

ORAL TRADITION ABOUT THE CITY OF ZAGREB IN THE WORKS OF ŠENOVA

LJILJANA MARKS

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb

As an introduction, the review of the subject is presented, along with the motifs and the chronicles of oral tradition in the City of Zagreb, by which a temporal order of Zagreb chronicles is established. Šenoa's relation towards oral tradition in general, and particularly towards that of Zagreb is looked into. Zagreb oral tradition as it appears in Šenoa's works, particularly in the novel *The Goldsmith's Treasure* is examined. Excerpts from oral tradition - whole stories, fragments, paraphrases, associations, syntagms, reflections of beliefs - are observed as intertextual parts firmly enmeshed in fictional prose. In non-fictional prose, sketches and notes, the author himself critically examines the historical veracity of oral tradition creating a type of meta-narration.

The stories and tales which were told in the cities have not been the subject of any considerable attention among researchers of oral literature, who have concentrated mainly on narratives in village communities. So it is that Zagreb stories have not been systematically collected and committed to paper. They have been noted mainly as a frame or picturesque interpretation in various contexts. Parts of Zagreb oral tradition, and even entire texts can nevertheless be found in many locations: in historical literary and culturo-historical sources, where they are usually referred to as

"popular beliefs", "popular tradition", "rumours", or "oral transmission". Historical events, too, can stimulate the birth of oral tradition, which is sometimes mentioned as authentic confirmation of historical data.

The leading historians, chroniclers, collectors of oral tradition, and those who have noted it down, their works also containing oral tradition about the City of Zagreb are: Adam Baltazar Krčelić in the 18th century, followed by Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, Ivan Kukuljević, Franjo Bučar in the 19th century, and Stjepan Dokušec, Đuro Szabo, Lelja Dobronić, Nikola Bonifačić Rožin, Maja Bošković-Stulli, and Divna Zečević in the 20th century. Their activities have unquestionably established a temporal continuity of chroniclers of Zagreb. Along with these known persons, one should also mention the unnamed people of Zagreb and inhabitants of the villages surrounding Zagreb whose memories relating to historical tradition have stayed fresh until the present day.

Tradition about the City of Zagreb reveals a different, unfamiliar face of the city. It speaks of the birth of the city and of its name, about the actual and legendary Manduševac Well, of the sojourns in Zagreb of Mark the Apostle, Saint Francis of Assisi, Martin the Blessed, who, according to the legend, founded in Zagreb the church which bears his name; of the ostensible throne of Matija Gubec in front of St Mark's Church, of a *pozoj*, a dragon, in the well which once stood on the square in front of St Mark's church, of the miraculous saving of the picture of the Virgin Mary of the Stone Gate, of Zagreb's *grabancijaši*, divinity students from the *black school*, of the historical mansions in the Upper Town, of the aristocrats, of the unclean souls and the contact with the dead, of Medvedgrad and the Black Queen, of witches, and of more recent transmission such as the laboratorians on Strossmayer Square, who the people of Zagreb remember still today.

The themes and motifs of historical transmission are also found in works by Croatian writers: in poetry, prose, but primarily in the historical novel. I shall indicate examples in Šenoa's novels and interpret their possible sources in Zagreb's oral tradition.

* * *

In analysis and studying of parts of oral tradition in Šenoa's work I shall adhere to the term *intertext/intertextual* because it seems to me to be sufficiently precise and operative in description of the writer's narrative methods.¹ Maja Bošković-Stulli analyses narrating in or about the oral

¹ For more on the theoretical and methodological definitions of intertext and the concept of intertextuality, and on possible typologies and intertextual methods, see Beker 1988; R. Lachmann 1988; D. Oraić 1988; P. Pavličić 1988, and the articles in: *Interekstualnost & autoreferencijalnost* 1993.

story and uses the term *metatext* in doing so, setting out from its definitions in narratology and folkloristics, interpreting it as the frame of the picture and/or the narrator's or writer's comment or assessment of his/her own narrated text, the narrator's story about the source of the text, which can all "be understood as a type of criticism, thus as oral metaliterature". The attention of contemporary folklorists to these contextual means, as metacommunicational indicators of the narration, is also emphasised. In this way, the metanarration helps towards better understanding of the text, but at the same time it remains narration, a indivisible part of the story. The author, too, regards the procedure as being more complex in written literature when the author mentioned the oral stories, in which "the writer's intention may suggest meaning in the quoted oral story which it did not itself contain" (Bošković-Stulli 1994:97–98, 103). The term metatext includes the attitude, and the interpretation expressed in the text itself, and, consequently, also the meaning "above", "on top of" and, terminologically, fully corresponds when what is in question is a story and story-telling within an oral story i.e. on the same narrative level. The term intertext is more precise when the focus is on mixing and permeation of narrative level, in this case: the literary and folkloric.²

The Zagreb oral tradition is "embedded" into Šenoa's work in a number of ways. The point of connection and permeation of the two texts can be invisible, completely merged within the sentence, but also indicated as a frame which mutually joins and separates them. The inserted text, the intertext, can be an entire story, but also a paraphrase, an allusion, a metaphor, or an association to an individual motif or theme.

We cannot regard Šenoa's methods as being identical with that of contemporary, mainly post-structural authors who intentionally interpolate in their text part of another author's texts, or a number of them, in order to establish a diachronic relation with older works of national or world literature, and to bring associatively to the consciousness of the reader works which, through the individual parts of the text mentioned, attain a

² In oral tales about the city of Zagreb, the metastory would be the narrator's announcement of the context in which the story was once related comment on the story of the narrative event. The narrator tries to revive the context in which the story was listened to, commenting on the related event, evaluating it, bearing witness to its veracity, authenticity, and about his own creative or experienced participation in the story.

