GUNDULIĆ AND HIS OSMAN

For so important a Dubrovnik writer relatively little is known of Gundulics life. His family was a very old patrician stock which is mentioned in documents as early as the XIII century. The name Gondola would appear to stem from the Greek - a drinking vessel - or - a boate Givo or Ivan lived from 1589 to 1638 when he died from a fever, probably pieurisy. Although he held various official posts, as became an aristocratiof the Republic, he never became Rector (knez) since he did not attain the age of fifty, requisite for such an appointment. He was a judge and twice Rector (knez) of Konavle. On the other hand, there is some doubt both concerning his career and education. Some writers have affirmed that he was educated partly in Italy, as were so many of his class in Dubrovnik, while Franjo Svelec points out that there is no certain proof that he ever left Dubrovnik soil. 3

Little is known of his education although, even if he did not go to Italy, it was certainly in Italian and Latin. It is unlikely that he was educated by Jesuits, since the Republic did not allow the Jesuits to open a college there until 1604. One of his probable teachers was Camillo Camini who may have introduced him to the works of Torquato Tasso.⁴

In his thirtieth year Gundulić married Nikoleta Sjerković and had three sons and two daughters. Of his sons the eldest, Frano, entered the Austrian army and died as a Field-Marshal in 1700. His son Šiško (1633-1682) was also a writer and is considered the author of the play *Sunčanica* written in 1662.5

Gundulić's works have not all been preserved. In his introduction to his translation of the psalms of David (*Pjesni pokorni kralja Davida*), published in 1621, Gundulić mentions, as sins of his youth, ten plays, of which only *Arijadna*, a translation

V. K. Zaitsev, Mezhdu L'vom i Drakonom [Between the Lion and the Dragon] (Minsk: Nauka i tehnika, 1969), p.50.

² Ibid., p.49.

³ Franjo Švelec, Povijest hrvatske književnosti [A History of Croatian Literature] (Zagreb: Liber-Mladost, 1974), p.187.

⁴ Zaitsev, Mezhdu L'vom i Drakonom, p.49.

⁵ Josip Hamm, Gundulićeva Sunčanica [Gundulić's Sunčanica], Gradja za povijest hrvatske književnosti, 23 (1962), attempts, in my view unsuccessfully, to prove that the author of this play was Gundulić himself.

of Arianna by the Italian Ottavio Rinuccini, and Prozerpina, Dijana and Armida (a fragment of Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata) remain. These works may largely be considered those of a beginner and of little intrinsic worth. Pjesni pokorni were published in Rome. In 1622 he published his original religious lyric, Suze sina razmetnoga (The Tears of the Prodigal Son) in Venice. This and Arijadna [Ancona 1632] were the last of his works to be published. His most important and original work, however, is the pastoral drama or tragi-comedy Dubravka, written in 1627 and performed in 1628. These, together with other shorter works, including his poem to Ferdinand II of Tuscany, comprise Gundulic's main writings other than Osman.

In his dedication to *Pjesni pokorni* Gundulić promised a translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* which was to be dedicated to the Polish King Zigmund III. This he never did, if we assume that an existing fragment of such a translation was not by Gundulić. Instead, the events of the battle of Chocim and the murder of the young Sultan Osman II (1621/22) led him to attempt an original epic which occupied him until his death in 1638.

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By the end of the sixteenth century the Turks had occupied almost all the Balkans except for the Dalmatian cities, as well as most of Hungary. They had indeed suffered some minor defeats, but in 1621 at the battle of Chocim the main Turkish army suffered, if not a defeat, then a major setback, which was followed by the murder of the young Sultan Osman II in May of the following year.

The situation between Poland and the Turkish empire was one of a disturbed frontier bounded by the vassal state of Moldavia. To the East the Turkish allies, the Tartars, constantly raided into Polish territory. On the Polish side were the irregular, orthodox Cossacks whose raids by land and water into Ottoman territory were a constant source of unrest between the two states. The Poles desired to gain control of Moldavia as a buffer state. In 1612 an attempt to support its ruler Jeremije Mohyla led to defeat. Mohyla had married his daughter Katarina to the Polish noble Samuilo Korecki (the Korevski of Osman) and in 1616 Korecki entered Moldavia and was defeated and captured at Jassy together with his wife Katarina. Katarina (the Krunoslava

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¹ Katarina wa: captivity s1 Gundulićevu p.114.

