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SACRED, POLITICAL, ROMANTIC: CODING EMOTIONS IN THE EPIC *SVETI IVAN BISKUP TROGIRSKI I KRALJ KOLOMAN* BY PETAR KANAVELIĆ

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Abstract: The epic poem *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski i kralj Koloman* ("Saint John, the Bishop of Trogir, and King Koloman"), written in the early eighteenth century, is the last work by Petar Kanavelić (1637–1719), and it thematizes a medieval historical event. Following Tasso's poetics and the Dubrovnik epic tradition, the epic emphasizes the intention to please the readers in order to effectively provide moral, religious, and political lessons (XIX, 1-20). Assuming that such an intention also counted on the emotional impact of the epic, i.e., the corresponding emotional reaction of the reader, the paper examines the literary "performance" of emotions at various textual levels (composition, theme, motifs, figures) and considers its aesthetic persuasiveness as well as social efficacy.

Keywords: Petar Kanavelić, *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski i kralj Koloman* ("Saint John, Bishop of Trogir, and King Koloman"), literature and emotions, Baroque epic, religious emotions, political emotions, literary emotions

Introduction

Petar Kanavelić (1637–1719) was a nobleman from Korčula with a multifaceted biography, intertwined with Dubrovnik in various ways: he spent part of his life there, dealing with legal affairs in accordance with his profession; his two wives were members

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of prominent Dubrovnik commoner families;[1] during his years on the Island of Korčula, he maintained friendly but also political ties with the people of Dubrovnik, providing the authorities of the Republic with information about cases and events that were of interest to the Republic.[2] In addition, literary historiography regularly attributes Kanavelić as an author from Dubrovnik. While, in the words of Miroslav Pantić, Dubrovnik was Kanavelić's "second homeland" in the biographical sense, in the literary sense it was "even more: his only homeland"—"he is a Dubrovnik writer, by all accounts. His themes are predominantly Dubrovnik themes; his language is the language of Dubrovnik, and his poetics is the poetics of Dubrovnik".[3] Namely, the poet from Korčula not only expressed his affection for the city in poems that he on occasion dedicated to Dubrovnik and the people of Dubrovnik,[4] but his relatively large and genre-diverse oeuvre was also based on the Dubrovnik literary tradition.[5] So while the bulk of his work, following the example of authors such as Ivan Gundulić, Junije Palmotić or Vladislav Menčetić, nurtured the Baroque poetics of the seventeenth century, some of his texts contributed to new literary trends in Dubrovnik. Consequently, he stands out as a distinguished participant in cultural and literary life of the city in the decades at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this regard, it is enough to mention that his tragicomedy *Vučistrah* was performed on the occasion of the opening of Orsan, the first public theatre in Dubrovnik, on 5 February 1682. Drawing on Palmotić's dramatic tradition, as demonstrated by Slobodan P. Novak, it heralded the "reworking phase"

[1] In 1680/1681 he first married Paula Stay, a widow from a prominent *Antunini* family, through the Primović female line, to whom he dedicated a cycle of ten poems *Svojoj vjerenici* ("To My Fiancée"). After her death in 1706, he married Kata Antica, the daughter of the cartographer Božo Antica and the granddaughter of Ivan Luka Antica. For further reference, see: Miroslav Pantić, "Petar Kanavelović i Dubrovnik (I)", *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* 18/2 (1970), 225-265, on p. 236-239 and 455-456.

[2] About Kanavelić's political "services" to the Republic, recorded since 1674, see in: M. Pantić, "Petar Kanavelović i Dubrovnik (I)", 231-236.

[3] M. Pantić, "Petar Kanavelović i Dubrovnik (I)", 227.

[4] He celebrated Dubrovnik in several occasional poems: after the Great Earthquake of 1667 he wrote a lament, which was published as part of the cycle *Grad Dubrovnik vlastelom u trešnju* ("The City of Dubrovnik to the Nobility after the Earthquake", Ancona 1667); he responded to the successfully completed diplomatic negotiations at the Porte in 1695 with the poem *Dubrovnik slobođen od harača na blagdan ruke svetijeh Vlasi* ("Dubrovnik Freed from Tribute on the Feast of the Arm of Saint Blaise"); in his poem *Trstenko pastijer u veselju* ("Shepherd Trstenko in Joy"), dated 1703, Dubrovnik is represented as a peaceful oasis in the politically restless Europe. Kanavelić also composed wedding poems ("začinke") for his friends from Dubrovnik (Orsat Sorkočević, Fran Tudizić, Maroje Gradić). In a poem addressed to his brother-in-law, the painter Benko Stay (1650-1687), he proposed to create a painting that would memorialize the Christian triumph over the Ottoman army in Vienna in 1683. See Radoslav Tomić, "Dubrovački slikari Benedikt (Benko) Stay i Petar Mattei - dokumenti i prijedlozi za nova djela", *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 31 (2007), 111-120, on p. 111.

[5] Kanavelić tried his hand at different genres, from lyric (love, occasional, and religious poetry) to epic and drama (tragicomedy, comedy, pastoral drama, Passion play), and his oeuvre consists of 75 titles. Cf. Miljenko Foretić, *Bibliografija radova o Petru Kanaveliću*, Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska - Ogranak Dubrovnik, 2008.

of Dubrovnik tragicomedy.[6] Later, other plays by Kanavelić entered Orsan's repertoire.[7] Furthermore, he was an active member of the *Akademija ispraznih* (*Academia otiosorum eruditorum*, "Academy of Idle Erudites"), Dubrovnik's main cultural institution at the time. Influenced by the Roman *Accademia degli Arcadi* ("Academy of Arcadia") Dubrovnik poets promoted a new poetics: a shift away from Baroque ornateness towards a simpler style and pastoral themes.[8]

Kanavelić's reputation in Dubrovnik is evidenced by the verses of Bernardin Riccardi,[9] written on the occasion of the former's departure from Dubrovnik in 1708, and later, at the end of the eighteenth century, by the epigrams of Đuro Ferić, listing him among the Dubrovnik poets who wrote in the "Illyrian language".[10] In addition, Kanavelić's literary presence in Dubrovnik is demonstrated by the fact that his works were preserved in the manuscripts that circulated in the city since the late seventeenth century, maintaining the memory of him as a writer from Korčula who was also "their own" local writer.

His last work, the epic *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski i kralj Koloman* ("Saint John, Bishop of Trogir, and King Koloman"), which is the focus of this paper, was written after the poet's final return to Korčula. Despite the fact that neither the topic of the epic nor the place of its creation are directly related to Dubrovnik, the epic does in various aspects show that Kanavelić is a poet of Dubrovnik. Moreover, apart from being a kind of synthesis of the author's prolific oeuvre, the epic can also be read as a great implicit praise of Dubrovnik literature. This is confirmed by previous research from the nineteenth century onwards, which tried to shed light on the epic from diverse perspectives.

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[6] On Kanavelić's tragicomedies from the perspective of the genre, see Slobodan P. Novak, *Vučistrah i dubrovačka tragikomedija*, Split: Književni krug, 1979.

[7] On 25 February 1688, Kanavelić's *Vjeran pastijer* ("The Faithful Shepherd") was performed in Dubrovnik. It is a translation of Guarini's famous pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor fido* (1590) (M. Foretić, *Bibliografija*, 109), which Kanavelić dedicated to the Dubrovnik Senate (Mirko Deanović, "Odrazi talijanske akademije *degli Arcadi* preko Jadrana", *Rad JAZU* 248 [1933], 1-98, on p. 60). Some anonymous plays are also likely to be attributed to Kanavelić: the tragicomedy *Sužanjstvo srećno* ("Joyful Servitude", cf. S. P. Novak, *Vučistrah i dubrovačka tragikomedija*, 118-123), performed around 1700 (M. Foretić, *Bibliografija*, 109) and two comedies whose performances in the author's time have not been confirmed: *Šimun Dundurilo*, which belongs to the corpus of Dubrovnik comedies (*smješnice*), and *Andro Stitikeca*, an adaptation of Molière's *L'Avare* (*The Miser*).

[8] In this regard, M. Deanović points out that Kanavelić adopted a pastoral poetics in his later works. This poetic shift, hinted at by the translation of Guarini's well-known pastoral previously mentioned, is particularly evident in the poems *Trstenko pastijer u veselju* from 1703 and *Stojka pokojna* ("The Peaceful Stojka") from 1708, which is also based on a scene from Guarini but is now reproduced "quite freely in a new intonation" ("Odrazi talijanske akademije *degli Arcadi* preko Jadrana", 66).

[9] The poem is entitled *G. Petru Kanaveli, kad se odijeli iz Dubrovnika* ("To Mr. Petar Kanavelić, When He Parted from Dubrovnik"). See Franjo Fancev, "Sitni prilozi za povijest hrvatske književnosti - Građa za bibliografiju Petra Kanavelića", *Građa za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 11 (1932), 213.

[10] The epigrams are a part of the manuscript *Ragusinorum poetarum qui Illyrica lingua scripserunt elogia* (see M. Foretić, *Bibliografija*).

Kanavelić's religious-historical epic is the author's most extensive work, which, according to the only non-critical edition (Osijek, 1858), contains 19,084 verses in XXIV cantos.[11] Within the framework of the primary hagiographic topic (the life of Saint Ivan of Trogir),[12] the epic narrates the story of the Hungarian king Koloman's invasion of Dalmatia and his assault on Zadar (1105). There are three additional episodes that are related to the characters of the historical plot, and two of them are chivalric romances.