The standard example of metatextual testimony about the veracity of what has been experienced or related is when the narrator, recounting the story about the *grabancijaš*, a student at the Black School from the Kaptol, who made hail in his room, says: "That's what I saw, the real living truth, with my own eyes so that nothing can prove to me that he could not make hail" (Marks 1994:81).

new dimension. Here the question arises of the reception of the literary work because the process of uncovering, recognising and interpreting intertextual procedures assumes a sound knowledge of spiritual atmosphere, history, and the literature the author "used," quoted or only indicated in his work, especially when the intertext is not a complete story - or its paraphrase - but only an allusion, association or metaphor. Therefore, our ability to read it to the end, to adjudge it, to encounter it and compare it with other texts would be based on recognition of the intertextual elements of the particular work. In doing so "the concept of the intertext must not be confused with the concepts of influence and source" (...) but:

"... that which is involved here is the existence of heterogeneous tissue, the woof, whose origin cannot (always) be clearly determined. And although that practice in literature (the use and application of elements of the past) is very old, in the field of literary theory, consciousness of that phenomenon is of more recent date" (Beker 1988:10).³

A work is not interpreted as a text which owes its origins to some author or anonymous narrator from the past but rather these are themes, motifs, expressions and methods which repeat themselves and modify themselves from one work to the next, from one generation to the next. We do not always have to try to come across the trail of those quotations which make up the text; it is sufficient simply to identify them as texts which have already been read, as quotations without quotations marks. Therefore every text would, in fact, be an intertext because it contains elements of earlier texts and surrounding literature. In this regard, it is important to bear in mind that Barthes does not consider it necessary to adhere to the distinction between good and bad literature, because the basic principle of the text can also be uncovered works which traditional criticism rejects, such as, for example, trivial literature. Barthes goes further when he contends that the practice of denotation can also refer to works of visual art, to music, and film, and everything which leads to a new freedom in reading which does not have to hold to the usual chronological order and approach. He goes even further and says: the emphasis in the text itself reduces, and even eliminates completely the role of the author in setting the final form of the work (Beker 1988:10–15).⁴

³ Roland Barthes' texts from the Seventies which deal with processes in which he expressed some of the fundamental post-structural ideas about the concept of text. In further explication, M. Beker cites those texts in comments and interpretations.

⁴ Some Croatian theorists (P. Pavličić, D. Oraić Tolić) think that intertextuality and intertext need not be understood precisely as shown by Barthes, and in their work intertextuality is somewhat more modestly understood and less precisely defined. Relations between texts also have particular aspects, for example, intermediality, quotability. For more on the contribution to critical judgment by literary theorists

We are not interested here in such distancing of the author from the work, but I accept the idea that in examination of an intertext in the narrative process one should not strictly adhere to division into so-called good and bad literature and proceed from those distinctions; one should rather start from the text itself. In this way, the works of August Šenoa, and Mirko Bogović, and Tituš Brezovački, and Ante Kovačić, and Marija Jurić Zagorka, and Higin Dragošić and Hrvoje Hitrec, and so on, can be analysed from an equally valid starting-point level; and the Zagreb oral tradition in all the works by all of them can be examined in an identical fashion. However, the methods by which the texts are woven in these works will probably differ: in works of trivial literature they will perhaps be less hidden, they will be more similar to the literary conventions of the earlier periods to which they are heirs, they will be more transparent and will not assimilate so well into the tissue of the works. Analysis will show what they are like. All literary works do nonetheless inherit prior periods, and, thus, in Šenoa's work we will see anticipation of the Gothic novel, the knight-adventure novel, and the conventional literary procedures of Romanticism (the unknown and partially suppressed descent of the hero, birth under conspiratorial circumstances, kidnapping, murder by poison), the use of the cliché, commonplaces, but also historical documents, oral tradition, the murmur of everyday life, everything which become part of his literary opus and art literature.

Šenoa's love of Zagreb, but also his criticism, particularly towards the people of Zagreb, are almost a known commonplace in the history of Croatian literature. That relation with the city, in which the motifs of Zagreb oral tradition are also mentioned, was expressed in inspired words by the young Matoš:

"Šenoa sprouted among middle-aged Zagreb *purgers* [a variant of the German *Bürger*]. On Harmica Square and Kaptol [the Chapter] he watched the peasant worthies and the prebendaries and the pencil-pushers and the landed gentry. The waves of Illyrian romantic enthusiasm churned up during his childhood. His lullabies were the guttural sounds of long ago from the tower of the ancient cathedral, whose shadow reached out as far, perhaps, as the house of his birth. And so he just dreamt on about that wondrous melange of colours, he dreamt of the *purgers*, the peasant men, the priests, the landed gentry, and the Chapter and about old Grič on the hill over there, he dreamt about Gordun, and the Black Queen and the Bloody Bridge, about [the forts] of Okić and Medvjedgrad, which leer with the bleached smirk of dead bones in the golden glow of the sun and in the dense mountain

regarding the concepts of intertextuality and autoreferentiality see: Morana Čale Knežević 1995:109–141.

greenery... And when Šenoa had dreamt his fill, he started to write"
(Barac 1926:84).

We learn only through a short note of Šenoa's familiarity with Zagreb oral tradition in the book *My Father*, written by his son Milan. Milan Šenoa tells us, reminiscing about his childhood: "When we left the house (...) we regularly walked around Cmrok, and my father used to tell me all sorts of tales: the early history of our age-old kings, Zvonimir, Krešimir, Petar Svačić, he told me about the incursions of the Mongols, of the Turkish attacks, about the history of the city of Zagreb, and he also told me about our family" (M. Šenoa 1933:5–6).

Šenoa's inclination towards oral poetry is also shown by the fact that he published a collection of 58 poems in 1873 called *Vijenac pjesama hrvatskih i srpskih* [A Wreath of Croatian and Serbian Poems], and three years later, in 1876, a much more detailed *Antologiju pjesništva hrvatskoga i srpskoga narodnoga i umjetnoga sa uvodom o poetici* [Anthology of Croatian and Serbian Folk and Art Poetry With an Introduction About Poetics] (Bošković-Stulli 1984:98).

Šenoa's affinities with oral tradition were also manifested in his narrative poems inspired by popular tales and transmission. In those poems, Šenoa did not initiate anything new: earlier Vraz had written ballads in verse and adapted the content of popular oral tradition; subsequently that linkage of oral narrative and motifs from history were adapted by Kukuljević, Dežman, Tomić, Botić. However, this was more a featureless stringing of verse rather than real poetry and these poems lack even more in expressivity than do those of Mažuranić. A literary genre which was to remain unique in Croatian literature was created only with Šenoa. No less important was the content aspect of that poetry which points directly to historical themes which dominated the literature of that era.

"When he was adapting historical material, he always knew how to emphasise certain parallels between the past and the present, and when he presented material based on popular transmission, then he adapted those motifs which corresponded in ethic content to the moral precepts of the time" (Barac 1926:46–47).

