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The Eastern Coast of the Adriatic in the Journals of Elisabetta Caminer

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This paper covers articles dealing with the eastern coast of the Adriatic, i. e. Venetian Dalmatia and the Dubrovnik Republic, published in *L'Europa Letteraria*, *Giornale Enciclopedico*, *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico* and *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico d'Italia*, journals which in the second half of the 18th century were edited by the Venetian writer, journalist and translator Elisabetta Caminer Turra. Her most important contributor for writings on this region was Alberto Fortis, author of the famous *Viaggio in Dalmazia*.

Key words: E. Caminer, A. Fortis, G. Bajamonti, journals, Enlightenment, Physiocrats

In Croatian intellectual and professional circles Elisabetta Caminer is probably known only to readers of Žarko Muljačić's writings on the career of Alberto Fortis as journalist and his contacts with the figures of the Enlightenment in Dalmatia and Dubrovnik.¹ In Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, a feminist or feminism-inspired view of literary and cultural history and women's engagement with this history, has given rise to a number of contributions in which Caminer is the sole protagonist and which evaluate the various aspects of her life and public activity in a new and original way.² Not even in times when the male viewpoint and the monopoly of men over science and scholarship prevailed was

¹ See Muljačić, 2011: 8-9, 36-37, 39, 174.

² We shall list just a few titles: Mariagabriella Di Giacomo, *L'Illuminismo e le donne: gli scritti di Elisabetta Caminer: 'Utilità e piacere', ovvero la coscienza di essere letterata*, Università di Roma, La Sapienza, Roma, 2002; Michaela Liuccio, *Elisabetta Caminer Turra: la prima donna giornalista italiana*, Padova, Il Poligrafo, 2010; Rita Unfer Lukoschik (a cura di), *Elisabetta Caminer Turra (1751-1796), Una letterata veneta verso l'Europa*, Essedue edizioni, Verona, 1998; Rita Unfer Lukoschick (a cura di), *Lettere di Elisabetta Caminer (1751-1796), organizzatrice culturale*, Conselve, Padova, Think ADV; Catherine M. Sama, *L'educatrice delle donne: Elisabetta Caminer Turra (1751-1796) e la "Querelle des Femmes" negli spazi veneti di fine '700*. "Memoria dell'Accademia delle scienze di Torino", 24 (2000), 25-36; Catherine M. Sama, ed., *Elisabetta Caminer Turra, Selected Writings of an Eighteenth-Century Venetian Woman of Letters*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Caminer passed over in silence or ignored. She is mentioned in the publications *Donne illustri*, *Donne illustri del Veneto* and even in *Uomini illustri d'Italia*, printed in the 19th century and in numerous later reviews of Italian and Venetian 19th century culture. Several articles about her, written by male authors, emphasise her journalistic work.³

Elisabetta Caminer played an important role in the cultural events in the Venetian Republic in the second half of the 18th century: she was a translator, literary critic, poet, journalist⁴ and in this last role is particularly significant for her part in the endorsement and dissemination of transalpine cultural influences and Enlightenment ideas. Sent to be apprenticed to a milliner, she learned French instead, and when about to turn eighteen, she made her debut at the theatre San Luca with a translation of the sentimental comedy *L'Honnête Criminel* by Fenouillot de Falbaire. The comedy was not ideologically neutral. Its performance had been banned in France because the noble and self-sacrificing protagonist was a Protestant. Throughout her life Elisabetta Caminer would supply the Venetian stage with very successful translations of the popular *comédie larmoyante*. Starting as copyist in the small literary workshop of her father, historian and journalist Domenico Caminer,⁵ she soon became his associate and joint editor of the journal *L'Europa Letteraria*, which Caminer first published in 1768 with the intention of providing the educated public with a review of literary news in Italy and other European countries.⁶ Elisabetta, whose cultural interests and ideological views were not at one with those of her father, put her personal stamp on the journal, and turned it from a provincial and somewhat somnolent literary and bibliographical bulletin into a combative mouthpiece of the Enlightenment. This became particularly evident when Alberto Fortis, who was intellectually akin to her, became an associate and, in effect, a co-editor. Elisabetta brought Voltaire onto the pages of the journal, while Fortis rose to prominence with his persistent mocking condemnation of the ecclesiastical orders as economic parasites. The editorial policy did not change when Fortis left the journal because of his field explorations and because of disagreements with Domenico Caminer. While targeted by attacks of conservatives like Carlo Gozzi (who disapproved the support that the Caminers had given Goldoni), Antonio Piazza and many others, Elisabetta enjoyed the support and concrete editorial advice of the distinguished poet and translator Melchiorre Cesarotti. *L'Europa Letteraria* stopped publication in 1773. A year later the Caminers launched a new journal, the *Giornale Enciclopedico*.⁷ Not long after that, Domenico Caminer handed

³ For a list of publications mentioning Elisabetta Caminer see De Michelis, 1974: 240, Berengo, 1962: XLIX, n. 168.

⁴ For the biography of Elisabetta Caminer see the mentioned article by De Michelis (1974: 236-240) and Lupinacci, 2015.

⁵ See De Michelis, 1974: 234-236.

⁶ For concise information about this and other journals issued by Caminer father and daughter, and then only by Elisabetta (with associates), see Berengo, 1962: XLVIII-LI.

⁷ The contents and conception of the journal were announced by Domenico in *L'Europa Letteraria*, 1773/V: 36-42.

over the editorship to his daughter. With Fortis back on board the journal soon attracted prominent contributors, such as natural historians Lazzaro Spallanzani and Antonio Maria Lorgna. In 1777 the seat of the journal moved from Venice to Vicenza (after Elisabetta's marriage to the physician and botanist Antonio Turra). Another contributor was the lawyer Giovanni Scola, a committed disciple of the Enlightenment. When in 1781 he stopped his collaboration with the journal, Fortis came to replace him.⁸ At that time he was already well-heeled and famous as a travel writer. He joined the business and in 1783 began to publish the *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico*. Their collaboration ended in 1787 when Fortis moved to the Kingdom of Naples, entering the service of Ferdinand IV. Elisabetta turned for help to their joint friend Miho Sorokočević / Michele Sorgo,⁹ who at that time lived near Vicenza.¹⁰ The journal, unchanged in its editorial policy, with Fortis still playing a part, continued to come out until 1789. That year, with the Revolution and the uncertainty in the overall situation, was marked by the end of reformism and of the humanitarian utopia promised by the Enlightenment. However, Elisabetta Caminer did not give up. In 1790 she launched a new journal, the *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico d'Italia*, which she would continue to edit until her death¹¹ (Fortis once again lending an occasional hand). Still, the new circumstances did leave a trace: the polemical élan ceded ground to ideological neutrality and the number of articles featuring mere erudition or scientific utilitarianism increased.

The eastern shore of the Adriatic is covered in all four journals, mostly via a digest of texts already published, providing a miscellany of news from the area and also, though less frequently, reports, letters and original articles. The summarized texts (in the whole of journalism of the time the resumé was the most widespread form) were printed in Venice or in other centers of the Veneto region, but texts published elsewhere did not go unnoticed.¹² Most of the credit for the introduction of themes from the eastern Adriatic goes to Fortis – as a direct, empirically proven expert in the region. Fortis signed a number of important articles, but he was not the only reporter or author.

In his first travelogue, *Saggio d'Osservazioni sopra l'Isola di Cherso ed Osero* (1771), Fortis states that his wish to visit the Eastern Adriatic was prompted by the discoveries of the natural historian of Padua, Vitaliano Donati, published in *Della Storia Naturale Marina dell'Adriatico* (Venice, 1750).¹³ In reality he had been directed

⁸ Less radical than Scola, he piloted the journal into calmer polemical waters.

⁹ The names of Fortis' contemporaries from Dubrovnik and Dalmatia are recorded as written in the documents and publications of the time. Occasionally we add the "colloquial" form, traditional in Croatian scholarship. In the case of Bošković, Kunić and Sović we use only the Croatian form, save in quotations.

¹⁰ See Muljačić, 2011: 9. For data from Fortis' biography, see also Muljačić, 1996, *passim*.

¹¹ Elisabetta Caminer died in June 1796. The journal continued to come out until October 1797, edited by Domenico, who survived Elisabetta by a few months, and Aurelio Bertola.

¹² A number of these texts and some reviews of them are listed in Valentinelli, 1855.