Kanavelić, who combined religious, historical, and romantic elements, drew inspiration from Tasso's poetics and the seventeenth-century Dubrovnik historical epics of Ivan Gundulić (*Osman*) and Jaketa Palmotić Dionorić (*Dubrovnik ponovljen* / "Dubrovnik Restored"). By thematizing contemporary historical events in their epics, Gundulić and Palmotić Dionorić partially deviated from Tasso's principles, which generated compositional shortcomings when it came to incorporating romantic episodes.[13] On the other hand, in Kanavelić's epic poem, which is closer to Tasso because it brings historical material from the Middle Ages, thus being of suitable "age," the three previously mentioned episodes form well-rounded stories, skilfully arranged in the structure of the epic.[14] Moreover, they are often considered as the epic's best-written sections.

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[11] This edition was published thanks to the efforts of Šime Ljubić and Josip Juraj Strossmayer, and it was based on a copy of the epic that Kanavelić sent to Vienna at the end of 1718 for the epic to be published. The editor of the Osijek edition, Janko Jurković, in the preface, having incorrect information about the author's death (1690), mistakenly identified the Habsburg emperor Leopold I as the addressee of the epic. Since it turned out that it was not him but Charles VI, this caused controversy about the epic's date of composition and the authenticity of the transcription itself, on the basis of which the epic was published. Research into biographical information about Kanavelić and autographs and copies of the epic showed that the epic, originally dedicated to Joseph I, was completed in 1711. As Joseph I died that year, the author himself later intervened in the text of the epic, adapting it to new circumstances, i.e., to the new emperor Charles VI, to whom he intended to send the epic. Also, it was demonstrated that the existing transcripts correspond to two versions of the author's text—before the aforementioned interventions and after them—and that the Osijek edition relies on the latter. Cf. Janko Jurković, "Uvod", in: *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski i kralj Koloman*, ed. Janko Jurković, Osijek: Štampa Drag. Lehmanna i drug., 1858; Ivan Scherzer, "P. Kanavelovića *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski*", *Nastavni vjesnik* 4 (1896), 268-281; Đuro Körbler, "Autograf Kanavelovićeve pjesme *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski* i docnija prerada", *Nastavni vjesnik* 30 (1922), 433-441.

[12] The life of Saint Ivan of Trogir was compiled in Latin by Bishop Treguan of Trogir in 1203–1204 (d. 1254). The first part of the *vita* is an anonymous account of the saint's life, while the second part is Treguan's account of the developments after the saint had passed away. In Dalmatia, the text was preserved in several early modern transcriptions and translations. It was first printed by Ivan Statilić around 1520, and in 1657 it was published under the title *Vita beati Joannis episcopi Traguriensis*. That edition was prepared and accompanied with notes by Ivan Lučić. The saint's biography later appeared in Daniel Farlati's *Illyrici Sacri tomus quartus* (Venice, 1769), according to Lučić's edition. See Milan Ivanišević, "Život Svetoga Ivana Trogirskog", *Čakavska rič* 2/2 (1978), 141-165, on p. 141-151. Cf. contemporary Croatian translation: *Život sv. Ivana Trogirskog: po izdanju Daniela Farlatija*, translated from Latin and notes by Kažimir Lučin, Trogir - Split: Matica hrvatska - Književni krug, 1998.

[13] While Palmotić Dionorić omitted such episodes in his epic *Dubrovnik ponovljen*, they remained incomplete in Gundulić's epic *Osman*. Cf. Zoran Kravar, "Svjetovi *Osmana*", in Zoran Kravar: *Nakon godine MDC*, Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska, 1993, 104-125.

[14] Cf. Zlata Bojović, *Barokni pesnik Petar Kanavelović*, Beograd: SANU, 1980, 266-269.

In addition to conforming to Tasso's poetics, Kanavelić made direct reference to the epic *Gerusalemme liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*).[15] Simultaneously, *Sveti Ivan* is undoubtedly an outcome of his reading of Dubrovnik literature, as is highlighted starting with the nineteenth-century interpretations.[16] The traces of Gundulić's *Osman* as a significant role model can be recognized in many details. Therefore, in addition to the similarities between the main characters, Osman and Koloman, the epics of the two authors also show similarities in specific descriptions (Osman's throne in Constantinople and Coloman's court in Buda), army and ruler catalogues, verses, and style. Furthermore, there are similarities between the epic and the religious poem *Suze sina razmetnoga* ("Tears of the Prodigal Son") by Gundulić. These include reflections on the impermanence and transience of the worldly, the mortality of man, and the themes of repentance, the mercy of God, and the conversion of sinners. Kanavelić's epic also features echoes of Junije Palmotić's works: *Sveti Ivan* contains the same number of cantos and certain theological reflections as the religious epic *Kristijada* ("Christiad"), and some of the characters and topics are reminiscent of Palmotić's tragicomedies, particularly *Pavlimir*. Additionally, this epic alludes to the various writings of other Dubrovnik poets.

Accordingly, *Sveti Ivan* reveals another link—the ideological and political charge that was characteristic of the literature in Dubrovnik. By employing a medieval hagiographical text as a model, which describes how the saint helped reconcile two Christian armies—that of Zadar and Koloman's—and helped establish the Hungarian-Dalmatian political alliance, Kanavelić does not employ this text purely for religious purposes, such as promoting the cult of Saint Ivan. Namely, like other "Dalmatian and Dubrovnik literary and historiographic works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" that evoke the memory of "*Regnum Croatia et Dalmatiae*, (...) especially the relations regulated by the Peace of Zadar and—from Dubrovnik's perspective—the Treaty of Višegrad",[17] *Sveti Ivan* reproduces the Hungarophilic discourse, which at the same time conveys political connotations. This is demonstrated by the epic's dedication to the Habsburg monarch as well as by the epic's vision of a promising political future, invoked in the form of prophecy (XVIII, 148-244).[18] It includes a chronological catalogue of the famous

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[15] Z. Bojović has demonstrated this convincingly and with a number of examples in an argumentative manner, pointing to similarities in terms of motifs, the shaping of certain situations and characters (especially those concerning romantic episodes) and the narrator's metatextual comments (cf. *Barokni pesnik Petar Kanavelović*, 269-272).

[16] For details on the echoes of Dubrovnik literature in Kanavelić's epic, see Z. Bojović, *Barokni pesnik Petar Kanavelović*, 272-280.

[17] Zoran Kravar, "Ep Petra Kanavelića između viteške romantike i politike", in: *Zavičajnik: Antologija Stanislava Marjanovića*, ed. Milovan Tatarin, Osijek: Sveučilište Josipa Juraja Strossmayera, 2005, 201-206, on p. 203. Cf. Davor Dukić, "Ugrofilstvo u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja", in: *Kulturni stereotipi: koncepti identiteta u srednjoeuropskim književnostima*, ed. Dubravka Oraić Tolić and Ernő Kulcsár Szabó, Zagreb: FF press, 2006, 93-110.

[18] References to the text of the epic are in parentheses. These include the number of the canto and the number of the stanza, in accordance with the mentioned edition: *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski i kralj Koloman*, Osijek, 1858.

Hungarian rulers after Koloman, ending with an apostrophe of the Habsburg emperor Charles VI who shall "cut off the heads" of the "terrifying seven-headed hydra" and thus gain "immortal glory" (XVIII, 244). Such a vision can be interpreted in the context of the military successes of the Christian allies on the European battlefields at the time,[19] when hope was placed on the Habsburgs as liberators of Slavic Christians from Ottoman rule. But it also points to a narrower, Dubrovnik perspective. Namely, if we take into account that Dubrovnik politics formally turned towards Vienna in 1684,[20] such a linking of events from the medieval Hungarian past and the Habsburg political present also implies, as pointed out by József Bajza, "an epic expression of Dubrovnik politics".[21] According to Bajza, Koloman is celebrated in a way that is acceptable to the Habsburgs, but which at the same time does not raise doubts over Kanavelić's civic loyalty to Venice.[22]

In this regard, *Sveti Ivan* recalls Dubrovnik's *slovinstvo*, i.e., "Baroque Slavism" of the seventeenth century.[23] In addition to the obvious Habsburg political overtones, it is suggested by the specific Slavic "poetics" of Dubrovnik writers, also evident in Kanavelić's earlier works.[24] Although Kanavelić uses the Slavic attribute sparingly, primarily for the "language" of his epic, simultaneously delineating the space of reception of the work,[25] the Slavic "charge" is signalled through specific commonplaces: like the characters in Palmotić's pseudo-historical tragicomedies, Hungarian military leaders and epic episode protagonists have Slavic names, and their movement establishes a topography which, like in the works of Dubrovnik writers, is not confined only to Hungarian and Dalmatian space but includes vast areas from "icy Posiverje" (X, 14), that is, Polish and Russian

[19] Specifically, it is about the Siege of Vienna in 1683, the Great Turkish War of 1683-1699 and, at the time of the completion of the epic, the military exploits of the Austrian emperor Charles VI.

[20] On 20 August 1684, the Republic of Dubrovnik concluded a formal agreement with the Habsburgs, which renewed the Treaty of Višegrad from 1358. For more details, see Miljenko Foretić, *Dubrovačka Republika i Austrija*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2017, 18-24; Zdenko Zlatar, *Between the Double Eagle and the Crescent: The Republic of Dubrovnik and the Origins of the Eastern Question*, Boulder: East European Monographs, 1992; Zdenko Zlatar, "Stvaranje Svete lige i Dubrovačka Republika (1683–1684)", *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis* 14/1–2 (1975): 29-60.

[21] See József Bajza, "Horvát éposz Kálmán királyról", *Budapesti Szemle* (1928) 611, 11–50, on p. 40.

[22] Cf. J. Bajza, "Horvát éposz Kálmán királyról", 41. However, *Sveti Ivan*, composed by the author, who was considered a loyal Venetian citizen in his public life, may also be seen as a "subversive" work, as a detail from the *vita* of Saint Ivan suggests. Namely, in Treguan's hagiography itself, a pro-Hungarian attitude is highlighted, implying at the same time an anti-Venetian attitude.

