

Croatian literature in light of Ottoman attacks to the Adriatic Sea in the sixteenth century

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Abstrakt: The paper outlines the political, historical, social and cultural turmoil on the eastern Adriatic coast in the beginning of the 16th century, where part of the Croatian people had found themselves cornered between a narrow coastal strip and the islands, due to the progression of the Ottoman Empire towards the west. Despite this difficult situation, we can track the foundations of the Croatian literature and the national literary canon to this region and age. By exploring and interpreting certain literary works (written by Marko Marulić, Petar Zoranić and Petar Hektorović), the paper posits the important genre and thematic motivations for writers creating the national canon in a time of constant war dangers and conflicts. The work provides representations of Turks in the context of Croatian literature, as well as the cultural imagery of Croatia in the 16th century, influenced by writers belonging to different cultural spheres in the cities of the Adriatic coast (especially in Zadar, Split, Hvar and Dubrovnik).

Introduction

Writing about the early texts containing the first representations of images of the Turks, Davor Dukic in the book *Sultan's children* pointed to Coriolanus Cipiko, that is his work *On Asian war* in which he describes the Venetian-Turkish war in 1470-1474., in which he participated. Although our history and literary history point out that there were texts on the Turkish themes before Cipiko, such as Ivan Vitez of Sredne who refers to the Turkish threat, so the speech " held in Vienna in front of Emperor Frederick III rd of Hasburg is emphasized among the many speeches. In this speech Vitez described

the horrors of war with the Turks, and warned of the danger that threatens not only neighbouring countries but throughout Europe.

“(Kurelac, 1998: 81) The value of Cipiko's text is in its strong reception among readers, and was published several times. That work of Koriolan Cipiko of Trogir, commander of the galley in the war, was published under the title *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta*, describing the warfare: “The first two sections present military operations in the Greek islands and the coast of Asia Minor in 1471 and in 1472, while the third part describes the dynastic crisis in Cyprus in 1473 and the siege of Shkodra.” (Dukić, 2004, p. 8). Cipko participated in this war, as we have pointed out as commander of the galley "with the remaining twelve ships of Dalmatian Croatian cities. “(Kurelac 1998:86). In this text Cipko deals with "military and political circumstances of his time. He described the organization of the Turkish army, recruitment of janissaries, an administrative division of the Turkish state, the bey-Begluk, and was particularly versed in diplomatic relations in connection with Cyprus in which the Turks attacked, and Venice and West had their own commercial and strategic interests. " (Kurelac, 1998:86). In Cipiko we find the evidence of the recruitment of janissaries in the Turkish army, saying: “The custom of the Turkish sultan is to take the fifth part of all prisoners from the generals who carried out military campaigns in others provinces. (...) If there weren't prisoners, they took the Christian's sons against the wishes of their fathers in all parts of their empire. (...) When they grow up, they fight with the sultan, and people refer to them as janissaries. “(Cipiko, 1977., p. 87). As Dukić points out, Cipiko's description of the war with Turks doesn't represent that stereotype of the victorious Christian compassion, but describes robbery and crimes of the Venetian army in the conquered cities. When our conquered the city, they scattered all over the city looting around. Some distract

children from the mothers' lap, snatching the mothers too, others distract the crowd of women from the temples (...)" (Cipico, p. 75-76, according to D. Dukić 2004: 8-7). As Dukić point out, Turks do not have a copy of such acts. But in Cipico's work we find, as the author emphasizes, the beginning of the stereotypes that are associated with Turks: with sultan is associated stereotype of "conquest insatiability", then "cruelty towards members of his own cam "(Dukić,2004: 10). Additionally, Dukić stand out that there is no negative "evaluation of ordinary Turkish soldiers, civilians, and generally the Turks as a nation." (Dukić, id.). If ,in this context, we look at the Croatian modern literature, we will also find the same stereotype in Kukuljević's drama *Juran and Sofia*, the first drama of recent Croatian literature from the 1839th, where the Turkish commanders and their lieutenants were also presented with the same stereotype, while there were no descriptions of the ordinary soldiers, except if there were members of Illyrian people in the Turkish camp, what is in accordance with the ideology of revivalists. Before the battle of Krbava there were several other Croatian chroniclers who described the first pictures of the Turks. So Nikola Modruški, who witnessed the conquest of Bosnia, says: "He was a delegate at the court of the Bosnian king Stjepan Tomašević during the fall of Bosnia under Turks in 1464, present even in the death of the king." (Kurelac,1998, p. 82). In his writings he describes the warfare of Turks in Hungary and Wallachia, while Andrija Jamometić wrote about the conflicts between Turks and Christians and about the threat to the Church. It should also be noted that even before the 1500th, our literary productions derived the display of Turks after the battle of Krbava in 1493. Juraj Divinić, who himself visited the scene of the battle, gave evidence about this battle in the letter to Pope Alexander VI th. Priest Martinac also described the battle of Krbava, as well as Juraj Šižgorić, the poet from Šibenik, in his elegy

on the Turkish invasions to Dalmatia that threatened his Šibenik. (Cf. M. Kurelac, 1998, p. 85-88). After the battle of Krbava conflicts on the Croatian-Hungarian-Turkish border or in the Venetian-Turkish border occurred for almost three hundred years, and the border between Croatia and the Ottoman Empire lasted until Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia in 1878.

