

**Petronius in Dalmatia: the Codex Traguriensis (Paris. lat. 7989)
and the Croatian Humanist Marko Marulić (1450-1524)**

1.

Petronius' *Satyricon* (written probably around the year 60), the first European masterpiece in the genre of comic, satiric, and adventure novel, has come to us only in fragments. The longest and most famous of these, which contains a large part of book 15, is widely known as the *Cena Trimalchionis* ("Feast of Trimalchio"), and survives in one manuscript only. Besides the *Cena*, this manuscript contains other large portions from the *Satyricon* as well as the poems of Tibullus, Propertius and Catullus together with some other poetic texts. It was written around 1425, probably in Florence, but, in spite of its importance, it disappeared instantly and completely, only to resurface more than two hundred years later, some time around 1650, in Trogir, a small Croatian – Dalmatian, to be more precise – city on the eastern Adriatic coast, in the library of the local nobleman Nikola Cipiko (Niccolò Cippico). Today this famous manuscript is kept in Paris, in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and is known as the *codex Parisiensis lat. 7989 olim Traguriensis*.

2.

At the beginning of 2005 I established that a copy of the poem *Phoenix* by Claudius Claudianus (*Carm. min.* 27) on the last pages of the Trogir manuscript had been transcribed by the Croatian writer Marko Marulić (Lučin 2005). Known as the father of the Croatian literature, Marko Marulić (Marcus Marulus) is also an incontrovertibly important figure of the European Renaissance Humanism. He was born in Split in 1450 and died in 1524. As a trilingual author he wrote in Latin, Croatian and Italian. His work takes in many prose and poetic genres, but in the national literature he is best known for his *Judita*, the first epic in Croatian language (written in 1501). His Latin poem *Davidias* is today widely recognized as the masterpiece of the allegorical

Christian epic, and several of his Latin religious prose “bestsellers” were much read and translated all over Europe during at least three centuries (Lučin 2007c).

The discovery of Marulić's handwriting on the Codex Traguriensis prompted me thoroughly to investigate the entire manuscript. On the basis of a comparison of the handwriting in the copy of *Phoenix* with Marulić's other autographs, some of which can be at least approximately dated, it can be established that the copy of the *Phoenix* probably derives from the 1480s (Lučin 2006).

Marulić's marginalia in the Codex Traguriensis are to be found in several places alongside the verses of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid, perhaps alongside Virgil's *Moretum*. At the edge of the *Satyricon* (actually, in the margins of the pages comprising the *excerpta vulgaria*), the Split humanist entered only two marginal titles. Alongside the *Cena Trimalchionis* there are no traces of Marulić's hand (Lučin 2007b).

By far the greatest number of interventions by Marulić are found in the Catullus part of the Codex Traguriensis. They are very diverse in kind: alongside almost every poem, Marulić wrote some short accompanying note in the margin, some kind of summary, and he entered many emendations into the text of the Catullus poems, writing between the lines, or over the original entry, or in the margin. At a rough guess, there must be at least three hundred such variants or emendations. In so doing, Marulićs relied on a commentary on Catullus published in 1496 by the Paduan humanist Palladio Fosco (Palladius Fuscus, 1450-1520), and in some cases on the 1502 Aldine edition (prepared by Girolamo Avanzi). It can be safely concluded that someone who patiently enters marginalia, studies variant readings, inputs explanations and comments, adds the text of an author whom he was clearly particularly fond of in the empty pages – that someone who acts like this is certainly not an accidental and incidental user of the codex, but its genuine and permanent owner (Lučin 2007b).

3.

Still to be explained is how the manuscript arrived in Marulić's hands, and then how it came to be in Trogir, in the possession of the Cippico family.

In order to attempt to answer this question, we should rewind a little. According to everything that is known, the codex was produced in 1423-1425, probably in Florence. The scribe of the main text is unknown, but from certain signs he can be assumed to have come from either Veneto or Dalmatia (Sabbadini 1920, 34-38; De la Mare 1976, 240). According to the hypothesis of Albinia Catherine de la Mare, the manuscript soon

came into the hands of Juraj Benja (Georgius Begna, Giorgio Begna) from Zadar, who is known to have been in Florence in 1425; there he completed the transcription of Caesar's *De bello civico* (De la Mare 1976, 245). De la Mare goes so far as to assume that some of the short marginalia in the Codex Traguriensis are in Begna's hand.

