

## SOME ASPECTS OF ITALIAN LITERARY EXCHANGES AND INFLUENCES ON CROATIAN LITERATURE

### 1.

Since its beginnings literary exchanges and influences from the Apennine Peninsula have been fruitful and positive for Croatian literature. The cultural life of the Croats was expanded to remarkable dimensions thanks to this intensive cultural communion.

In the building of cathedrals and the formation of urban societies and city-states the Croatian polity was inspired first by the Italian medieval institutions and later by the Italian Renaissance. Increasing numbers of Croatian intellectuals and artists crossed the Adriatic to study in the academies and universities of Padua, Bologna, Perugia, Ancona, and, later, in Florence and Rome. They brought home the world of ideas and styles that reached its highest expression in the Italian Renaissance, forming a cultural symbiosis of Croats with Italians unique in the history of cultural relations between Slavs and Latins.<sup>1</sup>

It must be stressed, however, that while the Croatian writer commanded

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\*For background see J. Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic*. London, 1931. M. Deanović, 'Les influences italiennes sur l' ancienne littérature yugoslave', *Revue de littérature comparée*, Paris, 1934. (Pp. XVI-XVIII). A. Cronia, Atti e memorie della società dalmata di storia patria. Vol. III/IV. A. Cronia, 'Riflessi della simbiosi latinoslava di Dalmazia', *Storia e politica internazionale*, 1940. G. Maver, 'La Letteratura Croata in rapporto alla letteratura italiana', *Italia e Croazia*. A. Cronia, *Des relations culturelles italo-yugoslaves*, Slavia, 1936. A. Cronia, 'Relazioni culturali fra Ragusa e Rinascimento', *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, XX, 1935/36. T. Matić, 'Hrvatski književnici mletačke Dalmacije i život njihova doba' *Rad* 231/233. J. Dayre, 'O dubrovačkoj književnosti; Hrvatsko Kolo, XVI, and in "Dubrovačke Studije", M. Kombol, *Poviest Hrvatske Književnosti od Preporoda*, Zagreb, 1945. F. Trogranić, *Letteratura Medioevale degli Slavi Meridionali*, Roma, 1950. F. Trogranić, *Storia della Letteratura Croata*, Roma, 1954. Lj. Karaman, *La Dalmatie à travers les âges, Son histoire et ses monuments*, Split, 1933. P. Skok, *Dolazak Slovena na Mediteran*, Split, 1933. Lj. Karaman, *Dalmazija kroz Vjekove*, Split, 1934. L. Voinovitch, *Histoire de la Dalmatie*, 2 vol. Paris, 1934. J. Horvat, *Kultura Hrvata kroz 1000 godina*, 2 vol. Zagreb, 1939-42. A. Kadić, The Croatian Renaissance; *Slavic Review*, Vol. XXI. Number 1, March 1962. Pp. 65-88.

1. See especially on the symbiosis between the Croats and Italians as a potential symbiosis between the Slavs and Latins, P. Skok, *Dolazak Slovena na Mediteran*, Split, 1933; and Lj. Karaman, *Dalmazija kroz Vjekove*, Split, 1933.

both Latin and Italian, he chose to render his literary expressions in native Croatian. A similar earlier tendency can be noted in the native clergy's preference for paleoslavic *glagolithic*, as opposed to Latin, in the liturgy. And by the same inclination ancient Croatian religious literature and drama were written in a language close to the people, who from the very first contact with the Roman Catholic Church demanded to be taught in their own vernacular.

A striking instance of this tradition was cited by a Venetian mayor, Giovanni Giustiniani following his visit to the Dalmatian cities in 1553: "The customs of Split are all of the Slavic (*schiaua*) fashion; their mother tongue is so sweet and graceful that as in Italian language Tuscan is the flower and the most gentle, thus this language of Split carries the primacy upon the others of Dalmatia. It is true that all citizens speak also the *lingua franca* (Italian) and some are dressed in Italian fashion, but the women talk only in their own mother tongue, though some among the nobility dress in Italian fashion."<sup>2</sup>

This helps us understand the case of Marko Marulić of Split, who in 1501 (published in Venice in 1521), wrote his poem *Judita* (*Istorija svete udovice Judit u versih hrvacki složena*) "composed in Croatian verses," as he significantly points out, thus historically becoming the initial work of Croatian literature. In the opening stanzas, Marulić relates that there were others before him—*začinjavci*—who also wrote religious and lyric poetry in the vernacular. It should be pointed out that Marulić reserved his excellent Latin for theological and ethical works, publishing his poem, which was based on the biblical story of Judith and Holofernes, in the language of his own people to give them courage in resisting the invading Turks. The motif of Judith's chastity and patriotism is not to be found in Italian literature of the same or earlier periods. Marulić's decision to write a major poem in Croatian meant that the Croatian language was sufficiently developed to express the complex material of religious, lyric and national emotions.

