times.⁴⁷ Secondly, his intellect was praised because of his translation of the Bible and other theological works he produced, as well as his general respect for the written word.

These virtues were best manifested in the northern iconographic type, which depicts the saint in his study. Seen from the perspective of the contemporary popular lay movement, *the devotio moderna*, whose goal was the recreation of the apostolic life through pious practices, Jerome was a perfect example of a devout Christian dealing with sacred learning.

⁴⁴ John M. McManamon, "Pier Paolo Vergerio (The Elder) and the Beginnings of the Humanist Cult of Jerome," *The Catholic Historical Review* 71, no. 3 (1985): 354.

⁴⁵ Vergerio, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome* The critical edition and translation of ten sermons written in the praise of Saint Jerome is a continuity of McManamon's previous studies of Vergerio's work and life. The sermons are good example of Vergerio's erudition and eloquence and they help us reconstruct the 14th and 15th century image of the Saint.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 165,201,243,253.

For Vergerio Jerome's life "serves as an example of ethical conduct".⁴⁸ He used Jerome to emphasize the need for the church reform in his time, especially among the monks where the lack of the observance was visible. He was also criticizing preachers, who were just chasing popularity, preaching on moral qualities, urging the audience to act differently in order with God's word, but not giving the example with their behavior and life.⁴⁹



Figure 3 Jan van Eyck, *Saint Jerome in his study*, 1422, oil on parchment on oak panel. Institute of Arts, Detroit, USA. Available from: Web Gallery of Art, accessed April 15,

⁴⁸ Ibid., 169.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 19; Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Pier Paolo Vergerio: The Making of an Italian Reformer* (Genève: Droz, 1977); David Robey, "P. P. Vergerio the Elder: Republicanism and Civic Values in the Work of an Early Humanist," *Past & Present* 58 (1973): 27–37.

1.3. Saint Jerome and the Observant Movement

For ecclesiastical history, the fourteenth century can be seen as the turning point which defined the way the Church would go in the following centuries, not only because of the papacy's return to Rome, but also because it was a century when the Observant movement refashioned the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Long-standing differences between two streams in the Franciscan order resulted in a global movement in which monasteries were reformed one after another. The dominant stream, the Conventuals, were for less strict obedience in following the rule of Saint Francis. The Observants, who prevailed in the end, respected strict rule: poverty, austerity, chastity and obedience. The main goal was the recreation of the life of Saint Francis living in poverty in hermitages in the mountains of Umbria, practicing devoted and spiritual prayer.⁵⁰



Figure 4 Cima da Conegliano, *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, 1500/1505, oil on panel transferred to canvas. National Gallery of Art, Washington. Available from National Gallery of Art, accessed April 15, 2016, www.nga.gov

⁵⁰ Duncan B. Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order: From Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987) One of the first coherent works about Franciscan observance that is covering almost three centuries of Franciscan history. The author is analysing two streams inside the Franciscan order, strict one – which later became known as Observants, and the other one, more relaxed in following the rule of St. Francis. The author is analysing the main ideas, movement, organizations and individual characters through the centuries and how they contributed to the reform and the final division in 1517. James Mixson and Bert Roest, eds., *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015).

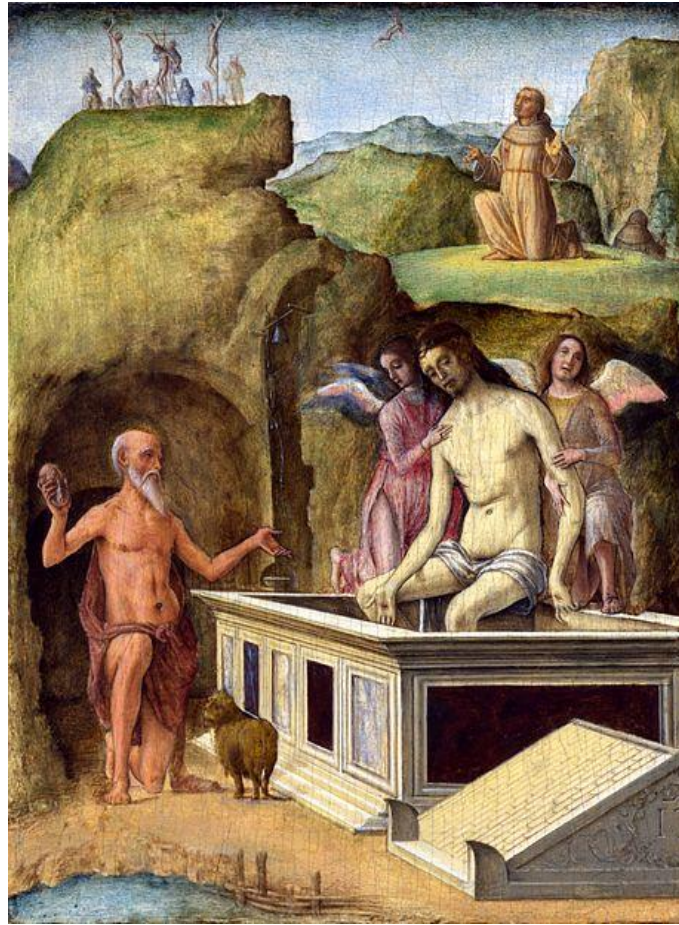


Figure 4 Ercole de Roberti, *The Este Diptych (The Dead Christ)*, 1490s, tempera on panel. The National Gallery, London. Available from National Gallery, accessed May 2, 2016, www.nationalgallery.org.uk

The Franciscans considered Saint Jerome as a precursor of Saint Francis. Additionally, like Francis before him, Jerome rejected material goods and wealth, and accepted *vita apostolica*. Notably, they both have the same *topos* in their hagiography: taming and befriending animals.⁵¹ The parallel of these two saints is notable in the visual representations where the scene of the stigmatization of Saint Francis and the prayer of Saint Jerome are juxtaposed representing their penitential identity which can be seen on the *Este diptych* painted around 1420 by Ercole de Roberti.⁵²

⁵¹ Salter, *Holy and Noble Beasts*, 23.

⁵² Kurt Barstow, *The Gualenghi-d'Este Hours: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Ferrara* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2000), 190.

Jerome's position as the role model for Franciscans can be seen in the letters and sermons they delivered. When preaching about the renunciation of earthly goods, Saint Bonaventure cites Jerome's letter to Bishop Nepotian, comparing the poverty of Christ to the poverty of friars.⁵³ He is mentioned by the other prominent Franciscan preachers, Bernardino da Siena and Girolamo da Siena, as their personal incentive to start practicing the observant way of life. With the growing popularity of the eremitical life, representations of the saint developed in different iconographical types. The most common was the so-called Tuscan type depicting the saint in front of a cave hitting his chest with a stone in penitential fervor or praying to Christ on the cross in front of the cave. This type is represented in series of paintings by Cima de Conegliano and other renaissance painters such as Giovanni Bellini, Fillipino Lippi and Lorenzo Lotto.

In this reformist atmosphere, many other congregations were founded, following Jerome's example of solitary life in the Syrian desert. One of them was *Frati Gesuati di San Girolamo* founded in Siena by Giovanni Colombini in 1360, whose postulates were poverty, apostolic mission, preaching and strong discipline. Even though they received official papal approval to place themselves under the protection of Saint Jerome at the end of the fifteenth century, it was certainly they existed even before this.⁵⁴ The congregation was primarily organized by laymen who built and consecrated many churches to Jerome because they "followed and imitated his

⁵³ More about Jerome in the Franciscan preaching: Timothy J. Johnson, *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 109; Franco Mormando, "'Nudus Nudum Christum Sequi': The Franciscans and Differing Interpretations of Male Nakedness in Fifteenth-Century Italy," in *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 33 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 171–97. Sermons to Saint Jerome were delivered by the Hungarian observant preachers Pelbartus de Themeswar in his *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis II*. [Pars aestivalis]. Augsburg 1502. RMK III. 104. (<http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=pa/pa069a>, accessed 6.3.2016, 15: 24) and Osualdus de Lasko *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*. Hagenau 1499. (CIH¹2485, HC *9055) Bibl. nat. Inc. 1030 (http://sermones.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/latinul/laskaiosvat/index.php?file=os_index, accessed 6.3.2016., 15: 31).

⁵⁴ Barstow, *The Gualenghi-d'Este Hours*, 104.

teaching”.⁵⁵ Another congregation perfectly demonstrates how fast the worship of Saint Jerome spread in Europe. The new practice of eremitical life took root in a Spain, where in 1373 two hermits Pedro Fernández y Pecha and Fernando Yáñez y de Figueroa founded a new congregation which followed the rule of Saint Augustine, but as inspirational model chose Saint Jerome, after whom they called the order: *Order of Saint Jerome* or *Hieronymites*. Soon this order gained the support of the ruling families on the Iberian Peninsula after they managed to establish a large number of houses in Spain and Portugal.⁵⁶ It is important to note the two other Italian congregations, *Poor Hermits of Saint Jerome* and *Hermits of Saint Jerome of Fiesole*. The first one was founded by Pietro Gambacorta in 1377 who isolated himself from the world and lived in the hermitage in the mountains near Urbino, surrounded by his followers seeking an eremitical ideal.⁵⁷ The second congregation established by Carlo da Montegraneli around 1360 in Fiesole near Florence, whose members, like the other eremitical congregations, were also following Jerome’s example of the devoted life, seeking salvation through austerity.

The spread of the order of *Gesuati* throughout Italy contributed to the rise of the cult. This is best seen in Ferrara. The strong local worship of the saint was present in the city. Jerome was the patron of the Gesuati church, built with the help of the ruling princely family, the d’Este, and he also served as a model for intellectual court culture. It is known that Jerome’s literary activities were a topic of discussion among the noblemen connected to d’Este family and that some of them possessed paintings representing the Saint.⁵⁸ The great devotion to the penitent saint in Ferrara is notable also in manuscripts. Saint Jerome was depicted in a miniature in the *Antiphonary n.7*

⁵⁵ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 69.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁸ Barstow, *The Gualenghi-d’Este Hours*, 157,165.

(dalla Domenica della SS Trinità alla prima di Settembre) kneeling in front of the cave holding a cross in his hand.⁵⁹ A similar representation can be found in *The Gualenghi-d'Este Book of Hours* made around 1469 for the Este family. The book contains several full-page illuminations, among them Saint Jerome kneeling in front of the cave and kissing the feet of crucified Christ.⁶⁰

Another fourteenth-century manuscript from Ferrara contains transcriptions of Jerome's letters, made by Giovanni Grasso da Carpi, a notary's son, in 1467. This luxurious work on one hand demonstrates a personal devotion to the saint, and, on the other hand once more confirms the relevance of Jerome's letters and writings for the Italian humanists, especially that this codex was soon purchased by Giovanni Battista Panetti, an Italian humanist and theologian.⁶¹ The example of Ferrara is not a unique case but rather the case study of the pattern of the veneration of the saint. The interweaving of the two parts of Jerome's identity, the intellectual and the penitent, is notable in other cities in Italy and beyond where Jerome was worshipped in the religious circles and praised through the writings of secular humanists.⁶² Certainly, it is not possible to separate those two aspects of his character as they represent the base of the identity of the saint constructed in the fourteenth century, developed in the fifteenth and worshipped until today.

⁵⁹ The manuscript is on a display in the Museo della cattedrale di Ferrara.

⁶⁰ Barstow, *The Gualenghi-d'Este Hours*, 157–202.

⁶¹ John M. McManamon, "Res Aut Res Publica: The Evidence from Italian Renaissance Manuscripts and Their Owners," *Religions* 3, no. 4 (2012): 218.

⁶² Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 30. The strong personal devotion can be seen in the other cities such as Bologna, where the cult was promoted by the bishop and later cardinal Nicolo Albergati. The painting of Saint Jerome in his Study made by Jan van Eyck, today in the Detroit Institute of Arts, has a portrait characteristic that could be connected to Albergati, furthermore since it is known that Van Eyck has already made one of his portraits. He also founded a confraternity under Jerome's protection and published the catechism of his teaching with the depiction of the saint enthroned and the lay brothers around him teaching young children.

1.4. A Multifunctional Saint

The question why Saint Jerome gained such immense popularity in these centuries could be answered very simply: because of his multiple identities—intellectual, translator of the Bible, theologian, cardinal, church father, protector of woman's religiosity and education, devoted ascetic—was easily adaptable to different contexts in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. It is possible to distinguish patterns of the spread of the cult in the example of Italian cities, which apply also outside Italy, especially in Dalmatia, in which is the subject of this thesis. The most prominent supporters were humanist writers and orators, along with theologians who developed an interest in Jerome's texts and letters and as the expression of a personal devotion started to build churches and order artworks in his honor. The presence of educated men in rulers' courts was common in the Middle Ages where they received support from noble families who not only contributed to the dispersion of the cult but also nurtured a special personal relationship with the saint as can be seen in the example of the Este family.

In ecclesiastical terms, Jerome was worshipped for his theological work and translation of the Bible. With the dissemination of Franciscan observance and the foundation of the eremitical orders, the saint acquired a new role of a penitent saint and a role model of ascetic life. These identities are manifested in the artworks produced mainly in Italy where the saint's iconography developed in the different types of visual representations. The introduction of this veneration pattern in late medieval Dalmatia will be discussed in the chapters below.

2. Jerome the Slav

Saint Jerome already had an established cult in Medieval Croatia, before the implementation of the humanist cult from Italy in the fifteenth century. He was mostly worshipped in the closed circles of monastic communities. It is hard to define the beginnings of his cult on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic Sea, but it is certain that the cult of Saint Jerome emerged during the dispute for the right of the Glagolitic clergy to serve the liturgy in Slavonic using the Glagolitic script. The appropriation and identification of Jerome as Slavic was based on his own words identifying Stridon as his birthplace, situated on the border of the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia.⁶³ It is this sentence on which the whole cult of the Saint in Dalmatia lies upon, making the scholarly dispute about the actual location of his birthplace still current.⁶⁴

2.1. Where was Stridon?

Writing *his De viris Illustribus*, Jerome probably had no idea that a single sentence in his book will cause centuries-long dispute over the exact location of his birth city. The city he mentions was a small *oppidum* which makes it harder for the historians to come to clear conclusions since there is not much archaeological and historical evidence of it. Whereas in the international historiography this topic is still

⁶³ Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, 167.

⁶⁴ Frane Bulić, *Stridon (Grahovo polje u Bosni) rodno mjesto svetoga Jeronima: rasprava povijesno-geografska* [Stridon (Grahovo polje in Bosnia), the Birthplace of St. Jerome: Historical and Geographical Discussion] (Sarajevo: s.n., 1920); Antun Mayer, "Stridon," *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 22–23 (1942): 175–85; Antun Mayer, *Stridon* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 1942); Josip Florschütz, "Stridon i Zrin" [Stridon and Zrin], *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 6 (1902): 87–98; Grubišić, "Trojica humanista"; Francesco Maria Appendini, *Esame critico della questione intorno alla patria di s. Girolamo libri IV*. (Zadar: Tipografia Battara, 1833); Mate Suić, "Hijeronim Stridonjanin - Građanin Tarsatike" [Hieronymus Stridonian - Citizen of Tarsatica], *Rad JAZU* 426 (1986): 213–78.

disputed, Croatian scholars provide new explanations on Jerome and his relations with his homeland. Following the classification made by Frane Bulić who divided historical sources, scholarly texts and the theories into four groups, I want to point out the most common explanations on the saint's origin.⁶⁵

The first group promoted the Istrian explanation, where the saint's birthplace should correspond to the location of the present-day village Zrenj (Sdrigna) in northern Istria. In the Middle Ages, the habitants of Istria believed that Jerome was born somewhere in their peninsula, which is also evident in the presence of Jerome's cult in the liturgical books and the churches consecrated to him.⁶⁶ This explanation was popularized by Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) and Jacopo Filippo Foresti known also as Jacopo di Bergamo (1434-1520) in the Late Middle Ages. In his *Italia Illustrata*, published in 1474, describing the region of Istria, Biondo names Saint Jerome and Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder as most prominent people from the region. While describing Istria he classifies it as an Italian province, concluding that Jerome could not be anything else than Italian, as Istria had been a Roman province even before the time of Emperor Augustus.⁶⁷ Bergamo, as his student, accepted his teacher's opinion, like many others during the centuries that followed.⁶⁸

The second group adhere to the Dalmatian hypothesis. The idea of the saint's regional origin was common among the people who lived in Dalmatia. This is evident, for example, in the official decision of the introduction of the feast of Saint Jerome in

⁶⁵ Bulić, *Stridon*.

⁶⁶ The presence of Saint Jerome in liturgical manuscripts can be connected also with the Glagolitic monks who especially venerated Jerome. In Istria, the manifestations of his cult can be seen in the *First Beram Breviary* (National Library in Ljubljana, Ms 161) which contains an *officium* for Saint Jerome, and in the *First Beram Missal* (National Library in Ljubljana, Ms 162) which, like the *Omišalj Missal* (Borgo Illirico IV, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), contains a special mass in honor of Saint Jerome. In Istria, churches dedicated to Saint Jerome since the Middle Ages, can be found in Zrenj (Sdrigna) and Buzet.

⁶⁷ Flavio Biondo, *Roma ristavrata et Italia illustrata* (Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1542), 196; Grubišić, "Trojica humanista," 289.

⁶⁸ Bulić, *Stridon*, 25–27. Bulić gives the names of Biondo's supporters, including Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder, Pio de Rubeis, Irineo della Croce, Filippo Tomasini and others.

Trogir in 1454 where it is written that the saint should be venerated because of his Dalmatian origin.⁶⁹ Marko Marulić (Marcus Marulus, 1450-1524) was probably the first proponent of this hypothesis, since he was the first to suggest that the location of Stridon was somewhere near Skradin, based on written sources.⁷⁰ Most of the representatives of this explanation agreed only in one thing, that Stridon was in Dalmatia, but could not reach consensus concerning the precise place. Among them were Vinko Pribojević, Tomko Marnavić, Sebastiano Dolci, Ignjat Đorić and Daniele Farlati.⁷¹ To date, this explanation mostly features in Croatian and international historiography.

