

Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci  
Pedagogická fakulta

# MAGISTER

Reflexe primárního a preprimárního vzdělávání  
ve výzkumu

2/2022

Katedra primární a preprimární pedagogiky

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Vydala a vytiskla Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, Křížkovského 8, 771 47 OLOMOUC

Evidenční číslo periodika:

**MK ČR E 20929**

**ISSN 1805-7152**

**e-ISSN 2571-1342**

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Thanks for cooperation to the whole team of reviewers who have supported the professional level of journal in this year.

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Published and printed by Palacký University in Olomouc, Křížkovského 8, 771 47 Olomouc, the Czech Republic

Registration number:

**MK ČR E 20929**

**ISSN 1805-7152**

**e-ISSN 2571-1342**

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# OBSAH

<b>Výzkumná šetření .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Croatian literature in light of Ottoman attacks to     the Adriatic Sea in the sixteenth century</b>	
Robert Bacalja.....	11
<b>Šime Starčević and the most important discussions     on language published in Zadar periodicals in the     19th century</b>	
Slavica Vrsaljko .....	37
<b>Kontakty na autory .....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>Abstrakty .....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>Informace pro autory .....</b>	<b>65</b>

Vážení kolegové,

ve druhém čísle našeho časopisu pro rok 2022 znovu otevíráme okénko do zahraničního prostředí našich kolegů z partnerských univerzit. Tentokrát publikujeme články kolegů z Chorvatska.

První článek se zaměřuje na zachycení politicko-společenského kontextu v literatuře. Tento článek vykresluje složitost situace pro život lidí a jejich kulturu v dané době. Na daný základ dále navazuje prezentace práce osobnosti z pozdější doby, která se zasloužila diskusi o počátečním vzdělávání.

Publikací těchto článků si velmi považujeme, protože umožňují rozšiřovat kulturní obraz Evropy, již jsme součástí.

Za redakční tým

Dominika Provázková Stolinská

Dear colleagues,

The second issue of our 2022 journal again offers an international section dedicated to our colleagues from partner universities. This time we decided to publish papers written by our colleagues in Croatia.

The first paper focuses on the description of the political and social context in literature. This paper portrays the complexity of the situation for the life of people and their culture at a specific time in history. This is followed by a presentation of the work of an important person from a later period who was instrumental in the discourse on initial education.

We very much appreciate the possibility to publish these papers as they enrich the cultural image of Europe which we are part of.

On behalf of the editorial team

Dominika Provázková Stolinská





Výzkumná šetření



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

Robert Bacalja

**Abstrakt:** The paper outlines the political, historical, social and cultural turmoil on the eastern Adriatic coast in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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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## Šime Starčević and the most important discussions on language published in Zadar periodicals in the 19th century

Slavica Vrsaljko

**Abstrakt:** Šime Starčević was a versatile person who, aside from writing newspaper articles, also took handwritten notes on how to prepare teaching classes at the initial stages of the educational system. However, in addition to all his activities, his involvement in the key Zadar periodicals (*Zora dalmatinska* and *Glasnik dalmatinski*) was particularly interesting, leaving a mark on the cultural life of Zadar and Dalmatia during the 19th century. His most significant discussions on language appeared in *Zora* and *Glasnik* as a testament to his linguistic maturity and prowess. In these periodicals, he dealt with three thematic frameworks which, apart from religious-enlightenment and language-related issues, focused on the social and political situation of Dalmatia at the time. This paper solely analyses his discussions on language published in *Zora* and *Glasnik*.

**Keywords:** Šime Starčević, *Zora dalmatinska*, *Glasnik dalmatinski*, language articles.

### The versatility of Šime Starčević

Šime Starčević was a versatile person, a Catholic priest by profession, a linguist by cultural creativity, and a proponent of national interests who fought for the standardization of the Croatian language. He was born in Klanec near Gospić on 18 April 1784. He attended elementary and high school in Varaždin, studied philosophy in Graz and Zagreb, and theology in Senj, where he was ordained a priest in 1808. In his autobiography, he was described as being “proficient

in Illyrian and Latin, partly in German, and a little in Italian and French, being able to read all Slavic except Seraphim”<sup>1</sup>. He knew Croatian literature well, especially linguistic works. He was the uncle and the first teacher of Ante Starčević, later the known as the Father of the Nation.

However, the most important segment of his linguistic work stands out as the *Nova ricsoslovica iliricska: vojnicsoj mladosti krajicsoj poklonjena/trudom i nastojanjem Shime Starcsevicha xupnika od Novoga u Lici*, Trieste, 1812 (reprint, Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, Zagreb, 2002), *Nova ricsoslovica iliricsko-francezka: na potribovanje vojnicsoe mladosti iliricsokih darxavah/ Mozin, Trieste, 1812, Homelie iliti Tumačenje svetog evengjelja za sve nedilje: od Došastja Gospodinova do poslednje nedilje po Duhovih*, Zadar, 1850, among which was the *Ričoslovnica*, grammar of the Croatian language. He was reluctant to publish because he did not accept printing on the then proposed Ljudevit Gaj’s orthography, which he strongly opposed. In 1812, “through the efforts and intentions of Šime Starčević, a parish priest from Novo”, the *Nova ričoslovica ilirička* saw the light of day.<sup>2</sup> The grammar was written in morphological orthography. Many have written about Starčević’s grammar, which along with the grammar review, was also described as: “(...) a combative cultural-political writing, strongly polemical and aiming to create a unique Croatian literary language as the basis of common spiritual creation, but focusing on the pure folk speech