The poems *Zmijska kraljica* [The Snake Queen], *Guš, Kameni svatovi* [The Stone Wedding Guests] and *Zagreb* all point directly to Zagreb tales. The story about the "snake or serpent queen" told to him by a villager who lived near Remete on the outskirts of Zagreb provided an initial stimulus to Šenoa for his adaptation in verse. Šenoa himself tells us that he joined the snake queen motif - *per licentiam poeticam* - with the tradition about the Black Queen, also calling on Tkalčić's *Akta Kaptolska*. The stories about the evil and ominous Black Queen are also known throughout

history, but primarily, nonetheless, in oral tradition. They were first presented by Ivan Kukuljević (1854, Vol. 3:129–132), thus before Šenoa's poem; some variants of the story have been noted down in our day in the villages in the surroundings of Zagreb. The stories about this queen often merge in oral tales with other motifs from oral stories: buried treasure, secret passages under the Medvedgrad fort, and about a cursed princess turned into a serpent. Memories of this woman have been preserved to the present day in the children's urban play, *Crna kraljica, jen, dva, tri*. [The Black Queen, One, Two, Three] (Marks 1994:Nos. 49–56).

Oral tradition had its most direct influence in Šenoa's poem *Zagreb*. Šenoa wrote and published it in 1864 i.e. before Tkalčić; as he mentioned in a note to the poem, Šenoa based the poem on a story which he had heard from a servant as a child. In content, it corresponds fully with Tkalčić's narrative, in which the regent throws his sword into the ground at a time of terrible drought and a living spring, Manduševac, burst forth from the ground. The legend about the foundation of Zagreb is connected with this spring. It has remained unresearched and unconfirmed whether Šenoa and Tkalčić heard at the same time two similar variants of the story of Manduševac and each then published his version in verse and/or prose, or whether Šenoa's poem had a direct influence on Tkalčić, who then perhaps gave it a new form in prose.⁵

There is no doubt about the fact that Šenoa and Tkalčić were great friends. Their friendship and the way they mutually stimulated each other to work is testified to by Milan Šenoa. Tkalčić had played *cops and robbers* with Šenoa on the eastern promenade when they were schoolboys, and later in their lives Šenoa had composed a song for him every year in the Kajkavian dialect in which he always referred to him as *Tintenfish* [Squid] or *Sepia* "because the late Ivša often had hands smeared with ink". They were to remain friends all their lives.

"Of all my father's colleagues Ivša Tkalčić, who later became a prebendary of the cathedral church in Zagreb and a member of the Academy, was to remain his faithful comrade until the end of his life. The young Šenoa had gone with him to *Kalvarija* to hunt goldfinches, my father and Ivša shut sparrows into Professor Švamoman's desk, together with Ivša my father had wanted to remove the flowers from the same professor's mezzanine-floor windows, but the alert absolutist wardens came along, and asked the young men what they were doing with the small ladder..." (M. Šenoa 1933:31–32).

There is also a biographical source which tells of Šenoa stimulating Tkalčić to write and publish material about the history of the city of

⁵ More on this point in: Maja Bošković-Stulli 1991:48–75; Marks 1994:9–14.

Zagreb, what is more, he almost had to force him to publish some part of his unpublished material in his *Vijenac* literary magazine in 1881.

"Not long after the Zagreb earthquake, Šenoa dropped in on Tkalčić at his *curia* at Kaptol (No. 14) and they started a conversation about the fate of some of the houses damaged in the earthquake. Tkalčić spoke of some interesting details about them, which were connected with Zagreb's past. Šenoa encouraged him to talk, and then took up a pen and said: 'Listen, dear Tintenkleks, tell me all that once more, I need it for a brief notice in *Vijenac*.'

And when Tkalčić repeated it all in detail, and Šenoa had take it all down, word for word, Tkalčić said:

- *Amice*, Ivša, you have jumped into the water, now swim.

- I jumped? Why?

- Among other things mentioned in the invitation to subscribe to *Vijenac* for 1881, this will also appear: The editors have managed to obtain *The History of the City of Zagreb* from our well-known historian Ivan K. Tkalčić. In the very first issue after New Year what you now dictated to me will appear, and *To be continued* will be printed in brackets at the end of the article. Now it is up to you that the installments appear on time.

Milan Šenoa remembers Tkalčić saying to him later, very much later: 'You know, my dear fellow, that was worth and significant deal. It gave me strength and I zealously took up reading and commenting on the [historical] monuments of our city. And there, eight thick volumes are now finished, but the intellectual initiator of that work was your late father'" (Jelčić 1966:238).

Šenoa's era, of which he was the focal figure, was an era of the blossoming and affirmation of the Croatian novel, which became the best-loved literary form. Šenoa took the European model of the historical novel and tales and adapted them to specific Croatian circumstances and the domestic literary tradition. To him, history no longer had only the function of a picturesque backdrop, but became an essential factor in the novel's world and narration. It was from here that the need for study of archives and reference to authentic historical documents stemmed. The stimulus/model of the literary work was always some actual historical event exemplified by historical documents, and Šenoa wove the fictional events around it, the main heroes being either invented or insignificant persons in the eyes of history.

"So it is that the specific interaction between the fictional and historical takes place, and that in the form of a two-way process: historisation of fiction and fictionalisation of history" (Nemec 1992:159–160).

Thus, history primarily provided a frame for Šenoa within which he expressed the issues of his time, for through comparison of the past shown

and the receptor's present, the possibility of historical comparison was constituted in the reader's consciousness.

"Living under circumstances in which we did not dare to present openly and clearly our plans in public, we submerged ourselves in history, making the people of our past some sort of symbols for action in the present. Not being able to speak out openly against Austria, our people lauded Petar Zrinski. Not daring to emerge with some radical social programme, they scolded Tahi. Unable to shout in the language of the present, they took themselves [back] into the past - and some sort of well-couched allusion in some work about the past ignited more than open words. That is why the historical novel, whose ideas could be applied to the present, was always more successful here than the very best realistic story set in contemporary times" (Barac 1926:46–47).

It is very probable that Šenoa also drew elements of oral transmission about the city from the historical material which he studied so thoroughly, because it preserves traces of its lasting existence, and, in a certain manner, glorifies and affirms what is Croatian.