There is little doubt that in deciding to use Croatian, Marulić and other Croatian poets before and after him were motivated by the same factor that brought Italian writers to employ the vernacular.<sup>3</sup> Marulić's example was decisive in the cities of Hvar, Zadar, Šibenik, and Dubrovnik, followed by a galaxy of poets, notably Hektorović, Lucić, Zlatarić, Držić and Gundulić while other writers followed suit.

Though comparative criticism might discover in Croatian authors the

2. F. Trogrančić, *Storia della Letteratura Croata*, Roma, 1954. P. 64.

3. M. Kombol, *Povijest Hrvatske Književnosti do Narodnog Preporoda*, Zagreb, 1945. Pp. 75-87.

same choice of motifs and literary styles as Dante, Petrarca, Ariosto, Tasso, Sannazaro and lesser Italians, still that their inspiration was original and personal, is evident in versification rich in native expression. Marin Franičević who follows the esthetic consideration of Benedetto Croce, is correct in considering their works as the expression of an original art, regardless the sources of their formal values.<sup>4</sup> The works of the Croat authors abound with peasants, fishermen, squires; the urban world with its ways of thinking and living is shown strongly linked with the popular themes of folk poetry.

The landscape is Mediterranean, with sea, cities and people different from those of Italian literature; while the Italian poet never quotes folk poetry or plain people's language, the Croatian writer spontaneously used folk songs that were part of everyone's daily life. Though Croatian Renaissance literature reflects the academic sluggishness that often permeates the Italian literature of the time, it is frequently by an intensive exchange with the popular imagination.

The Croatian humanists of the subsequent period who constituted the kernel of national intelligentsia, such as Pribojević, Komulović and Orbini, among others, used Latin and Italian to convey to the Western world issues which were not essentially creative. They were largely motivated by a desire to impress the West, so that the Slavic World might be accepted as a newcomer in the world of civilized nations. In their anxiety to consolidate the impressions, they use as synonyms the terms "Croat," "Slavic" or "Slavonic."

Their "historicistic" and political literature was directed both against the Venetian and the German expansionist anti-Slavic and anti-Croat tendencies that try to undermine the presence of the Slavic in the European community. Irrespective of the wide divergence of opinion concerning the true relationship between the "Slavic" and the "Croat," this literature can be considered to be the forerunner of later South-Slavic or even Pan-Slavic tendencies, a defensive pre-national idea which periodically appears in the attitudes of the Croatian intelligentsia. Italian pre-national writers who by the formation of Italian national conscience moved closer to Italian political union contributed greatly to similar trends and feelings among the Croats and other Slavs. The Counter Reformation movement, in which Croatians from both North and South, played a prominent part, was also inspired from Bologna and Rome.<sup>5</sup>

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4. M. Franičević, 'Pet stoljeća hrvatskog vezanog stiha', *Forum*, Zagreb, Januar 1968. I.VII.XV.Pp.77-90. On the Croatian Renaissance see especially, 'The Croatian Renaissance' By A.Kadić. *Slavic Review*. Vol. XXI, Number 1, March 1962.Pp. 65-88.

5. On the Renaissance and Humanist origins of Panslavism see, Oscar Halecki, 'The Re-

## 2.

When the center of literary and cultural activity moved from the Adriatic coast to the North, and Zagreb became the center of Croat culture, the Italian influence in Dalmatia ceased to be overwhelmingly significant for the Croatian and national polity. The dynamic impact of the French Revolution and the formation of Napoleon's *Provinces Illyriennes* (1809-1813) brought into Croatian Romanticism French and German influences. The decline of regionalism in Italy, resulting in a closer union of all the Italians, had its counterpart in Croatia. Despite their tendency, it is significant that in the libraries of northern Croatia—for instance those of Ljudevit Gaj and the Zrinski family—many Italian books are found.<sup>6</sup>

Through its revolutionary expansion the Italian Risorgimento had an impact on the Croatian Illyrian national movement, and though Austrian policy sought to stifle contacts between the nationalities of the Empire, Italians and Croats continued to keep many useful cultural encounters. The Italian leaders who most attracted the South Slavs were Mazzini and Garibaldi, whose struggle against Habsburg rule was followed with great attention. Little could be written about the national movements in the Croatian press before and after Metternich's stringent censorship, but Croatian writers followed the Italian developments with far greater interest than the Italians did concerning the Croatian affairs. The leading publications of Turin, Florence and Venice were attentively read by the Croatian elite.