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fran BINIČKI, »Autobiografija popa Šime Starčevića«, *Hrvatska prosvjeta* 5, 1918, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Nova ricsoslovica iliricska* (printed in Trieste in 1812) was historically extremely significant because it was the first grammar of the Croatian language written in Croatian (the previous ones were written in Latin, Italian and German). It is particularly important for the history of the Croatian language considering that it was written in Ikavian pronunciation, and it proposed the Croatian alphabet as in other Western languages, partly different from the later adopted Gaj’s alphabet with characters from the Czech language (č, ć, š, ž), which proved to be quite far-sighted in the context of the present. In the same year, Mozin also published *Nova ricsoslovica iliricsko-francezka*.

of Croatian Lika, a living, close speech, built over centuries, a speech that already tried his hand in art and scientific books in pre-Turkish times". Vladimir Anić, evaluating the linguistic work of Šime Starčević, stated that his grammar was a grammar of literary language, not a grammar of Lika speech or a linear description of a dialectal structure. For Starčević, the languages of the simple men from Primorje, Kotar, Bosnia and Slavonia were the real foundation for the general Croatian literary language, and he advocated for the Ikavian pronunciation and opposed the Ijekavian pronunciation typical for Dubrovnik. He was very adamant in noting that he wanted to preserve the continuity of the language of the Croatian Štokavian Ikavian literature.

In more recent times, Father Valentin Miklobušec, the archivist of the Society of Jesus in Zagreb, informed the public that the manuscripts of Šime Starčević were found in the estate of priest Davorin (Martin) Krmpotić in 2008<sup>3</sup>. There were more than a thousand sheets, complete manuscripts and fragments of larger units, some of which were signed by Šime Starčević. In the archive, the materials have been classified into two groups: labelled A - linguistic texts and B - religious texts. These, in addition to the manuscript<sup>4</sup> that was kept in the Sacred Heritage of Senj, remain the only manuscripts of Šime Starčević found thus far.<sup>5</sup>

Even the titles of the texts found indicate that they were intended for school and learning. In them, he particularly discussed language learning, obviously dissatisfied with the position in teaching

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<sup>3</sup> Krmpotić, Davorin, Croatian priest (Veljun near Senj, 1867- Arizona, USA, 1931) (Opći religijski leksikon, 2002:480)

<sup>4</sup> A manuscript, titled *Kratki i gladki ODGOVORI na ona, Koja se ponajviše, i naj obširnije govore suprot VIRE, I BOGOSHTOVJU*, translation from the French original.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Grahovac-Pražić, Vesna, "Udžbenički diskurs u rukopisnoj ostavštini Šime Starčevića": *Šime Starčević i hrvatska kultura u 19. stoljeću: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa Šime Starčević i hrvatska kultura u 19. stoljeću* Gospić, 2014 137-153

and approaches to learning; he wrote that there was no real way of “planting into the soft hearts of little children” and continued by stating that he wanted to help with this booklet that he translated from a foreign language, finally writing in Latin and Cyrillic so that every “child, whether Catholic or Christian, with a little effort and a poor teacher, can not only learn in both ways and regularly defend it, and write if he/she wants to”, but receive God’s teachings. It is clear that reading and writing were taught separately, i.e., that the primary focus was to learn to read. After the preface, there is a board with Latin and Cyrillic letters, followed by six units for initials spelling, and after the students have mastered the reading technique, the most extensive chapter follows - *Uhod u Shtivenje* (eng. *Introduction to Reading*) (29 chapters + 9 in Cyrillic). *Parts of religious studies* (From God, From prayer...) and general knowledge (about the sea, water, government, man, memory, disease, land...) alternate. Thus, in the section titled *Od Razdiljenja Vladanjah*, he provides information on colleges, which were places with classrooms that served as houses or rooms where the youth could learn, after which he lists the teaching areas: worship and various sciences, such sciences especially represent the “language of their people and homelands, and languages that are not spoken... penmanship, astronomy, diplomacy, narrative writing, philosophy, religion, law and art” (cro. *Liposlovka, Zvizdoznanstvo, Kopnomirje, Dogodovshchina iliti Zgodopisanje, Mudroslovstvo, Bogoslovstvo, Zakononauk, aliti Pravdoznanstvo i Likarstvo*). This is followed by a chapter with language lessons - *Nadometak*. These include rules about sounds, syllables, dividing them into syllables, reading, punctuation, accents, pronunciation (cro. *Od promine glasa*);



for instance, the author instructs how to use the quotation marks („”) properly in Croatian.<sup>6</sup>

Starčević's sense for everything that was “purely Croatian” was evidenced by his desire to achieve linguistic purity. His *Riscoslovica* shows that the Croatian language was completely developed at the beginning of the 19th century, as it was possible to write a professional text without the use of loanwords. It is not enough to say that it was written in Croatian, given that the type of Croatian should also be stated - Croatian without loanwords.<sup>7</sup> In addition, all previous grammars were either written in another language (Latin, Italian, German) or were bilingual. Tafra (143-145) compared Starčević's grammar with other Croatian grammars and observed that Aluzjije Torkvat Brlić (in 1854) and Antun Mažuranić (in 1859) described the Neo-Shtokavian four-tone system and stated that Starčević was the first in noting it as well.