Giorgio Begna is a typical representative of early Humanism. He copied texts by ancient authors, was interested in epigraphy, was friends with Ciriacus of Ancona, who spent time in Zadar at Begna's. Giuseppe Praga named Begna "almost the Dalmatian Poggio" ("quasi il Poggio della Dalmazia" [Praga 1932, 213]). In this context it is perhaps not insignificant that one of Begna's correspondents was Giovanni Tinti, cancellor of Fabriano, and also a friend of Coluccio Salutati (Coxe 1854, 426). For the scribe of the Codex Traguriensis wrote out Catullus' poems, it seems, from an early copy of Salutati's manuscript of Catullus (Thomson 1973, 126-9).

There is one more direct link between Begna and the Codex Traguriensis. James L. Butrica (1984, 40, 279, 315) wrote that a Vatican manuscript of Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* (Vat. lat. 5135) contains a number of marginalia that partially derive from the writer of the Codex Traguriensis but in part come from Giorgio Begna. If we add to this that the scribe of the Codex Traguriensis comes, as was said, from Dalmatia or Veneto, then we can conclude that Begna was closely connected with the unknown scribe of the Codex Traguriensis. In this context we should mention that Poggio in a letter informed Niccolò Niccoli that the explanation of the literary genre to which Petronius' text belonged should be sought precisely in Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* (Poggio to Niccoli, June 13 [1420?], De la Mare 1976, 247).

Begna died in 1437. If we assume that the Codex Traguriensis was indeed once in his hands, then it should be asked where it finished up after his death.

It is known that Begna was friends with Petar Cipiko (Petrus Cippicus or Cepio Pietro Cippico) from Trogir, to whom he gave at least one of his manuscripts: a transcription of Pseudo-Pliny's work *De viris illustribus* (Marc. lat. XVI, 124), and it seems that Begna willed to Cippico the incomplete manuscript of Cicero's *Phillipics* and *Topics* (Bodleiana, Canon. Class. Lat 224 [De la Mare 1976, 246]). Pietro Cippico was himself a copyist of various ancient texts and a collector of ancient inscriptions (Lučin 2006). It would not have been surprising if the Codex Traguriensis had also got into Pietro's hands, either as Begna's gift during his lifetime, or as a legacy after his death. This would be supported by a fact to which De la Mare drew attention: the

colophons that we find in the various transcriptions of Pietro Cippico contain the expression *sibi et cui fata dabunt*, which is very similar to what is found three times in Begna: *sibi* (or *mihi*) *et cui sors dabit* (or *dederit*) (De la Mare 1976, 246-47).

Since the Codex Traguriensis was indeed found in the mid-17th century in the library of the Cippicos, it was long held that after Pietro's death (1440) the celebrated manuscript was owned uninterruptedly by this family. New discoveries, which have incontrovertibly shown that at the end of the 15th and in the early 16th century the manuscript was for quite a long time in the possession of Marko Marulić from Split, require additional explanations and new assumptions. Firstly one has to answer the question: how did the manuscript come to be the property of Marulić?

The intermediary might have been Pietro's son Coriolano Cippico (Coriolanus Cippicus, 1425-1493), famed warrior and writer of the widely read war memoirs *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta* (Venice 1477), who was a friend of Marulić's. This hypothesis is supported by several circumstances. As we have seen, among the various Marulić writings in the Codex Traguriensis the most important place is occupied by his abstracts alongside Catullus' poems: he composed them using the edition of Catullus that was edited and extensively commented on by Palladio Fosco, published in Venice in 1496 (Gaisser 1992, 239-243). In the 1480s Fosco spent time in Trogir as teacher at the humanist school, probably at the invitation of none other than Coriolano Cippico (Praga s. a., ff. 26-33). Palladio was a friend of Coriolano and of his son Alvise (1456-1540), also a distinguished humanist as well as bishop of Famagusta (Kurelac 1990, 27, 34-50). (From 1493 to 1516 Palladio was in Zadar, and Donato Civaletti of that town [died in 1497] wrote him an encomiastic epigram printed at the beginning of the edition of Catullus of 1496 already mentioned.) There are no data to suggest that Fosco and Marulić knew each other personally, but some possible contact, at least indirect, is suggested by the circumstances that Coriolano was a friend of both Marulić and Palladio. It is important here to mention that Marulić's native town, Split, is situated some 30 km east of Trogir. In addition, at the end of the 15th century two more of Palladio's friends spent time as teachers in Trogir and Split: Gilberto Grineo and his son Marco Antonio (Ziliotto 1949-50; Casarsa 1980). The second of these sent two poetic epistles to Marulić in 1498; in one of them Marulić is addressed as a reputable person living alone, leading a practically eremitical life but reading – Ovid, Catullus (!), Horace and Virgil (Ziliotto 1949-50, 182-3).

