

THE MOUSE, THE FROG,
AND THE UNIDENTIFIED FLYING OBJECT:
METAPHORS FOR »EMPIRES« IN THE LATIN WORKS
OF THE CROATIAN HUMANIST MARCUS MARULUS
AND OF THE GERMAN HUMANIST ULRICH VON HUTTEN¹

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The dominant power in the Middle Ages was the »Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation«, by its official Latin name: *Sacrum Romanum Imperium Nationis Germanicae*, a designation which was established firmly by 1512. There are various aspects to this Roman notion.² In Marulus' vocabulary it has no significance, if he used it at all. By its nature, poetic language prefers metaphors. Fables handed down from antiquity became a great source for poets of all times.

The most famous collection of fables is that of the Greek author, Aesop, whose short stories of talking and interacting animals were handed down in Latin prose or verse. The first printing with illustrations of Aesop's Fables was provided by Giovanni and Alberto Alvisi in Verona in 1479,³ with woodcuts designed by one of the city's leading painters, Liberale da Verona (c. 1445-1526).⁴ An edition by Lorenzo Valla (1406-1457) was also available as of 1499.⁵

¹ Paper originally written and intended for the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, November 15-18, 2007, in New Orleans, LA.

² See Marianne A w e r b u c h, »Imperium. Zum Bedeutungswandel des Wortes im staatsrechtlichen und politischen Bewußtsein der Römer,« *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 25 (1981) 162-184.

³ See *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books*, eds. Daniel De Simone (New York: George Braziller, Inc., in association with the Library of Congress, 2004) 103.

⁴ It would be worthwhile to examine these incunabula for their depiction or lack of the fable of the Mouse and the Frog. But this is not our purpose here. On Liberale, see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, entry »Verona« (internet version). As early as 1475/1480, Bonus Accursius printed the collection of these fables, made by Planudes, which, within five years



Fig. 1. From *Nuremberg Chronicle* of Hartmann Schedel (Nuremberg, 1493 German edition, Beloit College website).



Fig. 2. The Frog and the Mouse. Illustration on page 48 by an anonymous woodcutter. From: Heinrich Steinhöwel (and Sebastian Brant), *Esopi appologi sive mythologi: cum quibusdam carminum et fabularum additionibus Sebastiani Brant* (Basel: Jacobus [Wolff] de Pforzheim, 150).

A »portrait« of Aesop (Esopus, **Fig. 1**) is included in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514), also known as the *Chronicle of the World*, a medieval account of the history of the world.⁶ Aesop is the first listed among the Greek writers. Only one of Aesop's fables is of interest here: the fable of the Mouse, the Frog, and a preliminarily unidentified Flying Object. The Englishman Caxton called the fable under consideration here, »Of the rat and of the frogge«. In the Latin edition of Heinrich Steinhöwel and Sebastian Brant of 1501 the focus also is on the Frog and the Mouse as the caption of the illustration shows (*De rana et mure*).

This fable lent itself particularly well to describe certain religious-political »empires« of the Renaissance period. A look at the famous German nationalist, Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523),⁷ an early sympathizer of the Reformer, Martin Luther (1483-1546), shall function here simply as one element or aspect of the European literary context in which the Croatian humanist and lay theologian Marcus Marulus (1450-1524)⁸ of Split is to be situated; thus the introductory chapter on Hutten serves as an illustration of the wider context of Marulus' literary work. The main purpose is to investigate the use of the fable by Marulus in his Latin texts, his interpretation of the unidentified Flying Object (3. 1), his characterization of this bird (3. 2), and in this connection, his use of the notion of the »Turkish Emperor« (3. 3), his concern for Christian unity between the Frog and the Mouse (3. 4), and his specific view of the »wrath of God« (3. 5).

Only in recent times does Marulus emerge as a literary and theological figure of European significance, as a »European Humanist« whose opus is an »or-

afterwards, William Caxton translated into English, and printed at his press in Westminster Abbey, 1484/1485. Numerous other illustrated editions of the late fifteenth century are known: Johannes Zainer's Latin and German editions of Aesop's *Vita et fabulae* (Ulm, 1476-1477) which influenced many subsequent printings of Aesop's fables all across Europe (see *A Heavenly Craft*, 51). The Croatian printer Dobrić Dobričević (Boninus de Boninus) printed *Aesopus moralisatus* (Brescia, c. 1487). With the same title, an edition from a southwestern German city is known by Michael Greif (Reutlingen 1489) and from Venice by Manfredus de Bonellis, 1491 and 1493; from Florence by Francesco Bonaccorsi, 1496. From Basel an edition of 1501 is known by the physician and humanist Heinrich Steinhöwel (of Ulm, died 1478) together with the writer Sebastian Brant (of Strasbourg, died 1521), see **Fig. 2**; from Sevilla: *Libro del sabio y clarissimo fabulador Ysopo historiado y anotado* (Sevilla: Jacob Cromberger, 1521).

⁵ *Fabulae ex graeco in latinam per Laurentium Vallum uirum clarissimum uersae Aesopus* (Venice: De Cereto, 1499).

⁶ See Stephan F ü s s e l, *Chronicle of the World* (Cologne: 2001).

⁷ See Sam W h e e l i s, »Ulrich von Hutten: Representative of Patriotic Humanism,« in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Germany: An Introduction*, ed. Gerhart Hoffmeister (New York: F. Ungar Pub. Co., 1977) 111-127; Helmar J u n g h a n s, »Der nationale Humanismus bei Ulrich von Hutten und Martin Luther« reprinted in *Spätmittelalter, Luthers Reformation, Kirche in Sachsen*, eds. Michael Beyer and Günther Wartenberg (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001) 67-90.

⁸ I use his humanist Latin name as I am dealing here with his Latin texts.

ganic part of the European literary heritage« and »a common treasure, which needs to be discovered together«. ⁹ Neither Marulus nor Hutten were mentioned in a recent study on the development of creating the concept of ‘East and West’ among Renaissance humanists and their view of the Ottoman Empire. ¹⁰ However, the older, monumental work *Turcica* (on European prints concerning the issue of the Turkish menace) lists both, Hutten with his speech that he had planned to deliver to the German princes in 1518 and Marulus with his open letter of 1522 to Pope Adrian VI. ¹¹

1. Aesop’s Fable of the Mouse, the Frog, and the Unidentified Flying Object

A mouse asked a frog to help her get across the river. The frog tied the mouse’s front leg to her own back leg using a piece of string and they swam out to the middle of the stream. The frog then turned traitor and plunged down into the water, dragging the mouse along with her. The mouse’s dead body floated up to the surface and was drifting along when a kite (bird of prey) flew by and noticed something he could snatch. When he grabbed the mouse he also carried off the frog. Thus the treacherous frog who had betrayed the mouse’s life was likewise killed and eaten. ¹²

The Latin versions usually speak of the bird of prey as »a flying kite« (*milvus [volans]*). One of the meanings of the English word ‘kite’ is a soaring bird of prey, especially of the genus *milvus* with long wings and normally a forked tail. The fact, that the exact name of the unidentified Flying Object is not given in this fable, allows for various interpretations, in ways as needed by an author, be it a hawk, a

⁹ Bratislav Lučin, »Introduction«, *The Marulić Reader* (Split: Književni Krug Split/The Split Literary Circle, 2007) 30-31.

