

Dalmacija očima stranaca / *Dalmatia through foreign eyes*



DALMACIJA

očima stranaca

DALMATIA

through foreign eyes

Svein Mønnesland



ZAGREB, 2011.

DALMACIJA OČIMA STRANACA
DALMATIA THROUGH FOREIGN EYES

Urednik / Editor: Tonko Maroević

Nakladnici / Published by:

Fidipid d.o.o	&	Sypress Forlag
Preradovićeva 21		P.O.B. 2 Blindern
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OIB 76812093556		www.sypress.no

Za nakladnike / Publishers:

Slobodan Delalić, Kirsten Bredsdorff Mønnesland

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Grafička priprema i prijelom / Layout: Svein Mønnesland, Sypress Forlag
Tipografija / Typography: Matjaž Vipotnik, Ljubljana
Dizajn omota / Cover design: Ana Hruškar Varović, Denona d. o. o., Zagreb

Prijevod / Translations: Svein Mønnesland

Lektura / Language-editing: Ivo Pranjković, Ann Phillips

Tisak / Printed by

Denona d.o.o., Getaldićeva 1, 10000 Zagreb

Printed in Croatia

ISBN 978-953-7542-09-2

CIP zapis dostupan u računalnome katalogu
Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu pod brojem 757464

Knjiga je izdana uz pomoć Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske
i tvrtki P.P.K. Nekretnine d.o.o., Edge Capital, CROATIA osiguranje d.d. i Dalekovod d.d.

The book is published with financial support from the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia
and the firms P.P.K. Nekretnine d.o.o., Edge Capital, CROATIA osiguranje d.d. and Dalekovod d.d.

Slika na naslovnoj stranici:

Eugen Adam, "Dalmatinski seljaci kod izvora" (detalj), 1869. Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, Kalifornija

Cover:

Eugen Adam, "Dalmatian Peasants at the Spring" (detail), 1869. Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, CA

ZRCALO ADRIJANSKO

U svojoj ljubavi prema zavičajnoj nam Dalmaciji nerijetko smo izloženi napasti pretjerivanja: katkad nam se ona čini značajnim europskim prostorom, takoreći “pupkom sredozemnog svijeta”, a koji put pak padamo u kušnju nijekanja svake joj univerzalnije mjere, svjesni njezine malenosti i velike sjene koju na nju bacaju nedaleki kulturni svjetionici poput Atene i Carigrada, Venecije i Rima, Budimpešte i Beča. U svakom slučaju prirodno osjećamo potrebu odmjeriti se i s tuđim pogledima na naš prostor, razmotriti saldo inozemnih putnika i namjernika, usporediti vlastito viđenje s onim kako nas drugi vide, u nadi da ćemo tako doći do objektivnije slike položaja i značenja Dalmacije u općenitijim kulturalnim koordinatama.

Knjiga Sveina Mønneslanda “Dalmacija očima stranaca” dobro nam dolazi da monološku poziciju zamijenimo dijaloškom sviješću. Istraživanjima u nizu svjetskih knjižnica i arhiva, zaslužni je znanstvenik okupio impresivnu građu raznovrsnih svjedočanstava od preko stotinu različitih autora (putopisaca i vedutista, arheologa i etnografa, pustolova i hodočasnika, moreplovaca i graditelja, prirodoslovaca i novinskih izvjestitelja), a nastalu u rasponu od gotovo čitavoga tisućljeća (između 1154. i 1925. godine). Osim izrazite skrupuloznosti i pouzdane metodičnosti norveški je slavist unio u ovo izdanje i nemalu oslobođenost od bilo kakvih predrasuda, a posebno i od mogućih susjedskih presizanja ili pre naglašavanja utjecaja (što mogu određivati optiku italocentričnog ili austrofilnog pristupa).

Zahvalni Mønneslandu na empatiji i ljubavi koju je unio u otkrivanje povijesnih izvora o izgledu i odjeku naše zavičajne postojbine, primamo knjigu kao novo zrcalo u kojemu se možemo ogledati. To zrcalo nije namijenjeno ni zadovoljavanju našega narcizma, a bogme niti hranjenju našega kompleksa manje vrijednosti. Naime, ni ono nije niti može biti objektivno, premda kao mozaik mnogobrojnih subjektivnih viđenja i nataloženo iskustvo gotovo milenijskoga trajanja ima težinu dragocjenih pobuda. A slikari i pisci što se zatekoše u dalmatinskim gradovima i selima ostaviše plodove svojih posebnih zanimanja i predilekcija u skladu s duhom vremena i/ili potrebama struke kojom su se bavili.

Ako i nismo mogli dobiti egzaktnu i točnu sliku svih slojeva prirodnog okoliša i društvenog, kulturnog bića nekadašnje Dalmacije, raspoložemo nizovima dragocjenih detalja što valoriziraju antički supstrat i maritimne pogodnosti, slikovite krajolike i “egzotičnu” nošnju, zanimljive običaje i dramatične okolnosti, urbane ambijente i planinske, “morlačke” zakutke. Nekim se došljacima i prolaznicima naš zavičaj ponajprije ukazivao kao zemlja klasičnih tragova i grčko-rimske tradicije, a drugima radije kao teritorij romantične evazije i svježih, nekonvencionalne ljepote. U svakom slučaju, međutim, imamo dodatne argumente za neravnodušan odnos prema prostoru u kojemu smo odnjihani, prema “malom starinskom svijetu” što smo ga naslijedili s obavezom da ga očuvamo i kao ravnopravan dio svjetske baštine.

Tonko Maroević

ADRIATIC IMAGES

In our love for Dalmatia, we may be inclined to exaggerate. Dalmatia can sometimes seem an important part of Europe, for its size, at the very centre of the Mediterranean world, as it were. At others, her relative importance pales before the faraway beacons of Athens, Constantinople, Venice, Rome, Budapest or Vienna. At all events, our perception of our homeland needs to be tempered and weighed against those of foreign visitors and travellers. Only then can we arrive at something approaching a balanced and objective picture of Dalmatia's role and place in wider cultural relations.

This book by Svein Mønnesland, “Dalmatia through foreign eyes”, is a welcome addition to what has hitherto been a singular voice. By trawling foreign libraries and archives, this renowned researcher has collected an impressive and diverse array of individual testimonies drawn from more than a hundred sources covering travel writers, archaeologists, ethnographers, adventurers and pilgrims, sailors and builders, natural scientists and men and women of letters between the period of 1154 and 1925. This work by the Norwegian Slavist scholar is not only scrupulous, thorough, and free from all prejudice, but also distanced from the sometimes distorting influences of our nearer neighbours with their Italocentric or Austrophile bias.

We can be grateful to Mønnesland for the loving and empathic way in which he has garnered these historical sources about our homeland and how it has been perceived: he has given us a mirror to hold up to ourselves; a mirror neither to satisfy our narcissism, nor to nourish any inferiority complex. Not necessarily a true mirror image, but one that carries a mosaic of myriad subjective images and successive experiences over almost a millennium, a treasure-trove of valuable insights and feelings. The artists and writers who visited our Dalmatian towns and villages have left us the fruit of their individual interests and predilections, all in the context and spirit of their age and professions.

Obviously we do not have a comprehensive, accurate portrayal of the environmental, social and cultural essence of Dalmatia throughout history. What we do have, however, is a wealth of detail about the substrata of our antiquity; the sea and seaboard life; our picturesque landscapes and “exotic” costumes; our customs and habits; the dramatic moments that have punctuated our history; our urban environments and the mountainous Morlack hideaways. Some visitors found our homeland to be first and foremost a country of classical squares and Greco-Roman heritage, while others found it more a place of romantic evasion and fresh, unconventional beauty. In any case, Mønnesland has provided us with material to engage with the land where we were born and cradled, with the small, lost world that we have inherited, and which we have an obligation to protect as a fully-fledged part of world heritage.

Tonko Maroević

Member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts



Dalmacija na zemljovidu
 V. M. Coronellija,
 Venecija, 1696.