In the Austrian army stationed in Italy there were many young Croat intellectuals who were deeply aware of the shameful role that the Habsburgs obliged the Croatian and other nationalities to play against the subjugated Italian people. Among them were Petar Preradović, who translated parts of Dante and Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski who helped convince Nicolo Tommaseo to write in Croatian and later published his *Iskrice* (Zadar, 1849). Dmitar Demeter helped introduce Italian opera into the Croatian theater in Zagreb. Medo Pucić translated Leopardi's Ode to Italy (*All' Italia*), and implored Croatian soldiers stationed in Italy: "Not to die for those people who kill us!" (Non moriam per quella gente che ci uccide!).<sup>7</sup> August Šenca also

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naissance origin of Pan Slavism', *Polish Review*, Vol. III.No.1-2. Pp.1-13. Also see in connection with the same problem, A. Kadić, *Križanić's Formative Years*, American Contributions to The Fifth International Congress of Slavists, Sofia, 1963. The Hague, Mouton, Pp. 167-200.

6. M. Deanović, 'Talijanski Romantizam i Hrvatska Književnost', *Forum*, Zagreb, Januar-Februar, 1969. 1-2. Pp. 31-37.

7. M. Deanović, id.

alluded to the tragic situation in his poem, *Hrvati djecu jedu* (Croats eat children). Among North Croatian romantics who knew, read and maintained close contacts with the Italian culture was Mihanović, the author of the Croatian national anthem. Its musical composition, written by Josip Runjanin, was inspired by Donizetti's "*Lucia di Lammermor*" (aria, "O Sole più ratto," from the Third Act). Stanko Vraz translated Dante and Petrarca, and in the writings of Bogović, Nemčić, Kurelac, Utješenović and others, the influence of the Italian nationalistic literature is strongly felt. In the South, Ivan Mažuranić, the author of "The Death of Smail-Aga," translated Manzoni's ode, *Il Cinque Maggio*, commemorating Napoleon's death. Petranović, Kazali, the two Kaznačićs, Rocci, Pucić, Veber-Tkalčević, Botić and others were intimately acquainted with the Italian romantics, notably with Ugo Foscolo, Giacomo Leopardi and Vittorio Alfieri, whose plays, according to Tommaseo, were performed in the city of Split with great success. Donizetti's aria from the *Elisir d' Amore*, "Io sono ricco e tu sei bella" (I am rich and you are beautiful) inspired Runjanin's composition for Ivan Trinski's popular, *Ljubimo te naša diko*. Verdi's operas, which inspired Italians in their struggle for independence, enjoyed great popularity among the Croats. Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* and his *Inni Sacri* were translated several times. G. Maver, the Italian student of Italo-Croatian literary exchanges, claims that during that period Italian literature was translated into Croatian more than into any other foreign language.

Tommaseo was the most important point of contact between the Croatian intellectuals and the Italians. Born in Šibenik and educated in Padua, whether living in Venice, Florence, Corfu or Paris, he maintained intimate relations with Croatian writers and political exiles. The "Fondo Tommaseo" in the National Library of Florence contains numerous letters that were addressed to him from the Dalmatian cities as well as from Zagreb. They were written by such prominent Croatian intellectuals and leaders as Ljudevit Gaj, Ivan Kukuljević, Babukić, Matija Ban, A. T. Brlić, Jelachich, Eugen Kvaternik, Kosta Vojnović and others less known. Those letters are generally concerned with cultural and political relations between Croatia and Italy, but there are in the same time implications of political collaboration against the rule of Austria. They describe the conditions of the Croats in the South and North. Thanks to these contacts, Tommaseo was able to write a great deal about the Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins and other Slavs. He also made folk poetry available to the Italians in his *Canti Illirici*, and wrote one or two works in Croatia, the most moving being the above mentioned *Iskrice* or *Scintille* in

which he tells of his own sentimental and national rediscovery of his native land.<sup>8</sup>

Among Tommaseo's most significant political contacts was his relation with the Croatian revolutionary leader, Eugen Kvaternik. They helped to develop a new departure in Croatian national policy. According to their thinking the formation of an independent Croatia would be in the best interest of Italy and the West, because it would prevent the formation of a great Slavic state under the aegis of Tsarist Russia that would extend to the Adriatic. Tommaseo introduced Kvaternik to the Italian statesmen Count Cavour, Visconti, Venosta and Garibaldi, with whom Kvaternik planned the unsuccessful invasion of Austria through the Croatian littoral.<sup>9</sup>

The presence in Italy of another Croatian intellectual, Imbro Tkalac, contributed to the better understanding of Italians concerned about the affairs of Croatia, Serbia, the Balkans and Central Europe. Tkalac was a very knowledgeable, objective observer of Central European and Slavic affairs, as has been shown by Angelo Tamborra in his studies on the Italian Risorgimento activities in that part of the world.<sup>10</sup> Tkalac was of such great help to the young Italian diplomacy that he became a member of the Italian Foreign Office after 1871 and died in Rome, advising Italians to back the future unification of Croatia and Serbia, contrary to Kvaternik's design for Croatian independence. It was through Tkalac that Bishop Strossmayer during Vatican I informed the Italian government (then in Florence) that he approved of the unification of Italy against the views of Pius IX. Strossmayer believed that Pope's pro-Habsburg policy in preventing the unification of Italy would be detrimental to the liberation of Croats and other Slavs from the Vienna's rule.<sup>11</sup>