Scholars in the third group locate Stridon in Pannonia and this idea was mostly promoted by Austrians and Hungarians. The most eager proponent of this idea was Melchior Inchoffer (1548-1648) who described the ruins of the city Srinovar where apparently the house of Jerome's parents was located, as well as the spring whose water had healing powers. In his opinion, Jerome was born in Pannonia and his native language was Hungarian.⁷² Josip Bedeković (1688-1760) a Pauline monk and author of the *Natale solum magni ecclesiae doctoris sancti Hieronymi in ruderibus Stridonis*

⁶⁹ Ivan Strohal, ed., *Statut i reformacije grada Trogira* [Statute and the reformations of the city of Trogir], Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium 10 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1915), ch. 64; Meri Kunčić, *Od pošasti sačuvaj nas: utjecaj osmanske opasnosti i kužnih epidemija na ikonografiju zavjetnih slika; primjer Splita i Trogira u XV. i XVI. stoljeću* [From pestilence save us: The influence of Ottoman danger and plague epidemics of on the iconography of votive images; The case of Split and Trogir in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries] (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2008), 16.

⁷⁰ Marko Marulić, *Vita Diui Hieronymi, Versio Electronica*, ed. Darko Novaković (Croatiae auctorum Latinorum), accessed September 2, 2016, <http://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.117:3.croala>; Marko Marulić, "Vita diui Hieronymi pręsbiteri a Marco Marulo ędita: adiectis miraculis quę de illo Cyrillus Nazarethi episcopus commemorat in summamque redactis breuiorem," *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (1994): 26–66; Novaković, "Novi Marulić"; Banimir Glavić, "Je li latinska bilješka na kraju Transita sv. Jeronima iz godine 1485. Marulićeva?" [Was the Latin note at the end of Transit of Saint Jerome from the year 1485 made by Marulić?], *Colloquia Maruliana* 9 (2000): 287–91.

⁷¹ Bulić, *Stridon*, 27–31.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 34.

occultatum in which he identifies Stridon with Štrigova, a village in the Međimurje, northern Croatia, can be adjoined to this group.⁷³

The last group includes individual explanations of the possible location of Stridon. Since there are many, I will finish this overview with the latest and most extensive and detailed study on the location of Stridon. In 1997 Mate Suić argued that Stridon should have been somewhere near Tarsatica (present-day Rijeka), an important military center in Jerome's time.⁷⁴ He opens the discussion with Bulić's suggestion that Stridon should be somewhere near Grahovo polje (Bosnia and Herzegovina), based on the forged Roman inscription containing the name Stridon.⁷⁵ However, Bulić made the common mistake of building his hypothesis around the borders of medieval Venetian Dalmatia instead of those of the Roman province.

Suić considered several aspects to determine the real location of Stridon: written sources, Jerome's mention of his homeland, the change of the borders of Roman provinces, and the topographical position of any Roman strongholds with modern Croatian names that may have Latin etymology. This explanation relies on the work of the thirteenth-century chronicler Thomas of Split (1200-1268), the earliest Croatian source which mentions the location of Stridon, in the geographical description of Dalmatia:

It begins from Epirus, where Durrës is, and extends up to the Gulf of Kvarner, in the hinterland of which is the city of Stridon, which was the boundary between Dalmatia and Pannonia. This was the native city of the blessed Jerome, the illustrious doctor.⁷⁶

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Suić, "Hijeronim Stridonjanin."

⁷⁵ Ibid., 221. Bulić builds his explanation on the theories of Ivan Kapor (1772-1849) and Josip Alačević (1826-1904) who allegedly found the inscription dating to the end of the third century somewhere in the area of the Grahovo polje, mentioning the inhabitants of Stridon. But this inscription was actually unskillfully forged, with inadequate epigraphic forms and anachronisms in the text. The inscription also suggests that Stridon was the center of major municipal community, but Jerome makes clear that it was an *oppidum* and thus only part of a municipal community.

⁷⁶ Thomas Spalatensis, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, trans. Damir Karbic, Central European Medieval Texts 4 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), 3.

Why does Thomas locate Stridon in the surroundings of Rijeka? It is evident that Thomas consulted Jerome's work from where he cites that the city was once on the border of the Roman provinces, but he is also introducing some additional information that is not included in any other known source. Suić assumes that Thomas had access to some other source, now lost, where a more accurate description of the location of Stridon was recorded.⁷⁷ As much as Suić's explanation seem plausible, it cannot be accepted as final because his claims are not supported by the material evidence: there have been no archaeological excavations in the region where he locates Stridon. Furthermore, his assumption that Thomas used some older source from the church archive in Split will remain unjustified without other historical evidence.

Since this present work is dealing with the formation of Jerome's Dalmatian identity, in the following chapters I will present the evolution of the idea of his regional origin, the political circumstances from which the idea developed and its expression in the written sources. The following subchapter will deal with the genesis of the idea of Jerome being the inventor of Glagolitic letters for his compatriots and the attribution of the translation of the Bible into Slavonic language to him. It is this idea, which will, together with the humanist re-evaluation of Jerome's life and works, form the regional cult in Dalmatia.

2.2. The Inventor of Glagolitic Script

In Medieval Croatia, the members of Benedictine, Pauline, and Franciscan Third Order were praising Jerome as the inventor of Glagolitic letters and Slavonic liturgy.⁷⁸ It is hard to define the beginning of this clearly incorrect belief that was so

⁷⁷ Suić, "Hijeronim Stridonjanin," 232.

⁷⁸ Julia Verkholtantsev, "St. Jerome, Apostle to the Slavs, and the Roman Slavonic Rite," *Speculum* 87 (2012): 37; Verkholtantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome*, 48. John V. A. Fine, "The Slavic Saint Jerome: An Entertainment," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1998): 103.

consistently repeated through the centuries that after some time it was taken as the truth. The earliest written evidence appointing Jerome as the inventor of the Glagolitic script is contained in the answer of Pope Innocent IV to the letter by the bishop of Senj in 1248, written in defense of the use of Slavonic liturgy and Glagolitic letters in his diocese.⁷⁹ The pope's answer, which contains the permission for the clergy to continue their tradition, confirmed the legitimacy of the Slavonic tradition, invoking the authority of the great church father:

Your petition directed to us maintains that there are special letters in Slavonia, which the clergy of that land say they have from Blessed Jerome, and which they use in celebrating the Divine offices. (...) Therefore, considering that the word is subject to the matter and not the matter to the word, we, by the authority of this letter, grant you the permission requested, only in those places where this custom is lawfully in use, and provided the meaning does not suffer from this difference in letters.⁸⁰

The matter discussed in this letter was a centuries-long problem in Medieval Croatia. From the ninth century when the first Slavonic missionaries came to Dalmatia, the use of Slavonic language and liturgy presented a problem for the church hierarchy. In 925 the church council was held in Split, where the use of Slavonic liturgy and letters was among the discussed topics, since Pope John X (914-928) expressed his concerns that Slavonic language could gain preference against Latin.⁸¹ Julia Verkholtantsev sees this as a political question rather than a linguistic one, since the pope was afraid that the Dalmatian clergy could compromise the unity of the church. He addresses the church authorities to be sure "that in the land of the Slavs the Divine office is performed according to the customs of the Holy Roman Church, that is, in

⁷⁹ Badurina Stipčević, "Legenda o Jeronimu," 19; Miroslav Glavičić, "Pismo pape Inocenta IV. senjskom biskupu Filipu u tiskanim izdanjima i historiografiji" [The Letter of Pope Innocent IV to Philip, Bishop of Senj, in Printed Publications and Historiography], *Senjski zbornik* 41 (2014): 159–83; Fine, "The Slavic Saint Jerome," 103.

⁸⁰ Verkholtantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome*, 44.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

Latin, and not in a foreign [language]”.⁸² In the end, the decision of the council permitted the use of Slavonic language and liturgy only to the monks since they realized that complete prohibition would affect the evangelization of the people living in rural areas. The 1060 church council in Split once more stated that the use of Slavonic liturgy is only allowed to those members of the clergy who knew Latin letters and language as well.⁸³

How did Saint Jerome become an inventor of Slavonic letters? There is no historical foundation for this idea since Jerome lived long before Slavs came to the territory of Dalmatia and thus it is unlikely that he spoke Slavonic or invented Glagolitic letters. In the traditional historiography it is accepted that this theory was invented by Glagolitic monks, and that it derived from the fear of the accusation of heresy, especially in Dalmatia, where Saint Methodius, the actual inventor of Glagolitic letters, was considered a heretic.⁸⁴ In this context, the figure of Saint Jerome was used as a tool to prove the loyalty to the Roman church and its official politics, where from the perspective of its supporters, Slavonic language should not be perceived as inferior to Latin and Greek, but equivalent in terms of the use of sacred languages. On the other hand, Verkholtantsev argues that it is possible that the legend came from the Latin clergy, and not the Glagolites, in order to incorporate Glagolitic communities in the Roman church.⁸⁵

Although it is still not possible to determine the beginning of this misconception, but from the thirteenth century the formation of the regional cult is traceable in statements that Jerome was born in Dalmatia and that he invented special letters for

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., 39.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 48–52.

⁸⁵ Verkholtantsev, “St. Jerome, Apostle to the Slavs,” 46; Julia Verkholtantsev, “‘Littera Specialis... a Beato Jeronimo’: How Did Sts. Cyril and Methodius Lose Recognition as Inventors of the Glagolitic Letters to St. Jerome?,” *Ricerche Slavistiche* 54 (2010): 225–263.

his compatriots. The cult became accepted in the monastic communities, as can be seen in the written evidence, mostly Glagolitic liturgical books containing the saint's *officium*, translations of his letters and accounts of his life.

2.3. Saint Jerome in the Written Slavonic Tradition

The evidence of Jerome as a Glagolitic patron can be found in medieval Croatian literature and liturgical books. However, Jerome was represented in the Glagolitic books, as often as his legends and letters can be found in the Latin transcriptions. Until the humanist cult in the fifteenth century, the feast of Saint Jerome and the legends of his life can be mostly found in the Glagolitic liturgical books.

2.3.1. The Feast of Saint Jerome in the Breviaries and the Missals

The Glagolitic breviaries between the fourteenth and sixteenth century contain the *officium* of Saint Jerome on his feast day, 30 September. The *officium* was composed of three parts: a hymn to Jerome, his life and an excerpt from his letter to Eustochium. His life is described from his birth in Stridon until his death in Bethlehem. Since most of the breviaries were used in monastic communities, it is not surprising that the part of his letter describing penitent life in the desert when he was fasting and fighting bodily temptations, surrounded by the wild animals, was included in his office. The list of the breviaries containing this *officium* was published by Vesna Badurina-Stipčević in an article discussing Jerome's legend in the older Croatian literary tradition.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Badurina Stipčević, "Legenda o Jeronimu," 22 The fourteenth-century breviaries are *IV Vrbnik Breviary* (Parish office, Vrbnik), *Borgo Illirico IV* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), *Pašman breviary* (Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences), *First Beram Breviary* Ms 161 (National Library, Ljubljana). The fifteenth-century breviaries are *Second Beram Breviary* Ms 163 (National Library, Ljubljana), *Hum Breviary* (National and University Library, Zagreb) and *Mavro's Breviary* (National and University Library, Zagreb), *Borgo Illirico X* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), *First Novi Breviary* (Croatian

The reflection of the saint's popularity among the Glagolitic community is evident also in the fact no missals contain a mass for Cyril and Methodius. Their *officium* can be found in nine breviaries in three different versions, but none of these comes from Dalmatia.⁸⁷ Among the breviaries which mention Jerome, an interesting example is the Benedictine breviary *Borgo Illirico VI* written in 1387 in which Saint Jerome is identified as a member of their order.⁸⁸ The reason for this appropriation is that Benedictines in Croatia were Glagolites and with accepting Jerome as their predecessor they legitimized their activities, proving loyalty not only to the Pope, but also to the postulates of their order. The Benedictines from Omišalj, on the island of Krk, which was ruled by the Venetian Republic in the thirteenth century, managed to receive a special permission from the pope in 1244 to serve the liturgy in Slavonic and use Glagolitic letters, which were prohibited by the Venetians.⁸⁹

Other Glagolitic liturgical books referring to Saint Jerome are missals. The ones which contain a preserved mass in honor of Saint Jerome are from the northern parts of Adriatic basin, Kvarner and Istria. The full mass can be found in the oldest Croatian Glagolitic missal written in 1371 in Omišalj, now in the Vatican library known as *Borgo Illirico IV*.⁹⁰ Another missal is the *First Beram Missal 162*, now in the National Library of Slovenia in Ljubljana. The first printed book in Croatia, the *Missale Romanum Glagolitice*, published in 1483 was written in the Croatian recension of Church Slavonic. The printed redaction was based on the manuscript *Missal of duke Novak* written in 1368. In the calendar of the *editio princeps* 9 of May was marked as the feast

Academy of Arts and Sciences), *Second Novi Breviary* (Parish Office, Novi Vinodolski). The office is also contained in printed breviaries: *Baromić's breviary* from 1493 and the *Brozić breviary* printed in 1561.

⁸⁷ Pantelić, "Kulturno-povijesni značaj," 239.

⁸⁸ Ibid.; Pantelić, "Odras sredine," 235.

⁸⁹ Fine, "The Slavic Saint Jerome," 103.

⁹⁰ Petar Bašić, "Kada je napisan hrvatskoglagoljski misal Illirico 4?" [When the Croatian Glagolitic manuscript Illirico 4 was written?], *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 56–57 (2008): 93–99.

of the *Translation of Saint Jerome* (Prenesenje svetago Eronima), which is not contained in any other Glagolitic calendar.

There are a few circumstances that led to the inclusion of this feast in the first printed edition of Croatian missal. Marija Pantelić proved that the printing redaction of the *Missal of duke Novak* was made by Glagolitic monks in Istria.⁹¹ According to Pantelić, the celebration of the translation of Jerome's relics to the Roman church Santa Maria Maggiore is connected with the rising popularity of the idea of the saint's Istrian origin promoted by Flavio Biondo. Around the same time, in 1464 Pope Pius II has officially proclaimed this date as the feast of the *Translatio*. Interestingly, prior to when Pius II became pope, he was Bishop of Trieste and was certainly familiar with the prevailing belief in his bishopric about the village Zrenj being Stridon. The bishop of Ravenna, Superantio, in the fourteenth century wrote that in Zrenj, above the grave of Jerome's parents, stands a very simple church in honor of the saint.⁹² For Pantelić, the inclusion of the feast in the calendar is an expression of this Istrian tradition and the respect paid by the Istrian redactors of the text to their former bishop. The Istrian influence is reflected in other feasts specific for the region that cannot be found in other calendars: Saint Lazarus and Saint Servulus, martyrs from Trieste.⁹³

In addition to the Istrian origin theory, Pantelić suggests that the celebration of the translation of the saint's relics can be seen in another tradition, besides Biondo's appropriation. The Glagolitic *First Beram Breviary 161* written in 1396 and kept today in National library in Ljubljana, in its *sanctorale* has a special *officium* on the date of the translation. However, the particularity of this *officium* is the mentioning of the

⁹¹ Marija Pantelić, "Prvotisak glagoljskog misala iz 1483. prema Misalu kneza Novaka iz 1368." [Editio Princeps of the Glagolitic Missal from 1483 Based on the Missal of Duke Novak from 1368], *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 6 (1967): 39.

⁹² Pantelić, "Kulturno-povijesni značaj," 40.

⁹³ Pantelić, "Prvotisak glagoljskog misala," 46.

alternative hagiographical aspect of the translation of Jerome's relics. In this text, the discovery of Jerome's relics is attributed to Saint Helen who apparently had sent a piece of Jerome's clothes to his son Constantine with the appeal to build a church consecrated to him in Constantinople.⁹⁴ Until now, it is not known if the cult existed in Byzantium and what was possible source for this *officium*. Considering the geographical origin, most of the surviving breviaries were used in the northern parts of Croatia, the Kvarner and Istria. The sources suggest that the use of Glagolitic books in Dalmatia was common in the fourteenth century, but the only Dalmatian Glagolitic breviary that contains the *officium* for Saint Jerome is the fourteenth-century *Pašman Breviary*, made in the Benedictine monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian in Tkon, on the island of Pašman. For a long time the monastery was a cultural center of the region with its scriptorium where they produced books adapted and translated to be used in Slavonic liturgy. From the fourteenth century onwards, the whole region of Northern Dalmatia, with Zadar as its center, was known for its strong Glagolitic activities.

Based on the written sources it is hard to detect the existence of the Glagolitic cult of Saint Jerome in Dalmatia before the fifteenth century. The saint's *officium* in the *Pašman breviary* can be seen as the reflection of a strong Glagolitic tradition in the Zadar region, but it does not indicate the celebration of the saint in other cities of Dalmatia which would later become the core of the implementation of the humanist cult: Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik. The previously listed breviaries attest to the continuation of Jerome's cult in Medieval Croatia, but not in medieval Dalmatia since the historical evidence is lacking. But some assumptions and conclusions can be made. Since the *Pašman breviary* is among the earliest breviaries that contain an

⁹⁴ Pantelić, "Kulturno-povijesni značaj," 241.

officium of Saint Jerome, it is justifiable to assume that other (now lost) breviaries from Dalmatia also contained the same office. All the more so because the monastery in Tkon had a scriptorium in which Glagolitic books were produced for whole region of Dalmatia. Thus, Dalmatia can be placed in the wider cultural context where the existence of the cult in Istria may indicate its existence in Dalmatia also.