¹⁰ See Nancy Bisha, *Creating East and West. Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). The »Protestant« Hutten is not mentioned in Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism 1521-1555* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959; reprint New York: Octagon Books, 1972). Hutten, but not Marulus, is mentioned in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000) 211. Croatia is not taken into consideration, but Poland (437-443), France (373-394), and England (395-408).

¹¹ See Carl Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Bucarest: Editura Academiei, 1961-1978); Hutten, *Ad Principes Germaniae*, vol. 1:70 (no. 100) and 84 (no. 125); Marulus, Letter to Adrian VI, vol. 1:95 (nos. 153 and 154). Göllner also includes the oration by Tranquillus Andronicus (Fran[co] Trankvil Andreis, [1490-1571]), vol. 1:322 (no. 678).

¹² *Aesop’s Fables*. A new translation by Laura Gibbs (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002), website: AESOPICA.NET.

falcon, an eagle, even an egret,¹³ or as in the case of the medieval author Odo of Cheriton (died 1247), the devil.¹⁴

2. Ulrich von Hutten's Use of the Fable

In the summer of 1516 Hutten had experienced life in Rome under the papacy. The disillusioned young man returned to Germany and enthusiastically joined Martin Luther and his circles, in the hope that he could combine his own »Away-from-Rome« campaign¹⁵ with Luther's rising popularity and interests. Hutten had become an early supporter of Martin Luther primarily because of the Reformer's criticism of the Roman papacy.¹⁶ And Luther became a supporter of Hutten whose name is connected to the famous *Letters of Obscure Men* (1514/1517). However, the principal author was Crotus Rubeanus (c. 1480- 1545).¹⁷ Hutten was an outspoken representative of German national humanism, who nevertheless used Latin as the preferred language for his poetry and pamphlets, and who promoted polyglot studies (Greek and Hebrew) for the better understanding of the Sacred Scriptures. In 1517 he was crowned poet laureate by Emperor Maximilian I (reigned 1493-1519).

Certain verses of Hutten that were dedicated to Emperor Maximilian were accompanied by a pictorial representation of Aesop's fable of the Mouse and the Frog. The picture is a woodcut by Hans Weiditz (c. 1495-c.1536),¹⁸ an artist better known for his portrait of Emperor Maximilian and for his »Emperor Maximilian

¹³ Martin Luther started his own German edition of Aesop's Fables for pedagogical purposes; see *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (from here on abbreviated as WA; Weimar, 1883-) vol. 50:432-460 (1530). The fable of the Mouse and the Frog is found on p. 449. Luther identified the bird of prey with a *weyhe* (449, line 29), likely the equivalent of an egret or stork, in Early New High German. According to *Duden Etymologie, der Weih[e]* may be a bird of prey.

¹⁴ Odo's application: *Hoc est quando parochia data est alicui stulto et insufficienti; uenit Diabolus et asportat utrumque capellanum et paroch[i]am*; see: University of Mannheim website. Odo is an example of how fables were used by medieval preachers against stupid pastors (*contra stultos rectores*) who are given parishes; then the devil comes and takes away both the chaplain and the parish.

¹⁵ Or, »Anti-Rome Campaign« (*Hutten's Anti-Rom Kampagne*), Eckhard Bernstein, »Humanistische Intelligenz und kirchliche Reformen,« in Werner Röcke and Marina Münker, eds., *Die Literatur im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2004) 176-179.

¹⁶ See Franz Posset, »Polyglot Humanism in Germany circa 1520 as Luther's Milieu and Matrix: The Evidence of the 'Rectorate Page' of Crotus Rubeanus,« *Renaissance and Reformation* 27 (2003) 5-33, here 14-16 (on Hutten).

¹⁷ See Erika Rümmele, *The Case against Johann Reuchlin. Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2002) 23.

¹⁸ See *Ulrichs von Hutten Schriften*, ed. Eduard Böcking (Leipzig: Teubner, 1862) vol. 3:205-268, here 216-217 (with Weiditz's woodcut).

at Mass«. ¹⁹ Within Hutten's work *Ad Caesarem Maximilianum Epigrammatum Liber Unus*, it is Epigram 21 about the Emperor and the Venetians, *De Caesare et Venetis* that was accompanied by Weiditz's woodcut. The book was printed by Johann Miller in Augsburg in 1519, the same printer who published a call for help by the Croatian nobleman Tranquillus Andronicus (1490-1571), summoning the Germans to help against the Turks. ²⁰

Hutten's focus is on the Flying Object rather than on the relationship of the Mouse and the Frog. He calls Aesop's bird of prey (*milvus*) an *ales* in Latin, which simply means »winged«, but is usually used for a large bird of prey like an »eagle« or a »hawk«:

Recently, the shameless Frog stepped out of the swamps of Venice
and dared to say as he touched the ground: »The land is mine«.
When Jupiter's Bird (*Iovis ales*) saw it from his lookout on high
he destroyed it with his claw and threw it back into the dirty waters. ²¹

In Hutten's text, only the Bird and the Frog are mentioned, not the Mouse. This is the case also with Weiditz's woodcut that appears to have been created specifically for Hutten's text. To Hutten and Weiditz the identification of the Flying Object as »the Eagle« came quite naturally as they were, of course, familiar with the eagle as the heraldic symbol of the Habsburg Empire. Weiditz depicts the Eagle with the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire. The Eagle with its wings dominates the upper center and right field of the picture, representing the north-east in terms of geography. In the background across the entire upper part of the woodcut, we see a mountain range, the Alps. The imperial Eagle has landed on the Alps and is descending upon the Frog that is leaping from the water, the Mediterranean Sea. Hutten and Weiditz focus exclusively on the conflict between the Frog and the Eagle.

The Frog representing the Republic of Venice has its head raised high with a scepter in the right hand. The scepter is one of the regalia and thus an attribute of a monarch. When shown in the hand of the Frog as the Republic of Venice one must interpret the Frog as having usurped the royal scepter (illegally). In the waters behind the Frog we see a complex of buildings sitting on an island and large boats in the waters, representing the powerful Venetian fleet.

¹⁹ See Herbert C. Turrentine, »Hans Weiditz's 'Emperor Maximilian at Mass': An Intriguing Liturgical Scene in the Chapel of Annakirche in Augsburg,« in *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 27 (2001) 21-30.

²⁰ *Oratio contra Thurcas ad Germanos habita* (Augsburg: Johann Miller, 1518). This printing is not included in Bohnstedt's study of 1968, although Hutten is a German pamphleteer, but not writing in the vernacular and likely because of that left aside.

²¹ *Rana procax nuper Venetas egressa paludes
Ausa est, quam tetigit, dicere, »terra mea est«.
Quam procul ut vidit specula Iovis ales ab alta,
onvulsam ad luteas ungue retrusit aquas.*

Ulrichs von Hutten Schriften, vol. 3:205-268, here 216-217.



Fig. 3. The Eagle and the Frog: The Habsburg Empire (Eagle) quarreling with the Republic of Venice (Frog). Woodcut by Hans Weiditz; from Hutten's Epi-gram and Exhortatorium to Emperor Maximilian (1519) [British Museum]. The woodcut is reprinted in A. G. Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966) 25; also depicted in Kaiser Maximilian I und Tirol, eds. Erich Egg and Wolfgang Pfaundler (Innsbruck, Vienna, Munich: Tyrolia, 1969) 44.



Fig. 4. The Four Apocalyptic Horsemen (1498) by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). Illustration of the text *Apocalypse* 6:1-8. The First Rider is a mounted archer and wears an Ottoman-like cap with a crown, which is a hint at the Turkish Emperor.

