

Trace of Faction/Fiction in Roberto Kauk's Historical Narrative *Last Days in the Life of Nikola Zrinjski Jr., Croatian Viceroy (1879)*

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Abstract

The question of parallelism of past events and their account in literary discourse, legitimation of oral accounts as historical facts and appreciation of oral preservation of antiquities has been studied on the literary text Last days in the life of Nikola Zrinjski Jr., Croatian Viceroy, written as a historical narrative by Franciscan Robert Kauk (Vukovar, 1848 – Zagreb, 1900). We observed traces of fact and degree of referencing of what has been written relying on the positivist and mimetic approach to text and the dominating rationalist tradition. Then we continued with observing traces of fiction with non-historical elements referring to the achievements of narratology and linguistic inversion which place the center of interpretation on the role of language and narration, thus unburdening referential verification and text value, and emphasizing the narrative identity and symbolic structure of the story. The different ending of Kauk's story, as a deviation from the official story of the death of Nikola Zrinjski in a boar hunt near Čakovec on November 18, 1664, indicates an awareness that the textual legacy contains historical and linguistic structures indicating differences between faction and fiction.

Key words: *faction; fiction; historiographic discourse; literary discourse; narratology.*

Introduction

The most distinguished sprouts of the genealogy tree of the Zrinjski family are recorded in the collective memory not only as historical figures but also as heroic

figures and literary characters. From the aspect of literary history, we can conclude that the conspirators Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan, the date April 30, 1671 and the hero of Siget Nikola Šubić Zrinski from 1566 have been an inexhaustible source of inspiration for Croatian and Hungarian literary processes in various genres. Dramatizations relating to the mentioned are united under the common name *zrinijada*, which have been performed at event anniversaries in national theaters as the media with high performative power.

Although the recognized and acknowledged hero, the celebrated, skilled commander to whom European contemporaries sang dithyrambs, politician and Croatian Viceroy Nikola Zrinski VII, Jr. or of Čakovec is shadowed in literature by his great grandfather, the hero of Siget – Nikola Šubić Zrinski and the Siget epos from 1566 and brother – conspirator Petar Zrinski. For instance, there is no complete biography of Nikola Zrinski, and we will deal with the tragic ending of his life on a corpus of two texts. Under unexplained circumstances far from the public eye, on November 18, 1664 in the forest hunting grounds, present-day Roma settlement, Kuršanečki Lug, near Čakovec, the Croatian Viceroy Nikola Zrinski, died in his heyday, at the peak of his fame, known across Europe for his heroism and poetry.

The Croatian Viceroy Nikola Zrinski was clasped like the Croatian national area between the expansionist politics of the Ottoman Empire and Habsburg Monarchy. He had a dangerous enemy whom he successfully fought in the battlefield, where his bravery, military strategy and skill came into view. However, he also had a dangerous political rival tsar/king Leopold 1st and the Viennese court who used different strategies, often obstructing the efforts of the Zrinski, Croats and Hungarians, who defended with blood the boundaries of their territory and property. Historical pieces of the clash of Islam and Christianity and pieces on the clash with the double-headed eagle of Habsburg make up a mosaic in the political area of Croatia flooded in blood and clasped between two imperial powers. Kings of Arms of the two dynasties faced each other over the issue of rule and authority and the interpretation of the Golden Bull of Andrew 2nd which enabled nobility to lead defense wars at their own expense and also to appropriate the spoils of war. What is more, article 31 stated that in case of obstruction of the ruler, it gives nobility the right of defense of the ruler due to illegal deeds and denial of rights, while tsar and king Leopold 1st increased the discontent by undermining the caste system of Hungary and Croatia. The more the Zrinski were successful in wars, the more powerful, recognized, famed and richer they became – under the authorization of the Golden Bull, thus becoming a threat to the centralist politics of Leopold 1st (Kallay, 2002, pp. 209–222).

Historical Truth and Literary Fiction

We do not know what happened on November 18, 1664 in Krušanečki Lug, but we do know what was recorded. While the historian is interested in history as a historical subject and the question of “what happened”, the philologist is primarily interested in

“what has been said, what has been recorded” (Katičić, 1993, p. 11). The historical truth of the death of the Croatian Viceroy Nikola VII Zrinski turned into an inheritance of written and oral stories from which we well select two texts of different postings and discourse: the memorial *Mars Hungaricus* (Esterházy, 1989) written in Latin 1665 – 1668 by Pál Esterházy (1635 – 1713) and the text *Last Days in the Life of Nikola Zrinjski Jr., Croatian Viceroy: historical narrative* by Franciscan writer Robert Kauk,¹ unveiled in print in Vukovar in 1879.