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Unosila („”) postavljaju se na početku, i na svršetku govora, koi se iz tugjih ustah, ali knjigah u svoje pismo uvodi. (Ričoslovje, 2009:10)“ postavljena na kraju svakoga redka tugjega govorenja, kako si vidio na§.16, koji se na svarhi uzbardo okrichu“, (Nova Ricoslovica iliriska, 1812:112)“.../ jesu dva poteza, koja se mechu na pocselu svakoga redka, kada se tugje govorenje na parvo izvodi, ili iz druge knjige donosi, i kad se svarshi, naopako se postavljaju./.../ (Nova ricsoslovica iliricko-francezka, 1812:162)

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Branka TAFRA, “Starčevićeva ričoslovica – 150 godina poslije”, *Jezik* 5, 2002, p. 165–175.

## Zora and Glasnik – Zadar newspapers of the 19th century

More than three decades after *Kraljski Dalmatin* ceased publication, the first revivalist paper outside Zagreb, *Zora dalmatinska*, appeared. In the 1940s, the intensity of literary production in the Croatian language had certain continuity, and the beginnings of national awakening slowly but surely strengthened. The publication of *Zora*, after two years of waiting (the request for publication was submitted in August 1842), resonated strongly in Preradović's occasional poem *Zora puca* (the first issue of *Zora* was published on 1 January 1844<sup>8</sup>).<sup>9</sup> In the 1940s Ante Kuzmanić, with his *Zora dalmatinska*, advocated for Croatian national unity and for the political and territorial unification of all Croatian countries.<sup>10</sup> With his persistent and principled position regarding typography, Šime Starčević had a considerable influence on the typography of *Zora*, especially at the time when Kuzmanić was the editor, as they were like-minded in many important aspects of the Croatian language and orthography. Due to decisive influence by Kuzmanić and Starčević, the Slavonic-Dalmatian script always prevailed in *Zora*, while the Illyrian script was used under other editors. The two of them and *Zora's* other associates were in favour of the Croatian consensus, the only question was whether the centripetal force of Zagreb would prevail or whether the Dalmatians, along with some prominent Slavonians (Brlić,

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Vjekoslav Maštrović, *Pripreme za izdanje Zore Dalmatinske u Zadru god. 1842 i 1843*. Radovi institute JAZU u Zadru, IV-V, 85-116, Zagreb, 1959.

<sup>9</sup> The editors of *Zora dalmatinska* were: Ante Kuzmanić, August Ivan Kaznačić (1845), Nikola Valentić (1846) and briefly the Battara brothers. Croatian philology primarily emphasizes *Zora's* importance as the centre of the Zadar philological school.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Tihomil MAŠTROVIĆ, *Kroatizam Ante Kuzmanića, i Zore dalmatinske, Zora dalmatinska (1844-1849)*, Zadar, Matica hrvatska – Zadar branch, 1995, p. 62-63.

for example) would be the Croatian cultural-linguistic and political headquarters.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, the publication of *Glasnik dalmatinski*, for the most part, coincided with the period of Bach's absolutism. The essential characteristic of the aforementioned period was the literary stagnation that affected Croatia, and was particularly strongly reflected in Dalmatia. The period of Bach's absolutism has been beautifully and metaphorically described by Vinko Kisić in his book *Osvit u Dalmaciji* (eng. Dawn in Dalmatia): In 1851, thanks to Minister Bach, absolutism was proclaimed and thus a thick snow fell on the popular rising in Dalmatia. But the seed was planted deep in the ground and germinated under the frost of Bach's dark times. The year 1848 sowed good seeds, it was the first daybreak, the dawn of the national revival of Dalmatia.<sup>12</sup>

The 1950s marked a very important period (admittedly, the optimism and enthusiasm in politics and literature of the 1930s and 1940s had died down, with many Croatian public and cultural professionals withdrawing from the public) because linguistic schools were being formed, which also brought openness to new possibilities for the development of language concepts. *Glasnik dalmatinski* was published for eighteen years from 1849 to 1866.<sup>13</sup> The language and editorial policy of the *Glasnik dalmatinski* changed over time and it was published in the Ikavian language as well. However, during the editing period of Ante Kuzmanić from 1864 to 1866, it was

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<sup>11</sup> DEROSI, Julije, "Pop Šime Stračević i Zora dalmatinska", *Zadarska smotra* 3-4, 1995.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Vinko KISIĆ, *Osvit u Dalmaciji*, Zadar, Brzotisač "Narodnog lista", 1909, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> During that period, *Glasnik* had four editors. From its launch until 1855, it was edited by Ante Kuzmanić, from 1855 to 1859 by Antun Kazali, 1860 and 1861 by Jovan Sundečić, and from 1861 to 1864 by Stipan Ivičević. For the last two years of *Glasnik's* publication, Ante Kuzmanić once again took over the editorial baton.

published in the Ikavian language.<sup>14</sup> In the first issue, Ante Kuzmanić wrote in the *Opomena* (eng. Warning) article: “Here is a new Paper for teachings and development of our Croatian arm in Dalmatia. Not only the most important events happening around the world in this time of ours will be published and described in it, but it will sometimes more or less have articles on different professions of human science, so that writers, pastors, artisans and craftsmen can derive benefit from them ”<sup>15</sup> As evident, Kuzmanić did not give up on Ikavian even in *Glasnik*. *Glasnik* had three sections: the official part of the paper, then the unofficial part in which news from different countries were published, and finally the literary page in which articles from various social activities were published, as well as short stories, poems, proverbs, etc.<sup>16</sup> It was published twice a week.

