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A STUDY OF PASKVALIĆ'S POETRY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON LODGE AND SHAKESPEARE**

Abstract
This paper comprehensively considers and presents the influence that Ludovik Paskvalić had on the literary legacy of two prominent English poets. Previous scholars of his work have recognized the direct influence of his poetic lyre on the Elizabethan poet Thomas Lodge. Additionally, for years there has been persistent speculation in academia that Paskvalić may have had an indirect influence on the works of William Shakespeare. Based on these observations, we determined the direct influence of the poet from the Bay of Kotor on the work of Thomas Lodge using the comparative method. We have succeeded in proving only Shakespeare's indisputable reliance on a post-Petrarchist manner, devoid of all individuality.

Key words: Renaissance, Bay of Kotor, Ludovik Paskvalić, Thomas Lodge, Shakespeare, sonnet, 15th–16th century, *Rime volgari*, Humanism

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1. Introduction

According to the conclusion of Miroslav Pantić, Ludovik Paskvalić (1500–1551) is "the best Renaissance poet from Kotor and one of the most important of our poets in Italian and Latin in the entire sixteenth century" (Pantić 1990: 17). He is an offspring of the Paskvalić family, which gave numerous notable personalities. The life of this prominent cultural worker was full of content and as such found an echo in his literary work. No less interesting and significant are Paskvalić's friendships with prominent personalities who left their mark on the historical and socio-literary life and context of the sixteenth century. The poet from the Bay of Kotor left us two volumes of sonnets, both printed in the Republic of Venice. The unusual course of Paskvalić's life, as well as the precious information he left about his contemporaries in his works, inspired numerous translators from our region to deal with translations and adaptations of his literary legacy. However, there are rare examples when poets from our area were an inspiration to more respected representatives of world literature. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the researches of certain analysts led to the conclusion that the English Renaissance poet and novelist Thomas Lodge, with minor interventions, translated the verses of writers from other European literatures, especially singling out the rhymes of the Renaissance poet from the small and geographically distant Bay of Kotor.

2. A sketch of the sonnet in the Renaissance

In order to understand how the Italian sonnets of the Bay of Kotor's humanist travelled in order to reach England and spark interest among the poets of that time, it is necessary to briefly describe the development path of the sonnet – the most demanding of all poetic forms. It is certain that the Elizabethan sonnet was directly borrowed from the Italian. However, the sonnet as a new poetic form was created in the eleventh century in Provence (Ferroni 2005: 72). A century later, in 1230 to be precise, from the south of Italy, the sonnet began its unstoppable journey as probably one of the longest-living poetic forms (Spiller 1992: 2). Dante and his work *Vita Nuova* (1292/1293) were a turning point in Italian and world literature (Ferroni 2005: 96). However, the sonnet experienced its complete dominance with Petrarch. Although Petrarch's sonnets were not

significantly different from the rhymes of his predecessor, with the Tuscan, the sonnet became known beyond the borders of Italy, and in the following two centuries it dominated all of Europe. The sonnet arrived in Spain in the middle of the fifteenth century, to Britain and France at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to Germany at the beginning of the following (seventeenth) century (Spiller 1992: 1).

After Petrarch's death (in 1374), during the massive translation expansion of his sonnets into other world languages, the original language and form were impaired, as according to Sidney Lee, "only complete harmony of language and mature mental concentration" (Lee 1927: 11) are guarantee for a successful written, i.e. translated and adapted sonnet. Despite the increasingly frequent translations of Petrarch's sonnets, the writer of the *Il Canzoniere* was still a leading figure from whose rhymes all imitators drew their inspiration, because his sonnets could not be equal to his predecessor, nor to his imitators i.e. followers in terms of poetic craft.

The practice of imitating sonnets flourished in Europe during the sixteenth century, which is why the Renaissance period was largely recognized in world literature as the golden era of European literature. The figures who marked the new era are certainly Pietro Bembo, in the first half, and Ludovico Dolce, in the second half of the century. They never concealed their inspiration and represented themselves as Petrarch's followers. The poets Thomas Wyatt (1503–1542) and the slightly younger Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1516/17–1547) were the pioneers of the sonnet in England (Spiller 1992: 3). Looking at their works, it seems that in the first wave, the English were inspired by French and less by Italian models (Spiller 1992: 3). The second wave of English poets who were interested in the sonnet included Edmund Spencer (1552–1559), Philip Sidney (1554–1586) and Thomas Watson (1555–1592). However, the Elizabethan sonnet reached its zenith with the poets Henry Constable (1562–1613) and Samuel Daniel (1562–1619). Maver (1942: 481) believed that Constable was inspired by the sonnets of one of the two, in his opinion, the best imitators of Petrarch's work, the poet from the Bay of Kotor – Ludovik Paskvalić (the other being Dinko Ranjina). However, in addition to the above, Maver did not offer a concrete analysis or tangible evidence for the above claims in his work.