¹³ See Fortis 1771: 90-91.

towards Venetian Illyria by British amateurs of natural sciences, agriculture and archaeology, whose "learned curiosity and generosity"¹⁴ determined the scope and areas of his explorations, largely in line with his own scientific interests. His first information about Dalmatia as an archaeological treasure house came from the travelogue of Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (1678) and the illustrations of Diocletian's Palace by the Scottish architect Robert Adam, in *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764). Fortis was encouraged to explore the ethnological heritage that would bring him international fame by Adam's patron James Stuart, Earl of Bute, Scottish patriot and, briefly, British prime minister, who hoped that Fortis would find evidence to support the credibility of the poems of Ossian, whose authenticity was disputed by some English and Irish critics, as opposed to the enthusiastic reception by most European readers.¹⁵

The journal *L'Europa Letteraria*, in the issue of December 1770, announces the forthcoming publication of Fortis' travels around the Kvarner islands,¹⁶ with a lengthy review of some of the chapters by the same author in the form of an epistle to Matej Sović, archdeacon of Osor. Fortis thanks him for his "generous assistance" in the composition of the book,¹⁷ not forgetting his fellow travellers – Domenico Cirillo, professor of botany at Naples University, the amateur agronomist John Symonds – nor his associates who helped him after his return from the trip. The closing address to Sović reveals some details of their fellowship: „S'aspetti quanto prima una mia lettera in lingua Slava, che verrà da S. V. Reverendissima da esser corretta, come da un dotto Professore, e per farle conoscere quanto necessaria si rende la pubblicazione della Grammatica Illirica da lei lavorata“ (EL, 1770/XII 1770: 79-80). Not long after that Fortis sent Sović, his teacher in Old Slavonic,¹⁸ a short letter written in the Cyrillic script.¹⁹

Domenico Caminer presented Fortis' book, published in December 1771, in the usual form of resumé. After a few general introductory words of praise: „Ecco appagata l'universale brama di leggere un'Opera, che ben sapevasi e

¹⁴ „dotta curiosità, e ... munificenza ...“. Fortis, 1771, from the dedication to the Earl of Bute. In the late 14th century another name for the island was registered, i. e. Lussin, from which the present-day Italian and Croatian form is derived (Lussino and Lošinj respectively).

¹⁵ For Bute the authenticity of the poems symbolized the greatness of ancient, independent Scotland. See Muljačić, 1996: 22-23.

¹⁶ *Storia naturale della Isola di Cherso, e di Osero; opera del P. Alberto Fortis proposta per Associazione. Estratto*. EL, 1770/XII: 62-80. When referring to the different journals, we shall use the following abbreviations: *Europa Letteraria*: EL; *Giornale Enciclopedico*: GE; *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico*: NGE; *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico d'Italia*: NGEI.

¹⁷ EL, 1770/XII: 62-63. See also Muljačić, 1996: 25-26, 28-29

¹⁸ This is how he is described in the *Saggio*: „Uomo distinto pella vera pietà, pelle sue profonde cognizioni intorno all'antica lingua illirica, e cortese Ospite quanto altro mai.“ (Fortis, 1771: 38).

¹⁹ We learn this from a letter sent by Sović to Fortis in May that year. See Muljačić, 1996: 39.

per la sua importanza, e per il giusto credito dello Scrittore dover recare molto onore all'Italia" he acquaints the reader with the specific features of the text: „Interessanti annotazioni storiche, fisiche, e critiche si veggono sparse per tutta l'Opera, che vieppiù grata, e dilettevole ne rendono la lettura, anche a quelli, che nella Storia Naturale non sono abbastanza iniziati. Vi si correggono alcuni errori de' Geografi, e per fino dell'Autore degli Articoli Geografici dell'Enciclopedia, che mette l'Isola di Osero in Italia ... „ (EL, 1771/XII: 72).²⁰ From the standpoint of Fortisology, the final part of the review is particularly interesting: „Infine chiuso è il Libro da otto *Notizie preliminari credute necessarie per servire di direzione a' viaggi tendenti ad illustrare la Storia Naturale, e la Geografia delle Provincie adiacenti all'Adriatico, e particolarmente dell'Istria, Morlacchia, Dalmazia, Albania, ed isole contigue*. Coteste notizie quanto confermano l'opinione della intelligenza del P. F. in tali Scienze, fanno altrettanto desiderare, che voglia egli accingersi ad un'Opera riguardo agli Stati del Veneto Dominio ... „ (EL, 1771/XII: 78). The *Notizie preliminari* is known as an anonymous and undated brochure, which has raised doubts about its authorship and chronology in relation to Fortis' first journey to the Kvarner islands. Muljačić thinks that it is “clearly a work of Fortis”, as evidenced by Caminer's review, and provides credible evidence that it could have been written only after Fortis' first journey to Dalmatia.²¹ He also mentions the only example he knows where the text is bound together with the *Saggio*, held by the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence. He observes, however, that “this does not mean that it was printed together with it, for other copies of the monograph *Saggio* do not contain it” (Muljačić, 1966: 39-40).²² Caminer clearly had a copy in which both texts were printed together - therefore the knowledge of his review would have made the discussion as to whether Fortis had written *Notizie preliminari* superfluous.

Then came a long pause, during which Fortis toured Dalmatia. His explorations were financed by the British and three Venetian senators (1772), and a subsidy from the Venetian government (1773-74), which at that time was influenced to some extent by a reformist faction led by Senator Andrea Memmo.²³ He familiarised himself with the local situation, established professional and friendly contacts with educated members of the local elite, champions of the Enlightenment. Prominent among them are the physician, musician and polymath Giulio Bajamonti of Split²⁴ and the agronomist and amateur historian Rados Antonio Michieli Vitturi

²⁰ **Saggio di Osservazioni sopra l'Isola di Cherso, ed Osero D'Alberto Fortis della Società Imperiale, e Reale di Siena ec. In Venezia 1771. Presso Gasparo Storti; in 4. di pag. 168. Oltre alla Dedicata a S. E. Mylord Giovanni Stuart, Conte di Bute ec. ec. ec.*, EL, 1771/XII: 71-78.

²¹ And not before the first journey to Cres and Osor, as Italian researchers Ugoni, Torcellan and Pizzamiglio opined. See Muljačić, 1996: 57-58.

²² See also *ibid.*: 39-40, 57, n. 22.

²³ Fortis was supposed to investigate the condition of Dalmatian fisheries, about which he submitted two reports to the Senate.

²⁴ From the ample biography about Bajamonti's many-sided activities, we shall list two surveys: Cronia, 1963: 280-281; Kečkemet and Ajanović, 1996: 351-354.

of Trogir.²⁵ He had met Bajamonti, who was useful to him as informant and companion on several field trips, during his first visit to Split in summer 1771. He was to correspond with Bajamonti almost to the end of his life.²⁶

In 1774 the new magazine *Giornale Enciclopedico*²⁷ advertised the publication of *Viaggio in Dalmazia* with a resumé signed by Elisabetta.²⁸ The only personal note it features, a deviation from the established pattern (and the most powerful implicit commendation) is the remark that it would soon undoubtedly be translated by the "Oltramontani", i.e. the French.²⁹

From 1776 to 1777 the *Giornale Enciclopedico* covered some controversies to which the work had given rise. It published a resumé of the text critical of Fortis that had started the debate, *Osservazioni di Giovanni Lovrich sopra diversi pezzi del Viaggio in Dalmazia del S. Ab. Alberto Fortis, coll'aggiunta della Vita di Sociovicza*,³⁰ and, in the same number, the anti-Fortis *Riflessioni sopra lo stato presente della Dalmazia* by Pietro Nutrizio Grisogono.³¹ The next year, the journal, now coming out in Vicenza, gave the floor to the opposite side. In June 1777 it printed a summary of a polemical reply siding with Fortis by Rados Antonio Michieli Vitturi, *Saggio epistolare sopra la Repubblica della Dalmazia*,³² and, finally, a review of Fortis' "verdict", in the form of an open letter to Michieli Vitturi.³³ The objections that the reviewers addressed to Fortis' disparagers and the ironic comments at their expense clearly show whose side they were on: „Il genio dei Dalmati è sempre stato guerriero, ma la fortuna dell'armi non sempre egualmente favorì quella Nazione; così adesso che la gioventù Dalmatina si rivolge alle guerre letterarie non lo fa tutta con egual forte. Il signor Pietro Nutrizio, giovane traurino ... molte cose che tutti sanno mostrò di non saper bene come suol accadere a chi scrive in fretta. I fogli letterarj non parlarono molto di quell'opera, ma ne parlò in vece loro il foglio delle Novelle del Mondo, che si stampa ad Ancona, e la ricolmò d'elogi, forse perché il Gazzettiere non aveala veduta“ (GE, 1776/VI: 113-114).³⁴

²⁵ For information about Michieli Vitturi see Gliubich, 1856: 211-213.

