

MORLACCHISM BETWEEN ENLIGHTENMENT AND ROMANTICISM

(Identification and Self-Identification of the European *Other*)¹

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The author uses the accounts on the Morlacchi together with extensive literature and studies on the Morlacchism in order to introduce a new perspective. Broader context of explanation is framed with the notion of the European "other" as a new intellectual attitude towards some parts of the same continent in the eighteenth century. The issues of identification and self-identification are set within that context, and this construct also implies the relations of power. In the case of Morlacchi, both synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the notion of "other" are intriguing and disputable enough to provoke the use and reconsideration of traditional sources in an innovative way.

In the year 1774, Alberto Fortis published his work *Put po Dalmaciji* [Travelling across Dalmatia], containing a chapter named "Manners of the

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Morlacchi".² Two years later, Ivan Lovrić publishes his *Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa* [Notes on Travelling across Dalmatia by the Abbot Alberto Fortis]. The volume contains a more detailed description of the life of Morlacchi together with a supplement, an outlaw (*hajduk*)³ biography *Život Stanislava Sočivice* [The Life of Stanislav Sočivica].⁴ Julije Bajamonti joined them with his discussion *Morlaštvo Homera* [Homer's Morlacchism] (1797).⁵ Those three texts are the basis for this discussion of the eighteenth-century Croatia.

² Alberto Fortis (1741–1803), a Paduan-Venetian abbot, who had secularized after having a disagreement with the Church authorities in 1772. He visited our regions east Adriatic coast (Istria, Gulf of Quarnero, Croatian Littoral, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik) twelve times in the period between 1765 and 1791, either sponsored by the Scott John Stuart, or executing his duty for the Venetian government. The result of those travellings (he was usually accompanied by local or foreign intellectuals or scholars) is his opus. It includes -- the itinerary *Put po Dalmaciji* [Travels into Dalmatia: Concerning General Observations and the Neighbouring Islands; the Natural Productions, Arts, Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants] (1774), the monograph *Ogled zapažanja o otocima Cresu i Lošinju* [Reflection of the Observances from the islands of Cres and Lošinj] (1771) and the discussion *O uzgoju kestena i njegovu uvođenju u primorsku i unutarnju Dalmaciju* [On the Cultivation of the Chestnut and to Be Introduced into Dalmatia] (1779). He took over some of the governmental duties in Italy, and also engaged in scientific writing. Fortis was an advocate of the Enlightenment and physiocratic ideas. He was a writer of pre-Romantic sensibility and orientation. His works include studies in natural science employing cultural and historical issues and documentaristic picturing of the way of life he had encountered. For more on Fortis see Bratulić 1984.

³ Since the Croatian term *hajduk* cannot be precisely translated into English we are here using words such as outlaw, brigand, highwayman, etc. The activities called *hajdučija* in Croatian are translated as brigandage.

⁴ Ivan Lovrić (1754/??–1777), born in the town of Sinj, studied linguistics and philosophy in Venice and medicine in Padua. His work, published in 1776 in Venice in Italian, was written as a reaction to Fortis's. Lovrić belongs to a circle of intellectuals of Enlightenment and Racionalist thought. He appeals to the truth, condemns superstition and prejudice, criticizes traditional institutions -- especially the Church and the activities of its subjects -- analyzes the causes of misery and the neglected state of the Morlacchi, and suggests radical changes. Lovrić is also engaged in pre-Romantic issues, which can be primarily seen in approaching and dealing with Morlach poetry. His works initiated a public debate with regard to some issues. He was mostly attacked and criticized by the ecclesiastic (Franciscan) circles, but also by others from domestic and foreign (Italian) public. For more on Lovrić see Stojković 1932; Kombol 1948; Bošković-Stulli 1978a:264–269, 1978b and 1979; Tomasović 1984.

⁵ Julije Bajamonti (1744–1800), a medical doctor and a composer, a writer and a poet from the city of Split. He wrote historical discussions and chronicles, as well as works dealing with natural science and medicine. He travelled through Bosnia and the Dalmatian Hinterland, collected folk poems and songs, and translated them into Italian. He was engaged in the city life through his activities in the Split Academy of Economy and the numerous lectures he held there, attempting to stimulate Dalmatian economy and analyzing Dalmatian economic, environmental, biological and social issues. He was a friend of Fortis and Ferić, Sorgo and others from Dubrovnik. Only the title of Bajamonti's work on Morlacchi (*Storia de' costumi de' Morlacchi*) is known today. Mišetić (1912:153) believes it has been lost, while Stojković (1929:272) thinks it has been incorporated into the Italian translation of a novel by Justine Wynne-Rosenberg

The potential ways of understanding of those texts are numerous, and depend on the question asked, the different context of explanation, and the time we live in. Underneath the layers of ethnographic materials and the microworld of the Morlacchi, a world of the eighteenth century Europe arises.⁶ The authors' comments, attributes and comparison reveal this world in its very abundance. The different angles of viewing the geographic area are implicitly present in those texts. The official reports of the (Venetian) government, foreign (European) travel accounts, the domestic (Croatian, Dalmatian) texts written in that period of time are the sources that reveal those angles, each in its own nuance.

One of the contexts that offers us meaning is the eighteenth-century perspective of the world, the people and the time, the cultural alternative (civilization versus barbarism), the sensibility of the epoch, designating the relationship between the "other" and the "different", the issue of identification, self-identification, and discursive construction.

Old Europe, new barbarians

The principle of defining through binary oppositions us-them, the civilized-the barbarians is a fact of the historical continuity,⁷ but the perception and the geographic spreading of this definition have changed through time.⁸ The eighteenth century *imago mundi* was leaving less space to the Heaven and the God-Man relationship. It was formed by the World and the Man-Man relationship. Numerous people of different skin colours, different cultures and societies and their parallel existence have imposed new questions. The intellectual conceptualization of the world has still preserved the relationship between barbarism and civilization in its

published in 1798 in Padua under the title *Costumi dei Morlacchi*. Stojković believes that Bajamonti himself was the translator. For more on Bajamonti see Milčetić 1912; Kečkemet 1975; Bajamonti 1975; Bošković-Stulli 1978a; *Splitski polihistor...* 1996.

⁶ When talking about Europe, what one should have in mind are the elite intellectual circles of scientists and authors who contributed in the creation and in the life of the new spiritual environment of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.

⁷ "From classical Greece, Europe (...) had inherited the most important and fundamental notion: the division of humanity into two principally interchangeable and logically symmetrical categories of 'Helene' and 'barbarian', 'us' and 'them'..." (Harbsmeier 1995:32).

⁸ The re-conceptualization of Europe took place between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, together with the shift of the centres of power from the south (Italian cities) towards the west, "... the old lands of barbarism and backwardness in the north were correspondingly displaced to the east" (Wolff 1994:5). Wolff calls the connection of geographic discoveries and the introduction of the world with the intellectual perception of the same "mental mapping" and "philosophic geography".

very essence.⁹ The value characterization of barbarism is double-sided: the barbarians are natural, untouched by the civilization and unspoiled (original, old); the barbarians are uneducated and backward. Europe would walk towards them in its stroll from the Enlightenment to the Romanticism, in order to study them, to evaluate them, to civilize (Europeanize) them, and to enjoy them almost in a tourist manner. Wars have been replaced with science. Possessing the knowledge about others has become a new way of conquering and dominating the world.