Map of Dalmatia by
 Vincenzo Maria
 Coronelli,
 Venice, 1696

Dalmacija očima stranaca

Za suvremene posjetitelje Dalmacije, u doba masovnog turizma, teško je vjerovati da je Dalmacija bila vrlo slabo poznata u Europi sve do nedavno. To zvuči čudno s obzirom na geografski položaj Dalmacije, toliko blizu Italije i zemalja Srednje Europe. Ali još početkom dvadesetog stoljeća putnici su javljali da je Dalmacija manje poznata od Afrike, da je ovo “Bliski istok”, “divlja Europa”, “rub Orijenta” i sl.

Razlog tome je činjenica da je Dalmacija bila udaljeni dio velikih država, koje nisu obraćale mnogo pozornosti ovoj pokrajini. I za Veneciju i za Austriju Dalmacija je bila periferija, tako da je stoljećima bila manje-više zaboravljena. Neki stanovnici Dalmacije možda bi rekli da takvo stanje traje skoro do danas, osjećajući da je jadranska obala bila zapostavljena i u Jugoslaviji. Zato je valjda moguće predstavljati Dalmaciju u turističkoj promociji kao “Mediteran kakav je nekad bio”.

Što je Dalmacija? Uzak pojas na istočnom kopnu Jadrana, ograničen visokim planinama na istoku, a otocima na zapadu. Ali koliko se prostire prema sjeveru i jugu? Na to nije lako odgovoriti, jer se pojam Dalmacije mijenjao tijekom povijesti. Neka područja koja se danas obično ne ubrajaju u Dalmaciju, ranije su joj pripadala. Najistaknutiji povjesničar Dalmacije Grga Novak (*Prošlost Dalmacije* I, II, 1944, 2004) smatra da povijesnu Dalmaciju čini ono što je bilo u venecijanskom posjedu i ono što je imala Dubrovačka Republika, od otoka Raba skoro do Bara, u današnjoj Crnoj Gori. Ovdje ćemo na sličan način definirati Dalmaciju od otoka Paga do Paštrovića južno od Budve.

Je li Dalmacija više od geografskog pojma? Svakako, jer ima svoju specifičnu kulturu, koja je proizvod zajedničke povijesti i posebnog načina života. Život blizu mora, u krševitom krajoliku, gdje su masline i grožđe bili glavni poljoprivredni proizvodi, bez svake sumnje ostavlja svoj trag u kulturi i mentalitetu. Glavna zanimanja uz poljoprivredu – ribolov i pomorstvo – stvorili su poseban mentalitet. Sve to predstavlja specifičnost Dalmacije. Istovremeno Dalmacija pripada široj mediteranskoj kulturi.

Međutim, ima i kulturnih razlika unutar regije. Najupadljivija razlika, koju su putnici često uočavali, jest između obalnog stanovništva i stanovnika unutrašnjosti. Ljudi koji su živjeli dalje od mora, u brdovitim predjelima, tradicionalno su nazvani Morlacima ili Vlasima (Vlajima). Njihovu kulturu stranci su izučavali s velikim zanimanjem, jer su je smatrali egzotičnom i daleko od onoga što su inače poznavali u Europi.

Postoji i razlika u govoru, jer sjeverno od nekadašnje Dubrovačke Republike, otočani govore starinskim čakavskim govorom, tj. od Korčule prema sjeveru. Na jugu, i na većem dijelu kopna, govori se štokavski. Ali tu lingvističku razliku strani posjetitelji nisu zapazili.

Dalmatia through foreign eyes

For contemporary visitors to Dalmatia, in this age of mass tourism to the region, it is hard to believe that Dalmatia was so little known in the rest of Europe until quite recently. All the more strange, perhaps, given the geographical position of Dalmatia, so close as it is to Italy and other countries in Central Europe. But as late as at the turn of the 19th century, travellers were writing that Dalmatia was less known than Africa, that this was “the Near East” or “Wild Europe”, and making similar such statements.

The reason for this is the fact that Dalmatia was always a remote region of a larger political entity, a far-flung part of an Empire whose capital paid it little heed. For both the Venetians and the Austrians, Dalmatia was the periphery, and was more or less forgotten for centuries. Some Dalmatians would probably even contend that this state of affairs persists today, insofar as the Adriatic coast was more or less neglected during the Yugoslavia years. This is why Dalmatia can still be advertised as “The Mediterranean as it once was”.

What is Dalmatia? It is a narrow strip of land on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, bordered by high mountains to the East, and comprised of islands to the West. But how far to the North and South does it stretch? There is no easy answer, because the notion of Dalmatia itself has changed over time. Some areas not usually considered part of Dalmatia today belonged to Dalmatia in earlier times. Often the historical Dalmatia is said to comprise all that had been in the possession the Republics of Venice and Dubrovnik. This sets a geographical definition of Dalmatia stretching from the island of Pag in the North to the area to the south of Budva in present-day Montenegro. This definition is also that proposed by Grga Novak, the foremost historian of Dalmatia.

But is Dalmatia more than simply a geographical notion? Indisputably, yes! It has its own specific culture, stemming from a common history and way of life. Both coastal life, where fishing and sailing were the main occupations, and life inland on the rocky landscape where olives and grapes are the mainstays of agriculture, have undoubtedly left their marks on culture and mentality. To this extent, Dalmatia is specific, but also clearly part of the broader Mediterranean civilization.

There are, however, a number of cultural differences within the region. The most striking, often noted by foreigners, is the difference between the coastal population and the inlanders. The inlanders, dwelling in the mountainous parts, away from the sea, were traditionally called Morlacks (Morlacchi) or Vlachs (Vlaji). Their culture was studied with great interest by foreigners, since it was considered exotic and far from the European mainstream.

There are also differences in dialect, but that was not observed by foreign visitors.

Povijest

Povijest Dalmacije u znaku je strane dominacije. U antičko doba Dalmacija je bila u sklopu ilirskog kraljevstva, dio gdje je obitavalo ilirsko pleme Delmatae, po kojemu je zemlja dobila ime. Ime Ilirikum (Ilirija) ostalo je i dalje kao naziv za Dalmaciju. Neke otoke vrlo rano su naselili Grci i tamo stvorili svoje kolonije (Issa-Vis, Pharos-Hvar). Nakon dugotrajnih ratova Rimljani su uspjeli pobijediti Ilire, te je Dalmacija postala rimska provincija, prostirući se sve do Dunava. Uz obalu su bili važni rimski gradovi. Najistaknutiji su bili Iader (Zadar), Salona (blizu Splita) i Naron (na Neretvi). Stanovništvo je uglavnom bilo romanizirano. Nakon pada Rima Dalmacijom su vladali bizantinski carevi. Na kraju šestoga stoljeća invazija barbarskih plemena promijenila je etnički sustav, a najbrojniji su bili Slaveni. Dalmacija je ostala pod utjecajem Bizanta, a slavenski Hrvati prihvatili su kršćanstvo u devetom stoljeću.

U desetom i jedanaestom stoljeću Dalmacija je bila središte hrvatskog kraljevstva, a glavni su gradovi bili Nin i Biograd. Kad je Mađarska postala velikom silom u tom dijelu Europe, Hrvatska je bila pripojena mađarskom kraljevstvu. Za dug period (1102–1420) Dalmacija je uglavnom bila uključena u Mađarsku, ali cijelo vrijeme Venecija je to osporavala. Venecijanci su najviše držali grad Zadar. Dalmatinski gradovi bili su organizirani kao samostalne komune, a postupno su postajali sve više slavenski (hrvatski), kad je staro romansko stanovništvo (koje je govorilo dalmatinski jezik) s vremenom bilo asimilirano.