²⁶ See Muljačić, 1996: 49.

²⁷ For details about the journal see Berengo, 1962: XLVII-LI.

²⁸ **Viaggio in Dalmazia dell'Abate Alberto Fortis*, GE, 1774/VI: 72-74.

²⁹ „Tanto interessante, utile e dilettevole è questa opera, che senza dubbio non lasceranno gli Oltramontani di approfittarsene col trasportarla nelle loro proprie lingua ... (GE, 1774/VI: 72). Elisabetta rapidly did the job, quoting the introductory work of the publisher, which contains a short announcement of the chapters included.

³⁰ The author, Ivan Lovrić, born to a wealthy family of Sinj, was a medical student in Padua and ethnographer. He died in 1777, at the age of 21.

³¹ Grisogono's text was published in 1775 in Florence, Lovrić's in 1776 in Venice. Reviewed in GE, 1776/VI: 18-32 (Lovrić), 113-122 (Grisogono). Lovrić's objections are analyzed in detail by WOLFF, 2001: 237-343.

³² GE, 1777/VI: 97-99.

³³ *Lettera del Sig. Ab. Alberto Fortis al Nob. Sig. Co. Rados Antonio Michieli Vitturi*, GE, 1777/VII: 15-16.

³⁴ Passages with similar tone and content can be read in other reviews.

In 1778 the novel *Les Morlaques* by Justine Wynne Orsini-Rosenberg came out in Venice, written in the wake of Fortis' travelogue, which by that time had been translated into many European languages, either integrally or just the chapters about the Morlachs, and thus achieved European renown. In the NGE of July 1789 it was hailed enthusiastically by the distinguished Melchiorre Cesarotti, professor at Padua University, a linguistic and literary theoretician, translator from French, English and the classical languages.³⁵ As a devotee of Ossian, whose poems he translated into Italian, publishing them with Bute's financial support, he thought Justine Wynne's novel an artistically suggestive text that disregarded classical rules,³⁶ a fruit of inspiration and sensibility, consonant with the new literary aesthetic, inspired by primitivistic theories. At that time Cesarotti was occupied with finishing and printing his prose translation of the Iliad: in his review he made a connection between Morlackism and Homer's epics. „I furori di Markovic non cedono a quelli d'Achille, e le lamentazioni d'Iella si lasciano molto addietro quelle della vedova di Ettore“ (GE, 1789/VII: 63). He compared “Le opinioni favolose dei Morlacchi” with superstition in the Iliad, and the figure of Pervan with Homer's Nestor.³⁷ This theme was to be reactivated and developed by Bajamonti in his treatise “Il Morlacchismo d' Omero”, published in one of the last issues of the NGEI,³⁸ repeating some observations from Fortis' *Viaggio*, but relying for the most part on his own experience as an expert on the Dalmatian hinterland and collector of folk poetry.

Bajamonti finds analogies between the Homeric poems and Morlach poems – both in the way they were produced and performed and in their compositional and stylistic characteristics and also similarities between Morlachian mores and the “manners” of Homer's characters. „... io intendo di stabilire che gli omerici poemi sono di gusto morlacco, e che in loro troverebbero i Morlacchi le patrie maniere e costumanze. E benchè io non creda già che le cose omeriche sieno proprie de' Morlacchi soli, pure io sostengo che oggidì la nazione morlacca non meno che la morlacca poesia sono le più analoghe all'omerico gusto“ (NGEI, 1797/III:78).

Bajamonti wrote the treatise after several years of preoccupation with Homer.³⁹ We can only assume that he recalled Cesarotti's article published in the journal to which he himself contributed, in which Wynne's Morlachs are compared to characters from the Iliad.⁴⁰ However, he must have found the conceptual backing for his arguments in Vico, whom, together with the outdated

³⁵ (*) *Les Morlaques*, par M. I. W. C. D. U. & R. Vol 2. 1788: 47-64. In the note; (*) *Articolo del cel. Sig. Ab. Profess. Cesarotti*; NGE, 1789/VII: 37-64. A concise account of Cesarotti can be found in Patrizi, 1980: 112-114.

³⁶ „...stitolata e indefinita ...che del resto noi crediamo, che appunto perchè non appartiene precisamente a verun genere, ella riunisca i pregi di tutti...“ (GE, 1789/VII: 38).

³⁷ GE, 1789/VII: 38.

³⁸ NGEI, 1797/III: 77-98.

³⁹ See Milčetić, 1912: 132.

⁴⁰ Cesarotti had not at that time joined in the debate about the authorship of Homer to which Bajamonti refers. He would do this only in 1801.

Minervini, he was to mention only as a Neapolitan disputer of a personalised Homer and the “philosophical” values of his verses.⁴¹ „Studiando l’antica storia degli uomini si trova che le nazioni avantichè fossero inventati i caratteri della scrittura recitavano in versi le loro cose memorabili, e in tal modo si ajutavano col metro e col ritmo a ritenerle e ripeterle più agevolmente” (NGEI, 1797/III: 79). Che se consideriamo i caratteri dell’omerica poesia, siccome i popoli ... greggi ed originali ... non sono capaci di fine riflessioni, ma sono tutti senso e fantasia, le quali facoltà mettono radici nel corpo e pigliano dal corpo vigore; troviamo perciò che i poemi d’Omero sono appunto il prodotto di vivide sensazioni e di robusta immaginazione... . Lo stesso carattere precisamente si scopre ne’ canti morlacchi: e come il vero vanto della nazione considerata specialmente nella sua originalità e ne’ suoi tempi eroici si è il valer molto per la forza per la grandezza della taglia e per alter virtù corporee, così l’antica poesia illirica spira robustezza d’immagini e di colorito ...” (NGEI, 1797/III: 81). Bajamonti made use of Vico also for the needs of narration and argumentation, whose purpose is not to prove the main proposition.⁴²

Nevertheless, the image of Dalmatia in the journals of Elisabetta Caminer was much less influenced by the literary treatment of the Morlach theme than by Fortis’ interest in the economic and social conditions in the province⁴³ and its image promoted by its own representatives, Dalmatian intellectuals and distinguished persons, disciples of the Physiocrats and their doctrines. Some elements of Fortis’ viewpoint were influenced by his journey across Kvarner, as

⁴¹ NGEI, 1797/III: 77, 79, 81. For Minervini’s theses see Andreoni, 2003: 111-137, 167-173. For Fortis’ criticism of Minervini see Malinar, 2015: 495-500. The Morlachs – in this instance inherited from Fortis – get the credit for enabling him to adopt Homer and become his kin in a way: „Ora è a me caduto in pensiero di farlo diventare uno schiavone. Io non veggio altro mezzo onde darmi ad intendere che questo divino genio mi appartenga: io così voglio in certa guisa imparentarmi con lui” (NGEI, 1797/III: 78). According to Wollf this statement implies Bajamonti’s affiliation to the Morlach/Slavic nation (see. 2001: 313). A positive attitude to the Morlachs can also be seen in the final part of the piece: „Nello stabilire quest’omerico morlacchismo è troppo evidente ch’io avrò procurato un onore alla nazione illirica” (NGEI, 1797/III: 97). Still, Bajamonti does not give up to occasional derisory remarks in the description of Morlach „maniere e creanze” and „opinioni” (as well as of Greek mores, but to a much lesser extent).

⁴² He restates almost literally the episode of Achilles and Briseis, Menelaus and Helen, and a few lines earlier paraphrases Vico, to take issue with him. The character and collective origin of the Iliad and the Odyssey, the information about editing by Pisistratus and Aristarchus, is also copied from Vico, as well as the etymological interpretation of the name Homer. In the selection of examples illustrating Homer’s “morlacchismo morale” he was also guided by Vico to a certain degree. See NGEI, 1797/III: 79-81, 97 and *passim*; VICO, 2004: 264, 292-294, 306-308, 310. In more recent times, Marco Martin has written about Bajamonti’s interpretation of Vico (2010). In the notes 2 and 7, the author mentions the articles of a number of Croatian scholars (Milčetić, Muljačić, Mimica, S. Roić, J. Vince-Pallua), one Italian (Morpurgo) and one Serbian (Drndarski).