3. Analysis

3.1. Thomas Lodge under the influence of Ludovik Paskvalić

For us, the most important Elizabethan poet was Thomas Lodge (1558–1625). Unlike his older colleague from the Bay of Kotor, Lodge did not grow up in a family that nourished love for the written word. Born as the second son of a Lord Mayor of London, he was not, like his fellow writers Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593), Robert Greene (1558–1592) and Thomas Nashe (1567–1601), worried about financial stability. That is why he had the opportunity to get his education in prestigious educational institutions, of which *Merchant Taylor's School* still exists in London today. After completing his Oxford studies, where he was a member of Trinity College, for a certain time, like Paskvalić, he devoted himself to the legal profession (Britannica). In addition to law and literature, Lodge was also a soldier for a short time. In 1588, he was a member of the expedition against the Spaniards on the Canary Islands. A few years later, after another expedition in Brasilia and the Strait of Magellan, he returned to England in 1593. Towards the end of his life, he also worked as a physician for a short time after obtaining his doctorate in medicine in Avignon at the age of forty (Britannica).

Although he began his literary activity more as a journalist by publishing pamphlets, among which *the Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage Plays* (1579) stood out, Lodge is better known for his satirical poems, epistles and eclogues, which were collected in the work *A Fig for Momus* (1589). Lodge's best-known work is a poetry book called *Phillis* (1593), which combines 40 sonnets and shorter poems, as well as one narrative poem – *The Complaynte of Elsired*. As a literary worker, Lodge distinguished himself by writing pastoral narratives. Although the first short story *The Delectable History of Forbonius and Priceria* (1584) is a work of no great value, the second Euphuistic story titled *Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacie* (1590), which he wrote – same like Paskvalić – during his military service, brought him fame. The short story *A Margarite of America* (1596), which he wrote on his way to South America (1592), was also successful. In addition to writing, he also translated prose works from Latin and French (Britannica). In his successful works full of idylls and tender feelings, Lodge added excessively articulate euphuistic mannerisms. Like Paskvalić, he nostalgically remembered the beauty of his English villages, which he

contrasts in his verses with a reality that could not be pastoral during the war. His shepherds, like those in the verses of the Renaissance poet from the Bay of Kotor, speak a refined language and behave elegantly.

In the spirit of the times in which he lived and created, Lodge, like other poets, often resorted to rewriting of poems that he appreciated. Based on the analysis of his work *The Life and Death of William Long Beard* (1593), it is noticeable that the Elizabethan poet often copied sonnets from French literature, as well as that he quite freely adapted the Italian madrigal of Giovanni Biancardi, the "cinquecento" poet, without citing the source. In his translation it is entitled *When I Admire the Rose* (Lee lxv).

In his work *A Margarite of America*, Lodge informed readers that some of the poems in the book were written "in imitation of Dolce the Italian". However, researches have confirmed that as many as four out of five poems are plagiarisms, not of the Italian Dolce, but of the poet from the Bay of Kotor Ludovik Paskvalić. The first Paskvalić's sonnet that Lodge plagiarized without feeling the need to cite its source, i.e. attributing it to Dolce, was "Se'l foco di sospir noiosi et greui", which in the translation of the English poet is entitled "If so Those Flames I Vent when as I Sigh". The second sonnet is *S'aggira hormai con Ganimede il sole* (*With Ganimede now ioines the shinig sunne*) and the third *Quanta ti porto invidia ó bel Monile* (*O curious Gem how I enuie each while*). Later, related to the sonnet *I See with my Hearts Bleeding*, Lodge stated that it was inspired by Dolce, although the original was Paskvalić's madrigal *Io veggio aperetamente* (Walker 1927: 76). Another sonnet *I pine away expecting of the houre* was found in the collection *A Margarite of America*, which is a plagiarism of Paskvalić's sonnet *Io mi consumu in aspettando un' hora*, as well as the sonnet *I see a new sprung sunne that shines more cleerely* whose original title by Paskvalić is *Io veggio un nuovo Sol che uiè piu splende* (77). For one sonnet[1] Lodge admitted who he borrowed it from, indicating that the word was about "a rather obscure Italian poet", referring to Ludovik Paskvalić. Walker concludes that it would be easier for us to accept Lodge's mistake if the Italian poet Ludovico Dolce had included in his *Rhymes* verses that the Elizabethan plagiarized. However, the plagiarized poems are not found in Dolce's work, which is kept in the British museum (Walker 1927: 76). Because of the above, Walker believes that the reasons why the Elizabethan