The beginning of the 16th century in the history of European nations issued the strong conflicts with the growing Ottoman Empire and their conquest of the West. In particular, it is on the rise with Suleiman II's arrival in 1520, who set out to conquer the Croatian-Hungarian estates in Slavonia, Baranja and aimed to Buda and Vienna. The poor army of Louis did not withstand the attack and was defeated at the battle of Mohacs in just an hour and half in August 29th in 1526. This resulted in moving the Ottoman Empire to the west, an unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1529, and breach of the Turks towards all directions, according to Slovenia (frequent Turkish invasions), and towards the Adriatic Sea, where in 1527. Obrovac was conquered. At the same time, the Habsburg rule was recognized, and Turks' strong penetration to the Adriatic Sea ended with occupation of Klis above Split in 1537: "Murad - Bey came with the captain Kružić's head in front of Klis and called the citizens to surrender, and in return he offered them free out of the city. Having no longer any chance of survival, especially after the Turkish occupation of the only wellspring which supplied the crew and the citizens with water, Klis surrendered in March in 1537." (Mažuran, 1998., p. 87.). Almost simultaneously the Turkish navy penetrated in the Adriatic, which had been especially strengthened when in 1536 Suleiman II and gave the command of the entire fleet to Hayredin Barbarossa in 1537. Almost one century, until 1566, Sulejman waged

war on our border, and his life came to an end ahead of Siget, when dying in 1566.

The foundation of the Croatian literary canon

Marulić

The Croatian literature was constituted just before the strongest Turkish incursions into our country and in the danger that threatened after the battle of Krbava, or we can say that it coincides with the establishment of a national canon. Marko Marulić wrote epic *Judita* in 1501 (dated 22nd April 1501), published during his life in Venice in 1521, and he finished his text, the first novel in Croatian literature, *Petar Zoranić* in 1536. Finally, Hektorović wrote *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* in 1556. In this context, the activities of Dubrovnik writers it should be noted, Marin Držić's drama works and a number of poets in Dalmatia and Dubrovnik, who on that little line from west to east created works of exceptional literary power building a national canon. This work will not deal with Croatian Petrarchists and renaissance and humanistic literary circles in Zadar, Hvar, Split, Šibenik and Dubrovnik, but the interest will be directed towards three paradigmatic phenomena of Croatian literature in the sixteenth century. Regarding Marulić's activities, it should be pointed that his works were known in Europe, his texts in Latin language were known throughout Europe, and he was well-known humanistic writer. This is especially true for his *De institutione bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum* (Venice 1506) and *Evangelistarium* (Venice 1516), which had been read throughout Europe: "Some of them were printed several times in various European cities, Venice, Florence, Basel, Konu, Antwerp and Paris, so *Evangelistarium* nine times,

De institutione bene vivendi even nineteen times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they had been translated into Italian, German, French, Portuguese and Czech." (Kombol, 1961, p. 84). But on the other hand, he wrote in the mother tongue, Croatian, and dialect of Split (chakavian). Illuminating his time, it should be stressed that it was the time of the immediate pressure of the Turks to Split, that is the Turks were in suburbs of Split. The former archbishop Berardin Zane in Rome, on church council in Lateran, in front of the pope, talked about the situation in Split at the beginning of the 16th century: "With my own eyes I saw, I say that I saw – they came even in the suburbs of my archbishop's residence and in that most miserable town of Split, devastating everything, destroying everything with fire and sword, taking men and women, the children of your Holiness, into sad slavery. (Zane, according to Novak, 1950.). Marulić's *Judita* appeared somewhere in these incursions of Ottoman forces. A lot about its allegory or non-allegory has been written in the Croatian literary history. Some sought the allegory according to the political situation of that time and in the light of Turkish incursions to Split. It is a lesson that a small nation can defeat a large force by bravery of individuals, as in the Old Testament parable or story of Judith, according to which Marulić wrote *Judita*: "As is known, the story of Judith is found only in the Old Testament, in Septuagint and Vulgate. Jews believe that short story apocrypha. (...) The whole story has 16 heads, each head 12-31 rows." (Skok, 1950., p. 175). On the other hand, in Catholicism that Old Testament story entered the canon. Looking at the historical context, it is reasonable idea of allegory, and in particular it is pointed out in the description of the army in the first canto: "So walking, loitered armies, / riding Assyrian dukes, / the princes of high tribes, / servants and knights of honest names." (Marulić, 1970., p. 46). He alludes to the power of coming Ottoman forces towards west.