⁴³ Which from 1773 was directed and subsidised by the Venetian government.

shown by his epistle to Sović: „Della desolata città d’Osero dirò poco, perchè non saprei che dirne di più. Quel poco però dovrebbe bastare a mover la compassione di chi puo’ giovarle” (EL, 1770/XII: 66). Dalmatian intellectuals wrote about the the distressing reality of the region – in the first place, the neglected and backward agriculture⁴⁴ – in treatises that they printed in Venice and other Italian cities (and where the Morlachs were presented in less idealising terms). Caminer’s journals regularly reviewed their texts and sometimes published their original contributions. The authors – Bajamonti, Michieli Vitturi, Grisogono, Cialethich – were Fortis’ acquaintances and friends, members of the Società economica di Spalato and of the later Trogir Agricultural Association.⁴⁵ What they shared with Fortis was not only an interest in the technical aspects of agricultural production but also his paternalistic views and reformist aspirations. The oldest of these societies, the Società economica di Spalato, founded in 1767 at the instigation of several local activists including Bajamonti, was rather inactive until 1771, when the Venetian government, which was at that time discovering Dalmatia as a potentially economically profitable province, took it under its wing. In 1774 a “sessione di riforma” was held, at which the name, charter and objectives of the Association were defined and sent for approval to the central *Deputazione veneta sopra l’agricoltura*.⁴⁶ The authorities of the Serenissima had been following with approval Fortis’ field work and as early as 1772 commissioned from him a survey of the Dalmatian fishing industry, thinking it particularly important to improve the sector. In 1781 they commissioned another survey of the sector from the Società economica di Split. Fortis’ close collaboration with the Association is evidenced by his appointment as its *segretario corrispondente* in 1777.

In January 1780 in the headquarters of the Association he gave a lecture entitled *Della coltura del Castagno da introdursi nella Dalmazia marittima e mediterranea*, a contribution to the then topical debate about the effects of the deforestation of the Dalmatian mountains. The text was published the same year in Naples, where Fortis had returned in February. In the August issue of the GE it was reviewed by Elisabetta Caminer.⁴⁷ She limited her comments on the

⁴⁴ One of the obstacles for the development of agriculture in inland Dalmatia was the so-called Grimani Law of 1755 and 1776 (although it aspired to apply a number of physiocratic principles). It was abolished by the Napoleonic administration in 1803.

⁴⁵ The Trogir association was founded in 1789, and in 1790 a similar farming association was established in Zadar. Danica Božić Bužančić writes of the Dalmatian agricultural academies (see 1992: 111-124). Ivan Pederin has covered the publications of the Dalmatian Physiocrats (see 1984: 167-203). Franco Venturi also wrote about the Dalmatian agricultural academies (see 1990: 347-424), providing a very informative survey of conditions in Venetian Dalmatia and Dubrovnik.

⁴⁶ A review of the activities of the association was given by Bajamonti in a speech at an extraordinary meeting of the Association in July 5, 1790, and then printed as an article. *Dell’Origine, e dei Progressi della Pubblica Società Economica di Spalatro*, in NGEI, 1790/X: 99-114.

⁴⁷ GE, 1780/VIII: 42-45.

rather technical text on farming to a list of the headings of individual chapters, but was much more eloquent in her praise of the author, which in places took on hyperbolic dimensions: “Questo dotto Naturalista, instancabile nelle sue peregrinazioni e ricerche, il quale si ritrova attualmente nel Regno di Napoli, per proseguirle in ogni ramo d’oggetti, e che le dirige sovente all’Utilità, dà con questo Discorso ... un saggio a’ Dalmatini di non equivoca amicizia, che tende al reale, e loro procura vantaggi ... Ecco in qual guisa la Storia Naturale si rende utile, ecco con quali gradi un uomo di genio, osservando e terre, e climi, e l’influenza di questi s’allontana dal vano studio d’un’arida nomenclatura, di un freddo sistema, e quando applicando li suoi studj all’utile materiale, e quando innalzandosi a congetture, a deduzioni produttrici di effetti luminosi, maneggia per così dire la grand’opera della natura, e la tragge da pericolosi misterj. Noi siamo lontanissimi dal voler dare approposito di questo Opuscolo nel sublime, ma conosciamo capace di giungervi l’autore di esso sol che lo voglia” (GE, 1780/VIII: 42-43). As a true Venetian Enlightenment, she insists on the notions of *utilità*, *utile materiale* and *vantaggi*.

Part of the laudatory and promotional strategy of the text (as well as the routine procedure in Caminer’s reviews) is letting the author speak,⁴⁸ in this case in his sympathetic and visionary synthesis of the situation in Dalmatia: „I figli e i nipoti vostri forse si ricorderanno con sentimento di gratitudine, che un Italiano condotto a quelle contrade da non dannevole curiosità, cercò di provare la sua amicizia a tutta la Nazione coll’eccitarla a promuovere un ramo dell’Agricoltura, per la di cui progressiva influenza il Morlacco dovess’essere insensibilmente tolto dall’aratro cui non sa maneggiare, e rimesso alla vita pastorale, che sola conviene alla di lui indole e origine Nomade; per cui il contadino littorale, che adesso è abruttitto, e indisciplinato, fosse reso più intelligente, e più docile; e per cui finalmente si vedesse cambiato nel breve giro di mezzo secolo anche l’orrido aspetto esteriore della Provincia, e la sostanziale ricchezza della Nazione accresciuta” (GE, 1780/VIII: 43-44).

The late 1770s and the 1780s saw an increased interest of the central authorities in the problems of the backward agriculture in Dalmatia. During that period some of the most important treatises of the Dalmatian Physiocrats were published, such as *Notizie per servire alla Storia Naturale della Dalmazia, raccolte dal S. Pietro Nutrizio Grisogono, con l’aggiunta di un Compendio dell’Istoria Civile del Sig. Giovanni Rossignoli*, Bajamonti’s *Ragionamento Sull’asciugamento della Campagna d’Imoski nella Morlacchia Veneta, e sulla regolazione delle sue acque*, and *Memoria del Nob. Signor Conte Rados Antonio Michieli Vitturi sull’introduzione degli Ulivi ne’ Territorj mediterranei*

⁴⁸ „Crediamo far cosa grata a’ Leggitori trascrivendo alcuni periodi, i quali fanno onore alle di lui mire e al suo stile” (GE, 1780/VIII: 43). Moral proselytism – which she wanted to achieve with her translations and the whole of her journalistic activity – is stated as a reason for the verbatim quotation of Fortis’ dedication to Archbishop Garagnini. „ ... noi la trascriviamo ... perchè il far sapere che vi sono de’ buoni val tanto almeno quanto l’apprendere, che vi sono dei dotti, dei ricchi, de’ possenti, dei valorosi” (GE, 1780/VII: 44).

della Dalmazia, e sulla loro coltivazione. They were reviewed in the Caminers' journals immediately after publication.⁴⁹ A review of Bajamonti's text, which describes one of the few direct land improvement projects of the Venetian government, is signed A. F.

In 1778 the *Deputazione veneta agraria* instructed the Split Association to explore the possibilities for improving and increasing livestock production. Bajamonti and Vitturi (the latter had in the meantime been appointed *Pubblico Ispettore sopra l'Agricoltura in Dalmazia*) also expressed interest in the matter. However, Grisogono considered the possibility of improving the economic situation in the Province by silkworm production. The first issues of the NGEI published their papers or reviewed them.⁵⁰

The NGEI, Elisabetta's last venture into publishing, continued in the well-oiled routine. Again, when the east Adriatic was concerned, reviews of publications dealing with the economic situation, particularly relating to farming, predominated. Along with established authors, the occasional new name appeared even among contributors of original articles. Fortis' friends were still part of the team, but he would never again publish a text about the region. He visited Dalmatia for the last time in 1783.⁵¹ In subsequent years the contacts were limited to private correspondence with friends, notably with Bajamonti.⁵² Fortis' withdrawal put an end to their public correspondence, to which we owe two direct testimonies concerning conditions in Dalmatia, published in the NGEI.

In an epistle to Fortis of April 1783,⁵³ Bajamonti described the situation in Split that had arisen the previous year because of an influx of refugees from the hinterland struck by famine. He lists the measures for their protection and for the prevention of contagions that the Società economica and other Split institutions had taken at his instigation.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Grisogono's treatise came out in Treviso and was reviewed in GE, 1780/X: 113-126. (signed D.C.). Vitturi's *Memoria* was published in Venice in 1788 and reviewed in NGE, 1789/I: 70-88. Bajamonti's text, printed in Venice in 1789, was reviewed in the August issue of NGE: 113-123.