² Osip Makow für slavische

³ Sir Thomas I Porte from t 1740), p.11.

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of Osman) shared his imprisonment. She was finally ransomed, while Korecki, in 1618, made his escape in disguise, some sources suggesting that he passed through Dubrovnik on his way home.²

Meanwhile in 1617 the Sultan Ahmed died and a palace intrigue made his feeble-minded brother Mustafa Sultan instead of Ahmed's son Osman, a lad of fourteen years. Mustafa, however, was soon overthrown and imprisoned. Osman II, a boy of fiery nature, a fanatical Muslim and ambitious to emulate the deeds of his forefathers, was the last scion of the Ottoman house. The continuation of Cossack raids reaching almost to the gates of Constantinople naturally angered the young Sultan. In the meantime Mohyla had died and had been succeeded by Gašpar Gracijani who, fearing Turkish invasion, applied to Poland for aid, which he received in the persons of Zolkiewzki and Korecki. On the plain of Cecor the combined forces met the Turks, but Gracijani fled the field, leaving the Poles to extricate themselves, which they did by fighting a brilliant rear-guard action, retiring in a square of wagons for some six days and nights until finally broken. Korecki was taken prisoner for the second and final time. (Gundulić, perhaps purposely, mixes the occasions of Jassy and Cecor).

These were the events leading to the battle of Chocim. Osman now set out finally to subdue the Poles. Reports put his army at some 600,000 men, although most affirm that it did not exceed 300,000.3 It included the Grand Vizier Hussein, ten pashas, the Crimean Tartars and the Tartars of Nogai. Poland, although representing Christendom, had largely to rely on her own people, mercenaries, and the Cossacks. Troubles with the Czechs and in Hungary kept Austria occupied. Pope Gregory XV promised aid which did not arrive. Perhaps the only enthusiastic ally of the Poles was the English James I, who saw them as the defenders of Christendom and promised 5,000 mercenaries. These too did not arrive, although James, through his ambassador to the Porte, Sir Thomas Roe, was to make every effort to secure peace for Poland

Katarina was, perhaps, not so virtuous as Gundulić's Krunoslava. While in captivity she bore twins to a Tartar. See St. Musulin, 'Poljaci u Gundulićevu Osmanu', [Poles in Gundulić's Osman], Književni rad, 4 (1950).

Osip Makowej, Beiträge zu den Quellen des Gundulićschen Osman, Archiv für slavische Philologie, 26, No.1 (1904).

^{\$\ \}text{Sir Thomas Roe, The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in His Embassy to the Porte from the Year 1621 to 1628 inclusive (London: Samuel Richardson, 1740), p.11.

after the battle. To the North, Sweden was an enemy and was to profit from Poland's preoccupation with the battle.

The Polish Diet placed its army of some 60,000 under the command of Carlo Chodkiewicz, the nominal commander-in-chief being the crown-prince Władysław. Chodkiewicz's army reached the Dnester river in June 1621 in time to cross over and occupy the small fortress of Chocim where he was joined by some 35,000 Cossacks under Sajdaczni. On the left bank of the Dnester base camp was set up in Kameniec and a bridge was built across the river linking the two bases. Here Władysław arrived with a number of mercenaries. He was already sick of a fever which was to keep him out of action during most of the battle. It is not, however, true to say that he took no part in the fighting at all and, in any case, as commander-in-chief, his presence would undoubtedly be felt. Chodkiewicz was to die during the battle of a similar fever.