The travel accounts are the expression of this new way of conquering the world.¹⁰ They cover both the non-European and European destinations. The travel writers tend to be objective, but they do conceptualize everything they see within the framework of their own ideas and the world view of their time. A travel writer discovers the others, but at the same time, "he" himself is discovered through the very descriptions and comparisons he makes and through the distinctions he points out.¹¹ The author leans on the previously established boundaries of differentiating, which makes the condition for something to be evaluated (Harbsmeier 1995:27).

The noted differences of the known world made a challenge for the Enlightenment mind to discover and understand the order of the world. The mind and nature form a unit, and the adoration of nature as a principle of mind produces interest for "natural" (primitive, wild, barbarian) peoples. The movements of history through the time dimension was re-thought, the civilization versus the mode of "uncivilized" life (as natural and original) was re-thought, the questions of progress and

⁹ The old Greeks considered peoples who could not speak the Greek language to be barbarians; they did not know the language, *logos*. For the Enlighteners, the barbarians were the ones who did not know *ratio* (mind, science), who did not use it. I am citing one of the possible conceptions of the civilization from the mid eighteenth century simply to give an example: "Mirabeau used the word in both economic and cultural context, associating civilization with the increase of wealth and the refinement of manners" (Wolff 1994:123). The civilization-barbarism duality is the mode of perception and classification, although the eighteenth century conception of the world also included the thought about the principle equality of all people (Stagl 1995:163–164).

¹⁰ "Travel literature reached the height of its influence on Western culture in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (...). This poundless desire of the public to enter vicariously into other regions of the world was no doubt a symptom of the mentality which called forth the West to world domination" (Stagl 1995: 199).

¹¹ The itinerary/travel literature describes the differences ("rhetorique de l'alterite"). Itineraries are very pliable for analysis, "... it is here that we find the traveller/author describing whatever he and his audience (or readers) conceive as being 'other' when compared to what things are like at home. (...) It is here that other cultures and other societies are set up in contrast to the traveller's own. (...) one can find the boundaries and distinctions between 'here' and 'there', between 'us' and 'them', which make travel accounts such an excellent source for the study of conceptions of space and cultural as well as social identity and diversity" (Harbsmeier 1995:26–27).

decadence were raised, and the doubt was added to the science.¹² There were several reasons for this interest for the "natural" peoples: intellectual, emotional, æsthetic (Burke 1991:22 and on). The eighteenth century also offered a rapid counterpoint: the irrationality reacted to rationality, emotions to science, elation for folk poetry to the Classicism. The Romanticism also finds a special joy in studying others: wild, simple, natural and non-artificial becomes fascinating, misterious and exotic. European interest for the others and the different became the period's fashion. Rousseau's naturism, ideas emerged through Ossian's poetry, and Herder's ideas composed a framework of European pre-Romanticism (Tomasović 1984:112). Rousseau created the notion of "noble savage", animated him with physical features, character and moral virtues and released him so that everyone who might have had any interest could have found him. The wilder and closer, the better. The release of Ossian's mystification's (1760, 1765)¹³ stirred the interest for the poetry of "natural" peoples as poetic expression of natural life and their history. J. G. Herder's, brothers' W. and J. Grimm and their followers' ideas on folk poetry had a strong impact on the creation of general intellectual and artistic atmosphere in Europe.¹⁴ Influenced by these ideas, many intellectuals have found natural and original qualities in folk (peasants)¹⁵ that were close to them. They found those peasants to be as unenlightened and exotic as non-European peoples. The only difference was that they did not live somewhere on the edge of the known world or in colonies, but in Europe itself, in the body of the Old Continent, the civilized and

¹² "The progress of civilization does not increase, but decreases hapiness and virtues of people; in order to make people happy and virtuous we have to go the opposite direction, people should be brought back to nature artificially, through breeding" (Rousseau, cited from Stojković 1929:256). Rousseau's thesis was that the human capability of perfection and the development of mind and society had dragged man out of his natural conditions (in which he was happy and virtuous), and that civilization and culture had corrupted him; the original humanity and life harmony were being lost.

¹³ One should have in mind poems by the Scott John Macpherson, written after the model of traditional oral Scots poetry. Macpherson kept his authorship a secret, and signed blind poet Ossian from the third century the author. For more on this issue see Janković 1954 and Bošković-Stulli 1978a:50, 252.

¹⁴ These are the ideas of the "originality" (the old age) of folk culture, of the "collective creation" of people and of the "purity of folk soul" that was reflected through folk poems (Burke 1991:30–31). It was the wideness of this "movement" that spread through Europe during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, that enables Burke to say that "during that period, the discovery of popular culture took place" (ibid.:21); "*people* and *folk* became the point of interest of European intellectuals" (ibid.:17).

¹⁵ "For the discoverers, people are *per excellence* peasants; they live close to the nature, they were less influenced by foreigners and they had preserved their original customs longer than the others" (Burke 1991:31).

enlightened continent. The peasant was caught motionless, stopped in his development at a stage indefinite oldness and originality, almost untouched by European civilization changes and storms. At the same time, during the 1770s, Europe had already heated its pre-revolutionary temperature.

The discovery of "people not well known and not recognized until now"

The newly discovered land called Morlacchia, situated in the hinterlands of the Dalmatian coast, makes a wild homeland for the cattle-breeding population that inhabited it. The name of Morlacchi was mentioned in documents for the first time in 1352 (Novak 1971:580), and it derived from the Greek compound "maurovlah". The name was characteristic for the Dalmatian hinterlands in the eighteenth century, and it existed as a toponym (Fortis calls the mountain of Velebit "Morlach hills" and the channel under Velebit "Morlach channel") as well as the name of the population -- the native, romanized, cattle-breeding population that became slavenized. Later on the Slavic migrants that were moved to the vast space of coastal hinterlands from Bosnia and Herzegovina were named the same by the Venetian government. The Venetians apply the name for the Christian rural population in Turkey, living along the Turkish-Venetian border, and which became a part of the Venetian Republic by the end of the seventeenth century (Novak 1971).¹⁶ The name Morlach [*Morlak*] is distinctive on several levels: it defines the Christians (being different from the Muslims), the peasants (being different from the citizens), and inhabitants of the hinterlands (being different from the coastal and island population), at the same time preserving the deeper semantic and value component.

The *Morlacchi people* was discussed during the eighteenth century. Fortis and Lovrečić made guesses about its origins. Fortis stated that the Morlacchi had similar customs and language to the ones of other peoples, and "that they could be considered to be the one nation that had spread from our sea to the Ice ocean" (Fortis 1984:23). He anticipated the complicated genealogy of the nations that live in that region (the space of Roman Illyria and Dalmatia). Lovrić believed that the Morlacchi people

¹⁶ "... Venetian princes and high officials [*knezovi, providuri, sindici*] apply the name Morlacchi for the whole population of Christian religion in Turkey during the whole period of time starting with the Turkish conquer of a large part of Croatian territories in 1500, as a matter of fact, the whole region along the Venetian territory" (Novak 1971:594). Morlacchi, the Christians, make the majority of the population of those regions, while the Turks make the minority (ibid.).