On the other hand, it is possible to challenge such a theory, because as Dukić said in the article, the Turks were not mentioned in any place, although there are contact points of *Molitva suprotiva Turkom* with the letter of the pope Hadrian VI, as well as with the text of *Judita* itself. (Cf. Dukić, 2004, p. 48). *Judita* stands between these two Marulićeve poems, and Kolumbić placed *Molitva suprotiva Turkom* (A prayer against the Turks) in the early works before his poetic maturity (Kolumbić, 1994., p. 80) linking this poem with *Judita* in which he stressed the theme of resistance against the Turks: “And in *Judita* the main theme is the resistance against the Turks, and we'll even find a few lines similar to those in *Molitva*.” (Kolumbić, 1994., p. 80). So one of the most important texts of the older Croatian literature is apparently motivated by the Ottoman invasion towards the West. In this context, one should take into account the whole tradition of Croatian medieval poetry after the fall of Bosnia in 1463. *Molitva suprotiva Turkom* (A prayer against the Turks) came from those records and poems, what Kolumbić explains comparing Marulić's *Molitva* with the poem of the anonymous author, especially the compatibility of some verses, e.g.

“(...)we have nowhere to run/ than you, Maria”; and according to Marulić: “in front of them is an evil because they have nowhere to go/ but under your wing, who reigns everywhere” Kolumbić, 1994, p.81). Kolumbić brings in the connection *Molitva*, as well as the other Marulić's Croatian poems, with the conception of glagolitic medieval lyric, especially with the tone and content of the priest Martinac's works (Kolumbić, 1994., p. 82). Paljetak however points out that the reports from the battlefield accompanied literature which "follows the already established topos, in the formal terms takes the form of prayer, which is taking on an old medieval church and liturgical models, relying on psalmody, more codifies creating a canon, or pattern that

you need to follow as most appropriate and (religiously speaking) the most effective means to achieve the desired goal, as well as to expand the genre. "(Paljetak, 2002., p. 335.). It is interesting that Marulić wrote *Molitva suprotiva Turkom* in the Croatian language, devoting it to common people, who did not know Latin, and the intention is to follow o the former glagolitic singing. Even more, encouragement and appealing to God, because there was no victory without God (Cf. Paljetak,2001,p.343).: "My almighty God, according to whom everyone is created,/ remove your anger and have mercy on us./leave your bad will, watch your faithful people/constantly suffering affliction from Turkish hands" (Marulić, 2000, p. 63.). Marulić describes the extant of the conflict because "Croats, Bosniaks, Greeks, Latins, Serbs and Poles are fighting / there they are still fighting, some are fighting and some aren't" (Marulić, 200., p. 64.). God is angry at those who are not fighting, and Marulić asks God to forgive them, so they could get into fight. At the end of the prayer Marulić addresses Lady: "And you, my dear Lady, prey to Son for us (...)" (Marulić, 2000., p. 67.).This prayer rather than by a formal organization, as per the purpose, reminds us to the lament psalms, which in the Old Testament a person prayed to Jehovah. Because Marulić took the Old Testament as starting point for his basic epic *Judita*,he used the power of the Old Testament lamentations in addressing Jehovah/God. It is possible to connect some Marulić's emotions with a range of motifs found in the supplication prayers or lamentations. "In difficult times, in war, defeat, for drought and in unfruitful years, during various plagues, the plague of locusts and other accidents, the fast is ordered, and the believers came to the sanctuary to implore God's help." (Biblija, Uvodi i napomene uz knjige Starog zavjeta, 1968., p. 261.). In the poem *Tužen je grada Hjerolimima* Marulić deals with the theme of the Turks and calls pope to gather all the European nations in the fight against the oncoming threat to Christian world: "France call the king, call the

Englishmen,(...), call the Czechs and Hungarians, all being with you, (...) Mantova with Genova, and Pinmont too (...) “(Marulić, 1970, p. 135). Finally, Marulić's last work, his last poem written only a month before his death, reveals his concern for the fate of the Christian world. It can be concluded that Marulić's continuous occupation was the thought of the loss of homeland, the suffering of the people on the border with the Turks, while other Christian world behaved almost indifferently or from a distance, as if he did not hear the cries, and did not take the right steps to help the struggling nation faced with an Ottoman force. In the song for new Pope Clement VII, who took the papal chair in November 19th in 1523 (ie shortly before Marulić's death), who was from the well known florentine family Medici (Giulio de Medici), now refers hope that they will find the drug (Medici - medicine) for salvation and healing wounds for suffering people: ”So let Medici medicine find the medicine for our wounds,/which are caused by the angry rage of bloody barbarians “ (Marulić, 2000., p. 71.). Especially those wounds, which Marulić describes in his certainly last verses, refers to the change of the faith of the Christian sons: "Christ's sons now Mohammedan holy follow / Eternal salvation eludes them, they go to destruction and death." (Marulić, idem). Here Marulić calls the Christian world for harmony and common struggle against Ottoman domination. Marulić clearly understands that Europe is tortured by reciprocal conflicts, and that's why there is no common action. He believes that a new pope Clement VII is an unifier who will unite the divided Western world and help to defend together: “Your task, therefore - for you are all our heads - / To unite all, to conclude a lasting peace, / So quickly and mutually come against the beastly tyrants / Who is prepared to submit themselves the whole world.” (Marulić, 2000., p. 71-72.). So the constant theme of Marulić's literary work is the theme of Turks and their attacks to the West, and to Split on the Adriatic coast.