Chocim was too small to accommodate an army, but it stood in an excellent position, flanked by woodland and the river. To supplement the position the Cossacks dug a perimeter of trenches which were to be of fateful significance. On September 2nd the Turkish forces arrived, comprising some 220,000 effectives and a large artillery of 100 guns. The following day a huge artillery barrage proved that this was one of the early lessons of the efficacy of trenches against artillery. On September 4th Osman launched a massive attack only to be beaten off again. For the next 34 days the Turks launched attacks on the Polish position only to be beaten back. The Poles suffered greatly from hunger and disease. As early as September 6th Chodkiewicz attempted to sue for peace. On September 15th Osman ordered a general assault, the failure of which resulted in the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Hussein and his replacement by Dilaver. (There is no proof that Dilaver saved Osman's life as Gundulić states in the poem). On September 22nd the Poles entered into peace talks, Chodkiewicz dying on September 24th. That year winter came early and snow was already falling. However, on the news of Chodkiewicz's death, Osman sent in a final attack on September 27th which resulted in 3,000 Turkish casualties. The Poles were at the end of their strength and finally on October 9th both armies prepared to retire, the soldiers of both sides fraternising and bartering whatever commodities they possessed.

All evidence suggests that both sides had done all they could. The Poles, apart from being hungry and diseased, were down to

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¹ Musulin, op.

² Roe, op.cit., p

 ³ Ibid., p.36.
 4 Ibid., p.49.

⁵ N. Beldicean Reprints, 197

⁶ Roe, op.cit., p

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their last barrel of powder. The winter conditions wreaked havoc with the Turkish horses and most of its retreating army was on foot. Osman finally re-entered Constantinople on December 31st 1621. The battle had been 'close-run' and one cannot speak of a Polish victory. It was rather a Turkish set-back for, although it was the Poles who had asked for peace, the Turkish enterprise was clearly a failure. Had it succeeded it might well have changed the history of Europe. The Poles certainly did not pursue a defeated Turkish army, as Gundulić suggests, yet their halting Osman with a loss of some 100,000 dead must have been of incalculable importance for Europe and for Christendom.

While Musulin considers that there is no evidence that the élite corps of the Janissaries panicked and helped to cause disorder in the Turkish ranks, as Gundulić makes Osman recall in Canto I, Thomas Roe in his ambassadorial report states: 'Polish sallies - on one occasion - caused great confusion among the Janissaries and almost caused panic in the entire army.'2 Roe was where he would have direct information and his confidential reports to, among others, Mr Secretary Calvert, must carry some weight. Certainly Constantinople was in an atmosphere of disquiet. Roe reported: '... the present Grand Signor following dreams and visions and having phantastique designs, that they say here are ominous; and all sorts of people are discontent, even to a promesse to revolt; and the lyne of Ottoman very thinne, butt one madman and a child left.'3 Dilaver, the new Grand Vizier, coming from Asia Minor, advised Osman to move his court to Egypt and to form a new army. In order to achieve this, peace with the Poles was seen as necessary. Roe approved of this plan.4 The Janissaries had ceased to be the élite corps formed of Christian children who had been taken away from their parents and trained as soldiers by the Turkish authorities. Many of them were by now sons of high-ranking Turkish officials and they were jealous of their pay and privileges. Osman was certainly faced with an economic problem as regarded their pay. The decline of trade in the Levant, with the opening up of the New World, also had its effect. Turkish currency was debased. 5 Roe speaks of Osman, while he was in Constantinople, as being little petter than the 'Janissaries' treasurer'. 6 Matters came to a head

Musulin, op. cit., pp. 145-46.

² Roe, op.cit., p.12.

³ Ibid., p.36.

⁴ Ibid., p.49.

⁵ N. Beldiceanu, Le Monde ottomane des Balkans (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), pp.70-96.
6 Roe, op.cit., p.44.

when on May 7/20th 1622 the Janissaries and some of the Spahis revolted, at first only against the Grand Vizier and the Qadi. The revolt was led by Daut-pasha and partly organised by the mother of Mustafa, whom, in agreement perhaps with Gundulić's portrayal of her, Roe called 'another Livia'. Mustafa 'being found in a vault half-starved they tooke up and sett him on the throne'. After attempting to treat with the rebels, Osman was arrested and taken to the grim prison of the seven towers, but was later led out, struck on the head with an axe and then strangled. (Gundulić's account, even to his final speech, would appear to relate to the facts). Thus the last scion of the old Ottoman dynasty perished.