According to Hutten, »the shameless Frog stepped out of the swamps of Venice«. This means that Venice reached far onto the dry land, from the foot of the Alps in Lombardy and the land around Bergamo in the West to the foothills of Tyrolia in the Northeast, and all the way along the eastern Adriatic coast down to Dubrovnik and beyond. The Frog in Hutten's words claimed: »The land is mine«.

Hutten's epigram describes and Weiditz's woodcut depicts the power struggle between the Empire and the Republic of Venice under the doges, Leonardo Loredan who reigned from 1501 to 1521 and Antonio Grimani who reigned from 1521 to 1523. Emperor Maximilian I had proclaimed himself as Roman emperor not too far from Venice, namely in the cathedral of Trent, on 4 February 1508. For the purpose of breaking the power of Venice, Pope Julius II (1503-1513), the warrior pope, had formed the League of Cambrai with Emperor Maximilian I, Louis XII (1498-1515) and Ferdinand (of Aragon, 1479-1516) in December 1508; an alliance on paper, supposedly against the Turks.²² During the »Venetian War« which started in 1508 and lasted for nine years, the emperor took possession of parts of the Venetian Republic's territory. However, by January 1515 the new French king, Francis I (1515-1547), formed a new alliance with Venice against the emperor and the new pope, Leo X (and other allies). The Italian War of 1521 to 1526, sometimes known as the Four Years' War, pitted Francis I of France and the Republic of Venice against Emperor Charles V (1519-1556), Henry VIII of England (1509-1547), and the Papal States. The conflict arose from animosity over the election of Charles as Emperor in 1519.

These historical struggles are depicted in the woodcut of the Eagle and the Frog, representing in an abbreviated and simplified form the great battle between the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and the Republic of Venice over the hegemony of Northern Italy, one of the major conflicts of European history of the sixteenth century.²³

Hutten may have been inspired by Tranquillus Andronicus to be concerned, too, with the Turkish menace, and not only with the emperor's cause against the Frog. Andronicus published his anti-Turcica text in 1515: *Ad Deum contra Thurcas Oratio carmine heroico. Eiusdem epistola ad clarissimum ac nobilem virum Hieronymum de Croaria* [sic] (Nuremberg: Johannes Stuchs, about 1515),²⁴ and in 1518 he published his *Oratio contra Thurcas ad Germanos habita* (= *Oratio de bello suscipiendo contra Turcos*, Augsburg: Johannes Miller 1518).²⁵

²² See Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1986) vol. 5:426-427.

²³ See Horst Rabe, *Reich und Glaubensspaltung: Deutschland 1500-1600* (Munich: Beck, 1989) 20-21.

²⁴ Edited in Böcking, *Ulrichs von Hutten Schriften*, vol. 5:205-228, with a woodcut on p. 205.

²⁵ See Branko Franolić, »Latin as a Literary Language among the Croats,« *Works of Croatian Latinists Recorded in the British Library General Catalogue* (Zagreb: Croatian Information Centre, 1998) 5-36; see website: »Latin as a Literary Language among the Croats«.

One must not forget that men like Hutten were not only concerned with the German empire that was fighting against the Republic of Venice, but that he also feared the Ottoman Empire that advanced from the southeast. We find Hutten's worries expressed in his speech at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, when he called upon the princes of Germany to wage war against the Turks. The speech, written in Latin, was also printed in Augsburg in 1518, but by another printing press, that of Sigismund Grim[m] and Marcus Vuysung.²⁶

Anti-papal feelings in Germany clearly expressed themselves officially at the imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1518 when the estates of the empire identified themselves with the complaints of the German nation (*gravamina nationis Germanicae*). They let the papal delegate, Cardinal Cajetan (1468-1534), know that they rejected any taxation in support of the pope's call to a crusade against the Turkish threat.²⁷ Hutten, as the German spokesman for the movement of a »Church without Rome« called upon the political forces within the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation against the Turks, but without papal leadership. The Germans must no longer provide financial support for the Roman papacy, but instead they should give their money to the emperor and the empire's war against the Turks.²⁸ Hutten apparently had persuaded the German estates that their emperor should lead them against the Turks without the pope.²⁹ German Lutherans began to work with a concept of »empire« that no longer needed the pope. Nevertheless, they remained very concerned about the Turkish menace.

The famous artist Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) had created a woodcut in 1498 that vividly depicts the Turkish menace which is represented in one of the four apocalyptic horsemen (**Fig. 4**). His depiction may very well stand for the German fear of the approaching Turks at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

3. Marulus on the Bird of Prey, the Mouse and the Frog

The Republic of Venice included within its borders the area of the eastern coast line of the Adriatic Sea, known as Croatia. It thus provided additional space for the international »literary republic«³⁰ of Latinists to whom Marcus Marulus of Split belonged. In the history of this coastline, the role of the Latin language

²⁶ *Vlrichi de Hutten equitis Germani ad Principes Germaniae vt bellum Turcis inuehant. Exhortatoria in Ulrichs von Hutten Schriften*, vol. 1 (no. 19).

²⁷ See J u n g h a n s, »Der nationale Humanismus«, 80.

²⁸ See W h e e l i s, 122.

²⁹ See J u n g h a n s, »Der nationale Humanismus«, 81.

³⁰ Veljko G o r t a n and Vladimir V r a t o v i ć, »The Basic Characteristics of Croatian Latinity«, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 20 (1971) 37-67, here 47; Dražen B u d i š a, »Humanism in Croatia«, in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. Albert Rabil, Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991) vol. 2:265-292; see F r a n o l i ć, website at <http://www.hic.hr/books/latinists/01latin.htm>.

was more important than in most other European territories, and by virtue of the Latin language, our Croatian Latinist was united to the international Latin-speaking world. Around 1500 Split was home to a flourishing humanism. The circle of humanists at Split did not produce, however, any other great authors besides Marulus who equaled the most distinguished Latin writers of that time in Europe. He was part of the universal phenomenon of Latin literates which transcended all barriers. He also shared the Latinists' reliance on literary models of antiquity.³¹ He made ample use of the classical tradition, including Aesop.

3. 1. Identifying the Bird of Prey

In his *Repertorium* Marulus made a note of the three animal characters of Aesop's fable, the Frog, the Mouse, and, simply, the Bird (*avis*). What may be significant is the fact that Marulus entered them under the term »Menace« or »Danger«,³² which may be the key to the understanding of Marulus' use of the fable later on, namely understood as the »Turkish menace«. To him the fable was a story about great, deadly dangers descending on the homeland. We know that Marulus had an edition of *Aesop's Fables* at hand, which is listed in his will as *Apologi quedam de Jsopo Greco*³³ (i.e., »Some Fables of the Greek Aesop«). Whichever edition he may have had at hand, he utilized this particular fable from a point of view that differed from Hutten's in Germany. Hutten features the relationship of Frog and Bird. Marulus employs the story from the perspective of an endangered city, namely his hometown Split. Yet, both Marulus and Hutten are somewhat fixated on the Flying Object. Hutten sides with the Bird as the Eagle, while Marulus sees in the flying object the threatening Bird of Prey.

Marulus used the fable twice. In one of the various poems that Marulus directed against the animosities among the Christian nations, *In discordiam principum Christianorum* (*Against Discord Among the Christian Rulers*), the fable is used to express concerns about the religious-political situation he lived in. He used it again in 1522 (see below, 3. 4). Marulus — in contrast to Hutten — included not only the Frog and the Bird, but also the Mouse. For Marulus, too, the Frog represents the mighty Republic of Venice. The Mouse, in Marulus' view, stands for the Western adversaries of Venice, as he deplores the fact that the Frog and the Mouse ceaselessly struggle in the same pond.