Rasla je moć Mletačke Republike, te je od prve polovice petnaestog stoljeća cijela Dalmacija, osim Dubrovačke Republike, bila pod kontrolom Venecije. Mletačka vladavina trajala je skoro četiri stoljeća (1420–1797). Za to doba Dalmacija je predstavljala značajan dio teritorija Republike sv. Marka. Venecijanski utjecaj je bio jak, u arhitekturi i kulturi. Ali je Dalmacija nastavila svoj tradicionalni način života. Usprkos činjenici da je talijanski bio službeni jezik, Venecijanci nisu pokušavali jezično asimilirati Dalmatince, a samo se mali broj Venecijanaca tu i naselio. Venecijancima je Dalmacija prije svega bila važna zbog luka koje su im bile potrebne za plovidbu po Jadranu prema Mediteranu. A potrebni su im bili i Dalmatinci kao mornari i radna snaga. Osim toga Dalmacija je proizvodila za Veneciju velike količine maslinovog ulja i vina.

Nakon turskog osvajanja Bosne 1463. godine Dalmacija je postala izložena ekspanziji Osmanskog Carstva. U šesnaestom stoljeću Dalmacija je stalno bila pod prijetnjom osmanlijskih pohoda. God. 1521. Turci su osvojili Knin, a 1537. tvrđavu Klis, odmah do Splita. Granica prema Osmanskom Carstvu išla je samo nekoliko kilometara od Zadra i Šibenika. Obala, čak i otoci, doživjeli su turske napade. Venecijanci su gradili jaka utvrđenja, od kojih se posebno izdvaja tvrđava u gradu Hvaru, da bi se branili od turskih napadaja, a mnogi gradovi bili su utvrđeni jakim bedemima. Čak su i neke crkve građene kao tvrđave.

Bez obzira na takvo stanje dalmatinski gradovi postali su kulturnim centrima s bogatom književnošću i umjetnošću. Najvažnija kulturna središta bili su Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Hvar i Dubrovnik. Utjecaji talijanske renesanse spojili su se sa slavenskim kulturnim tradicijama da bi se stvorila specifična

dalmatinska literatura i umjetnost. Turska opasnost uglavnom je prestala pomorskom bitkom pri Lepantu 1571. godine, kad su Venecija i njeni saveznici pobijedili osmansku mornaricu. U bici su sudjelovali mnogi Dalmatinci.

Za cijelo vrijeme mletačkog vladanja Dalmacijom Dubrovačka Republika (Ragusa) uspjela je zadržati svoju samostalnost. Ova mala republika bila je ovisna o trgovini s Balkanom, te je plaćala danak Turcima, koji se međutim nikad nisu miješali u unutarnje stvari Republike. Dubrovnik je razvio svoju vlastitu kulturu, a bio je i sastavni dio šire dalmatinske kulture.

U sedamnaestom i osamnaestom stoljeću bilo je ratova između Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog Carstva, te je Venecija dobila nova područja u dalmatinskom zaleđu. God. 1699, Karlovačkim mirom, Venecija je dobila teritorijalno proširenje, takozvano *nuovo acquisto*, a 1718. godine, Požarevačkim mirom, drugi dio teritorija, *nuovissimo acquisto*. Na taj način dalmatinsko zaleđe, Zagora, bilo je uključeno u Mletačku Republiku, i time otvoreno za strane putnike. Upravo na tom području stranci su naišli na egzotično seosko stanovništvo koje su zvali Morlacima ili Vljajima.

Za mletačke vladavine Dalmacija je ostala zapuštena, osim nekih luka. Dalmatinsko zaleđe bilo je izrazito zaostalo. Naročito su ceste bile u očajnom stanju, neprohodne za kola, jedino prikladne za konje, magarce i mule.

God. 1797, kao rezultat Napoleonovih ratova, Mletačka je Republika pala, te je slijedio uzburkan period. Austrija je postala vladarom Dalmacije nekoliko godina (1797–1805). Nakon Trafalgarske bitke 1805. godine Britanci su preuzeli kontrolu nad otokom Visom, te je zadržali skoro deset godina. Nakon poraza Austrije kod Austerlitz Dalmaciju su predali Napoleonu, a bila je uključena u njegovo “Kraljevstvo Italija” (1806–1808). Dubrovnik je izgubio svoju samostalnost. God. 1806–7. Rusija je preuzela kontrolu nad nekim dijelovima Dalmacije, a 1808. godine Austrija je ratovala protiv Francuske preuzevši velike dijelove Dalmacije. Ali nakon mira u Schönbrunnu u listopadu 1809. Dalmacija je ostala u Napoleonovim rukama. Sad je Dalmacija uključena u Napoleonove “Ilirske provincije” (1809–1815), koje su obuhvaćale i druga hrvatska i slovenska područja. Francuzi su mnogo učinili da bi unaprijedili gospodarstvo, infrastrukturu, prosvjetu i pravni sustav u periodu dok su vladali (1806–1813). Jedno kraće vrijeme 1813–1814. dijelovi Dalmacije pripadali su i Engleskoj.

U razdoblju od 1815. do 1918. godine Dalmacija je bila provincija Habsburškog Carstva, uključena u austrijski dio. Tijekom mnogih desetljeća Austrijanci su napravili vrlo malo da bi razvili svoju najjužniju provinciju. Austrija nije bila pomorska sila, te se nije mnogo zanimala za svoja nova područja uz jadransku obalu. Putnici iz tog doba uglavnom izvještavaju o austrijskoj nemarnosti prema Dalmaciji i o zaostalosti zemlje. Talijanski je utjecaj još uvijek bio jak, s talijanskim jezikom kao službenim. Sad je počela borba za hrvatski jezik i kulturu, a i to su primijetili neki stranci.

Tek na kraju stoljeća, nakon što je Austro-Ugarska okupirala Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1878. godine, postavši više zainteresirana za

A historical overview

The history of Dalmatia is characterized by foreign rule. In Antiquity, it was a part of the Illyrian kingdom, inhabited by the Illyrian tribe Delmatae, after whom the country got its name. The name Illyricum (Illyria) survived as a denomination for Dalmatia. Some islands were colonized early on by the Greeks (Issa-Vis, Pharos-Hvar). After prolonged wars, the Romans managed to conquer the Illyrians, and Dalmatia became a Roman province, stretching as far as the Danube. Important Roman towns were located along the coast, of which Iader (Zadar), Salona (near Split) and Naron (on the Neretva) are the most significant. The population was Romanized. After the fall of Rome, Dalmatia was ruled by the Byzantine emperors. At the turn of the sixth century, invading tribes changed the ethnic composition, the most numerous being the Slavs. The Slavic Croats were converted to Christianity in the ninth century. Dalmatia remained under the influence of the Byzantine Empire.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Dalmatia was the centre of the Kingdom of Croatia, the main towns being Nin and Biograd, near Zadar. When Hungary became a power in the region, Croatia was included in the Hungarian Kingdom. For a long time (1102–1420) Dalmatia belonged more or less to Hungary, although continually contested by Venice. The town of Zadar was mostly held by the Venetians. All major Dalmatian towns were organized as autonomous communes, gradually becoming predominantly Slavic (Croatian), and assimilating the old Romance population (speaking the Dalmatic language).

The strength of the Republic of Venice was growing, and from early in the fifteenth century, the whole of Dalmatia, except Dubrovnik, was in the possession of Venice. The Venetian rule lasted for almost four hundred years (1420–1797). Dalmatia constituted a considerable part of the Republic's territory. The Venetian influence was strong, in both architecture and culture. But Dalmatia continued its traditional way of life. Although the official language was Italian, the Venetians did not try to Italianize Dalmatia and few Venetians settled there. The Venetians were mostly interested in Dalmatia because of the harbours they needed on their way southwards into the Mediterranean. And they needed Dalmatians as sailors and as a work force. In addition, Dalmatia yielded rich quantities of olives and grapes.

Following the Turkish conquest of Bosnia in 1463, Dalmatia became exposed to Ottoman expansionism. In the 16th century Dalmatia was constantly under Turkish threat. In 1521, the town of Knin was taken by the Ottomans, as was in 1537 the fortress of Klis, just outside Split. The border with the Ottoman Empire ran only a few kilometres from the towns of Zadar and Šibenik. The coastal areas, and even the islands experienced Turkish attack. In order to resist Turkish assault, the Venetians built strong fortresses, notably that in the town of Hvar, and towns were fortified with strong walls. Even some churches were built as fortresses.