Each text holds a secret, and by tacit agreement entices us to penetrate the text, follow it, comprehend and understand, enjoy it and identify with the empire *as if*, upgrade it and mentally expand it. We can believe it, find it truthful or false, and search for reflections of the extra-textual world or socio-physical reality. By correlating extra-textual and literary reality, extra-textual and textual world, it has become necessary to emphasize the difference between the terms faction and fiction. Depending on the degree of referencing reality in a literary text, we differentiate faction from literary fiction. Faction implies the type of register which has a greater referential relationship towards reality such as a description of facts or an account of what has happened. Faction embraces accounts/descriptions of historical events where we expect a great degree of referencing towards reality. Literary faction refers to narrative prose based on true events and documentary literature which Gerard Genett (2002, pp. 46–67) names factographic story. If the degree of referencing reality is smaller, we refer to literary fiction which does not have pretensions towards the truth.

The relationship between historiography and literature is usually observed as a relationship of reality and fiction, showing more trust in history as a mindful awareness and science as a rationally arranged knowledge, while literature is considered fiction. Due to the dominating rationalist tradition in approaching texts, primarily positivist and mimetic, we check for facts and the degree of referencing of the written text in relation to objective facts, we check for truthfulness and credibility of the entry regardless of whether the discourse is historiographic or literary.

In accounts of past events, whether historiographic or literary discourse, the issue of parallelism of past events and their accounts is raised, as the past can yield “many possible forms of its own historiographic account” (Biti, 2000, p. 14). That is how historiography as “strict and objective science seriously became shaken, while its figurative, fictional aspect emerged into the foreground” (Biti, 2000, p. 32). Along with historical ambiguity, *what happened* (experience) and *what has been said/written*

¹ Franciscan writer Roberto Kauk was born on July 4, 1848 in Vukovar. In 1862, he entered the novitiate St. Ivan Kapistran. He attended the school of theology in Baja and was ordained in 1871. He was professor of theology at schools of theology in Baja and Vukovar where he taught church history and canonical law. In Ilok he was guardian and vicar 1885 – 1890, definator 1887 – 1890, secretary of the Province 1890 – 1893, head of the house in Zemun 1891 – 1892, and prison chaplain in Lepoglava. He died in Zagreb on October 16, 1900.

Works: *Last Days in the Life of Nikola Zrinjski Jr., Croatian Viceroy: historical narrative* (1879), *Entertaining and educational stories* (1880), *Milica* (1884), *Fiancé: story from life* (1885), *Juditha or faith and homeland* (1883), *Collected poems* (1894), *Convict* (1900), *Images from prisoners' lives* (1902) and other.

to have happened (account/description), literature brings with it the *what could have happened*. In both of the mentioned texts, truth can be observed only in the textual, linguistic world, i.e. *what was said/written to have happened* (account). Truth in the textual world of a written narrative on the death of Nikola Zrinjski is formed and transferred through language. The truth about language is that it is “a mobile army of metaphor, metonymy and anthropomorphism. In short, a sum of human relationships which are poetically and rhetorically magnified, transposed and beautified and which, after prolonged use, seem strong, canonical and mandatory: truths are illusions about which man has forgotten that this is what they are” (Nietzsche, 1954, pp. 46–47).

While reading older texts we meet up with their opaqueness considering that incomprehension of their speech and cultural tradition in which they were written contribute to the change of codes of the written culture. In our insistence on facts and conceptual, logical knowledge, we first try to establish the factual state and degree of referencing and check truthfulness and credibility of what has been written. In relying on material remnants and precisely written sources, our modern memory is archival. Knowledge stored in documents and archived matter is positively evaluated ascribing it the value of objective facts with reference to extra-textual reality. Observed from the literary and historiographic, i.e. textual aspect, the truth contained in the narrative on the death of Nikola Zrinjski is multiplied as an observer's or marker's matter which decreases objectivity, pluralizes subjectivity and disperses as “manifold filtered matter of the reader's impression” (Biti, 2000, pp. 10–11). We will present this using two texts dealing with the death of Nikola Zrinjski from the 17th and 19th century.

Considering that texts hold secrets, literary science must reveal them using the hermeneutic method and textual analysis. In addition to the narrative competence, and the ability to follow a plot, using narrative intelligence and the competence to comprehend narrative processes, a scientist must provide an explanation as the narrative a priori contains the explanatory model. “To understand a story means to understand the speech and cultural tradition from which a particular type of plot emerges” (Brnčić, 2007, p. 278). According to Hayden White (2004), the past is not a story but a matter of history, and history is a story (Kisić Kolanović, 2003, pp. 217–133). Along with the historical elements, the observed texts contain non-historic, rhetorical, literary elements which, more or less, distance reality or *what happened* from *what has been written to have happened*.