The Croatian political leaders, just like the Italians, were divided concerning their future national goals. Mazzini was deeply convinced that "the movement of the South Slavs through young Europe—*la Giovane Europa*—was the most reassuring, after that of the Italians, for the future of Europe, and inevi-

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8. N. Tommaseo, *Canti popolari illirici*, ed. by D. Bulferetti, Milano, MCMXIII. See especially Tommaseo's introductory notes from p. 1 to p. 38. See also, M. Lascaris, *Tommaseo Traduttore de Chants Serbes en Grec*, Congrès des Philologues slaves, Prague 1929. More on the relations between Italy and the Slavs, see, N. Tommaseo, *Scritti Editi e Inediti sulla Dalmazia e sui Popoli Slavi*, ed. by R. Ciampini, Vol. I. Firenze, 1943.

9. B. Raditsa, 'Risorgimento and the Croatian Question'-Tommaseo-Kvaternik. *Journal of Croatian Studies*, Vol. 5-6 (1964-65) Pp. 3-144.

10. A. Tamborra, *Cavour e i Balcani*, Torino, 1958.

11. A. Tamborra, *Imbro I. Tkalac e l'Italia*, Roma, 1966.

tably "will destroy the Austrian Empire."<sup>12</sup> Tommaseo, on the other hand, in his *Fratellanza dei Popoli* (Brotherhood of Peoples), perhaps under the Kwaternik's influence, states that "there are Slavic nations, but one Slavic nation does not exist."<sup>13</sup> Contrary to the view of the liberal and anti-clerical Mazzini, the Catholic Tommaseo prophesied that the Catholic Slavs, namely the Croats and the Poles, could not unite with Russia and other Orthodox Slavs. Tommaseo wrote "To a Croat" (presumably to Kukuljević in a letter dated July 4, 1851): "The Slavs of the South had better beware of Russia, for either she will subjugate them through corruption, or betray them. Croatia and Dalmatia, Bohemia and Poland, already debarbarized, must preserve for the Slavs that Catholic faith that ties them to civilized Europe."<sup>14</sup> In his tireless addresses to the Italians, to be resolute in their resistance to Austria, Tommaseo often gives them the Croats as an example of firmness. "To win the Croats," he writes in *Delle Cose Toscane* (1850), "one has to be a little Croat, Croat in an Italian and Florentine fashion, for there is nothing else but to be Croat. We have to educate the new generation to sufferings and sacrifices (as the Croats do). Revolutions have not been achieved while the people live in leisure."<sup>15</sup>

### 3.

This Italian period is full of allusions and reflections about the Croats. On the one hand the Italians feel horror towards *Il Croato*, a synonym for all cruel acts committed by Austrian soldiery in Venetia, Lombardy and Tuscany. On the other hand the Italian romantic poet sees the Croatian people as the victims of the same Habsburg "tyranny" that forces both the Italians and the Croats to be slaves.

In his *Promessi Sposi* (chapter XXX) Manzoni exclaims in terror, *passano i Croati* (Croats are passing by). However, Silvio Pellico, in his *Le Mie Prigioni* (1828, chapter VI), describes his trip through Croatia on his way to prison of Spielberg in Moravia, telling us: "When we were in the Illyrian lands...the inhabitants came to us and surrounded us, and we heard words of compassion that really were bursting out of their hearts. I was moved by the goodness of those people. Oh, how grateful I was. The relief that I received made my wrath milder." A publicist, Cesare Cantù, in his *Gli Ultimi Trent'anni* (1879), writes: "...the Southern Slavs are intelligent, nice, warm, endowed

12. G. Mazzini, *Lettere Slave*, Bari, 1939.

13. N. Tommaseo, *Il Secondo Esilio*. Vol. II. Milano, 1862. p. 7.

14. B. Raditsa, id.

15. B. Croce, *La Letteratura della Nuova Italia, Saggi Critici*, Vol. I. Bari, 1914. p. 63.

by energetic and gentle beauty, very different from that image that in us (Italians) the name Croat evokes." Another follower of Garibaldi, the publicist Giuseppe Banfi, in his short story, *De Custozza in Croazia, Memorie di un Prigionero* (1860), describes the love and affection with which the Croatian people welcomed the imprisoned Garibaldinis: "In Zagreb! Imagine, my readers, the kind of feeling we felt approaching the capital of Croatia, we who since childhood had heard that the Croats were worse than the Vandals and Ostrogoths. We thought that at least they would eat us alive. Indeed, who in Italy when he mentioned the name Croat does not associate it with the adjectives, dirty, thief, barbarian and other similar connotations? How wrong we were... there (in Croatia) we found people of virgin customs, honest, clean and hospitable, proud of their name and their nationality...people who do not tolerate the power of Austrians that is oppressing them so much."<sup>16</sup>