Nevertheless, the Dalmatian towns became cultural centres with flourishing literature and art. In centres such as Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Hvar and Dubrovnik aspects of the Italian Renaissance were merged with Slavic culture to form specific Dalmatian literature and art.

The Turkish threat was effectively reduced at the sea battle of Lepanto in 1571, when Venice and her allies defeated the Ottoman Turks. Many Dalmatians participated in the battle.

Throughout the period of Venetian dominance in Dalmatia, the Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) managed to retain its independence. This tiny republic was dependant on trade with the Balkans, and whilst the Ottomans throughout demanded the payment of taxes, they never interfered in the Republic's internal affairs. Dubrovnik developed its own culture, both apart from and integral to a broader Dalmatian culture.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were several wars between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire, and Venice acquired new territory in the Dalmatian hinterland. In 1699, at the peace treaty of Carlowitz, Venice gained some inland regions, the so-called *nuovo acquisto*, and in 1718, with the Treaty of Passarowitz, another strip of territory, the *nuovissimo acquisto*. In this way, the Dalmatian hinterland, Zagora, was included in the Republic, and thus opened up to foreign travellers. It was in this area that foreigners discovered the exotic rural population called Morlacks.

During the Venetian rule Dalmatia remained neglected except for some ports. Mainland Dalmatia was very backward. The roads, in particular, were in a lamentable condition, inaccessible to wagons, fit only for horses, donkeys and mules.

In 1797, as a result of the Napoleonic wars, the Venetian Republic fell, and a turbulent period followed. Austria became ruler of Dalmatia for some years (1797–1805). After the battle of Trafalgar in 1805, the British took control of the island of Vis, retaining it more or less for ten years. Following Austria's defeat at Austerlitz, Dalmatia was rendered to Napoleon, and included in his Kingdom of Italy (1806–1808). Dubrovnik lost its independence. In 1806–7 Russia took possession of some parts of Dalmatia, and in 1808 Austria waged war against France and took large areas, but the peace treaty of Schönbrunn in October 1809, confirmed Dalmatia as within Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces (1809–1815), which also comprised other parts of Croatian and Slovenian lands. The French did much to develop the economy, infrastructure, education and legal system during this period. For a short period in 1813–1814, parts of Dalmatia belonged to England.

From 1815 to 1918 Dalmatia was a province of the Habsburg Empire and Vienna became the new capital. For many decades, the Austrians did remarkably little to develop this southernmost province. Austria was not a naval power and was not much interested in these new possessions along the Adriatic. Most travellers from this period report Austrian negligence and the backwardness of the country. The Italian influence subsisted, Italian being the official language of Dalmatia. It was at this point that the struggle for the Croatian language and culture began, as was observed by some foreigners.

Only at the end of the century, after the Austro-Hungarian Empire had occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, and was thus encouraged to take greater interest in the region, did some improvements come Dalmatia's way. In this period Austria-Hungary invested in infrastructure and developed the educational system. Dalmatia was included in the rich Habsburg culture,

tu regiju, došlo je do izvjesnog poboljšanja i u Dalmaciji. U to doba Austro-Ugarska je investirala u infrastrukturu i razvila školstvo. Dalmacija je bila uključena u bogatu habsburšku kulturu, koja je zračila iz glavnog grada Beča. Napokon, 1918. godine Dalmacija se priključila novoj Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, od 1929. godine nazvanoj Jugoslavijom. Ali tu prestaje naše putovanje kroz Dalmaciju viđenu očima stranaca.

Putnici

Ova knjiga pokriva najznačajnije putopise iz Dalmacije od 1154. godine do 1925. Težište je na opisima s ilustracijama, jer slike često govore više od riječi. Uključeni su jedino umjetnički prilozi, crteži, gravire, akvareli i sl., a ne fotografije. Do sada ima sistematskih istraživanja jedino o njemačkim putopiscima, u dvjema knjigama Ivana Pederina (*Njemački putopisi po Dalmaciji*, 1989. i *Jadranska Hrvatska u austrijskim i njemačkim putopisima*, 1991, u kojima su samo tekstovi, bez ilustracija). Nema sličnih istraživanja o putopiscima s drugih jezičnih područja. (Knjiga *Britanski putnici u Dalmaciji* autorice Sonie Wild Bićanić obuhvaća samo pet putnika.) Temeljit opis zanimanja Venecije za Dalmaciju daje knjiga na engleskom *Venecija i Slaveni* koju je napisao Larry Wolff (2001).

Prvi poznat putnik u Dalmaciju možda je sv. Pavao, kad piše (Rimljani 15:19) da je propovijedao evanđelje “od Jeruzalema i naokolo do Ilirika”. Ali nije opisao svoje putovanje.

Najraniji opis, iako kratak, dalmatinskih gradova dao je arapski geograf al-Idrisi, koji je 1154. godine izradio svoj čuveni zemljovid za normanskog kralja na Siciliji. Njegov zemljovid je neobičan, jer je vidio Europu naglavce, s jugom prema gore.

Među najranijim putnicima po Dalmaciji bili su križari, koji su obično polazili iz Venecije na putu prema Svetoj zemlji. Kad je vojska četvrte križarske vojne napustila Veneciju 1202. godine, prvo je osvojila kršćanski grad Zadar, ostala tamo mjesecima dok ga nije uništila, polazeći za Carigrad. Ovu čudnu križarsku vojnu detaljno je opisao francuski plemić Villehardoin, i to je prvi opis jednog dalmatinskog grada.

U periodu od petnaestog do sedamnaestog stoljeća većina posjetitelja Dalmacije bili su ljudi iz zapadne Europe koji su, iz različitih razloga, plovili uz istočnu stranu Jadrana, radi trgovine, hodočašća ili diplomacije. Mnogi su bili Talijani, a bilo je i Engleza i Nijemaca. U to doba Dalmaciju su doživjeli ljudi koji nisu prvenstveno bili zainteresirani za ovo područje, već koji su boravili izvjesno vrijeme tamo na putu prema Istoku.

Izuzetak je opis turskog putnika Evlije Čelebije, koji je u drugoj polovici sedamnaestog stoljeća posjetio Dalmaciju tijekom svojih dugotrajnih putovanja po Balkanu. Njegov je pogled s druge strane, s osmanske. Za njega dalmatinski gradovi predstavljaju neprijatelja, Veneciju.

Tijekom petnaestog i šesnaestog stoljeća Venecija je obično bila polazište za hodočašća u Svetu zemlju. Smjer putovanja bio je uz istočnu jadransku obalu, gdje su išli i trgovinski putovi prema Istoku. Obično su hodočasnici posjećivali, ili bili primorani posjetiti, dalmatinske luke. Više hodočasnika napisalo je putopise, a uključeni su u ovu knjigu Talijani Pietro Casola i fra Noè, Englez John Locke i Nijemac Konrad von Grünemberg.

Grünembergov opis iz 1486. godine bogato je ilustriran. Premda njegove vedute dalmatinskih gradova nikako nisu egzaktne, daju dragocjene informacije, a imaju i vrlo visoku umjetničku vrijednost.

U sedamnaestom stoljeću zapadni diplomati koji su putovali u Carigrad često su išli brodom iz Venecije do Dubrovnika, a zatim kopnenim putem preko Trebinja, Novog Pazara, Niša i Sofije do Carigrada. Nekoliko takvih putopisa daje opise Dubrovnika i drugih mjesta u Dalmaciji. U ovoj su knjizi tekstovi koje su napisali Francuzi Nicolas de Nicolay i Quiclet. Drugi putnici bili su jednostavno avanturisti koji su putovali na Bliski istok. Među njima su Englezi William Lithgow i Henry Blount. Prvi temeljitiji opis Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu dao je britanski botaničar George Wheeler i njegov francuski suputnik, arheolog Jacques Spon oko 1670. godine. Oni su i prvi spomenuli morlačko stanovništvo u unutrašnjosti Dalmacije, pošto su sreli Morlake na tržnici u Zadru (“Strašno izgledaju”). Prvi koji je crtao točne vedute dalmatinskih gradova na licu mjesta bio je venecijanski vojni inženjer Guisepppe Santini 1666. godine.