³¹ See Gortan and Vratović, 38-47.

³² *Scytharum dona: rana, mus, avis et sagittę; quo perimendos sagittis hostes significabant, nisi aquas subiissent ut ranę, aut terram ut mures, aut aera ut uolucres*, *Repertorium*, entry »Periculum«, taken from his readings of Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, *Ab orbe condito. Repertorium*, ed. Branimir Glavičić (Split: Književni Krug, 2000) vol. 3:140.

³³ See *Colloquia Maruliana* 14 (2005) 46.

What does he mean by the unidentified flying object, *pręde auidus miluus* (>the flying kite of prey«)? For an answer, let us look at how he addresses the political constellation (NB: the translator identified the bird of prey as the Falcon):

While a frog and a mouse ceaselessly struggled in the pond,
 Each a bitter foe preparing the other's death
 Falcon, the beast of prey, noticed the fight from the high
 Descended and grabbed them both with its crooked beak.
 Trust me that such destiny awaits all our rulers
 Who continue their wild war against each other.
 When they all get exhausted of their mutual slaughter,
 Then the barbarian foe will have a free way.
 I wish I only were a bad prophet, and the wind
 Would take my words high up, scatter them into thin air.
 But if they are not united by common foe,
 Essential truth this will be, a word from Phoebean tripod.³⁴

Marulus' Latin version of the fable does not match any version of the traditional wording, for instance, by Walter of England, Romulus, or others.³⁵ It is Marulus' own wording which he fit into the poem on the discord among the rulers. In his version, the Mouse and the Frog are not friends, but foes. The Bird of Prey noticed from on high the fight between them and »descended and grabbed them both with its crooked beak«. Obviously, the little Mouse would mean the mighty Holy Roman Empire. Did Marulus want to belittle the imperial power as a little mouse? One should not over-interpret here by an awkward allegorization of all the details of the fable which Marulus in all likelihood did not intend. He

³⁴ *Mus et rana lacu medio dum pręlia miscent,
 Alter in alterius damna suprema furens,
 Pręde auidus miluus luctantes cernit ab alto:
 Deuolat et rostro prendit utrumque suo.
 Talia fata manent nostros (mihi credite) reges
 Inter se Martis dum fera bella cient.
 Exhausti alternis fuerint cum cędibus omnes,
 Irruet in uacuam barbarus hostis humum.
 O utinam falsus uates sim uerbaque uentus
 Nostra ferens auras dissipet in tenues!
 Sed nisi discordes iungat commune periculum,
 Phoebea fient uera magis tripode!*

Opera Omnia (Latinski stihovi, ed. Bratislav Lućin and Darko Novaković, Split: Književni Krug, 2005) 164 (no. 96); trans. by Miljenko Kovačićek, *The Marulus Reader*, 144-147.

³⁵ The Latin text of Romulus is found in Léopold H e r v i e u x, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du Moyen-Age (1893-1899)*, vol. 2: *Phèdre et ses anciens imitateurs directs et indirects*, 654-712. For other Latin versions, see University of Mannheim website.

more likely looked at the broader political picture and used the fable as a story about the great menace (*periculum*, see *Repertorium*) threatening his homeland.

3. 2. Characterization of the Bird of Prey

For Marulus, the Bird of Prey is »the barbarian foe« that »will have a free way« in order to advance to wherever he wants to fly. Who then would the barbarian be? Like other humanists of his time, Marulus resurrected the old label of »barbarian«, and like Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466-1536), for example, he applied it to the Turks. Erasmus wrote of them in 1530 as a »barbarous people« (*gens barbara*).³⁶ With the attribute of the dangerous »barbarian« Marulus can only refer to the Turkish menace. The mighty Bird of Prey of the fable is the barbarian enemy, the »common foe« who, in Marulus' use of the metaphor, is the Ottoman Empire that threatens the lands of Christianity, which is represented by the Frog and the Mouse, who both will be eaten up by the big Bird.

To Marulus this is the truth as if it were spoken from the Oracle of Delphi where the priestess sat on a tripod (»Essential truth this will be, a word from Phoeban tripod«). With this image Marulus hints at the classical Greek antiquity. With his reference to the »barbarians« he evokes the memory of the invasion of the barbarians of late antiquity. Their attack on Rome in the fifth century must have appeared to him as barbaric as the conquest of the Second Rome, Constantinople, by the Ottomans, the »new Barbarians« in 1453.³⁷

The Bird of Prey is the contemporary sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Selim I (1512-1520), whose threatening advances alarmed the West. Against this predator the pope,³⁸ the emperor, and the kings of France and England tried to band together, at least for a short time. In 1513 Marulus had high hopes pinned on Pope Leo X as successor of Julius II.³⁹ Marulus saw in Leo X the »good shepherd« (*pastor pius*), the »famed son of the house of Medici«, the »father doctor« who may heal the wounds inflicted on the »Italic world«.⁴⁰ In Marulus' perspective from

³⁶ E r a s m u s, *Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo*, as referred to by B i s a h a, 43-93, 175.

³⁷ On this issue, see Robert S c h w o e b e l, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453-1517)* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1967) 147-175 (Chapter VI »The New Barbarians«). There is no mention of Marulus in Schwoebel's book.

³⁸ Leo X, a Medici, reigned from 11 March 1513 to 1 December 1521; see Georg S c h w a i g e r, entry »Leo X« in *Dictionary of Popes and the Papacy*, eds. Bruno Steimer and Michael G. Parker (New York: Crossroad, 2001) 88-89.

³⁹ On this pope, see Christine S h a w, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993).

⁴⁰ *In Medicem Leonem X. Pontificem Maximum; Opera Omnia (Latinski stihovi, 2005)* 160 (no. 92); »To Pope Leo X«, trans. by Graham McMaster, *The Marulić Reader*, 144-145.

Split, the Frog is Venice, the Republic to which his hometown belongs. The Mouse represents the enemies of Venice and they might be as big as the Roman Empire of the German Nation; and the Bird of Prey is the Turkish Emperor.

Marulus was, of course, not the only one calling upon the pope for help to unite the Christians against the Turks. We know, for instance, that the pope's confessor, the Franciscan Friar Petrus Galatinus (1460-1540), preached to the pope and to the cardinals about this issue on the feast of the Circumcision of the Lord in 1515. In his sermon he declared that the animosities among the Christian princes were the cause that the Turks capture all the countries by storm.⁴¹ Finally, in 1518 Leo X called for a crusade against the Ottoman Empire, but in vain,⁴² since the Germans did not cooperate.

3.3. Marulus' Use of the Title »Turkish Emperor« in the Context of European Pamphleteers

Probably on the occasion of the death of the Turkish ruler Selim I, who died unexpectedly on 20 September 1520, Marulus wrote the *Epitaph to Ottoman, the Turkish Emperor* which celebrates the loss of his temporal power through his death.⁴³ Marulus gave the Turkish ruler the same Latin title, *imperator (Epitaphium Ottomani, Turcarum imperatoris)*, »Emperor of the Turks«, that the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire claimed. From his perspective, the two dominant powers of the then known world were two »empires«, one of the Turks and the other of the Christians. With this wording Marulus fits squarely into the European mosaic because the designation »Turkish Emperor« is common verbiage in the early sixteenth century.