Looking at the period that preceded and followed the publication of *Glasnik dalmatinski*, it is more apparent why the language debates were one of the most interesting parts of *Glasnik dalmatinski*, in which Šime Starčević participated heartily. The entire 19th century in Dalmatia was marked by the desire for political unification with Banska Hrvatska. On the other hand, the generation of national-populists in the 1960s wanted to preserve the Dalmatian distinctiveness, the cultural and economic autonomy of Dalmatia within a larger national association, while the 1980s were marked by right-wingers with a very clear and decisive position on the annexation of Dalmatia to northern Croatia.

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Vjekoslav Maštrović, *Jadertina Croatica*, JAZU, Zagreb, 1954., p. 12-14.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Glasnik dalmatinski*, 1849(1), p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Vjekoslav MAŠTROVIĆ, *Jadertina Croatica II. dio*, Zagreb, JAZU, 1954.

Members of the Zadar cultural circle welcomed the revival movements of the 1930s in northern Croatia, although among Dalmatian intellectuals there existed the thought that it was pretentious to turn Dalmatia into Croatia, pointing out that Dalmatia had its own rich culture and literature. In the later decades, i.e., in the 40s and 50s, this same thought still clearly lived within certain members of the intellectual elites in Dalmatia, i.e., that Dalmatia could be the shaper of the modern Croatian nation<sup>17</sup>, a thought that preoccupied Šime Starčević and the members of the Zadar linguistic and cultural circle as well. It was only after Bach's absolutism that the time arrived to give up on these possibilities. Likewise, in the 1950s, there were several doubts among the Croatian public: "Should we continue to create a common literary Illyrian language for all southern Slavs; should we limit ourselves to one literary language for Serbs and Croats, or should we perhaps focus only on shaping the Croatian literary language, regardless of the Serbian language?"<sup>18</sup>

All doubts found their place on the pages of *Zora and Glasnik*. These pages were home to many heated debates with Zagreb's *Narodne novine*, clashing two positions on the literary language. The one represented by the Illyrians, which was reflected in the *Narodne novine* on the unique South Slavic language, and the one represented by Ante Kuzmanić, Šime Starčević and members of the Zadar language circle, which was based on the need to shape the Croatian literary language on the basis of the Shtokavian-Ikavian dialect, taking into account the old Croatian writers of Shtokavian-Ikavian dialect in Dalmatia, Lika, Bosnia

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<sup>17</sup> A modern nation is a more or less centrally formed state organization on a predominantly monolingual territory with a tradition of territorial-political historical unity. Cf. Tereza GANZA ARAS, "Zašto Matica dalmatinska a ne Matica hrvatska u Dalmaciji", *Zadarska smotra*, Zadar, 1994, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Zlatko VINCE, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 2002, p. 394.

and Herzegovina and Slavonia. Even after the cessation of publication of the aforementioned newspapers in the 1950s, the Croatian public still had doubts: “(...) should we continue to create a common literary Illyrian language for all southern Slavs; should we limit ourselves to one literary language for Serbs and Croats, or should we perhaps focus only on shaping the Croatian literary language, regardless of the Serbian language”.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, in its 22nd issue, in 1850, in the article “Što je novoga?” (eng. What’s new?), he harshly attacked *Glasnik dalmatinski* that, according to him, did not justify its original goal: “So that our people become familiar with events famous in the world and in our Empire, that they learn good and useful things, and are guided to all legal order and mutual love; and shake off the herd of superstitious thoughts and feelings, which only arise from ignorance and stupidity”.<sup>20</sup>

He reproached *Glasnik* for never writing about national schools, or about national education, instead of publishing articles about “religious hatred” and attacking important personalities who were responsible for the nation and literature. He expressed his fear that the Government would not tolerate this kind of editorial policy, but would leave the editorial role to someone else who would know it and want it. At the end, he stated: “The news from Zadar indicate that a group is gathering, which is going to eliminate the Zagreb orthography from our books, published in Dalmatia, and to include again the old Dalmatian! They say that the editor of *Glasnik* is in that circle of discord”.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> VINCE, Zlatko, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 2002, p. 394

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Glasnik dalmatinski*, 1850(21), p. 44.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

## Starčević's vision of the language given in *Zora* and *Glasnik*<sup>22</sup>

Zlatko Vince in the book *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika* (eng. Paths of the Croatian Literary Language) defined two fundamental periods of the linguistic activity of Šime Starčević: the era of Napoleon's Illyria and the era of the forties and fifties, when he participated in *Zora dalmatinska* and *Glasnik dalmatinska*.<sup>23</sup>

The linguistic articles published in both newspapers can serve as arguments for the (non)introduction of the Zagreb orthography or language-advisory character, as well as a critical review of the content of the Vienna Agreement.