This topic will occupy his followers, especially Zoranić and Hektorović, whose works bear witness to the significance of Marulić's works in the Croatian literature, especially the theme of the Turkish threat. Their works also give evidence to the Marulić's engagement and active role of a literate and literature in the possible resolving of the social and historical reality. Besides all his texts which are filled with a deep sense of commitment to Christianity and the moral-didactic texts of a writer who had a strong reception in the former Europe, Marulić did not lose his sense for the problems of his small Croatian people who found themselves at the border of East and West in his precarious fate and left mainly to defend himself and keep his freedom.

Petra Zoranić

As a continuation of these Marulićevih themes, the activities of Petar Zoranić, a scion of the Zadar-Nin noble family, could be traced. As the central phenomenon of Zadar literary circle that gave a number of the authors to the Croatian literature, from Zoranić through Šimun Kožičić Benja, Brne Krnarutić, Šime Budinić, Juraj Baraković, he is distinguished by his good literary background, knowing many classic writers like Ovid and Virgil, as well as the world famous writers, and his predecessors, such as Dante and Petrarca, and contemporary work of Jacopo Sannazar (Cf. Maštrović, 2011., p. 12), but also the work of the "father of Croatian literature" Marko Marulić. His contribution to the Croatian literature is great, although he wrote only one work, and it is the first Croatian novel *Planine* issued in 1536, when he was only twenty-eight. In the text of *Planine*, in chapter XX, in that part where he met the Latin, Greek, Chaldea and Croat fairies in the Gardens of glory, he highlighted that the Croat fairy had the

least apples in her bosom:"Then I recognize a youthfull fairy, with least apples in her lap, whose inscription with name reveals that she is a Croat, who was sad glancing at some apples" (Zoranić, 1988., p. 227). Two other texts are also attributed to Zoranić: *Ljubavni zov* and *Vilenica*, i.e. two works which had been written before *Planine*. But those works had been lost. As Zoranić lived in a time of great change, *Planine* is printed only in 1569 in Venice. Only one copy had been saved, and facts indicate that Zoranić did not see the printing of his novel. As we have seen earlier in the text, Marulić published his own major work later too, that is *Judita* had been written in 1501, and published twenty years after in Venice. In the introduction of *Planine*, the poet informs us that the text was created between the months of May and September in 1536 (began in May, completed in September- historically and allegorically, 1536). According to the literature, Zoranić in this way brings ambiguity in the book, on the one hand what is real and on the other hand what is symbolic. On the one hand he is linked to the medieval tradition (like his predecessor Marulić) and this is what the literature defines as alegorice on the other hand historical is given, that is real what is associated with the "renaissance poetic thought embracing the notion of personality, authorship and engagement in time (hystoric)." (Bratulić, 1988, p. 261). Looking at the formal side of Zoranić's *Planine*, they are mixture of prose and verse, which are exchanged in a total of 24 chapters (in the original capitul, or head). This work is composed of the description of the travel, in which are inserted verses, casual reminiscences, descriptions of landscapes, series of allegoric inserts, various transformations and interpretations of toponyms and the author's comments. It is indisputable that the Zoranić's work was created at the time of the threat of war and encouraged by the growing Ottoman forces to the West. As noted, Obrovac near Zadar fell into Turkish hands yet in 1527, only nine years before the creation

of *Planine*. Then, just a year after *Planine*, a new Venetian-Turkish war started, which was concluded. 1540, and was a result of changes. The political development in 1537 led to the convergence of the Venetian Republic to Charles V and finally to conclusion of anti-Turkish alliance," Holy League "in February 1538" (Raukar, Petricioli, Švelec, Peričić, 1987, p. 209.). Although the Venetian authorities of that time strengthened fortifications of Zadar, and although the favourable dissuasive forces are expected after the establishment of a "Holy League", in 1538 substantial Turkish forces attacked the Zadar region, so as stand out in the literature, the strong Turkish forces were gathered with twenty thousand troops, and Zadar territory was attacked by the troops of 2000 infantry and 400 cavalry and occupied Nadin and Vrana close to Zadar (Cf. Raukar, Petricioli, Švelec, Peričić, p. 210). The Venetian source claims that the Turkish army planned to invade and occupy the town itself, but Zadar was one of the most fortified cities (besides all the weaknesses) on the east coast, so they gave up the attack on the city. At the same time the Christian navy clashed with Turkish fleet led by kapudan Pasha Hajrudin Barbarossa. Historical sources say that the commander of the Christian fleet Andrea Doria did not want to accept the battle and thus the supremacy of the Turkish fleet was established in the Mediterranean, and by all Charles V refused Venetian dominance in this part of the Mediterranean. Finally Charles V and Suleiman II shared the dominance of the Mediterranean: "It is beyond dispute that such an outcome of the battle behind Prevese strengthen the Turkish naval power in the Mediterranean, and from the point of view of the Venetian Republic the war had been made even more unsuccessful " (Raukar, Petricioli, Švelec, Peričić, 1987, p. 211). Zoranić at that time, just before the great changes and the battles wrote his novel warning, but also encouraging his people. He warned of devastations (probably referring to the frequent attacks), and wrote about the scattered