[1] Sonnet *Those glorious lampes that heauen* illuminate from the work *A Margarite of America* is a borrowing from the original Paskvalić's sonnet *Tutte le stelle havean de'l ciel l'impero*.

writer attributed the borrowings to Dolce can be found in the fact that he wanted to give importance to his book and to arouse the interest of the reading public by mentioning a well-known and recognized Italian writer. One of Paskvalić's sonnets under the title *Quella pietà Signor che già t'accese* was also found in Lodge's work *William Long Beard* under the title *The pitty Lord that earst thy heart inflmaned* (Walker 76). In addition to Kastner noticing three sonnets written by Paskvalić in Lodge's *Phillis* collection (1593), plus one sonnet which the English poet admitted to having "borrowed" from Paskvalić, and the four sonnets mentioned above, Alice considers that there are 11 sonnets in total that the Elizabethan copied from the poet from the Bay of Kotor, which represents the largest number of sonnets that Lodge borrowed from any other author until then, and he often copied from others as well, showing that this was his manner.

Analyzing Lodge's life, and especially his work biography, it seems that the curious spirit, versatile character, military experiences, frequent travels, as well as similar literary models, were the links between the two geographically distant Renaissance poets. It seems that the Elizabethan poet found in Paskvalić's rhymes the outlines of his own life, the one in which he was a lawyer, writer, soldier and adventurer.

Paskvalić's decision to create literature in foreign languages, like many of his contemporaries and especially his fellow citizens, certainly did not prevent him from easily overcoming the borders of national literature, and becoming a role model and inspiration for the poet of the Elizabethan era.

If we analyse Paskvalić's sonnet *Ninfe del mar che con soave* parallel with Lodge's poem *You scared Sea-nymphs pleasantly disporting*, it is noticeable that the Elizabethan poet's sonnets are a faithful imitation of Paskvalić's Italian originals. With rare interventions, only in the anglicization of personal names, the translation is literal. This is one of the main characteristics of Lodge's plagiarism.

Although the second sonnet from the same collection is a faithful copy of the original as well, it is distinguished by the fact that Lodge enriched Paskvalić's shy allusion to the pleasures of love with a freer lascivious translation, which was not characteristic of the Renaissance poet from a small and traditionally bounded environment.

Lodge's most famous and most praised poem *It is not death which wretched men call dying* is of particular importance for us as it is a plagiarism of Paskvalić's Italian sonnet, which we give below.

Paskvalić[2]	Lodge[3]
Morte non è quel che morir s'appella	It is not death which wretched man call dying,
Ma quella è vera morte ch'io supporto	But that is very death which I endure
Quando Madonna di pietà rubella	When my coy-looking Nymph (her grace envying)
A me rivolge il guardo acerbo e torto;	By fatal frowns my damage doth procure.
Il viver non è vita, vita è quella	It is not life which we for life approve,
Ch'io provo, se talhor, per mio conforto	But that is life when on her wool-soft paps
La Donna mia ch'è più d'ogn' altra bella,	I seal sweet kisses which do batten love
Mi sia cortese d'un bel guardo accorto;	And doubling them do treble my good haps.
Amor non è quel ch' è d'amanti Duce,	This neither love the son nor love the mother
Amor è quel che da begl' occhi viene	Which lovers praise and pray to, but that love is
Che m'han acceso il cor con la sua luce.	Which she in eye and I in heart do smother,
S'io dunque godo in stracci, affanni e pene	Then muse not though I glory in my miss.
Maraviglia non è, ch'a ciò m induce	Since she who holds my hear and me in durance
Chi Morte, Vita, Amor ne gl'occhi tiene.	Hath life, death, love and all in her procurance.

The third sonnet from the collection of the same name:

Paskvalić	Lodge
Se' l foco di sospir noiosi et greui	If so those flames I vent when as I sigh,
Ch' io spargo ogn' hor in questa bassa valle	Amidst these lowly vallies where I lie,
Trovar potesse qualche strada ò calle	Might finde some meanes by swift addresse to flie
Ch'in cima all' Alpe lo conduca et lieui,	Vnto those Alpine toplesse mountaines high:
Arder vedreste le gelate nevi	Thou shouldest behold their Icie burthens thawe,
Et adornarsi le lor nude spalle	And crimson flowers adorne their naked backs,
Di uiole uermiglie bianche et gialle	Sweete roses should inrich their winter wracks,
Hor sott' i giorni nubilosi et greui,	Against the course of kind and natures lawe.
Ma uoi Donna uedete l'empia fiamma	But you faire Ladie see the furious flame,

[2] Paschale (1549). *Rime volgari.*

[3] Lodge (2017). *Phyllis*, no. VI.