The most moving expression of affection for the Croats is found in a well-known poem written by the Toscan poet Giuseppe Giusti, who in *Al Sant' Ambrogio* (1846), expressed sincere love and admiration for the Croatian soldiers brought to Italy against their own will to keep the Italians enslaved:

"Entro; e ti trovo un pieno di soldati  
Di que' soldati settentrionali,  
Come sareble Boemi e Croati

.....  
E come se que' cosi diventati  
Fossero gente della nostra gente

.....  
In que' fantocci esotici di legno,

.....  
Sentia nell' inno la dolcezza amara  
De' canti uditi da fanciullo : il core  
Che da voce domestica gl' impara  
Ce li ripete i giorni del dolore:  
Un pensiero mesto della madre cara,  
Un desiderio di pace e d' amore,  
Un sgomento di lontano esilio,  
Che mi faceva andare in-visibilio,

.....  
-Costor, dicea tra me, Re pauroso

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16. A. Anzilotti, *Italiani e Jugoslavi nel Risorgimento*, Roma, 1920.



Delgi italici moti e degli slavi  
Strappa a' lor tetti, e qua senza riposo  
Schiavi gli spinge per tenerci schiavi;  
Gli spinge di Croazia e di Boemme,  
Come mandre a svernar belle maremme,  
A dura vita, a dura disciplina,  
Muti, derisi, solitari stanno,  
Strumenti ciechi d' occhiuta rapina  
Che lor non tocca e che forse non sanno;  
E quest' odio, che mai non avvicina  
Il popolo lombardo all' alemanno,  
Giova a chi regna dividendo, e teme  
Popoli avversi affratellati insieme.

Povera gente! lontana da' suoi,  
in un paese, qui, che le vuol male,  
chi sa che, in fondo all' anima, po' poi,  
non mandi a quel paese il principale!  
Gioco che l' hanno in tasca come noi." \*

There are two important anonymous Italian pamphlets from the same period, *Lettere sulla Croazia* (Torino, 1864), and *L' Austria e le popolazioni Slave* (Firenze, 1861), in which Italian-Croatian relations are poignantly discussed. In the *Lettere sulla Croazia* one meets the following thought: "La

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\* I go in, and I find a full house of soldiers, those northern soldiers, likely to be Bohemians and Croats, stuck here in the vineyard to serve as poles: in fact they stood planted there as they do normally before a general, with their two moustaches and those faces of theirs, before God, straight as spindless...as if those objects had become people of our people, I entered involuntarily into the crowd...I heard, in the hymn, the bitter sweetness of songs listened to in childhood; the heart which learns them from a familiar voice, sings them over in days of sorrow: a sad thought of our dear mother, a desire for peace and love, dismay at distant exile, which melted me... These men, I said to myself, are snatched from their homes by a king afraid of Italian and Slav stirrings, and are forced here, without pause, as slaves to keep slaves; he drives them from Croatia and Bohemia as flocks are driven to winter in the Maremma. Living a hard life, subject to hard discipline, they remain silent, mocked at, alone, blind instruments of keen-eyed rapine, which does not fall to them and which they perhaps do not know of. And this hate which never lets the Lombard people approach the German, serves the purposes of a king who reigns by dividing, and who fears hostile peoples banded in brotherliness. Poor souls! far from their own, in a country, here, that wishes them harm, who knows but that they, deep down, would send the emperor to the devil! I bet they loath him as we do. *The Penguin Book of Italian Verse*, p. 310.

Croazia rammenta all' Italia sorella che i confini naturali sono al Quarnaro punto di contatto dei due popoli. I Croati dicono agl' Italiani: a quel punto dovreme incontrarci." ("Croatia reminds fraternal Italy that their natural borders on the Kvarner are the point of encounter of the two peoples. Croats tell the Italians that this is our meeting point!). More of Italian and Croatian collaboration in the Risorgimento and romantic period could be found in Antonio Anzilotti's book, *Italiani e Jugoslavi nel Risorgimento* (Rome, 1920). Mazzini discussed his views concerning Italian relations with the Croats and other South Slavs in his *Lettere Slave* (Bari, 1939), in which special attention is given to the political and cultural relations between Croatia and Italy.

In the post-Risorgimento period the Italian bard, Giosuè Carducci, whose poetry was not only widely read but also translated into Croatian, evokes in one of his poem, "the brother Croat":

In fra l' gregge che misero e raro  
l' asburghese predon t' ha lasciato,  
perche piangi, o fratello Croato,  
il figliol che in Italia mori? \*

4.