heritage, because the population left the country: "There are everywhere now blackberries, where fields were plowed, / Now the hedges and bushes everywhere, / Where were beaten track of the human foot, now risen lawn of different herbs" (Zoranić, 1988, p. 191). So Zoranić on his travel across the homeland saw the decay and wasteland everywhere. On his journey from Nin to Nin, in which he passed Velebit, Dinara, and came to Skradin and Šibenik across Krka, and by sea to Zadar and Nin where he met the shepherds who sang the songs. First those on the Velebit who were not so sad, because the Turks did not rule there, but only occasionally attacked, yet in peace were eating and singing the happy songs. Zoranić describes that with a sentence about wolves and enemies with whom shepherds daily struggled, and yet they were satisfied:(...) "Though timid about the everyday violence of wolves, and even more so because of the frequent enemy reaving and enslaving (...) - they were happy as long as they could be" (Zoranić, 1988, p. 45.). Then Bornik, Vlade, Sladmil, Zvonko, Plinko, Zoran, Jasnik, Sipko, Zelenko sang. Also in the XIVth chapter (head), where the third day on the mountain is described, Sladoj i Dragoljub are singing the love songs, so Sladoj says: "blind love is a destruction, / in the thought causes the temptation." (Zoranić, 1988, p. 149). Here the shepherds deal with love woes and feel themselves safe, unlike those from the chapter XVIth who are worried and cautious. However, he devoted this chapter to Marulić and gave it the title Puzzle and lamentation of the shepherds about the scattered heritage and the famous shepherd Marula's song. The shepherds, talking here with Zoran, are not so calm and peaceful as those whom he first met on the mountain. These shepherds are the only ones staying there (because of their love for the inheritance, as it is written in *Planine*) and they warn Zoran of the dangers that lurk them: "because not only one or two wolves, but the whole herd, higher than us and our drove,

are coming out of the eastern side, and often, indeed every hour, attacking us so hard (...) and we are, like a sheep that is looking at the other slaughtered sheep, waiting for our slaughter. "(Zoranić, 1988, p. 187). They told him they couldn't rest peacefully like calm shepherds, but they had to be careful all the time: "but we need to be always sober and armed and live expecting the attack, (...)" (Zoranić, id.). In this chapter he shows himself to Zoranić and Marulić through the story and the song of Dvorko (Cf. Dukić, 2004., p. 67), who says that he has met the shepherd called Marul on his journey in the Roman city (city of Split, as standing in Zoranić's note). Here the intertextual layer appears because Dvorko is singing the parts of the song *Prayer against the Turks*: "My almighty God, remove from us your wrath" (Zoranić), cf. Marulić: My almighty God, through whom everyone became, remove your anger and have a mercy on us. "(Cf. Zoranić and Marulić, Dukić 2004, p. 67). So, here the threat against the heritage is stressed, but the encouragement of the shepherds too, and Marulić's poem, according to this Zoranić's citation, had a great reception among the people and in their resistance to the attackers. On the other hand, here is an evidence of the canonization of Marulić's poem and opus, what Zoranić confirms a decade after Marulić's death, and what echo replies: "Blessed and glorious will be his voice / as long as the Croatian villages live; sweetness of his singing skills and composing verses (...) They all had tears in their eyes while listening to the two shepherds lamenting heritage, but Marulić's lamentation, skilfully and mentally polished, chanted by Dvorko, all praised." (Zoranić, 1988., p. 199). According to the model, and later works can be viewed in this context: *Vazetje Sigeta grada, Osman* and the 19th century drama *Jurani Sofija*. Zoranić continues to Dinara, where he talks about the emergence of Dinara mountain, finally finds the remedy for his love pain, and coming down the river Krka to the sea. And he has found the