Che mi strugge per uoi fuor di misura	That through your will destroyes me beyond measure,
Et mi consuma tutto à dramma à dramma,	Yet in my paines me thinkes you that you take great pleasure,
Ne però anchor qualche pietosa cura	Loth to redeeme or else redresse the same:
De'l mio tanto martir il cor u'infiamma	Not hath your hearth compassion of mine illes,
De'l gel piu fredda, et piu del'alpi dura.	More cold then snow, more hard then Alpine hils.

Torbarina (1934: 343) was right when he stated that the third in a series of plagiarized sonnets was translated "*ad letteram*". A single mistake, most likely caused by a misunderstanding of the Italian original, was made by the Elizabethan writer in Paskvalić's sonnet: "Io ueggio un nuouo Sol che uie' piu splende" in which the word "poggio" which in the English translation should be "hill", Lodge permuted with the word "pioggia" meaning "rain", which is why instead of "Da quel di poggio (...)" Lodge's sonnet says "From that a shower (...)" (Walker 1927: 79). This sestina is of historical importance, because it represents the first pure and accurate sestina in English literature. Despite being on spot and accurate, its strictness and monotony are not characteristic of England (Walker 1927: 79).

In contrast to the consistent translation of the lexicon, which as a lyricist and one of the many Petrarchists he refined and perfected, Lodge deviated significantly from the original in terms of metrics, accepting the easier English sonnet form that is almost exclusively used in English poetry of the Elizabethan era, until later Milton[4] extremely deviated from it and returned to the classical form of Petrarch's sonnet. Lodge's Elizabethan sonnet consisted of three separate stanzas with four lines each, and a final couplet in which both lines rhyme, from which the rhyme scheme arises as follows: ABAB CDCD EFEF GG. On its basis it can be concluded that Lodge, like Petrarch and his followers, regardless of their ethnicity, paid more attention to the formal than the essential side of poetry.

Torbarina (1934: 343) gives facts about the curious fate of Lodge's fame, stating that the Elizabethan lyricist was more valued in the past of English literature than he is today. He finds support for his claims in the words of an English critic[5] who prepared for the print all Lodge's works,

[4] John Milton (1608–1674) English poet.

[5] Edmund Grosse, 1849–1928.

stating that the poems from *Rosalynde* are readable, rich and melodious and as such could not be found in English Elizabethan literature until Lodge. Others agree with his position, considering that the English poet's poems are among the best poems of his era.

However, after Kastner proved at the beginning of the twentieth century that 24 of Lodge's 38 sonnets were faithfully and literally taken from foreign poets, his collection *Phillis* soon became one of the "most impudent cases of literary theft" (Torbarina 1934: 344) and Lodge received the unenviable title of the first Elizabethan plagiarist.

Maver believed that Ludovik Paskvalić was primarily an Italian poet, known in Italian literature, as evidenced by the mention of his character and work in Flamini's anthology of numerous Italian Petrarchists. However, in Maver's opinion, the poetry of the poet from the Bay of Kotor reasoned most strongly with English, Elizabethan literature (481).

In several previous paragraphs, we dealt with Paskvalić's influence on the Elizabethan poet Thomas Lodge.

The most famous work of Paskvalić's imitator, entitled *Rosalynde*, was the original source for the work *As You Like It*, by his contemporary and close collaborator – William Shakespeare (1564–1616). Not only was Shakespeare inspired by Lodge's work, but he followed him to the letter. The characters in his best comedy are taken from *Rosalynde*, the only exception being Jacques – a lord accompanying the exiled duke and Touchstone, the fool. In addition to the above, the authors believe that Lodge's poetic volume *Glaucus and Scilla* had a great influence on Shakespeare's narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* (Torbarina 1974: 594).

Lodge also collaborated with Shakespeare on his play *King Henry VI* (1934: 344) which is why it is certain that he was also familiar with Lodge's work *A Margarite of America*, which contains plagiarisms of Paskvalić's sonnets. Bearing in mind that they were friends and close collaborators, "it is very likely that Shakespeare was also familiar with Lodge's collection of poems *Phyllis*, which (...) contains three more sonnets by Paskvalić in Lodge's translation" (Torbarina 1974: 594). Given that Lodge's work directly influenced one of the greatest writers of all time, William Shakespeare, Torbarina (19744: 594) and Čelebić (2016: 58) conclude that it is very possible that Shakespeare himself was indirectly familiar with the poetry of Ludovik Paskvalić.

3.2. The influence of Paskvalić on Shakespeare

The reading public would be reluctant to believe that one of the greatest playwrights of all time, the English poet and actor William Shakespeare, could have owed anything to anyone, especially to a poet from the geographically distant Bay of Kotor. Although nothing has been proven so far, Torbarina believes that "with a little effort" it should not be difficult to find "a drop of some thin stream" that indirectly came from Paskvalić's lyre in *The Sonnets* of the Swan of Avon (Torbarina 1974: 594).