Most of the medieval scriptoria were polygraphist, producing Latin, Glagolitic or Cyrillic texts at the same time.⁹⁵ During the Middle Ages, Zadar served as a cultural center for the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic sea, especially for the production of Glagolitic books.⁹⁶ According to Pantelić, the region between Krbava, Nin and Zadar was the strongest Glagolitic center. However, due to unstable political conditions at the turn of the fourteenth century the cultural center moved north to the island of Krk, which also had a strong Glagolitic tradition, and south to the area around Dubrovnik, a city that was about to enter its golden age lasting for two centuries. Because of the troubled time of political turmoil in the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, scribe Bartol Krbavac (14th century- after 1421), the author of the *Beram Missal*, went to seek work in the more peaceful northern areas, in Istria.⁹⁷

Another reason for the lack of relevant Glagolitic books from this region and period is the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century. It is known that they

⁹⁵ Dragica Malić, *Na izvorima hrvatskoga jezika [On The Sources Of The Croatian Language]* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002), 35–56.

⁹⁶ There is much evidence of the Glagolitic activities in the region of Zadar. The inventory of a merchant from Zadar written in 1380 mentions a Bible written in the Slavonic language. For Runje, one of the most beautiful medieval Croatian manuscripts, Hrvoje's Missal, was prepared in the scriptorium of Saint Chrysogonus (Sveti Krševan) in Zadar. The scribe Butko has wrote it, while some other illuminator illustrated it. Petar Runje, "Knjige glagoljaša Zadarske nadbiskupije u srednjem vijeku" [Glagolitic Books in the Archbishopric of Zadar in the Middle Ages], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, no. 49 (2007): 154; More works on the Glagolitic tradition in Zadar area can be found in: Antun Badurina, *Iskoni bē slovo: zbornik radova o glagoljici i glagoljašima Zadarskog kraja i Crkvi svetog Ivana Krstitelja [Proceedings about the Glagolitic Script and Glagolites in Zadar Region and the Church of the Saint John the Baptist]* (Zagreb: Provincijalat franjevac trećoredaca, 2001).

⁹⁷ Petar Runje, "Bartol Krbavac i njegov krug" [Bartol Krbavac and his circle], *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 64 (2014): 153–81; Marija Pantelić, "Glagoljski kodeksi Bartola Krbavca" [The Glagolitic codices of Bartol Krbavac], *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 5 (1964): 5–98.

confiscated church property, including liturgical books. On the last pages of *Illirico V* breviary, originally written in the fourteenth century, a story recounts how the people of the village Tribihović in Lika, have collected money and bought back the book from the Turks in 1487.⁹⁸ It is possible that such a faith befell liturgical books containing Jerome's *officium*.

Jerome's legend can also be found in Glagolitic non-liturgical books such as *Petris Miscellany* from 1468, which used to belong to the Petris family from the island of Krk. This codex contains 162 different texts containing apocrypha and hagiographic legends. Among them there is Jerome's legend, where he is referred to as *Jerome the Croat* (Jeronim Hrvatin), and his Slavic origin is emphasized throughout the text.⁹⁹ Although it may seem that Jerome received Croatian national attributes in the fifteenth century and the formation of the Croatian nation can be traced by following how he appears in subsequent sources, I believe that the explanation for the term "Hrvatín" should rather be sought in the original text from which the Croatian recension of Church Slavonic was translated. Ivišić argues that Jerome's legend, together with some other texts, was translated from the Czech *passionale* which contained saints' legends and hagiographies.¹⁰⁰ It is possible that the translator, following the Czech original, translated the title of the legend where Jerome was referred to as Croatian.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Petar Runje, "O vrijednosti i ugledu glagoljskih knjiga u 15. stoljeću" [The Value and Prestige of the Fifteenth Century Glagolitic books], *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 37 (1987): 174; Mladen Ibler, "Breviary Borgiano Illirico 5-6," in *Senjski zbornik*, 36, 2009, 226.

⁹⁹ Badurina Stipčević, "Legenda o svetom Jeronimu u hrvatskoglagoljskom Petrisovu zborniku (1468.)," 341.

¹⁰⁰ Stjepan Ivšić, "Dosad nepoznati hrvatski glagoljski prijevodi iz staročeškoga jezika" [Unknown Croatian Glagolitic translations from Old Czech], *Slavia* 1 (1922): 38–56.

¹⁰¹ Emperor Charles IV invited Croatian Glagolites to come in Prague in the monastery he established in Prague in 1347, consecrated to Saint Jerome for his deeds for the Slavic people. Most probably they came from the monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian in Tkon, which was destroyed by the Venetians in the war with Hungarian king. See more: Verkholtantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome*, 63–115.

2.3.2. Jerome's Relic

The cult in the Kvarner region reflects a strong Glagolitic activity. How deep-rooted the explanation of Jerome inventing Glagolitic letters was, is shown by his only "relic" that existed in the Middle Ages in Croatia. The formation of Jerome's cult is all the more interesting considering the nonexistence of a central place of worship of the saint and the fact that no medieval church possessed a relic of the saint. Eventually, in the eighteenth century the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik received one as a gift from the archbishop Lupis who had brought the reliquary with the fragment of the bone of Saint Jerome from Rome. At this time, another reliquary was purchased from Venice and built into the altar of Saint Jerome in the church of Saint Simeon in Zadar.¹⁰²

This relic from Krk was a book, a codex written in the eleventh century in Old Church Slavonic and used until the fifteenth century. The book was the property of the famous Frankapan family that ruled over the island of Krk in that period. The Latin inscription on the book cover, written in the fifteenth century, demonstrates the importance the book had, as it was believed that it was written by Jerome himself:

These sheets, here bounded together from the inside, were written by the own hand of Saint Jerome, the most astute doctor of the church of God. And they are part of the Bible, written in the Croatian language. And to me it was given as a gift by Lucas de Reynaldis, priest from the diocese of Krk, who got it from the glorious lord Ivan Frankapan, ruler of the before mentioned island Krk, who ornamented the book in gold and silver to be worshipped just as relics.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Nella Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti: ceremonijal i državni blagdani dubrovačke republike u 17. i 18. stoljeću* [*The Theater Of Power: Ceremony And State Holidays Of The Ragusan Republic In The Seventeenth And Eighteenth Centuries*] (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2009), 259.

¹⁰³ The translation was made from the transcription by Štefanić. Vjekoslav Štefanić, "Kločev glagoljaš i Luka Rinaldis" [Glagolita Clozianus and Luka Rinaldis], *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 4–5 (1955): 130; Vjekoslav Štefanić, "Nova istraživanja o Kločevu glagoljašu" [New research about the Glagolita Clozianus], *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 2 (1953): 67–74.

After the death of Lord Ivan Frankapan, who was exiled from the island by the Venetians in 1480 and died in 1486, the book, deprived of its precious ornaments, was scattered in pieces, and today only a few fragments survive.

2.3.3. *Vita and Transitus Sancti Hieronymi* in the Glagolitic Edition

In 1508, in the Glagolitic printing press in Senj, a book known under the title *The passing of Saint Jerome* (Transit svetog Jeronima) was published. The book was printed with Glagolitic letters and it is the Croatian translation of the Italian *Transito de Sancto Girolamo* printed in Venice in 1487. The reason why this book was chosen for being printed in Croatian redaction could be explained by the strong Glagolitic tradition in the area that was centered around the city of Senj. But also by the general popularity of the cult of Saint Jerome, especially in Italy where nineteen editions of the *Transito* were published in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁴

In western Christianity compilations of the works connected to Jerome were known as *Vita et transitus sancti Hieronymi*. Among the most common parts of it were the life of Saint Jerome and set of the forged medieval letters by Pseudo-Eusebius, Pseudo-Augustine and Pseudo-Cyril relating Jerome's death and his ascent to heaven. Even before the printed edition, manuscript texts of the parts of the *Transitus* were known in the territory of Medieval Croatia. The Glagolitic *Ivančević Miscellany* (Ivančevićev zbornik), written at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, contains a transcription of Pseudo-Augustine's letter to Cyril and the

¹⁰⁴ Anica Nazor, "Senjski tranzit svetoga Jerolima i hrvatski rječnik do Marulića i njegovih suvremenika" [The Senj Transition of St. Jerome and the Croatian Dictionary till Marulić and His Contemporaries], *Rasprave: Časopis Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 25 (1999): 250.

letter of Pseudo-Cyril to Augustine, while Pseudo-Eusebius's letter can be found among the Glagolitic fragments in the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.¹⁰⁵

The archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences also keeps a Latin transliteration of the printed edition from Senj. However, the two texts differ significantly. The transcript in the Archives of the Academy was made by a certain Franciscan friar, Lovrinac Vejanin, from the island Krk, who made a number of linguistic alterations to the text, including the title which he changed from the *Transitus* to the *Life of St. Jerome*. At the beginning of the book, this transcript contains an index that is not included in the printed edition from Senj.¹⁰⁶ Vejanin mentions the Italian edition of *Transitus* prepared by Gabriel Petri in 1475, which suggests that during the process of the copying he used an Italian edition. This, again, proves the continuous cultural exchange between the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea.

The edition from Senj, together with Marulić's *Vita Divi Hieronymi* which will be discussed later, is the most elaborate work on the life and deeds of Saint Jerome in Croatian literature. The content of the printed edition does not differ much from the manuscript copies. At the beginning it contains the life of Saint Jerome, all three letters describing his death and the description of his miracles. What makes this edition unique is that unlike other Glagolitic editions written in Croatian redaction of the Church Slavonic language, this one was written in the Chakavian dialect which the editors of the *Transitus* describe as Croatian.¹⁰⁷

In addition to being written in dialect, the *Transitus* from Senj has another unique feature. At the end of the book, there is an additional double-rhymed hexameter poem in Glagolitic letters *Anjelske kriposti* (Angelic virtues) written in honor of Saint

¹⁰⁵ Vjekoslav Štefanić, "Glagoljski tranzit svetog Jeronima u starijem prijevodu" [Glagolitic Transit of St. Jerome in the Older Translation], *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 5 (1964): 106.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 120.

¹⁰⁷ Nazor, "Senjski tranzit," 251.

Jerome. The poem relates the events from the life of Saint Jerome with an emphasis on the episode with the lion, while it does not mention his death and miracles which are the main subject in the *Transitus*. Based on this and other linguistic differences Anica Nazor concludes that the author and the translator were two different persons.¹⁰⁸ Since these verses could not be found in any other edition, neither Latin nor Italian, they represent an original Croatian contribution to the devotional literature to Saint Jerome.¹⁰⁹ But the question still remains: who was the author capable of writing such an elaborate devotional poem? New research suggests it could be the Dalmatian renaissance author Marko Marulić, whose commitment to Jerome expressed in his written works will be discussed later.¹¹⁰ This poem exists in Latin transcription in a few versions. The earliest is in the codex *Dalmatico-Laurenziano* from the Laurenziana library in Florence, written at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹¹¹ Another version is part of the miscellany codex held at the Franciscan library in Dubrovnik, where the poem is published in shorter version and under a different title, *Verses of Saint Jerome*.¹¹²

2.3.4. A Myth Was Born

This chapter has demonstrated the cult of Saint Jerome in medieval Croatia, prior to the humanist cult which developed under the influence of the rising popularity of the saint in the fifteenth century. There is not much evidence that could prove the

¹⁰⁸ Anica Nazor, "Dvanaesteračka legenda o svetom Jeronimu" [The dodecasyllabic legend of Saint Jerome], *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 15–16 (1965): 218.

¹⁰⁹ The Italian editions contain the prayer to Saint Jerome in verse at the end of the book, under the title "Oratione devotissima dedicata a sancto Hieronymo." Ibid., 217.

¹¹⁰ Franjo Švelec, "Autor dvanaesteračke legende o svetom Jeronimu" [The Author of the Hexameter Legend of Saint Jerome], in *Ivšićev zbornik* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 1963), 353–62; Nazor, "Dvanaesteračka legenda," 219–21; Štefanić, "Glagoljski tranzit," 149–58.

¹¹¹ C. Verdiani, *Prose e versi inediti di Marco Marulo nel Codice Dalmatico-Laurenziano* (Roma: Edizione di Ricerche slavistiche, 1958); Nazor, "Dvanaesteračka legenda," 215.

¹¹² The author publishes the full transcription of the prayer. Nazor, "Dvanaesteračka legenda," 222.

existence of a fully-fledged Jerome's cult in Dalmatia before the fifteenth century, however, this does not mean that the saint was not venerated in Dalmatia at all, especially since the innovation of Glagolitic letters, also known as *Jerome's letters*, and Slavonic liturgy were attributed to him in the popular belief. Analyzing the surviving sources, it is evident that most of them are from the Northern Adriatic, where the Glagolitic tradition, and with that the veneration of Saint Jerome, was stronger.

There are a few sources that demonstrate that this constructed myth of Jerome inventing a special alphabet for his compatriots was accepted and taken as the truth. It is still not clear why none of the prominent scholars and humanists did not question this claim. For example, George of Slavonia (1355/60–1416), theologian and professor at the Sorbonne, made a marginal note in the Glagolitic script in his copy of Jerome's Latin commentaries on the Psalms because he believed that it was invented by Jerome and claimed that Jerome translated the psalms into Slavonic.¹¹³

Another example is that of Felix Fabri (1441/43-1502), a Swiss Dominican, who stopped in several cities on the Dalmatian coast, observing their religious and the social practices.¹¹⁴ He reports that in most of the Dalmatian cities mass is held in Slavonic and that in some cases churches do not even possess the liturgical books in Latin.¹¹⁵ He was informed that Saint Jerome invented letters different from the Greek and Latin, and that using the new alphabet, he also translated the Bible and the Book

¹¹³ Zrinka Novak, "Juraj Slovinač - Teolog i profesor pariške Sorbonne" [George of Slavonia - Theologian and Professor of Parisian Sorbonne], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 34 (2010): 26; Franjo Šanjek and Josip Tandarić, "Juraj Iz Slavonije (Oko 1355/60-1416.) Profesor Sorbonne I Pisac, Kanonik I Penitencijar Stolne Crkve U Toursu" [George of Slavonia (Cca 1355/60-1416) Professor of Sorbonne and Writer, Canon and Confessor of the Cathedral Church in Tours], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 8 (1984): 7; Fine, "The Slavic Saint Jerome," 103.

¹¹⁴ The analysis and translation of Fabris's text which relates to Dalmatian cities can be found: Stjepan Krasić, "Opis hrvatske jadranske obale u putopisima švicarskog dominikanca Feliksa Fabrija (Schmida) iz 1480. i 1483/84. godine" [Description of Croatian Adriatic Coast in Travelling Accounts by Felix Fabri, Dominican from Switzerland], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 39 (2001): 133–216.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 154, 194.

of Hours to the language that was to be called Slavonic. Fabri found the evidence for this in the book by Saint Jerome where he pointed that it was necessary to translate the Bible into the vernacular,¹¹⁶ clearly referring to Latin and not to Slavonic, which was not spoken at his time. The same observation can be found in the itinerary of Georges Lengherand, a Belgian pilgrim, written in second half of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁷

The list could go on, but these few examples suffice to show that from the fifteenth century the general rise in the saint's European popularity resulted in an interweaving of the Glagolitic tradition with the humanist cult in Dalmatia, which, in turn, brought about the construction of Jerome's Dalmatian identity.

¹¹⁶ Saint Jerome, *Hieronymi quaestiones hebraicae in libro Geneseos* (Leipzig: B.G.Teubneri, 1868), 2.

¹¹⁷ Georges Lengherand, *Voyage de Georges Lengherand, moineur de Monsen Haynaut, a Venise, Rome, Jérusalem, Mont Sinaï et le Kayres, 1485-1486* (Mons: Masguillier & Deguesne, 1861), 88.

3. The Humanist Transformation of the Cult

In fifteenth-century Dalmatia, Jerome ceased to be worshipped in closed Glagolitic monastic communities. Until the end of the century, distinctive features of his cult could be found in all major cities in Dalmatia, from Zadar to Dubrovnik. The ubiquitous exchange of goods and knowledge between the two shores of the Adriatic Sea contributed to the development and expansion of the humanist cult of Saint Jerome in Dalmatia. After the implementation and its interweaving with Glagolitic traditions, the cult was transformed into a regional one with distinguishing political and ethnic characteristics.

In general, first in Italy, and then in Western Europe, Jerome was worshipped in the religious context, especially among the members of the monastic orders. With the re-discovery of his theological works, and their re-reading and re-evaluation by many intellectuals of that time, such as d'Andrea and Vergerio in Italy, or Marko Marulić in Croatia, Jerome received the role of the patron of humanists. Many transcriptions of Jerome's works are still found in the collections and libraries that once belonged to prominent humanists. Many of them were members of noble families and soon the private worship of the saint spread among them, which is evident from the material culture. A large number of surviving artistic representations of the saint were commissioned by church authorities and, to a greater extent, by the individuals who erected churches and private chapels dedicated to Jerome, furnishing them with paintings, manuscripts and other liturgical objects decorated with the figure of the saint, depicted in one of the several iconographical types that had developed by the time.

In Dalmatia, the same characteristics of the cult were present, which can be seen in a number of private and public art commissions, and also in the presence of Jerome in the literary works of Dalmatian humanists. It is noteworthy that the development of the cult was not only orchestrated by church authorities, but rather by the official public politics of local governments and personal commitment. These aspects should be analyzed in the wider historical context, since the constant emphasis on Jerome's Dalmatian origin, especially after the Venetian purchase of Dalmatia, had strong political connotations, which makes it an exception among other types of veneration in Western Europe.

As discussed above, the cult of Saint Jerome was present in Dalmatia before the fifteenth century, but it did not have the distinctive characteristics of a regional cult: he was not worshipped in the whole region and his figure was not seen in the light of ethnic identification with the Dalmatians. Only from the fifteenth century onwards, when his figure and cult became accepted and promoted in most of the Dalmatian cities, the idea of his regional origin and the Italian appropriation of the saint caused his identification as Dalmatian. As a result, strong personal and official devotion developed. It is possible to find the traces of the existence of the medieval cult in most Dalmatian cities. As this work deals with the beginnings of the humanist cult, the focus will be on Dubrovnik and Trogir where his feast day was introduced in the official celebration calendar before other cities.

Furthermore, the abundant archival material—council decisions, testaments, inventory lists, and contracts with artists—attest to the importance of the cult. The written sources which mention Saint Jerome, mostly referring to his figure in art, are the primary sources for the reconstruction of the status of the saint in these cities and the way in which his cult was manifested.