wasteland there: "And so floating, left and right, we saw the castles, palaces and villages, once in abundance and rich, and now all scattered." (Zoranić, 1988, p. 233). He is also mourning for the fate of Skradin (which was ravaged by the Turks), and which, according to him, is too close to Nin: "And when we skipped and crossed over seven waterfall leaps, the old and once famous city Skradin appeared at the right, and I saw it and sadly sighed, and like a shepherd Merisi, said: -Alas, our land, close neighbour of very unwilling Skradin (in the note: Oh Nin, you are, alas, too close to Skradin)" (Zoranić, id.). And Zoranić did not have to wait a lot for therealisation of his concern. The following year it would start a new Venetian-Turkish conflict, so as stated, Zadar and Nin would be threatened. Finally, Zoran returned by sea to Zadar and Nin. In the capitulum (chapters XXIIIrd and XXIVth) Zoranić came to the heritage, in Nin, on the grave of that bishop Juraj Divinić who had visited the scenes of the battlefield of Krbava in 1493, and who, as we have already said, informed pope Alexander VIth about the battle. In this encounter with Divinić's shadow Zoranić learned: "Hope that you will be warded by a long life, and, if I'm not cheated by the signs, remove the war effort too. But, look up! There three-crowned divine bird eagle will go to war against the dragon crowned by moon; lo, Michael is coming to help the eagle, he has already torn one wing of the dragon, and he will destroy its whole body" (Zoranić, 1988, p. 247). According to the interpretation in the note, three-crowned bird is an emperor Ferdinand who wears three crowns, and dragon with moon is Turkey. Even according to the Matic's citations, it is alluded to the campaign of Charles Vth in Tunisia against Hayruddin Barbarossa (see note 4 in the ch. XXIVth in Zoranić, 1988, p. 259). Zoranić's motif wealth, rounded travelogue, love passages, patriotism, intertextuality (in case of Marulić's *Prayer*), correspondence with antique models (Ovid, Virgil) and medieval

predecessors Katon, Augustine and Jerome, and also Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, and directly Sannazzaro (Cf . Bratulić in: Zoranić, Mountains, 1988, p. 263), make *Planine* the most layered work of the Croatian renaissance literature. But on the other hand Zoranić would not have gone into the mountains to visit the affected area if he did not have the patriotic spirit, that is he, like bishop Divinić (whom he mentioned in *Planine*), went to the battlefield encouraging and telling people how nothing was lost, how those who loved heritage survived during the difficult war time in their country. So, Zoranić, motivated by war (on the very restless border and a narrow strip along the coast) and with concern for his people wrote for the Croatian literature the first precious novel, which will not find its successors until the 19th century, when the Croatian novel practice continues.

Petar Hektorović

Hektorović's life and literary work are closely linked to the political situation of that time, and also with the strengthening of the Ottoman presence in our region. It seems as if the islands were more protected because they are separated from the land by sea. As if they were in the historical reality of the sixteenth century, far from the strong force that ruled the land, except a narrow strip along the coast, (which the Venetian Republic defended, and they are mainly Dalmatian towns) and the territory that belonged to the Republic of Dubrovnik. But following Hektorović's biography, that assumption could not be confirmed. Hvar, namely Stari Grad, was repeatedly attacked by the Turkish naval forces and pirates. Croatian historian Tomo Matić in his comprehensive text *Croatian writers of Venetian Dalmatia and the life of their period* warns on the danger of pirates: "Our islands, which could not be reached from the mainland, were damaged heavily by sea pirates, and the pirates, like the Turks,

invaded our region in the period when the Venetians were not at war with the sultan. Particularly, islands Vis and Hvar had suffered greatly. "(Matić, 1970., p. 57–58). One event inspired nobleman Petar Hektorović of Stari Grad to leave the homeland. The Turks entered the Adriatic and occupied Herceg Novi. Before this danger Peter Hektorović went to the other side of the Adriatic. Under the impression of that eighteen day trip he wrote an epistle to the poet of Dubrovnik Nikola Nalješković in which he complained that muses were silent, and that it was not possible to create in those moments when a person was unhappy:

“the song does not make those who painfully alive,/ one who is tortured with grief, who is full of rage /composing songs only in peace” (Hektorović,1968., p. 242.). Justifying his cessation and the inability to create by war and discomposure, Hektorović thought about the reversal on the Adriatic when Herceg Novi became a stronghold of Turkish pirates who threatened. That is why Hektorović, a good portion of his life devoted to raise *Tvrđalj*, which was supposed to protect him against the Turkish raids, and later, after 1539, from the Turkish pirates as well. He started to build it in 1520, and according to his biographers, *Tvrđalj* is his lifetime masterpiece after *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*, i.e. the most successful poem after poem *Ribanje* (Cf. Franičević, 1983, p. 384). The literary history mostly deals, after *Ribanje*, with the epistle because it represents a paradigm of the life of our people at that time, as well as of our literates who lived on the edge of war and life, telling perhaps most about the situation of the Croatian literature at that time. During the war the muses are silent, often is heard, but the examples of Marulić and Zoranić demonstrated active participation in literary life of the nation. Hektorović withdrew into itself, rationally contemplating,