Pavao Esterházy, *Mars Hungaricus*, 1665 – 1668

The contemporary and faithful follower of Nikola Zrinjski, young Pavao Esterházy (1635 – 1713) noted in the memorial *Mars Hungaricus* (Esterházy, 1989) written in Latin 1665 – 1668, soon after the fall of the fort Novi Zrin and the death of Nikola Zrinjski in 1664, *what he heard to have happened* as he was not the empirical witness to the event. According to his text, the death of Nikola Zrinjski was an accident that happened in Krušanečki lug after the hunting when he was unexpectedly attacked

by a wounded boar and soon after died. He interprets it as misfortune, which is the result of an accident, ill fortune, and destiny, which is further confirmed by the signs from the heavens proclaiming a bad future which truly happened. Such is Esterházy's explanation following the static understanding of history in the 17th century, which was the history of rulers, warfare, intrigues, and an account of many ups and downs of rulers pronounced by God's will or *vis major* and therefore could not be changed. As the rulers were God-given, they were replaced by God's will, while man cannot influence nor change history considering that it is determined by faith or accident. By introducing the astrological component in the explanation and by placing accident into the wider, general, global context, Esterházy weakened the truthfulness of the historiographic layer and incited criticism by contemporary researchers and followers of the firm, academic historiographic discourse. Simultaneously, his expression reached broader layers of readership and the legend genre. Credibility of the historiographic account weakens the fatalistic interpretation of the tragic event from the political elite circle, which echoed throughout Europe, particularly in Croatia and Hungary that yearned for heroes and commanders in anti-Ottoman wars. However, critical reading imposes the need for rationalizing the fatalistic. The death of Nikola Zrinski was transformed into a factographic hunter's tale in the 17th century. Today we read the same piece as a kind of legend and approach it critically with a touch of suspicion towards its credibility and truthfulness. Legendary texts impose the problem of referential verification as a problem *par excellence* considering that the issue of truth/fact/reality and false/fictive/imaginary is placed in the extra-literary and literary reality. Contemporary reception is rather skeptical when dealing with the legendary text that undermines the boundary between contingency and sense. The 17th century did not differentiate literature and history – in describing past events in ancient history and the middle ages history was a sort of literary or narrative history which needed a plot and narrative. "In the 18th century, history, like literature was simply one rhetorical form of presenting reality, individual ability (*Kunst*) and personal knowledge (*Wissenschaft*) which was not subjugated to the universal logical postulate of truth. *Kunst* started to remove itself from *Wissenschaft* only with the emancipation of the sensory knowledge from the intellectual knowledge at the end of the century when the former type of knowledge is related to the subject and the latter with the community" (Biti, 2000, p. 22). As the theme was the accident and death of the most influential man in Croatia, Esterházy could not choose the plot, but had to create a tragic plot, adding the fatalistic point of view to the tragic-hero one according to the static understanding of history where history itself is fate and overall, a tragic event.

Esterházy's story is formed as prose, as a verbal structure wanting to be a legitimate source of objective data, united by the tragic plot and interpreted with an explanation emerging from the static understanding of history as fate. Esterházy wants to present the event, locate it and document it calculating that his historiographic narrative will be verified as a source of convincing and truthful data, as a factual story under

institutional, state protection. According to Hayden White (2004), a story belongs to history, but its relationship towards past reality and *what had actually happened* is covered with a textual veil and can only be observed as textual truth, i.e. *what has been said/ written to have happened*. Using a narrative structure, Esterházy presents past events with the concept of old, static understanding of history, which is evident in the confidence in heritage, passive, irreplaceable tradition and continuity along with maintaining the steady order as God's work or ruin. Such understanding was revised in the 19th century and replaced with a dynamic understanding of history where man's transformative role becomes prominent. The role of the author ready to revise the institutionally verified narrative on the death of Nikola Zrinjski was taken by writer Franciscan Roberto Kauk who wrote the historical narrative *Last Days in the Life of Nikola Zrinjski Jr., Croatian Viceroy*. He published the work in 1879 intending to reveal the actual truth, addressing the *dear reader* in the preface with "only through great effort can one reach historical truth" (Kauk, 1879, p. 1).

Roberto Kauk, *Last Days in the Life of Nikola Zrinjski Jr., Croatian Viceroy; Historical Narrative (Vukovar, 1879)*

The idea that people create history and note past events created a shift in understanding history in the 19th century. In selecting from the chaotic reality what will be shown to have happened mingles with history and by means of language provides a causal order (Beljan, 2010, p. 221). In his relation to the order of historical events, choice was crucial. If not manipulated and written under pressure or for different motives, the recorder is free in selecting, and becomes an active factor in constructing the historical account. In determining historical events through notation, one uses historical narrative and plot, and shapes a story. Readership and historians also become active in the interpretation of the record, discovery of the enigma and become actors in unraveling the teleogenetic plot (Davis, 1992, p. 355) through which they change the account of the historic event and access to historical facts. Owing to teleogenetic plots, authors and readers have the possibility to modify *what has been said/ written to have happened* while *what had actually happened* remains in the area of a past and singular experience, frequently without the possibility to check truthfulness, particularly after a time delay.