"appeared as a mixture of old northern nations and the nations from the Ice Ocean", and of migrants who were persistent enough to eventually reach Roman provinces (Dalmatia) (Lovrić 1948:61—62). Both Fortis and Lovrić sometimes differentiate between the customs of the Morlacchi of Catholic and of Greek religions. Although they are "of the same nationality", their mutual relations are not harmonious.¹⁷ The contemporary writings differentiate Morlacchi from their "compatriots Croats". Even in the documents dating from the Middle Ages the Croatian feudalists and the population of Dalmatian cities differentiate the Morlacchi (the cattle-breeding population living in the hinterland) from the "Croatian national element that lives in the same area and deals with agriculture" (Novak 1971:602). The Venetians consider only their paid, Croatian speaking soldiers to be Croats, and the name Morlacchi denoted the peasant nation in Turkey throughout the sixteenth century (ibid.:594). Fortis talked about the Morlacchi living in the area of the Venetian Dalmatia of that time, and about the Croatian population of the Littoral Croatia [Primorska Hrvatska] under the Austrian rule (ibid.:271 and on). The interpretation of Morlacchism should be toned within the light of those facts.

The discovery demands a placement in the existing order. We are dealing with an area whose both cultural and social building lasted for almost two centuries. It was constituted within "non-European" civilization complex and was politically joined with Europe relatively recently (during the second half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries). This whole area became re-shaped during the eighteenth century. The several-century-old military system started transforming into the civil, the financial and social stratification of population was intensified, migrations and depopulation were constant in this area, the border highway robbing [*hajdučija*] was transforming into the alternative type of economy, and the agrarian problems (such as soil improvement and treatment) were enlarged by the new distribution of land and the functioning of new government (lease, indebtedness, usury, bribery) (Stulli 1979). Europe re-enters an area that used to be closed for a long time. It is an enormous complex of re-defining of that region. The question posed is how did Europe identify that area at that particular moment in relation to itself and how did that area behave in particular discourses.

¹⁷ "Our Greeks are of the same nationality as the Morlacchi of the Latin religion" (Lovrić 1948:86). "It is usual that there is perfect disharmony between the Latin and the Greek religions; neither of the clergymen do not hesitate to sow it: each side tells thousands of scandalous stories about the other" (Fortis 1984:45).

Writings dealing with Morlacchi presented to Europe by Fortis and Lovrić are a mixture of literary, scientific-documentary and journalist texts, and the materials themselves can be grouped into several units:

- (1) psychological and physical features of the Morlacchi. Their physical appearance and their whole psychological and emotional make-up are different from the European ones. They are strong and tough, hearty, healthy and sturdy; they are hospitable, sincere, honest, noble, reliable and warm by their nature, their minds are clear and their actions decisive (Fortis 1984:42, 53; Lovrić 1948:70, 73, 83 and on). All of these are typical characteristics that make the imaginary Rousseau's "noble savage". The most intriguing are the contradictions: the indigenous tenderness in the row chests, the cruelty of revenge and the refinement of emotions, the unbounded bravery and the bounded passions. The Morlach character and spirit are formed by the cruel nature and life conditions, making war, superstition and fatalism.
- (2) language and oral culture of the Morlacchi. The authors present and emphasize this complex of Morlach life during the wide-spread adoring of Ossian's poetry. That is why it is claimed that the Morlacchi have preserved the ancient-old purity of language, in comparison with languages and phrases used by "coastal and island population who (...) speak our language in a spoiled manner" (Lovrić 1948:105). The barbarian life conditions have created the poetry of nature and life, transmitted orally and characterized by expressionism and imaginary (Lovrić 1948:104–105). Although Morlach dancing skills of the "rolling and swinging" of their bodies were probably interesting to Europe, they still did not have dance their way into Europe that way. It was another piece of their heritage that opened the door for them and felt the sensibility of the era. It was the ballad named *Asanaginica*.
- (3) everyday life of the Morlacchi. The authors emphasize a certain analysis of Morlach life that also reveals their value system: respect for family life ("love and harmony", work for common good, age grouping) (Lovrić 1948:80, 82, 111, 133); position of women varies from the despised ("almost everywhere there is this detest for the female sex to be felt", Fortis 1984:52) to liberated (as in choice of husband, Fortis 1984:48); reliability, hospitality, strong friendship, but also vindictiveness ("they seem to think getting even is fair", Lovrić 1948:88). The economic growth of the eighteenth century Europe stumped upon a special exotics of Morlach economy -- autarky, even the loss of interest for earning. The Morlacchi do not spend their goods rationally, they are immoderate, "none of their families cannot stand saving" (Lovrić 1948:81); "they view the agriculture as a non-worthy cause" (Lovrić 1948:140). Their value system is based on

tradition: "This nation's feature to cling to their old customs is special" (Fortis 1984:43). Elements of both material and spiritual culture, although touched by change (concerning the family authorities, the position of women, etc.) are based on tradition.¹⁸

- (4) highway robbing [*hajdučija*]. Another unusual match: bravery and courage as virtues within hatred and cruelty. The highway robbing is presented as "heroic craftsmanship", having its own rules, codex of honour and behaviour. It is a kind of outlawry that can be justified and whose causes can be found (Lovrić gives a sociological analysis of highway robbing 1948:65–67), but that emerges from a real situation (several centuries long involvement in wars) and the Morlach character -- love for weapons and glory, "natural wildness", and "inclination towards war", "basis of character that make one hate others".

What is actually the Morlacchism? A term containing the European reception of Dalmatian hinterlands of the eighteenth century, that is, of the customs, beliefs, and way of life of this population, and all the reflections that have arisen out of this reception: Morlach exotics, Romantic literary Slavism, interest for Morlach (Croatian, Slavic) oral literature, literary discussions, activating of Dalmatian economic issues, identification and self-identification.

In search of minerals, ores and herbs in the very neighbourhood of his homeland Italy, Fortis has discovered the world of Morlacchi. He says that the Morlacchi have been described as "a type of people who are wild and have no common sense, lack humanness and capable of committing every existing criminal act" (1984:31). Lovrić also claims that the Morlacchi "were generally considered to be barbarians and unreasonable people because of their barbarism and cruelty" (1948:57). In the course of the last century the image of a Croat (*uskok*, Vlach) corresponds (especially in Italian literature) to the image of the worst barbarian -- it is an image of a robbing and aggressive nation that disturbs the trade, robs, burns, kills, and who has crime running in its veins (Pederin 1981:204). After Fortis's itinerary this image starts being valued differently, in accordance with philosophic and artistic preoccupations of the time. New relationships are established within an itinerary model the observer-the observed-the reader.