The importance of Korecki for the establishment of peace with Poland is also apparently true to the facts as known at the time. Roe saw it as of considerable importance and expresses his consternation at Korecki's position. Of the Polish prisoners he wrote: 'They are yet so close as I cannot heare of them' and of Korecki: 'Correskie's case is so desperate because of his last escape, which if he would attempt again and I only move for him, I might run the hazard of the late French ambassador'.3 In fact Korecki was murdered in prison after Osman's murder, Roe reporting this event in June 1622.

The truce concluded at Chocim was dependent upon a series of negotiations. It has generally been concluded that the figure of Ali-pasha in Osman was an invention of Gundulić. No doubt the Ali-pasha of the poem is fictitious, but on having received a Polish envoy, Osman did agree to send a Chiaus to Warsaw. 'Whereupon the Grand Signor, being satisfied with these conditions, did despatch presently his nuntio into Poland'. If Roe is right (and why should he not be?), then Gundulić was close to the facts. On the other hand, peace was concluded only in early 1623. Krzysztov Baraski arrived in Constantinople in October 1622 and peace was signed the following year.

Gundulic's account of Osman's fate is often strikingly close to that of Sir Thomas Roe. Even their opinions would seem to coincide. Gundulic's term *dijete* for Osman is close to Roe's young

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¹ Ibid., p.51.

² Ibid., p.42.

³ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁴ Ibid., p.12.

¹ Ibid., p.25.

² Roe, op.cit., p.:

 ³ Ibid., p.48.
 4 Musulin, op. c.

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III

Gundulić appears to have abandoned his stated intention of translating Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata and dedicating it to the Polish King Zygmund III because the events of 1621-22 presented him with a more interesting theme. Tasso's great epic dealt with the Christian reconquest of Jerusalem and was therefore aiming at an allegorical encouragment to Christendom to move against the threat of Islam at a time when it was at its greatest. Marko Marulić had written his Judita with a similar purpose and in 1593 Antun Sasin had written his Razboji od Turaka. The Ottoman empire had begun to show signs of weakening. Indeed there was a prophecy rife at the time that the Ottoman empire would fall one thousand years after Mahomet, that is to say in 1632. Osman's death was thus seen as a fateful sign confirming this. The general consideration that the event was of some importance is reflected, again, by Roe. Writing to Lord Carew he said: 'If it be lawful for mee to prophesy, I durst say that this mightie empire hath passed noone and is declyning apace, if not verie neare yts desolution, the lyne of Ottomans beeing allmost extinct'. After Osman's murder Roe reported: 'And I am persuaded, as many ages have not produced so strange an example of the uncertainty of human greatness, so in the dispostion thereof, and in the ways of leading thereunto, there is seen evidently the wonderful providence of God in confounding the counsels of the wordly-wise'.3

Gundulić naturally knew nothing of Roe's opinions, but he would have had little difficulty in hearing direct information of both chocim and the events in Constantinople. Dubrovnik paid an inval tribute to the Porte and with the advance of a huge the army into Poland hastened to send its orationes tribution Sultan on the field of battle. There is little reason for ling that Gundulić's accurate knowledge of the topography occime came from an eye-witness. Again, there were considered the general state of affairs and opinions as was Roe.

^{25....}

In any case, Chocim was a great event in Europe. Wladyslaw, although taking little active part in the fighting, was generally hailed as the victor. Musulin gives a list of Polish pamphlets concerning Chocim published between 1622 and 1633, although whether Gundulić could read Polish is not known. He shows some distinct knowledge of Polish history in Osman. In any case, Wladyslaw was a famous figure. In 1624 he made a pilgrimage to Rome and spent some months in Italy (November 1624 to March 1625) even staying at the house of the Gondola family in Ancona as is witnessed by a Latin inscription. It is most unlikely that Gundulić met him there or indeed had ever been to Ancona, but Wladyslaw's fame could not have failed to reach him. Also the fate of Korecki may well have been impressed upon Gundulić by direct knowledge. Makowej, although without real proof, considers that Korecki did indeed pass through Dubrovnik in 1618 on the occasion of his flight from his first imprisonment. If this were true, then Gundulic could not have helped at least hearing of him.