Human history started being observed as being such as people have created it and historians presented and explained it as late as the 19th century. Considering that they create history, they can modify its accounts, while historians can alter it through subsequent interpretation. With the awareness that historical events are formed into a story with a plot, Roberto Kauk observes the past account of the death of Nikola Zrinjski by creating an entirely different story and plot from Esterházy's. Involving the reader to question the institutionally verified story of the death of Nikola Zrinjski and solve the plot he creates an illusion of change and transformation of the past. Kauk's

historical narrative with an entirely different plot offers revelation, its own truth that leads to doubting the truth in Esterházy's account while *what had actually happened* remains in history unchecked and/or forgotten.

The referential verification and value of the text unburdened the linguistic turn in researching the relationship between historiography and fiction in the 20th century which initiated rereading of texts emphasizing the role and significance of language and narration. Hayden White (2004) and Dominick LaCapra (Kisić Kolanović, 2003, p. 227) claim that historical documents do not contain only information about the past but can be read as literary texts considering that they possess rhetorical value. Therefore, the tools for interpretation and key to understanding the mentioned texts will be taken from the rhetoric and narratology as it is necessary to interpret the rhetoric of the documents and tackle deconstructive reading of the text.

Considering that reality, or better said, its parts are located in textual processes and transferred to the textual world, it is necessary to decipher the context of writing, reception and critical reading (Kisić Kolanović, 2003, p. 232). The context of writing includes the author and his intentions. The occasion for writing and publishing the observed historical narrative *Last Days in the Life of Nikola Zrinjski, Jr., Croatian Viceroy* was the 220th anniversary of the arrival of Franciscans to Čakovec from the newly founded *Illyrian parish of St. Ladislav* with headquarters in Zagreb on the invitation of Croatian Viceroy and mayor of Čakovec Nikola Zrinski in 1659. As literature of the 19th century is performative, and in extra-literary functions, it is involved in the national-integration processes (Coha, 2007, pp. 265–296), we can easily detect the national functionality, political and social tendentiousness and moral in Kauk's text, which turns to great history and a powerful individual. The chronicle style with which he begins the historical narrative, indicates the author's intention to offer recipients a lesson from one part of national history, i.e. the clash of the cross and crescent, which is what makes it a historical text with moral agency, mobilizing national feelings and promoting enthusiasm through fame, heroic past and emphasizing the importance of preserving historical heritage of the people. Kauk fits the tragic plot and historical narrative of the 17th century into the national-integrational narrative of the 19th century with a performative effect. The preface expounds the intention to reveal historical truth, which is not an easy task considering that historians draw data on Croatian history from old sources, which are not objective, but filled with hetero-imagery, and the tendency is to "diminish the prominence of our people" (Kauk, 1879, p. 1).

Institutionally verified and under state protection, accepted by the majority of historians, Esterházy's narrative can be taken as the zero degree narrative on the death of Nikola Zrinski which reached Kauk two centuries later with an evident entry of codes of recent written culture. The two observed texts differ in the manner in which the death is presented, as their referential relationship towards reality is not the same (Beljan, 2010, p. 220). Kauk's text, which begins with a chronicle style and

chronological order, and ends in a novelistic style with a plot and tragic epilogue, contains historical and linguistic structures and their tracking points to differences between the truthful and poetical, factual and fictional. If we shift from fact to meaning, i.e. from reference towards re-figuration (Brnčić, 2009, p. 228), we focus on the linguistic aspects of the text and not factual. Historiography and literature actually collect markers, not facts (Biti, 2000, p. 17). If we observe the narrator, we can conclude that the literate, educated, privileged individual from the Franciscan order forms the plot and story using known conventions, i.e. creates meaning through narration, as according to White (2003), narration is a system of creating meaning (Beljan, 2010, p. 208). The beginning of *historical narrative* indicates a historical narration from the impersonal aspect and objective position of a chronicler who threads factual accounts and arguments as historical elements thus creating reliance on objectivity and truthfulness of what has been presented. Then, from the chronological sequence of facts, he moves towards non-historical elements: plot formation, story composition, fabulation, which signifies the interpretation of historical facts and creates a subjective experience of the narrated story leading to the weakening of the historiographic level. Through plot and characters that emerge as subjects, he transforms the historical narrative into fictional narrative. It is difficult to establish the generic affiliation of Kauk's text as it intertwines historiographic narration and fictional story, i.e. from a hidden narrative genre shifts into exposed (Biti, 2000, p. 38). In doing so, the doubt on the authenticity of the narrated increases. History and literature have a right to "their own truth", and both have headquarters in the text, not in extra-textual reality. In historical narrative and literary fiction, we reach differing evaluations of the credibility and truthful discourse. The historiographic narrative guarantees a greater degree of truth and credibility relying on the factuality of data that ensure authenticity such as actual historic figures, date and location of an event, verified historical event on the destiny of the great hero, chronological sequence, and form of address. In literature and fiction, the issue of truthfulness and credibility of particular statements come to emerge and the fictional nature of narration becomes dominant. The line between historiography and fiction is inconsistent and fluid while historiographic and literary fiction are intertwined. From the viewpoint of the authorized, transcendental, reliable, educational narrator, who chronologically arranges the narration assuring the reader that he is engaged in a historiographic text and feigning historiographic narration, he actually insinuates a fictional narrative and retracts him into the plot. Evidence that Kauk's historical narrative shifts from historiographic narration into literary fiction is provided through the application of logic of direct reported language as a criterion for differentiation which was offered by Käte Hamburger (1976). According to Käte Hamburger (1976), the difference between history and literature in expression is that each report is a report of reality, and fiction is nobody's realistic report and states that all reports in a historical narrative are linked with objective reality, while epic narration is a *fictional process*. Real and actual chronotopic determinants and historical figures