In a pamphlet in German (printed in Augsburg in 1523) we also find the notion *Türkisch Kayser* (Turkish Emperor; contemporary German spelling *Kaiser*). The text deals with the Black and/or Red Jews (*swartz auch rodt Juden*) who came out of Africa and gather their forces against the Turkish emperor. According to the report of a Jew, these African Jews send twelve emissaries to the Turkish emperor to admonish him to let them return to their ancestral homeland:

Should the Turk not believe they were real Jews, they were to prove their identity with great portents... And this Jew reports that they are all black and red Jews, and have come out of the uttermost deserts or dunes of Africa, who until now have been entirely hidden.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See Galatinus, *Oratio de circumcissione dominica*; as quoted in Arduinus Kleinhans, »De vita et operibus Petri Galatini, O.F.M. Scientiarum Biblicarum Cultoris (c. 1460-1540),« *Antonianum* 1 (1926) 145-179, here, 172-173.

⁴² See Schwaiger, 88.

⁴³ *Epitaphium Ottomani, Turcarum imperatoris; Opera Omnia (Latinski stihovi, 2005)* 214 (no. 152); trans. by Miljenko Kovačićek; *The Marulić Reader*, 146-147.

⁴⁴ The pamphlet is edited with an English translation in Appendix A, no. 19, in Andrew Colin Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age 1200-1600*

A reminiscence (or is it wishful thinking?) of this legendary black Jewish army out of Africa that is gathering forces against the Turkish Emperor (*Kayser*) may be found in another vernacular pamphlet (of 1530) in which the idea is expressed that »the Jews ... would lend their support« to fight the Turks.⁴⁵ The author is a Catholic, pro-Habsburg, by the name of Johann Haselberg, who wrote about the »Military Campaigns of the Turkish Emperor«, i.e. Suleiman. The long title of his booklet against the Turks (*Türkenbüchlein*; **Fig. 5**) summarizes its content about the actions of the Turkish *Kayser* who »came from Constantinople with his entire armory, by horse and on foot, on water and land and moved toward (Greek) Weysenburg, and drawing near to the royal cities Ofen in Hungary and Vienna in Austria«. The subtitle reads as follows: »With an appendix on the cruel tyranny of the Turk against the Christian nation.«⁴⁶ The woodcut on this title page depicts the two opposing armies; on the left, under the leadership of *Karolus*, »the Roman Emperor who is the Archduke of Austria and the Protector of Christendom; on the right, under the *Suldan Soleyma[n]*, the Turkish Emperor, an archenemy [*ain erbfeind*] of the Christian faith.« He hoped that a divine miracle would end all religious and even political strife so that Emperor Charles V as the head would sweep the Turks away and bring about a new Golden Age with the help of the Jews (who are not specifically identified as Black Jews or Red Jews) and all the other »sects«:

Even if the Turkish emperor were three times as powerful as he is, he would still have to flee his homeland before the Christian emperor.... The Jews and all the other sects in Christendom would lend their support to the Christian campaign.⁴⁷

Haselberg, like many others, at that time only had the Christian emperor as the universal protector in mind under whom all Christians and Jews should unite (thus, not under the papacy). Evidently, by 1530 Haselberg, the pro-Habsburg pamphleteer, no longer brought the papacy into the political play against the Turks, but only wrote of the unification of all the existing religious factions (»sects«) including the Jews under the Christian emperor. While Haselberg worked with

(Leiden, New York, Cologne: Brill, 1995) 266-272, here 267-268. Does the expression *swartz auch rodt Juden* (line 28) mean that there are two groups of Jews, black and red, as the English translation may imply, or does it mean that the Black Jews are known also (*auch*) as Red Jews?

⁴⁵ B o h n s t e d t, 37.

⁴⁶ *Des Türckische[n] Kayzers Heerzug / wie er von Constantinopel Mit aller rüstung / zu Roß und Fuß / zû wasser vnd Land etc. gen kriechische[n] Weysenburg kummen / vnd fürter/ Für die königlichen stat Ofen yn Vngern, vnnnd Wien in Osterreich gezogen / die belegert vn[d] gestuermet etc. [-] mit angehenckter ermanung / der grausamen tyranney des Turcken / wyder Christliche Nation etc. Karolus Römischer Kayser Ertzhertzog vonn Osterreich etc. Beswchymer d[er] Christenhait. Suldan Soleym[n] Türckischer Kayser ain erbfeind des Christliche[n] [sic] glaubens etc.* (Nuremberg: C. Zell, 1530), Austrian National Library; John W. B o h n s t e d t, *The Infidel Scourge of God. The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era* (Philadelphia 1968), reproduction on the title page.

⁴⁷ B o h n s t e d t, 37.

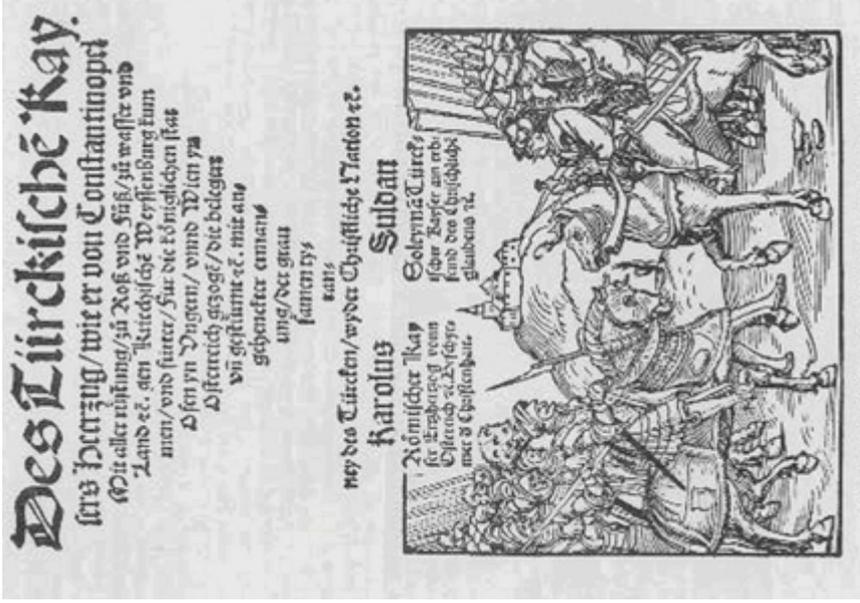


Fig. 5. Title Page Des Türckische[n] Kayser's Heerzug [The Military Campaign of the Turkish Emperor] (Nuremberg: C. Zell, 1530); Austrian National Library. For the full title, see note 46.



Fig. 6. Pope Adrian VI (1459-1523). Copper Etching by Daniel Hopfer. Caption in Latin says: Adrian of the Cimbrian Nation (Netherlands) whose hometown is Utrecht.

the concept of Jews and Christians united under the emperor against the Turks, Marulus, in contrast, would have been happy with a united Christian front under papal leadership against the Ottomans.