Venecijance su najviše zanimali plovidbeni smjerovi i dalmatinske luke, tako da je izdano mnogo kartografskih radova sa zemljovidima i vedutama dalmatinskih gradova. Takve su radove objavljivali ne samo Talijani, već i nizozemski, francuski i njemački kartografi.

Nije bio čest slučaj da neki događaj u Dalmaciji pobudi europsko zanimanje. Izuzetak je katastrofalni potres u Dubrovniku 1667. godine. Čak u dalekom Londonu izdana je posebna knjižica o katastrofi, iste godine kad se ona i dogodila.

Svi putopisi do osamnaestog stoljeća pružaju manje-više površne informacije. Prvi je znanstveni opis dalmatinskih realnosti monumentalna knjiga koju je izdao škotski arhitekt Robert Adam 1757. godine. Detaljno je izučavao Dioklecijanovu palaču u Splitu. Njegovi su crteži sjajni, a pridonijeli su utjecaju rimske arhitekture na englesku i europsku arhitekturu toga vremena. Skoro su istog standarda crteži Francuza Louisa François Cassasa, dva desetljeća kasnije. On je pokrio cijelu Dalmaciju, ne samo Split.

Međutim, prvi znanstveni opis dalmatinske prirode i kulture bila je knjiga *Put u Dalmaciju* koju je napisao talijanski opat Alberto Fortis 1774. godine. Iako su ga najviše zanimale prirodne znanosti, Fortisov rad, u dvije knjige, bila je prva antropološka studija, skoro u suvremenom smislu, koja je opisivala život zagorskih Dalmatinaca, koje je zvao Morlacima. Ovi ‘novi Dalmatinci’ uz bosansku granicu živjeli su polunomadskim životom, mnogi su bili pravoslavci. Fortisova knjiga prevedena je brzo na sve glavne europske jezike, i tako je Dalmacija postala poznata školovanim Europljanima u doba prosvijećenosti. Njegov prijepis narodne balade o Hasanaginici preveli su čak Goethe, Walter Scott i drugi. Prosvijećenu Europu zanimalo je prvenstveno egzotični život u “divljim planinama” dalje od Jadranskoga mora, a ne toliko “civilizirana” obala. Kad je Švedanin Samuel Ödman preveo Fortisa na švedski 1792. godine, uključio je jedino dio o Morlacima.

Tako, tijekom druge polovice osamnaestog stoljeća Dalmacija je postala poznata u Europi, ali iz dva različita

radiating from the capital Vienna. Finally, in 1918, after the First World War, Dalmatia was joined to the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which from 1929 became Yugoslavia, and so we come to the end of our journey through Dalmatia as seen through foreign eyes.

Travellers to Dalmatia

This book relates the most important travel accounts of Dalmatia from 1154 until 1925. The focus is on descriptions accompanied by illustrations, since, as they say, a picture can tell a thousand words. Only artistic contributions – drawings, engravings, watercolours – have been included, and not photographs.

German-speaking travellers in Dalmatia have been treated by Ivan Pederin, in two volumes (only texts, no illustrations), but there are no similar accounts of travellers from other parts of Europe. (The book *British Travellers in Dalmatia* by Sonia Wild Bićanić comprises only five travellers). A comprehensive account of Venice's interest in Dalmatia is to be found in *Venice and the Slavs* by Larry Wolff (2001).

The first known traveller to Dalmatia may have been St. Paul, who recounts (*Romans* 15:19) that he preached the gospel “from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum”. But he did not describe his journey. Though brief, the earliest description of Dalmatian towns is provided by the Arabic geographer al-Idrisi, who in 1154 created his famous map of the known world for the Norman king in Sicily. His map is unusual and curious, in that he portrayed Europe ‘upside down’, South being upwards.

Some of the earliest visitors to Dalmatia were the Crusaders who usually set out from Venice. When the Fourth Crusade left Venice in 1202, they first took the Christian town of Zadar, staying there for months before destroying it and then leaving for Constantinople. This somewhat strange ‘Crusade’ was described in detail by the French nobleman Villehardoin, who thus recorded the first description of a visit to a Dalmatian town.

From the 15th to the 17th century, most visitors to Dalmatia were Westerners sailing the Eastern shore of the Adriatic and motivated either by trade, pilgrimage or diplomacy. Many of these were Italians, but there were also some Englishmen and Germans. In those days, Dalmatia is observed and recorded through the eyes of Westerners not as a destination, but as a region of passage on their way eastward.

One exception to this is the account given by the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi, who in the second half of the 17th century, visited Dalmatia during his extensive travels in the Balkans. His view is from the other side, as it were, the non-European Ottoman. For him, the Dalmatian towns represented the enemy, Venice.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, Venice was usually the starting point for pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The route followed the Eastern Adriatic coast, already the established trade route, and generally the pilgrims visited, or were forced to visit, the harbours of Dalmatia. Several wrote travel accounts, and included in this volume are those from the Italians Pietro Casola and fra Noè, the Englishman John Locke and the German Konrad von Grünemberg. Grünemberg's account (1486) is richly illustrated. Although these illustrations of Dalmatian towns are

arguably far from exact, they offer much useful detail and have intrinsic artistic value.

In the 17th century, Western diplomats travelling to Constantinople often sailed from Venice to Dubrovnik, and then continued overland via Trebinje, Novi Pazar, Niš and Sofia to Constantinople. Several of their accounts give descriptions of Dubrovnik and other places in Dalmatia. Included here are texts by the Frenchmen Nicolas de Nicolay and Quiclet. Other travellers were mere adventurers, travelling to the Near East. Among them are the Englishmen William Lithgow and Henry Blount. The first thorough description of Diocletian's Palace in Split was made by the British botanist George Wheler and his French companion, the archaeologist Jacques Spon in the 1670's. They were also the first to mention the Morlack population of inland Dalmatia, whom they met at the marketplace of Zadar (“They have a terrible look”). The first person to make accurate drawings of Dalmatian towns on the spot was the Venetian military engineer Guiseppe Santini, in 1666.

Venetian travellers were mostly interested in the sailing routes and in harbours of Dalmatia, and they published several cartographic works containing maps and views of Dalmatian towns, as did Dutch, French and German cartographers.

Seldom did events in Dalmatia arouse European interest. One notable exception though was the disastrous earthquake in Dubrovnik of 1667, which prompted the contemporary publication in distant London of a special booklet.

All accounts until the 18th century were more or less superficial descriptions. The first scientific description of Dalmatia is contained in the monumental book by the Scottish architect Robert Adam, published in 1757. He produced a detailed study of Diocletian's Palace in Split, with splendid drawings, and brought a strong Roman architectural influence to bear on English and European architecture of the day. Of similar quality are the drawings of the Frenchman Louis François Cassas who, two decades later, covered all of Dalmatia, as well as Split.

However, the first scientific description of the geography, flora and fauna and human culture in Dalmatia was *Viaggio in Dalmazia* by the Italian abbot, Alberto Fortis, in 1774. Although mostly interested in natural sciences, Fortis's work, in two volumes, was the first anthropological study, almost in a modern sense, describing the life of the inland Dalmatians, whom he called Morlacchi. These ‘new Dalmatians’ along the Bosnian border were semi-nomadic herdsmen, many of them Orthodox. Fortis's book was translated into all the major European languages, thus bringing Dalmatia to the attention of enlightened European minds. His rendering of a folk song, ‘Hasanaga's Wife’, was even translated by Goethe and by Sir Walter Scott. It was the exotic life in the “wild mountains” beyond the Adriatic coast that fascinated Enlightenment Europe, rather than the “civilized” coast. When Fortis was translated into Swedish in 1792, by Samuel Ödman, only the part about the Morlacks was included.