3.1. Official Veneration in Dalmatian Cities: Dubrovnik

In the middle of the fifteenth century, in 1445, two days before the feast day of Saint Jerome, his celebration day was incorporated into the official state calendar of the Republic of Ragusa.¹¹⁸ Officially, it was the first recognition of the cult, earlier than the other Dalmatian cities. Unofficially, the introduction of the cult is just the reflection of the already established practice in Dalmatia which can be read from the text of the decision which states that Jerome should be worshipped by *us and the other Dalmatians of whose nation he was*.¹¹⁹ This statement proves that the idea of his origin, developed from the Glagolitic tradition, was widely recognized and accepted among the people living in the Dalmatian territory at the beginning of the fifteenth century. There are other documents where it is notable that during the fifteenth century Republic of Ragusa has emphasized its Dalmatian identity. In 1444, the group of Ragusan citizens was forced to pay “Italian” tax in Barcelona. Among them was Benedikt Kotruljević whose contribution to the formation of regional identity will be discussed in the last chapter.¹²⁰ In the letter which the Republic of Ragusa sent in 1446 to the authorities in Barcelona was explicitly written that “...it is clear to the nations of the whole world...that Ragusans are not Italians...quite to the contrary, that both judging by their language and by criteria of place, they are Dalmatians.”¹²¹ This

¹¹⁸ Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti*, 257.

¹¹⁹ “a nobis ac ceteris Dalmaticis de quorum natione fuit.” Branislav Nedeljković, *Liber Viridis* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1984), 320.

¹²⁰ Đivo Bašić, “Pomorstvo Dubrovnika od XII. do početka XX. stoljeća” [Seafaring of Dubrovnik from the Thirteenth until the Beginning of the Twentieth Century], *Pomorski zbornik* 44 (2006): 139–77.

¹²¹ Lovro Kunčević, “Civic and Ethnic Discourses of Identity in a City-State Context: The Case of Renaissance Ragusa,” in *Whose Love of Which Country?*, ed. Márton Zászkaliczky and Balázs Trencsenyi (Brill, 2010), 159; Jovan Radonić, ed., *Dubrovačka akta i povelje [Ragusan Decrees and Charters]*, Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda. (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1935), 492–93; Vinko Foretić, “Godina 1358. u povijesti Dubrovnika” [The Year 1358 in the History of Dubrovnik], *Starine* 50 (1960): 258.

Dalmatian nomination was expressed by common language and territorial integrity in the geographical sense, and not political.

In the medieval system of commemoration, saints' feast days were usually introduced into the official calendar after the acquisition of the relics or in order to mark the events of the essential importance for the community, such as the end of plague epidemics. The recognition of the saint's celebration through the official channels also reflected political connotations and aspirations. According to this the iconographic and hagiographic image of the saint was formed and expressed in public rituals and other forms of worship. In Dubrovnik, among the official celebrations, the rector and a certain number of members of the Minor Council were obligated to participate in the procession and the celebration of the mass.¹²²

It is not known how the procession and the celebration of this feast looked like, especially considering that there was no church consecrated to Jerome in Dubrovnik and it is not known if a chapel or altar dedicated to the saint existed under the official patronage of the government. Nonetheless, there are other manifestations of the official veneration of Saint Jerome which are expressed in the artworks commissioned by the local government. The firmest evidence of the official cult of the saint in Dubrovnik is his representation in the room of the Great Council in the city hall. The image of Saint Jerome, dressed in a cardinal's robe, was commissioned from Nicholas of Ragusa (Nikola Božidarević) in 1510.¹²³ In the great earthquake of 1667, this image was destroyed with the other ornaments and decorations of the Rector's Palace. The

¹²² Nella Lonza, "Građa državnih institucija kao hagiografsko vrelo: dubrovački primjer [State Documents as Hagiographic Sources: The Example of Dubrovnik]," in *Hagiologija. Kultovi u kontekstu*, ed. Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008), 106.

¹²³ Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi*, chap. 841 DAD, Div.Not. 89, f 33. "pro sala Maioris Consilli unam figuram sancti Hieronymi in vestibus cardinalium, secundum designum per eum factum et eis presentatum in tela ad telarium de altitudine, forma et qualitate figure Sancti Johannis Baptiste existentis in dicta sala."

image of the saint probably matched the height and form of the already existing figure of Saint John the Baptist in the same room.



Figure 5 Cima da Conegliano, *Madonna and Child with St Jerome and St John the Baptist*, 1500, oil on panel, 104x106 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., USA. Available from National Gallery of Art, accessed April 21, 2016, www.nga.gov

This type of representation of the two saints became a common iconographical type in the Renaissance, where they are usually depicted alongside the Virgin Mary as it can be seen on Cima da Conegliano's painting from the end of the fifteenth century; or next to each other as found in Masaccio's unfinished and now dispersed polyptych created for the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in 1428. The pairing of these two saints was due to their penitential character, in order to emphasize their eremitical and ascetic nature. The same iconographical type is represented on the portal of the Franciscan church in Dubrovnik. At the end of the fifteenth century, the well-known workshop of the Petrović brothers worked on the south portal and decorated it with the *pieta* sculpture in the gable, flanked with the figures of Saint Jerome and Saint John the Baptist.

The catalogue card of the exhibition *The Golden Age of Dubrovnik* explains that the figure of Saint John the Baptist represents “the firmness of Christianity in the period of the onslaughts of the Turks,” while the figure of Saint Jerome represents “the cultural and spiritual unity with Dalmatians under the Venetian occupation.”¹²⁴ I agree with the interpretation of the figure of Saint Jerome as the symbol of the unity with the other Dalmatian cities. However, this interpretation represents the secondary layer of the symbolical meaning of the statue in this case. The author of the text is missing the primary iconographical interpretation of this type whereby the two saints are paired because of their ascetic nature. Knowing the postulates for which Observant Franciscans were striving, poverty and austerity, the choice of these two figures for the portal of the Franciscan church is not surprising at all.



Figure 6 Petrović brothers, *South portal of the Franciscan church in Dubrovnik*, 1498. Photo archive, Institute of Art History, Zagreb.

¹²⁴ Milan Prelog, ed., *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika XV. i XVI. stoljeće: urbanizam, arhitektura, skulptura, slikarstvo, iluminirani rukopisi, zlatarstvo* [*The Golden Age of Dubrovnik in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century: Urbanism, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Illuminated Manuscripts, Goldsmith*] (Zagreb: Muzej MTM, 1987), 341.

In addition, this iconographical type is connected with the appearance of Pseudo-Augustine letters. In one of his letters to Pseudo-Cyril he explained how he had a vision of Saint John the Baptist who advised him to praise the glory of Saint Jerome. In the letter of Pseudo-Eusebius to Damasus, Jerome is described as the new Saint John the Baptist, “as the one willing to be a martyr of justice, preserving the true doctrine of Christ.”¹²⁵ Another official commission of the figure of Saint Jerome was made at the end of the sixteenth century when sculptor Nikola Lazanić (Nicolaus Lazaneus) was hired to make two statues for the sacristy of the church of Saint Blaise. The contract does not specify which two figures should be made. The preserved statues, with the author’s signature at the bottom, confirm that they were statues of Saint Blaise and Saint Jerome.¹²⁶

The church of Saint Blaise was under the direct patronage of the Republic of Ragusa and the inclusion of Saint Jerome in its decorative and sacral repertoire had both religious and political components. Another similar commission made to Lazanić before those in Dubrovnik is also relevant. He was commissioned to make sculptures of the Dalmatian patrons, including Saint Jerome, for the church of Saint Jerome in Rome, which are now lost.¹²⁷ Lazanić could have the commission in Dubrovnik upon

¹²⁵ Lizzi Testa, “The Ascetic Portrayed,” 313.

¹²⁶ Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi*, 1244. Prelog, *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika XV. i XVI. stoljeće*, 346.

¹²⁷ The book by Zrinka Blažević is dealing with the roots of the nineteenth-century idea of Illyrism, tracing it back to the fifteenth century, explaining the different contexts and the mediums through which the ideas of Illyrism were expressed. The book represents a starting point in the research of the Croatian proto-identity: : Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma [Illyrism before Illyrism]*, Biblioteka Dialogica Europea (Zagreb: Golden marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2008); Iva Mandušić, “Bibliografija radova o bratovštini sv. Jeronima u Rimu [Bibliography Of The Works About The Confraternity Of St. Jerome In Rome],” *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 30, no. 57 (2006): 197–203 In 1453 the Slavic confraternity in Rome has received a permission from Pope Nicolas V to use a church of Saint Martin on the left bank of Tiber. They renovated the church and consecrated it to Saint Jerome. Additionally, they built an inn for the pilgrims and the refugees from the Croatian lands. In this period the church of Saint Jerome in Rome became a promoter of cultural activities, where the members of Dalmatian noble families have performed important functions in the operation of the college, maintaining the cultural and political connections with their homeland. In 1589 a prefix was added to this church: “Illyrian” referring mainly to the people who spoke the same language and lived in the territory of the historic Croatian lands. In the following centuries this institution became a crucial instrument in the forming of the Croatian national identity, carrying cultural and political activities as an expression of its Croatian affiliation. This thesis

the recommendation of the confraternity members from Dubrovnik in front of the Great Council.

Similar to Trogir, the cult was established primarily by intellectuals and humanists, members of noble families and clergy. The fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were the zenith of Dubrovnik's success and prosperity when the city maintained political and commercial relations with Italian cities. The city's fortune influenced its urban development, together with the development of the arts and culture. The notion of the rising cult of Saint Jerome in Italy is likely to have come through these channels. Moreover, the role of Dubrovnik citizens studying at the Italian universities, as well as that of the foreign intellectuals who have lived and operated in Dubrovnik, is not to be overlooked.

3.2. The Private Patron of the Gradi and the Gozze Families

Archival documents and surviving artworks suggests that two aristocratic families, the Gradi (Gradić) and the Gozze (Gučetić), were to a great extent responsible for the implementation and the dispersion of the cult in the late medieval Dubrovnik. In Dubrovnik, it is hard to find evidence of the cult before its official proclamation, although we should take into consideration the Great Earthquake that struck the city in 1667 and destroyed much of it, including the possible manifestations of the cult that are now irretrievably lost.

will not go deeper into the analysis of the formation of Croatian national identity. The ongoing project "Visualizing Nationhood: The Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Italy and the Artistic Exchange with South East Europe (15th–18th c.)," funded by Croatian Science Foundation and led by dr.sc. Jasenka Gudelj, is expected to provide new perspectives on the process of the formation of the proto-national identity.

3.2.1. The Gozze Family

The Gozze family was one of the oldest noble families in Dubrovnik whose members have contributed to the Republic of Ragusa in many ways. Among them there were many writers, poets, artists, diplomats and other intellectuals who have amassed one of the largest private libraries in Dubrovnik.¹²⁸ There are several examples that demonstrate the affiliation family had for Saint Jerome. They cherished him as the family patron which is reflected in the frequent occurrence of the name Jerome among the male descendants of the family. An example for the Gozze devotion is an altarpiece commissioned in 1488 by Bartol Gozze, a highly positioned member of the family who was rector several times. He served in several diplomatic functions for the Republic, which included visits to the kings of Hungary and Aragon, as well as to Pope Nicholas V.

He ordered an altarpiece with six figures for the family's chapel of Saint Bartholomew on the island of Lokrum. Among the figures of the saints was a depiction of Saint Jerome as a hermit with the rock in the hand.¹²⁹ In the sixteenth century, the family built a chapel next to their summer house in Trsteno and consecrated it to Saint Jerome.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ More informations about the Gozze and Gradi families can be found in the: Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela Grada Dubrovnika. Sv. 2, Vlasteoski Rodovi: (A-L)* [*The Nobility of Dubrovnik. Vol.2, The Noble Families (A-L)*], (Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti; Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2012).

¹²⁹ Tadić, *Grada o slikarskoj školi*, para. 640...sanctus Hieronymus in heremo cum saxo in manu.

¹³⁰ Krasanka Majer Jurišić and Edita Šurina, *Trsteno. Villa Gučetić - Conservation Research of the Chapel of St. Jerome* (Zagreb: Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2015).

The object that deserves special attention here is the earliest commission dedicated to Saint Jerome by the Gozze family. The relief, one of a series made by the *schiaivoni* Andria Alessi and Niccolò Fiorentino in the second half of the fifteenth century, representing Saint Jerome in a cave, half-naked, surrounded by books and wild animals, is not only important in the context of private worship, but also in the context of Jerome's Dalmatian identity.¹³¹ In following pages I will briefly discuss the historiography that discussed reliefs from these series and propose a new interpretation of their function. These reliefs can be found all over Dalmatia, from Zadar to Dubrovnik. They are all similar in size and shape, with the resembling iconography, differing one from another by the quality of the execution. By now, the function of these



Figure 7 Andrea Alessi, *Saint Jerome in the cave*. 1467, baptistery of the cathedral of Saint Lawrence, Trogir. Photo archive, Institute of Art History, Zagreb.

¹³¹ Štefanac, "Osservazioni sui rilievi," 116. The reliefs that are attributed to Nicolo Fiorentino and his workshop are kept in Paris in Musée Jacquemart-André and in the private collection. The reliefs which quality stand out and are today in the church of Santa Maria di Giglio and in the Dubrovnik museum, are also connected with his workshop. The reliefs whose production is connected with the Andrea Alessi and his circle are the one in the church of Marjan near Split, relief from Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool reliefs from the Museum of Fine Arts in Split, relief from the church of saint John in Zadar, relief from the church of saint Duje in Pašman, relief in the Fondazione Roberto Longhi and one that was once built in the wall of the house in the Fondamenta San Giuseppe in Venice.

reliefs was not discussed in large, as for most of them is hard to determine the origin and their primary position. However, in the following lines I will discuss the theory which characterizes these reliefs as the external markers of the personal devotion to the saint, as it is in the case of family Gozze. Furthermore, they could be interpreted as the expression of the regional and ethnic origin.



Figure 8 Andrea Alessi, *Saint Jerome in the Cave*, 1470-1472, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Image reproduced from Štefanac, "Osservazioni sui rilievi," 117

The reliefs originate from the relief above the altar in the baptistery of the cathedral in Trogir, representing the specific iconography of the saint that developed from the merging of the two common iconographic types, the Tuscan and the northern. These square-shaped reliefs were small in size with an empty space for a devotional inscription or for commissioner's coat of arms. This relief, now in Dubrovnik's Cultural History Museum, was connected to the family Gozze evident from their coat of arms on the base. The purpose of these reliefs was not discussed in Croatian

historiography, apart from Štefanac who speculated that they served as small personal altars.

He builds his theory on the relief that is today kept in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool. The base of the relief is decorated with the figure of the two-headed eagle and the initials AL, referring to the Venetian rector of the city, Alvise Lando (1470-1472). Written sources suggest that the church of Holy Mary, once on the main square in Trogir, had an altar consecrated to Saint Jerome.¹³² The church was built in the ninth century as the one of the typical early medieval Dalmatian architectural types with a central plan and six semicircular apses. Štefanac discusses the possibility that the Liverpool relief was originally made for this church. He explains the small dimensions of the altarpiece with the narrow apse of the church in which the altar probably stood.¹³³

Štefanac's hypothesis is hardly verifiable, or rather, it is based on false assumptions due to a lack of knowledge of other historical sources mentioning the altar. The description of the churches in Trogir, attributed to chronicler Paolo Andreis (1610-1686), includes a description of the altar of Saint Jerome in the church of Holy Mary.¹³⁴ The author admires the marble altar with the sculpture. He does not mention whose sculpture it was, but we can reasonably assume that it was Saint Jerome.¹³⁵ Andreis also transcribed the dedicatory inscription which stated that the altar was commissioned in 1463 by hitherto unidentified people, who were certainly not members of a noble family, or Alvise Lando himself, whose initials are written on the

¹³² This altar will be discussed later in the text.

¹³³ Štefanac, "Osservazioni sui rilievi," 118.

¹³⁴ Danko Zelić, "Chiese in Trau – Rukopis Pavla Andreisa u Muzeju grada Trogira" [Paolo Andreis's Manuscript in Trogir Municipal museum], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 33 (2009): 94.

¹³⁵ Igor Fisković, "Firentinčev kip svetog Jeronima u Trogiru" [The Statue of Saint Jerome by Nicholas of Florence in Trogir], *Peristil* 38 (1995): 59–66. Fisković argues that the statue of Saint Jerome made by Niccolò Fiorentino was situated on this altar. Later it was moved to the chapel of Saint John of Trogir in the cathedral.

base of the relief of Saint Jerome.¹³⁶ Štefanac's explanation would be feasible if only a single such relief survived. However, to this date, at least ten of them were found, proving that the small dimensions of the altar cannot be explained by the lack of the space, which suggests that the purpose of these reliefs should be sought elsewhere.

The major difficulty in determining the primary function of these reliefs is the fact that most of them are not preserved *in situ*. There is, however, another possible function which these reliefs could have served. It is known that among the *schiaivoni* in Venice there was a tradition of placing the figure of Saint Jerome on the façade of their houses, and these reliefs may perhaps be examined in this context.