At about the same time, also Luther's vocabulary contained the expression »Turkish Emperor« which actually became in his mind a synonym for a deceiving murderer and robber who is possessed by the devil. Luther used the same title for the contemporary German revolutionary, Thomas Müntzer (c. 1489-1525), who was executed a few years earlier: Müntzer is a new *Turkish Kaiser*, as found in one of Luther's pamphlet of 1529.⁴⁸

3. 4. Marulus' Main Concern Seen in the Greater European Context: Frog and Mouse Must Unite Against the Bird

Sultan Sulayman I (Suleiman), the Magnificent (1494-1566), succeeded Selim I and reigned for forty-six years. His accession to the throne of the Ottoman Empire brought about a reorientation of Turkish foreign policy as he led ten military campaigns in Europe and three in Asia. In 1519 Hungary had concluded a three years' truce with Selim I, but Sulayman renewed the war in June 1521 and on 28 August 1521 captured the citadel of Belgrade, the key fortress on the Danube, which opened the road to Hungary. Pope Leo X was greatly alarmed, and although he was then involved in a war with France he sent about 30,000 ducats to the Hungarians. On 1 December 1521 Pope Leo died. A year later, the main Christian stronghold in the eastern Mediterranean, Rhodos, fell to the Turks, on Christmas Day in 1522. The new pope, Adrian VI (a Dutchman, who reigned only from 9 January 1522 to 14 September 1523)⁴⁹ was alarmed.

In the following spring, on 3 April 1522, Marulus in Split decided to call upon the new pontiff. Marulus thought it fitting to use Aesop's fable once more when he asked the new pope for help in providing homeland security against the Turks. Marulus' plea is known as *The Epistle of Lord Marcus Marulus of Split to Pope Adrian VI. About Present Misfortunes and an Exhortation to Union and Peace of all Christians* and it includes *The Prayer of Marcus Marulus to Christ for Pope Adrian VI*. Plea and prayer were printed in 1522 in Rome by B[ernardus de]

⁴⁸ *Und was suchte Muntzer itzt zu unsern zeiten, denn das er ein newer Turckischer Kayser wolt werden?* in *Vom Kriege wider die Türken (On War Against the Turks)*, WA 30-II:107-148; here 125.

⁴⁹ See Georg Schwaiger, entry »Hadrian VI« in *Dictionary of Popes and the Papacy*, 54.

⁵⁰ *Epistola domini Marci Marvli Spalatensis ad Adrianvm. VI. pont[ificem] max[imum] de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad commvnem omnium Christianorum vnionem et pacem* (Rome: Bernardinus. de Vitalibus, 1522). The prayer *Pro Adriano VI. Pontifice Maximo ad Christum oratio* is edited in *Opera Omnia (Latinski stihovi, 2005)* 162 (no. 94). Dedication, Epistle, and Prayer are now available in *The Marulić Reader*, 90-109, trans. by Vera Andrassy.

V[italibus].⁵⁰ Marulus's letter had been requested by the Dominican Friar Dominik Buća of Kotor (Dominicus Buchia; c. 1480 — c. 1560), biblical scholar and preacher, who had asked Marulus to appeal to the pope as the head of the Church, not to allow kings and princes to fight each other, but to lead them to unity and prepare a war against the infidels. Marulus mentioned this in his cover letter, in which he asked the friar to forward his text to Rome.⁵¹ Marulus told the pope that the Turkish infidels had not yet besieged the towns of Dalmatia, but all the rest is open to plunder. They intended to attack the towns, too, and declare war on the Venetians, »our masters«. The Turks are called the »infidel wolves« (*infideles lupos*),⁵² »the Mohammedan beast« (*Maumetana bellua*),⁵³ and the »most godless of all Antichrists« (*Antichristorum impiissima natio*).⁵⁴ Churches have been turned into stables, iconoclasm is rampant. Belgrade had fallen the previous summer (29 August 1521). Marulus reminded the pope of this fact. The roads would soon be open to Illyria, Germany, Italy, and the rest of the Christian world (*christianorum orbem*).⁵⁵ The Turks pillaged monasteries, raped the maidens, circumcised the boys »according to the custom of the Mohammedan faithlessness« (*Maumethana perfidia*)⁵⁶ or the »barbarian faithlessness« (*barbarica perfidia*),⁵⁷ and turned them into infidels. Marulus uses the Latin notion *perfidia*, not *haeresis* or *secta*. The English translation of *Maumethana perfidia* as »Mohammedan heresy« may be wanting from a theological point of view that would define »heresy« primarily as an inner-ecclesiastical issue (unless one would view Islam altogether as a Christian sect).⁵⁸ Marulus wanted to stress the stark contrast between the Christians and the followers of Mohammed. Likely, he did not consider Islam as a Christian sect.

Marulus' plea to the pope is situated in the acerbated religious and geo-political constellation in which he made use of Aesop's fable of the Frog, the Mouse, and the Bird of Prey (translated as the »Hawk«). Here, the Frog and the Mouse represent the entire »Christian world« (*orbs christianorum*) which Marulus also calls »Christian republic«, »Christian kingdoms«, or »Christian commonwealth«:

Believe me, the Christian commonwealth [*Res publica Christiana*]
will be lost, unless they all, with the same intention, the same faith
and in unity, join forces and, having combined their armies and called

⁵¹ See *The Marulić Reader*, 90-91.

⁵² *The Marulić Reader*, 106-107.

⁵³ *The Marulić Reader*, 102-103.

⁵⁴ *The Marulić Reader*, 94-95.

⁵⁵ *The Marulić Reader*, 96.

⁵⁶ *The Marulić Reader*, 94-95 and 100-101.

⁵⁷ *The Marulić Reader*, 96-97. In Marulus' *Evangelistarium* one finds the notion *impietas* applied to Moslems and Jews: *Iudaica uel Machumetana uel aliqua alia impietate...*; Book 2 on Hope, Chapter 1, on Luke 23.

⁵⁸ On the definition of heresy in the earlier middle ages, see W. Lourdeau and D. Verhelst, eds., *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages, 11th - 13th Centuries* (The Hague, 1976).

on the name of Christ to go forth to war and choose death rather than serve the barbaric perfidy [*barbaricae perfidiae*]....

It is here [in Marulus' homeland], then, that the enemy should be opposed, that he should be repelled with all our might and effort, so that the flood, which is such a horrendous threat, may not spread and engulf the countries that remain. The common menace [*commune periculum*] should be repelled in a combined campaign! Let no-one think to be safe because a great expanse of territory separates him from the frontiers of the infidels [*ab impiorum finibus*]....

Therefore, Holy Father, lest the Christian kingdoms are crushed one after another by the onslaught of the infidel tyrant while they are fighting against each other, it is for you because of your wisdom and the dignity of your office, to see to it that those who are quarrelling are speedily reconciled, that they refrain from [further] injustices, prefer peace over war, and with a united front defend themselves and their property against the attacks of the most rapacious wolf of wolves....

Do not stop, Most Holy Father, to help those who are within your boundaries with weapons, money, and necessary supplies [*armis, pecunia, rebus necessariis*]....⁵⁹

At the center of his letter, Marulus refers to the fable of the Mouse and the Frog (*apologus muris et ranae*), but without mentioning the Bird of Prey in referring to the title of the fable. Clearly his focus is on the Frog and the Mouse. Yet, in the text itself Marulus includes the third animal character, the *miluus* (kite, bird of prey) which another translator rendered with »hawk«. Marulus does not use — from the Latin vocabulary available to him — the other option for the flying object, such as the harmless *ales* (which Hutten chose), but qualified by Hutten as »Jupiter's bird«, i.e. Eagle (see above). Marulus opts for *miluus*, the flying kite of prey.