Thus, during the second half of the 18th century, Dalmatia became known to Europe, but for two very different aspects: its classical Roman heritage and the wildness of the ‘primitive’ population in its mountainous region.

razloga: antičke (rimске) baštine i “divlje” naravi planinskog stanovništva.

Zbog političkih zbivanja početkom devetnaestog stoljeća Dalmacija, u žarištu velikih sila, bila je jedno kraće vrijeme u središtu pozornosti. U tom uzburkanom periodu knjige su izdavane s političkim ciljem, kao podrška francuskih ili austrijskih aspiracija. Naročito u Francuskoj bilo je zanimanja za njihovu novu provinciju. Ali nakon austrijskog preuzimanja 1815. godine Dalmacija je opet pala u zaborav. Samo će postupno Europa ponovo otkrivati ovo područje.

Većina opisa iz Dalmacije u prvim desetljećima devetnaestog stoljeća obraća pozornost prije svega na etnografski materijal, uglavnom na narodne nošnje. U nekoliko knjiga predstavljene su dalmatinske nošnje, više ili manje ispravno (Moleville, Hacket, Rödlich, Ferrario). Njemački prirodoslovac E. F. Germar dao je u svojoj knjizi *Putovanje u Dalmaciju* 1817. godine podatke ne samo o kukcima, već o stanju u zemlji.

Sredinom devetnaestog stoljeća austrijska kompanija Lloyd počela je s parobrodskim linijama za Dalmaciju. Radi promidžbe Lloyd je dao izraditi seriju veduta, čiji je autor Guiseppe Rieger, a slične vedute izradio je i Johann Högel Müller. Sad su se počele pojavljivati knjige s temeljitijim opisima. Prvi autori sa znanstvenim pristupom bili su Nijemac Stieglitz 1845. i Englez Wilkinson 1848. godine. Wilkinson je bio poznat znanstvenik, potpredsjednik Britanskog društva arhitekata, te je proveo više od godinu dana u Dalmaciji. Važan je bio i Nijemac J. G. Kohl, koji je opisao povijest Dalmacije i način života u njoj. Našao je unutrašnjost Dalmacije divljom i zapuštenom, ali i romantičnom. Kasnije su slijedili Englezi A. A. Paton i W. F. Wingfield, Austrijanac Franz Petter, njemačka spisateljica Ida von Düringsfeld i Engleskinja Emily Beaufort vikontesa Strangford. Neki poznati umjetnici posjetili su Dalmaciju sredinom stoljeća, kao dansko-njemački slikar Louis Gurlitt i njemačko-engleski Carl Haag. Tad su se pojavili i prvi članci u europskim ilustriranim časopisima, kao npr. u njemačkom *Illustrierte Zeitung* (1846), engleskim *Illustrated London News* i *The Graphic*, a i u francuskim časopisima. Ali Dalmacija je još uvijek bila udaljena i egzotična pokrajina, manje-više nepoznata europskoj publici.

U drugoj polovici devetnaestoga stoljeća bilo je nekoliko događaja koji su svratili pozornost na Dalmaciju, iako nije često spominjana u stranim medijima. Pomorska bitka kod Visa 1866. godine, kad je austrijska mornarica pobijedila talijansku, pobudila je veliku pozornost u Europi. Godine 1875. austrijski car Franjo Josip posjetio je Dalmaciju, uz veliki medijski publicitet, čak u engleskim medijima. Ustanak u Bosni iste godine imao je odjeka i u Dalmaciji, jer su stigli i izbjeglice i strani izvjestitelji. Europski ilustrirani časopisi pokrivali su te događaje kao i rat koji je slijedio 1876–1878. Nekoliko izvrsnih umjetnika napravilo je odlične crteže, ne samo s ratišta na Balkanu već i iz Dalmacije, kao Francuzi Charles Yriarte, Théodore Valério i Adolphe d’Avril. I dalmatinsko-hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine dobio je puno prostora u stranim medijima. Naslov jedne knjige iz tog perioda ipak glasi *Iz poluzaboravljene zemlje*.

Nakon austro-ugarske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. godine Dalmacija je došla više u središte pozornosti Austrije.

Napori koje je Austro-Ugarska uložila da bi napredovao gospodarski i kulturni život Bosne i Hercegovine imali su izvjesni odraz i u susjednoj Dalmaciji, iako u manjoj mjeri. Godine 1892. izdana je službena knjiga o Dalmaciji u reprezentativnoj seriji o austro-ugarskim zemljama, s crtežima poznatih umjetnika, među kojima su Hugo Charlemont, Rudolf Bernt, Rudolf von Ottenfeld, Anton Weber, Jacob Emil Schindler i drugi.

U posljednja dva desetljeća devetnaestog stoljeća sve je više stranih posjetitelja. Učenjak iz područja prirodnih znanosti Robert Kretschmer pisao je o ribolovu na Jadranu za Brehmovu prestižnu knjigu o životinjama. Nijemci Alexander von Warsberg i Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, Englezi T. G. Jackson i William Miller i Škot Robert Munro napisali su knjige o Dalmaciji. Austrijski umjetnik Ludwig Hans Fischer napravio je crteže iz svih krajeva Dalmacije, i za Warsbergovu knjigu i za Petermannov opširni vodič po Dalmaciji. Francuski umjetnici Avelot i Nézière napravili su crteže nalik na karikature, s težištem na humorističkoj strani života u Dalmaciji.

U prvom desetljeću dvadesetog stoljeća, u godinama prije Prvog svjetskog rata, nekoliko engleskih i američkih umjetnika i književnika posjetilo je Dalmaciju. Engleski pisci William Royle, J. Hamilton Jackson, Douglas Goldring, Robert Hichens, te Amerikanac Ernest C. Peixotto, pisali su knjige o Dalmaciji, a neki, kao Peixotto, bili su i umjetnici. Bilo je i žena pisaca i umjetnica, kao Engleskinje Maude M. Holbach i Emilie Isabel Russel Barrington. Amerikanka Alice Lee Mocqé, istaknuta pobornica za ženska prava, naročito se zanimala za položaj žena u Dalmaciji. Čuveni austrijski pisac Hermann Bahr objavio je svoje *Dalmatinsko putovanje*.

Neki su pisci opisali Dalmaciju vrlo pozitivno, kao što vidimo iz dvaju naslova knjiga: *Gradovi iz sna* i *Divna Dalmacija*. Drugi pak naslovi, kao *Kroz divlju Europu*, svjedoče o starom odnosu prema ovom dijelu Europe, kao nečemu divljem i nepoznatom. Autor spomenute knjige Harry de Windt piše 1907. godine: “Samo ime zemlje izaziva slike razbojnika, primitivnog putovanja i prljave hrane.” Ipak mora priznati da su hoteli dobri i klima savršena, tako da na kraju preporučuje svojim zemljacima da odmor provedu u Dalmaciji! Drugi naslovi svjedoče o tome da je Dalmacija shvaćena kao poluorijentalna, kao *Na rubu Istoka* Irca Roberta Howarda Russela, *Na vratima Istoka* Francuza Édouarda Maurya i *Bliski istok* Engleza Roberta Hichensa.

Istaknuti američki slikar Jules Guérin napravio je slike iz Dalmacije, kao i čuveni britanski umjetnik Walter Tyndale, 1925. godine, onaj kojim završava naše putovanje kroz Dalmaciju očima stranaca.

Posebna su trojica talijanskih umjetnika, Cantinotti, Pizio i Mazza, koji su 1919. godine izdali svaki svoj album u Italiji s naslovom *Dalmazia*. Teško je odoljeti sumnji da je iza njihova zanimanja za Dalmaciju bila neka skrivena talijanska politička zamisao.