That Gundulić had intended to translate Tasso's epic and dedicate it to Zygmund III is sufficient proof of his reverence for the Polish monarch and his views as a Christian and a Slav of the need to liberate Europe from Islam. Obviously the events of 1621 and 1622 were sufficient to alter his plans and the rest of his life was spent in writing his epic.

IV

The idea behind Gundulic's writing of Osman was probably twofold. Firstly, as a Christian and one under some Jesuit influence, his interest in the defeat of Islam and of a crusade against it would be understandable. The Jesuits certainly saw Poland as the leader of Catholic Europe against the Porte. Moreover, the Slavs under Turkish rule, although many of them orthodox, were seen as possible allies. This is why, for example, Austria, later in the century, settled a large number of Serbian refugees on its territory. Poland was seen as the champion of Christianity by James I of England, just as by the Jesuits.

Secondly, Gundulić was above all a patriot, deeply devoted to his native city. In Canto III, 1.85 he wrote:

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¹ Makowej, op. cit., p.83.

Alfred A. Jen 1900) p.313.

Juraj Križan Conversation

CANTO I

Oh why have you praised yourself, Vain, human pride? The higher you spread your wings The greater your fall thereafter!

No firm thing under the sun
Is eternal and without end,
For in the heights the mountain peaks
Are the first to be struck by lightning.

The world's constancy is fleeting for all
Without aid from heaven above:
Mighty and powerful empires
Bear within them their own destruction.

The wheel of fate spins about
And about ceaselessly:
He who would be above, is cast down
And he below is left on high.

15

20

Now a crown hangs above the sabre, Now the sabre falls upon the crown, Now the slave rises to an empire And the erstwhile emperor becomes a slave.

Fortune emerges from misfortune; A crown is gained by bloodshed And those whom many have feared Suffer fear of the many.

25 From treachery and ambushes
An emperor's head is guarded,
Yet in a moment thing3 occur
That confound all human experience.

Oh maidens, pure and gentle,
Who atop the glorious and holy mountain
By the sweet power of beloved song
Speak to all poets,

Speak now to me
How to the young emperor of the East
His merciless knights gave
Death in his Constantinople.

I know that, first, it is desirable, As you say, that I should sing How he was born the beloved and happy Firstborn of the emperor Ahmet;

And how on his father's death and By whose aid and by whose treachery Mustapha, his uncle, sat Upon the Ottoman throne;

40

And how the imperial seat

Was taken from Mustapha and how, in glory,
Upon this same throne
The sultan Osman was placed as emperor;

And how, later, this young man,
Desirous of gaining the glory of his elders,
Rose against the Poles
With a great host, yet with little honour.

But that by this my songs
Be not of too great length
Do you but announce of his death
The evil causes, the sad events.

Oh Vladislav, glorious son
Of the glorious Polish king,
By which your manifold glory
Fills the magnitude of the whole earth,

The majesty of your serene countenance Turn upon these verses,
In which I seek to portray
Your unconquerable deeds.

Oh noble crown-prince,
On the death of the emperor Osman,
Already with your almighty victory,
Do all nations resound.

So from my trumpet may the world hear
Of your ever greater glory;
Perform ever greater acts
And I shall not cease to sing them.

A painful memory had remained In Osman's heart 75 That his countless army Had fallen by a Polish hand And that through all his great territory Had thence arisen fame That named the crown-prince Vladislav The emperor's conqueror.

Rode a traveller by land Or sailed a sailor the sea, Vladislav was hailed In glory at the emperor's misfortune.

80

100

Be a merry company feasting
Or shepherds grazing their flocks,
All voices sang the glory
Of him who had curbed the Turkish might.

Already upon the wind's pinions
Rumour wafted over all the earth
Of how the young prince broke
The emperor's lances and shattered his sabres.