4.

However it might have been, there is no doubt that the Codex Traguriensis was once owned by Marko Marulić, from at least the 1480s to the first decade of the 16th century. Marulić died in 1524, and we have to ask whether there is any information about the codex in the period between Marulić's death and the moment when in about 1650 Marin Statilić (Marino Statileo) discovered it in the library of Niccolò Cippico? And finally, how did the manuscript find its way to Trogir from Marulić's estate?

The earliest reliable information about the codex being the property of the Cippicos relates to the first half of the 16th century. Two sources confirm that it was owned by Ettore Cippico (Hector Cippicus, 1482-1553), grand nephew of Pietro Cippico. This Ettore was mentioned first by Paolo Frambotti, publisher of the first edition of *Cena Trimalchionis* (Padua, 1664) in his preface. He says that Ettore was celebrated for his great scholarship and authority, and that it was held that the codex of Petronius' *Satyricon* was once his property (*cit.* Gaselee 1915, 3; Rini 1937, 63). The second confirmation comes from an unpublished manuscript work *Cronologia dell' Illustrissima casa Cippico dall' Anno 1171*, which was composed in 1703 by Paolo Cippico and is today kept in the State Archives in Split (Cippico 1708, ff. 64r-65v). This Ettore, then, was the first member of the Cippico family we know with certainty to have possessed the celebrated manuscript. It has been already observed that on the first page of the Codex Traguriensis, a handwritten note in a 16th century hand can be clearly read: "Questo libro sia di me Polantonio Cipico." This name perhaps conceals the figure of Ettore's elder brother (born ca. 1474), but it has more likely to do with Ettore's grandson Paolo Antonio Jr, born ca. 1550. Whatever the case, Ettore passed it down to one or the other Paolo Antonio. Finally, we also know that Niccolò Cippico (1621 - not before 1679), in whose library the manuscript was found by Marino Statileo, some time around 1650, was the descendant (great-great-grandson) of Ettore Cippico (Andreis 2006, 184).

5.

Our last question on this occasion runs as follows. How did the manuscript get from Marulić's hands into the possession of the Cippico family? There is no reliable answer to this. But it is worth attending to the fact that two female members of the Alberti family of Split – to which Marulić's mother belonged – married two members of the Cippico family. Perhaps the manuscript might have arrived in Trogir as part of

Marulić's estate that was inherited after his death by his mother's family. There is no information concerning this in Marulić's will (Marulić 2005b), but among the witnesses to the reading of the will there were a member of the Alberti family, Nikola (Niccolò) Alberti, and Petar Lukarić. This Petar Lukarić, or Petar Srića, is the same through whose "care and endeavours" Marulić's famed epic *Judita* was published in Venice in 1521. When Petar's brother Jerolim died, Marulić wrote a funerary epigram for him (*Epitaphium Hieronymi de Lucaris Spalatensis*, Marulić 2005a, 218). Jerolim's widow Ludovica de Albertis married Michele Cippico, and another member of the Alberti family, Bunava, married his brother, the learned Ettore Cippico already mentioned (Andreis 2006; Kuzmanić 2008, 61-62). From Ettore onwards, the codex was constantly in the possession of the Cippico family.

6.

If we sum up what has been said, we will obtain this sequence, in which the confirmed owners of the codex are printed bold, the probable owner is underlined, and the others in regular print. Chronological data represent the supposed period of their ownership of the codex.

Giorgio Begna, before 1437 (Zadar) – Pietro Cippico, before 1440 (Trogir) – Coriolano Cippico, before 1493 (Trogir) – **Marko Marulić**, 1480s-1524 (Split) – **Ettore Cippico**, before 1553 (Trogir) – **Paolo Antonio Cippico**, after 1553 (Trogir) – **Niccolò Cippico**, before ca. 1650 (Trogir).