The story-telling processes by which Šenoa introduces these elements into his work can be seen at both the narrative level and the style level: the entire text of the narrative is almost literally incorporated in the work, while the theme of the narrative, the paraphrase, allusion, association are only outlined. We find such elements in almost all the literary genres which Šenoa wrote, but they are present most of all in the historical novel.

Almost all historians of literature to date have mentioned Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's *Dogadjaji Medvedgrada* [The Events of Medvedgrad] published in 1854 in the third volume of the *Arkiva za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* [Archive for the Yugoslavian History] as one of the sources of Šenoa's novel *The Goldsmith's Treasure*, along with Krčelić's *Historia cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrebiensis* from 1770, Antun Vramec's *Kronika* [Chronicle] dating from 1578, and city petitions, decisions of and speeches in the Croatian *Sabor* [Parliament]. They were mentioned by the author himself in his foreword *To the Reader* in the first separate edition of the novel in 1872, the year after its publication in Vijenac.⁶

⁶ In her list of all the historical sources which Šenoa used in writing *The Goldsmith's Treasure*, N. Klaić also provides a list of 25 documents from the City Archives, and a list of historical literature which he probably took as a model. With historical meticulousness, she examines each historical source in Šenoa's work and takes exception to his lack of consistency and accuracy in interpreting this data which should be the "accurate" historical backdrop to his novel. Klaić is probably right from the viewpoint of historical sciences, but it is that very "inaccuracy" which confirms the assumption presented that history for Šenoa was merely an inspiration, a frame for fictionalisation of historical material (See: N. Klaić 1982:18).

Šenoa also emphasised on a number of occasions in notes in *Vijenac* the way he thought historical archives should be arranged:

"... where the fiction writer would be able to find documents from everyday life; in his opinion, such documents do not have much meaning for the political historian, but are valuable for the writer of the historical novel" (Barac 1926:55).

Šenoa could of course find fragments and whole texts of oral transmission in historical archives. By calling on sources, Šenoa did not wish to manifest or emphasise the historical authenticity of his work, but to create the story's report on warranting legend, the reality.

Šenoa's novels sometimes include the entire traditional narrative: The seminary in Zagreb was popularly called *črna škola* [the Black School], and this was noted by Krčelić as early as the 18th century. The name probably derived from the black clothes worn by the students. However, among people it was said that the students of the Black School also completed the so-called *thirteenth school*, that they were *grabancijaši*, that they could *ride the pozoj*, a dragon, *make hail*, or, in other words, that they wielded black magic, something which belongs in the field of casting of spells and supernatural force (Jagić 1971:274–275, 278–279; Marks 1994:Nos. 19, 26–28). Among people they continued to be called *the black students*.

But there is another, more picturesque interpretation of the appellation: according to this version the name came from the home of the Zagreb canon, Franjo Filipović, who converted to Islam around the year 1573 after having being captured by the Turks. Because of this act, Bishop Drašković anathemised him, had all the doors and windows on his house broken, and all the walls painted with black paint. After two years had passed, the bishop converted the building into a school and seminary and had each and every corner painted white,

"but the black memory of the house lived on among the people. The black house became the black school (the seminary), therefore it is attended by black students (clerics)" (Tkalčić 1861:212).⁷

The events relating to Filipović are historical fact, which probably occurred in that year, 1574, and no doubt instigated the oral tradition, and,

⁷ In the *Reading Book for the Preparatory and Lower Grades of the Apprentice (Tradesman) School* from 1926, the Chapter and that "right next to the bishop's mansion stood the archbishop's seminary, the *Black School* is mentioned. That is what the people of Zagreb call it, because during the battles with the Turks, the canon Franjo Filipović lived there. He was captured by the Turks in 1573 during a battle near Ivanić Grad, and converted to Islam to save his neck. Because of that, his house was painted black, and after a time a school was located there" (*Čitanka za pripravnici i niži odio šegrtskih /zanatičkih/ škola* 1926:97).

even more, the name of the building, the Black School. Tkalčić also speaks of that aspect at the end of a text published in the *Zagrebački katolički list* [Zagreb Catholic Newspaper]:

"This name became so enrooted among the people that many do not even dream of any other name; again some believe that seminaries are called *black schools* everywhere, while some who have sniffed more foreign than domestic books, ask themselves why it is called the *schwarze Schule* in Zagreb and not the Seminary etc. My answer to the latter is: the name is based in history, and even if it does not derive from the most glorious of acts, let them freely use it as being historical, that being just the reason for our choosing it" (Tkalčić 1861:212).

This story was published in the *Zagrebački katolički list* in 1861, ten years before the novel came out.

Šenoa introduced just this story about the destruction and burning of Filipović's house into the firm narrative structure of his novel. The narrator is Grga Čokolin, who is telling his listeners the history of the event to which they are observers. This part also begins as a story within a story, through the introductory formula and it is as though the frame within which the story will unfold has been set in that way: Tihodička, the female baker from Popovska Street says to Grga:

"Speak up, speak up, *kume* - says Tihodička, the baker lady from Popovska Street - I could listen to you right through the whole livelong day, hungry and thirsty.

- *Ergo* - continues Grga Čokolin - that unbaptised Anti-Christ who lived in that mansion there, cast the Holy Gospels beneath his feet, had his sinful head shaved - because pagans also shave their heads, I know - and became a Turk.

- May God keep us from all evil! - sighs the fat butcher's wife, Barinkinka, with a nose as red as the dawn - if my Mato got it into his head to shave it, I would scratch his eyes out.

- You see, you see! - adds the cross-eyed drummer or "bishop's drumstick", Đurica Garuc, coolly nodding his head.

- People say - Čokolin takes up the story - that it was Franjo Filipović At this name all the women cross themselves.

- If it was Franjo Filipović - the barber again - as canon and captain with the Chapter Army, he was supposed to catch Turks near Ivanić.

- So we heard, so we heard - says Štakor, interrupting.

- You see, you see! - yawns the drummer.

- To catch Turks like mice in a trap. But yes! What does he care! They weren't after his bacon, but theirs. They cut the Chapter Army to pieces, like sausages, and took the fine *Most Reverend* on a horse, directly to the Turkish emperor. The emperor gave him a hundred cents

of pure gold, two hundred acres of land, a brick house, and three hundred women, because one is not enough for the Turks.

- And even one is too much for us! - adds Štakor coolly.

- May Our Lady of Remete help us! - says the thin Tihodička, crossing herself.