In the clear sky above the clouds
From East of him to West of him
The sun had written in golden beams
The name by which glory ruled,

Telling how on the Dnester He, the Grey Eagle, Had smashed the Eastern Dragon Pursuing him to the Danube.

So at this the proud child Grieved, pined and brooded, Thinking all the world about him Reproached him in praising another!

105 He cried: "Oh, crown-prince,
In no way do I envy you:
For so it was fated
That I should see you the victor.

Nor moreover does fate torment me, Yours good, mine bad; For once Fate has decided, None shall ever escape its judgement.

But all the wounds of my heart,
All my torment and sadness

Are at my knights' disobedience
And the faithlessness of my warriors.

Oh deathless knights,
Famed Turks of old,
With whom my forefathers,
Your emperors, conquered this whole world,

Where are your valorous acts, Where those glorious deeds Whose example is worthy Of the chivalrous orders?

120

135

125 You, passing your days in labour,
Brave hearts and bold countenances
Did you show, enduring
The summer suns and winter frosts.

In adversities strong by reason

Of your obedience of pure faith,
You came fording the rivers,
Running over the plains, leaping the mountains,

Thinking that to bear all hurts,

Even to die, is better

Than to transgress the emperor's commands

All your desires and your longings Seemed to be to ride Your beloved and beautiful war-horses

140 And to shoot arrows from your bows.

By disobedience.

Moreover each firm in purpose Chose for his delight A girded sabre, a lance in hand, A bow slung on his shoulders and a good horse.

On the march any kind of corn
Without distinction was food for you,
And a little cold water
A noble and pleasant drink.

During the night halts

The roofs shared by you and your horses

Were hovels woven

Of fine oak branches.

Both for the general and the knight,
Be it by land or by sea,
Both bed and table were
The skins of mountain beasts.

Moreover travelling north in mid-winter Along the Danube's frozen regions, Many a time for all of you a bed Was spread by snow, a stone your pillow.

You were clothed in light clothing Hand-woven and most simple, And the heart and breast Were for the hero sufficient armour.

165 You despised all goods,
All nobilities save those
Gained by strength and the sword,
Ever boldly making war.

160

175

180

You considered that the worst

Evil was to live without war

And that to die was far better

Than to spend one's days in idleness.

You would say that
Women spin at home in darkness
While heroes overtake
The enemy on the plains.

You held it your honour, Your greatest pride and glory, For your emperor in battle To lose your fair heads.

You would cry: 'Oh sudden death, We pay you no thought.
That the empire may grow greater Let our lives be shortened!'

185 Ah, how blessed and honoured
Do I account your times!
It would be easy to gain the world's crown
With such brave knights.

Alas, now all is different;

The generals and the soldiers,
All have turned about,
All ranks are unfaithful!

Each has to be forced to go to battle;
Summer is too hot, winter too cold.

Yet they don gold and silk The forms of men but the natures of women!

And whilst they glitter in gold, In priceless accoutrements, They tempt the enemy Not to battle but to plunder.

200

Marching by land, sailing by sea, That they may travel in luxury they have Led before them chargers And behind them laden pack-horses.

Their tents are of silk,
The chairs they sit on are gold,
The birds in the sea, the fish in the mountains
They seek as their food.

They hold long and sumptuous feasts
210 On tables placed upon carpets,
Drinking till wits and strength
Perish from wine.

Luxurious are their feather mattresses
In which they sink all night in lechery,
In perfume and decoration,
Against both nature and the faith.

Each, surrounded on all sides
By squires and attendants,
Rides, decked in gold, a black horse
And, head high, looks proudly

And swaggers and preens himself With the vainglory of a hero, All in appearance and words, But in their actions nothing!

Oh how often, full of disquiet,
Have I seen one of the Christians
Driving and dispersing flocks of them
Like sheep from all sides!

I would shout, leap upon my horse,

General and soldier at the same time,
Beside myself with dismay
At this shameful disorder.

Nor did I hesitate to avenge
Such offensive insults,
Making some return to battle, threatening others,
Reckless of any losses.

'O fools and evil ones,' I cried,
'What are you afraid of?
Oh do you not, like the Christians,
Possess two hands each?