[23] Cf. Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, Zagreb: Golden marketing - Narodne novine, 2008; On *slovinstvo* in Dubrovnik literature, see Ivana Brković, *Političko i sveto: identitet prostora i prostori identiteta u dubrovačkoj književnosti 17. stoljeća*, Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2018.

[24] This is particularly apparent of the lament on the Great Earthquake of 1667, which represents Dubrovnik as the centre of *slovinstvo* through the image of the Slavic queen who reigns there, and of the poems dedicated to John III Sobieski on the occasion of the Siege of Vienna in 1683, which celebrates the Polish king as the liberator of the Slavic peoples.

[25] In several places in the epic, it is explicitly stated that the function of the work is to celebrate the deeds of Saint Ivan as well as the Austrian imperial dynasty among the peoples "of the Slavic language".

regions through Bogdania and "Wallachia," to the southern regions (Vallon, Epidaurus). "Counterfactual historical reasoning" is also manifested in the epic, whereby the epic, in the same vein as Palmotić in *Danica*, *Captislava,* and *Bisernica*, imagines the (desired) past as it could have been in an ideal case.[26] Finally, echoes of Slavic "poetics" can be recognized in another commonplace which Kanavelić's epic shares with the literary works of Ivan Gundulić, Junije Palmotić, and Vladislav Menčetić. It involves the already mentioned projection of a bright (political) future, a vision of the Ottoman sultan being replaced on the throne of Constantinople by a Christian ruler. Mediated by such signals, *slovinstvo* in Kanavelić's epic is more implied than explicitly thematized. This could be explained by the exhaustion or modification of the Slavic paradigm in Dubrovnik literature at the end of the seventeenth century.

Literature and emotions

As demonstrated by the previously mentioned research, Kanavelić's epic has been examined in terms of its Baroque poetics, medieval hagiographic template, and connections to the seventeenth-century Dubrovnik literature. Additionally, it is made evident that the epic's particular pragmatic goal was to provide religious instruction as well as a political message through historical plot. In this regard, the epic may also be considered a useful source for analysing literary emotions. Namely, the aforementioned pragmatic goal of the epic counted on the affective effect, i.e., the corresponding emotional reaction of the reader. This is indicated by a relatively extensive metatextual commentary (XIX, 1-20), which, evoking Tasso's verses and Horace's principle of *prodesse et delectare*,[27] explicitly mentions *pleasing* the readers, who "hypnotised" go to the "water that flows out" under the "foot of Pegasus" (XIX, 8). This pleasing is conjured up by the *topos* of treating a sick child who, by deception, i.e., by sweetening the top of the glass, drinks medicinal "juice more bitter than hellebore" (XIX, 9-10). In Kanavelić's specific case, the deception, of course, consists of "sweetening" religious and historical/political content with a popular epic form, i.e., heroic and romantic narratives, while explaining at the same time the epic's intention to manipulate the readers' attitudes and emotions. In this sense, the given example also indicates a high awareness of the emotional potential of a literary text, which can elicit the reader's emotions not only by directly thematizing emotions and/or their textual expression, but also by other (rhetorical) procedures that are characteristic for shaping a literary work.

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[26] Cf. Z. Kravar, "Ep Petra Kanavelića", 202; I. Brković, *Političko i sveto*, 161.

[27] In particular, the poet who first "combined useful with the sweet" is presented as a wise man who knew that "sweetly harmonious" poems can "instead of passion and love" bring "benefit to the soul" (XIX, 1-2). On this, cf. Z. Bojović, *Barokni pesnik Petar Kanavelović*, 303-307.

In accordance with contemporary narratological approaches, the literary representation of emotions implies different textual procedures—from explicit naming, through the description of their physical manifestations (body language, gestures or physiological processes) and the use of emotionally suggestive words, images and symbols to intertextual references to the emotions of fictional characters and the narrator.[28] But on the other hand, literature as a trigger of emotions includes much more than that and can induce, according to Vera Nünning's "rough typology", three types of emotions: *narrative emotions*, which are related to the process of the reader's "immersion" in the story;[29] experiencing the former emotions of the reader; *aesthetic emotions*, or affective responses to "aesthetic features such as style and rhythm of the language", i.e., to "the formal components of literary texts (narrative, stylistic or generic)" such as "fascination, interest or intrigue," which are "unique to reading literature".[30]

It seems that Kanavelić had such emotions in mind when he mentioned *pleasing* the reader. Like Tasso, but also Gundulić and Palmotić Dionorić, he made an attempt to keep the readers engaged with the text by combining the saint's story with heroic and romantic plots. And they, based on the genre's prototypical event sequences, evoke characteristic emotional episodes.[31] This is evidenced by the three episodes which, through the characters of the protagonists, are loosely connected with the historical events in the epic. They are full of tension and twists and are narrated in sequels, and the interruption of the narration with other content occurs at a tense moment, so they function as what is known in popular contemporary terminology as a *cliffhanger*. Also, the reader's emotions are managed by another rhetorical procedure that Kanavelić uses abundantly in his epic—and that is the frequent use of speech in the first person, which, like the figure of personification, contributes to the persuasiveness of the utterance and to the arousal of feelings of sympathy and empathy with the speaking character. More precisely, *Sveti Ivan* contains multiple autodiegetic perspectives that are related to the literary device of embedded narration, or narration-within-narration, which in some places reaches the fifth level.[32]

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[28] See Vera Nünning, "The Affective Value of Fiction: Presenting and Evoking Emotions", in: *Writing Emotions: Theoretical Concepts and Selected Case Studies in Literature*, ed. Ingeborg Jandl et al., Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2017, 29-54, esp. chapter "Presenting Emotions in Fiction", 33-38.

[29] These include emotional reactions to the plot or conflict as well as feelings of empathy and compassion for the characters. Cf. V. Nünning, "The Affective Value of Fiction", 39-40. In this connection, contemporary narratological studies also deal with methods of arousing empathy, primarily narrative strategies that encourage the reader to adopt the character's perspective.

[30] V. Nünning, "The Affective Value of Fiction", 40.

[31] The connections between the universal structures and functions of story and the human emotional system are theorized by Patrick Hogan in: *The Mind and its Stories: Narrative Universals and Human Emotion*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

[32] Cf. Julijana Matanović, "Kanavelićev *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski*, generičko čitanje", in: *Hrvatski književni barok*, ed. Dunja Fališevac, Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti, 1991, 231-248.

In addition to such insights of contemporary narratological approaches that explain the processes of reading and feeling from a cognitive perspective, cultural approaches are also fertile ground for the analysis of literary emotions. Taking into account the commonly accepted opinion that emotions are not only biological automatic reflexes and spontaneous, unconscious reactions of the body, but are also culturally conditioned, such an approach underlines the social importance of emotions. In this respect, cultural anthropologist Monique Scheer accentuates that when considering emotions, one should keep in mind that mind, body and social relations are mutually rooted, and she approaches them, by relying on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, as a kind of social practice.[33] In this sense, she describes emotion as an embodied experience, emphasizing that the body is an experiential medium without which emotion cannot be described. As she claims: "Access to emotion-as-practice—the bodily act of experience and expression—(...) is achieved through and in connection with other doings and sayings on which emotion-as-practice is dependent and intertwined, such as speaking, gesturing, remembering, manipulating objects, and perceiving sounds, smells, and spaces".[34] According to her, it is precisely these "doings and sayings" that determine emotional practices which, as she explains, "build on the embodied knowledge of the habituated links that form complexes of mind/body actions".[35] Pointing out that they participate in emotional management and continuous learning, but also in maintaining an emotional "repertoire," she establishes a typology that includes four "overlapping" categories of emotional practices, and distinguishes those related to the *mobilization* of feelings, their *naming*, *communication* and their *regulation*.[36]

In accordance with this typology, it can be asserted that literature contributes to the mobilization of feelings through the practice of reading literary works, which in turn leads to appropriate social behaviour. Literature, as a textual medium, also contributes to the discursive practices of writing, speaking, and naming by which certain emotions—for example, love for God, for a lover, attachment to a community, or a sense of collective pride—are expressed and performed, and which, with regard to historical and cultural context, can be variable. On the one hand, this includes specific types of utterances and different rhetorical procedures that function, in William Reddy's term, as *emotives*;[37] on the other hand, it also implies a discourse on emotions, the focus of which is the very understanding of given feelings, that is, "the work of signifying and resignifying emotions" outlined by the corresponding "norms, orders of knowledge,

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[33] Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion", *History and Theory* 51 (2012), 193-220.

[34] M. Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice", 209.

[35] M. Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice", 209.

[36] Cf. M. Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice", 209-216.

[37] Cf. William M. Reddy, "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions", *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997), 327-351.

and ideologies".[38] At the same time, literature points to communicative emotional practices: it implicitly teaches about ways to express given feelings in a certain social environment so that they would have the desired reception effect. Finally, literary texts also contribute to the social regulation of emotions because they directly or indirectly provide guidelines for how their readers should feel about certain emotional objects (e.g. God, community or lover).

Such considerations of emotions, which are outlined from a cognitive narratological perspective on the one hand and from a praxeological perspective on the other, prove to be a suitable theoretical starting point for the analysis of literary emotions in Kanavelić's epic. In accordance with it, the analysis will take into consideration the three significant emotional objects that are formed in the epic through religious, historical, and romantic content. It will focus on three distinct forms of love: love for God, love for the community, and love for the lover.

Writing emotions in the epic *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski i kralj Koloman*

Love for God—religious emotions

Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski i kralj Koloman, as already shown by the research, places religious content above the historical and romantic content. This is different from what Ivan Gundulić does in *Osman* and Jaketa Palmotić Dionorić in the epic *Dubrovnik ponovljen*, where the emphasis is on the historical account. The very composition of the epic emphasizes that, as does the representation of emotions. Specifically, when the epic is taken as a whole, the main chronology of events—that is, the events related to Bishop Ivan, the main protagonist—follows the medieval hagiographic narrative, "Life of St. John of Trogir", precisely.[39] At the same time, the epic transformation of the first section of the saint's biography (until his death), in cantos I-XIX,[40] comprises considerable expansions, including a parallel historical plot focused on the Hungarian king Koloman,[41] as well as

[38] M. Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice", 213.