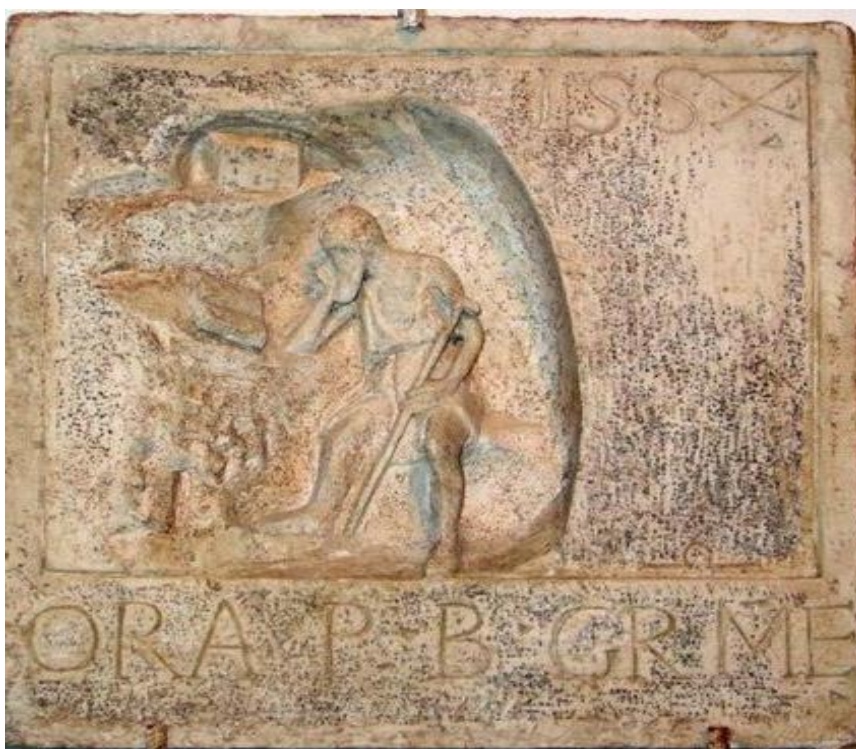


Figure 9 Andrea Alessi's circle, *Saint Jerome in the cave*, 1480s, church of the monastery of Saint Domnius, Kraj. Available from the Register of Cultural Property, accessed 2 May, 2016, www.min-kulture.hr.

¹³⁶ Zelić, "Chiese in Trau," 94. Since the transcriber of the Andreis text corrected some mistakes, Zelić is bringing the possible restitution of the inscription: IOANNES NICOLAUSQUE EX INSTITUTO BARTOLOMEI MAR. T. GERMANI SUI PISSIMI HOC ALTARE OB HONOREM DIVI HIERONIMI FECERUNT MCCCCLXIII. Radoslav Bužančić, "Gospin oltar Nikole Firentica u trogirskoj katedrali" [The Altar of the Virgin in Trogir cathedral, Work of Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino], *Klesarstvo i graditeljstvo* 20 (2009): 43.

In the monastery of Saint Duje in Kraj, on the island of Pašman, one of the reliefs is placed above the entrance of the church. The relief bears the inscription A · P · B · GRME (*Ora pro nobis beati Geronime*) and the year 1554, which was added later when the main portal was built.¹³⁷ Petricioli thinks that the year was added later and that it does not indicate the year of the production of the relief. He leaves open the possibility that the Alessi's composition survived and continued to be used even after his time.

An example that can be considered in favor of the continuity of Alessi's composition is a relief of Saint Jerome from the parish church in Pražnice, on the island of Brač. The relief was made in the sixteenth century, probably by one of the students of Niccolò Fiorentino. The composition is following Alessi's and Fiorentino's models, but the iconography differs.¹³⁸

Another example is even more relevant. Anne Markham Shultz published an unknown relief preserved *in situ* (now removed) on the façade of the first house in the *fondamenta* San Giuseppe in Venice, which she attributes to Andria Alessi.¹³⁹ The purpose of placing the saint's figure on the façade was to express the ethnic affiliation of the people who lived in them. A similar example is found on the façade of the Slavic confraternity in Udine, *Confraternità di S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni*, with Saint Jerome as patron.¹⁴⁰ Here we find an interesting case of public expression of confraternity's

¹³⁷ Petricioli, "Alešijev reljef sv. Jeronima," 272. Until recently, the relief was standing on its original place, when it was removed and transferred to the monastery's museum.

¹³⁸ A small church is added to the composition which most probably represents the church of Saint Jerome on Marjan, near Split. The church was erected near the cave, where Saint Jerome was believed to have spent some time before going to the Syrian desert.

¹³⁹ Markham Schulz, "Nepoznati reljef sv. Jeronima."

¹⁴⁰ Marino Mann and Lovorka Čoralić, "Bratovština svetog Jeronima u Udinama" [The Confraternity of Saint Jerome in Udine], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 19 (1995): 93–110. The gothic fresco depicted Saint Jerome sitting with the confraternity members in two rows. The fresco was created in 1494, and the author was Francesco Martilutti.

ethnic identity through the figure of Saint Jerome, which was painted above the main entrance of the confraternity building.¹⁴¹

The similar custom also existed in Rome. While Nikola Lazanić was working and living in Rome (1581-1584), he became a member of the Illyrian confraternity of Saint Jerome. During his stay, he was contracted to make a sculpture of Saint Jerome and other Dalmatian patrons, now lost. In 1582, he was commissioned to make twenty reliefs of Saint Jerome to be placed on the facades of the houses which belonged to the confraternity.¹⁴² None of these reliefs survive, but the description from the eighteenth century reveals that the relief represented the penitent Saint Jerome, kneeling and holding a rock in one hand, and a cross in another.¹⁴³

Considering the small dimensions of the reliefs, their square shape, the serial production and the existing tradition of placing such artworks on the façade as the designation of the ethnical affiliation, I believe that the reliefs from the Fiorentino and Alessi circles should be interpreted as the external markers of personal devotion to the saint but also as *ex-voto* for the protection of the family or community. Additionally, they should also be seen as the expressions of the unity of the Dalmatian cities and their shared ethnic designation. Outside the homeland, Saint Jerome served as the patron of Dalmatians and people living on the Eastern shore of Adriatic Sea under Venetian rule, and his image became the external marker of their houses and properties.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 99.

¹⁴² Milan Pelc, *Renesansa [Renaissance]* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2007), 374.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

3.2.2. The Gradi Family

Another noble family from Dubrovnik, the Gradi (Gradić), were also especially devoted to Saint Jerome. They financed the construction of a Franciscan church in Slano near Dubrovnik in 1420, and dedicated it to Saint Jerome, as it is written on the dedicatory inscription on the façade of the church.¹⁴⁴ The family's influence and wealth were demonstrated not only by building this church, but also by private patronage of the altars in the cathedral and the Dominican church, for which they have commissioned some of the finest examples of Gothic painting in medieval Croatia. In 1494, Jerome (Jeronim) Gradi, in the name of his brothers and himself signed a contract with Božidar Vlatković and his son Nikola Božidarević (Nicholas of Ragusa) for an altarpiece for the family's chapel in the Dominican church. The triptych was to have three figures: Saint Mathew the Apostle, Saint Jerome as a hermit in the desert and Saint Stephen together with the figure of Virgin Mary.¹⁴⁵ The choice of the depicted saints was not accidental, Saint Jerome, Saint Mathew, and Saint Stephen were namesakes of the Gradi brothers in whose name Jerome concluded an agreement with the painters.¹⁴⁶ The Gradi family had a palace in the *sexteria* of Saint Peter, one of the oldest in the city. Similar to the Gozze family, they have built the family chapel in their garden and consecrated it to Saint Jerome.

In Dubrovnik, after 1522, the cult of the saint was not on the list of the mandatory holidays at which the rector and members of Minor Council was obliged to attend the mass and participate in the feast celebration.¹⁴⁷ Nella Lonza sees this as a political

¹⁴⁴ Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti*, 257.

¹⁴⁵ Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi*, para. 674. "...unam iconam ponendam in ecclesia Sancti Dominici ad altare ipsorum nobilium de Gradi, secundum designum datum ipsis Boxidaro et Nicole, videlicet cum tribus figuris: sancti Mathei apostoli, sancti Hieronymi in deserto seu heremo et sancti Stephani, et cum figura gloriose Virginis parturientis in circo supra figuras suprascriptas"; Joško Belamarić, "Nikola Božidarević," *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 34 (1994): 130.

¹⁴⁶ Belamarić, "Nikola Božidarević," 130.

¹⁴⁷ Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti*, 258.

consequence after the Republic of Ragusa had established its territorial borders and positioned itself on the political map of Europe. There was no necessity for the integration and identification with the other inhabitants of the Dalmatian territory.¹⁴⁸ But the veneration of the saint continued in religious circles which is proven by the statue of Saint Jerome for the sacristy of the church of Saint Blaise. Even though the figure of the saint was no longer popular as the symbol of the political competition towards the Venetian Republic since the Republic of Ragusa has firmly established its borders, it was still present in the sphere of popular devotion. In the inventory of the goldsmith Jerome, made after his death in 1548, it was written that he possessed one marble statue of Saint Jerome.¹⁴⁹ A similar entry can be found in the inventory of the house that belonged to Tristan, cloth dyer, who possessed a painting of Saint Jerome.¹⁵⁰

3.3. Official Veneration in Dalmatian Cities: Trogir

In 1455, Trogir included the feast day of Saint Jerome in the official celebration calendar. In the text of the decision Jerome is named as *gloriosissimus doctor* as it was common from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.¹⁵¹ The text indicates that Jerome should be worshipped because of his devoted and hard life referring to the ascetic aspect of his nature, for the explanation of the Holy Scripture, and his innumerable miracles done during his life and after his death. Most of all, the text repeats the same statement as the one from Dubrovnik, pointing out that he is venerated by Dalmatians because of his regional origin.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 259.

¹⁴⁹ Tadić, *Građa o slikarskoj školi*, para. 1145 [...]et unum sanctum Hieronimum de marmore[...].

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 1235 [...]un altra icona depinta de Santo Hieronimo in tavola[...].

¹⁵¹ Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 50.

¹⁵² Strohal, *Statut i reformacije grada Trogira*, 259–60. “suis exigentibus meritis et exemplis devotissimus, tum propter eius beate vite asperitatem.....tum propter laborum intollerabilium circa expositionem sacrarum scripturarum, assiduitatem, tum etiam propter miraculorum innumerabilium,

3.3.1. Bishop Torlon and his Episcopate

The origins of the cult in Trogir may be analyzed from the perspective of the rising humanist culture in the city and the popularizing of Renaissance style in the middle of the fifteenth century. With the appointment of Giacomo Torlon (1452-1483), a theologian from Ancona, as a bishop, the city begun its renaissance *renovatio urbis*.¹⁵³ In this period the city was completely transformed, a new baptistery and the Renaissance chapel of Saint John of Trogir were built along with the city's clock tower, the church of Saint Sebastian and many other artworks still preserved.¹⁵⁴

During his episcopate he surrounded himself with a circle of excellent artists such as Andrea Alessi (Andrija Aleši, 1425-1505), Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino (Nikola Firentinac, 1418-1506), Ioannes Dalmata (Ivan Duknović, 1440-1509) and intellectuals including Koriolan Cipiko (1425-1493). The latter, together with the bishop, was one of the key Renaissance figures in the city. He served as the *operarius* of the cathedral and because of that he is most meritorious for the construction of the Renaissance chapel of Saint John in the cathedral church.¹⁵⁵ Fantin de Valle also belonged to this humanist circle. In the middle of the fifteenth century he financially

quibus perfulsic(?) in vita et post mortem claritatem....ipsum beatissimum sanctum a quorum provincia originem habuit."

¹⁵³ Daniele Farlati and Jacopo Coleti, *Trogirski biskupi: S dodacima i ispravcima Jacopa Coletija [Daniele Farlati Bishops of Trogir. With Additions and Corrections by Jacopo Coleti]*, trans. Kažimir Lučin, Biblioteka Knjiga Mediterana (Split: Književni krug, 2010), 37,41.

¹⁵⁴ Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Razvoj srednjovjekovne operarije - Institucije za izgradnju katedrale u Trogiru" [The Development of the Medieval Operaria: The Institution for the Construction of the Cathedral in Trogir], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 34 (2010): 16; Radovan. Ivančević, *Rana Renesansa U Trogiru [Early Renaissance in Trogir]* (Split: Književni krug, 1997).

¹⁵⁵ Josip Belamarić, "Duknovićev sv. Ivan Evanđelist u kapeli bl. Ivana Trogirskog" [The Statue of St. John the Evangelist by Ivan Duknović (Iohannes Dalmata) in Trogir Cathedral], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 37 (1998): 155–81. Koriolan's role in the construction of the chapel and the renovation of the city is even bigger than is acknowledged in historiography. For more informations see a footnote number XXX.

contributed to the enlargement of the inn made for the pilgrims from Croatian lands, which later became the Croatian pontifical college of Saint Jerome in Rome.¹⁵⁶

Considering the impact the bishop had in the city, he was perhaps the most instrumental in spreading the veneration of Saint Jerome in Trogir. The seventeenth-century history of Trogir, *Storia della città di Traù* by Paolo Andreis (1610-1686), states that the cult officially started under Bishop Jacobo Torlon at the beginning of the rule of rector Giovanni Alberto. He calls the saint the greatest adornment of the Church, and by that the greatest adornment of the Illyrian people.¹⁵⁷



Figure 10 Workshop of Nicolo Fiorentino *Saint Jerome, Saint Lawrence and Saint John of Trogir*, triptych, 15th century, the Dominican church in Trogir. Image reproduced from Bužančić, "Gospin oltar," 41

¹⁵⁶ Luka Jelić, "Hrvatski zavod u Rimu" [Croatian College in Rome], *Vjestnik Kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 4 (1902): 23.

¹⁵⁷ Paolo Andreis, *Storia della città di Traù* (Split: Hrvatska Stamparija Trumbić i drug, 1908), 163. "Successe Conte il Dottor Giovanni Alberto, nei principi della cui reggenza fu preso dal Consiglio di solennizzar la festa del Dottor S. Girolamo, fregio come principale di santa chiesa, così decoro eterno del popolo Illirico".

In Trogir, the cult of Saint Jerome was strongly connected with the cathedral church of Saint Lawrence which indicates that the implementation of the cult is associated with the activities of Bishop Torlon. Among the most famous representations of the saint in Dalmatia is the relief (1460-1467) by Andrea Alessi (1425-1505) above the altar in the baptistery depicting Saint Jerome in the cave, surrounded with books, dressed as a hermit and with a lion lying under his legs.



Figure 11 Gentile Bellini, *Saint John the Baptist and Saint Jerome*, 15th century, Cathedral of Saint Lawrence, Trogir. Photoarchives, Institute of Art History, Zagreb

This iconography of saint is repeated on the several small reliefs made by Niccolò Fiorentino and Andrea Alessi.¹⁵⁸ Alessi also made a sculpture of Saint Jerome in the chapel of Saint John of Trogir in the cathedral. In 1489, the doors of the cathedral organ were decorated by Gentile Bellini with the figures of Saint Jerome and Saint John the Baptist.¹⁵⁹ Another depiction of Saint Jerome can be found on a triptych in the Dominican church together with Saint Lawrence and Saint John of Trogir. Because of the selection of the saints on the triptych, the patrons of the city, Bužančić assumes that it was a commission made by local authorities.¹⁶⁰

3.3.2. Cipiko Family as Promoter of the Cult

Much as the saint was venerated through public cult and propaganda, he was also worshipped in the private sphere. The number of artworks commissioned by noble families, whose male members were often named Jerome, demonstrate his popularity.¹⁶¹ Considering the popularity of the name Jerome, it is probable that he was worshipped as a personal patron.

The second half of the fifteenth century in Trogir was marked with strong humanist activities. Among the most prominent were the members of the noble families Sobota and the Cipiko, who nourished both commercial and cultural connections with Italian cities.¹⁶² This subchapter will present how the cult of Saint Jerome was dispersed through the activities of the noble families in Trogir who

¹⁵⁸ Štefanac, "Osservazioni sui rilievi." Petricioli, "Alešijev reljef sv. Jeronima"; Petricioli, "Prilog Alešijevoj i Firentinčevoj radionici"; Markham Schulz, "Nepoznati reljef sv. Jeronima"; Ivo Babić, "Južni portal Velike palače Cipiko u Trogiru" [Southern portal of the Great Palace of the Cipikos in Trogir], *Radovi Instituta za Povijest Umjetnosti* 33 (2009): 67–76.

¹⁵⁹ Darka Bilić, "Muzej sakralne umjetnosti u Trogiru" [Museum of the Sacral Art in Trogir], *Kvartal* 4 (2005): 36.

¹⁶⁰ Bužančić, "Gospin oltar," 43.

¹⁶¹ Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti*, 257.

¹⁶² Branimir Glavičić, "Hrvatski latinisti-humanisti na razmeđu XV/XVI. stoljeća" [Croatian Latinists and the Humanists at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century], *Senjski zbornik* 17 (1990): 63–64.

worshipped him as their patron. In Trogir, the emergence of the cult was connected with the Cipiko family, known for their humanist activities and their participation in the Renaissance transformation of the city. Some of the most prominent Dalmatian artists of the time, including Andrea Alessi and Niccolò Fiorentino, were working on their palace, next to the cathedral church.

The pioneer of humanism in Trogir was Petar Cipiko (1390-1440), father of Koriolan, who had a great passion for collecting and transcribing ancient authors. He maintained a friendship with Italian and other Dalmatian humanists, especially with Juraj Benja from Zadar, from whom he received a codex as a gift and in which he continued to transcribe other texts, including sections of Jerome's work.¹⁶³ The name Jerome (Jeronim or Jerolim) was common among the descendants of the Cipiko family which probably came from the special devotion to the saint.¹⁶⁴ The description of the churches of Trogir, written by chronicler Pavao Andreis, mention the altar of Saint Jerome in the church of Saint Peter, commissioned by the descendants of Hektor Cipiko (1482-1553), probably in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁵ The choice of Jerome as the patron of the altar is not surprising since the name of Hektor's father was Jerome, same as his son, who most probably commissioned the altar.

A piece of irrefutable evidence for the particular devotion of the family is the statue of Saint Jerome made in the second half of the fifteenth century. The statue, representing the saint dressed in a cardinal's robe, now kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Split, has a devotional inscription on it stating that it was commissioned "out of

¹⁶³ Bratislav Lučin, "Kodeks Petra Cipika iz 1436." [The Codex Of Petar Cipiko from 1436], *Živa antika* 57 (2007): 66.