Italian poets Leopardi, Carducci and D'Annunzio are all present in Croatian literature of the late 19th and early 20th century through translations, but even more significantly as inspirers of a new resurgence of national feelings, vitality and a new paganism. Ante Tresić-Pavičić, Vladimir Nazor, Milan Begović and Ivo Vojnović have found in them masters of a new and more dynamic verse, that modern style of vigor and extravaganza, which combines refinement, sensitivity and sensuality. Already Leopardi's ode to Italy had taught the Croatian poets the necessity of uniting various parts of the Croatian lands and of arousing them to new national efforts. Carducci and D'Annunzio, through their pagan nationalism, were an even greater inspiration. Nazor in *Slavic Legends*, *Croatian Kings* and in *Medieval Cities*, through following Carducci's and D'Annunzio's example achieved an independent sense of the meaning of his own encounters with the Croat national past and present. Nazor's verse and his word have the strength of D'Annunzio's national paganism, mythology and eroticism expressed in the poems of the first *Laudi* and *Figlia di Jorio*. The legends and landscape of the Abruzzi are remi-

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\*In the miserable flock in which the rapacious Habsburg abandoned, o brother Croat, you are weeping for your son who died in Italy.

niscent of the Mediterranean pagan world which Nazor discovered throughout Dalmatia and Istra. Nazor's personal life reminds one of D'Annunzio's love for the pagan life of the Quattrocento's condottieris. In his old age Nazor joined the wartime Partisans' movement, sharing its adventures just as D'Annunzio did when he participated in the pre-fascist conquest of Fiume. And just as D'Annunzio stimulated Italian national-fascism, Nazor contributed to the strengthening of Croat and Slavic nationalism through his feeling for dynamic emphasis, the excessive word, and his earthy and primitive sensitivity. D'Annunzio's nostalgia for Italian mythology meets its counterpart in Nazor's passionate search for the revival of Croatian and Slavic mythologies.

In his poetry Tresić-Pavičić revived Carducci's paganism and satanism, while his historical plays were influenced by Guglielmo Ferrero's historical interpretation of Republican Rome. When Tresić translated his trilogy dedicated to the fall of Republican Rome, Ferrero consented to write a preface. Tresić's translation of his own works in Italian show the strong influence of Carducci's verse and style.<sup>17</sup> Milan Begović, born in Dalmatia, was under the influence of Pascoli and of D'Annunzio, whose sensuality he successfully transplanted into subtle Croatian verse. In his plays, Begović seems to be influenced by Pirandello and Fausto Maria Martini, whose plays he translated with great brilliance. Similarly, the poetry and plays of Ivo Vojnović are partly inspired by D'Annunzio, but also by Verga. Vojnović and another author, Mato Vodopić, sought to deal with Ragusan society in a realistic style that is reminiscent of Verga.

The transformation of Italy from a narrow provincial and regional society into an aggressively nationalistic and imperialistic state opened a new era in Italian literature. The rise of *La Voce*, a movement led by Giuseppe Prezzolini, and the futuristic movement, had a new powerful impact on the contemporary Croatian national revolutionary movement at the beginning of this century. Thus the writing of younger Italian writers, notably Giovanni Papini, Ardengo Soffici, Aldo Palazzeschi, F. M. Marinetti, and Boccioni, had a powerful impact upon the Croatian avantguard. Vladimir Čerina through his magazine *Vihor* (Storm), followed by Tin Ujević, Ulderiko Donadini, Ivo Andrić, and others, along with those who participated in the Sarajevo assassination of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand, were influenced by the revolutionary, *Sturm-und-Drang* polemical style of Giovanni Papini,

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17. G. Ferrero, Ferrero's Archives, Columbia University, Special Collections.

with whom Čerina and Ivan Meštrović were associated while living in Italy on the eve of World War I.

Meštrović's appearance at the Rome Exhibition of 1911 astonished Italian academic art. His expressions in stone of South Slav mythology, with its national heroes, was hailed by Papini and Marinetti, who greeted Meštrović's pronounced "barbarism" as the beginning of a new epoch in sculpture that should be followed by the Italian sculptors to help them free from academic stiltedness. It was in Italy that Meštrović, following his studies in Vienna and Paris, received the approval and applause of the futurists, expressionists, and all the anti-classicists. The expressionists and the futurists saw in his work the possibility of rejuvenation for Italian sculpture, which had descended from Michelangelo to Canova.<sup>18</sup> Opposition to Meštrović came both from the academy and from Crose's estheticism, which branded Meštrović's style as a barbaric regression.<sup>19</sup>

Modern criticism, developed by Benedetto Croce in his *La Critica* and particularly *Aesthetics*, was greeted with a sense of kinship by younger Croat literary critics. Albert Haler, who knew Croce's work better than most of the other Croat critics, introduced Crose's ideas and methods into Croatian literary criticism, making them less dogmatic by emphasizing their insistence on the primacy and authenticity of creative inspiration. Mihovil Kombol in his outstanding *History of Croatian Literature*, which was unfortunately unfinished, used Croce's approach in the presentation and analysis of literature. Kombol's presentation of literary material closely followed also De Sanctis' *History of Italian Literature*.