[39] Cf. I. Scherzer, "P. Kanavelovića *Sveti Ivan, biskup trogirski*", 280.

[40] Corresponding to the *vita*, the narration focuses on the saint's promotion to the episcopal position in Trogir, his miraculous and virtuous deeds, his intervention during Koloman's siege of Zadar in 1105, their relationship, and their joint visits to Šibenik and Trogir. There is only one instance where the chronology is broken: the epic narrates the event of taking episcopal honour from the start of the hagiography as a retrospective after the battle of Zadar.

[41] The plot begins with Koloman's plans to expand Hungarian territory and his ambition to take Zadar. It also includes the preparation of Zadar's defence along with the gathering and pre-battle review of the Hungarian army, followed by the presentation of war actions and its resolution; this is also the point at which the war and hagiographic narratives merge. If we take into account that the epic as a whole is outlined by a hagiographic framework, the narration of Koloman that precedes the invasion of Zadar could be seen as a very extensive digression, an expansion of that episode from the saint's life.

related episodes.[42] Cantos XX-XXIV, on the other hand, have no direct connection with the previously completed historical and romantic plot and represent the events after the saint's death,[43] from a time when there is only a "long-ago" memory of him.[44] In addition, a multitude of religious utterances—various kinds of prayers, sermons, lamentations, and religious instructions—that reach more than 1,000 lines abundantly supplement the hagiographic storyline, articulated in the *vita* through a simple sequence of events.[45]

Such reliance on hagiography and other mentioned religious genres, which resonate with the voices of the church elite, undoubtedly has the function of establishing a model of desirable moral acting, thinking and feeling. Namely, religious texts such as hagiography offer not only religious instruction but also emotional education; saints figure as moral role models, but they also serve as emotional experience models, demonstrating acceptable emotional triggers and channels. In other words, they provide instruction on "how an emotion should be experienced by an ideal believer,"[46] which in Kanavelić's instance refers to the post-Tridentine Catholic religious emotional regime or style.

In Kanavelić's epic, one of the most frequent emotions to which the text explicitly refers is love. Pointing to its various understandings, according to which God is love, as well as the fact that God is the subject (divine love) and at the same time its important object (love of God), *Sveti Ivan* also refers to its various manifestations. Moreover, the epic invokes the theological, Thomistic view on love as a principle that, by implying an affective inclination towards good, sets in motion passions, or emotions, and affects, or rational decisions that lead to action.[47]

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[42] The episodes are related to the characters of the three knights who are fighting on Koloman's side, describing the mysterious events experienced by Duke Vladimir as well as the love vicissitudes of two couples—Radomir and Jerina, and Pelinko and Rosinda.

[43] In them, the epic adheres exclusively to hagiography and includes the following chronology of events: the apparition to the pious Theodore, the discovery of the saint's grave and body, the alienation of the saint's hand from the Venetians and its return to Trogir, and the saint's three miracles.

[44] Such a shaping of the epic indicates a deviation from the epic rules, as the last five cantos seem like compositional excess, which is regularly recognized as an aesthetic deficiency of the work. The study by Vatroslav Rožić, "Petra Kanavelića pjesan *Sveti Ivan, biskup trogirski*", is the first in Croatian literary historiography to deal with questions of poetics, i.e., the questions of the unity of the epic, title and hero, in: *Godišnje izvješće Kraljevske velike realke i spojene s njom Trgovačke škole u Zagrebu koncem školske godine 1886*., Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1886, 7-64, on p. 10-15. Cf. Z. Kravar, "Ep Peter Kanavelića", 204-205.

[45] Numerous places where the epic refers to a religious ceremony and/or provides paraphrases of well-known prayers are detected in: I. Scherzer, "P. Kanavelovića *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski*", 280-281. In this connection, cf. review of secondary genres in the epic in: J. Matanović, "Kanavelićev *Sveti Ivan, biskup trogirski* - generičko čitanje", 246.

[46] Francisco Javier Minaya Gómez, *Emotions of Amazement in Old English Hagiography: Ælfric's approach to Wonder, Awe and the Sublime*, Berlin: Peter Lang, 2022, 59. Cf. Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.

[47] On passions and affects in Thomas Aquinas, see Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 26-61. See also: Michael S. Sherwin, "Love in Thomas Aquinas' Biblical Commentaries", in: *On love and virtue: theological essays*, Steubenville: Emmaus Academic, 2018, 1-26 (e-edition).

Divine love for man in the epic, according to the Gospel, is evidenced by the incarnation in Christ, his suffering and death on the cross in order to redeem human sins, his mercy as well as divine interventions in favour of man, usually through miracles. On the other hand, the ideal of human love is embodied by the figure of Bishop Ivan, who, motivated by the thought "that by excellent deeds / the soul rises from the depths of darkness / to heavenly enjoyment / in the company of angels" (II, 14-15),[48] directs his action towards God. At the same time, his God-pleasing way of life, which arouses a "powerful fire" of the love of God (II, 40), includes a well-established repertoire of Christian, that is, saintly virtues: a life of humility and poverty, dedication to the church and the people, the practice of prayer, "harsh" fasting and self-flagellation, doing pious deeds for the salvation of the soul, helping the poor, the sick and the needy, as well as preaching the word of God (cf. II, 9-57). In addition, God-directed love is a complex emotion that includes the entire spectrum of characteristic religious feelings: Ivan's penitential life arouses feeling of admiration,[49] his miracles during life and after death are a trigger of astonishment, feelings of humility, gratitude, and awe; on the other hand, the solemn mood of the church ritual and collective prayers, which the epic refers to multiple times, imply the feeling of the sublime.[50]

Compassion, or empathy, is an essential component of expressing love for God. Thus, Bishop Ivan presents himself as a holy man full of compassion for the poor and the needy,[51] and in his addresses to the people he expresses and calls for empathy with Christ, who was tortured and crucified because of human sins. In this sense, the bishop's Passion sermon in Canto VII is particularly suggestive, as it refers in a saturated emotional style to Pilate's *Ecce homo* from the Gospel of John (Jn 19:5):

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48 "[Sveti Ivan] [r]azmišljati ne prestaje / (...) da izvàrsna dielovanja / Dušu iz tmaste sej dubine / Letiet rajska na uživanja / U andjeoskoj družbi čine".

49 The portrayal of the protagonist in the epic concludes with verses in which the mobilizing emotional charge can be recognized in the figure of anaphora, intensifying the feeling of admiration that the saint's life arouses: "This way of life, / this gentle, wonderful temper, / this grace and kindness, / this faithful love, / fasting, prayers, votive deeds, / and mortification of his body / elevated him to the heights / of angelic life". (II, 56-57) ["Ovi način od života, / Ova blaga ćud zamierna, / Ova milos i dobrota, / Ova ljubav pravovierna, / Posti, molbe, zadušbine, / I haranje tiela svoga, / Uznieše ga na visine / Od života andjeoskoga".]

50 On these characteristic religious emotions, see F. J. Minaya Gómez, *Emotions of Amazement*, 34-37.

51 "This world's sorrows and troubles, / woes, harms, and unrests, / he would count as misfortunes / and his own sorrows, / for he would feel pain in his heart / if fortune followed him / and if the peace of his beloved people / was harmed by hardship and grief". (II, 36-37) ["Svieta ovoga tuge i smeće, / Jade, štete, nepokoje, / Brojio bi za nesreće, / I žalosti iste svoje; / Jer bi u sàrcu imô muku / Da čestitos njega sliedi: / A dragomu svomu puku / Trud i žalos pokoj zledi".]

Behold the man,
Pontius Pilate pointed at Him;
I point at Him, too, look at Him,
behold the man, this is Him!
This is a man who wants
that you wash yourself from the mud
and remain without sin and without malice
pure in your soul.
His hands are nailed
yet He never ceases to embrace;
from fierce torment
He dies, yet grants eternal rest;
He dies and forgives sins;
He dies, yet brings us life;
He dies, and comfort for mortals
pours from his pierced chest.
(VII, 30-33)[52]

In the given quotation, compassion is aroused by the Passion imagery (Christ's hands nailed, pierced chest), and rhetorically intensified in the last quatrain by anaphora, syntactic parallelism and antithesis, which emphasizes the power of the love of the Son of God who, despite everything, "never ceases to embrace". This is accompanied by the usual rhetoric of condemnation,[53] which is mediated by the figure of an apostrophe:

Ah, say it, more gently
have you seen the man?
He follows you, you run away,
you hate him, He wants you.
(VII, 34)[54]

Such utterances, which refer to human guilt with the apostrophe of an individual or a community in the second person,[55] are combined with those in which the speaker or narrator identifies himself with the addressees, i.e., sinners, through the collective "we":

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[52] "Evo čoviek, jur kojega / Poncio Pilato ukazo je; / Kažem ga i ja, gledajte ga, / Evo čoviek, On ovo je! / Čoviek je ovo, koji hoće / Da se od kala operete / I bez grieha i bez zloće / Čisti u duši ostanete. / Pribivene čavlim ruke / Ima, a gàrlit ne prestaje; / Od žestoke vàrle muke / Mre, a pokoj viečni daje; / Mre, a prašta sagriešenje; / Mre, a život nam donosi; / Mre, a umàrliem utiešenje / Iz probijenieh pàrsih rosi".

[53] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 32.

[54] "Blažiega ah recite / Vi čovieka vidieste li? / On vas sliedi, vi biežite, / Nanj màrzite, on vas želi".