¹⁶⁴ Bratislav Lučin reveals the history of the Trogir Codex by Petronius (Paris, BNF, lat. 7989) which was in the possession of the members of the Cipiko family. He also identifies several members of the family and explains their role in the public and cultural life of Trogir. The Cipiko genealogy tree can be found in: Bratislav Lučin, "Petronije na istočnoj obali Jadrana: Codex Traguriensis (Paris. lat. 7989) i hrvatski humanisti" [Petronius on the Eastern Shores of the Adriatic: Codex Traguriensis (Paris, BNF, lat. 7989) and Croatian Humanists], *Colloquia Maruliana* 23 (2014): 166.

¹⁶⁵ Zelić, "Chiese in Trau," 94.

the devotion to Saint Jerome of Stridon and in the memory of the brave father, Alvise Cipiko, son of Jerome.”¹⁶⁶

Joško Belamarić notes the facial features of the Cipiko family in the statues of



saints commissioned by them.¹⁶⁷

The statue of Saint John the Evangelist, made in 1482 for the chapel of Saint John in Trogir by Ioannes Dalmata, is strongly reminiscent of the facial characteristics of Alvise Cipiko (1456-1504). The Renaissance enthusiasm for identifying portraits, so-called *portraits travesties*, had the purpose of praising moral virtues of the portrayed person. Koriolan Cipiko commissioned the statue of Saint Jerome in order to present his son as the successor of the saint in terms of moral and spiritual

Figure 12 Tripun Bokanić, *Saint Jerome*, stone sculpture, 15th century, Gallery of Fine Arts, Split. Image reproduced from Belamarić, “Nota za Tripuna Bokanića,” 486

¹⁶⁶ Joško Belamarić, “Nota za Tripuna Bokanića i Koriolanoviće (Uz razgovor o Duknovićevom sv.Ivanom Trogirskom)” [A note about the Tripun Bokanić and the Descendants of Koriolan Cipiko(With the Discussion about Duknović’s Saint John of Trogir)], in *Studije iz srednjovjekovne i renesansne umjetnosti na Jadranu* (Split: Književni krug, 2001), 463 ET : BEATI : HIER(ony)MI : STRIDONIE(n)SIS : PIETATI : ET : PARE(n)TIS : OPTIMI : MEMORIAE : ALOYSIVS : CIPP(icv)S HIER(onymi) . FILIVS . HOC. MARMOREV(m). SIGNV(m). AD. VERA(m). SVI. EFFIGIE(m). EXPRESSV(m). FACIE(n)DV(m). CVRAV(i)T. A(nno) D(omini) MDCIII.

¹⁶⁷ Belamarić, “Duknovićev sv. Ivan Evandelist.”

values.¹⁶⁸ This statue of Saint Jerome proves the hypothesis proposed by Belamarić for the statue of Saint John the Evangelist: the saint's figure reflects the portrayal characteristics of the members of the Cipiko family.

The statue was originally made by Tripun Bokanić for the chapel of the castle built by Koriolan in the Kaštel Stari, near Trogir. His workshop has participated in completing of the construction of the cathedral's bell tower, for which was contracted by Alvise Cipiko (1515-1606), procurator of the cathedral.¹⁶⁹ This Alvise Cipiko, who commissioned the statue of Saint Jerome in the memory of his father, is not the same Alvise portrayed in the statue of Saint John the Evangelist. He was Koriolan's grandson from his youngest son, Jerome, and nephew of Alvise Cipiko the Elder. Belamarić also explains that the commission of this artwork had a memorial purpose, as well as an *ex voto* since Alvise lost three of his sons. Due to the unfortunate destiny that befell him, it is understandable that while he made some type of private shrine in the memory of his father, as his only surviving son was named Jerome, it was probably also a votive offering in the unstable times at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

3.3.3. Other Manifestations of Worship

Observing the expression of private devotion to Saint Jerome by the Cipiko family, it is evident that the introduction of the cult was initiated by the humanist circle in Trogir gathered around Bishop Torlon and the Cipiko family. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to claim that he was exclusively worshipped among the clerical and intellectual elite in the city. Jerome was equally worshipped among members of the

¹⁶⁸ Alvise was known as a poet and humanist. In the year 1483, the city of Trogir elected him as their new bishop, but the Venetian Council did not approve this nomination. Instead, he was named as a bishop of Famagusta in 1488, and he also served as a secretary to Pope Alexander IV. Even though he was named as bishop of Zadar in 1503, he spent most of the time in Rome where he died.

¹⁶⁹ Belamarić, "Nota za Tripuna Bokanića," 466.

monastic orders and other noble families in the city. Between the years 1438 and 1446 a chapel dedicated to Saint Jerome was built as one of the oldest annexes to the cathedral church. In 1438, Nikolota Sobota, widow of Nikola Sobota, got a permission from the cathedral chapter to build a chapel and to equip it with all the necessary things for liturgy.¹⁷⁰ An altar consecrated to Saint Jerome, one of the several in the city, was placed inside the chapel. The importance of the chapel is not only that it is one of the earliest examples of the cult of Saint Jerome, but also that it is one of the earliest private chapels of this type.

Another altar consecrated to Saint Jerome was in the Benedictine church of Saint John the Baptist. For this altar Blaž Jurjev Trogirani made a polyptych in 1435, which was later moved to the chapel of Saint Jerome in the cathedral.¹⁷¹ In the center of the composition was the figure of the Virgin Mary with the figures of saints including Saint Jerome in his cardinal robe and the model of the church in the hand. Besides the altar in the church of Saint Peter, Pavao Andreis mentions the altar of Saint Jerome made out of marble, with a sculpture on it, found in the church of Holy Mary on the main square. It is the same altar that Štefanac has discussed. Andreis also transcribed the dedicational inscription where the donators are mentioned. According to Zelić, their identity is not possible to determine but it is certain is that they do not belong to any of the noble families in Trogir.¹⁷² Not much is known about this altar since the church was demolished in the nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁰ Danko Zelić, "Nekoliko priloga povijesti umjetnosti 15. stoljeća u Trogiru: Samostan sv. Križa na Čiovu, zlatar Matej Pomenić i kapela sv. Jeronima u katedrali sv. Lovre" [Contributions to the History of Art in the Fifteenth Century Trogir], *Peristil* 50 (2007): 68.

¹⁷¹ Cvito Fisković, "Poliptih Blaža Jurjeva u Trogirskoj katedrali" [The Polyptych of Blaž Jurjev in Cathedral of Trogir], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 14 (1963): 115–36.

¹⁷² Zelić, "Chiese in Trau," 94. See a footnote number 137. Bužančić, "Gospin oltar," 43.

3.4. Saint Jerome between the Venetian Republic and the Hungarian Kingdom

Why the worship was mainly present in these two cities and why should they be considered as the cradle of the humanist cult of Saint Jerome? It can be easily explained by the strong influence of Italian humanism, but the amplification and promotion of the saint through the visual arts is also evident in the wider historical context. Furthermore, the influence and the existence of the Glagolitic cult which was continuously worshipped together with the humanist one, has certainly more contributed to the proclamation of the official veneration in Dubrovnik and Trogir. The saint's regional identity is the result of interweaving of the Glagolitic tradition with the humanist cult and it is best expressed in the text of the decision of the official celebration in Trogir where these characteristics are emphasized.¹⁷³ The humanists in Dalmatia have adopted the pre-existing Glagolitic cult and upgraded it with the ideas of the Italian humanism, which will be discussed more in the last chapter of this thesis.

In my opinion, the development of the cult in Dubrovnik and Trogir is also connected with the establishment of the Venetian authority on the Eastern Adriatic coast. After their defeat in 1358, and the peace treaty signed in Zadar, the Venetian Republic was forced to surrender all its territories from the Gulf of Quarnaro to Durazzo to the Hungarian kingdom.

A loss of this territory had devastating repercussions for Venice; they lost the control of the salt market and their trading routes to Balkan were cut off.¹⁷⁴ At the beginning of the fifteenth century, while the Hungarian kingdom was preoccupied with

¹⁷³ See footnotes number 70 and 153.

¹⁷⁴ Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 23.

internal struggles for the throne, the Venetian Republic took the advantage and bought the rights on Dalmatia from Ladislaus of Naples in 1409. Most of the communes did not accept the fact that they had been sold, and the Venetian government had difficulties in implementing its rule in Nin, Šibenik, Split and Trogir. In the other cities as Zadar, who accepted new ruler in 1409, all the noble families close to the Hungarian king were forced to leave the city.¹⁷⁵

After half of the century of independence gained in 1358 with the Treaty of Zadar, due to the skillful diplomatic negotiation, the Republic of Ragusa felt threatened by the proximity of Venice and the possibility of re-establishing the Venetian rule over them. In order to weaken the Venetian pressure and influence, the republic's authorities insisted on the introduction of the Observant reform in the Franciscan monasteries on Ragusan territory, because they thought that the Dalmatian Franciscans were very much attached to Venice.¹⁷⁶ The Republic of Ragusa was reluctant to the separation of their Dominican monasteries from the Hungarian province and their union with Dalmatian ones in an independent province, especially after the establishment of Venetian rule in Dalmatia. Same as with the Franciscans, the Republic was afraid that the Venice could use other monastic orders to reinforce their position in Dubrovnik. For this reason, in 1486 an independent Dominican congregation of Dubrovnik was established.¹⁷⁷

The establishment of Venetian rule in Trogir did not go as easily as was expected. At the end of the fourteenth century, the political situation in Trogir was

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 28.

¹⁷⁶ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa u Dalmaciji i Istri: opservantska obnova i samostani Provincije Sv. Jeronima u 15. st. [Franciscan Renaissance in Dalmatia and Istria: Observant Reform and the Monasteries of the Province of Saint Jerome]* (Split: Franjevačka Provincija Sv. Jeronima u Dalmaciji i Istri, 1999), 59.

¹⁷⁷ Konstantin Vojnović, "Crkva i država u dubrovačkoj republici" [The Church and the State in the Republic of Ragusa], *Rad JAZU* 121 (1894): 54.

unstable, marked by internal disturbances between the supporters of King Sigismund, mainly members of the Casotti and Cega families together with Bishop Chrysogonus de Dominis, as well as the supporters of the Bosnian King Tvrtko, the Andreis, Vitturi and Sobota families.¹⁷⁸ The quarrel at the end was solved with the help of the king Sigismund who ordered the return of the confiscated properties.¹⁷⁹ Despite all his efforts, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, King Sigismund began to lose his influence in Trogir, and the city decided to side with Ladislaus of Naples in the internal war for the Hungarian throne. But this upheaval did not last long as Ladislaus began to violate the autonomy of Dalmatian communes, including Trogir.

In 1406, Trogir decided to support Sigismund's side again. The reason for changing their mind were privileges granted to some families, but also the fact that the king was busy gathering more supporters in order to overcome Venetian pretensions. In 1409, when Ladislaus sold his right to Dalmatia, Venice had a legal right to establish its authority in Dalmatian communes.¹⁸⁰ In 1420, Trogir surrendered, and the government under the protection of Saint Mark was introduced. Soon, Venice unified the legal system in the newly conquered lands, wherefore many medieval communes lost their privileges and level of autonomy.¹⁸¹

Raukar argues that for the medieval communes was not important whose government they had to respect as much as how the relations between the commune

¹⁷⁸ Irena Benyovsky, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir: prostor i društvo [Medieval Trogir: Space and Society]* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009), 31.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 32.

¹⁸⁰ While the Venice ruled Zadar shortly after the handover without any rebellion, Šibenik only surrendered after an armed rebellion in 1412 in exchange for certain privileges.

¹⁸¹ More about the political situation in Trogir on the turn of the century: Zdenka Janeković-Römer, "Grad i građani između kraljeva, velikaša i prelata – pogled Nade Klaić na srednjovjekovnu trogirsku komunu" [City and Citizens between Kings, Noblemen and Prelates – Nada Klaić's View of the Medieval Commune of Trogir], in *Nada Klaić i njezin znanstveni i nastavni doprinos razvoju historiografije. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem održanog u Zagrebu 29-30. studenog 2013. godine* (Zagreb: FF Press, 2015), 207–28.

and the government will be.¹⁸² Even though some Dalmatian communes had restricted political autonomy during the reign of Louis I of Hungary (1342-1382), in economic terms they managed to strengthen and develop trading communication with the hinterland and Italian cities, especially those on the opposite side of the Adriatic. After the establishment of the Venetian rule, the economic development of the Dalmatian communes began to stagnate, and in some cases even decline. The reason for this was the inclusion of the communes in the centralized economic and trading system of the Republic of Venice which tried to limit the trade on the Eastern Adriatic shore, mostly with high taxes and the obligation that all the surplus of good must be exported to Venice.¹⁸³

Not all social strata equally accepted the new rulers. The peasants were not preoccupied much with the fact who their ruler is, while commoners in general accepted the new ruler as they extended their rights. When discussing the highest layer of the society, the aristocrats, it is not possible to bring the definite conclusion and answer to the question: Did they supported Venetian rule or they were opposed to it? This question deserves a separate study and its conclusions would give answers about the aristocratic participation in the formation of the regional identity. However, some conclusion can be made. The reasons of dissatisfaction with the Venetian rule could be based on the fact that the local aristocracy did not participate in the local government in general, as it was in Trogir where the members of the council met rarely, being excluded from the actual bringing of the decisions, which was now made mostly by the rector.¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, the example of the Cipiko family demonstrates

¹⁸² Tomislav Raukar, "O nekim problemima hrvatske povijesti u 15. stoljeću" [Some Problems of Croatian History in the Fifteenth Century], *Historijski zbornik* 21–22 (1969 1968): 534.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 537.

¹⁸⁴ Janeković-Römer, "Grad i građani," 223.

how some aristocratic families took advantage of the situation, and by supporting the new ruler received the opportunity to still make a part of the local government.

The members of those families who resisted the Venetian rule, were forced to leave the city or were forcibly taken in Venice as hostages, as a pledge to keep the peace in the communes. In Trogir, most of the Venetian opponents were expelled from the city, including the captain and the bishop who was close to the Hungarian King Sigismund.¹⁸⁵ The same situation occurred in Zadar, where some people spent as much as 20 years as prisoners in Venice.¹⁸⁶ Even within the communes the nobility was not homogenous. Although it is beyond the scope of my thesis to go into much detail, a problem that requires special attention is the role of the Cipiko family in the formation of the cult within the Venetian Republic. Petar Cipiko, was one of the noblemen who accepted Venetian rule and served for them in many communal, as well as military, positions. Petar was proud of his classical education and erudition, so much so that he even gave his descendants classical names. His son Koriolan was named after the Roman hero who has have joined the Volscians, the enemies of Rome. Babić assumes that by this analogy, Petar found a justification for giving his support to the Venetian rule.¹⁸⁷ A question that I will leave for some other research concerns the reasons for which family worshipped the saint.

Due to the limited format of this thesis, I will not go into a deeper analysis of the economic and political situation in Dalmatia after the establishment of the Venetian

¹⁸⁵ Benyovsky, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 208.

¹⁸⁶ Marko Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV. stoljeću [Dalmatia in the Fifteenth Century]* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967), 338.

¹⁸⁷ Ivo Babić, "Oporuke Pelegrine, Petra i Koriolana Cipika " [The Last Wills of Pelegrina, Petar and Koriolan Cipiko], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 30 (2006): 31.

government.¹⁸⁸ What is salient here is some of the reasons for the dissatisfaction of the communes between Rab and Trogir. This dissatisfaction stemmed from the fact that certain cities' revenues went directly to the state treasury, while in some communes such as Split and Hvar, local authorities were in the charge of the city's income.¹⁸⁹ This may explain why Saint Jerome was not celebrated officially in Split, while in the neighboring Trogir he was. Another expression of the abolition of autonomy was the fact that all municipal statutes were reviewed in Venice, and the city's rector and the bishop were elected with the permission of the senate in the Venice.

The time of the consolidation of Venetian government in Dalmatia was a fruitful period for the cult of Saint Jerome. Before the establishment of the Venetian government, expressions of identity were limited to communes since they represented politically and economically closed communities. The micro identity, based on cultural, linguistic and political characteristics, began to lose its importance after the inclusion of the Dalmatian cities in the unified Venetian legal and administration system. As a consequence, at beginning of the fifteenth century and afterwards, Dalmatia was isolated from the rest of medieval Croatia. After the establishment of the Venetian govern, the cult of Saint Jerome, the expression of the common Dalmatian identity, was even more strengthened and its promotion should be seen as the articulation towards the Republic of Saint Mark. The best example which illustrates this situation is Dubrovnik, as it was already discussed before.

¹⁸⁸ Tomislav Raukar, "Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u XV. i XVI. stoljeću " [Venice and the Economic Development of Dalmatia in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 10 (1977): More about Dalmatia under the Venetian rule: ; Raukar, "O nekim problemima"; Maja Novak, *Autonomija dalmatinskih komuna pod Venecijom [The Autonomy of the Dalmatian Communes Under the Venetian Rule]* (Zadar: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1965); Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV. stoljeću*.

¹⁸⁹ Raukar, "O nekim problemima," 539.

Inclusion in the centralized system influenced the strengthening of the ethnic identity. In Dalmatia it firstly developed as regional, Dalmatian, and afterwards as ethnic, Slavic and Croatian. And this regional identity, which would later develop into ethnic and national, was expressed through the worship of Saint Jerome.¹⁹⁰ Even though the communes were part of the wider state framework during the reign of Louis I of Hungary, they had greater authority which was not restricted that much from the higher authority, king, as it was later during the Venetian period.

His figure emphasized the tradition and the privileges Dalmatian cities held for a long time under the Hungarian kings. Veneration of the saint through official celebrations highlights his regional Dalmatian identity, a notion of a common identity among the inhabitants of the Dalmatian communes and their affiliation to the same cultural sphere and customs. This can be found in the official decisions about the veneration in Dubrovnik and Trogir where the saint is explicitly named as Dalmatian. Zdenka Janeković Romer explains how in Dubrovnik, even after the city was politically cut off from the other Dalmatian cities, the notion of a wider affiliation was present as the expression of the geographical, ethnic and cultural bonds with Dalmatia.¹⁹¹ Among the other, non-Ragusan citizens, Dalmatians had special status: they could work in Dubrovnik and have double citizenship.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the implementation of Jerome's cult can be understood as a propagandistic tool against the Venetian rule in some

¹⁹⁰ More about the development of local and regional identities on the Eastern Adriatic Coast: Josip Vrandečić, "Dalmatinski gradovi između regionalizma (*ius soli*) i hrvatskog nacionalizma (*ius sanguinis*): teritorij kao čimbenik samoidentifikacije u dalmatinskim protonacionalnim ideologijama" [Dalmatian Cities between Regionalism (*ius soli*) and Croatian Nationalism (*ius sanguinis*): Territory as a Factor of Self-Identification in Dalmatian Proto-National Ideologies], *Glasje : časopis za književnost i umjetnost* 5 (1998): 52–79; Kunčević, "Civic And Ethnic Discourses Of Identity In A City-State Context"; Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma [Illyrism before Illyrism]*.