The basic weft with which Fortis and Lovrić are weaving is a confrontation of the two worlds: the world of European nations ("cultured", "educated and sophisticated nations", "well-bred souls", who have "subtle taste", "spoiled and soft people") and the world of Morlacchi

¹⁸ For more about Lovrić's social analysis (values, social pathology, social stratification) see Rihtman-Auguštin 1979.

(uneducated, simple, natural, wild, but with enviable virtues, old and innocent customs, common souls and customs, unspoiled, naturally free, following and "understanding the lows of unspoiled nature" and healthy principles). Both authors tend to be objective as observants, but every attribution already pre-supposes the value judgment that reveals the author's and the time's attitude. Some customs are "funny and amusing" (for example, some wedding customs or "making peace"), the others are "non-human and strict" (for example, the separation of women and not yet adult sons during meals), some customs and relationships are unreasonable, so that they need to be intellectually explained, while the others indeed seem nice particularly because of the very same feature (for example, expressions of popular religion); some customs would arise wondering in Europe. Some blasphemy (for example, public display of tenderness).

There are some basic differences between Fortis's and Lovrić's writings. Two features are important for Fortis's itinerary: he is a traveller – a foreigner, writing for European reading audience. He comes from the world of "cultured" nations¹⁹ and he is impressed after encountering the "natives". Lovrić originates from a world close to the Morlacchi, and he writes about his compatriots.

Fortis writes for his learned European friends, eager to obtain new concrete knowledge about the world and people living in it; he arguments the propriety of his writing by his stay among the Morlacchi. Lovrić's writing is motivated by Fortis. He wants to correct and take on his writing, and believes to be greater authority because his roots are from this nation. Fortis's motives are philanthropic,²⁰ Lovrić's are patriotic.

¹⁹ Although Fortis likes the Morlacchi, he clearly shows which side he belongs to. For him, a Morlach is "differently moral than we are" (1984:37); he emphasizes it also in different places, for example, when commenting on some Morlach customs "that we would consider to be unproper" (1984:46).

²⁰ Fortis writes: "... I shall admit that I feel deep inside a strong delight when I think of the possibility that my travelling gives some blessing to the Dalmatian folk, if not right away, then at least when the time comes. I would consider myself the happiest of all the travellers if I could bear witness of my life being useful before I end my early life" (1984:85). Abandoning the acknowledged heroism for coming among the "barbarians" is not a matter of modesty, but of elitism (he says in the introduction: "...having chosen the area where they live for my travels, I may seem much braver than a natural scientist should be" (1984:31). It is one of the features of the Enlightenment. Fortis choses a nation in its "childish" state, so that he could deal with it with his "fatherly mercy".

The European reception

The Croats are introduced to Europe by Fortis and within the dimension of the Enlightenment tolerance and engagement, as well as the pre-Romantic sensibility. Fortis created scientific and literary value out of the Morlacchi, handing them over to Europe as a "Rousseauistic myth" (Pederin 1981:212). Namely, the "ethnographic portrait" of the Morlacchi painted by Fortis and later also by Lovrić offered Europe the materials for the popular Rousseauistic thesis. When discussing the Morlach characteristics, the authors enumerate the same repertoire of attributes: wild, simple, natural, irreproachable; when describing the customs, they define them as simple, natural, innocent and plain, having ancient origins, old, original.²¹ The travellers who are to become itinerary writers travel both through space and through time.

Fortis "discovered" the Morlacchi, and the scientific, cognitive and experience interests of the times formed the Morlacchism.²² The literarization of itinerary materials became literary fashion. The basis of literary romantic Slavism was achieved in accordance with European pre-romantic atmosphere, and through Fortis's mediation.

"Travelling through Dalmatia" soon became European best-seller. Already during the same decade the book (either the whole book or only the part on the Morlacchi) was translated from Italina into German, French and English.²³

The only work from Lovrić's opus translated into English was "The Life of Stanislav Sočivica" [*Životopis Stanislava Sočivice*], but regardless of the fact book was not translated as a whole, the reactions it arose were great.²⁴ Bajamonti's discussion was frozen by its translation into Latin.²⁵

²¹ "The one who would want to give the accurate picture of man and his natural state could find a lot of materials among our Morlacchi" (Lovrić 1948:111). He implies the same thesis within different contexts as well: "natural state in which they live" (1948:129); "through them we can recall enviable, although crude customs of the primeval men" (1948:70); Fortis also views the Morlacchi as population that "has not been formed, or it is better to say, has not been corrupted by the society that we like to call cultured" (1984:39).

²² The nineteenth-century interest for "primitive" and marginal nations is different from the eighteenth-century's Enlightenment and pre-Romantic interest. The new intellectual atmosphere of the nineteenth century is marked by the general science dealing with the man and with the development of humanities (ethnology, anthropology, sociology, etc.).

²³ Fortis's chapter *Manners of the Morlacchi* was translated into German (1775, 1792), French (1778), Swedish (1792); the book *Travels into Dalmatia* was translated into German (1776, 1797), French (1778), and English (1778). See Bratulić 1984:XVIII.

²⁴ Lovrić's *Life of Stanislav Sočivica* was translated into English twice (1779, 1870). The echoes of Lovrić's work are to be observed in the works by Nodier and Wynne-Rosenberg, who use Lovrić's work as a source of material for their own mystifications,

What was offered to Europe was challenging enough: for the Enlighteners to teach, educate and eventually reach new concrete knowledge on the people of the world, in order to create order within their thinking; for the pre-Romantic it was the challenge of an encounter with the far, the unknown, the original and the wild. "Exotics, says Mr. Pierre Jourda, may be the way of approaching a country or imagining it, created in advance" (Štambak 1977:1179). Justine Wynne (the Duchess of Rosenberg-Orsini) publishes her vision of Morlacchia (*Les Morlaques* 1788). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mme de Stael introduces Dalmatia in a part of her novel *Corinne ou l'Italie* and it is described as mysterious and wild region. Charles Nodier and Prosper Mérimée were inspired by Morlach superstition, demons, vampires and ghosts, being the main features of the region. Lamartine, George Sand and Balzac inherit this interest the way it was formed by the European Romanticism.²⁶

New poetical European interest for oral poetry as poetical expression of natural life accepted Asanaginica. Europe does not meet conditions for this kind of poetry. The wild and the illiterate create the top-quality pieces of poetry. Morlach poetry contains strong expressive parts, vivid pictures and imagination (Fortis 1984:58), and sometimes the Morlacchi get strongly touched and moved (Fortis says he saw "some of them crying and sighing", 1984:58). Asanaginica attracted with its unusual style and contents, strong expressiveness and emotions, and bounded passions.²⁷ Many will try to translate it: Goethe, Nodier, Mérimée, Scott, Tommaseo, Pushkin and others (Bošković-Stulli 1978a:251). It was published in Herder's collection *Volkslieder* in 1778.

The second large complex interesting to Europe was the Morlach character. The curiosities that are going to define them also during the centuries to come were following: hospitable, warm, fond of weapons, fatalistically oriented and superstitious. Europe judged them after its own codes and authorized the right of observation. However, the relationship with such a character has been changing. The Morlach characteristics were valued as original, old, unspoiled and exceptionally challenging in the eighteenth century. The Morlacchi were naturally of "bright minds and active spirits" (Fortis 1984:42), but they "need to think more of

papers and novels. See Kombol 1948:227–228; Bošković-Stulli 1978a:266; Bratulić 1984:XXIII.