building his refuge, his mind could not be reconciled with silence, and despite the resignation he wrote somewhat later his masterpiece *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*, whose final goal was to bow to Marulić's spirit and work, who had just been intensely writing in Nečujam on the island Šolta. So he went to that archetype, to the fundamental values of the Croatian literature in the sixteenth century, and to that sacred place where he lived, to the writer of *Judita*. His three-days pilgrimage by sea was described in detail in *Ribanje*. In the epistle to Nikola Nalješković Hektorović explained what had prompted him to escape through Jadran: "Before the miracle escaping from those Turkish forces/you know, I, major part of all of us" (Hektorović, 1968., str. 243). On the journey he started with his mother and described the deleterious effects and obstacles on the way to the Latin countries: "at sea when the winds ran all around/on our evil comes who noisily stand up"(Hektorović, id.). When all the windshad changed, as the author describes, then the most dangerous, north wind came: "Holding up from the mountain, the north wind foamed/Waters could not be obedient to anyone / but started to climb towards the sky (...) I thought we all would go down together with ark." (Hektorović, id.). He lamented to Nalješković that he could not estimate which trouble was stronger, whether it was the Turkish threat if he had remained at home, or that terrible journey which he had barely survived: "On one side waters, on the other side winds blowing/on the other side the Turkish rule far from ceasing/ does not stop even for a moment, bothering us by fear" (Hektorović, 1968,p.244). He also complained how, on the way home, he found a devastated home where nothing was in place. Also, after such a return, it was simply not possible to continue with poetry. He complained that in such an absence of peace and serenity he could not write: "Reasonable Nikola, trust me really / That my mind has not yet come to a place./My heart hurts too much / Thinking about the fence behind which evil

rests./Who could sing in such a life (...)" (Hektorović, 1968., p. 245.). But despite this mourning in the epistle, dated 16th of November 1541 (a kind of lamentation), and in the age when he was somewhat languishing (Hektorović was fifty-four years old at that time), he wrote fifteen years later, in his old age, his most significant work *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*. The opus, written in 1556, and published in Venice in 1568, represents his journey towards Brač and Šolta, those places where Marulić lived and wrote. It is hard to say whether Hektorović thought he might overcome his creative crisis by visit to that place, or get out from the circle of his *Tvrđalj*. But the description of the journey has forever entered the Croatian literature. Its safe sailing and fishing gave to the Croatian renaissance literature a work that celebrates life, nature, and that is ambiguous. On one hand, the researchers of the Croatian folkloristics emphasize his recording of oral literature -it is a poem about the prince Marko and his brother Andrijaš which Paskoje sang at the beginning of the second day: "The poem about Marko Kraljević and his brother Andrijaš is the first written heroic folk poem." (Franičević, 1986., p.162), and the poem about duke Radoslav, which sang Nikola (because nobleman asked him to sing after Paskoje's poem), but also about range of oral poems which sang the fishermen travelling with Hektorović. *Ribanje* brings a series of life advices and sayings about how to live. One of Paskoje's advice for virtuous life is: "Who holds the concubine will lose wealth, /So while drinking water, he will be miserable." (Hektorović, 1999., p.103). But it also speaks about Hektorović's rational life. One anecdote tells about the shepherd on the island of Brač whom they gave to drink wine from a glass (they had forgotten to take it away), and which Hektorović got from his acquaintance (a glass purchased from Damascus), at whose bottom were Moorish letters, words written in the spirit of the renaissance "Wherever you're you, cheer fellowship!"

(Hektorović, 199, p. 71). Going back for the glass, although they were already headed for the island of Šolta, Hektorović pointed out that Paskoj talked about saving and reasonable behavior: "(We all remember): watchfulness acquires the house;/ Unwatchfulness dissolves even the great possessions" (Hektorović, 1999, p. 73). Finally, the shepherd was fair, and, after he had drunk a glass of wine, he left it ashore. Just beaming because of preserving an expensive glass, they went to Nečujam, towards the goal of their three days journey, where Marulić used to come to his godfather "Don Dujma Baništrilića": "For a long time Marko Marul was there with him, / for whom I think you've heard and read his book, / Which are taken in all parts of the world,"(Hektorović, 1999, p.67). Here Hektorović evaluates Marulić's work like Zoranić's *Planine*, and he canonized him: "But Marul is above all, the right to say, / He has the highest honour and glory." (Hektorović, 1999, p. 69). In this work Hektorović returns to his *Tvrđalj* by series of reminiscences, and the most persuasive is the description of the fishing itself, during the day or night, but under the kindling wood: "Taking the stick, they put the kindling wood on it. We went crawling quietly near the coast,/one of them paddling, the other taking the spears." (Hektorović, 1999., p. 133). On their way they met the Venetian galley which sailed from Split, and they talked to the captain about *Tvrđalj* because the commander of the galley was a Hektorović's guest. There Hektorović celebrates his park and his home, which is an ode to life or how Rafo Bogišić points out with the comment on *Ribanje*: "Hektorović's *Ribanje* is, among other things, an evidence that in the Croatian renaissance the humanist authentic experience of life and nature, despite all the potential barriers, liberated and wove a clear and whole man." (Bogišić, in 1971., p. 162). Just between the two conflicts, one in 1539 because of which he went into exile from his island and fell into difficult and dangerous temptation of restless navigation across Adriatic,