Or are they more than men?
Or have you no heart in you?
What terrifies you? What troubles you?
Where is our old Turkish bravery?

It is better for you to find death
And fall in battle with your lance
Than to perish like this,
Nameless and without honour.

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250 But in vain one's strength is wasted.
The tongue shouts, the arm strikes,
For these men's fear is joined
With the disobedience of the Janissaries.

The Spahoglans, who amid the battle Still fought bravely, Began, like these, to give way And they too retreated headlong.

This is the reason Polish swords²
Cut down my warriors
And beside the Dnester there flowed
A second river of blood:

And so everywhere that river Was filled and dammed With bodies of the dead Slain by Polish might.

265 But henceforth it is my will
That my hand shall revolve the earth
And alone have command
Over life and death.

1 Spaghogian: the son of a spahi, the feudal landowner and cavalry soldier of

the empire.

² Mač is used throughout as sword, compared with sablja as scimitar. Again cf.

Njegoš, Šćepan mali, 11. 38-39, 'Sto uteče ispod sablje tvoje/ Neće uteć ispod
mača moga.'

So we emperors are the cause
Of all evils, our own included,
When we honour not heroes
But fornicators from the Saraj.

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And we who desire that those who spend
Their days serving in lechery
Should engage the foe in battle
And rule and conquer.

We who, to increase our wealth, Care for nothing else, And what used to be the hero's payment Is now the emperor's trade.

But the emperor's trade is now carried on By regent-merchants; They impress a crowd of shepherds into the army And pay them as if they were soldiers.

285 With these shepherds taken from their flocks And under such generals
How can you hope they'll ever dare Fight against heroes?

No, no! you warrior peoples of the East,
290 I have set greater deeds on foot
And in this sabre I hold
The fate of the world and your fortune!

The emperor Alexander
Almighty in ancient times
295 Fighting, a young man as I am,
Gained the empire of the whole world.

And the brave emperor Suleiman, The glorious ancestor of my grandfather, Put on the sword when he was my age And took command of armies.

Long ago I have taken these two emperors As examples for my ambitions. I shall follow their glorious deeds Until I conquer all this world.

305 Bold are these preparations.

I know what I shall do and what is required."

He ceased and, full of ambition,

Began to plan mighty matters.

He turned his thoughts to taking

All the imperial treasure to the East
And to compose letters in which could be read
The names of all the knights he paid

And to reck not here
Of pouring money on every side,
Which would enable him to assemble
The greatest gathering of heroes.

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And to the Janissaries, moreover, He would add anew a large number Of knights from the East At his own choosing.

And the companies of Spahoglans, too, He would make them twice as large, Joining and uniting them With his newly selected levies.

So would they be tamed by this bridle And, henceforth obedient, Without sparing their lives Fly where the emperor commanded.

Also he determined in his mind
To swear an oath
That he who showed himself the greater hero
Should gain the greater honour in his sight,

Desiring that in his realm
Only those should rise
Who gained honour in battle
Fighting the foe.

And that neither money, debauchery nor women, But only naked courage Should be the path to grace and favour At his imperial table.

By means of such gratitude He hoped to emerge all-powerful And, in a short time, extend himself From East to West.

This his firm decision
He first divulged
Under oath and in secrecy
To Dilaver, the head of his pashas,

To him who with ten thousand boyars
On the East side of the army
The previous Autumn had rescued
The young emperor from the Poles.

For this the emperor dismissed
The then Grand Vizier Hussein
And raised this man gloriously
To rule the empire in his place.

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But what he did not conceal from him He also announced to his q'adi And to the Hadum of the harem,³ The dark keeper of the white nymphs,

And ordered that each keep secret The idea of this plan, Deeming it useful advice To mask it as an act of piety.

365 Therefore he allowed rumours to be spread And gave all to know
That he intended to go to Mecca
To pay homage at Mahomet's grave:

And thence, he said, he would turn
Through the coastal provinces
And put to death
The Emir of Sidon with his rebels.

³ Hadum: the chief eunuch in charge of the harem