are shifted into the fictional system and we observe them as the experiential field of fictional characters, while historical events become fiction considering that the process of fictionalization makes historical matter non-historical. Historical figures in historical pieces are objects of a report, while in literary pieces they transform into non-historical fictional figures, i.e. they become subjects. Nikola Zrinski became a subject in the narrative program of the great history and therefore, what is historical in Kauk's narrative is experienced as fiction, and according to Käte Hamburger's (1976) analysis, we place it into fictional or mimetic gender.

According to Hayden White (2004) the narrative account of a past event is made up of factual reports and arguments which we consider historical elements, and poetical and rhetorical, i.e. non-historical elements which bring forth the story instead of a mere sequence and list of facts. Additionally, they contain generic patterns of a story and plot, i.e. fabulation. Fabulation also denotes the interpretation of facts.

Kauk's *historical narrative* contains historical, pseudohistorical and non-historical (literary, rhetorical) elements. In the narrative on the death of Nikola Zrinski, Kauk applies the pseudohistorical approach and we observe a strong influence of literary tradition. Here we primarily refer to the historical epic and recent literary state with a realized and established model of Šenoa's historical narratives and *Hajduk²-Turkish* fiction characterized by romantic poetic paradigms, elements of dark romanticism and gothic imagery: motive of forbidden love due to class differences and parental prohibition, abduction, innocent role-model girl or the woman-saint motive, harem beauty and fatal woman, angelic-woman character, cumulating emotion and passion, outlaws, revenge, narrative combinatorics with unexpected events and sudden twists, creating a surprise effect, concealing secrets from public and crime. Elements of *dark/black* romanticism are noticeable in the viceroy's wanders through the scruffy forest at night. The ruins and wrecks and related oral legend that reinforces the romanticist assortment and attribution of dark and gothic imagery with the massacre of the Marić brothers, proprietors of the fort, in an eerie night atmosphere and identifies word-of-mouth as a historical fact, indicating respect for preserving tradition and favoring of the oral national heritage in romanticism. The dark, night, forest landscape as *locus horridus* is in agreement with the romanticist affinity towards wild, varying, dangerous and horrific landscapes as topics of terrible and yet very natural places to which one can escape – a refuge for unfortunate loners, among which was Nikola Zrinski once he dressed himself in the cloak of a romantic hero in Kauk's narrative. The *dark* romanticism is confirmed by the secretive plot and morally questionable, *dark* characters of forest outlaws, the feeling of fear and discomfort that culminates in misfortune and death. Traces of poetics, pseudo-historic and Hajduk-Turkish novels which blossomed in the mid-19th century are evident in the text. Such novels are charged with sources from national history, inspired by topics of conflict and

² The term *Hajduk* refers to outlaws and rebels who fought against Turkish violence

differences between the geographical East and West (Nemec, 1998, pp. 112–123) recollection/oblivion and intimate/threatening geography.

With romantic poetics and poetics of Hajduk-Turkish novels, Kauk's text is bind with two virtuous role-model girls and one fatal woman, i.e. the powerful and yet sustained archetypes, established in historical novels, all three of indescribable beauty. The forbidden youth love of Nikola Zrinski, the daughter of a Zagreb merchant, Ljubica Cagić, fits the sentimental love plot characteristic for narratives of his time with caste and parental obstacles and emphasis on platonic love. In addition to that, the retold youth love plot evokes the problem of morganatic marriage inherent to the feudal system. However, the biographical facts do not coincide with the plot as Nikola became fatherless at the age of six (Croatian Viceroy Juraj V. Zrinski died on December 28, 1626) and actually could not influence his marital decision as mentioned in Kauk's narrative. The fatal Nettina is a reminder of historical narratives from the period of Ottoman rule with abductions of beautiful girls and transformations into secretive, seductive, sensual harem beauties, which is the means of intensifying interest for the geographical and cultural area of the other, and simultaneously revives in the pseudo-historical and Hajduk-Turkish novels. The naïve idealization is associated with the character of Zulejma, the discovered daughter, offspring of the fatal love that grew between Nikola Zrinski and the Bulgarian noblewoman, harem beauty Nettina, during the liberation of Slavonia from the Ottomans and the battle of Osijek. The approach towards female characters shows powerful archetypes of fatal woman, woman saint and angelic woman in appearing as an orphaned girl/foundling. Along with the great warrior archetype and archetype of an orphan, at the mercy of destiny in the whirlwind of historical events without family, and the archetype of woman saint and femme fatale (Bolen, 2006) there are sublime messages that bypass the rational procedure and are directly sent to the unconscious. In addition to that, the transcendental and educational narrator does his best with being truthful, places the narrated into moral frameworks offering the reader an exciting love story of the great hero. He counts on the reader's emotional investment with which he will vindicate the romantic lover because of the unrealized platonic love towards Ljubica, the lovers' suffering, the actual love affair with a harem beauty and illegitimate birth of a child with a fatal outcome for the birthmother, all of which is beyond limits of acceptable, according to the Christian, aristocratic and civic moral. The strong female archetypes influence the subconscious, offering a tense and exciting romantic love story, seeking redemption for morally unlawful actions of the great hero. The educational imperative of the story is woven in the continuation when Nikola rectifies the wrong order of events, recognizes the found daughter and admits her into the family circle, thus attacking the archetype of pity and reader's emotion and gains a halo of a just man and compassionate father. All three female characters are placed in repressive, closed and *other* spaces or heterotopia: Ljubica in the convent, Nettina in the harem, Zulejma in the forest as a place of escape and hiding. Such heterotopia (Foucault, 1996, pp. 8–14) emphasize a woman's disadvantage or negation with the