Believe me, now is not the time to remember domestic injustices, and seek retribution, lest we experience the same fate as is described in the fable of the Mouse and the Frog.⁶⁰ A frog was dragging a mouse across a pond in order to drown it in deep water and the mouse was struggling to free itself. A hawk (*miluus*), flying above them and seeing them wrestling on the surface of the water, suddenly plunged down, seized them with his claws and tore them to pieces with his beak. This, it seems to me, will be the fate of those who are now quarrelling among themselves, if they do not stop. For while they are plotting each other's downfall, while they are fighting each other, the barbarian will profit

⁵⁹ My own translation, based on *The Marulić Reader*, 92-108.

⁶⁰ *The Marulić Reader*, 102-103. However, I changed the word sequence in accordance with the Latin: *apologo detur locus muris et ranae*.

from their division and weakness, attack them as soon as an opportunity arises and conquer them effortlessly.

For Marulus at this point it was rather irrelevant whether the bird is a hawk, a falcon, or an eagle, as long as it is a bird of prey that is to be feared. In support of his plea, Marulus beseeched the pontiff to follow the example of the biblical king, David, and postpone any deserved, just punishment of present-day offenders against the Church:

The biblical story [*sacra historia*] shows that King David proceeded in this way. He did not wish to punish Joab and Shimei, the son of Gera, when they erred [2 Samuel 16:5 and 19:16; 1 Kings 2:5-9]... When he had overcome the enemy, he ordered his son Solomon to punish them when he succeeded him to the throne. Follow his example, Most Holy Father [*Sanctissime pater*], and postpone the penalty which those who have sinned against the Church deserve.⁶¹

One may assume that here Marulus hints at the pope's troubles with the Lutheran reformers in Germany as those who have offended the Church (*qui ecclesiam offenderunt*). Marulus warns the pope with the words of Matt 12:25:

»Every kingdom divided against itself will be ruined, and every city or household divided against itself will not stand.« Those who believe in Christ have one kingdom and one church. If they continue in their discord, their kingdom will crumble.... Those who do not believe the Gospel and doubt that this will happen should at least listen to the pagan writer [*gentilem*; Sallust] who says »Concord makes small things grow, discord destroys even the greatest.«⁶²

3.5. Marulus differs on who should be mindful of the Wrath of God

Marulus' great concern was the ecumenical unity of the Christian nations which are represented by the Mouse and the Frog and which appear thus so small if compared to the mighty Bird of Prey, the Turks. The contemporary German pamphlets on the Turks (*Türkenbüchlein*) tend to interpret the Turkish menace directly and exclusively as a scourge inflicted by God's wrath and then concern themselves often with the personal sins of the Christians as remedy.⁶³ In marked contrast, to Marulus it is (primarily?) the animosity among the Christian nations

⁶¹ *The Marulić Reader*, 102-103 (my translation, slightly altered here).

⁶² *Concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur* (my own translation); see *The Marulić Reader*, 104-107 with note 13; with reference to Sallust, *Iug.* 10,5.

⁶³ See B o h n s t e d t, 3.

that provokes God's wrath (*ira Dei*). The Catholic Croatian, unlike the German Lutherans,⁶⁴ does not simply identify the coming of the Turks as punishment for provoking the wrath of God. According to his Open Letter to the pope, the discord among Christian nations causes God's anger: »Hating each other, they provoke God's wrath.«⁶⁵ One may thus question or at least refine the all too generalizing statement in a study of the Croatian literature of the sixteenth century that the Turks as such are the punishment of God, a concept which supposedly is found in the works of the Dalmatian and Ragusan authors.⁶⁶ It would presume, mistakenly, an identical view of these authors and of Luther who saw in the Turks the wrath and punishment of God.⁶⁷

In contrast, Marulus sees God's wrath directed toward the disunity among the Christians. However, reformers and humanists alike all worked with the contrast of »faithful« Christians versus »infidel« Turks or Mohammedans and with the concept of the »Turkish menace«. The religious differences between Christianity and Islam are clearly spelled out by Marulus as his poem »About the War Between the French and the Spaniards« (undated) shows: »The bitter foe of all Christianity, Mohammed, wants to spread his power upon the entire world.« He is the »common enemy«.⁶⁸

In terms of a historical footnote, Marulus' desire for unity among the Christian nations was fulfilled in part when in August 1523 Pope Adrian VI formed a new alliance with the Frog and the Mouse, i.e. the Republic of Venice, Holy Roman Empire, and the Kingdom of England — but primarily not against the Turkish emperor, but against France. For the time being, the Mouse and the Frog appeared united partly and no longer in a fatal way as the fable has it. Yet, shortly afterwards the pope died and in the course of the sixteenth century the religious disunity of Europe was cemented for centuries to come.

⁶⁴ Primarily, Martin Luther, Andreas Osiander, Justus Jonas, or Veit Dietrich.

⁶⁵ ... *odiis flagrantes Dei aduersum se iram prouocant*; *The Marulić Reader*, 98. Note-worthy and in need of further study is the difference between the German view of the Turkish menace as God's wrath and Marulus' view.

⁶⁶ See Edelgard Albrecht, *Das Türkenbild in der ragusanisch-dalmatinischen Literatur des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Verlag Otto Sag..., 1965) 152-161: »Die Vorstellung der Türken als Gottesstrafe finden wir sogar in den Werken der dalmatischen und ragusanischen Schriftsteller.« This author mistakenly refers to Marulus as a »Ragusan poet« (*Ragusaner Dichter*, 83), Ragusa is the Latin designation for Dubrovnik. Albrecht's view is accepted by Gölner, vol. 3:83 and 178.

⁶⁷ On Luther's view, see Martin Albrecht, »Luther und die Türken,« in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, 9-27 (as in note 10); Gregory J. Miller, »Fighting Like a Christian: The Ottoman Advance and the Development of Luther's Doctrine of Just War,« in *Caritas et Reformatio: Essays on Church and Society in Honor of Carter Lindberg*, ed. David M. Whitford (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2002) 41-57; idem, »Luther on the Turks and Islam,« in *Harvesting Martin Luther's reflection on theology, ethics, and the church*, ed. Timothy J. Wengert (Grand Rapids MI and Cambridge UK: Eerdmans, 2004) 185-203.

⁶⁸ *The Marulić Reader*, 144-145; trans. by Miljenko Kovačićek.

At about the same time, Marulus found an emulator of sorts in the German Lutheran knight, Hartmut von Kronberg, who also wrote an open letter to Pope Adrian, *Eyn sendbrieff an Babst Adrianum*⁶⁹ printed at Wittenberg in 1523. However, Kronberg did not use the fable. He sounded more like Hutten, as he demanded that the papacy dissolve its wealth in order to provide funds against the Turks⁷⁰ and also dissolve itself as an institution and abolish its own preachers who should be replaced by (Lutheran) preachers of the Gospel. Then, after all of Europe has accepted the Lutheran Gospel, the gigantic military action against the Turks may begin and would liberate the many Christian brethren who had been living under the Turkish yoke.⁷¹

Evidently, Catholics and Lutherans in Germany were drifting apart on their view of the role of the papacy in the defense against the Turkish Emperor. Yet, an anonymous Catholic author of 1522, probably from southern Germany or Switzerland (judging by the spelling of his book title, *Türcken biechlin*), was equally very critical of the papacy for its worldly concerns and for draining Christendom of its cash resources that were needed to fight the Turks. He advocated the separation of church and state.⁷²

While all these ideas were floating around in the intellectual milieu of his time, Marulus stuck to his adherence to the popes, and he decided to write another poem, sometime in November-December 1523, in order to express congratulations to the newly elected Pope, Clement VII (a Medici, who reigned from 19 November 1523 to 25 September 1534). Marulus again called for the political unity of the Christian rulers against the Turkish advances. It was Marulus' last piece of the »*antiturcica* genre«.⁷³ However, he no longer made use of Aesop's fable.