⁵⁰ *Memoria sulla possibile moltiplicazione degli animali bovini nell'isola di Lesina*, *Del Dott. Giulio Bajamonti*. NGEI, 1790/I: 64-75; *Fine della Memoria sugli animali bovini del Sig. Dr. Bajamonti*, NGEI, 1790/II: 83-88; *Della moltiplicazione della specie bovina nella Dalmazia*, *Memoria del Co. Rados Antonio Michieli Vitturi*, Venezia, 1790. Reviewed in NGEI, 1790/XII: 14-24; *Della coltivazione de i Bachi da seta*, *Osservazioni del Conte Pietro Nutricio Grisogono Avvocato Criminale Veneto*, Venezia 1790. Reviewed in NGEI, 1790/IX: 27-31.

⁵¹ Not counting his forced disembarkation in 1791 in a number of smaller places because of storms.

⁵² Fortis had a rich correspondence with various persons from Dubrovnik, but here we are referring to his friends from Dalmatia proper.

⁵³ *Lettera del Sig. Giulio Bajamonti, di Spalatro, a uno degli Autori di questo Giornale*, NGE 1783/IV: 89-92.

⁵⁴ The refugees were housed outside the city walls, where they survived thanks to regularly and equally distributed assistance from the citizens of Split. Those capable of work had to earn it.

Addressing Fortis at the beginning of the letter, Bajamonti gives a portrayal of him as a public persona seen through the eyes of Dalmatian Enlighteners. „... quanto prendo a scrivervi se non v'interessarà come Letterato, potrà interessarvi come uomo, come cittadino, come affezionato alla Dalmazia, e come anche membro di questa Società Economica. ... Questa piccola notizia può da voi essere convertita in un grand'uso e l'esempio nostro può colle vostre raccomandazioni giovare in qualche altro luogo alla bisognosa umanità“ (NGE, 1783/IV: 92).

In his thanks to the people of Split Fortis wove in the doctrine of the Enlightenment and shot a poisoned arrow at critics and those who thought differently. „Noi ci siamo affrettati a pubblicare questa Lettera, che fa veramente onore alla Città di Spalatro, alla Società Economica stabilitavi, e al Sig. Bajamonti che n'è uno de' principali, e più attivi Membri. La vera pietà e il vero sapere vanno maisempre insieme. Si specchino nel saggio, e umano procedere degli Spalatini, e imparino a rispettare le influenze delle Società patriottiche que' perditempo che cercano di screditarle, e si credono gran bacalari perchè son atti forse a trovar de' nei, secondo il loro modo d'intendere, nella sintassi de' Discorsi che vi vengono recitati da uomini amanti de' loro simili, ed efficacemente benefici“ (NGE, 1783/IV: 92). (Fortis was perhaps aiming it at the members of the Accademia della Crusca who seem to have objected to some formulations in *Viaggio in Dalmazia*.)⁵⁵

A second letter is the expression of Bajamonti's frustration over the war he was waging against the narrow-minded mentality and backwardness of the Hvar social environment, in which he had spent six years as physician (surviving an outbreak of the plague that had spread to Split and Dalmatia with the influx of refugees from Bosnia despite preventive measures).⁵⁶ He gives a good humoured description of the battle the people of Hvar and Kaštela fought for him, he comments ironically on the unprofessional way in which country doctors were appointed, he is sarcastic when he speaks about the “opinioni delle plebe e degl' idioti”, who persist in using obsolete and harmful methods of treatment.⁵⁷

He experienced the same lack of understanding for his interest in music and poetry in Split,⁵⁸ for which reason he was denied the job of city physician. His indirect answer to this rebuff is found in an epistle to the Zadar physician Gaetano Banghi, *Se al medico disconvenga la poesia e la musica*, published in the NGEI of July 1796.⁵⁹ Banghi had written to him disapprovingly about a young talented doctor who was wasting his time on unnecessary frivolities such as poetry and music. In his reply Bajamonti invokes the opinion of writers of antiquity as well as Vico and Scaliger about the divine origin and lofty role of poetry and music. He opens his counterattack by „paraphrasing“ Vico and continues his rebuttal in the same vein. He gives a long list of famous figures who

⁵⁵ See Muljačić, 1996: 92.

⁵⁶ Bajamonti described the situation in Dalmatia in the booklet *Storia della peste che regnò in Dalmazia*, reviewed in detail by Elisabetta Caminer in NGE, 1786/VIII: 55-56.

⁵⁷ See *Lettera al Sig. Ab. Alberto Fortis, Da Lesina, addi 15 6 1785*, NGE, 1785/VIII: 107-111.

⁵⁸ See *ibid.*: 109.

⁵⁹ NGEI, 1796/VII: 93-114. To the prose text Bajamonti added a versified satirical epistle (pp. 115-120).

throughout the ages appreciated music and poetry and were often music-makers and poets themselves. Among them are „gli uomini dedicati ad altre importanti e gravi professioni“ (NGEI, 1796/VII: 99): King David, Achilles, Epaminonda, Frederick II, Bošković and Stay; prominent physicians, who considered that poetry and music are skills indispensable in medical practice: Galen, Obici, Zarotti, Gilibert and Zimmermann.⁶⁰ There were poets who practiced medicine, like Vergil and Martial, and physicians who wrote poetry. The magnificent and almost godly *medicus* Fracastoro, along with Redi, Bellini, Ramanzini, Boerhaave, Haller. The local circle of doctors-musicians included Caldani of Padua and Roini of Dubrovnik. Hippocrates and Morgagni are quoted as examples of skilful stylists. Invoking Apollo and Aesculapius, Bajamonti ontologically identifies medicine with music and poetry, „nobilissime e divine arti“, and then says: „I poeti ed i musici sono anime privilegiate che hanno il dono dell'ispirazione e dell'estro. Così i gran medici sono come ispirati, e le piu belle e felici cure sono il prodotto dell'estro“ (NGEI, 1796/VII: 110). He offers a hyperbolic rationalisation of his antirationalistic stance: „Ma la medicina è un affare quasi più di eccezioni che di regole; e per trovare queste eccezioni il ragionamento per lo più non serve o serve male ... e ci vuole propriamente ispirazione ed estro che sono cose del momento e fanno fare all'ingegno lanci mirabili e sovrumani“ (NGEI, 1796/VII: 111), flavouring it with an anecdote about an unsuccessful doctor-crammer as opposed to a successful doctor „dilettante di musica e di poesia.“⁶¹

In addition to problems of Dalmatian farming, the journals of Elisabetta Caminer covered other areas that were considered important from the standpoint of public interest. In the NGE of April 1788 the treatise *Dell'Istruzione de' Processi Criminali* by Pietro Nutrizio Grisogono was reviewed⁶² and in the issue of August 1789 his paper on education, *Saggio della vera educazione*.⁶³ The speech given by Michieli Vitturi to mark the investiture of Bishop Belglava⁶⁴ was assessed as an exemplary work from the viewpoint of faith, morality and spirituality. This text, however, earned its author the accusation from an anonymous fellow citizen of being blasphemous and heretical. The accusation was refuted in a reasoned reply with doctrinal arguments by an NGE contributor, who signed himself N.

⁶⁰ Zimmermann was the physician of Frederick II, Galen and Obizzi (in the work *De nobilitate medici*) thought knowledge of music essential, Zarotti recommended the reading of many ancient poets, Gilibert added to them Racine, Pope and Voltaire with other contemporary writers. Bajamonti also mentions the Greek physician Erophilus who set the beating of the pulse to music.

⁶¹ See NGEI, 1796/VII: 111.

⁶² See NGE, 1788/IV: 38-39. The treatise was published in Mantova in the same year.

⁶³ Full title: *Saggio della vera educazione, ovvero Lettere edificanti del Co: Pietro Nutrizio Grisogono Avvocato Criminale Veneto scritte a' suoi figli*. Venezia 1789. Reviewed in NGE, 1789/VIII: 88-90.

⁶⁴ *Pel solenne Ingresso nella Cattedra vescovile di Traù, dell'Illustriss., e Reverendiss., Monsig. Antonio Belglava. Orazione del Co: Rados Antonio Michieli Vitturi*, Venezia 1788. Reviewed in NGE, 1788/VIII: 10-11.

⁶⁵ See *Riflessioni critiche sopra l'Orazione del Co: Rados Antonio Michieli Vitturi, nell'ingresso di Monsignor Belglava Vescovo di Traù*, 1788. The review of the text and the apology of Vitturi were printed in NGE, 1789/I: 95-99.