Literary research has proven that Shakespeare, like his contemporary and colleague Thomas Lodge, as well as many poets of that time, often looked for inspiration in the works of other writers[6]. Henry Constable (1562–1613), who himself was inspired by the works of the French and Italians, was one of the English sources which Shakespeare drew on. Joan Grundy, among others, wrote about this, considering that in his Sonnets no. 26, 46 and 47 Shakespeare found echoes of Constable's Sonnet *Thine eye, the glass where I behold my heart* (582). In addition to this, Grundy concludes that Shakespeare directly or indirectly imitated Constable in Sonnets no. 31, 70, 99, 106 and 128, but also in the tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*, as well as in the poem *The Rape of Lucrece* (582). Some authors are inclined to believe that the greatest achievement of Constable's poetry is precisely the fact that Shakespeare read it and was inspired by it (582). It is difficult to say with certainty whether it is an undeniable plagiarism or a case of general places of European Petrarchism that inherited the spirit and atmosphere of community in a very similar, if not identical, way. In the example where Grundy comparatively analyzes Shakespeare's Sonnet no. 99 (*The forward violet thus did I chide*) with Constable's Sonnet I, 3, 1 (*My Lady's presence makes the roses red*), it is noticeable that both deal with the same theme – the flora budding in the presence of a loved one which represents the general motif of folk literature. However, metaphors and motifs that match (*violet*, *lily*, *rose*), although identical in both sonnets, are also common to many other Renaissance poets, including Ludovik Paskvalić. It is precisely the number of repetitions in Shakespeare's case that led Grundy to the conclusion that they are certainly borrowings. However, these are not the only reflections of other people found in Shakespeare's works.

[6] See Kostić 1994.

His histories are mostly set in England (chronologically followed from *King John* to *Henry VIII*), and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* can be added to them. The setting for *King Lear*, *Cymbeline* and Scottish *Macbeth* is Old Britain. From a scientific point of view and with the aim of analyzing possible indirect influences by Paskvalić, the most interesting works for us are the ones set in Italy (*The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Othello*), Rome (*Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus*), and especially in so-called fictional countries such as Illyria (*Twelfth Night*). Although the heroes in Shakespeare's plays are mostly publicly declared Englishmen, it is noticeable that in the works set in the Italian circle, the most famous English dramatist showed knowledge of the Italian way of life, the Italian atmosphere and circumstances as he considered it credible. However, researchers dealing with the analysis of Shakespeare's literary legacy objected to his descriptions of the sea coast areas around Bohemia.[7] In connection with this, Torbarina wonders if it is possible that Shakespeare did not know anything about the country that had got a queen from England and that had given a queen to England, i.e. how well he could actually know all other countries besides the one in which he was born and in which he lived until his death (Torbarina 1964: 23–24).

The answer to this question was partly given by Shakespeare himself with his detailed descriptions whenever the action of his works is set in England or Wales. His familiarity with villages and towns (York, Edmunds, Rochester, etc.), churches (Westminster, Swinstead, etc.), castles, and even areas around London (Dartford, Eastcheap, Cannon Street, etc.) is clearly noticeable, unlike a hazy depiction of France and its locations. It is true that even in the case of depicting the French atmosphere, Shakespeare shows familiarity with certain cities (Confler, Rouen, Bordeaux, etc.), however, proportionally to a much smaller extent than it is the case in plays set in his homeland. He probably included all vague descriptions in his works with the intention of contributing to a certain artistic goal, because even if he had not had the opportunity to visit the places he wrote about, even in his time there were books and guides based on the experience of people who conveyed their impressions about the places, people and customs that they had visited, met and experienced on their trips.

[7] Czech Republic.

The same thing is with plays set in Italy. Unlike England, the knowledge of the geography of France and Italy did not come to him at birth but indirectly, from second hand, which is why the English setting seems more credible and convincing, while in the descriptions of the Italian setting, Shakespeare's endeavor to conjure up the Italian regions is noticeable. Language is often an additional obstacle on the way to the same goal. Shakespeare sometimes uses unchanged words such as "fertile land" when describing both England and other countries, which is why it is not always possible to clearly distinguish the difference between the two settings. Shakespeare's characters also speak different languages, predominantly English. However, as carriers of national characteristics, the French often speak bad English, and the English speak French with an accent. However, this is all part of theatrical convention, in which it is perfectly acceptable for Julius Caesar not to speak Latin in an English play.

For the same conventional reasons, it is expected that most of Shakespeare's plays set in Italy describe Venice, as the seat of the then most powerful Adriatic republic. In fact, only two plays bear the name of this city in their title (*The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello, the Moor of Venice*), with the difference that in the latter, a greater number of scenes are set in Cyprus, which was under the Republic of St. Mark's protection at the time. Despite the above, all the characters, except for the nobleman protagonist, who is himself a soldier in the Venetian army, are depicted as Venetians. And yet, the local colors with which Shakespeare paints the Italian atmosphere are quite characterless and resemble the outlines of an English setting close to Shakespeare. Even the names of the servants are mostly English.