He provided his clear linguistic and orthographic opinions in his first publication in *Zora* no. 32 from 1844, stating: "No Croat, no Slavs from the right side of the Danube river in their new orthography ridiculously insult the noble and graceful Latin letters, when they plant horns on their heads and stick spikes onto their brains... Thus far, Croats wrote in pure and graceful Latin, Jerome and Cyrillic script without any spikes and horns." It was his guiding principle that could be observed in *Ričoslovica* from 1812 as well. Apart from that, *Zora's* goal, as Starčević states, was to enlighten the people through thorough knowledge of the language because: "those who do not know how to protect, write, and speak properly, they do not know the proper language" (*Zora*, no. 1, year 4, 1847, p. 4). In addition to clearly

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<sup>22</sup> The paper used some examples taken from the following works: Bacalja, Robert; Ivon, Katarina; Vrsaljko, Slavica. Šime Starčević i *Glasnik dalmatinski*, *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 2013. 71.; Bacalja, Robert; Ivon, Katarina; Vrsaljko, Slavica, Šime Starčević od *Zore* do *Glasnika*. *Šime Starčević i hrvatska kultura u 19. Stoljeću: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa* Šime Starčević i hrvatska kultura u 19. stoljeću Gospić, 2014 9-23.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 418.

expressing his stance on the enlightening role of language, it is interesting to note that Starčević's writing style was always reduced to asking argumentative questions to which he gave reasoned answers.

Therefore, he asked five questions in order to answer what the *Pravopis Zagrebački* (eng. Zagreb orthography) was, why it was called *Organički* (eng. Organic), was it *obchinski* (eng. general) and, finally, should it have been accepted or rejected? He immediately strongly opposed the appearance of the letters coming from that orthography, which gave importance to the appearance of the letters themselves, and not to the function. His opposition was clear as he stated that the Latin letters *c, e, s, z* turn into freaks and are abnormal, as they have to wear horns in the form of *ć, č, ě, š, ž*. Therefore, *Organički Pravopisn* (eng. The general orthography) disfigures letters. (Ibid) He clearly stated that Kranjci and Croats from the three river-part areas (Sutla, Sava and Drava) do not have these speech sounds. This approach, as Starčević noted, clearly caused confusion among the people, even though *Zora dalmatinska* advocated for peace and enlightenment and *should use clear Latin letters*.

He also vigorously discussed the issue of *jat*, he opposed the horned as it ignored all other possible pronunciations, e.g.: "(...) I pronounce sime, slime, vrime, dite, and the *Organički Pravopis* of this word of mine states: *sěme, slěme, vrěme, děte*". (Idem) That approach seems unclear, while according to him, the principle is much clearer: *Who speaks the i should write i, who speaks the e should write e*. It is quite clear that this approach negates the Croatian written tradition, particularly the Glagolitic script. He addressed the pronunciation of phonemic groups, commenting on their rule according to which those letters that cannot be placed at the beginning of a word cannot be placed in the middle either. However, he stated that, within the language, we have words like *skoda, skare* or words



that appear as follows in the fifth case: instead of *momče, junače* it is *momke! junake!*. Such approach certainly goes against the principles of Zora.

In the second part of the article, he answered how the Zagreb orthography came to be. The Germans took these letters from the Czechs, and the Poles took them from the Germans. And so, the Czech and later Polish letters were “brought” to Zagreb in 1835.

The third question dealt with the issue of the name; why the orthography was called *Organički*. In *Danica* they are called *Diakritički*, and elsewhere *Organički*. He talked about the name diacritic with a hint of irony because: “It could be that there was a savant Pole, whom we didn’t know about until now, whose name was Diakrič”. (Zora, no. 2, year 4, p. 10) On the other hand, the origin of the word *Organički* indicates that the Czech word is from the Latin root *organum, civnik, orgule, oruđe*, which according to him has nothing to do with orthography. What he stated again and again was the reference to the Glagolitic and Cyrillic written tradition, which was in no way related to the Czech orthography, although his knowledge of the language was commendable.

The fourth question referred to whether the Zagreb general orthography was horned. He stated that the Illyrian people could not be taken as a *general consensus*, as this proposed orthography should have been used in the Croatian Littoral, in three Counties, and in eight Districts. In the aforementioned fields and beyond them, this orthography was not well known. However, he referred to the decision of *Zora dalmatinska*, and in order to try to reach a general agreement, a question posed itself whether this orthography should even be published for the masses. However, it was clear that the people of Dalmatia strongly opposed it. It was quite clear that the orthography was applicable only in Zagreb and in its surroundings.

The last question referred to whether the Zagreb orthography should be accepted or rejected. Here, in order to argue his opposition to the acceptance of the Zagreb orthography, he talked about the Croatian written tradition from Glagolitic glossaries, Dubrovnik's written tradition in the 14th century and Jambrešić's dictionary with a fairly rich vocabulary with Latin letters. Starčević noted that the orthography solutions he offered were the only way to unite all Croatian countries. He further stated that we had the Old Glagolitic script, the Cyrillic script, and the beautiful Latin letters. These Latin letters did not carry any *horns* nor diacritical marks because they offer *purely composed consonants: ch, cs, dj, gj, lj, nj, sh*. With this, all Illyrians were able to write everything clearly and correctly in accordance with their speech. (Ibid., p.12) With compound consonants, the orthography would match that of European countries such as Germany, France and Italy. Starčević's extensive article ended with columns which showed how the people of Zagreb began to write, and how those who knew the language wrote.