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished sources

- Cippico, P. (1708). *Cronologia dell' Illustrissima casa Cippico dall' Anno 1171*, Traù, ff. 59-66 [unpublished MS]. Državni arhiv Split, Arhiv obitelji Ivčević, 11: *Miscellanea, libro X*.
- Praga, G. (s. a.). [Miscellanea di studi ed appunti su argomenti eruditi di Slavia e Dalmazia] [Unpublished MS transcriptions from the archival documents.]

Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Marc. ms. it. VI 507 (123101), fasc. 31: Documenti per la scuola umanistica di Traù.

Bibliography

- Andreis, M. (2006). *Trogirsko plemstvo do kraja prve austrijske uprave u Dalmaciji: (1805)*. Trogir: Muzej Grada Trogira.
- Butrica, J. L. (1984). *The manuscript tradition of Propertius*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Casarsa, L. (1980). Callimaco Esperiente e Gilberto (e Marco Antonio) Grineo: un caso di plagio. *Metodi e ricerche*, anno 1, no. 3, pp. 43-84.
- Coxe, H. O. (1854). *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars tertia: codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos complectens*. Oxonii: e Typographeo academico, 1854.
- De la Mare, A. C. (1976). The Return of Petronius to Italy. *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*. Edited by J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 220-254.
- Gaisser, J. H. (1992). Catullus, Gaius Valerius. In: Brown, V., Cranz, F. E., & Kristeller, P. O. (1992). *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*. Medieval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries, Vol VII. Catholic University of America Press, pp. 197-292.
- Gaselee, S. (1915). *A collotype reproduction of that portion of Cod. Paris 7989 commonly called Codex Traguriens which contains the Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius together with 4 poems ascribed to Petronius in Cod. Leid. Voss.111: With introduction and a transcript by Stephen Gaselee*. Cambridge: at the University Press.
- Kurelac, M. (1990). Paladije Fusko – Palladius Fuscus: život i djelo. In: Fuscus, P. (1990). *Opis obale Ilirika = De situ orae Illyrici*. Edited by M. Kurelac and B. Kuntić-Makvić. Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, pp. 5-76.
- Kuzmanić, M.-N. (1998). *Splitski plemići, prezime i etnos*. Split: Književni krug.

- Lučin, B. (2005). Marulićeva ruka na trogirskom kodeksu Petronija (*Codex Parisiensis lat. 7989 olim Traguriensis*). *Colloquia Maruliana* XIII. Split: Književni krug Split – *Marulianum*, pp. 315-322.
(http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=13648)
- Lučin, B. (2006). Marulićev Klaudijan. *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina*, 2, pp. 217-236.
(http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=26724)
- Lučin, B. (2007a). Kodeks Petra Cipika iz 1436. *Živa antika / Antiquité vivante*, 57, 1-2, pp. 65-85.
- Lučin, B. (2007b). Marul, Katul i trogirski kodeks Petronija (*Codex Parisiensis lat. 7989 olim Traguriensis*). *Colloquia Maruliana* XVI. Split: Književni krug Split – *Marulianum* pp. 5-48.
(http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=18260)
- Lučin, B. (ed.) (2007c). *The Marulić Reader*. Split: Književni krug Split – *Marulianum*, Croatian World Congress.
- Marulić, M. (2005a). *Latinski stihovi*. Edited by B. Lučin and D. Novaković. Split: Književni krug Split.
- Marulić, M. (2005b). Marulićeva oporuka. Edited by L. Margetić and B. Lučin. *Colloquia Maruliana* XIII. Split: Književni krug Split – *Marulianum*, pp. 25-71.
(http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=4697)
- Praga, G. (1932). Indagini e studi sull'umanesimo in Dalmazia: Il codice di Giorgio Begna e Pietro Cippico. *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, vol. 13, fasc. 77, pp. 210-218.
- Rini, A. (1937). *Petronius in Italy: From the thirteenth century to the present time*. New York, N.Y.: The Cappabianca Press.
- Sabbadini, R. (1920). Per la storia del codice traurino. *Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica*, 48, pp. 27-39.
- Thomson, D.F.S. (1973). A New Look at the Manuscript Tradition of Catullus. *Yale Classical Studies*, 23, pp. 113-129.
- Ziliotto, B. (1949-50). Gli umanisti Gilberto e M. A. Grineo in Dalmazia, Istria e Friuli. *Archeografo triestino*, serie IV, volume XVI-XVII, pp. 153-207.