[55] "You, who, in your haughty head, / give birth to proud desires / and in the vain glory of the world / live, actually lie dead: / Turn your eyes to this head / pierced by sharp thorns, / come to your senses, and wince / at that tearful memory". (VII, 44-45) ["Ti, u oholnoj koji glavi / Uzmnožite želje zače / I u taštoj svieta slavi / Živeš, màrtav ležiš pače: / Na glavu ovu oči svàrni / Oštriem dračam probijenu / I osviesti se i protàrni / Na tač plačnu uspomenu".]

And we, hardened in evil,
harder than a hard rock,
are not willing to hear the sweet voice
of our Heavenly Lover.
(VII, 37)[56]

The rhetoric of condemning man for sin aims at confronting the recipient with his own sins and arousing repentance and humility in order to gain God's mercy (VII, 60-61). The road to "the holy abode" lies in penance which is "harsh and heavy" and full of "sorrow, tears and toil" (VII, 72). With a vision of otherworldly enjoyment of "bliss" and "heavenly delights" (VII, 64-65), the persuasiveness of Ivan's sermon is also based on evoking the characteristic emotion of fear. In particular, as a means of encouraging proper behaviour, the preacher employs a common motif of the Last Judgement, which refers to the "dreadful day of weeping and woe" (VII, 92) when the forgiving God transforms into a "wrathful judge" who condemns those who did not repent on time to everlasting torment in hell.[57]

The instruction on the proper exercise of love for God offered by Kanavelić's epic, therefore, points to a recognizable emotional scenario that has several stages: compassion with Christ—facing one's own sinfulness—repentance and penance—gaining God's forgiveness and grace—bliss.[58] The fact that the epic repeatedly insists on it can be interpreted, among other things, as an echo of the post-Tridentine missionary culture of the seventeenth century, when, along with standard church practices, literature, as well as art in general, had the function of an important medium for spreading religious teachings and disciplining believers—as the *sacred* rhetoric of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows, precisely by counting on the emotional reaction of the reading and listening audience.[59] Because that was the time when the Catholic Church "desired not just the melting of the heart but a rectification of the life-course, such that the penitent contemplator of the suffering Christ could reflect the love of God in her life as lived".[60]

In this connection, it is interesting that Kanavelić's Bishop Ivan, embodying a Christian role model who is able to arouse the appropriate emotions of the faithful with his way of life and inspired sermons, is also presented as apt at effectively managing the feelings

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[56] "A mi u zlu otvàrdnuti, / Tvàrdji od živca žestokoga, / Glas nećemo sladki čuti / Ljubovnika nebeskoga".

[57] "As a Father of love, He will gladly receive us now, yet as a dreadful and just Judge, He will ruin us in eternity". (VII, 93) ["On, kô ćaćko od ljubavi, / Rado će nas sad primiti, / Jer pak sudac strašni a pravi / U viek će nas pogubiti".]

[58] Cf. S. C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling*, 33-34.

[59] On sacred rhetoric in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Debora K. Shuger, "The Philosophical Foundations of Sacral Rhetoric", in: *Religion and Emotion*, ed. John Corrigan, Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, 116-132.

[60] S. C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling*, 31.

of the people he addresses. Namely, with the aim of guiding them to the right path in life, i.e., following God's Commandments, the Bishop of Trogir teaches the monks as follows (XI, 23-27): one should "maintain fear" among the "righteous", threaten them with hell's pits "of eternal ruin" and promise "castigation (...) of doom" if "they fall into sin"; on the other hand, sinners should be "lovingly called" to penance and promised "eternal delights" and "holy mercy (...) / if they rise from their sins".

In the epic, fear carries generally negative connotations and is represented as a destructive emotion that makes one "feel and suffer in the heart / living hell" (VII, 2). Fear is capable of clouding thought (XI, 158), causing loss of faith and hope and thus becoming a trigger for evil. In this sense, the absence of fear—of death, life's misfortunes, and evil—is depicted as a desirable emotional state, as supported by the ethos that a righteous person who trusts in God does not need to fear anything.[61] However, the given example suggests that fear, in accordance with the pre-modern worldview and the theological consideration of emotions at the time, can also be functional if it is motivated by God and directed towards the goal of good, so from such a perspective the manipulation of human fear acquires a positive charge. Therefore, unlike other fears, divine fear is a moral virtue: it is epitomized by Bishop Ivan who, since childhood, "had always been in fear of God" (XVI, 86); this type of "divine fear" is a component of the spiritual excitement in Trogir during the search for the saint's remains.[62] When the Bishop of Trogir encounters the sinful Koloman, he will invoke God's justice and "terrible revenge" in eternity (XVII, 88), which will cause the ruler to be converted. The narrator uses a similar strategy in his reflections, which are meant to elicit religious responses from the reader.

Love for community—political emotions

The theme of war, related to an episode from the life of Saint Ivan, is introduced in the epic by a prototypical heroic plot involving invasion and defence, in which the collective is threatened by enemies. At the same time, the presented conflict between the people of Zadar and the Hungarian army of King Koloman points to the reader's identification and sympathy with the endangered people of Zadar, as outlined by the

[61] "Man should have no fear, / nor be afraid of anything, / because he will receive help / in times of need from God in heaven". (VIII, 24) ["Straha neima oni imati / Ni bojat se od ničesa, / Jer će pomoć njemu dati / U potrebi Bog s nebesa".]

[62] "Everywhere there is fear of God and goodness, / holy love, blessed peace, / and a good way of life / blooming with spring abundance". (XXI, 15) ["Sve strah božji, sve dobrota, / Ljubav sveta, mir blaženi, / Dobar način od života / Premalietjem ozeleni".]

moral values represented by the two sides.[63] While the king, driven by the lust for power, is the epitome of hatred and evil,[64] the people of Zadar, represented by the duke and the council, are endowed with the virtue of love, solidarity, and devotion to the community.

Their moral superiority is also indicated by the description of the dynamic organization of the collective undertaking of defence, in which the people of Zadar gain positive connotations not only through their dedication to an important common goal, but also as a community that trusts in God, embodying the values favoured from the narrator's superordinate perspective. Thus, the people of Zadar, at the moment when they find out that "the wrathful King Koloman" wants to destroy their "free city" (IV, 2), shall first vow "to God, for what is dearest to them", to call for the defence and protection of the heavenly saints (VI, 5-68) as well as call for help from Bishop Ivan of Trogir, and only after that will they initiate other actions.[65]

Furthermore, the moral legitimacy, together with the patriotism of the people of Zadar, is accentuated by the fact that they are defending their own city, which is a must despite all the trouble and the "agonizing" feeling caused by knowing that Christian "blood" will be shed:

For all that, we suffer
such great trouble
and witness where the faithful
are slaughtering each other.
And as agonizing as it is
to witness where flames consume everything,
it is so agonizing to see
Christian blood that dogs are licking.

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[63] As Katja Mellmann asserts: "Sympathy as a receptive affect is based on the recognition of similarities between oneself and the object, above all on the perception of shared moral values, and arouses a sense of togetherness, community (of shared principles)". See "Literaturwissenschaftliche Emotionsforschung", in: *Handbuch Literarische Rhetoric*, ed. Rüdiger Zymner, Berlin - Boston: De Gruyter, 2015, 173-192, on p. 176-177. In other words, the process of evoking empathy with the character is closely connected "with the ethical positioning of the reader", i.e., the reader's assessment that directs "emotions and desires" regarding the characters (V. Nünning, "The Affective Value of Fiction", 44).

[64] He is not only represented by conventional attributions as a king "cruel and harsh / of evil nature, evil words, / deceptive heart, deceptive character" (I, 24), but also through violent deeds: he had his brother and nephew blinded (I, 25), in his arrogant desire for power and glory, he swims in "human blood" destroying cities and states (I, 28); his "bloody" decisions and desires are fuelled by "food (...) that poisons him" (I, 33). In portraying Koloman's character, the expression of his vengeful anger in the situation when he is faced with the resistance of the people of Zadar is particularly suggestive (IX, 194-197); in it, he promises destruction, violence and death to the people of Zadar, which culminates in the image of the murder of children: "I will have (...) / cut their swaddled children / so that there will be no memory of them". ["Činit ću im (...) / U povoju diecu izsieći, / Da nije od njih uspomene".]

[65] More precisely, they will ask for help from their neighbours; they will shelter wives, children, the elderly, and the infirm on the island; provide food for the army; and destroy the vineyards and fields near the city so that the enemy will have no food (VI, 98-101). The army will be gathered by "the honourable, decent, good, reliable" and beloved Duke of Žegar (VI, 104).

But forced, we decided
not to let our city go,
but resist force with force
and fight arms with arms.
(IV, 110-112).[66]

In addition to "not letting go" of the city and opposing a superior armed force in spite of everything, the expression of love for the city is further enhanced by the conventional motif of parting, which has a great emotional charge. The description of the duke's parting with his wife and children rests on an emotionally potent family imagery and a saturated emotional discourse that highlights the feelings of torment, restlessness and grief as well as their physical manifestations (tears).[67] This develops into a description of collective misfortune that follows the dynamic rhythm of the verse, suggesting an intensification and gradation of feelings, culminating in an intertextual reference to the fate of the unfortunate Troy:

What weepy sighs are heard,
what tears are shed,
where the husband sees his wife off,
where father with son parts.
Someone carries a swaddled child,
the mother someone carries;
someone carries their younger brothers,
old man someone carries.
Such decay and torment
were seen by the famous Troy,
burned when it fell
after ten years of battle.
(VIII, 118-119)[68]

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[66] "Nu za sve to nam su trudi / Na ovoliku doć nevolju / I gledati, gdie se ljudi / Medju sobom vierni kolju. / I koliko nam mučno je / Gledat gdie sve ognji užižu, / Mučno vidiet toliko je / Karv kárstjansku da psi ližu. / Nu usiljeni odlučili / Jesmo, naš grad nepustiti, / Neg odoliet silom sili / I boj bojem susretiti".