Iz crteža i opisa s početka dvadesetog stoljeća nastaje slika Dalmacije kao još uvijek egzotične za europske i američke posjetitelje. Dalmacija je još malo poznata, smatra se da je nekakva avantura putovati po tim krajevima. Međutim, sad se pojavljuju i prvi opisi elegantnih hotela s nagovještajima da bi

At the beginning of the 19th century, Dalmatia became a hotly-contested square on the political chess-board of Europe, watched closely by the great powers of the time, especially by France as a new province. During this turbulent period, many published books had a political agenda, supporting either French or Austrian claims to the region. However, following the Austrian take-over in 1815, interest in Dalmatia once again trailed off. Only gradually would Europeans rediscover this region.

Most accounts of Dalmatia from the first decades of the 19th century focus on ethnological material, mainly folk costumes. Several works presented Dalmatian costumes, more or less faithfully (Moleville, Hacket, Rödlich, Ferrario). The German natural scientist E. F. Germar gave in his book, *Travel to Dalmatia*, 1817, valuable information not only on insects, but on conditions in the country.

Around the middle of the century, the Austrian company Lloyd started with steamer routes to Dalmatia. For reasons of promoting they ordered a series of views of Dalmatia by Guiseppe Rieger, and similar views were made by Johann Högel Müller. Now books began to appear providing a more thorough description of Dalmatian culture. Among the first with a scientific approach were those by the German Stieglitz in 1845 and the Englishman John Gardner Wilkinson in 1848. Wilkinson was a well-known scientist, vice-President of the Royal Institute of British Architects and he spent more than a year in Dalmatia. The German J. G. Kohl was also an important figure. He described Dalmatia's history and way of life. He found the hinterland of Dalmatia wild and neglected, but also romantic. Other English authors followed (Andrew A. Paton and W. F. Wingfield), the Austrian Franz Petter, and two female writers, the German Ida von Düringsfeld and the Englishwoman Emily Beaufort Strangford. Slowly, the first articles began to appear in European illustrated magazines, such as the German *Illustrierte Zeitung* (1846), the English magazines *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*, and also in French magazines. Dalmatia remained, however, a remote and exotic place, more or less unknown to the European public.

In the second half of the 19th century, a number of historical events helped to put some focus on Dalmatia. The naval battle of Vis in 1866, when the Austrian navy defeated the Italian one, aroused interest in Europe. In 1875, the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph visited Dalmatia, attracting substantial media coverage, even in Britain. The uprising in Bosnia-Herzegovina the same year had repercussions in Dalmatia, bringing both refugees and reporters to Dalmatia. European illustrated periodicals covered both these events and the following war in 1876–1878, and some excellent artists such as the Frenchmen Charles Yriarte, Théodore Valério and Adolphe d'Avril supplied illustrations, not only from the battlefields in the Balkans, but also from Dalmatia. The Dalmatian-Herzegovian uprising of 1882 was also duly covered. The title of a book from this period was nevertheless *From a Half-forgotten Country*.

The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, brought Dalmatia more into the political focus of Austria, and the efforts of the Empire to promote economic and cultural

development in Bosnia had some limited repercussions in Dalmatia. In 1892, an official volume on Dalmatia was published in a series dealing with the Austro-Hungarian territories (in total comprising more than twenty volumes), with drawings by well-known artists such as Hugo Charlemont, Rudolf Bernt, Rudolf von Ottenfeld, Anton Weber, Jacob Emil Schindler and others.

In the final two decades of the nineteenth century, more and more foreigners visited Dalmatia. The natural scientist Robert Kretschmer contributed chapters on fishing in the Adriatic for the prestigious book on animals by Brehm. The Germans Alexander von Warsberg and Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, the Englishmen T. G. Jackson and William Miller and the Scot Robert Munro, also published books on Dalmatia. The Austrian artist Ludwig Hans Fischer contributed drawings from all over Dalmatia. The French artists Avelot and Nézière produced cartoon-like pictures, focusing on the humorous side of life in Dalmatia.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, in the years before the outbreak of the First World War, several Anglo-American artists and writers visited Dalmatia. English writers such as William Royle, J. Hamilton Jackson, Douglas Goldring, Robert Hichens, and the American Ernest C. Peixotto, all wrote books on Dalmatia, and some, like Peixotto were also artists. There were also a number of female writers and artists, such as the Englishwomen Maude M. Holbach and Emilie Isabel Russel Barrington. The American Alice Lee Moqué, prominent within the suffrage movement, had special interest in the situation of the women in Dalmatia. The famous Austrian writer Hermann Bahr published his *Dalmatian Journey*.

Some writers described Dalmatia very positively, as two book titles testify: *Dream cities* and *Delightful Dalmatia*. Other titles, for example, *Through Savage Europe*, testify to the older attitude towards this part of Europe, as something wild and unknown. The author of this book, the Englishman Harry de Windt, writes, in 1907, "The very name of the country conjures up visions of brigands, primitive travel, and squalid fare." However, he has to admit that the hotels are good and the climate perfect, and ends up recommending his countrymen to spend their holiday in Dalmatia! Other titles suggest that Dalmatia was seen as half-Oriental, as *The Edge of the Orient* by the Irishman Robert Howard Russel, *At the Gate of the Orient* by the Frenchman Édouard Maury or *The Near East* by Robert Hichens.

Three Italian artists, Cantinotti, Pizio and Mazza, published in 1919 their paintings in separate volumes, each entitled *Dalmazia*, works of undoubted artistic merit, but ones not without a hidden Italian political agenda, we may surmise.

The prominent American artist Jules Guérin produced several artistic impressions of Dalmatia, as did the well-known British artist Walter Tyndale, whose watercolours illustrate Horatio F. Brown's book *Dalmatia*, 1925, and it is through his eyes that we close this journey through Dalmatia.

The drawings and descriptions from the early twentieth century paint a picture of a Dalmatia that is still exotic for European and American visitors. Dalmatia remains little known, and travel here is regarded as being something of an adventure. At the same time, however, reports about elegant hotels are

Dalmacija ubuduće mogla postati turističkom destinacijom. S obzirom na to da je Dalmacija još uvijek dio Austro-Ugarske, neki se pisci bave i političkom situacijom, nacionalnim pitanjem, a neki čak uočavaju pripreme za rat koji će uskoro uslijediti.

U mnogim će opisima suvremeni čitatelj naći greške i čak ozbiljne zablude, zbog nepoznavanja regije. Naći će se i predrasuda o stanovnicima, o “domorocima”. Neke opise karakterizira ne samo nepoznavanje prilika već i europsko osjećanje superiornosti koje danas smatramo zastarjelim i odvratnim. Međutim takve izjave mogu biti poučne o vremenu kad je bilo moguće omalovažavati ljude koji nisu živjeli na uobičajen europski način. Zato je vrijedno izučavati kako su europski i američki čitatelji bili izvještavani o ljudima u Dalmaciji do prije sto godina.

Svi su stranci naravno opisali bogatu kulturnu baštinu Dalmacije, sa spomenicima raznih epoha, antike, romanike, gotike i renesanse. Svi su se divili ljepoti gradova i spomenika te ima mnogo vrijednih opisa crkvi i drugih građevina. Težište izabranih odlomaka u ovoj knjizi više je međutim na opisu ljudi i običaja.

Možemo dakle reći da je stav stranaca o Dalmaciji i Dalmatincima bio dvojak. Neki su putnici tu našli izvornu kulturu koja nije bila iskvarena suvremenom civilizacijom. Drugi su našli primitivan svijet koji su prezirali u odnosu na višu kulturu u Europi. Skoro svi su međutim našli da je Dalmacija mjesto gdje se susreću Zapad i Istok, s jasnim primjesama orijentalne kulture. Mnogi su hvalili Dalmatince kao snažne i sposobne, te kao izvrsne moreplovce. Ali položaj Dalmatinki je uglavnom predstavljen kao potlačen i jadan.

Svi su našli da je Dalmacija lijepa, s tim da je “slikovito” bio najfrekventniji izraz. Za mnoge je Dalmacija bila izrazito romantična. Njemački slikar Eugen Adam sredinom devetnaestog stoljeća slikao je dalmatinske seljake na način koji podsjeća na europsku nacionalnu romantiku.