If my old man had a Turkish appetite, I would teach him wisdom with a cooking spoon! - adds the fat butcher's wife.

- You see, you see! - nods the drummer.

- And he denied God and all the saints and became a Turk - says Čokolin - And they will be judging him today, you know, because that pagan became an officer and had one hundred of our men impaled on stakes near Sisak and Križevci. Today they will be judging him - that brigand. Thank God they have caught him. If they had sent me to Sisak - here the barber's wagging tongue suddenly stops. His eye would have fallen on a pale young man quietly seated on a drapped horse" (Šenoa 1963:24–25).

Grga's story is stylistically told as a real oral tale; it is interrupted in three places by interjections and comments from the citizens present, just as listeners interrupt somebody telling a story and/or comment on a text just uttered. However, in the story itself within the novel there are a number of narrative levels: Grga Čokolin tells the story which he simultaneously comments upon, ("because pagans also shave their heads, I know...") and thereby leads towards a second narrative level, a sort of metatext. This comment of Grga's can be correlated with the content of the entire novel: Grga knows what he is talking about because he himself is a Turk - something the reader discovers only at the end of the novel. Telling the tale, Grga does not say where he heard it but says *People say*, a common syntagm in oral narratives when the intention at the beginning of the story is to emphasise that the story had been told by someone anonymous (or by more than one person) and that the actual narrator had heard it and now is re-telling it, and thus does not have to be accountable for its content or its veracity. This process is intensified by Štakor's interjection (We heard, we heard), which indirectly confirms Čokolin's story. The comments of the surrounding listeners, the mute way in which the women cross themselves at the very mention of Filipović's name, and the calling on Our Lady of Remete are also metatextual parts of Grga's story.

The style method from oral narration by which the affective tone is strengthened, imitating the conversational style, were non-verbal sentence constructions in the original of the example referred to (... and the fine Most Reverend onto on a horse, and then directly to the Turkish emperor...) as were the grading of the numeral values of the rewards which Filipović received for his treachery: one hundred cents of pure gold, two hundred acres of land and three hundred women.

Grga's story is not told to its end because Pavao Gregorijanec appears on the square (Dora was already there). The tale and the narration is taken over by an objective story-teller, the writer, and the dialogue transforms into a monologue which is nothing else than the author's retelling of the contents of the historical documents about Filipović's trial. The tensions grows right up until the moment when the crowd breaks into the house and starts painting it black, then setting fire to it. At the peak of the happening, when the horses which have been left without control start racing around the square together with the mob, Šenoa exposes Dora to critical danger, she is saved by Pavle Gregorijanec and he falls in love with her. This, in fact, is where the story within the story ends, and the love story plot commences.⁸

The end of the story, which associatively calls up oral legend, is given by the author at the end of the entire event:

"On the Chapter Square the bonfire burned out, and Filipović's mansion was empty, smeared in black, yawning like a strange monster - a terrible warning to all traitors to the Cross and to their own people, while the black memorial to treachery and just revenge is still mentioned today by the words 'the black school'" (Šenoa 1963:27–28).

By this method, Šenoa shifts from one narrative level to another, as though stepping over the border between two worlds, the one in which he speaks and the one which he speaks about. In this way, the novel becomes the first story in which another story is told. The intertext is part of the fictional part of the novel. Šenoa then introduced into the story actual historical characters, for example, the viceroy Drašković, who really governed at the time when the action of the novel unfolds and who give historical authenticity to the events. Šenoa's narrative method is completely different in these intertextual parts of the novel: the text of Drašković's letter in which Filipović is accused and damned corresponds with the stylistically neutral discourse of a document or chronicle, but Šenoa described this event in much detail and with greater historical authenticity than the historian, Tkalčić. Such, too, are the historical chronicle parts in which the history of the Medvedgrad fort or the struggle between the citizens and the

* Zagorka uses a similar method in *The Daughter of Lotrščak*, where the story of the governor's wife, Manduša, is inserted in the novel like an oral story: people have gathered in the tavern and one of them is telling the story. The style of that part of the novel is the narrative style of an oral story: this section is set apart by a separate paragraph, in which the atmosphere which is created in the tavern after the telling of the tale is described. Zagorka goes even further: she frames the novel by two of the best known Zagreb oral tales: she starts with the above mentioned story about Manduša, and ends with the legend concerning the miraculous preservation of Our Lady of the Stone Gates; like an arch, she underlines the composites of these two stories.

Gregorijanec is told. Almost throughout the entire action in the novel the well-known chronicler, Antun Vramec, at that time the parish priest of Saint Mark's, appears in the novel as Gregorijanec's friend and Pavle's godfather i.e. as a living character. Vramec's judgements of then current events, told as a dialogue with Gregorijanec, are in fact a paraphrase of a quotation from Vramec's *Chronicle*.

The description of the houses, the streets, the atmosphere in front of the small shop stalls in front of St Mark's church, the punishment of thieves, everything that conjures up and illustrates the atmosphere of that time, through paraphrases and associations to historical or ethnological material, but not its literal quotation, is at the same narrative and style level. S. Lasić calls this type of narration, which is a necessity for objective storytelling, direct reporting. It is used widely by all the writers of that time, "by some skillfully, by some awkwardly".⁹ Šenoa reports directly whenever he wants to explain some situation or event "objectively", with historical accuracy. Those parts of the novel, however, are still not direct historical testimonies but rather paraphrases of them. This is evident in the confrontation of Šenoa's and Tkalčić's description of Zagreb: both texts acknowledge identical sources.

If one looks at the beginning of the novel:

"On the eve of the 16th century, during the reign of Maximillian II, and the governorship of Bishop Đuro Drašković, there was a series of low shanties around the Church of Saint Mark, where the where the junkmen and fruit and vegetable vendors sold tallow, oil, flat bread loaves and other petty goods for everyday use and little money to the considerate citizens of the noble town. (...) The shanties stood peacefully under the auspices of Saint Mark, in fact, even the worldly and spiritual gentlefolk sometimes paused in front of them" (Šenoa 1963:5).

For comparison, here is Tkalčić's description:

"Zagreb's mediaeval *štacuni* were neither so large nor tasteful as they are today, they were simple shanties with a window opening or were small roofed ground-level sheds built on to the brick houses, and had double doors arched at the top, one side of which, the right one, reached the floor, that was where one went into the shop, while of the other half i.e. the lower half was built of brick, and that wall was

⁹ For more on this point see: S. Lasić 1965:163–230, Zagreb, 1965.