V.⁶⁵ Vitturi's bigoted and conservative critic objected to the statement that all people are equal by the law of nature and of the gospels.⁶⁶ Bajamonti espoused the same principles in two essays related to the activity of senior ecclesiastical figures. In the speech on the occasion of the investiture of Bishop Domenico Stratico of Hvar,⁶⁷ he gave voice to his moral condemnation of the privileged. „... que' rimedi, que' comodi, que' ristori, che sarebbero efficaci e bastanti a salvare la vita di uomini a noi simili, e meritevoli di vivere più di que' ricchi, dalla cui prepotenza riconoscono gl'infelici la lor povertà, e dalla cui avarizia non ottengono il menomo sovvenimento“ (NGE, 1786/V: 28).⁶⁸ His *Sermone A' due fanciulli Ebrei passati al grembo della S. Chiesa sotto gli auspici, e la paterna assistenza dell'Illustr. E Rever. Mons Luca Garagnini Arcivescovo di Spalatro e Primate della Dalmazia*⁶⁹ in free verse is a consistent, and, probably, in the perception of his fellow citizens provocative, manifesto of egalitarianism and religious tolerance: before God the uncircumcised are worth no more than the circumcised, a Jew no more than a Greek, a slave no more than a master. „Tolleranza, / Concordia, carità, pace, indulgenza, / Non di persone scelte, non riguardo / Di costume o linguaggio, non di setta / O di culto ricerca; ecco le note / Del Cattolico gregge“ (GE, 1777/XI: 98). Both texts were reviewed by Elisabetta Caminer: providing very extensive quotations, she recognised in them viewpoints for which she herself stood.

The coverage of Dalmatia, in all four journals, did not go beyond utilitarian and didactic articles.⁷⁰ Many topics covered in western European countries, are absent, such as *Accademie (e società)*, *Teatro*, *Mode*, *Invenzioni*, *Scoperte*, *Fatti rimarcabili*, *Accademie (e società)*, *Atti di patriottismo, o di Beneficenza*, *Stabilimenti utili*, *Aneddoti e singolarità*, *Avvenimenti storici*. In the section *Novelle letterarie* only two authors from Dubrovnik are mentioned. Dalmatia did not have the more complex forms of social life, the sophistication and cultural vivacity typical of these milieus, nor did it have a number of phenomena that were part of the civilizational routine of developed countries, but some aspects of its urban life could have found a place on the pages of these journals. Dalmatian “tutors” were not interested in them; they were not part of their concern for the public interest, which for many of them was connected with their private position of landowners. Still less did they fit into the perception of Dalmatia that the central government and the Venetian elite had.

⁶⁶ The reviewer additionally explained this: “Tutti gli uomini nascono certamente uguali; simili del tutto sono i diritti ingenerati di ognuno, e la Religione uguaglia a piè dell'Altare tutte le condizioni della specie umana“ (NGE, 1789/I: 99).

⁶⁷ *A Monsignore Stratico per il suo Ingresso nella Chiesa Vescovile di Lesina il Dott. Bajamonti*. Padova, 1786. Reviewed in NGE, 1786/V: 27-36.

⁶⁸ The main content of the speech were instructions for the work of an ideal Physiocratic prelate.

⁶⁹ *Sermone del Sig. Dot. Giulio Bajamonti*. Published in Venice in 1777. The review came a few months later. See GE, 1777/XI: 97-99.

⁷⁰ A small number of reviews of philological and historical articles have been omitted as they do not change the image of the orientation of these journals in their approach to the eastern Adriatic region.

Bajamonti, Fortis' privileged interlocutor, was featured in the NGE as a literary author. In the issue of April 1784 his "poemetto epistolare" *Il Viaggio*, addressed to Miho Sorkočević / Michele Sorgo, another Fortis' favourite, was reviewed.⁷¹ This piece of writing was printed in Dubrovnik, in which a part of it is set.⁷² Prior to its publication the journal announced the coming out of a collection "di Poeti Illirici, e quasi tutti Ragusei" in thirty volumes, prepared by the "Librajo e Stampatore" (NGE, 1784/IV: 114) Carlo Antonio Occhi of Dubrovnik.

In Caminer's journals Dubrovnik was presented differently from Venetian Dalmatia. It is not a country described as a case, a neglected subjugated province that had to be civilised and led to prosperity, a testing site for advanced agricultural methods. Dubrovnik had its own "saggio Governo" and managed its own affairs; in Dubrovnik Fortis was not a subject on a mission but a welcome guest and friend. Consequently, his insight did not go beyond the patrician drawing room and the idyllic country house.⁷³

In 1781, in an open letter to Elisabetta Caminer,⁷⁴ he describes his contacts with members of families followers of the Enlightenment: the Sorkočević / Sorgo and Basiljević / Basegli and speaks with admiration of the cultural situation in Dubrovnik. "Lo spirito di Letteratura" flourishes in this small capital, far away from cultural centres and surrounded by barbarians,⁷⁵ a city that has produced more scientists and writers than any other of its size in Italy. Among them are the famous Abbot Bošković, Monsignor Stay and the excellent translator of Homer, Abbot Kunić. There are many poets and poetesses and the "Poesia Illirica v'è stata sempre in fiore" (GE, 1781/III: 39). A few years later he was to hail the intention

⁷¹ NGE 1784/IV: 114-116.

⁷² „Incomincia il Sig. Bajamonti colla descrizione d'una burrasca o piuttosto d'una paura avuta nel far un breve tragitto per mare con sceltissimi Gentiluomini e Dame di Ragusa. Egli fa parlare due de' primi volgarizzando que' bei versi d'Orazio e di Giuvenale, ne' quali vien detto male dell'audacia umana, che si affida a fragili legni ec. " (NGE, 1784/IV: 115). The initial words of the review are as if taken from Fortis: „noi sappiamo ... che il crocchio del quale fa elogi è quello stesso che ha meritato l'ammirazione, e l'attaccamento d'ogni onesto forastiere ch'ebbe la buona sorte d'esservi ammesso" (NGE, 1784/IV: 114-115). The author was probably Elisabetta Caminer, who was herself on friendly terms with Miho and Luka Sorkočević.

⁷³ Yet, in *Lettere Geografiche, Lettere Geografico-Fisiche sopra la Calabria e la Puglia al Conte Tommaso de Bassegli Patrizio Raguseo*, printed in Naples in 1784 (reported on by the NGE, 1785/X: 13-31) he does not fail to put Dubrovnik on the list of regions which persist in using irrational („irragionevole") methods in olive cultivation: southern Italy and the surroundings of Padua, Verona and Vicenza (although Dubrovnik is „il più ragionevole di tutti i paesi situati lungo la costa dell'Adriatico"; NGE, 1785/X: 18). He published this brochure after his third and last visit to Dubrovnik. It was the only time that Fortis wrote about this topic in connection with Dubrovnik (which is here only touched on).

⁷⁴ *Lettera del Sig. Ab. Fortis alla Compilatrice del Giornale*, GE, 1781/III: 33-41.

⁷⁵ „li circondano Nazioni barbarissime Turchi, Morlacchi, Montenegrini" (GE, 1781/III: 38-39).

of the Occhi bookshop to publish a book of Dubrovnik “Illyrian” poets, recalling that “la coltura Illirica ha la sua sede principale a Ragusa da parecchi secoli in poi” (NGE, 1784/IV: 114).⁷⁶ But as a pragmatist and an Enlightenment, he objected to Occhi’s publishing poems by Monaldi and Bobali, their “petrarcherie”,⁷⁷ which he thought uninspired and boring. He recommended the future Accademia de’ Concordi to deal with “more concrete and useful themes”.⁷⁸

There was no need to send such a recommendation to Elisabetta Caminer’s journals. The EL of October 1768 writes about the publication of the poem *Navis aerea* by Fortis’ acquaintance from his Roman days, Bernardus Zamagna⁷⁹ (a year before the first article signed with Fortis’ initials). Also to be found are Fortis’ authors Stay and Kunić, in reviews of articles dedicated to them: in 1795 the scientific poem *Machina Volans, Carmen Elegiacum* Josepho Tartuffi *Auctore* Josepho Taruffi *Auctore* was published, with a dedication to Stay, and a year later, by the same author, *Ad Reymundeum Cunichium, Carmen elegiacum* in which Kunić is praised as translator of Greek poets.