²⁵ Đuro Ferić translated Bajamonti's discussion into Latin, using the hexameter (1799). See Milčetić 1912:137.

²⁶ See Kombol 1948:222–223, 227–228; Bošković-Stulli 1978a:251–253; Bratulić 1984:XXII–XXIII.

²⁷ Sophisticated female and motherly sensibility shown in Hasanaginica is in a complete disharmony with the image of women among the Morlacchi, revealed by authors. The Morlacchi view women as "one of the dirty, low and ugly animals" (Lovrić 1948:133).

maintaining their lives than of keeping their minds bright" (Lovrić 1948:137). Once again, Europe find it appropriate to react, still vacillating in its decision: to educate them and bring them to reason, or to keep them in the state they found them.²⁸ The Morlacchi were attractive exactly because of not being civilized. Europe is going to feast on the superstition issues such as night vampires, demons, ghosts, nightmares more than on anything else. At the same time, it is the best advertising material for the region, an invitation for the "imaginary travellers of the Romanticism" (Štambak 1977:1175). They choose a spot on the map of the world they want to visit. They choose the data that will affect readers the most from the materials, and colour them with the "local colour" (*couleur locale*). In order to prove the authenticity, they refer to their personal experience or their personal encounters with the Morlacchi.²⁹ This way they establish their reputation on European literary market and monopolize the right of knowing the Morlacchi.

Highway-robbing [*hajdučija*] is another exotic feature that this border and poor region of the Dalmatian Hinterlands offered Europe. The Italian translator of J. Wynne's novel describes the Morlacchi as "natural born warriors and conquerors", and they would still be the same "if they did not enjoy the sweet fruits of peace under the fortunate (Venetian) government, so that they partly managed to constrain their barbarian characters" (cited after Stojković 1929:263). Highway-robbers [*hajduks*] are a "special sort of people": their spirit is strong, but unperfected, although they could be "perfected by culture" (Lovrić 1948:208). Fortis understands their characters in the context of meager natural conditions; they were driven "wild" and "angry" by poverty (Fortis 1984:36). Fortis and Lovrić describe, interpret, excuse highway robbers. Lovrić distinguishes between brigands [*ajduci, lupeži, junaci*] from highway robbers [*drumski razbojnici*]. The difference lies in bravery, sense and excusability of their (bad) deeds (Lovrić 1948:65). His Sočivica will

²⁸ The Morlach entrance into European world is questionable. The exit from their "natural" state, possible cultural curiosity or mixing is deadly for the Morlacchi. Wynne speaks about that in an educational manner, describing the disaster of a Morlach family that entered the adventure called civilized world (see Stojković 1929:264).

²⁹ J. Wynne admits knowing Fortis's work, but she also refers to "oral news from the Morlacchi who are staying here (in Venice, author's note) to attain some public or private affairs", to her talks with the Slavs "who came from the neighbouring regions", in order to confirm that "the facts are accurate, and especially the features of the national are described completely faithfully" (cited after Stojković 1929:262). In his paper on Morlach poetry, dance and customs, Nodier claims he had visited the Morlach region. Mérimée's *La Guzla* (1827) is a collection of Morlach poetry, allegedly collected in Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. The author would admit that it is a mystification only years later, in the second edition, published in 1842 (Zorić 1960; Bošković-Stulli 1978a:253).

become one of noble outlaws of European literature. C. Nodier dedicated a novel to Jean Sbogar in 1818, an alleged Sočivica's grandson (*bandit illyrien*), described as a romantic outlaw who fled to mountains because of social injustice (Tomasović 1984:117–120). This is the way how real people became imaginary characters of literary fictions and literature on outlaws. Europe was meeting them only while reading books.

Official Venetian reports on Dalmatia bear witness of corruption, negligence, misery, poverty, anarchy and violence. This is the exotics in which the Morlacchi lived. Reports speak of miserable Morlacchi (*poveri Morlacchi*). However, this attribute is the only sensitive expression they are using. They do not declare any other form of the Enlightenment or Romantic sensibility, claiming that one has to use a firm hand and spanking to rule them (Bošković-Stulli 1979:5), which is so different from Fortis's and Lovrić's methods (teaching, educating).

European literarization of the materials on the Morlacchi is interesting in the aspect of studying the construction of western discourse of the Croats. The very interest of the time is revealed by J. Wynne in the foreword to her novel: "It is worth observing this country (Morlacchia, author's note) in its present condition, before the nature and form change by another revolution. This state is much more interesting than the systems of the most perfect civilization" (cited after Stojković 1929:262). "Islands, sea coast and cities enjoy all of the advantages of civilization (...), but otherwise other parts of this country of so significant volume, so close to Italy (...) shows an image of natural state of the very beginnings of social life, the way it might have looked in the most ancient times, the way we found among completely unknown population of the Pacific islands (ibid). The newly discovered European neighbour is as exotic as non-European nations.³⁰ Europe enters the long ago closed world, the world built within the framework of another culture, another social and political system. The existence of Eastern, Islamic characteristics among the Morlacchi merely added some additional points on the scales of Romantic exotics.

³⁰ I shall cite the possible comparison of the Morlacchi with the Bushmans, dating from the same time, merely to illustrate my claim. I am talking about two African itineraries (A. Sparman 1785 and J. Barrow 1801). The Bushman features are "innocence, passivity, indolence... physical strength and stamina, cheerfulness, absence of greed or indeed desires of any kind... a penchant for living in the present, inability to take initiatives on their own behalf..."; "free from many wants and desires, that torment the rest of mankind", "mild and manageable in the highest degree, and by gentle usage may be moulded into any shape"; "His talents are far above mediocrity", "... they take no thought for the morrow. They have no sort of management or economy with regard to provisions" (cited after M. L. Pratt 1986:46).

The English, French, Germans, and Italians find the Scottish, Morlacchi, Bretons, Albanians, the population of Andalusia and Finnish in Europe during the eighteenth century. Nations that lived in the centre of cultural events, that created the Renaissance, Classicism and Enlightenment, became fed up with their intellectual and artistic creativity and started to discover nations living in the (geographical and cultural) periphery of Europe to be cultural, social, even physical alternative to Europe. The discoverers will be inspired by them. What about the discovered?

Self-identification within identification

The West European cultural circle creates the dominant scientific, cognitive, ethic, æsthetic and experience codes during the eighteenth century. According to them and within them, it judges the others. According to them, and within them, the others can find themselves (within or outside the circle), they are able to judge themselves within the context of space and time, and thus create the notion about themselves.