and the final conflict at Lepanto in August 1571 when Hektorović experienced the burglary and robbery of Hvar and especially of Stari Grad: "As the Christian fleet was located in Messina, Uluz Ali and other Turkish commander Karakozije came with their ship to Dalmatia. (...) On the evening of 15 August, they continued on their way and came to Hvar. (...) The citizens had fled to the fort, and on 15th, 16th and 17th of August a city duke Gierolimo Quirino did not let the Turks to oppose gunfire and they, setting fire to the monastery of St. Cross, went to Stari Grad. They enslaved and burned the city and captured several prisoners." (Fisković, 1976., str. 112). The Croatian literature learned from the authentic and engaged poets and from Marulić, the father of Croatian literature, and from Zoranić, a writer of prose, to celebrate beauty of life and nature in an authentic renaissance framework built by sea, marine environment and fragrant herbs of Adriatic and Hvar islands, despite all obstacles that life puts in a number of dangers. It also talks about how the spirit was strong and potent that in such dangers it sings freely and without any reservations celebrates the simple life finding in the motives of fishing, and peaceful sailing in his own country, its final goal and life satisfaction.

Conclusion

According to the above, i.e. the paradigmatic yield of three authors from the sixteenth century to the Croatian literature, it could be concluded that Marulić expanded genre by the Turkish themes established in the 15th century, and that the whole Marulić's opus stands between *Molitva suprotiva Turkom* and the last poem devoted to Pope Clement VIIth. On this way the Croatian national canon was founded at whose beginning the first Croatian epic *Judita*

stood, which also corresponded with the Turkish theme, because it was the result of the writer's patriotism at the time of the greatest war temptations of the Croatian people after the battle of Krbava in 1493. Marulić's example proves that the Turkish theme was one of the important themes of the Croatian literature at time when it was constituted, after the nameless medieval poets. One could see Marulić's patriotism and concern for his own people who stood alone at the edge of the east and west worrying about their freedom. Marulić focused his opus to the encouragement of the little man who in times of great change in the world's history was left alone without the help of European policies. Looking at these important Marulić's literary passages, they had another connotation, because unlike those European purposes of anti-Turkish speech that were developed "at the crossroads of XVth and XVIth century (..) as a form of eloquence throughout Europe, but in Croatia, beyond its literary messages were primarily reflexes of concern for their own homeland, and traumatic feelings of vulnerability and the testimony from the firsthand." (Tomasović, in 1984., p. 62). Like Marulić, Petar Zoranić wrote the first Croatian novel *Planine* in the turbulent thirties war and pre-war years of the XVIth century, because of the patriotic concern for the survival of his people. And he encouraged people with the fact that despite incursions from the east other shepherds remained in the mountains, and it was because they loved their heritage. Hektorović, however, between the two major invasions of Turkish pirates and the Turkish navy in the Adriatic in 1539 and in 1571 wrote his literary work, being not silent, despite the power and the war that gave no peace to muses for free creation. Just his major opus *Ribanje ribarsko prigovaranje* reveals how free life is precious, as well as the harmony between man and nature in the homeland that is not burdened by war and concern for daily survival. How "little things" of everyday life are sweet and precious, and how nice it is to enjoy them freely

in one's own country and sea, as opposed to the war and the threat that do not simply give the opportunity to create. Hektorović and Zoranić have both clearly recognized Marulić as the prototype, as the first sweep of the Croatian literature. Three authors and part of their opus, interpreted in this article, are an evidence that despite the immediate threat coming from the war, the Croatian writers found the strength and made remarkable contribution to the national canon, but also made contributions to European culture and European literature, despite the thin line of land, mountains and islands, that are left as free islands of west, towards the oncoming force of Ottoman weapons. Finally, these three opus contribute significantly to the genre spread of the Croatian literature in the sixteenth century, Marulić with an epic, which will continue in a series of achievements, from *Vazetja Sigeta grada* of Brne Karnarutić, Gundulić's *Osman*, to the literature of the XIXth century and Mažuranić's *Smrt Smail-age Čengića*, but also by the impact on the contemporary Croatian poetry: "And by the verse sample and by the message, *Judita* was highly suggestive in the line of national poetic tradition from Petar Zoranića, through Tin Ujević, Tonči Petrasov Marović, Tonko Maroević and Luka Paljetka." (Tomasović, 1999, p. 211)." (Tomasović, 1999., p. 211). In the Croatian literature Zoranić introduces a novel, yet to find its successors in the nineteenth century, while Hektorović strongly develops epistolary literature because *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* (like an epistle addressed to Nalješković) is an epistle addressed to Hjeronim Bartučević, a nobleman of Hvar and Hektorović's friend, and it came out of the scope of the common epistle in the Croatian literature of that time: " talking about the travel experiences, and especially about the fishermen Paskoje and Nikola, it completely comes out of the frameworks of the epistles. It could be also said that the *Ribanje* is an ecloga, "the ecloga pescatoria." (Franičević, 1983, p. 392). As Hektorović

described a journey, his work touches the genre travelogue, and the fact that pointed above about Hektorović's first written and published oral poem (a poem about Prince Marko and his brother Andrijaš) contributes to its value.

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