[67] Before going with the children to safety, to the island of "Lukoran," the duke's wife invites the children, showing her feelings: "Come, my beloved, / with a weeping mother, / born for my unrest, / for unspoken troubles" (VII, 108). ["(...) hodte moji ljubljeni / S družbom majke ucviljene, / Za moj nemir porodjeni / Na nevolje neizrečene"]. The duke, on the other hand, "full of misery" and "severe restlessness" can hardly speak and "hugs and kisses" the children on his lap and "washes their lovely faces" with copious tears, addressing them "in grief" with the words: "Go with your mother, who gave birth to you; / But will soon bring you back / my God, full of grace". (VIII, 111-113) ["Podjte s majkom, kâ vas rodì; / Nu će bàrzo pun milosti / Vratiti vas Bog moj odi".]

[68] "Ki se čuše plačni uzdasi, / Koje suze proliše se, / Gdie muž ženu izit pazi, / Otci s sinim gdie diele se. / Oni diete u povoju, / Oni majku gdie iznosi; / Nieki bratju mladju svoju, / Starca dieda nieki nosi. / Take raspe vidjè i jade / U svom skutu slavna Troja, / Izgoriena kada padè / Nakon deset lietah boja".

However, sadness is simultaneously presented as a socially dysfunctional emotion. Therefore, the duke's wife, finding her husband in "terrible tears" and "pitiful" sighs (VIII, 72), with a "clouded" heart, will herself show "tears in her pupils" (VIII, 86), but at the same time she will order him to "leave the tears to infants" and publicly demonstrate "courage" (VIII, 90). She will also express her wish to participate in the war and die "for freedom in freedom" (VIII, 89), for "the walls of her home city" (VIII, 100). While she grieves in the privacy of her home, she will suppress her feelings in public:

She walks through the city
proudly and happily;
and does not show how, from pain,
she is bursting into pieces.
(VIII, 114)[69]

Her public performance of emotions, or acting out, indicates socially desirable behaviour in given circumstances, and the motif of suppressed, unexpressed pain, evoking the conflict between the public and personal, is a powerful trigger for the reader's empathy. By stressing the willingness to subordinate personal suffering on behalf of the community, her character acquires the status of a social role model, arousing feelings of admiration and collective pride.

The given examples reveal standard situations, utterances, and prototypical emotions in the structuring of the heroic plot, as well as the established strategy of managing the reader's perspective, i.e., encouraging sympathy with the virtuous ones. However, the development of the historical plot ultimately fails to meet the reader's genre (and emotional) expectations. Namely, sticking to a strictly hagiographic (and historiographic) model, Kanavelić ignores the logic of the epic genre in that, at the end of the war story, there is no establishment of poetic justice and thus no sense of pride due to the victory of a weaker but morally superior army. Although at the crucial moment of the military conflict, when the enemy's victory is likely, the saint miraculously disables the Hungarian war machine, forcing Koloman to stop the battle, a psychologically unconvincing twist follows. Suggesting a religious sense of wonder, a "miraculous" change in the king's character occurs,[70] so now the "peaceful" ruler offers the people of Zadar truce, privileges, and honour if they submit to him. Following the advice of Bishop Ivan, they

[69] "Ide ona preko grada / Ponosita i vesela; / I ne kaže kako od jada / Puca u sebi u sto diela".

[70] From "an angry lion, / harsh, deceitful, and cruel," he transforms into "too quiet a lamb". His poisonous snake-like temper becomes the meek temper of a "peaceful dove" (XIII, 174–175), and so are his "anger and greed" and the desire to conquer Zadar (XIII, 180).

wholeheartedly agree.[71] Having thus obtained, albeit by different, diplomatic means, exactly what he had planned at the beginning, the angry enemy promptly transforms himself into a celebrated ruler who is solemnly welcomed in the attacked city.[72]

Thus, Kanavelić's epic, relying on a hagiographical story and religious discourse, offers an idea of social happiness that does not rest on the righteous victory of the morally superior side, but on Christian forgiveness and reconciliation. The implied political gain of the people of Zadar comes from the fact that they were not subjected to the powerful king as war booty, by military force, but as equal partners, by their own decision. At the same time, the establishment of a political alliance between two Christian armies, presented as the result of the divine mediator's deed, suggests a God-given outcome of events. In this regard, it is understandable that in the epic, as well as in the hagiography, the motif of the conversion of King Koloman is insisted upon as another miracle,[73] which subsequently justifies his status as a Christian ruler who, in accordance with the worldview and political theory of the time, should be "God's incarnation". As such, he is an important emotional object—as indicated by the conduct of the Hungarian knights who show their love for the king with their loyalty and bravery in battle, but also of the people of Zadar who welcome him in their city with honours. This is supported by numerous panegyric verses dedicated to the Hungarian and Austrian rulers and their noble lineages. They not only offered the reader a lesson on another way to express patriotic feelings and socially desirable behaviour, but they also undoubtedly served to stimulate them.

In such a way, the epic, which, like hagiography, legitimizes the political outcome through divine intervention, demonstrates a well-established and successful social strategy for managing collective political attitudes and emotions in the pre-modern era. By encouraging the feeling of Dalmatian-Hungarian unity and collective pride, the epic invokes, as already mentioned, Hungarophilia that was widespread in early modern Croatian literature and culture, and which is actualized here in the context of the military and geopolitical redrawing of the Ottoman-Christian borders during Kanavelić's time. However, while this collective sense of community was supposed to be inspired by religious discourse with the logic of miracles and by the aforementioned panegyric verses, it is not "performed" convincingly on the level of an epic heroic plot. As a result, the aesthetic emotions that Kanavelić intended to elicit in the readers were diminished.

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[71] They do it in unison, which is accompanied by a sudden emotional change: "With one united voice, they cry out in joy: We receive the blessed peace and the king's gift of grace". (XIII, 227) ["U glas jedan sjedinjeni / Zavapiše u radosti: / Mi primamo mir blaženi / I kraljeve dar milosti".]

[72] Cf. XIV, 103-119; XV 38-134; XVI.

[73] Namely, the king not only experiences a conversion in his conversation with the Bishop of Trogir (XVII, 68-174), but as a special sign of God's grace, during the mass celebrated by the bishop in Šibenik, a dove appears to him "whiter than a lily and rose, / whiter than a snow-white veil" (XIX, 67-112).

Love for a lover—romantic emotions

As part of the historical plot, the epic develops two romantic episodes: the protagonists of the first are a noble couple from Smederevo, Radomir, a warrior in Koloman's army, and Jerina, while the second episode involves the knight Pelinko and the maiden Rosinda. Following a standard chivalric romance storyline, they also represent "a very late reworking of the influence of Ariosto, Tasso, and Gundulić". In the first story, it is possible to identify similarities with Ovid's *Pyramus and Thisbe*, "but without an unhappy ending," and with certain motifs from *Gerusalemme liberata*, while in the second plot, there are resemblances with the situations and characters of Tancred and Clorinda from Tasso's epic.[74]

In contrast to the heroic or war plot, the love sequences consistently adhere to the universal structure of romantic *tragi-comedy*, and both include a story about the unification, separation and reunion of lovers, which, based on a prototypical emotional scenario, is capable of arousing narrative, i.e., empathetic emotions of the reader.[75] Thus, the love and happiness that the young lovers Radomir and Jerina enjoy at the Smederevo court will be threatened, in accordance with the established motif in genres with love and/or heroic themes, by war, to which the virtuous knight is obliged to leave, parting with his inconsolable sweetheart. At the same time, the tragic progression of the story is made up of a confluence of unfortunate circumstances, which are also represented by standard situations and motifs: first, Radomir finds an unrecognizable dead female body on his way to Smederevo, which he concludes is Jerina's from her clothes (XII, 157-239); then a twist occurs when the knight, mourning her death, shoots at a bush where he hears the movement of an animal and realizes that he did not kill a wild beast, but seriously wounded Jerina (XIV, 1-102).[76] The final happy turn occurs when Jerina, thanks to the knowledge and skill of the herbalist who treats her, recovers, so the lovers go to Zadar after all. There, they join the celebration of the end of the war and the conclusion of the Dalmatian-Hungarian political alliance (XVII, 1-67). The

[74] Cf. Z. Kravar, "Ep Petra Kanavelića", 204; Z. Bojović, *Barokni pesnik Petar Kanavelović*, 269-272.

[75] Accordingly, the unification of lovers in such stories is, as stated by P. Hogan (*The Mind and its Stories*, 102-104), "the prototypical condition of arousing personal happiness," while separation, that is, the "middle or progression" includes "the corresponding prototypical condition of arousing sadness" (102). At the same time, the plot regularly rests on the conflict between their love and the "social structure" (e.g. parental disapproval) and/or involves a love rival, and the situation of separation is often connected with apparent or real death. Such a typical development of events is related, among other things, to the fact "that happiness intensifies if it was preceded by at least a certain degree of sadness," so the contrast between the sad development of events and the joyful resolution "is in the service of preventing a decrease in the intensity of the final joy" (103). Moreover, the final union of lovers usually marks a "sacred or otherwise absolutized aspect of reunion," whether the lovers are reunited in earthly life or, separated by death, reunited in the afterlife, in heaven (104).

[76] While fleeing from pirates, Jerina, as she explained later, changed her clothes with the wolf skin of a shepherdess, whose dead body Radomir buried thinking it was Jerina's.

story's suggestiveness is also achieved by the representation of the couple's turbulent and contradictory feelings, ranging from sadness due to parting, shock and pain due to the lover's death to the happiness brought on by the outcome.