Applying the structuralist approach, Lasić studied in detail the twelve novels written in Šenoa's time. He analyses the themes of the novels, the basic ideas, the characters observed as types, and he defines their activities within the themes and content of the individual novels, composition and/or types of composition, the general form of narration, the technique of narration and the elements within the narration itself - methods, general characteristics of expression. He supports his theses with quotations from the novels.

usually used as a small show-case for the goods which the shop sold"
(Tkalčić 1889:82).

In his objective report about the city Šenoa almost unnoticeably introduces Magda, the *paprenjarka*, or female vendor of pepper and honey biscuits called *paprenjaci*, and that is how he commences his story:

"A better know character in those shanties was Magda, the *paprenjarka*"
(Šenoa 1963:5).

In the novel one can also read off a very discreetly expressed stratum of the customs of that time, brought to life in the murmur of everyday life, firmly enmeshed with the fictional tissue of the novel. It is known from historical sources that Zagreb punished very harshly its felons and criminals. The accused had to sit at the post of shame or in the stocks called *pranger*, which was placed beside the great doors of Saint Mark's or they had to carry the stone of shame about their necks (Tkalčić 1889:69). In *The Goldsmith's Treasure* the city gossips point out that the stocks are worn and should be repaired because that is how they want to punish all the city girls who are without shame, alluding here to Dora and her love affair with Pavle.

"... and I say: to the stocks with them, yes, to the post, let it be known what saints they are" (Šenoa 1963:64).

One can also read off a stratum of popular customs and beliefs, indicated only by paraphrase or allusion: Dora was dying of an illness

"as though serpents were drinking her (...) Medicines were like water. Luckily she ran into an old friend who knew how to cast spells on all sides, [who told us to] boiled *gavez* [comfrey] herb in milk, and give it to Dora to drink" (Šenoa 1963:43).

"All the more handsome young Zagreb men offered an apple called *božićnica* to Dora. (The popular custom was that a beloved or desired young woman would be given an apple as a sign of love)" (Šenoa 1963:8).

In a room at the Krupić house there was a picture of Saint Peter hanging on the wall, with a

"palm leaf standing there since the last Palm Sunday, which protected the house from lightning and thunder" (Šenoa 1963:58).

"In my dream I saw a cat attacking me! (...) That is evil, neighbour! An old cat, you say? Your soul has been deformed!" (Šenoa 1963:49).

Dora drinks wine from the glass used by the notary in order to be able to guess his thoughts (Šenoa 1963:63).

There are folk sayings intertwined in Šenoa's sentences which most often support and confirm general "wise" attitudes about life, and comments on events or conversations. They are usually uttered by characters from the masses and, like fine weave, incorporate a conversational style into the text.¹⁰

Individual historical characters also known from oral tradition are mentioned in the novel. Matija Gubec, "who was so strangely enwreathed on Mark's square" appears only as a historically confirmed destiny, and there is only an indication of his execution under "the iron crown" (Šenoa 1963:17, 36). The death of Matija Gubec shown in this way is a very productive motive of oral tradition (Marks 1994:16–18; Nos. 14–18), but Šenoa does not have such designations. The Black Queen is characterised in the novel identically as in the poem. He defines her malice in a similar fashion, and only in one sentence mentions the stories about her with which mothers frightened their children:

"Zagreb mothers tremble when they tell their children of the evil doings of the *Black Queen* and her German lover, Vilim Stamm."

She is linked with Gregorijanec, and again with the malicious master of Medvedgrad (Šenoa 1963:36).

Often in his novel, Šenoa introduces - again on a fictional level - only parts of traditions or their paraphrase: stories about secret corridors and passageways were a favourite and almost inexhaustible theme in Zagreb stories. So there were stories about corridors which lead from Medvedgrad to Remete in which the monks of the Pauline Order hid their valuables, about corridors through which the kings went from Medvedgrad to mass at Saint Mark's Church, of the tunnel which connected Medvedgrad with the Zagreb Chapter, of numerous unexplored subterranean passageways underneath Grič, the Upper Town, and of the underground corridor which went from Mesnička Street - from today's Number 12 in that street - to the Upper Town.¹¹ Šenoa only indicates the motif with his syntagm *secret passageway*, and uses in a very functional style in parts of the text when he goes further than the conventions of the adventure and historical novel - when Klara appears, suddenly and unexpectedly, beside Dora's dead body:

¹⁰ For example, the malicious comments on Dora's behaviour: "It's better to have a fine reputation, than a golden belt. First the stable, then the cow. Fine on the outside, jucky on the inside" (Šenoa 1963:8, 11, 50).

¹¹ These passageways are the theme of J. Jurić Zagorka's novel *The Secret of the Bloody Bridge*, while information on the passageway under Mesnička Street was mentioned in *Komunalni vjesnik* (Issue No. 92, Year IX, November 30, 1993 in *How Zagreb Became Zagreb*, p.5); *Vjesnik*, May 31, and June 1 and 6, 1974 etc.

"The doors to a secret passageway leading from the Upper Town to underneath the nave of the church opened above the altar (...) a tall woman garbed in black came down the steps into the church carrying a torch. (...) The *banica* [the governor's wife] jumped up as though crazed and desperately fled down the secret passageway" (Šenoa 1963:195, 197).

Sometimes Šenoa introduces only individual sintagms or associations, indications from which it is possible to read off the basic folklore element; and these parts, of course, are indivisible from the story, are stylistically fully enmeshed with the remainder of the text, and are difficult to identify; Magda, Dora's godmother, is described as a witch who rides every Friday "over Klek [Mountain] or the Stations of the Cross in Lomnica, to enjoy herself in the *kolo* [round dance] of the hooved sisters of the Prince of Darkness; some Anti-Christ helps her; (Šenoa 1963:5, 68); there was gossip about Grga Čokolin "that he brewed all sorts of potions", "that (...) he does not fast on Wednesdays and Fridays", that he is as black as if he had kissed the Anti-Christ (Šenoa 1963:7, 68, 199) - which is expressed more fully a number of times by denotation of Grga Čokolin as a *black student*. The descriptions of the witches' activities correspond to the mention of accusations against women which are mainly voiced by Tkalčić, and are also identical with the folklore concepts and traditions about witches noted even in our time (Marks 1994:27–29; Nos. 38–39). Such details, indicated only as sketches, underscore Šenoa's descriptions of the time being as authentic as possible, but they also indirectly testify to the life and duration of oral tradition in Zagreb.