foundation in the gender and patriarchal ideology, while national ideology is left in the space of historiographic narration. With the axiology inherited from the heroic historical epic with moral divinity and heroism, we become familiar with the intimate life of Nikola Zrinski, which was not ideal, and the confession of unreturned, platonic love should redeem the love affair with the harem beauty and illegitimate child. The orphan archetype creates pity in the reader's sub-consciousness and desire to replace non-belonging to family and neglect in a cruel world with acceptance in the family circle. The story of the private, intimate Nikola Zrinski, the seducer and lover and his love affairs – one platonic and the other fatal, are not known in historiographic works of earlier periods and contribute to the desublimation of the historiographic discourse of the 19th century. Nikola Zrinski, as a strong subject and male character, bearer of verifiable history enters into the discourse of national mythology of “blood and earth” the character of an enamored man and love summary which, according to the *Šenoa* model should attract the public, hungry for and craving romantic content. Frequent analepses in a literary narrative indicate teleogenetic plot revealing a character's previous life and previous events necessary for understanding the narrative. Nikola Zrinski, the great and verified, positively axiologically evaluated hero-warrior and ruler of the battlefield, is transferred in Kauk's narrative into the private, intimate, family space. The fact of death is decoded at that same level, as a family's revenge of the brother in the battlefield and sister's death because of the illicit love with Nikola Zrinski and birth with a fatal verdict as a penalty for adultery. That is how Nikola Zrinski, hero-warrior and lover became the source of their family's misfortune. The narrative of the death of the hero above heroes became private, and the *heroicum*, the heroic, male narrative is replaced in the spirit of the times with *eroticum* (Flaker, 1998, p. 362), familial and female narrative.

The plot on his death in the forest with the wounded bear present in the historical narrative by Pál Esterházy is deemed official, widely accepted and scientifically referred to, although perhaps questionable. The motive of blood revenge (“Who doesn't revenge, doesn't become consecrated”) of Bulgarian forest thieves is key for the interpretation of the death of Nikola Zrinski in Kauk's text. The plot in Kauk's fictional narrative offers an entirely different story whose plot is removed from the presentation of the real event in socio-physical reality, i.e. it is removed from the degree of experience which precedes the plot and refers to understanding of the world of activity and present in the time, which Paul Ricoer (1993, pp. 75–87) calls Mimesis I. considering it as a pre-figuration.

In Kauk's *historical narrative*, we find traces of historical time and experienced (psychic) time, and owing to the plot, time and reality refigure in the text enabling the reader to understand history stored in the text and presented through narration. The historiographer or narrator must cross from the field of practical human experience into the field of text and extract meaningful history from the multitude of events, using plot and forming a story, i.e. the *kingdom of as if*, and that degree of experience

is termed Mimesis II (Riker, 1993, pp. 87–94). Through the act of configuration, the plot mediates the event and oral history. Mimesis III is the degree of experience where the world of text and the world of the listener/reader meet (Riker, 1993, pp. 94–100). Historic and fictional narration participate in the re-figuration of time (Brnčić, 2007, pp. 277–294). The issue of re-figuration simultaneously includes referential and transformational relationship towards reality and therefore, texts contain fixed traces of historical time, traces of inscribed cultural heritage and written culture and traces of faction in fiction.