However, the story about the beginnings of their love, which precedes the given plot, also reveals complications, yet of a different kind, and is interesting because its focus is on the very feeling of love and its understanding. The first meeting between Radomir and Jerina evokes the Petrarchan situation of unrequited love and the unavailability of a lover. The actualization of this motif includes gender inversion: instead of the cold lady indifferent to the lover's plea, Kanavelić's Radomir is the one with a "heart of stone". He is a skilled hunter and pious knight who knows how to restrain "all kinds of desires" with reason, and is the epitome of moral virtue. Moreover, the desire for love is explicitly presented as an infernal temptation which the knight, living a virtuous life and taking care about eternity "in the kingdom of heaven" (IV, 47), successfully resists.

Jerina, however, cannot resist the desire. A "terrible temptation" manages to ignite devastating feelings in her, emerging in her dream in the form of Radomir. Implying sin, love's longing also carries negative connotations in the representation of Jerina's mental and physical state. In accordance with popular literary imagery, but also with the pre-modern medical interpretation of love desire as a serious disease with possible fatal consequences, Jerina manifests all known symptoms: anxiety and pain, loss of reason, obsessiveness, insomnia, crying and mourning.[77] The girl's love madness reaches its peak when the knight, evoking yet another common motif, passes under her window and does not react to her sighs when she shows him "the flame (...) with which she burns" (IV, 88). This will set Jerina off to flee her court with the aim of taking her own life.

The twist happens when Radomir finds her at the spring, "in shepherd's clothes," almost dead. Thinking that a "dead young man" is lying in front of him (IV, 104), he opens "the white shirt" and sees "two unripe apples" (IV, 108–109). This erotic scene will prompt the knight to be "astonished" and to instantly lose "his fair mind" (IV, 109).[78] The narrator emphasizes that the "damned infernal spirit" was behind it (IV, 109), so the internal struggle of the great knight between the carnal heart and the wise "reason" is shown. This actualizes the popular theme of erotic dualism, that is, the conflict between high (spiritual) and low (physical) love. The situation is resolved in the usual way, by

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[77] "She jumped up and, first, / from her burning chest, / let out a sad wail / that clouded her mind. / All beside herself, / she began to shed terrible tears, / which, from a wounded heart, / an insidious disease expelled. / Then an even stronger force / made her get out of bed / and turned the rivers of terrible crying / into frequent sighs. / She quickly put on her favourite ornaments; / (...) / she dressed up and made herself beautiful". (IV, 81-84) ["Skoči ona i najprie / Razžeženieh jur iz pàrsi / Jedno tužno vaj! Podrie / Kê joj razbor vas zamàrsi. / Izvan sebe zanešena / Poče grozne ronit suze, / Kê iz sàrca izranjena / Skrovna boles tierat uze. / Zatiem opet sila jača / Nju s pernice čini ustati, / Kâ joj rieke grozna od plača / U uzdahe česte obrati. / Sve urese najmilie / U pospiehu na se stavi, / (...) / Načini se i napravi".]

[78] At the same time, "at one moment" his heart "burns rather than fires up", and he "can barely recognize himself" (IV, 136).

engagement and, in the future, marriage.[79] Having thereby gained divine legitimacy, the lovers avoided sin. That is highlighted by the narrator's claim that the "dark spirit of eternal night," through this "sacred connection," confronted loss of power, gave up, and made a run for hell (IV, 149).

As all the above demonstrates, the recurring commonplaces of love discourse are imbued with moralistic motives and are interpreted in accordance with the early modern societal norm, which regarded marriage as the means of reconciling contradictions of love.[80] The dedicatory poem testifies to such a pragmatic effort, that is, to "protection" from undesirable effects and interpretations of love content in the epic.[81] It states that the soul of the one who writes "poems of the evil world" becomes "dark," as they can be harmful if they reach the "unwise". Namely, they hide the "flame of disgusting burning sin," which brings "death," so the reader is invited to leave the "poisonous poems" aside.[82] Of course, it is a literary convention and a covert invitation to the opposite: to read romantic episodes. But in Kanavelić's procedure, one can recognize a variant of what is known as the *poetics of conversion*, that is, the *spiritual disguise of the classics*. It was typical of the literature from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, created in the atmosphere of the Catholic Renewal, which relied on the existing secular tradition but at the same time adapted it to spiritual goals.[83] In this sense, the epic reflects the emotional post-Tridentine regime associated with the project of instructing and disciplining the faithful, the regime that paid special attention to sexual morality among Catholics and tamed passions of the flesh.[84]

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[79] In order to avoid "eternal restlessness" and "condemnation" of the soul (IV, 139), Radomir will propose to Jerina. After she offers to be his "courtier, servant, and slave" (IV, 147), he will take her as a fiancée to his court.

[80] In this, Kanavelić goes so far that the otherwise idealistic Petrarchan amorous discourse will also be subjected to interpretation. Namely, the fascination with Jerina's beauty, which is referred to in the standard Petrarchan description, is justified by the explanation in which Kanavelić also reaches for Neoplatonic motifs: "But her golden curls / do not bind mortal souls / with a bond that brings / eternal ruin, severe torments; / nor her bright and clear eyes / fan a wild flame / with which the soul dies in torment (...) / But [her] beauty, enveloped / with honourable shyness, encourages everyone / to recognize in her a ray / of divine beauty". (VII, 64-67). ["Nu nje zlatne rude kosi / Ne vežuju duše umàrle / Oniem vezom, ki donosi / Viečne raspe, muke vàrle, / Ni nje oči svietle i jasne / Plame užižu one prieke, / S kîeh u mukah duša gasne (...) / Neg lieposti ogradjene / Časniem sramom svieh nutkaju, / Da od lieposti božanstvene / Zraci se u njoj razmišljaju".]

[81] Titled *Bogoljubnom štiocu, a osobito Trogiraninu* ("To the Pious Reader, Especially the One from Trogir"), the dedicatory poem was omitted from the 1858 edition of the epic, yet was later published by Dušan Berić in: "O autorstvu uvodne pjesme uz epos Petra Kanavelovića *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski*", *Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku*, 10-11 (1966), 225-230, on p. 229-230.

[82] D. Berić, "O autorstvu uvodne pjesme uz epos Petra Kanavelovića", 230.

[83] Cf. Virginia Cox, "Re-Thinking Counter-Reformation Literature", in: *Innovation in the Italian Counter-Reformation*, ed. Shannon McHugh and Anna Wainwright, Newark: University of Delaware Press (e-edition), 60-63.

[84] Cf. Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice*, London - New York, Routledge, 2000, 102-104.

However, such a perspective is absent in the romantic episode whose protagonists are Pelinko and Rosinda, and which also rests on a conventional plot and plot twists.[85] But here, on the other hand, the interference of the political discourse can be observed, so the increase in tension caused by the turns of the personal stories of the protagonists has, among other things, the function of intensifying the collective feelings of belonging and pride. Namely, the dynamics of the development of the romantic plot will bring the lovers to a Tasso-like situation of direct conflict on the battlefield, where the love story transcends the private sphere and becomes important for the community. The Knight of Death, i.e., Pelinko, acts as the hero of Koloman's army, and the famous knight Bjelolavski, i.e., Rosinda in disguise, fights on the side of the people of Zadar. The moment in which the Knight of Death seriously wounds Bjelolavski is the climax of the tension that leads to the twist, the sentimental recognition of the lovers and their reunion (XIII, 78-117). The sudden turn in which the anger and hatred of the war rivals are transformed into romantic love by a swift manoeuvre corresponds to the emotional pattern of the unfolding of the war plot, in which, thanks to the miraculous intervention of Bishop Ivan, the enmity of the Zadar and Hungarian armies grows into friendship and a political alliance. Moreover, this is supported by recognitions concerning the origin of the lovers, where, as is customary in chivalric romance plots, the protagonist's wet nurse carries the key information: Pelinko will find out that he is Slavomir, the son of the Croatian king, and not the son of the royal nurse who substituted him as a newborn for her own son; after the duel, Rosinda will also learn from the nurse that she is the daughter of Zadar nobles and that her real name is Margarita. Since they are both distinguished war heroes and the "parents" of the new political alliance, the engaged couple's love is eventually supposed to arouse not only individual happiness but also collective emotions such as solidarity and pride. Such a literary strategy of intensifying political emotions with a romantic plot is one of the key features of the Dubrovnik tragicomedy genre. Considering that Kanavelić's epic lovers are intertextually linked to the noble couple in Palmotić's *Pavlimir*,[86] this literary connection might be seen not only as another implicit celebration of Dubrovnik literature but also as another implicit political message.

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[85] The fateful first meeting of the lovers takes place at the knightly games in Vallon, where Pelinko, bearing the title of the Knight of Fortune, asks the beautiful Rosinda to dance. The social obstacle that will be the cause of the lovers' separation is embodied by Rosinda's master and his jealous son, to whom she is betrothed against her will, and who stage her death. Believing her to be dead, Pelinko takes the title of the Knight of Death; Rosinda, on the other hand, manages to escape from Vallon with her wet nurse and changes her gender identity, becoming the knight named Bjelolavski. The insatiable rapture of love in both of them thus grows into a warrior's fury, and they gain fame through bravery and victories in many battles; driven by that destructive feeling and heroic vanity, both are looking for an opportunity to try their hand at a duel.

[86] Slavomir and Margarita, as already noted in literary historiography, undoubtedly evoke Palmotić's protagonists in *Pavlimir* (Pavlimir and Margarita), both with their names and with the symbolic role of those characters as noble parents of the new city of Dubrovnik.