The only play that can be singled out in terms of a more natural Italian atmosphere is *Romeo and Juliet*. The main character's expression of love in metaphors reminiscent of the school of the Italian poet Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500) contributes to such a conclusion, as well as the expression in Petrarchan sonnets characteristic of the Renaissance poet from the Bay of Kotor, Ludovik Paskvalić.

The heart of Shakespeare's Romeo "suffered hard" the same way as the lyrical subject in Paskvalić's Italian sonnets, and the suffering was nourished by the lover's tears, while the protagonist was at the mercy of the one he loves ("Out of her favour, where I am in love") (Shakespeare, 247). Shakespeare used the powerful weapon of Renaissance writers – a contrast to describe that love is both "angry bitterness" and "sweet pleasure" at the same time:

> Being purged, a fire sparkling in lovers' eyes;
> Being vext, a sea nourisht with lovers' tears:
> What is it else? A madness most discreet,
> A choking gall, and a preserving sweet
> (*Romeo and Juliet* I, 1, 247–250).

Romeo's sweetheart, like all Renaissance women, was the most beautiful in the world, the kind that neither God nor all other muses could see earlier ("Ne'er saw her match since first the world began") (249), she was the light and the Sun, towards which Romeo's body is turned, that is, his being was metaphorically described as the earth, which revolves around the Sun. Romeo, like Paskvalić, was shot by Cupid with his arrow, putting the burden of unrequited love on his back, under which he withers and perishes:

> I am too sore enpierced with his shaft,
> To soar with his light feathers; and so bound,
> I cannot bound a pitch above dull woe:
> Under love's heavy burden do I sink
> (*Romeo and Juliet* I, 1, 253).

Because of the suffering he feels, Shakespeare's tragic hero concludes that love is not tender, but rigid and hard, unpleasant and stinging like a thorn. "Is love a tender thing? It is too rough, too rude, too boisterous, and it pricks like thorn" (Shakespeare, 250). Like the exaggerated sufferings of the Renaissance poets, Shakespeare's hero begs for the mercy of his beloved, otherwise he will be overcome by eternal despair. "O, then, dear saint, let lips do what hands do; They pray; grant thou, lest faith turn to despair" (*Romeo and Juliet* I, 5, 251–252).

Romeo's love for the love path traced by Renaissance poets moved from the first to the second development phase, i.e. the tragic hero first longed for unrequited love and then two young beings came together in love. In brief moments of happiness, Romeo, just like Paskvalić, blesses the night that hides the lovers from curious eyes and worries if everything is just a dream, because it is too beautiful to be true.

> O blessed, blessed night I am afeard,
> Being in night, all this is but a dream,
> Too flattering-sweet to be substantial
> (*Romeo and Juliet* II, 2, 254–256).

Although the love stories of Paskvalić's lyrical subject and Shakespeare's tragic hero do not end in the same way, it is noticeable from the examples shown that both followed identical literary conventions.

Considering that the setting of Shakespeare's comedy *Twelfth Night* is in Illyria, it seems that Shakespeare, indirectly, by reading the works of his friend and close associate Thomas Lodge, was also familiar with the works of the poet Paskvalić from the Bay of Kotor, who in his poems on several occasions identified himself as "Illyrian", whose homeland is called Illyria. In this way, Shakespeare wanted to provide his romantic comedy with a romantic setting of a fictitious, distant country, which he knew for sure was on the seashore. Why did Shakespeare choose not to name the city? We believe that this is a literary convention, that is, that in this way the English playwright wanted to create the illusion for the reading audience that this country was a figment of his imagination.

Wanting the readers of his play to feel drawn into the story, but also to bring the unknown region close to them, Shakespeare, in addition to the state of Illyria, also built a character – its duke Orsino. The name Illyria itself is mentioned 10 times in the work (I 2.2 ("This is Illyria, lady. And what I should do in Illzria?"), 3; 3. 21, 43, 126, 134; 5. 30; III. 4. 298; IV. 1. 39; 2. 118). We might think that it is quite expected that the region in which the play is set is mentioned throughout it. However, this is not the case with Shakespeare's other plays that are set in Italy. In the tragedy *Romeo and Juliet* the name of the country is not mentioned even once, while in other works the name of the setting is mentioned rarely and sporadically (e.g. in *The Merchant of Venice* only three times).