Besides Lovrić and Bajamonti, some other Dalmatian intellectuals write about the Morlacchi (Marko Kažotić from Zadar, Ivan Luka Garanjin and Petar Nutrizi Grisogono from Trogir, and others).³¹ They originate from the Dalmatian urban coastal milieu, and they do not declare themselves as being the Morlacchi. However, their interest for the people in hinterlands, the people they refer to as "our" or "mine",³² disclose the change in the meaning of classical (especially Mediterranean) opposition between a city and its rural hinterlands³³ (the opposition that implies the opposition of civilization and barbarism).³⁴ Moreover, it

³¹ Grisogono publishes his work *Reflections on the Present State of Dalmatia* [*Opaske o sadašnjem stanju Dalmacije*] in 1780. He speaks especially of bad economic state of Dalmatia, without any illusions or enthusiasm (Bratulić 1984:XXI).

³² Lovrić uses the possessive pronoun "our" meaning "Slavic": the Morlacchi tell stories that are "true, and originate from the history of our people" (1948:81); when speaking of the Slavic language, he says there are many nations that "speak our language" (1948:63, 96, 108). Garanjin identifies with the Morlacchi even more: analysing his engagement, he states that "it was a moment when I got to know my people" (cited after Bošković-Stulli 1979:66). Bajamonti also uses the term "la nostra lingua" [our language], meaning Illyric, Croatian (Milčetić 1912:97).

³³ Both pejorative and contemned ethnics speak of this opposition: the population of Zagora [*Zagorci*], the hinterland, call the population of islands and coast *Boduli*, which is not an insulting name, but has insulting meaning (Lovrić 1948:60; Fortis 1984:35). In return, they call the population of Zagora Vlachs [*Vlasi*] or Morlacchi [*Morlaci*]. Fortis explains that it is about the "ancient hatred between the two races" (1984:35).

³⁴ At the beginning of his work, Lovrić agrees with the attitude about the "barbarism of people living in the hinterlands" (1948:58). On the other hand, he criticizes the inhabitants of Dalmatian cities, who neglect their (Slavic) language, and thus makes the opposition obvious; "because of their fear of being considered barbarian, some of

discloses the overgrowing of the narrow local idea of belonging into the idea of linking of wider region -- not only because of the common existing economic determination, but also because of their connection established through the belonging to one nation ("the Illyric" or "the Slavic" nation). Although, all of these authors promote themselves intellectually in European circles and write their works in European languages (mostly Italian), the possessive pronouns and adjectives mentioned above show new relationships and illustrate something more than trendy Enlightenment philanthropy and Romantic interest for the exotic.³⁵ They write about their compatriots.

Lovrić and Bajamonti find in the Morlacchi the typical features created by Rousseau's Naturism and European pre-Romantic sensibility, in order to show the existence of their own values through them.³⁶ Being geographically removed from cultural centres, from the cities, and just because of that, the Morlacchi have preserved the originality of life, the natural qualities of character and the purity of their language.³⁷ Both authors straightforwardly express their goals: Lovrić wants to correct other nations' opinions, according to which "the Morlacchi are generally considered to be barbarian and unreasonable people" (1948:57), and Bajamonti tries to obtain the "pride of the Illyric people" (1948:101). This goal is implicit in their texts through comparisons of the Morlacchi to the ancient Roman and Greek worlds,³⁸ using which they try to prove Croatian

them even claim they do not speak the language (and foolishly think it is something to be proud of)" (1948:108).

³⁵ Garanjanin's "preoccupation with his desire of social well-being" entered the stage: "it was a moment when I got to know my people, (...) I could recognize my country's interests (...). I have made out that our poverty causes our barbarism..." (cited after Stulli 1979:66–67). Academies of Economy founded throughout Dalmatian cities had also patriotic features (to get to know and to economically improve their homeland).

³⁶ Stojković criticizes Lovrić's very evaluation of the Morlacchi by adopting European attitude and standards: he knew the "learned works of foreign writers: Italian, French, German, French, all of them being enlighteners of that time. That was how Lovrić, our man, started to view our Croatian folk situation in Dalmatia through the eyes of foreign philosophers, French encyclopaedists (...), Italian and German enlighteners" (Stojković 1932:5).

³⁷ The character of the "discovery" of the Morlacchi and the Scots is an interesting analogy. In 1765 the mystifications by J. Macpherson were published. English explorers Johnson and Boswell started travelling through western Scottish islands soon after the book release and found the remainders of pastoral life, people of original and primitive customs, looks and character (black and wild), having features of any American wild man (Burke 1991:21). The Scot Macpherson points at folk, oral tales and poetry as historical materials, and claims that the Scots have -- living isolated in the mountains -- preserved their biological purity, customs and originality of the language inherited from their Celtic ancestors, although the English despise them as wild and uncivilized (Janković 1954:185–186).

³⁸ Lovrić claims that many Morlach customs and beliefs correspond with the Roman ones (superstitions about witches, customs related to weddings or blessing of fields), as

belongingness to European cultural complex. Fortis' comparisons of the Morlacchi to the Hottentots, Indians and Tatars³⁹ are positive within the context of European philosophic, intellectual and artistic atmosphere, but they are non-European. Both Lovrić and Bajamonti want to give the Morlacchi a qualitative different place as members of European life. Ivan Pederin noted that it was about the real Croatian issues of belonging to Europe that were prevailing during the next centuries (1981:213).

New European artistic choice gave the "barbarian" peoples a chance. The pre-Romanticism makes the way for the new literary genre. Oral folk poetry becomes an independent and highly valued form of poetry (Bošković-Stulli 1978b) that is created in special life conditions, conditions Europe did not possess any more. As Europe discovered this value, the Croats became more aware of it. Many of them went straight among the people, noting the poetical expressions of natural and original life (Lovrić, Bajamonti, Ferić, Bruerević, Appendini).⁴⁰ It was fun and pastime for European discoverers and for the discovered it was a chance for gaining their place within the world order and to become known at least after their poetry within the European cultural circle.⁴¹ This time is followed by a period in which everyone would question their identities. The evaluation of folk/popular poetry as an expression of folk spirit and poetic history becomes one of possible frameworks within which the search of Croatian identification and self-identification appears. Lovrić claims that there are both invented and true Morlach poems -- the ones "dealing with the history of our nation" (1948:81), and that are orally transmitted from the father to the son and grandson "so that tradition keeps memory of old and significant deeds" (1948:81). Lovrić therefore suspects that "a considerate historian could collect many data on national history from their poems" (1948:108). Later Croatian romantic historicism can be foreseen here. The nineteenth-century Croatian intellectuals would

well as some social relationships and ways of communication (addressing by first names, not using the pronoun denoting respect -- Croatian *Vi*, corresponding to German *Sie*). He compares Morlach brides with the Greek and Roman, and their clothes with the Spartan. Bajamonti tries to prove similarities between the Morlacchi and the Homer's Greeks through analogies of characters, physical constitution, customs (feasts, food, housing, clothes, relationship towards women), poetical style (verse repetitions, often attribution, collective poetic authorship), emotions (strong expressions of emotions, imagination, phantasy).

³⁹ Fortis is going to comment on the "barbarian" diversity of Morlach girls' jewellery and connect it with "Tatarian and American customs" (1984:47); on another place he compares the Morlach economy: "in this detail they are similar to the Hottentots" (1984:38).

⁴⁰ See Bošković-Stulli 1978a.