Such, too, is the mention of the Virgin Mary of the church in Remete, whose image is linked with help to mortals and performing miracles in some Zagreb legends. She was the protectress of Zagreb and its people prior to Our Lady of the Stone Gates. As Šenoa's novel is set in 1574, he mentioned only Our Lady of Remete:

"In (Magda's) small shop there hung a soot-covered picture of the miracle-working Our Lady of Remete, and a brass lamp burned before it to the honour of the Mother of God and for salvation of the soul".

Krupić, the goldsmith, travelled to Remete to repair the crown of "the miracle-working Lady"; Magda pledged Dora to the care of the "Lady of Remete" (Šenoa 1963:6, 42–43).

Echoes of Zagreb traditions are also found in Šenoa's *Sketches and Chronicles of the City of Zagreb* (from 1879). He published them in a feuilleton in *Vijenac*, but from 1879, starting from issue No. 43 of *Vijenac*, he started to publish the *Sketches...* in the main part of the magazines so that they did not "escape the attention of readers. In that way, the historian will find them more easily."

The sketch *Gleanings About the Church of Saint Mark* was published in *Vijenac* in 1879 in issue No. 44. It is not known whether Tkalčić participated with advice or data in the creating of that sketch, but it would seem from its contents that Šenoa obtained some "sketches" from other sources, as they are not mentioned by Tkalčić.

That particular sketch contains four brief traditions about possible ways in which the Church of Saint Mark was built. They are composite parts of the newspaper text, but each one is explicitly defined as a "tradition" which is untrue. By this introductory word to each individual tradition, what is actually announced is a different narrative discourse of that part of the text, and the tradition is set apart and bordered in the frame of the entirety of the journalistic discourse:

"Tradition says that it was built on the orders of King Bela [Abel] IV, and that he made a gift to the church of the picture of Saint Mark, which he had brought with him from Venice. **A second tradition speaks** of the original Saint Mark's Church being a chapel on a hillock in the middle of today's Mark's Square. **Tradition again says** that Saint Mark preached the gospel in these parts, which is not credible. **It is said** that the Venetians [the *Mlečani*] built the church, and today, too, *Mletačka* Street or, as it was written in olden times, *Benetačka* Street, carries its name."

In three examples (1, 2, and 4) each entire tradition fits, in fact, into only one sentence (Šenoa 1934, Vol. XIV:313–314).

In the same sketch, Šenoa describes events connected with the centuries of existence of the Church of Saint Mark, certified to by documents and official papers which should offer the facts to readers.¹² Thus, in his newspaper text, which aspired to the historical truth and does not belong to fictional prose, calling on tradition has a negative connotation; Šenoa the journalist is interested in the truth. In the end, Šenoa himself feels obliged to say:

"For the moment, we are communicating these few sketches, which are not, of course, complete history, but simply data, until now barely known or completely unknown" (Šenoa 1934, Vol. XIV:320).

The texts which follow on to the author's announcement of a different narrative structure can be called intertexts: for example, when Šenoa mentions "folk tradition", "rumours" or "beliefs" in his historical articles or

¹² In his *Historical Monuments of the Free City of Zagreb*, Tkalčić presents four traditions of the building of St Mark's: three are identical in theme with Šenoa's (Marks 1994: Nos. 10–11, 13). Only Šenoa speaks of the tradition by which St Mark's Church was located on a hillock as early as during the reign of Bela IV when he made the gift of freedom to the city; it is also indirectly mentioned by E. Laszowski, who mentions the Zagreb City Archive as the source.

feuilltons, he sets apart in this way that section of the text from the remainder, evaluating it differently. With the noun *tradition* at the beginning of each intertextual insertion, *verbum dicendi* - says, speaks, and the impersonal *it is said* - is almost certain to appear in the examples mentioned. This device makes what is being said a less objective, less apodictical contention, but at the same time also announces that what will follow will be something that was talked about, transmitted and preserved in some other way, and that, on the other hand, it indicates the author's critical stances, a certain interpretation of the text. Regarded in this light, one can observe Šenoa's commentaries of legends in his feuilltons and sketches as his interpretation of the significance of the story, as some form of criticism and/or metanarration. Here lies the difference between Šenoa's fictional and non-fictional prose.

Tkalčić, the historian, does not comment on sources which invoke tradition in his *Historical Monuments*. He always refers to them as tradition, but awards them a position of equality in the historical discourse.

Reverse research should also be carried out: there is no doubt that individual characters and parts of novels - primarily those by Šenoa and Zagorka - stimulated the birth and retelling of stories: individual characters have become part of the oral traditions and, indeed, symbols of the city. So it is that Dora Krupić is a well-known, familiar and living character in today's Zagreb. Indirectly, a contribution could have been made to her status among her fellow citizens in Zagreb by the statue of her erected near the Stone Gates, and by school reading lists.

REFERENCES CITED

- Barac, Antun. 1926. *August Šenoa. Studija* [August Šenoa. Study]. Zagreb.
- Beker, Miroslav. 1988. "Tekst/intertekst" [Text/Intertext]. In *Intertekstualnost & intermedijalnost*. Z. Maković, M. Medarić, D. Oraić, P. Pavličić, eds. Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti, 9–20.
- Bošković-Stulli, Maja. 1984. "Narodne pjesme u Šenoinoj *Antologiji*" [Folk Poems in Šenoa's *Anthology*]. In *Usmeno pjesništvo u obzoru književnosti*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 96–115.
- Bošković-Stulli, Maja. 1991. "Tradicijnsko pričanje u gradu" [Traditional Tales in the City]. In *Pjesme, priče, fantastika*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 48–75.
- Bošković-Stulli, Maja. 1994. "Pričanje o pričama" [Talking About Tales]. *Umjetnost riječi* XXXVIII/2:97–109.