Taruffi’s verses in praise of Dubrovnik were an occasion for the reviewer to make observations similar to those found in a letter to Elisabetta Caminer, and to link again three distinguished persons, Kunić, Stay and Bošković.⁸⁰ The text dedicated to Kunić, was to be translated into Italian by Miho Sorkočević, and Stay would be honoured in the booklet *Elogio dell’Ab. Francesco Stay*, printed in Dubrovnik, as we learn from the announcement in the NGEI of April 1794, signed by E. C. T.⁸¹ One more eulogy of Kunić as translator of the Iliad into Latin, *De vita Raymundi Cunichii Commentariolum*, Rome 1790, was featured (with an uncommon delay) in the NGEI of June 1795.⁸²

Bošković, one of the most prominent European scientists and the most celebrated name produced by Dubrovnik, is the subject of seven reviews. Some

⁷⁶ In the section *Libri nuovi, Dalmazia*. He adds: „La Poesia vi fu coltivata fin dal rinascimento delle buone Lettere e vi fiorì in particolar modo nel XVI e nel passato secolo; essa contribuì a ingentilirvi la Lingua” (NGE, 1784/IV: 114). (The terms Illyria and Illyrian, were brought in by Humanism, imitating the ancients).

⁷⁷ *Rime del N. U. S. Savino de Bobali Sordo, e del Sig. Michele Monaldi; dedicate all’Eccelso Senato di Ragusa*. Ragusa 1783. Fortis’s review was published in NGE, 1784/I: 16-20.

⁷⁸ „... e che se su le rovine dell’Accademia degli *Oziosi* ne risorgerà una di *Concordi*, essa si occuperà d’oggetti assai più solidi e utili che le *Petrarcherie*” (NGE, 1784/I: 20).

⁷⁹ *Bernardi Zamagne S. I. Navis Aerea, & Elegiarum Monobiblos*, Roma 1768. Information about the poem in EL, 1768/X: 94, in the section *Novelle letterarie. Italia*. For Fortis’ stay in Rome see Muljačić, 1996: 20.

⁸⁰ A review of both texts was published in NGE, 1785/VII: 119-121, in the section *Libri nuovi. Italia*.

⁸¹ Caminer mentions the literary gatherings in Sorkočević’s home: “... questo Elogio, monumento da lui consacrato all’amicizia, e letto in una delle nobili coltissime adunanze che si tengono nella di lui casa un giorno per settimana” (NGE, 1794/IV: 46-47). She probably owed this information to Fortis (see GE, 1781/III: 34-35).

⁸² NGEI, 1795/VI: 107-113. The bishop of Anagni, Gioacchino Tosi, was the author of the lauds to Kunić.

of them relate to his obituary – Bajamonti's, *Elogio del Boscovich*, published in Dubrovnik in 1789 (and reprinted in Naples in 1790)⁸³ and De Lalande's article published in *Journal de Paris*, 1787;⁸⁴ however, most of them are reviews of his original works, scientific and mathematical writings as well as travelogues – some of which are translations published outside Italy. In July 1780 the NGE reviewed *De Solis, ac Luna, ec. L'eclissi, Poema in VI Canti dedicato a S. M. Dal S. Ab. Boscovich, tradotto in francese dal S. Ab. Di Baroel*, a work published in Paris in 1779. Along with praise of Bošković as scientist, the author also points out with great emphasis his qualities as stylist and Latin poet: „Fisico, Astronomo, e Matematico del primario ordine, il Sig. Ab. B. possiede non solo tutto ciò che quelle scienze hanno acquistato di più sublime in questi ultimi secoli, ma dotato inoltre di una immaginazione feconda, e di una facilità sorprendente per esprimere nel linguaggio di Orazio, e di Virgilio le verità più astratte, egli sa ornarle con quanto ha la poesia di più allettante. Si è pertanto detto ben a ragione, che se le cognizioni fisiche, ed astronomiche sviluppate nel Poema sulle eclissi non enunziassero evidentemente che dev'essere l'Opera di un autore moderno, le bellezze della poesia, la nobiltà, l'eleganza, la purezza, la maestà dello stile lo farebbero attribuire al secolo di Augusto“ (NGE, 1780/VII: 26-27). The publication in 1784 of the book *Nuove Opere del Sig. Ab. Boscovich appartenenti principalmente all'Ottica e all'Astronomia; dedicate a Luigi XVI Re di Francia*. (Bošković's works translated from Latin and French) was reported on in the same year in the July issue of the NGE. In March 1787 the NGE reviewed the *Juernal. c. Giornale d'un viaggio da Costantinopoli nella Polonia, fatto con S. E. Il S. Giacomo Porter Ambasciatore della Gran Brettagna nel 1762. Del P. Boscovich*, published in Paris in 1773.⁸⁵

However, non-didactic poetry is not totally ignored in the case of Fortis' friends and of popular contemporary genres. At the end of the letter about Dubrovnik, which begins and ends with praise of the “virtues and gifts” of Miho Sorkočević, Fortis publishes his epigram *Ad Lesbiam*.⁸⁶ In June 1785 the NGE brought a review of Sorkočević's translation of an English idyll.⁸⁷ The text, written in the usual encomiastic manner, gives a detail of the courteous poetic communication of two Dubrovnik versifiers: „Questa traduzione fedele ed elegante in verso sciolto d'un'Idillio Inglese pieno di Greca gentilezza, è del colto Cavaliere, di cui abbiamo annunziato altre simili fatiche, cioè del Co: Michele di Sorgo. Egli l'ha dedicata ad un Senatore Raguseo Amico Suo, e degnissimo d'esserlo per la coltura dello spirito non meno che per le preziose qualità morali, il Sig. Giunio Resti, del quale in questo Opuscolo si legge stampata una versione

⁸³ During Fortis' sojourn in this city. Reviewed in NGE, 1789/VIII: 91-104.

⁸⁴ *Lettera del Sig. de la Lande ai Sig. del Giornale di Parigi, tradotta dalla Lingua Francese nell'Italiana da N.N. Parigi, 10. 3, 1787. ec.* Reviewed in NGE, 1787/VII: 112-118. There is an addition in the Table of Contents: *che contiene l'Elogio del Sig. Ab. Ruggiero Boscovich*.

⁸⁵ The reviews were printed on pp. 26-32, 112-115, 16-20 and 110-112 respectively.

⁸⁶ GE, 1781/III: 40.

⁸⁷ *Idillio Inglese trasportato in verso Italiano* da M.S.P.R., pp. 124-125.

Latina piena di sapore antico della famosa Ode di Saffo a Venere" (NGE, 1785/VI: 124-125).

The four Caminer's publications had subscribers outside the Venetian Republic too, particularly in central Italy and the Kingdom of Naples. If they wished, readers could find information about regions on the other side of the Adriatic, perhaps less well-known than other more developed and prestigious countries.⁸⁸ While Dalmatia was generally presented as an impoverished and backward province, an arena for the activity of the local elites, Physiocrats and proponents of the Enlightenment, the Dubrovnik Republic was portrayed as a community with a highly developed culture and civilisation, the native land of the famous Abbé Bošković, prominent Latinists, the seat of "Illyrian" poetry.

The first three journals belong to the time of ideological enthusiasm and the ascent of the Venetian press. The replacement of the form of the resumé, favoured by Domenico Caminer, by a more extensive transmission of the contents of the works reviewed, with excerpts and commentaries, as well as the printing of original texts, gradually introduced by Elisabetta and Fortis, enabled the journals to take on an informative and promotional role, in line with the ideas of the editor, and to influence public opinion more effectively.⁸⁹ The news from the eastern coast of the Adriatic was supposed to serve this purpose. The French Revolution and the events that followed, the Reign of Terror and the Jacobin dictatorship, played into the hands of the conservative forces in the Venetian Republic and led to an ideological crisis in many of the adherents of the Enlightenment. The colourless NGEI is an expression of the new times in which ideological vapidness and resignation prevailed.⁹⁰ (However, the quality and professionalism of its articles remained as high as in the preceding issues.) The eight-year apparent peace was just a lull before the collapse of the old world. Elisabetta Caminer, who died in 1796, was not to see it. Fortis, who despite his disappointments preserved a part of his beliefs, was to survive it by only a few years.

⁸⁸ The Neapolitan elite may have known more about Dubrovnik because of the traditional links of Dubrovnik with that city. Vico considers „Dubrovnik in Dalmatia“ as an aristocratic state (along with Venice, Genua, Lucca and Nürnberg (see 2004: 358).