⁴¹ Marko Kažotić expresses this idea clearly: "It made me angry: they translate our poetry in Paris, and we are here trying to forget them -- oh, ignorance, oh, shame" (cited after Zorić 1960:405).

get help from popular culture that was considered to be the original and primeval culture. The Morlacchi are the one -- among the others -- who have preserved folk tradition, who cherish their past, who keep their customs just because they do not want any customs besides the "old" ones. Therefore, the transformation of the character of outlaw Stanislav Sočivica is interesting. Lovrić presents him in the context of brigandage, that is -- -- besides all of the analyses of its causes and possible justification -- still a negative phenomenon that needs to be exterminated. During the nineteenth century, Croatian romantic nationalism would consider Sočivica, a brigand and outlaw, to be a heroic ideal of long-lasting fight against slavery, the struggle for family and his own people (Zečević 1979).⁴²

Europe created the myth of "noble savage" in order to project it on some other parts of the world. However, this world already had its myths. The Morlacchi have had a completed myth of their glorious and heroic past that had grown out of the reality and life, expressed in their poetry. Actually, it was not a myth. This historic past was built on a contradiction. First, in the fight against the Turks, being the "holy order of the sultan and the faith", and later siding with Venetian Republic against the "non-believers".⁴³ Especially the church supported this militant spirit of the Morlacchi, and therefore Lovrić asks about the responsibility for the people taken by the church. Fortis condemns the priests who "support and often motivate hatred for the Turks, considering them to be the devil's sons" (1984:37). He names it "spirit of the wrongly understood faith" (1984:36).⁴⁴ Besides all the things about the Morlacchi that reminded of exotics, the smell of poverty and misery was present. Europe did not feel it, but the Dalmatian population were dazed by it. Fortis notices it and according to his Enlightenment attitude tries to do his part in the progress and better life. However, Lovrić's critiques and solutions became more

⁴² In the period of national awakening, the life of Stanislav Sočivica is read in the context of understanding that "worthy of life and freedom is only the one who has to fight for them every day" (Zečević 1979:275). Sočivica represents the properties of courage and bravery expressed in the name of family, people and homeland, which is during that period of time recognized as a base of national community. This period turns to old times and looks for "Slavic originality" [*slavjanska izvornost*]; Sočivica's brigandage was stylized as an original image of "lost features of a real Slav" (ibid.:279).

⁴³ Comparing historical reality to its poetical reflection, Stulli notes that the heroism and bravery also carry a tragedy of manipulating people in themselves. Two hundred years of great and small wars, highway robbing and thieving became the way of life in this region. "Those pages of Croatian people's life, being among the most tragic ones, have been proclaimed then and later, partly even today, to be 'epic of courage', the era of great 'heroes', 'heroic and glorious era of Dalmatia' etc" (Stulli 1979:83).

⁴⁴ Stulli draws an interesting parallel: the hostility towards the Turks and their subjects has been traditionally transmitted as an inherited "cultural good", together with folk poems (Stulli 1979:81).

radical.⁴⁵ Lovrić's credit has started that discussion on "religious and enlightenment issues in our parts" (Stojković 1932:6). The Croatian intelligentsia was motivated to grasp the picture of the economic state of Dalmatia without Rousseauistic illusions. Lovrić was lead by the principle that "enlightened people creates happiness for itself and for its ruler" (1948:180). During the late eighteenth century, Venetian Republic has neither interest nor strength to support that century's slogan.

Conclusional remarks

Fortis's and Lovrić's works are rich in ethno-anthropological topics. Having that aspect in mind, they have been re-read numerous times. It is possible to investigate them as studies of mentalities⁴⁶ -- the Morlach, but also European mentality. The materials on the Morlacchi are the face of Morlacchism, and one of its reverse sides is a phenomenon of the perceptive relationship between Europe and Croatia during the eighteenth century. Of course, in the case of the Morlacchi one can talk about Croatia only conditionally. Morlacchia is a part of Croatian territory, but other nationalities also inhabit it.

Foreign authors who write about the Morlacchi can be distinguished after their way of writing. Official Venetian sources (written by officials of the Venetian government in Dalmatia) are characterized by strict and despicable tone. Fortis reveals completely different approach: he reflects the new sensibility of the time and intellectual preoccupations. He deals with the Morlacchi on an academic, scientific level. Europe has discovered the Morlacchi in its eighteenth century clean up of the world as wild, natural, exotic. Fortis passes on Morlacchi to Europe to judge them. They were offered to the enlighteners to enrich their minds with new concrete knowledge about the world; they were offered to the romantics as outlines of the world. On the other hand, they could safely enter in their imagination.

Lovrić is one of the rare "natives" who reacted on this foreign presentation of his home region. It is interesting to note where is his reaction the most intensive one. He criticizes Fortis's exaggerations that

⁴⁵ Lovrić even suggests the land should become peasants' property.

⁴⁶ A. Mucchieli's (1985) definition of mentality is given merely as a frame: "The mentality is a referential system, implicit to a social group that is homogeneous concerning the common state of spirit. This referential system enables things to be viewed in a certain way, and people to react and behave according to such a perception of the world" (cited after Rihtman-Auguštin 1996:54).

remind of sensationalism,⁴⁷ as well as his not noticing changes.⁴⁸ Both authors write in accordance to Rousseau's conceptions of perceiving the world: the Morlacchi are a "natural" people, unspoiled by the civilization, having ancient-old customs. The barbarism has no pejorative meaning in the eighteenth century -- just the opposite. This way the Morlacchi were made known to Europe in a new context and in a new dimension. Two elements are important for re-thinking the eighteenth-century Morlacchism. Fortis's comparisons of the Morlacchi to the Tatars and Indians are not negative, but they are non-European.⁴⁹ Besides, the those writers travel through space, but also through time. During the eighteenth century, Europe is conceptualized on the line of Western and Eastern Europe as civilized and barbarian. This "philosophic geography" is based in travelling through time. According to the eighteenth-century ideas, the barbarians live in an indefinite pre-time and they touch the civilized Europe as societies of different levels of progress and of different periods of time. The problem arises during encounters of these societies in the *same* period of time, when they become contemporaries.⁵⁰

Europe meets something so different from its cultural inheritance that it is interesting to note in what way this geographic European space locates itself within the eighteenth century image of the world. In that sense one can talk about the definition of this area as being the European "other".⁵¹

⁴⁷ Fortis's description of the size of Morlach women's breasts is commented as follows: "this opinion is a fairy-tale created by foreigners" (1984:69). He comments Fortis's claim that the Morlacchi's black moustache were black because of the torch smoke: "he probably wants to make readers laugh at someone else" (1984:74), etc. (Lovrić 1948:75, 79).

⁴⁸ Already in the introduction, Lovrić criticizes Fortis about "having had to notice that some customs had changed" (1948:58). Lovrić sees the change in many aspects of life, and also recognizes the time dimension ("then", "in the old times", "recently", "today"), claiming that some customs have changed, while the others have been "abolished". Besides, Lovrić emphasizes changes in the possession aspect more than Fortis does -- those changes reflect in cultural as well as in social life.