Addendum: love for the king

As previously shown, love for the ruler is one of the main motifs in Kanavelić's epic. This is indicated by the utterances of the narrator and the actions of the characters of loyal knights, as well as by the unfolding of the war plot, where this kind of love is considered an important component of expressing attachment to one's community. But apart from that, it stands out as the theme of the most extensive episode in the epic,[87] which follows the miraculous adventures of Duke Vladimir of Siget, which begin when the duke, accompanied by a mystical knight, goes to a dark cave on the distant peaks of the mountain in the area "from Kašovija to Najksel" (VI, 134). There, the hermit knight, surrounded by invisible servants, reveals to Vladimir the contents of the "golden letter" by his long-ago predecessor Argenio, containing the prophecy that the Duke of Siget, as God's chosen one, should convey to King Koloman. In addition to the prophecy that announces a bright future for Koloman's (Hungarian) successors and the Austrian rulers, the letter also brings a "biographical" record, a testimony about Argenio's own life, and this narrative displays the features of different genres.

Thus, with its theme and scope, as well as the dynamic development of the plot and the social status of the protagonist, it evokes, similarly to a historical or war story, "the structure of a heroic tragi-comedy".[88] Accordingly, it contains "a plot based on achieving the prototype eliciting condition for social happiness—social and political power," but in a variation in which the focus is not on the collective but rather on an individual who "aspires toward (deserved and rightful) dominance in society".[89] This position is threatened in the sad progression of the plot, and the individual usually ends up in prison or exile, which is associated with near death or death. The turn to a happy ending involves the success of the individual, that is, the regaining of social power. In Kanavelić's epic, the protagonist Argenio is not a ruler but a "loyal retainer of the ruler," whose "power and authority are a function of the power and authority of the ruler," which is another variation within the given structure.[90]

However, unlike similar stories, the episode of *Sveti Ivan* turns out to be interesting because loyalty to the ruler as a social and moral value is not presupposed but is rather called into question. This is already suggested by the very chain of events in which the king asks the faithful Argenio to kill for him, that is, to secretly make away with the ruler's traitor and enemy. Argenio's obedience, although accompanied by moral doubts, is the trigger for a whole series of further misfortunes of the protagonist: first he spends five years in prison; then the court, with the blessing and signature of the king, sentences

[87] It has more than 2,800 verses.

[88] Cf. P. Hogan, *The Mind and its Stories*, 109-113.

[89] P. Hogan, *The Mind and its Stories*, 110, 111.

[90] P. Hogan, *The Mind and its Stories*, 113.

him to death; after he manages to escape from prison, his wife and children are killed, so that no one could remember his "sad life" and that the light would never "shine on him again" (XIV, 82). All this time, Argenio, not wanting to tarnish his knightly honour by revealing the secret, remains steadfast in his loyalty to the king, and that will only change when he hears the news of the death of his family.

Similar to the case of the historical plot, the further development of events in that episode is not aligned with the expectations of the reader who identifies with the protagonist and who wishes for a denouement in which the dishonest king would be punished, and his loyal confidant Argenio would restore, according to the conventions of the genre, his social respectability and power. Namely, Kanavelić here also reaches for the religious genre, specifically the genre of the baroque weeping poem; therefore, the development of events does not move in the direction of righteous revenge but towards the protagonist's realization of his own sins and the greatness of God's grace.

Moreover, the protagonist's testimony, characterized by a confessional tone, represents the emotional state in moments of moral doubt even before he committed the sin: after the king's order to commit murder, he experiences a "bitter illness, a severe misfortune" (XI, 159) followed by devastating feelings of fear of one's own death, shame, and thoughts "full of toil and misery, / now clouded by fear / now revengeful, now gentle" (XI, 168). Despite that, he decided to "please the beloved king".

After the murder has been committed, the emotional dynamics vary in the feelings displayed: from sadness because the king, despite his loyalty and obedience, abandoned him to an unfortunate fate; through anger at the ruler for having led him to sin, and then renounced him; to reconciliation, accepting that he was deservedly punished by God for his crime (cf. XIV, 141-252).

The development of events eventually leads Argenio to realize his own responsibility for sin, which is also a typical commonplace of a weeping poem:

Damned be the man
who trusts in man
and who, when guilty against God,
waits for help from man;
For it is better to trust
only one God
than all the kings
of this world.
(XIV, 253-254)[91]

[91] "Proklet oni čoviek da je, / Koji ufa u čovieka / I koji, Bogu kriv kada je, / Čovječansku pomoć čeka; / Jer je ufanje bolje imati / Samo Bogu u jednomu, / Neg li u kralje sve ufati, / Koji su svietu na ovomu".

Finally, the situation in which he faced the shock of the greatest loss—the death of his family—will be the impetus for a true inner change: God, who by his grace returns Argenio "to his natural being" (XVIII, 91), will initiate the process of repentance.

In addition to contrite and thankful prayers, the process includes other standard motifs such as the isolation of the sinner and the wandering in the inhospitable nature. Thus, the penitent feelings intensify after Argenio, following a long journey, settled in an isolated place where "a living man does not stop by," in a cave "hidden in the wasteland by a dark grove," which replaced his "wife, child, peace" and "lordly glory and honour" (XVIII, 119). Like the penitents in the Dubrovnik weeping poems of Ivan Gundulić, Ivan Bunić Vučić and Ignjat Đurđević, Argenio also mourns the "sins he committed", not the "damage" that was done to him (XVIII, 127); he prays for "an even heavier, even stronger sorrow and grief" and "wounds (...) all over the body", like those of Job (XVIII, 130-131).

As can be seen, the construction of Argenio story's is yet another illustration of the epic's merging of genres with secular and religious themes. However, this episode has a different intention in comparison to the historical or warlike plot, where the religious discourse functions to politically legitimize and support the character of the ruler (Koloman). In fact, the Argenio narrative emphasises that the position of ruler as such does not imply absolute authority beyond divine or moral principles. Therefore, it is suggested that going against the ruler is a higher social virtue than blind obedience, which generates evil. In this regard, it makes it plausible, as already established, for the epic to deal with Koloman's conversion—the process by which the king gains the moral qualities necessary to qualify as a legitimate ruler.[92]

In the context of the political events of Kanavelić's era, the epic's introduction of the theme of reasonable resistance to royal authority might be seen as an implicit comment on the 1671 conspiracy against the Habsburgs and the execution of Croatian magnates Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan.[93] Given that Duke Vladimir, who tells Argenio's story to the king, is descended from the Knights of Siget, i.e., the Zrinski family, this could indicate Leopold I's ingratitude towards the Zrinski. This would also suggest that the epic episode undermines the greatness of that Austrian ruler, who is apostrophized in the laudatory verses that ensue. In addition, the theme in question might be examined in light of Kanavelić's knowledge of political literature. But that is a matter for yet another study.

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[92] Kanavelić has earlier addressed the issue of the instability of the ruler's position in the tragicomedy *Vučistrah*. This drama also introduced a new subject in Dubrovnik literature when it was presented at the theater's founding in 1682. Namely, prior to then, the stage was mostly occupied by morally perfect rulers. Vučistrah, the morally dubious protagonist, tends to be related to the controversial nobleman Marojica Caboga (1630-1692). Cf. Slobodan Prosperov Novak, "Petar Kanavelić", in: Petar Kanavelić, *Vučistrah*, ed. Slobodan P. Novak, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2004, 145-167, on p. 155.

[93] On this, see J. Bajza, "Horvát éposz Kálmán királyról", 45.

Closing remarks

By exposing the characteristic rhetorical procedures of representing the complex emotion of love and the ways of understanding it, as well as the standard strategies for managing religious, political and "romantic" emotions, the epic *Sveti Ivan biskup trogirski i kralj Koloman* proves to be stimulating material for the study of emotions in early modern literature. By pointing to the pragmatic dimension of the literary performance of emotions, it has been shown—in line with previous insights about the epic—that the primary goal of the epic is to arouse religious emotions and encourage, following the religious projects of the post-Tridentine Catholic renewal, the appropriate behaviour of the believers.

At the same time, in the focus of the epic are collective, or political emotions, specifically Hungarophilia and sympathy for the Habsburg Monarchy. Evocation of these feelings is related to the historical-hagiographic plot and the narrator's utterances in which the Hungarian and Austrian rulers are celebrated, and it is apparently motivated by the military successes of the Habsburgs on the Ottoman-Christian border at the time. Also, two romantic episodes were "adapted" to the goal of arousing and intensifying religious and political emotions in the epic; although they are based on typical motifs of genres that thematize worldly love, they are imbued with moralistic or political discourse. By managing the reader's emotions in such a way, the epic undoubtedly fulfills its intention to "please", as explicitly stated, Saint Ivan, who is a protagonist of the epic, and the actual Habsburg emperor Charles VI, to whom the epic is dedicated.

In addition, Kanavelić emphasizes the intention to make the epic appealing to contemporary readers. We cannot know exactly to what extent he succeeded in pleasing the readers of his time. However, it seems that the author did not fully achieve his intention if we take into account that *Sveti Ivan* relies on the then-popular Baroque epics and the universal structure of heroic and romantic tragi-comedy, yet fails them in certain aspects. Namely, while the two romantic episodes are performed in accordance with the principles of romantic tragi-comedy, the two heroic plots show that the reader is twice played: first, in terms of the unfolding of the epic conflict; second, in terms of the expected emotional impact of the heroic story. Both heroic stories, the first related to Koloman's invasion of Zadar and the second to the political rise and fall of the king's confidant Argenio, initially follow a characteristic genre plot. However, their denouement is typical of religious genres: hagiography in the first case and religious poem in the second case. Such a genre twist, as has been demonstrated, makes it impossible to fulfill poetic justice, thus missing the key, effective trigger of the reader's emotions. Consequently, another shortcoming of the epic may be added to the list of compositional and genre omissions already identified. And it is, as is apparent, the one that has to do with whether the narrative moves the readers' emotions, whether their emotional

expectations are met, and eventually whether or not aesthetic effect is elicited. This means that not even Kanavelić was able to resist the lure of the "higher goals", and like Ivan Gundulić in *Osman* and Jaketa Palmotić Dionorić in the epic *Dubrovnik ponovljen*, he sacrificed poetics for the sake of religious instruction and politics.