In his work, Torbarina (1964: 32) gives possible answers to the question why Shakespeare chose Illyria as the setting for *Twelfth Night*, citing the preface of one of the editions of the play at the time, in which it is indicated that Illyria is the same as the Dalmatian coast, and that in its past, at the time described by Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night*, it was under Venetian occupation, which is why the name itself should arouse allusions to the rich Italian culture in the Elizabethan audience. However, what could be known in Shakespeare's England during the XVI and XVII centuries from geographical maps and rare texts dealing with Illyria is that the country stretched from the coast of the Adriatic, through Bosnia, Slavonia, Pannonia, all the way to Bohemia, i.e. Czech Republic. In other words, even the geographical description of the borders of Illyria recorded in English sources could not give an Englishman any indication that it is

a stable concept whose location can be easily and accurately determined. It could have been one country or a country composed of several smaller kingdoms (Stanivuković 2002: 5-6). However, in the preface that Torbarina (1964: 32) mentions, it is further stated that the very choice of the names of the characters and the names of sacred objects is an indication that Shakespeare actually wrote about the familiar and close regions of England. Stanivuković (2002: 6) also agrees with this, stating that Illyria could easily have been London of that time.

Researchers have also tried to identify which nameless city is referred to in Shakespeare's comedy. Although they agreed on the reasons for setting the comedy in Illyria, there are several different points of view regarding the name of the city that is hidden behind Shakespeare's phrase "a city in Illyria". Some believed that Shakespeare meant the Dalmatian city of Split or Zadar, however Torbarina agrees with Rudolf Filipović's (1964: 33) conclusion that in *Twelfth Night* the action is set in Dubrovnik on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. As confirmation of the above, he cites information from the play, that the land of Illyria has its own duke (Orsino), and that the only city that was independent, a city-state, at the moment of history captured in Shakespeare's comedy, was Dubrovnik. The chief ruler of Dubrovnik was a prince, not a duke. Torbarina (1964: 34) believes that Shakespeare was well aware of the difference between the prince who ruled Venice and other honorary titles, which he showed in all his plays. However, Illyria in his comedy was a free country, not a country under the wing of the Venetian lion, which is why in the whole play Orsino is called a duke only twice (I. 2. 24; I. 4. 1), so Torbarina believes that in Shakespeare's play "duke" is a synonym for the word "conte" (1964: 34). However, Stanivuković states that in all available maps of that time, Illyria was not always on the sea shore, but represented a relatively flexible name that described a large area from the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea to today's Croatia in the west and to the Pannonian Plain in the east (Stanivuković 2002: 8). Because of all of the above, it is not possible to precisely determine that Shakespeare's nameless city is really the Renaissance Ragusa, Split or Zadar.

Another assumption that the nameless city was Dubrovnik was presented by Torbarina in the same work. Namely, among the books that describe travels through various countries, which could have been available to Shakespeare during the years of writing comedy, there is also a book published in London in 1511, which shows the journey of Mr. Richard Guylford to Jerusalem. On his journey, he also visited Dubrovnik.

Describing his impressions of the coastal city, Guylford stated that he came across many *relyques*, i.e. many ancient remains and monuments. The unchanged word is also found in the comedy *Twelfth Night*, when the sea captain Antonio says "Shall we go to see the reliques of the town" (*Twelfth Night*, III, 3, 35). However, Stanivuković rejected this as a delusion. He believes that Illyria is a figment of Shakespeare's imagination, and that the Elizabethan poet chose it as a dangerous (because that's how the English perceived it) country that is conveniently far from Puritan England, with the aim of concealing the meeting of potential homosexuals Sebastian and Antony. Stanivuković believes that this fictional ambivalent city served Shakespeare for a freer display of desire that complicates the plot defined by gender. Thus, the nameless city in Illyria becomes a place of anticipation and mystery, misdemeanor and fear (11). Exactly such a description by Shakespeare corresponded to the descriptions of Illyrian cities in travelogues and ethnographic records in England (7).

However, by analyzing Shakespeare's plays, it is certain that he was familiar with the Dalmatian coast. Old Dalmatia is mentioned twice (III.1.74 and 7.3) in the work *Cymbeline* and based on the dialogues, it is clear that the English playwright was aware the mentioned area was inhabited by the Slavs (7). If we add to this that Paskvalić considered Illyrians, Slavs and Dalmatians synonymous in his works, i.e. that he considered himself both an Illyrian and a Slav, i.e. a Dalmatian, we can no longer say with certainty whether Shakespeare drew on Paskvalić's well, from the well of Dalmatian writers in general or from the inexhaustible post-Petrarchist manner whose main feature was the lack of individuality and the abundance of common places. Just as it was difficult to determine the borders of Illyria, in Shakespeare's work it is difficult to determine which city it is about, whether it is the Renaissance London or a fictional city on the edge of the Mediterranean (Stanivuković 2004: 402). Torbarina believed that Shakespeare could also have been informed about Illyria by meeting people, mostly sailors, who happened to be in London in his time.