⁴⁹ Those comparisons are not negative because the conceptional framework of Rousseau's naturism and interests for life, customs and poetry of "natural" peoples gave them a positive legitimacy. They are non-European in the sense that the Morlacchi are found within parallels with "natural" nations *outside* Europe, while the space of the Old Continent was preserved for civilized and cultured nations. It is the very connotations that those comparisons establish.

⁵⁰ "What are opposed, in conflict, in fact, locked in antagonistic struggle, are not the same societies at different stages of development, but different societies facing each other at the same Time" (Fabian 1983:154).

⁵¹ Maria Todorova uses the expression "European Other" when discussing the relationship of Europe towards the Balkans. Todorova places the problem of the Balkans -- that belongs to Europe geographically, but was built differently and therefore emerges as a foreign element -- and describes their relationship as a

However, the intriguing part is that the Romantic world view is established as a schematic image and stereotypes are being formed. They are going to lose their real romantic "couleur locale" and gain shineless patina in later and newer European contexts. Being pulled out from their "wilderness" during the period of time between the Enlightenment and Romanticism, they will be characterized by those features even later, when the philosophic attitudes and evaluations would change. Europe authorizes the right of setting standards and attitudes. This way it establishes its domination over the world, perhaps stronger than using weapons. The typical characteristics assigned to the Morlacchi are no longer that attractive in different intellectual European climate and in its changed demands, although they are preserved as continuous features.⁵²

Europe is in search of its identity through differentiation. During the eighteenth century, it was done through comparison to the cult of the primitive and the natural. Fortis's and Lovrić's writings satisfy the demands of that time, but they could be read (in some other period of time) as praise and glorification of European culture through the emphasizing of non-existence of important civilization and cultural features among the others. Such stereotypes belong to the phenomenon of "long lasting". It is the perception of the other and the self (in an intellectual and psychological dimension) that is -- together with other elements of culture -- transmitted by tradition and inherited from one generation into the next. This way today's European perception of an area was formed by numerous authors, itinerary writers, literary writers and the others who left their trace; it all together makes today's scientific discourse. The very conceptual division of Europe into Western and Eastern was inherited from the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, the others are searched of and being evaluated according to the dominant standards. Their self-identification was created by European perception and the identification of themselves. Just as domestic intellectuals get their approval by writing into foreign languages, they are searching for themselves and for their values through European

relationship of incompatible units, anti-worlds (at least within the Western discourse) (Todorova 1996). The same relationship is created by L. Wolff in the perspective of Western and Eastern Europe: Western, civilized Europe discovers Eastern Europe as its complement part within the same continent: "Europe, but not Europe", "within Europe, but not fully European" (Wolff 1994:9).

⁵² Krleža wrote about these issues during the mid twentieth century: "Features that were expressed through Prosper Mérimée's poetry via abbé Fortis as the Morlach 'couleur locale' is today the only thing after which Western Europe recognizes us today, and which is today -- in a too decorative manner -- charished as our own tourist advertising in foreign countries as the main feature of our backward, archaic, peasant environment, the whole decorative folklore veil..." (Krleža 1953:113).

conceptions. The new European poetical taste gave a chance to the neglected nations to get their cultural acceptance. The Herder-Grimm conceptions presents the poetry of "natural" peoples as "life treasure" created during some indefinite ancient period, and characterized as a collective product of these peoples. Therefore it reflects the "pure popular soul" (Burke 1991:17–31). This Romantic context of "popular soul" is going to obtain new frame in the context of the nineteenth-century nationalism.

However, the mentality and stereotypes are not the only things that linger on. The literary cult of folk oral poetry, started with Asanaginica, is still alive: it has been translated and interpreted time after time. Moreover, the Romantic canon (people - originality - long-lasting) remains a base of ethnological dealing with the Croats for a long time.

The understanding of Morlacchism is possible only in the synchronic dimension, but its diachronic dimension is also very intriguing (exotic?).

(Translated by Sanja Kalapoš)

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MORLAKIZAM IZMEĐU PROSVJETITELJSTVA I ROMANTIZMA

(Identifikacija i autoidentifikacija europskog "Drugog")

SAŽETAK

Autorica obrađuje etnografsku građu vezanu uz Morlake u Dalmatinskoj zagori. Radi se o dva putopisa iz 18. stoljeća: Alberto Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji (1774.)* i Ivan Lovrić, *Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa i Život Stanislava Sočivice (1776.)*. Analiza građe smještena je u kontekst osamnaestostoljetnog poimanja ljudi, vremena i kulture (prosvjetiteljstvo, predromantizam, romantizam), koji je okvir primarnog razumijevanja načina na koji su tekstovi pisani. Komparativna analiza otkriva različite autorske perspektive implicitne ovim tekstovima: Fortis je stranac impresioniran susretom s "domorocima". Lovrić, rodom iz Sinja, piše o sunarodnjacima, angažiraniji je u kritici lošeg i predlaganja poboljšanja. Fortisove su pobude filantropske, Lovrićeve patriotske. Fortisove usporedbe Morlaka s Tatarima i Hotentotima nisu negativne, ali su ne-europske. Lovrić ih uspoređuje s antičkim svijetom i implicitno aludira na pripadnost Europi. Istu konotaciju ima i tekst Julija Bajamontija *Morlaštvo Homera (1797.)*.

Druga je razina analize konstrukcija europskog diskursa o Morlacima, tj. fenomen morlakizma. On se oblikovao putem novog senzibiliteta vremena. Europska recepcija putopisa rezultat će pojačanim zanimanjem za morlačku (slavensku) usmenu poeziju i što će se očitovati u korpusu europskih djela u kojima se koristi građa iz putopisa (romantički literarni slavizam). Neki od tih imaginarnih putnika u Morlakiju su J. Wynne, Ch. Nodier, P. Mérimée.

Interpretacija građe kreće se u okviru teza o istočnoj Europi i Balkanu kao "europskom Drugom" ili "drugom iznutra". Za razumijevanje morlakizma važna je činjenica da Europa u 18. stoljeću ulazi u dugo zatvoreni prostor, koji se tijekom dvaju stoljeća izgrađivao unutar druge (islamske) "neeuropske" civilizacijske cjeline. Unutar Starog kontinenta pronađeni su barbari, nalik onim izvanoeuropskim. Putopisi su novi način zapadnoeuropskog osvajanja svijeta. U 18. stoljeću je nova i perspektiva prostora i vremena. Putopisci konstruiraju prizmu gledanja, procjenjivanja i klasifikacije u skladu sa svojim vremenom. Intrigantno je da se ona zadržava i kasnije, kad gubi romantičarski "couleur locale" i filozofski aspekt koji ju je kreirao. Morlaci, izvučeni iz svoje "divljine", zadržavaju obilježja barbarstva definirana u 18. stoljeću, te u kasnijim europskim diskursima, ali s novim interpretativnim predznakom. Morlaci (Hrvati) pronalaze se u dominantnim europskim standardima percepcije, te autoidentifikaciju i vlastitu vrijednost traže u europskoj identifikaciji i vrednovanju.