Neokresano.

Organicko.

Ugladjeno.

Ded, died, d-jed, gjed

děd

*did*

Examples were taken from an article published in *Karlobag 21 November 1846*.

He published an article similar to the above in *Glasnik*, continuing to deal with language issues in *Glasnik* in almost the same way. He continued to strongly oppose Zagreb's orthographic solutions, which is especially evident in the extensive article *Pet slovah rogatihć, č, ě, š, ž* (eng. Five horned letters ć, č, ě, š, ž). It was important to Starčević to raise and discuss some of the fundamental questions that interested him in both newspapers. Among other things, he indicated the statement of a new Illyrian student of "Zagrebački Novarah" who said: "Why would Dalmatia care about five letters, whether they have horns or not? Do these writings behave as signs, can we use it to write words?"<sup>24</sup> His argument was that letters, like everything else, were God-given and this problem could not be approached senselessly.<sup>25</sup>

Starčević already expressed his disagreement with the introduction of these five graphemes in the title as he mockingly called them horned.<sup>26</sup> He advocated using French and Italian graphemes,

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 1850(25), p. 51.

<sup>25</sup> Ljudevit Gaj composed a script based on the Czech script. He presented his ideas in the booklet *Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisańa, poleg mudroľubneh narodneh i prigospodameh temel'ov i zrokov – Kurzer Entwurf einer kroatischen Orthographie nach philosophischen, nazionälen und ökonischen Grundsätzen*, in which he proposed the characters č, đ, ĝ, ñ, š, ž instead of digrams. He found the reasons for such language solutions in the fact that Czechs and Poles would read Croatian books in such way. In later articles, he deviated from such solutions with an excessive number of "marks" and leaves only the characters č, ž, š with a diacritical mark. Writing about Šime Starčević, his cousin dr. Mile Starčević clearly stated that: "Starčević's orthography and making the Latin alphabet more Croatian was somewhat different from what Gaj did, the Czech script, which we inherited and learned. Assuming that a Latin letter must not change its character, he wrote č as cs, ž as x. š as sh, ć as ch." Cf. Mile STARČEVIĆ, "Tragom popa Šime. Pop Šime Starčević i zagrebački knjižar Župan", *Hrvatska revija* 2:9, 1942, p. 20–26. His non-acceptance of Gaj's graphic solution is also evidenced by the extensive polemical article *Pet slovah rogatih* (eng. Five horned letters).

<sup>26</sup> In the letter that priest Šime Starčević wrote to Franje Župan, a bookseller in Zagreb, he names the letters with diacritical mark horned and *csepurasta*.

and not those that came from Czech,<sup>27</sup> Russian, Polish and Old Slavonic traditions. When it comes to language advice, there was a desire for linguistic purity. In his *Riscoslovica*, Starčević also showed that the Croatian language was completely developed at the beginning of the 19th century, because it was possible to write a professional text without loanwords. In the article *Pet slova rogatihč, ć, ě, š, ž* he was aware of the fact that Russian, Czech and Polish shared many similarities with the Croatian language, but the meanings of individual words were not aligned with Croatian language because they meant something completely different cross-linguistically. He cited several examples with which he substantiated the stated claim: “passion is a completely Russian word, in our language it means suffering, i.e., patience and suffering, and troubles, 2. it means death”. He further stated that our journalists take the word with its own meanings and then use it in their way, as Starčević says. Likewise, he did not accept words made of “small clustered words”, he didn’t like the word *strahopočitanie* (eng. veneration), because he thought that the two words that make the clustered word were composed of “holiness and wisdom; these two words are understood by every citizen and villager”.<sup>28</sup> The idea was that the meaning of those two words was easier to discover than the meaning of the compound, which was “compact”.

The last part of the article on “horned” letters was titled: *Jedna naprošnji s Pemskim, Ruskim, Poljskim, i Staroslavjanskim ričima napunjena torbica* in which he talked about the fact that everyone should know how to speak Croatian. “They speak it on the right side of the Kupa and the Sava river, in all of Croatia, in Slavonia, in Bosnia, in Herzegovina, in Albania, in the entire Dalmatia”, as evidenced

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<sup>27</sup> Refers to the Czech language.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

by the books we remain “proud of”. Therefore, it was completely unnecessary to use “foreign words”, because in fields where we had “knowledge, we had our words”.

He especially talked about the meaning of “our own Croatian language in order to lead, perform, conduct” etc. where he cited a whole series of derivatives from the root of the word *zavod* (e.g. *voditi*, *izvoditi*, *navoditi*, *provoditi*) in the article entitled *Što je zavod?*. However, he noted that “our Rovari and Novari lead the people astray”<sup>29</sup> because for them the word *zavod* is a word which in Latin means “Institutum orpfnarum” or “orphanage” in Croatian.<sup>30</sup>

In the article *Prijateljska opomena* (Zora, no. 16, year 4, p. 114), he stated that the warning was addressed to everyone, especially those who wish to destroy what was built. Of course, those who were babbling were actually those who claim that the Zagreb’s horned one was the new orthography with its true name *Ilirski Pravopis* (eng. Illyrian Orthography). In fact, he referred to the article published in *Novine Dalmatinsko-Hervatsko-Slavonske* “in the current year number 8 on page 31”. In the aforementioned article, he talked about the criticism that the author, whose name he does not mention, was addressing to him, Šime Starčević. Starčević believed that the author of the article was deluded and needed to open his eyes as his theory was not acceptable. In order to argue this, he cited the example of Iagnacijo Alojzije Brlić, who was a lover of Illyrian literature, but was forced to print his *Garmatika iliti Riçoslovje* (eng. grammar) using the horned orthography, not because he denied our linguistic tradition, but to indulge the ones who wanted it.