If we want to establish the referential verification of the plot with the boar hunt or the plot with the murder by forest outlaws out of revenge, we must determine the meaning of faction and fiction. Faction is defined as the type of statement that has a direct referential relationship towards the socio-physical reality, the extra-literary world, the area of realistic, and therefore describes facts. Fiction is the type of statement that has a referential relationship towards literary reality, refers to possible worlds, and develops an image of parallel worlds complying with physical and causal laws of the world. Truthfulness of statements does not necessarily have to result from relationships from the factual world, but it suffices to assume the world in which the statement would have been valid. Faction, as a statement with direct referential relationship towards reality with facts, and fiction, as a statement with referential relationship towards literary, language reality, incite in the reader uncertainty on the truthfulness of their reference (Mirčev, 2008). Documents are privileged over opaque literary texts and have the power of authenticity and credibility for present-day recipient and interpreter. Today, Esterházy's text is not considered a document but a legendary text which is placed into fictional discourse.

Language and narration are constitutive and desired acts of identity solidification as the confirmation of narrative identity, and are, in addition to facts, also important. Narrative identity, which expresses the character of an individual and community, is formed through story, i.e. through narration we interpret ourselves and the world around us (Brnčić, 2007, p. 289) through mediation of the symbolic structure of the story. The story structure and plot on the hunt in Krušanečki lug and the boar as the murderer of the most powerful and most influential man in the Croatian–Hungarian Kingdom should have turned fact and truth into faction. However, the mere use of plot, narration, i.e. literary non-historical elements directed towards the interpretation of facts placing the fictional side into the foreground, and the death of Nikola Zrinski as faction/fact acquired a story structure and should be approached with confidence. Kauk's plot and story further removed the death of Nikola Zrinski from the truth in the pseudo-historical approach and conventions of receptively popular and creatively fruitful pseudo-historical and Hajduk-Turkish novellas. The dominant external events and actions, the intricate and dynamic plot with unexpected turns and mysterious characters who gradually become disclosed and thus increase tension and surprise with their emergence and retrospective explanations of past events and relationships

between characters who are polarized: trivially idealized female characters and caricatured, dark, characters of forest outlaws who turn into executors-avengers. Nikola Zrinski is the idealized hero and leader, embodiment of the utopian just ruler, endowed with virtues of justice, integrity, fearlessness, courage, unquestionable heroism, slyness, wisdom, skill, incorruptness, the democratic, patriotism, and full of love for his people and other people and classes, i.e. according to folk interpretation a historical person – ideal ruler between history and myth (Marks, 2005). In addition to the battlefield, Kauk introduces the private, intimate, family Nikola Zrinski, the emotional sufferer, passionate lover and gentle father indicating that the heroic epic narration in the second half of the 19th century, under the influence of romanticism, concedes to the narratives of family and love themes. The writing culture and literary condition of the 19th century romance and romanticize great history and strong personalities owing to strong female archetypes, love episodes and other strategies.

Through fictional plot, Kauk reset literary remembrance of the national hero in a romantic style and in the spirit of the time refreshed through romanticism and sentimentality one of the most tragic episodes of Croatian history which is known to present day as the national, cultural and literary representation. Kauk's text shows traces of written culture, and poetic characteristics of romanticism and Šenoa's age.

The discourse of heroic sacrifice and heroic death presented in the heroic epic and historical tragedy in Kauk's and Esterházy's narrative is transformed into a discourse of (non) heroic sacrifice and (non) heroic death as that is dictated by the subject of their analysis, and their comparison problematizes two plots: "in such inglorious manner falls one of the most famous Croatian heroes. Later, we learn that he was torn apart by a boar near Čakovec" (Kauk, 1879, p. 92). Kauk's epilogue, takes on a teleogenetic view towards Esterházy's causal, consecutive plot, transforming it and offering to readers something different, the hidden face of truth of the death of Nikola Zrinski, famous Croatian hero, "the Hungarians' hope and Turks' terror" (Esterházy, 1989). Considering that history and literature have the right to "their own truth", one should not forget that their truths are verified only in the textual world, not the extra-textual and we cannot safely confirm what had actually happened in Krušanečki lug on November 18, 1654, neither with the centuries' distance, check the real cause of death. The discovery of - *Pjesmodneva – libra od spominka* by Ana Katarina Zrinski, wife of Petar Zrinski, Nikola's brother, printed in the publication *Pjesmarica* in 2014 in verse, confirms that he was killed by a boar. Ana Katarina Zrinski recorded what she had seen during her stay in Čakovec, and that is the wounded and dead body of Nikola Zrinski, with wounds which, she claims, were brought upon by a boar, and considering his military preparedness and warrior skill and experience, expresses surprise. What remains unsolved is the question of whether Ana Katarina Zrinski was free of political pressure or fear in writing what was on her mind in poems of sorrow without mention of the conspirational destiny and the political dimension of her misfortune (Zrinski, 2014, pp. 75–79).