¹⁹¹ Zdenka Janeković-Römer, "Građani, stanovnici, podanici, stranci, inovjerci u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku" [Citizens, Inhabitants, Subjects, Foreigners, Heterodox in Medieval Dubrovnik], in *Raukarov zbornik*, ed. Neven Budak (Zagreb: FF Press, 2005), 325.

communes like Trogir. This is best manifested on the stone triptych from the cathedral church of Saint Lawrence in Trogir. Once it was part of the altar of the Virgin Mary under the patronage of the local noble families Borgoforte and Dragać who were also known for their humanist activities. The triptych features Virgin Mary with the Child in the middle, and the figures of Saint Ladislaus and Saint Jerome on the two. Today the triptych is built in the wall of the cathedral.



Figure 13 Workshop of Nicolo Fiorentino, *The Virgin, Saint Jerome and Saint Ladislaus*. 15th century, Church of Saint Lawrence in Trogir. Image reproduced from: Bužančić, "Gospin oltar," 40.

The presence of Saint Ladislaus, King of Hungary, definitely proves the propaganda in a favor of the Hungarian king and kingdom. This special bond between Trogir and the Hungarian kingdom lies in the fact that Trogir enjoyed an almost uninterrupted autonomy in the Hungarian kingdom from 1107 onwards, and resisted accepting the Venetian rule and losing their privileges after 1420. The figure of Saint

Ladislaus is also known to have decorated golden florins minted during the reign of King Sigismund of Luxemburg.¹⁹²

Importantly, another critical factor contributed to the strengthening of the regional/ethnic identity: the Turkish conquest of the Balkans which caused mass migration to the southern parts, Dalmatia, and then on to Italian cities. The best example for the formation of regional identity, as the expression of the otherness within the Venetian Republic, are the confraternities formed outside the territory of Dalmatia, the *Confraternita degli Schiavoni*. The term *schiafone* was Venetian expression used for all the people coming from the Eastern Adriatic shore under their rule. The confraternities were founded mostly in cities which traded with Dalmatian cities, and they were consecrated to Saint Jerome.

The earliest confraternity was the *Confraternità di San Giorgio e San Trifone* in Venice, established in 1451 for Slavic immigrants.¹⁹³ Its members were mostly Catholic Slavs from the eastern Adriatic Coast, from Istria to Boka Kotorska.¹⁹⁴ Even though their confraternity did not carry the name of Saint Jerome, a strong Jerome's cult is evident in the confraternity's church. The ground level, which was used for service, is decorated with the fresco cycle executed by Vittore Carpaccio at the beginning of the sixteenth century, depicting scenes from the lives of the confraternity

¹⁹² Maja Cepetić, "The Cult of St. Ladislav in Medieval Continental Croatia – Its Political and Cultural Context," in *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, ed. Neven Budak, Martin Homza, and Jan Lukačka, Department of Slovak History of the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University (Bratislava, 2013), 315.

¹⁹³ Confraternity is also known under the names Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Scuola Dalmata di San Giorgio e Trifone, Scuola degli Schiavoni. Lovorka Čoralić, "Bratovština slavenskih doseljenika sv. Jurja i Tripuna u Veneciji. Izvori, historiografija i mogućnosti istraživanja" [The confraternity of Slavic Immigrants St. George and Tryphon in Venice. Sources, Historiography and Research Possibilities], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 27 (1994): 43–58. Lovorka Čoralić, "'Scuola della nation di Schiavoni' - hrvatska Bratovština sv. Jurja i Tripuna u Mlecima" [Croatian Confraternity of Saint Gorge and Saint Tryphon in Venice], *Povijesni prilozi* 18 (2000): 53–88.

¹⁹⁴ Čoralić, "Bratovština slavenskih doseljenika."

patrons, including Jerome: Saint Jerome and the lion and the Funeral of Saint Jerome.¹⁹⁵

Another Slavic confraternity, *Confraternità di S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni*, was founded in Udine, one year after that in Venice, with Saint Jerome as patron.¹⁹⁶ In Pesaro, a city in the Italian province Marche, a Slavic confraternity, *Confraternità di San Pietro e San Girolamo*, operated under the protection of Saint Peter and Saint Jerome from 1453. The confraternity had a chapel consecrated to Saint Jerome in the cathedral of the city.¹⁹⁷

In the second half of the fifteenth century, and especially at the beginning of the sixteenth, Jerome's Dalmatian origin was widely accepted, together with his role as the patron saint of Dalmatians. This is best exhibited in the literary works by the Dalmatian humanists who engaged in a dispute with the Italian humanists on the saint's origin.

¹⁹⁵ Lovorka Čoralić, "Kardinal Bessarion i Hrvati" [Cardinal Bessarion and Croats], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 40 (1998): 153; Guido Perocco, *Carpaccio nella Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni* (Venezia: F. Ongania, 1964); Augusto Gentili, *Carpaccio* (Firenze: Giunti Editore, 1996). Terisio Pignatti, *Le Scuole di Venezia* (Milano: Electa, 1981), 110–11.

¹⁹⁶ Mann and Čoralić, "Bratovština svetog Jeronima."

¹⁹⁷ Marcello Luchetti, "La Confraternita Di San Pietro E San Girolamo Degli Schiavoni," in *Le Confraternite a Pesaro Dal XIII Al XVII Secolo*, vol. 2, Studi pesaresi, 2013, 49–53.

4. Jerome's Appropriation by Dalmatian Humanists

As presented in the previous chapters, the introduction and the formation of the Dalmatian cult of Saint Jerome was a complex process. Its progress can be followed through different actors and different social and historical contexts. In the fifteenth century, due to the well-established networks with Italian cities and the direct influence of the Venetian rule, renaissance emerged in Dalmatian cities. It was primarily expressed in the arts and to a greater extent in literature, which follows the direct achievements of the Italian Renaissance literature. Cities, such as Dubrovnik, Split, Hvar, Trogir and Zadar were turned into cultural centers. It is therefore not surprising that the cult of Saint Jerome developed there. At the turn of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, the figure of Saint Jerome became important in secular literature. Besides Marko Marulić's book on his life, no other extensive work on Jerome existed at the time. However, even sporadic references to Saint Jerome can help us reconstruct his importance among the Dalmatians. The historiography on humanist writings about Jerome is vast.¹⁹⁸ Here I will briefly summarize the main conclusions

¹⁹⁸ Novaković, "Novi Marulić"; Grubišić, "Sveti Jeronim prema Deset govora"; Grubišić, "Trojica humanista"; Bratulić, "Il poeta Marko Marulić"; Glavičić, "Je li latinska bilješka na kraju Transita sv. Jeronima iz godine 1485. Marulićeva?"; Nazor, "Senjski tranzit"; Darko Novaković, "Dva nepoznata Marulićeva rukopisa u Velikoj Britaniji: MS. ADD. A. 25 u oxfordskoj Bodleiani i Hunter 334 u Sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Glasgowu" [Two Recently Discovered Manuscripts of Marko Marulić in Great Britain: MS. ADD. A. 25 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford and Hunter 334 in the University Library, Glasgow], *Colloquia Maruliana* 6 (1997): 5–31; Petrić, "Marko Marulić"; Verdiani, *Prose e versi inediti di Marco Marulo nel Codice Dalmatico-Laurenziano*; Bratislav Lučin, "Erazmo i Hrvati XV. i XVI. stoljeća" [Erasmus And Croats In The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries], *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 30 (2004): 5–29; Pavao Knezović, "Sv. Jeronim u hrvatskom latinitetu renesanse" [St. Jerome in Croatian Latinity of Renaissance Period], *Kroatologija* 6 (2016): 1–26; Nazor, "Dvanaesteračka legenda"; Domagoj Madunić, "Strategies of the Disitincion in the Work by Vinko Pribojević," in *Whose Love of Which Country?: Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe* (Brill, 2010); Švelec, "Autor dvanaesteračke legende"; Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*.

with the emphasis on the authors and works crucial for the affirmation of Jerome's cult in Dalmatia.

Jerome's work is cited in works by Juraj Dragišić, Dominik Buća, Klement Ranjina and Matija Vlačić.¹⁹⁹ Other works deal with Jerome's origin and identity, mostly proving and defending his Dalmatian origin. In literary sources, identification of the saint as Dalmatian is the direct answer to Italian appropriation in the writings of the Italian humanists who classified Jerome among the Italian saints. The first writers to write about Jerome as an Italian included Flavio Biondo (1392-1463), a Renaissance humanist and historian.²⁰⁰ As this chapter will show, Biondo's work caused a reaction by several authors, proving how much Jerome's cult was already accepted and how he was identified as Dalmatian, especially in the period of the Venetian rule.

4.1. Italian or Dalmatian Saint?

The work of Juraj Šižgorić (Giorgio Sisgoreo, 1442-1509) demonstrates the perception of Jerome in his time in Dalmatia. His work *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici*, written in 1478, reflects the general pejorative attitude of Italian intellectuals towards contemporary ideas of Jerome's Dalmatian origin. This work deals with the geographical, historical and cultural characteristics of Dalmatia, which the author calls Illyria. He also seeks to explain the ethnogenesis of his compatriots, whom he calls Illyrians. When discussing the most prominent of them, Šižgorić mentions Jerome; he states that Italians were eager to steal him, because they thought "that Dalmatian thorn could never bear such a fertile rose".²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Knezović, "Sv. Jeronim u hrvatskom latinitetu," 2–12.

²⁰⁰ See pages 27 and 35.

²⁰¹ Giorgio Sisgoreo, *Georgii Sisgorei Sibenicensis de Situ Illyriae et Civitate Sibenici (1487), Versio Electronica*, ed. Veljko Gortan (Croatiae auctores Latini), chap. 5, accessed September 2, 2016, [81](http://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.80: De paucibus Illyriorum nominibus. [...] Dalmatiae spinam non potuisse huiusmodi produxisse rosam pulcherrimam[...]. Juraj Šižgorić, Izbor iz djela [Selection of the works], ed. Darko Novaković (Vinkovci: Cerna: Riječ; Pauk, 2000); Milivoj Šrepel,</p>
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Although Šižgorić does not identify the Italians who appropriated the cult, we can assume that this could refer to Biondo whose *Italia illustrata* was published in 1474. His criticism may also have been directed towards Pier Paolo Vergerio from whom Biondo took the hypothesis of Stridon being in Istria. Šižgorić also mentions Jerome in his poems. In one of the poems published in 1487, Šižgorić answers his political opponents in the same manner in which Jerome addressed the people who expressed envy towards him.²⁰² In another collection of poems published in 1477, *Elegiarum et carminu libri tres*, he provides important information about the celebration of the feast of Saint Jerome in Šibenik, on the last day of September.²⁰³ Biondo's work greatly influenced Dalmatian humanists, including Benedikt Kotruljević (1416-1469), a merchant, economist and humanist from Dubrovnik. Due to his trading connections all over the Mediterranean and skillful diplomatic abilities, Kotruljević was appointed as special commissioner of the Republic of Ragusa in several cities, including Naples where he settled with his family. Probably it was in Naples where he got acquainted with the ideas of Flavio Biondo. It is not known whether Kotruljević knew his work in manuscript or even had the chance to personally meet Biondo, since Biondo's work, written in 1453, was published in 1474, and Kotruljević's book *De navigatione* was written in 1464.²⁰⁴ Kotruljević refutes Biondo's geographical location of Istria stating that the region bordered Dalmatia, supporting his statement with the famous quote of his time saying that Istria is "the top of Slavic lands".²⁰⁵ Additionally, he cites Saint Jerome about the location of Stridon. Knowing that Kotruljević had been involved in a

"Jurja Šižgorića Spis De Situ Illyriae et Civitate Sibenici A. 1487" [Juraj Šižgorić's Text De Situ Illyriae et Civitate Sibenici A. 1487], *Građa Za Povijest Književnosti Hrvatske* 2 (1899): 1–12.

²⁰² Knezović, "Sv. Jeronim u hrvatskom latinitetu," 3.

²⁰³ Besides his inscription, I did not manage to find other evidence of the official celebration of his feast day in Šibenik, in the same manner as it was in Dubrovnik and Trogir.

²⁰⁴ Benedikt Kotruljević, *De navigatione = O plovidbi [About Navigation]*, trans. Damir Salopek, Hrvatska književna baština (Zagreb: Ex libris, 2005).

²⁰⁵ Davor Balić, "Vrste plovila u Kotruljevićevu udžbeniku plovidbe" [Sorts of Vessels in Kotruljević's *De navigatione*], *Metodički ogledi* 17, no. 1–2 (2011): 69.

quarrel with the authorities of Barcelona and was forced to pay taxes usually imposed on Italian merchants, it is not surprising that he was eager to prove that Jerome was Dalmatian, also differentiating himself at the same time.

Some scholars argue that the beginnings of the humanist polemics on the saint's origin can be linked to Kotruljević, and not to Marulić.²⁰⁶ In my opinion, Marulić is the pioneer proponent of Jerome's Dalmatian identity, as in his work he cites not only Jerome as irrefutable proof of his regional origin, but also uses the works of ancient writers and historians to prove that Stridon was located in Dalmatia, and with that he also rejects suggestions of Jerome's Italian ethnicity.

4.2. Marko Marulić as Dalmatian Giovanni d'Andrea

Marko Marulić (Marco Marulus, 1450-1524) was one of the greatest Dalmatians and most distinguished Latinists and humanists of his time. He produced works on vernacular, written in the Chakavian dialect, for which he is called "the father of Croatian literature." He was well known for his theological treatises *De institutione*, *Euangelistarium* and *De humilitate*, which were disseminated across Europe and even translated into other languages.

With the discovery and the attribution of previously unknown texts by Marulić, in the last decades, his special devotion for Jerome became clear. The most significant discovery happened in 1993 when Novaković discovered Marulić's codex in the British library, titled *Vita Divi Hieronymi Presbiteri a Marco Marulo edita*.²⁰⁷ This manuscript written by Marulić in 1507 contains several parts: a dedicatory song to Pope Leo X (*Pro sanctissimo patre Leone decimo*), a life of Saint Jerome (*Vita divi Hieronymi*), a

²⁰⁶ Darko Novaković, "Novopronađeni rukopis Benedikta Kotruljevića" [Newly Found Manuscript of Benedikt Kotruljević], in *Dubrovčanin Benedikt Kotruljević: hrvatski i svjetski ekonomist XV. stoljeća*, ed. Vladimir Stipetić, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1996), 27.

²⁰⁷ Novaković, "Novi Marulić."

polemical treatise on the saint's origin (*In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse contendunt*) and a poem in praise of the saint (*De Laudibus divi Hieronymi carmen*). The parts of the texts were already known and published in 1666 by Ivan Lučić in his *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex*.

The reason why Marulić decided to write a life of Saint Jerome is expressed in the first lines of the text. He read the saint's life by an unknown author in which the chronological order was wrong and many events from his life were ignored. In order to show the respect which the saint deserves, he decided to put together all the pieces of information he could gather about Saint Jerome, which proves that Marulić was familiar with the works of other authors about Jerome. The fact that he included the events described in the pseudo-letters of Cyril, Eusebius and Augustine suggests that he may have been also familiar with *Hieronymianus* by Giovanni d'Andrea.²⁰⁸

Marulić's work was never published. It is not known why exactly, but it could be connected with another great renaissance thinker, Erasmus of Rotterdam, who published his edition of the life and works of Saint Jerome in 1516, followed by commentaries.²⁰⁹ Erasmus's work represents the first critical approach to Jerome's life and work, where he reconstructs the details of the saint's life: he was not a cardinal, he was only baptized in Rome and he cannot be taken as an example for chastity since he himself mentions how he had sinned when he was younger.²¹⁰ That Marulić was familiar with Erasmus's work is evident from the prologue of the unpublished book *Herkul*, dedicated to Toma Nigler, in which he praises Erasmus and Saint Jerome:

I have received the books of Erasmus of Rotterdam that you sent me. They are characterized by devotion, erudition and, not less, by eloquence. I enjoy reading them. Indeed, from the time of Saint Jerome up to the present day, our theologians did not possess that subtle beauty of expression. We praised many for their brilliance of judgement and

²⁰⁸ Grubišić, "Sveti Jeronim prema Deset govora," 116.

²⁰⁹ More about Erasmus's work on Jerome: Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 116–36.

²¹⁰ Novaković, "Novi Marulić," 22.

reasoning, but whoever had possibly enjoyed reading ancient authors, could not read their writings without feeling bored. Now, however, thanks to Erasmus, the building of the Holy Church, which due to the indifference of these simple thinkers was almost naked, again will shine with the ancient ornaments and with the colors of eloquence. (...) The sacred literature will again have their Jeromes and Ambrosiuses, only if there will be anyone willing to compete with Erasmus.²¹¹

It is possible that Marulić himself, after receiving Erasmus's books from Niger, realized that his work on Jerome could never be compared with Erasmus's, and that he decided not to publish *Vita Divi Hieronymi*.²¹² This would also explain why other parts of the codex, except the life of Saint Jerome were known and published.