Čedomil Jakša and Ante Petravić in their critical works associated Croatian literature with Italian influences. Jakša was influential in presenting the Italian criticism to the Croat literary world. Less esthetically inclined and more scholarly pedantic, Petravić's valuable efforts have been followed by Mirko Deanović and Ivo Frangeš, and along with Petravić and Deanović one ought to stress Vinco Lozovina's scholarly studies of Foscolo and Machiavelli. To Lozovina goes the credit to have written the most complete *History of the Italian Literature*. However, Torbarina and Marin Franičević in their recent interpretations of the old Croatian literature have abandoned the scholarly comparative methods and have convincingly interpreted the Croatian Renaissance in its own creative context. Their approach seems based in the

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18. B. Radica, 'Ljudski i Umjetnički Profil Ivana Meštrovića', *Hrvatska Revija*, Buenos Aires, 1962. Vol. 4(48) Pp. 340-352.

19. B. Croce, *Conversazioni Critiche*, Bari, 1932. Pp. 122-124.

Crocean approach that every literary work is an intrinsic poetic achievement, regardless of foreign influences, that might have occurred in one literary period.

## 5.

Italian literature unfailingly seems to interest Croatian writers. Contemporary Croatian poets, like Ante Nizeteo, Olinko Delorko, Frano Alfirević, Drago Ivanišević, Sibe Miličić, Ton Smerdel, Viktor Vida, Joja Ricov, Zlatko Tomičić, Mrkonjić, Miličević, Machiedo and many others have not only continued to translate Dante, Petrarca, Leopardi but have also published anthologies of Italian poetry, and have translated contemporary Italian poets like Ungaretti, Quasimodo, Montale, Marinetti, Soffici, Papini, Palazzeschi and others, and in translating them and studying them they have been strongly influenced. Plays of Pirandello, novels of Svevo, Verga, Moravia, Calvino and others have been translated. A new *Anthology of 20th Century Italian Poetry* has been edited by Joja Ricov, titled *Anthologija Poezije XX stoljeća* (Zagreb, 1957). Mirko Deanović, Josip Jernej and Ivo Frangeš have published, in Italian, a survey, *Scrittori Italiani* (Zagreb, 1951), and another has been edited in Italian by Frane Čale and Mate Zorić, *Classici Moderni* (Zagreb, 1964). F. Čale, *Anthologija starije talijanske poezije* (Zagreb, 1968) renders in Croatian a brilliant translation of the Italian older poetry. The most outstanding living Croatian *Italianisants*, Italian oriented authors, are M. Zorić, F. Čale, I. Frangeš, M. Festini, Gloria Condrić-Rabac, P. Tekavčić, and, among linguists, J. Jernej and Žarko Muljačić, whose recent study on Italian linguistics, now published also in Italy, has been highly praised. However, perhaps the most brilliant translations of the Italian poetry are contained in the *Anthologija Svjetske Lirike*, edited by Slavko Ježić (Zagreb, 1965). Ton Smerdel is the outstanding expert on Leopardi, having translated Leopardi's dialogues and essays in *Dijalozi i Eseji* (1961), Leopardi's poetry in *Lirika* (1963). His major contribution to Leopardi is his *Roman o Leopardiju* (1967), an impressive attempt to give the world a *biographie romancée* of the fascinating romantic poet.

Croatian Catholic writers have concentrated their major interest on Italian Catholic literature. Manzoni and Fogazzaro have been closely studied and translated, and Papini, after his conversion received their increased attention. The foremost Catholic literary critic, Ljuda Maraković, has contributed profound discussions of Italian Catholic prose and poetry, in addition to making French and Italian Catholic writing available to the public in his magazine, *Hrvatska Prosvjeta*.

Italian historiography and political theories have had a striking impact on

the Croatian political world. In the first half of this century Guglielmo Ferrero has had perhaps the strongest influence upon a whole liberal generation which included Frano Supilo, Ante Trumbić, Tresić-Pavičić and many others. Ferrero's essay on the decline of the Ancient civilization, in the translation of Arsen Wenzelides, had as great an impact as in Italy and France. Perhaps, however, the greatest single impact on the modern liberal Croatian intelligentsia has come from Ferrero's *La Giovane Europa*, translated by Wenzelides, though no less than the same author's *Tragedy of Peace*, written after the Paris Conference of 1918. The ideas that inspired Tresić's magazine *Novi Vijek* (The New Century) were flavored by Ferrero's historical and sociological approach to the analysis of world problems.<sup>20</sup> Cesare Lombroso's criminology and anthropology made the term "*Lombrozov tip*" (Lombroso's type) a term of colloquial jargon describing an aggressive, impulsive and extrovert individual. The writings of Paolo Mantegazza, Spicio Sighele and other followers of Lombroso's Turin positivist school, opposed to Croce's philosophy, have had a greater impact on liberal and anti-clerical Croatian intelligentsia.