- Čale Knežević, Morana. 1995. "Intertekstualnost i autoreferencijalnost u hrvatskih književnih kritičara" [Intertextuality and Autoreferentiality among Croatian Literary Theorists]. *Quorum* XI/2:109–141.
- Čitanka za pripravni i niži odio šegrtskih (zanatičkih) škola [A Reading-Book for the Preparatory and Lower Grades of the Apprentice (Tradesman) School]. 1926. Žiga Beer, Dragutin Nemet & Ferdo Nikolić, eds. Zagreb.
- Intertekstualnost & autoreferencijalnost* [Intertextuality & Autoreferentiality]. 1993. D. Oraić-Tolić & V. Žmegač, eds. Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti.
- Intertekstualnost & intermedijalnost* [Intertextuality & Intermediality]. 1988. Z. Maković, M. Medarić, D. Oraić, P. Pavličić, eds. Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti.
- Jagic, Vatroslav. 1971. "Južnoslavenske narodne priče o grabancijašu dijaku i njihovo objašnjenje" [Southern Slavic Folk Tales About the *Grabancijaš*, or *Black Student*, and Their Explanation]. In *Usmena književnost. Izbor studija i ogleđa*. Maja Bošković-Stulli, ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 265–283.
- Jelčić, Dubravko. 1996. August Šenoa njim samim [August Šenoa About Himself]. Beograd: Vuk Karadžić.
- Jembrih, Alojz. 1992. *O Vramčevoj kronici* [About Vramec's Chronicle]. Zagreb - - Varaždin: HAZU, Zavod za znanstveni rad Varaždin - Kršćanska sadašnjost.
- Klaić, Nada. 1982. "Historijska pozadina Šenoine pripovijetke i romana" [The Historical Background to Šenoa's Stories and Novels]. *Croatica* XIII/17–18:7–105.
- Kukuljević, Ivan. 1854. "Narodne pripovijesti o Medvedgradu" [Folk Tales About Medvedgrad]. *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Vol. 3:129–132.
- Lachmann, Renate. 1988. "Intertekstualnost kao konstitucija smisla. Petrograd Andreja Belog i 'tuđi tekstovi'" [Intertextuality As Constitution of Meaning]. In *Intertekstualnost & intermedijalnost*. Z. Maković, M. Medarić, D. Oraić, P. Pavličić, eds. Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti, 75–108.
- Lasić, Stanko. 1965. "Roman Šenoina doba (1863–1881)" [The Novel in Šenoa's Time (1863–1881)]. In *Rad JAZU*. Vol. 341:163–230.
- Marks, Ljiljana. 1994. *Vekivečni Zagreb* [Eternal Zagreb]. Zagreb: AGM.
- Nemec, Krešimir. 1992. "Šenoina koncepcija povijesnog romana" [Šenoa's Conception of the Historical Novel]. *Umjetnost riječi* XXXVI/2:155–164.
- Oraić, Dubravka. 1988. "Citatnost - eksplicitna intertekstualnost" [Zitathaftigkeit - the Explicit Intertextuality]. In *Intertekstualnost & intermedijalnost*. Z. Maković, M. Medarić, D. Oraić, P. Pavličić, eds. Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti, 121–156.
- Pavličić, Pavao. 1988. "Intertekstualnost i intermedijalnost" [Intertextuality & Intermediality]. In *Intertekstualnost & intermedijalnost*. Z. Maković, M. Medarić, D. Oraić, P. Pavličić, eds. Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti, 157–196.
- Šenoa, August. 1932. *Pjesme* [Poems]. Vol. X. Milan Šenoa & Slavko Ježić, eds. 2nd edition. Zagreb: Binoza.

- Šenoa, August. 1934. *Članci i kritike (Pabirci o crkvi svetoga Marka)* [Articles and Criticism (Gleanings About the Church of Saint Mark)]. Vol. XIV. Antun Barac, ed. Zagreb: Binoza.
- Šenoa, August. 1963. *Zlatarovo zlato* [The Goldsmith's Treasure]. Zagreb: Mladost.
- Šenoa, August. 1985. *Zlatarovo zlato. Prijan Lovro* [The Goldsmith's Treasure...]. M. Šicel, ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- Šenoa, Milan. 1933. *Moj otac* [My Father]. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Tkalčić, Ivan. 1861. "Crna škola u Zagrebu" [The Black School in Zagreb]. *Zagrebački katolički list (Crkveno-bogoslovni časopis)* XII/27:212.
- Tkalčić, Ivan. 1891. "Parnice proti vješticama u Hrvatskoj" [Court Cases Against Witches in Croatia]. *Rad JAZU*. Vol. 103:83–116.
- Tkalčić, Ivan. 1892. "Izprave o progonu vještica u Hrvatskoj" [Documents on Persecution of Witches in Croatia]. *Starine* XXV:1–102.
- Tkalčić, Ivan. 1889. *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba prijestolnice Kraljevine Dalmatinsko-Hrvatsko-Slavonske* [Historical Monuments of the Free Royal City of Zagreb, Capital of the Dalmatian-Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom]. Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed. Zagreb. Vol. 1. (Documents 1093–1399).

(Translated by Nina H. Antoljak)

USMENA TRADICIJA O GRADU ZAGREBU U ŠENOINU DJELU

SAŽETAK

Uvodno se donosi pregled tema, motiva i zapisivača usmene tradicije o gradu Zagrebu, čime se uspostavlja vremenski slijed zagrebačkih kroničara. Na temelju sjećanja Šenoina sina Milana, propituje se Šenoin odnos prema usmenoj tradiciji uopće, a posebno prema zagrebačkoj. Potom se analizira zagrebačka usmena tradicija u Šenoinu djelu, poglavito u romanu *Zlatarovo zlato*. Ukazuje se na teoriju intertekstualnosti, objašnjava sadržaj i uzajaman odnos termina tekst/ metatekst (metapriča/metanaracija) i intertekst. S tih se pozicija pronalazi i opisuje Šenoino korištenje usmene "građe", i to na dvostrukoj razini - pripovjednoj i stilskoj. Dijelovi iz usmene zagrebačke tradicije (cijele priče, fragmenti, parafraze, asocijacije, sintagme, odjeci vjerovanja) promatraju se kao intertekstualni dijelovi čvrsto upleteni u Šenoinu fikcionalnu prozu. Ti intertekstualni dijelovi funkcioniraju unutar Šenoina naracije kao stilizacija i poseban način izražavanja i pričanja. U nefikcionalnoj prozi, feljtonima i crticama, sam autor kritički propituje povijesnu vjerodostojnost usmene tradicije stvarajući neku vrst metanaracije.