In the second part of the article of the same name, he specifically mentioned Vjekoslav Babukić. He also mentioned the specific

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<sup>29</sup> Consult the text for an explanation of the terms rovari and novari.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Glasnik dalmatinski*, 1850(23), p. 48.

language preferences of the author of the article and his language suggestions, for example: *dobiti chemo učeno **drustvo** za koi dan potvrđeno od milostive vlade, na skoro* (eng. in a few days we will have learned society, confirmed by the gracious government, soon). (Ibid., p. 118) He particularly refers to the construction *za koi dan* (eng. in a few days), stating that it is not clearly specified, and it would be more precise to say *na skoro* (eng. soon) or *do malo danah* (eng. in just a few days). Therefore, he concluded it to be necessary to form a new orthography in order to be able to progress in science, among other things. And it would be more acceptable to accept the pure Dalmatian-Illyrian language, in which the Croats from the three river-part areas (Sutla, Sava and Drava) and the new Illyrians of Zagreb created the periodicals *List od Novinah* and *List od Danice*, and opened a new school to learn this pure Illyrian language, with which the Dalmatians already speak. (ibid., p. 119) He clearly stated that Dalmatia has its own long academic tradition and that it did not fall behind other regions in any way. The extensive article ends with a warning: *God forbid that the people of Dalmatia would have to learn the new Zagreb language; and God forbid that such a learned **Society** would be created, which would be confirmed in a few days.* (Ibid., p.119)

In addition to a detailed review of orthography and the possible acceptance of the Zagreb one, Starčević published an article of a linguistic and advisory nature entitled *Jezikonauk* (no. 23, year 4, 1847) in which he stated the difference between the tenses *Trajateljnim* and *Sversiteljnim*. The *Trajateljni* shows the state regardless of the beginning, and the **end** of the state. On the other hand, the *Sversiteljni* is the one stating the completed action. As an example, he cited several verbs that differ in their declension. In the article published in *Glasnik* entitled *Kako stoje novice iz Bukovice? u člankah 8* (eng. How are the novice from Bukovica?

from article 8) he complained to the Lord about the inadequate use of the verbs *sumnjiti* and *dvojiti* (eng. to doubt). Starčević noted that we doubt (*sumnjimo*) when we are afraid, that what we do not want is being done, but we have no real reason to think like that, and we use the verb *dvojiti* when we have strong reasons for and against a subject. In fact, he only explained how the Lord did not correctly write *Ne ima sumnje*, but instead should have wrote *Neima dvojnosti*.<sup>31</sup> On the same note, he published an article in *Zora* bearing a linguistic and advisory nature entitled *Jezikonauk* (No. 23, year 4, 1847)

### Starčević's view on the so-called Vienna Agreement<sup>32</sup>

Previously, very similar thematic aspects from both magazines were shown. However, addressing the initial strategies for the possible standardization of the Croatian literary language were given in the so-called Vienna Agreement, which Starčević critically reviewed in *Glasnik*, even though the history of the Croatian standard went in a different direction.

In *Glasnik* in 1850, through several issues, Starčević referred to the provisions of the so-called **Literary** agreement, where he only recognized the decision that a new language could not be built by mixing dialects, “(...) it is not right to use dialects to build

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 1850(21), p.46.

<sup>32</sup> Concluded in Vienna on 28 March 1850 (signatories: Ivan Kukuljević, Dimitrije Demetar, Ivan Mažuranić, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Vinko Pacel, Franjo Miklošič, Stjepan Pejaković and Đuro Daničić), first published in *Narodne novine* (no. 76, in 1850), the Ikavian version supplemented with Starčević's comments, was published in *Glasnik dalmatinski* in three issues: Š. Starčević: *Književni dogovor I.*, GD, no. 44, Zadar, 31 May 1850, p.175-176; *Književni dogovor II.*, GD, no. 46. Zadar, June 1850, p.184; *Odgovor na Književni dogovor II.*, GD, no. 48, Zadar, 14 June 1850, p. 192; *Književni dogovor III.*, *Književni dogovor IV.*, *Književni dogovor V.*, GD, no. 51, Zadar, 25 June 1850, p. 201-202. (Starčević, edited and accompanied by Ante Selak, note 34, 2009:156)

something new, which does not exist with the people; it is better to choose one of the dialects to be the literary language".<sup>33</sup> A question arises as to what did Starčević mean by "dialect", i.e., what did he want to express with it. Selak stated that Starčević was aware of the difficulty of introducing a single dialect for everyone, and that such a thing would only be possible if one language and with its rules was introduced into public schools and textbooks. However, this process would have taken a long time.<sup>34</sup>