Conclusion

We do not know what happened on November 18, 1664 in Krušanečki lug, but we know *what has been written to have happened*. Historiography and literature refer to sources (records, testimonials, investigations, primary sources, documents) which refer to the actuality, reality or history *the way it actually was*. With the ability to follow a story, narrative intelligence and the competency to understand narrative processes we came to an explanatory model for understanding the narrative of the death of Nikola Zrinski which can, solely within the textual world, be witness to what has been written to have happened on November 18, 1664 in Krušanečki lug, near Čakovec. The two differing plots confirm that the historical truth multiplies as a matter of the observer or referent, its objectiveness is reduced, and subjectivity is dispersed as “a matter of reader impression filtered several-fold” (Biti, 2000, pp. 10–11). The truth behind what happened and what caused such a non-heroic death of the *greatest Turkish fear, greatest anti-Ottoman enemy* and dangerous Austrian rival, Croatian Viceroy, Nikola Zrinski remains an enigma. Through their discourse, historiographers try to rationalize the cock-and-bull story and reasonably explain, through critical reading as the murder ordered by Leopold 1st and the Viennese court, who wanted to dispose of the dangerous and powerful rival from the order of highest aristocratic opposition. Along with the great and tragic loss for the Croatian people, and the fact that Croatian Viceroy Nikola Zrinski died at the peak of his power and glory, it is superfluous whether he was murdered by the wounded boar as written by Pál Esterházy, or the forest outlaws of Bulgarian descent, victims of Turkish wars and refugees, as written by Roberto Kauk, or whether the death was ordered by the Viennese Court, as suspected by contemporary historiographers and publicists as, in legal terminology, the crime or ordered political murder has adopted the statute of limitation and there is no evidence. Despite everything, the character and work of Nikola Zrinski did not enter the latent state nor forgetfulness owing to remembering texts, particularly literary.

The truth on the circumstances regarding the death of Nikola Zrinski can be found somewhere between construction and faction, and the real truth is the death of, present-day, the most powerful and most influential Croat in the Croatian-Hungarian Empire, whose fame assumed European proportions, acquired in the fight against Ottomans penetrating from the East. The two-headed eagle on the Habsburg coat of arms struck out both eagle's wings in the Zrinski coat of arms, one on November 18, 1664 and the other on April 30, 1671, never to fly again. The Zrinski became synecdoche of the Croatian's destiny in the area of conflict/meeting of the European East and West, symbols of national pride and old glory and resistance and national tragedy and disaster, supple for numerous inscriptions, even ambivalent (Blažević & Coha, 2008, pp. 91–117), often subject of political play (Edelman, 2003, pp. 137–148). The literary discourse showed its power in the collective memory, and particular Croatian viceroys remained popular and famous owing to literature. For instance, literary works contributed to the strengthening and popularization of the cult of

Viceroy Jelačić, while Viceroy Mažuranić, also a man of letters, is better known to the broader public than other Croatian viceroys are. Wreathed by literary fame, the hero of Siget, Croatian Viceroy, Nikola Šubić Zrinski and the Zrinski brothers who praised their great-grandfather's Siget epic in the Hungarian and Croatian language along with the conspiracy couple Zrinski and Frankopan remained in the literary memory despite *damnatio memoriae*. Observing the portraits of Croatian historical personas, in this case Croatian viceroys, we can conclude that the most popular in recent consciousness are the ones elaborated in literature. This confirms that literature, as a mnemonic art, narrative or story and script as a mnemonic tool and basic means of cultural memory possess the power of revitalizing and popularizing historical names and events, creating cults and conserving and conveying national and cultural identity ensuring continuity and victory over time and oblivion.

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Trag faksije / fikcije u historijskoj pripovijetci Roberta Kauka *Zadnji dani života Nikole Zrinjskoga mladjega, hrvatskoga bana (1879.)*

Sažetak

Na književnom tekstu napisanom u žanru historičke pripovijetke pisca franjevca Roberta Kauka (Vukovar, 1848. – Zagreb, 1900.) Zadnji dani života Nikole Zrinjskoga mladjega, hrvatskoga bana, objavljenom u Vukovaru 1879., razmatrat ćemo pitanje poklapanja prošloga događaja i njegova prikaza u književnom diskursu, legitimiranja usmene predaje kao povijesne činjenice, kao i uvažavanja usmenoga čuvanja starine. Promatrat ćemo trag činjeničnoga stanja i stupanj referencije zapisanoga s osloncem na pozitivistički i mimetički pristup tekstu te dominirajuću racionalističku tradiciju, a potom trag fikcije s nepovijesnim elementima pozivajući se na postignuća naratologije i lingvističkoga obrata koji težište interpretacije stavlja na ulogu jezika i pripovijedanja, čime rasterećuje referencijsku verificiranost i vrijednost teksta te stavlja naglasak na narativni identitet i simboličku strukturu priče. Drukčiji završetak Kaukove priče kao otklon od službene priče o pogibiji Nikole Zrinjskoga u lovu na veprove u šumskoj okolini Čakovca 18. studenoga 1664. upućuje na spoznaju da su u tekstualnoj ostavštini pohranjene historijske i lingvističke strukture koje upućuje na razlike između faktičnoga i fiktivnoga.

Ključne riječi: *faksija; fikcija; historiografski diskurs; književni diskurs; naratologija.*