It would be wrong to understand Marulus's affection simply as the expression of the admiration to the famous compatriot. Marulić goes as far as identifying himself with Jerome: "Ille meus est, et ego suum."²¹³ In this sentence, he does not identify himself with Jerome in intellectual and religious terms only, but also culturally and morally. More than anything he proves the affiliation to the same territorial, cultural and ethnic circles. His personal devotion to Jerome came from the popular religious movement *devotio moderna*, which he may have encountered while studying in Padua which is evident in his writings, especially in *De institutione bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum*. In this work of religious character with moral guidelines, Marulić represents Jerome as the model of erudition, humility, asceticism and devotion to God. Marulić's reflections and conclusions correspond to those of Vergerio and Erasmus. He expresses the general reception of the saint at that time, as already seen in the sermons by Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder, praising his humility, devotion, diligence, and asceticism, but also emphasizing his knowledge, wisdom and commitment to studying.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Translation is based on the transcription from: Lučin, "Erazmo i Hrvati," 17.

²¹² Ibid., 19; Novaković, "Novi Marulić," 21.

²¹³ Novaković, "Novi Marulić," 54–56.

²¹⁴ Grubišić, "Sveti Jeronim prema Deset govora."

Marulić's works on Jerome represent the peak of the humanist cult in Dalmatia: received from Italy and transformed into a regional cult, they should be seen as a legitimization of the centuries-old popular belief of the saint's Dalmatian origin. With his reflections on Jerome he follows the contemporary trend of worshipping the saint as the patron of humanists, as explained in the first chapter of the present thesis. Marulić's works must be examined in the context of the other devotional literature to the saint.

Marulić's work is important for another reason, too. It is a witness to the contemporary perception of the cult of Saint Jerome at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the cult was already formed and artistic manifestations and iconographical types were well established. At that time the veneration of Saint Jerome as Dalmatian was considered as the established tradition and the expression of unity. That is why Biondo's work encountered so much condemnation and emotional response, also seen in Marulić's polemical answer to Biondo and Jacopo di Bergamo. Moreover, this dispute shows that after almost a whole century under the Venetian rule, the Schiavoni did not adopt a Venetian identity, but were even more aware of their otherness. Because of this many Dalmatian humanists contributed to this subject, defending not only the saint's origin, but also their own regional and ethnic determination.

Out of the parts of the codex that were known during and after Marulić's time, the most notable one is the argumentative essay *In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse contendunt*, addressed to Italian humanists who identified Jerome as Italian, particularly Flavio Biondo and his student Jacopo Filippo Foresti from Bergamo. In the introduction, Marulić explains that while he was working on his version of the life, someone brought him a work by Jacopo di Bergamo, in which Jerome was

named as Italian. This was certainly the *Supplementum Chronicarum* published in Venice in 1483. In the text, Marulić reproaches the ignorance of Jacopo di Bergamo, blaming his teacher Flavio di Biondo for it, and mocking Biondo's naivety:

After I had read Biondo's words, I began to find excuses for the pious and naive monk from Bergamo and say to myself: 'The mistake of the student is [in fact] the fault of his teacher. Namely, it was his teacher who—as it seems to me—did not pay too much attention when it came to researching antiquity; deceived by the similar names, he thought that ancient Stridon was in fact the place now called Sdrigna. But he should have at least asked himself this: 'If Sdrigna is in fact Stridon, how come Jerome said that this was a city situated between Pannonia and Dalmatia, and not rather between Pannonia and Istria?' What sort of arrogance is this on the part of this quite recent author that made him think people would believe him rather than Jerome himself when he talked about his own person?' ²¹⁵

In defense of his statements Marulić cites ancient geographers to prove that Stridon could not be located in Istria, but somewhere in surrounding of Skradin in Dalmatia. ²¹⁶

The interesting part of Marulić's treatise is the fact that he does not mention Jerome as the inventor of Glagolitic letters or his role in the translation of Bible into the vernacular. ²¹⁷ As an erudite person he should have been familiar with this idea, especially because the whole humanist cult in Dalmatia was built on the basis of the Glagolitic theory. Furthermore, Marulić wrote his works in the vernacular and certainly did know the Glagolitic tradition and Croatian medieval literature. Why did he not praise Jerome's deeds for his compatriots?

A possible explanation is that Marulić knew that Jerome had nothing to do with the Slavic language and Slavic letters, and that he could not be a translator of the Bible into Slavic. He found this out probably while was working on the Latin translation of

²¹⁵ Marulić, *Vita Diui Hieronymi, Versio Electronica*. Complete transcription of the text was made and published by Darko Novaković: Marko Marulić, "Vita diui Hieronymi pręsbiteri a Marco Marulo ędita: adiectis miraculis quę de illo Cyrillus Nazarethi episcopus commemorat in summamque redactis breuiorem," *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (April 22, 1994): 54–56.

²¹⁶ Grubišić, "Trojica humanista," 292.

²¹⁷ Bratulić, "Il poeta Marko Marulić," 231.

the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, where it is written that the inventor of the Slavic letters was Saint Cyril.²¹⁸ The reason why he did not include these pieces of information is probably connected with the importance of the cult in the territory of Dalmatia. Furthermore, he was aware of the *communis opinio* and the special place Jerome enjoyed as the heavenly patron of the Dalmatians. Marulić's revelations certainly affected the popular devotion and the saint's Dalmatian identity that they were so eagerly trying to prove.

4.3. Other Humanists

Vinko Pribojević (1450s-1532) quotes Marulić in his *De origine successibusque Slavorum* published in 1532. It is noteworthy that at the beginnings of the sixteenth century Jerome's regional cult was formed and well accepted in Dalmatia. In his praise of Marulić's work, Toma Niger, the renowned Dalmatian humanist and bishop of Skradin, emphasizes the importance of Jerome in the formation of common identity: "As much as a Dalmatian owes to Saint Jerome, the same he owes to you Vincent, the bright star of the Hvar soil."²¹⁹ Pribojević discusses Jerome's merit several times, especially his invention of Glagolitic letters which he believed Jerome produced in order to popularize his native language.²²⁰ This statement is obviously false as Jerome was not Slav and could not speak Slavic, nor were there Slavs living in that area in Jerome's time. Still the problem was the Italian appropriation of the saint. Pribojević's work reflects the impact that Marulić's dispute *In eos...* had among the intellectuals:

²¹⁸ Ibid., 240.

²¹⁹ Full translation in: Domagoj Madunić, "Vinko Pribojević and the glory of the Slavs" (MA, Central European University, 2003), 6.

²²⁰ Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena [On the Origins and the Glory of the Slavs]*, ed. Veljko Gortan, Pavao Knezović, and Miroslav Kurelac (Zagreb: Golden marketing : Narodne novine, 1997), 160.

Pribojević expresses his astonishment by Biondo's attempts to describe Istria as Italian province and Jerome as Italian saint:

I cannot stop being amazed at how, competing with us, Flavio Biondo, Filip of Bergamo and some others, so that they could take away from us and number among theirs Saint Jerome, claim that Istria is Italian land although it is with its location, with its customs and with its language separate from Italy.²²¹

Pribojević's text demonstrates how at the beginning of the sixteenth century Jerome was not only identified as Dalmatian, but that ethnic characteristics were added to him, and he was portrayed as a Slav, supported by the long-standing belief that he invented Glagolitic letters and translated the Bible into Slavic.

This belief is reflected in literary works by Dalmatian writers. In 1536, Petar Zoranić (1508-1569) published what is considered to be the first Croatian novel, in which the author is led by Saint Jerome on an allegorical journey, in the same way as Dante was led by Virgil. Zoranić's prologue reflects the popularity of the idea that Jerome invented Glagolitic letters and translated the Bible into the Slavic language. He sees Jerome as his teacher professing that his translation had taught him how to write in the vernacular.²²² Zoranić's devotion to Jerome may have come from his micro-region, Northern Dalmatia, which is the setting of his novel and where a strong Glagolitic tradition was present until the nineteenth century. Praising Jerome in the prologue is not only a praise of his contribution but also of medieval Glagolitic texts with which he was certainly familiar.

Pribojević's identification of Jerome as a Slav demonstrates the complexity of defining a common identity on the Eastern Adriatic Coast. Dalmatian humanists would identify themselves as Dalmatian, but would not disregard their ethnic identity as Slavs. Furthermore, some of them, depending on the level of their classical education,

²²¹ Ibid., 142–43; Translation taken from: Madunić, "Vinko Pribojević and the glory of the Slavs," 47.

²²² Petar Zoranić, *Planine [Mountains]* (Zagreb: SysPrint, 1998), 4.

would identify themselves as Illyrians.²²³ The same identification may be associated with Saint Jerome. In the first place he is identified as Dalmatian and especially praised because of his regional origin. His regional cult may be seen as reminiscent of the times when Dalmatian cities were under the rule of the Hungarian king, mostly present in the cities threatened by or unsatisfied with the Venetian rule, primarily Dubrovnik and Trogir. In the following centuries, the figure of Saint Jerome and the institutions under his protection would play a crucial role in the formation of Croatian identity, especially the Pontifical College of Saint Jerome in Rome, to which a prefix Illyrian was added in 1589, referring mainly to the people who spoke the same language and lived in the territory of historic Croatian lands. It seems that the efforts of all Dalmatian writers, together with the activities of the confraternities outside of the homeland, achieved that the idea of Jerome's Dalmatian origin prevailed over the Italian one from the middle of the sixteenth century.

In *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, written by Dominican priest Leandro Alberti (1479-1552) and published in 1551, the description of Istria and Jerome's origin differ from Biondo's written almost century earlier. He also describes Istria as an Italian province and mentions the village Sdrigna, which Biondo identifies as Jerome's Stridon.²²⁴ For Alberti it is difficult to prove Biondo's words as there are many who say the opposite. Furthermore there is no evidence that any village or city existed in the area of Sdrigna in the Antiquity. He concludes that the village of Sdrigna, with its thirty houses, could not have been the Stridon located between Pannonia and Dalmatia, so its location must be somewhere else.

²²³ Neven Budak, "Hrvatski identitet između prošlosti i moderniteta" [Croatian Identity between Past and Modernity], in *Hrvatska - kako dalje: zadanosti i mogućnosti* (Centar za demokraciju i pravo Miko Tripalo; Pravni fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2004), 153–62; Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*; Michael B. Petrovich, "The Croatian Humanists: Cosmopolites or Patriots?," *Journal of Croatian Studies* 20 (1979): 17–36.

²²⁴ Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Venice: Giovan Maria Bonelli, 1553), 407.

The mentions of Saint Jerome in several works written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries demonstrate that devotion to him was not a mere formality, but a lively cult of a great importance. In the process of the implementation and transformation of the cult, the higher layers of society had a leading role. Most of the artistic production is preserved in Dubrovnik and Trogir, while the written production is mainly connected to Split and Šibenik. Even though this raises the question why, it is no anomaly. The humanist circles of different cities, in late medieval Croatia, had well-established intellectual and trade connections, exchanging letters, borrowing books and participating in mutual discussions, some of which we can assume included Saint Jerome. Additionally, their works reflect the general popularity of saint at that time in Western Europe.

Conslusion

The topic of this thesis, the cult of Saint Jerome in Dalmatia, represents a broad, largely unresearched and important topic in the discussion on the formation of regional and national identities. The veneration of the saint in Dalmatia raises many questions and different aspects. The aim of this thesis was to present the manifestations of the cult in the different contexts and traditions, the Glagolitic and the humanist, and the way their interweaving caused the transformation of the cult into a regional one. I interpreted this transformation through the personal and official devotion with an emphasis on the historical context in which it occurs. By examining the written sources and surviving artworks I explained Jerome's role in the different contexts shaped regional identity in three stages: implementation, transformation, and appropriation. One of the goals of this interdisciplinary research was the systematization and re-interpretation of known information.

Before I explain the main contributions, a summary of general conclusions of this thesis is in order. From the beginnings of the cult in the thirteenth century until the sixteenth century when the manifestations of the cult were fully established, the figure of the saint was used as a political tool. At the beginning, the cult was exclusively promoted by the church authorities, while in its later phase the main promoters were prominent individuals such as the Cipiko family in Trogir or the Gozze family in Dubrovnik, and the local governments. The formation of the saint's cult had more secular and political connotations than religious.

The first phase of the worship was connected with the Glagolitic communities who nourished a special devotion for the saint on account of the myth that he invented Glagolitic letters. This devotion is supported by the existence of Jerome's *officium* and

mass in the liturgical manuscripts. In this context Jerome's person was used as a political tool and evidence in the dispute over the use of the Slavic liturgy and letters. The surviving sources, mainly liturgical manuscripts, do not bear witness to the existence of the regional cult before the implementation of the humanist one, which may also be explained by the lack of surviving manuscripts. The co-existence of the Glagolitic and the humanist cults of Saint Jerome, as well as their mutual intertwining has caused the formation of the regional cult. The continuation of the Glagolitic cult in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries is suggested by breviaries and missals, but also by the *opinio communis* of Jerome being the inventor of Glagolitic letters and translator of the Bible, which can be found in pilgrims' itineraries and other documents.

The cities Trogir and Dubrovnik were the focal points of the humanist veneration of the saint. In the first place devotion was connected with the strong humanist activities in those cities which turned into cultural centers in the second half of the fifteenth century. Jerome was celebrated as a humanist patron, an example of devotional life and an exemplary model for the *devotio moderna*. Marko Marulić's person and work perfectly depict the postulates of this lay movement. He identifies himself with Jerome, admiring his intellectual and theological achievements. Additionally, the existing Glagolitic tradition and their appropriation of the saint made Marulić one of the most eager advocates of Jerome's Dalmatian origin.

This Glagolitic tradition had a greater effect on the veneration in Dalmatia since the notion of the regional origin had its roots in this tradition. The worship of both sides of Jerome's character is best described in the text of the official decree in Trogir which states that the saint needs to be worshipped for his intellectual deeds, but even more so because he is a Dalmatian. The other circumstances that contributed to this distinctive way of expressing regional identity are connected with the establishment of

the Venetian government in the Dalmatian communes after 1409. After centuries-long cohabitation within the boundaries of the Hungarian empire communes developed micro-identities based on privileges and autonomy granted from the kings, followed by economic prosperity. The Venetian rule restricted the autonomy of the communes, incorporating them into a centralized administrative and economic system. After long resistance to the recognition of Venetian authority, the commune of Trogir found itself in the unenviable situation where all the elements of its autonomy were suspended. On the other hand, the Republic of Ragusa, after gaining the independence in 1358, felt threatened by the proximity of its rival, Venice.

Another aspect that contributed to the dispersion of the cult in Dalmatia was the Franciscan Observant movement which proves that the cult of Saint Jerome was seen as the regional determinant. Whereas this was not discussed in this present thesis, it contributes to the understanding of Jerome's regional identity. During the fight for the independent Dalmatian province in the fifteenth century, under the patronage of Saint Jerome, the saint was used as a political tool again in the legitimization of the right to own monasteries on the Dalmatian territory. The reform was implemented through the Bosnian vicary which had jurisdiction over some monasteries in Dalmatia, mostly inhabited by Dalmatian monks. The presence of the Bosnian vicary endangered the territorial integrity of the Dalmatian province. It is not surprising that the Dalmatian monasteries which wanted to be excluded from the Bosnian vicary and included in the Dalmatian province were joined in a separate territorial unit: the custody of Saint Jerome. It is up to the future research to bring more consistent conclusions for this issue.

In the late Middle Ages the figure of Saint Jerome was mostly used to demonstrate the common regional identity expressed by territorial boundaries,

common language as well as cultural sphere and customs. Furthermore, the cult was directed at the Venetian government, which is best manifested in Dubrovnik where Dalmatian identity was widely promoted during the fifteenth century; this can be seen in the official resolutions about the veneration in which the saint is explicitly named as Dalmatian. The same idea is present in the official statement of the Trogir government. The figure of the saint emphasized the tradition and the privileges Dalmatian cities had held for a long time under the Hungarian kings. Manifestations that underpinned this hypothesis, as discussed in chapter 3, are the artworks officially commissioned by the local governments.

The third chapter also dealt with personal devotion and its main promoters. This chapter is limited to the interpretation of artworks commissioned by families, demonstrating the presence of the cult in the cities of Trogir and Dubrovnik. One question, which needs more attention in future research, is their direct influence in the executive government after the establishment of Venetian rule, especially in Trogir. An interesting example is the one of the Cipiko family. On the one hand they were supporting the Venetian rule, while on the other they were the main promoters of Jerome's cult. Can their devotion be seen only as the expression of humanist ideals or did it also have ethnic connotations?

The last phase of the development of the cult was the appropriation by Dalmatian humanists, in the first place Juraj Šižgorić, Marko Marulić and Vinko Pribojević. In their written works they described Jerome as Dalmatian, or, in Pribojević's case, as a Slav. This appropriation and the eagerness to prove that Jerome was nothing else but Dalmatian, was affected by the Italian ethnic appropriation of the saint. The most important question this thesis raises is Jerome's role as the expression of the regional, ethnic and proto-national identity.

Because of the limitations of this thesis, I did not go into a deeper analysis of the activities which represent the strongest expression of regional identity, such as Dalmatian/Slavic confraternities consecrated to Saint Jerome and their role in the formation of the regional and later national identity. But the fact that they were consecrated to Saint Jerome and had an ethnic Slavic determinant in their name, demonstrate the presence of a shared ethnic affiliation on the Eastern Adriatic Coast, in lands officially under Venetian rule. From this perspective, the worship of the saint expresses the togetherness and otherness of the Slavic people in a relation to the Venetians.

Among other manifestations of this regional identity are the small reliefs depicting the saint in the cave. Previous scholars have suggested that they served as house altars, however, I argued another possibility in this thesis; they served as the external markers placed on the façade of the houses or churches, following the custom that existed in Venice and Rome among the Dalmatians/Slavs.

Although this thesis covers a wide range of relations and attitudes, questions and answers concerning the protector of Dalmatia, in certain aspects it only indicates further research questions which could not be dealt with at this stage of research. Nevertheless, I believe that this work is a contribution to the discussion of the beginnings of Saint Jerome's worship in a wider political and historical context as well as the artistic manifestations of the cult. I hope that this work will contribute to the further study of the cult in Dalmatia, especially in the context of the formation of local, regional, ethnic and national identity to which more time and attention and should be doubtlessly devoted.

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