He harshly criticized the point where the acceptance of the Jekavian dialect is discussed, suggesting that the basis of the literary language for all Croats should be the Ikavian because "all Catholics on the right side of the Kupa and the Sava river, as well as the Turks Croats, Bosnians, people from Herzegovina and people from Dalmatia" use this dialect. Due to his eloquent efforts to affirm his linguistic solution, i.e., to prove the justification of the introduction of the Ikavian dialect, in the literature he was called an "arrogant philologist, a fanatic of the Ikavian dialect".<sup>35</sup> In addition to the fact that a large number of Croats speak Ikavian, Starčević emphasized the importance of the Croatian literary tradition written in the Ikavian version because he was deeply aware of the importance of Dubrovnik's literature for the Croatian language and culture. He knew that Dubrovnik had the most important books in which we find *ije* and *je*, but he found the reason for such writing in the fact that that same city was surrounded by neighbours who use the same script, therefore, they could not write otherwise. He partially accepted the third point of the *Agreement*, which says that the sound *h* should be written where

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Ante SELAK, *Šime Starčević Ričoslovje*, Zagreb, Pergamena, 2009, p. 157.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Dubravko JELČIĆ, *Preporod književnosti i književnost preporoda*, Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1993, p. 49.



it belongs according to etymology, but he resented the fact that Jekavian dialect was accepted as literary, which had little to none of the *h* sound.

He also opposed the fourth point of the *Agreement*, which did not accept the writing of the *h* sound in the genitive case (*vodah*, *ženah*), he believed that by writing that **sound** in the genitive case, it would be easier to distinguish the nominative singular from the genitive plural in *e*-declination nouns. He also rejected the fifth point, which demanded that the syllabic /r/ not be written with the two letters *ser* or *ar*, considering that these accompanying sounds are still heard. The issues of writing the grapheme *h* and the syllabic /r/ are problems that have been present in Croatian linguistics for many years. Starčević's insistence on purist linguistic solutions, visible in his rejection of Vuk's linguistic conception, of Old Church Slavonicism and Russism, as well as his sharp opposition to the suppression and marginalization of any language, and the direction in which the development of the Croatian standard went, resulted in a certain neglect of his linguistic activities.

## Conclusion

The paper tried to raise awareness of the importance of Šime Starčević's work as a versatile person. In addition to writing newspaper articles, Father Valentin Miklobušec, the archivist of the Society of Jesus, found the manuscripts of Šime Starčević in 2008 as a part of the legacy of the priest Davorin (Martin) Krmpotić. The analysis revealed that these were handwritten texts for elementary classes. In these texts, Starčević showed his desire to create and teach by writing textbooks. However, this paper primarily explored

his creative focus during the period of his collaboration with the newspapers *Zora* and *Glasnik*, where he consistently defended and promoted his linguistic views, along with Ante Kuzmanić, and clashed with Gaj's Illyrians, both over language and over typography. Even when the Illyrian script became generally accepted in 1849, when the minutes of the Croatian Parliament were written for the first time according to the norms of the Zagreb philological school, and when *Zora dalmatinska* and its then editor Kuzmanić accepted Gaj's orthography, Starčević still refused to give in - he did not give up on Ikavian. In *Glasnik*, which continued the linguistic policy of *Zora dalmatinska*, he harshly criticized the "five horned letters". The last issue of *Zora dalmatinska* was published on 25 June 1849, and in the same year Kuzmanić launched *Glasnik dalmatinski*, an administrative-political newspaper with a literary section. Šime Starčević collaborated with *Glasnik dalmatinski* between 1849 and 1850. During that period, he wrote a series of articles on different topics. In addition to the religious-enlightenment situation, he maintained interest in the socio-political situation at that time. Although the paper exclusively dealt with his language-related work, it should be noted that these topics are not mutually exclusive but interpenetrate and complement each other, as evidenced in Starčević's work which incorporated his religious and enlightened views.

In both *Zora* and *Glasnik*, he remained consistent with his linguistic orientations, sharp-tongued both as a linguist and as a priest. From the first article published in *Zora* to the last one published in *Glasnik*, he approached language issues thoroughly and systematically without renouncing his original ideas. His persona and work remain an inexhaustible issue of the 19th century and something that has been neglected in the Croatian linguistic tradition

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## Abstrakty

**Robert Bacalja.**

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

**Abstrakt:** The paper outlines the political, historical, social and cultural turmoil on the eastern Adriatic coast in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> century, influenced by writers belonging to different cultural spheres in the cities of the Adriatic coast (especially in Zadar, Split, Hvar and Dubrovnik).

**Slavica Vrsaljko.**

***Šime Starčević and the most important discussions on language published in Zadar periodicals in the 19th century***

**Abstrakt:** Šime Starčević was a versatile person who, aside from writing newspaper articles, also took handwritten notes on how to prepare teaching classes at the initial stages of the educational system. However, in addition to all his activities, his involvement in the key Zadar periodicals (*Zora dalmatinska* and *Glasnik dalmatinski*) was particularly interesting, leaving a mark on the cultural life of Zadar and Dalmatia during the 19th century. His most significant discussions on language appeared in *Zora* and *Glasnik* as a testament to his linguistic maturity and prowess. In these periodicals, he dealt with three thematic frameworks which, apart from religious-enlightenment and language-related issues, focused on

the social and political situation of Dalmatia at the time. This paper solely analyses his discussions on language published in *Zora* and *Glasnik*.

**Keywords:** Šime Starčević, *Zora dalmatinska*, *Glasnik dalmatinski*, language articles.



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