⁸⁹ For the reception of Fortis' publications and those of his friends see Wolff, 2001, V: *Public Debate after Fortis: Dalmatian Dissent and Venetian controversy* (pp. 229-275 *passim*) and VI: *The End of the Adriatic Empire: Epidemic, Economic, and Discursive Crises* (276-318, *passim*).

⁹⁰ What is more, in the August issue of 1797, in the section *Pensieretti* (pp. 121-125), an unsigned counter-enlightenment pamphlet, written in the spirit of Catholic orthodoxy, was published. Elisabetta had died more than a year before.

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Istočna obala Jadrana u časopisima Elisabette Caminer

U članku pratimo priloge koji su temom ili autorstvom vezani za mletačku Dalmaciju i Dubrovačku Republiku a tiskani su u časopisima „L'Europa Letteraria“ (1768-1773), „Giornale Enciclopedico“ (1774-1782), „Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico“ (1783-1789) i „Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico d'Italia“ (1790-1796), koje je uređivala mletačka književnica, publicistkinja i prevoditeljica Elisabetta Caminer Turra. „L'Europa letteraria“ pokrenuo je njezin otac, povjesničar i publicist Domenico Caminer, s namjerom da obrazovanoj publici pruži pregled književnih novosti u Italiji i drugim europskim zemljama. Elisabetta, kao suurednica, uvodi društvene i znanstvene teme i pretvara časopis u angažirano glasilo prosvjetiteljskih ideja. Podršku nalazi u ideološki bliskome padovanskom prirodosnastveniku i publicistu Albertu Fortisu, koji 1770. godine postaje suradnikom i stvarnim suurednikom časopisa. Nakon stanovitog vremena Fortis se povlači, ali pridružuje se Elisabetti u posljednjim godinama izlaženja „Giornale Enciclopedico“, kad je već uživao u plodovima slave koju mu je priskrbio *Viaggio in Dalmazia*. Zajedno pokreću „Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico“. 1878. godine Fortis seli u Napulj te napušta uredničku funkciju, ali povremeno surađuje i u posljednjem Elisabettinu časopisu.

Istočnojadranska tematika u sve četiri publikacije u znatnoj je mjeri povezana s Fortisovim djelovanjem. On je često posjećivao taj predio: po službenoj dužnosti - kao „plaćenik“ britanskih mecena, ljubitelja prirodnih znanosti i arheologije, i kao izaslanik mletačke vlade sa zadatkom da izvidi mogućnosti razvoja ribarstva - ali i slijedom prijateljskih veza s obrazovanim pripadnicima mjesne elite, pobornicima prosvjetiteljstva. Među njima ističu se splitski liječnik, glazbenik i polihistor Giulio Bajamonti, trogirski agronom i povjesničar amater Rados Antonio Michieli Vitturi i dubrovčanin Miho Sorokočević. (Za boravka u Italiji, neko je vrijeme nakon Fortisova odlaska s Elisabettom Caminer uređivao „Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico“.) Prvi značajniji istočnojadranski prilog najava je i opširni prikaz Fortisova putopisa po Kvarnerskim otocima, *Saggio d'Osservazioni sopra l'Isola di Cherso ed Osero*, u „L'Europa Letteraria“ iz prosinca 1771., a potpisuje ga Domenico Caminer.

Dalmacija i Dubrovnik zastupljeni su najčešće prikazima rasprava koje njihovi autori, dalmatinski intelektualci i uglednici, sljedbenici fiziokratskih doktrina i modernih društvenih pogleda - Bajamonti, Michieli Vitturi, Grisogono, Cialethi - objavljuju u Italiji, kao i, nešto rjeđe, u formi izvornog izvješća, poslanice ili članka. Dalmatinski fiziokrati, okupljeni u Società Economica di Spalato i trogirskome Poljoprivrednom društvu (oba djeluju pod pokroviteljstvom mletačkog Senata) najviše se bave ekonomskim prilikama, osobito zapuštenom i zaostalom poljoprivredom i mogućnostima njezina unapređenja, u čemu vide ključ poboljšanja općega stanja u pokrajini (a veleposjednici među njima i vlastiti interes). Časopisi Elisabette Caminer ažurno, i opširnim citiranjem, objavljuju prikaze njihovih publikacija, često uz prenošenje cijeloga teksta. U kolovoškom broju „Giornale Enciclopedico“ iz 1780. predstavila je izlaganje *Della coltura del Castagno da introdursi nella Dalmazia marittima e mediterranea* koje je Fortis, potkraj siječnja, održao u sjedištu Società Economica (čijim je *Segretario corrispondente* postao 1777.) i nedugo zatim dao tiskati u Napulju. Prikaz je protkan nizom hiperbolički intoniranih pohvala upućenih Fortisu.

Dva važna teksta vezana su uz morlačku tematiku iz Fortisova *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, čiji izlazak „Giornale Enciclopedico“ bilježi u lipnju 1774., sažetkom koji potpisuje Elisabetta. Isti časopis pratit će i neke prijepore koje je to djelo izazvalo. „Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico“ iz srpnja 1789. objavljuje vrlo pozitivni prikaz romana *Les Morlaques* spisateljice Giustiniane Wynne Orsini-Rosenberg, nastaloga slijedom Fortisova putopisa. Autor je ugledni Melchiorre Cesarotti, profesor padovanskog sveučilišta, prevoditelj Ilijade i Osvianovih spjevova. U recenziji, Wynneine Morlake uspoređuje s Homerovim junacima. Morlaštvo i Homerove epove povezati će Giulio Bajamonti (uz prepoznatljivi Vicov utjecaj)

u raspravi „Il morlacchismo di Omero“, objavljenoj u jednome od posljednjih brojeva „Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico d'Italia (ožujak 1797.).

Detaljno i s izričitim odobravanjem Elisabetta Caminer prikazala je dva Bajamontijeva prigodničarska, ideološki obojena teksta: *Sermone*, povodom prijelaska na katoličanstvo dvojice židovskih dječaka, dosljedni (i po shvaćanju njegovih sugrađana vjerojatno provokativni), manifest egalitarizma i vjerske tolerancije, i pozdravni govor u povodu ustoličenja Domenica Stratica kao hvarskog biskupa, u kojemu je ocrtan lik idealnoga prosvijećenog premeta.

Isječak iz društvenih prilika sadrži Bajamontijeva pismo Fortisu („Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico“, kolovoz 1785.), gdje govori o svome petogodišnjem službovanju na Hvaru i srazu s mentalitetom male i zaostale sredine. Svojim sugrađanima, koji su ga zbog njegova bavljenja glazbom i književnošću gledali s nepovjerenjem te mu uskraćivali službu gradskog liječnika, neizravno je replicirao poslanicom zadarskom liječniku Gaetanu Banghiju, *Se al medico disconvenga la poesia e la musica*, objavljenom, u „Nuovo giornale enciclopedico d'Italia“ iz srpnja 1796.

Pjesničkim sastavcima predstavljena su samo dvojica Fortisovih prijatelja: Bajamonti (*Il Viaggio*) i Miho Sorkočević (*Ad Lesbiam*). Fortis hvali dubrovačkog knjižara Occhija koji najavljuje tiskanje ilirskih pjesnika u trideset svezaka, ali zamjera mu izdavanje beskorisnih *petrarcherie* Bobaljevića i Monaldija. Znanstveni spjev *Montgolferii Machina volans*, autora Josepha Taruffija, izdan u Dubrovniku 1784. i prikazan u „Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico“ 1785., nosi posvetu Bernardu Stayu, jednome od dubrovačkih auktora (uz Boškovića, Kunića i Zamagnu) koje Fortis hvali kao vrsne latiniste u pismu Elisabetti Caminer, objavljenome u „Giornale Enciclopedico“ 1871. Boraveći u Dubrovniku kao rado viđeni gost, neopterećen servilnim zadacima, Fortis zanemaruje prioritete prosvjetiteljskog angažmana. Očaran je obrazovanošću i načinom života prosvijećenih obitelji Sorkočević (Sorgo) i Basiljević (Basegli) i s divljenjem govori o literarnim i znanstvenim postignućima te male prijestolnice, udaljene od kulturnih središta i okružene barbarima, u kojoj djeluje niz pjesnika i pjesnikinja i cvate „ilirski“ poezija. Ruđeru Boškoviću, najslavnijem Dubrovčaninu tog doba, u „Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico“ posvećeno je pet prikaza njegovih znanstvenih i putopisnih djela.

Ključne riječi: E. Caminer, A. Fortis, G. Bajamonti, časopisi, prosvjetiteljstvo, fiziokrati