And whether Shakespeare, in addition to being aware of Illyria and its people, understood and felt close to the Illyrian atmosphere, that is, whether he managed to bring the color of a distant country into his plays, we will show using the example of *Twelfth Night*. Namely, although *Twelfth Night* is often described as one of Shakespeare's most idyllic and romantic works, Illyria is depicted in Shakespeare's earlier works as a country hostile to foreigners, in which it is not safe for people to move alone due

to frequent pirate attacks. We learn all of the above from the dialogue between the characters Antonio, the sea captain, and Sebastian, Viola's brother, which they have on street of Illyria. Antonio recounts to his friend the misfortunes that he was caught in during the past fights against Count Orsino's sailors. An explanation of this depiction of Illyria can be found in the stories of English travellers and merchants who sailed along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea on their way to Jerusalem and Turkey during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The eastern coast of the Adriatic was very inaccessible due to strong winds and big storms. The combination of problems caused by weather at sea, but also the presence of Turks, which caused a lot of anxiety among travellers from the west, are precisely the reasons why the eastern coast of the Adriatic is written about as an unsafe place, and the knowledge of it is more a product of imagination than experience (Stanivuković 2004: 400-401). It should not be forgotten that Shakespeare's play also mentions *Candy*, i.e. Crete, and it is known that Paskvalić himself stayed in Crete as a mercenary of the Venetian army and that he described his service and the city in his poems. Also, through the dialogues of his characters, Shakespeare presented Illyria as a country where wine is drunk in large quantities, which could also be found in Paskvalić's poems in which he describes the Martin tradition, which in his poem is actually a depiction of the celebration in Italy, in the city of Padua, where he studied. From Stanivuković's work (2002: 14), we learn that the English considered Illyria to be part of Italy due to its rich cultural heritage, which is why for the English Illyria reflected Italian culture, religion and customs. Also, Shakespeare's play opened and closed with music, which is why Illyria is depicted as a land of art. Let's remember that only in the sixteenth century there was a whole circle of Renaissance poets in Kotor, and that educated youth from patrician families often brought the culture, music and literature of the country where the Renaissance was born to their birthplace. Even Paskvalić's verses were used for music adaptations (Stipčević 2021). Educated people lived in Kotor at that time, and the city was always a meeting place of culture and art. Because of the above, the city at the foot of Lovćen mountain has inherited all the characteristics of the Italian Renaissance. From the dialogues of Shakespeare's heroes, we also learn that the Illyrians are tall, that they love dancing, that their women are witty and clever, and that they are brave and nimble in fights.

However, no matter how hard we try to find Paskvalić's Illyria in the details and regardless of the rare examples from the works of the poet

from the Bay of Kotor that can be recognized in Shakespeare's play and that potentially show us that we are on the right track, we must admit that Illyria in Shakespeare's play is actually his England. It is rather this than Illyria as it was described and depicted by Paskvalić or another Dalmatian poet in his poetic manuals. Additionally, all the places that remind of Paskvalić's writing style actually came from the general characteristics of the Renaissance that were imitated in their works by poets of all world literatures.

4. Conclusion

There are few poets from this side of the Adriatic whose work has gone beyond the boundaries of local and national poetry. Paskvalić's personality, in which the roles of poet and lover, patriot, soldier and warrior, slave and judge were intertwined, made him a versatile personality that has intrigued many domestic and foreign researchers. Although he created in languages other than his mother tongue, this did not prevent him from raising his name above the soil of the Bay of Kotor and crossing the borders of the literature of the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

The evaluations of literary historians who spoke positively about Paskvalić's work, considering his verses to be easily readable and well-rounded due to the skill of drawing phenomena that he possessed, seemed to have been anticipated by Thomas Lodge. The poet of the Elizabethan era admired the smoothness with which the Bay of Kotor's poet's rhymes were strung into sonnet wreaths to such an extent that he translated them literally, making minimal refinements only when he misunderstood the written words or when it was necessary to assign to lyrical subjects names more appropriate to the climate from which he came from.

For a long time, there was a belief among literary historians that Paskvalić's lyre from the Bay of Kotor had to find its echo indirectly in the works of the great Shakespeare, Lodge's friend and close associate. During the detailed comparative analysis, it was our own great wish to confirm our suspicions. However, despite the undeniable similarities, it is certain that Shakespeare did not draw from Paskvalić's well, nor from the well of Dalmatian writers in general, but from the inexhaustible well of the post-Petrarchist manner whose main feature was the lack of individuality and the abundance of general places. However, this in no way diminishes

the importance of our cultural figure from Kotor and therefore within the South Slavic cultural circle in general.

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