Socialism as theory came to southern Croatia via Trieste while further North its source was Vienna. The socialist leaders Turati and Treves were studied, read and quoted in magazine's articles and speeches. The current generation of Marxist Croatian intelligentsia has recently discovered Antonio Gramsci, and his writings have received increased attention after the Yugoslav separation from Stalinism. Studies on Gramsci and translations of his major works have been given special attention. Croce's historicism and his "religion of freedom," springing largely from his *History of 19th Century Europe* and *Elements of Politics*, mostly translated by this writer in the pre-war liberal magazine, *Nova Evropa* of Zagreb, have exerted a considerable influence on those among the intelligentsia who did not side with either national-fascism or Marxism. Adriano Tilgher's and Giuseppe Rensi's anti-historicism and anti-Croceanism, introduced by this author in *Savremenik*, *Nova Evropa* and in *Obzor*, could also be considered as a contribution to a more detailed knowledge of Italian philosophical, historical and political thought as exposed by the Italian thinkers in their contrasting views on Croce's thought. However more significant influences from France, Germany and even England and the United States, have turned the intellectual interests of the Croatian thinking world toward other trends in philosophy, politics, literature and

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20. B. Raditsa, *Guglielmo Ferrero et les Slaves du Sud*. Guglielmo Ferrero, *Histoire et Politique au XXe siècle*, ed. by G. Busino, Genève, 1966. Pp. 84-97.

arts. Miroslav Krleža's Marxist interpretation and his earlier studies, in which he gives a considerable importance to contemporary Italy, have concentrated the attention of Croatian intelligentsia in directions that prepared the way for the rise of Marxism and Communism in Croatia.

Of late, Italian movies have begun to make an impact on Croatia, on Croatian and Yugoslav movie production, and are adding to the continued interchange of ideas. The present Yugoslav film seems to be in its techniques and inspirations overwhelmingly dominated by the Italian movie writers and directors.

Another vehicle of Italian and Croatian cultural exchanges could be seen in an increasing series of symposia that regularly take place in Croatia or in Italy. They are helpful in bringing the intellectual communities together to an extent that was never before possible. Hopefully such personal contacts contain within them the seeds of understanding and intellectual partnership.

Italian historians such as Angelo Tamborra, Leo Valiani and others, have published important works on some vital chapters of the Croat-Italian political relations from the Risorgimento through the First and Second World Wars. This new generation of Italian historians has introduced a totally novel, broader approach to the studies of Croatian and Italian history, differing considerably from earlier Italian nationalist historiography.<sup>21</sup> Their efforts to grasp the real meaning of Croatian history in its difficult and complex development helps the Italians to better understand the political and social reality of their neighbor, which has inhabited the opposite shore of the Adriatic for fourteen hundred years.

Franjo Trogranić, a professor of Croatian and Serbian language and literatures at the University of Rome, has done a useful work in acquainting Italian readers with Croatian literature. His studies of Croatian literature, *La Letteratura Medioevale degli Slavi Meridionali* (Roma, 1950) and *Storia della Letteratura Croata* (Roma 1953), the latter one encompassing the Croatian literature from the Renaissance up to the 19th century, are not only informative but also critical illustrations of the Croatian literature in contacts with Italian sources. His translations of the modern Croatian poets, *Poeti Croati moderni* (Milano, 1965), and of the contemporary Croatian novelists, *Narratori Croati* (Roma 1969), constitute a valuable contribution to the presentation of the Croatian writers to the contemporary Italian readers. One of the Trogranić's important efforts is also the translation of the Croatian and Serbian folk short stories, *Racconti popolari Serbi* (Roma, 1959), and *Racconti*

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21. L. Valiani, *La Dissoluzione dell'Austria Ungheria*, Milano, 1966.

*popolari Croati* (Roma, 1959), in which the character of the two peoples is perceptively interpreted. Thus *faute de mieux*, Trogranić is following the pioneering works of A. Cronia and G. Maver, the first Italians to present the Croatian, the Serbian and Slovenian literatures to the Italians.

The long intellectual and cultural interchange between Croatia and Italy stands in sharp contrast to their often strained political relations. But despite political and nationalistic clashes the Croats have always chosen to participate in the best of Italian cultural genius, sharing in it its great spiritual and cultural treasure, and the brilliancy of style and form as well as a smattering of ideas that have enriched the mankind.

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