Conclusion

In the religious-political context, in which Marulus lived, he assigned the Bird of Prey to the Turkish Empire. In doing so, Marulus had a broad, global view. With his great concerns regarding the Turkish menace, the Croatian humanist and

⁶⁹ *Daryn mit Christlichem warhaftigen grund angetzeigt wurd eyn sicherer heylsamer weg zu ausreuttung aller ketzereyen: vnd zu heylsamer rettung gantzer Christenheytt von des Türcken tyranny* (Wittenberg: no printer name given, 1523); edited in *Die Schriften Hartmuths von Cronberg*, ed. E. Kück (Halle: Niemeyer, 1899) 117-120; Bohnstedt, 11 and 53. The pamphlet is posted on a Hungarian website with a different spelling of the title which may indicate a printing that is different from the one edited in 1899: <http://vmek.oszk.hu/html/vgi/vkereses/vborito2.phtml?id=3624>

⁷⁰ See B o h n s t e d t, 11.

⁷¹ B o h n s t e d t, 36-37.

⁷² *Türcken biechlin* (no printer name given, 1522); B o h n s t e d t, 30.

⁷³ See L u č i n, *The Marulić Reader*, 19.

lay theologian in one way fits squarely into the cultural context of European humanists with their same concerns about the Turkish menace, though perceived in various degrees of urgency. Marulus and Hutten just like Erasmus (whom Marulus admired),⁷⁴ and others called for a defense against the Turkish attacks. Both, Marulus and other humanists were convinced that the lack of solidarity among Christians would help the advances of the Ottoman Empire towards the heart of Europe.⁷⁵ In another way, Marulus does not fit as snugly into this mosaic. As a Catholic Croatian he allowed for or demanded a greater leadership role for the papacy. The Catholic Marulus appealed to the pope for help, in contrast to the Lutherans like Hutten, who relied on the emperor. Hutten and German Lutherans wanted to exclude the pope from the coalition against the Turks, while Marulus expected the pope to take a role of leadership.

In terms of metaphors from Aesop's fable, the Bird of Prey was not employed for the Ottoman Empire by any other poets and authors except by Marulus in his unique situation in the far south-eastern part of the Republic of Venice. To the Germans the mighty bird always was the imperial Eagle as shown on the coat of arms of their emperor. In this connection, Germans like Hutten appear occasionally rather provincial or narrowly nationalistic and self-centered in their own empire as they wanted their emperor to fight the Frog of Venice. Marulus had the wider vision and saw the Christian emperor, although awkwardly compared to the little Mouse, tied to the Republican Frog of the Western world, while from the South-east of Europe the now clearly defined flying object has already landed, the ferocious Bird of Prey, the Turkish emperor.

⁷⁴ See Marcus Marulus Thomae Nigro, *Scardonensi Episcopo, Salutem Plurimam Dicit*, in *Opera Omnia* 11 (1992) 21-22; see Bratislav Lučin, »Erasmus and the Croats in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries«, *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 24 (2004) 89-114, especially 100-101.

⁷⁵ See Maria Cytowska, »Erasmus et les Turcs«, *Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum* 62 (1974) 311-321; Norman Housley, »A Necessary Evil? Erasmus, the Crusade, and War against the Turks«, in *The Crusades and Their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, eds. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) 259-279, here 277; Franjo Šanjek, »Marulić and the Spiritual Movements of Humanism and the Reform«, trans. Nella Popović, in »Dossier: Marko Marulić«, ed. Bratislav Lučin, *Most/The Bridge. A Journal of Croatian Literature* 1-4 (1999) 133-136, here 134-135.

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HRVATSKOGA HUMANISTA MARKA MARULIĆA
I NJEMAČKOGA HUMANISTA ULRICHA VON HUTTENA

Dominantna sila srednjega vijeka bilo je Sveto Rimsko Carstvo njemačke narodnosti, što ga u kontekstu Ezopove basne Ulrich von Hutten prikazuje kao orla, koji je suprotstavljen žabi – Mletačkoj Republici. Hutttenovo djelo popraćeno je drvorezom Hansa Weiditza, koji je usredotočen na orla i žabu. Njemački ovjenčani pjesnik potpuno je usmjeren na povijesni sukob tih dviju sila u ranom 16. st. On prepoznaje tursku prijetnju, ali odbacuje zamisao da bi papinstvo trebalo preuzeti vodeću ulogu u obrani od otomanskog nadiranja. Zajedno sa sljedbenicima Luthera, koji stupaju na scenu u Njemačkoj, on se priklanja caru kao jedinomu vođi Zapada.

Marulić se, naprotiv, koristi Ezopovom basnom na drugačiji način. Najprije prikazuje neprijateljstvo miša i žabe, koji predstavljaju zapadni svijet, a onda identificira pticu grabljivicu kao prijeteće Turke, koji se približavaju njegovoj domovini. Tako postupa u dva svoja teksta: u pjesmi *Protiv nesloge kršćanskih vladara* i u *Poslanici papi Hadrijanu VI*. U tome se podudara s piscima onodobnih europskih pamfleta, jer i on, poput Erazma i drugih, govori o Turcima kao o novim barbarima: ovi predstavljaju nevjerništvo (ne krivovjerje). »Nevjera« je ključni pojam u Marulićevim književnim djelima. Njegova uporaba u kontekstu *antiturska* u ovom se radu tumači na temelju brojnih izvadaka što ih je o tom pojmu pisac prikupio u svojem *Repertoriju*. Marulić ostavlja otvorenom mogućnost da se njegov pogled na islam protumači kao da bi ovaj možda bio neka vrsta kršćanskoga krivovjerja. Pitanje krivovjerja ima veliku ulogu u suvremenom sporu oko Reuchlina i židovskih knjiga, koje su po nekima bile krivovjerne i stoga ih je trebalo spaliti.

Kao i drugi europski pisci, i Marulić otomanskoga poglavara zove »turskim carem«, analogno caru Svetoga Rimskog Carstva njemačke narodnosti. U pogledu turske prijetnje Marulića najviše brine nedostatak sloge među kršćanskim vladarima. Miš i žaba, kao predstavnici Zapada, moraju se ujediniti protiv ptice grabljivice. U pokušaju da potakne rimskoga papu, Marulić Turke opisuje kao nevjernike, kao muhamedansku zvijer i grabežljive vukove, uvodeći tako i druge metafore opasnih životinja. No središnje mjesto u njegovu pozivu papi zauzima slika miša, žabe i grabljivice iz Ezopove basne.

Sasvim različito od drugih europskih pisaca, koji možda pojednostavnjeno pišu o turskoj prijetnji kao o »Božjem gnjevu« što snalazi kršćanski svijet, Marulić lamentira zbog nesloge među kršćanskim nacijama, videći upravo u njoj uzrok Božjemu gnjevu. Dok se u doba rane reformacije – osobito kod Huttena i drugih

njemačkih sljedbenika Luthera – papinski autoritet i vodeći položaj u borbi protiv Turaka dovodi u pitanje, Marulić tijekom čitava života ostaje uvjeren da bi papinstvo trebalo izvršavati pripadajuću mu predvodničku zadaću u obrani od turske prijetnje.