Svi su posjetitelji shvaćali Dalmaciju kao posebnu zemlju. To znači da je postojao jasan stav u svijetu da je Dalmacija poseban geografski i kulturni pojam. Moja je nada da će ova knjiga pridonijeti jačanju ove povijesne svijesti, tako da će Dalmatinci postati još svjesniji specifičnosti svoje povijesti i kulture. I nadam se da će drugima biti prijatno otkriće upoznati se sa “zemljom iz snova”, “divnom Dalmacijom”.

Na kraju hvala sponzorima i norveškom veleposlanstvu u Zagrebu za podršku. Hvala i suradnicima tiskare Denona za korisnu pomoć. I dozvolite da citiram njemačkog pisca Ludwiga Passargea: “Teško će se naći u Europi zemlja koja ima karakter čudesnoga kao Dalmacija. To je možda jedino Norveška, koju također uglavnom čini obala.”

Svein Mønnesland

Bilješka

Geografska imena pojavljuju se u dva oblika, talijanskom i hrvatskom. U starije doba strani su se putnici služili talijanskim nazivima. U ovoj knjizi zadržana su talijanska imena u izvornim tekstovima, uglavnom engleskim. Da bi suvremeni čitatelj razumio koji je pojam u pitanju, dan je popis talijanskih imena na kraju knjige uz suvremene hrvatske nazive.

beginning to appear and there is some suggestion that in the future Dalmatia might become a tourist destination. Some observers continue to focus on Dalmatia as part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, commenting on the political situation, the question of nationalism and preparations for the war that was to come.

In many of the foreigners’ accounts, a modern, well-informed reader may identify mistakes and even serious errors, due to the limited knowledge of the region that these authors possessed. Some writers also display the prejudices of their age, especially when writing about the inhabitants, the “natives”. Some of their descriptions reflect not only lack of knowledge, but also a feeling of superiority that today may be downright unacceptable. However, the comments of some of our travellers are illustrative of an age when it was generally accepted that those not conforming to the common European way of living were to be looked down upon. There is historical merit too in observing just how, in the past, European and American readers were presented with information about the people living in Dalmatia.

Foreigners’ views of Dalmatia and Dalmatians often fall into two distinct categories: those who found there the charm and attraction of an indigenous culture, untainted by modern society, and those who saw only a primitive world to be despised by comparison with a higher culture in ‘civilised’ Europe. Almost all of them found Dalmatia to be a meeting place between West and East, clearly influenced by the Orient. Many foreigners praised the Dalmatian men as strong and excellent sailors. Dalmatian women, however, were seen as oppressed and living a miserable life.

All foreigners wrote with enthusiasm about the rich cultural heritage, with monuments from different periods. And all found Dalmatia beautiful, “picturesque” being the most frequent adjective used in their writing. In the mid-19th century, the German artist Eugen Adam painted Dalmatian peasants in a style reminiscent of European national Romanticism.

All visitors to Dalmatia conceived of it as a separate country, demonstrating a very clear understanding of Dalmatia as a geographical and cultural entity. It is my hope that this book will contribute to strengthening this historical consciousness and make Dalmatians even more aware of their specific history and culture. And I hope that all other readers will enjoy meeting this “dream land”, “Delightful Dalmatia”.

I want to thank our sponsors and the Norwegian Embassy in Zagreb for their generous support, and also the staff of the printing house Denona for their assistance. And let me in the end cite the German writer Ludwig Passarge: “It is difficult to find a country in Europe with such a miraculous character as Dalmatia. Perhaps only Norway offers competition, as it is also a mainly coastal country.”

Svein Mønnesland

Note

Geographical names exist in two forms, Italian and Croatian. In earlier times, foreign travellers in Dalmatia used the Italian names. In this book, Italian names have been kept when citing the original English texts. To help the reader, there is a list of Italian names at the end of the book with their corresponding Croatian forms.

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Al-Idrisi

God. 1153. arapski geograf i kartograf Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad al-Idrisi (1100–1172), ili El-Edrisi, putovao je po Dalmaciji, koju zove Dalmâsîah. Rođen je u Ceuti u Maroku, a studirao je u Cordobi u Španjolskoj. Proveo je petnaest godina na dvoru normanskog kralja Rogera II. u Palermu na Siciliji. Za kralja je izradio svoju čuvenu mapu *Tabulu Rogerianu* 1154. godine, te je napisao knjigu *Kitab al-Rujari* (*Rogerova knjiga*) s geografskim podacima. Perspektiva atlasa je neobična, viđena sa sjevera, tako da se Jadran gleda prema jugozapadu. Arapska imena nije uvijek lako protumačiti: Jadransko more zove Halig al Benediku (Zaljev od Mletaka), istočna strana Jadrana zove se Bilad Garuasiah, što znači Hrvatska. Evo nekoliko njegovih opažanja:

Djadra (Zadar), grad s prostranim teritorijem i zbijenim zgradama. Okolo su lijepi i veliki vinogradi. Stanovnici su Dalmatinci. Morski valovi udaraju u gradske bedeme.

Dograta (Biograd). Stanovnici su mješavina Dalmatinaca i Slavena, vrlo srčani. Vrlo je važno kršćansko mjesto.

Sanadji (Šibenik). To je velik grad, trgovište u koje trgovci dolaze morskim i kopnenim putem.

Urguri (Stari Trogir). Grad je izuzetan zbog ugodnosti i utvrđenja, nastanjen Dalmatincima koji se bave dugim plovidbama i vojnim ekspedicijama.

Tar Goris (Trogir). Stanovnici, podrijetlom Dalmatinci, grade brodove za trgovinu i borbu.

Sbâlto (Split). Grad pripada Dalmaciji, vrlo je napredan, dobro građen, s velikom trgovinom, u potpunosti popločan kamenim pločama i ima veći broj ratnih brodova.

Ragorsa, Ragusa (Dubrovnik). Žitelji su Dalmatinci. Imaju brojno ratno brodogradnja i vrlo su srčani i hrabri. To je posljednji grad u Hrvatskoj.

Al-Idrisi

In 1153 the Arab geographer Abd-Allah Muhammed al-Idrisi (1100–1172) travelled along the Dalmatian coast. He was born in Ceuta in Morocco and was educated in Cordoba in Spain. He spent fifteen years at the court of the Norman king Roger II of Sicily. For the king he made this famous map on a silver globe, called *Tabula Rogeriana*, in 1154, and wrote a book with geographical information, *Kitab al-Rujari* (*Roger's Book*). The perspective of the map is unusual, oriented with South at the top. The Arab names are not always easy to recognize: The Adriatic Sea is called Halig al Benediku (The Bay of Venice), and the Eastern side of the Adriatic is called Bilad Garuasiah, meaning Croatia. Some of his observations are as follows:

Djadra (Zadar), a town with an extensive territory and close-built houses. Around it are large vineyards. The inhabitants are Dalmatians. The waves strike against the city walls.

Dograta (Biograd). The inhabitants are a mixture of Dalmatians and Slavs. It is a very important Christian town.

Sanadji (Šibenik). This is a large town, where tradesmen arrive both from sea and land.

Ourghouri, Lourghao (Old Trogir). The town is very beautiful and well defended. The inhabitants are Dalmatians, who practice long voyages and military expeditions.

Tar Goris (Trogir). The inhabitants, of Dalmatian origin, build both naval and commercial ships.

Sbâlto (Split). The town belongs to Dalmatia, it is flourishing and well built, with large commerce, completely paved with stones, and has a great number of warships.

Ragorsa, Ragusa (Dubrovnik). The inhabitants are Dalmatians. They have many ships and are very brave and fearless. It is the last town in Croatia.



Zemljovid svijeta, al-Idrisi, 1154.

Al-Idrisi's world map, 1154

Desno: Muhammad al-Idrisi: Zemljovid Jadrana, jug prema gore. *Tabula Rogeriana*, 1154. (Kasnija kopija)

To the right: Muhammad al-Idrisi: Map of the Adriatic Sea, oriented with South at the top. *Tabula Rogeriana*, 1154. (Later copy)



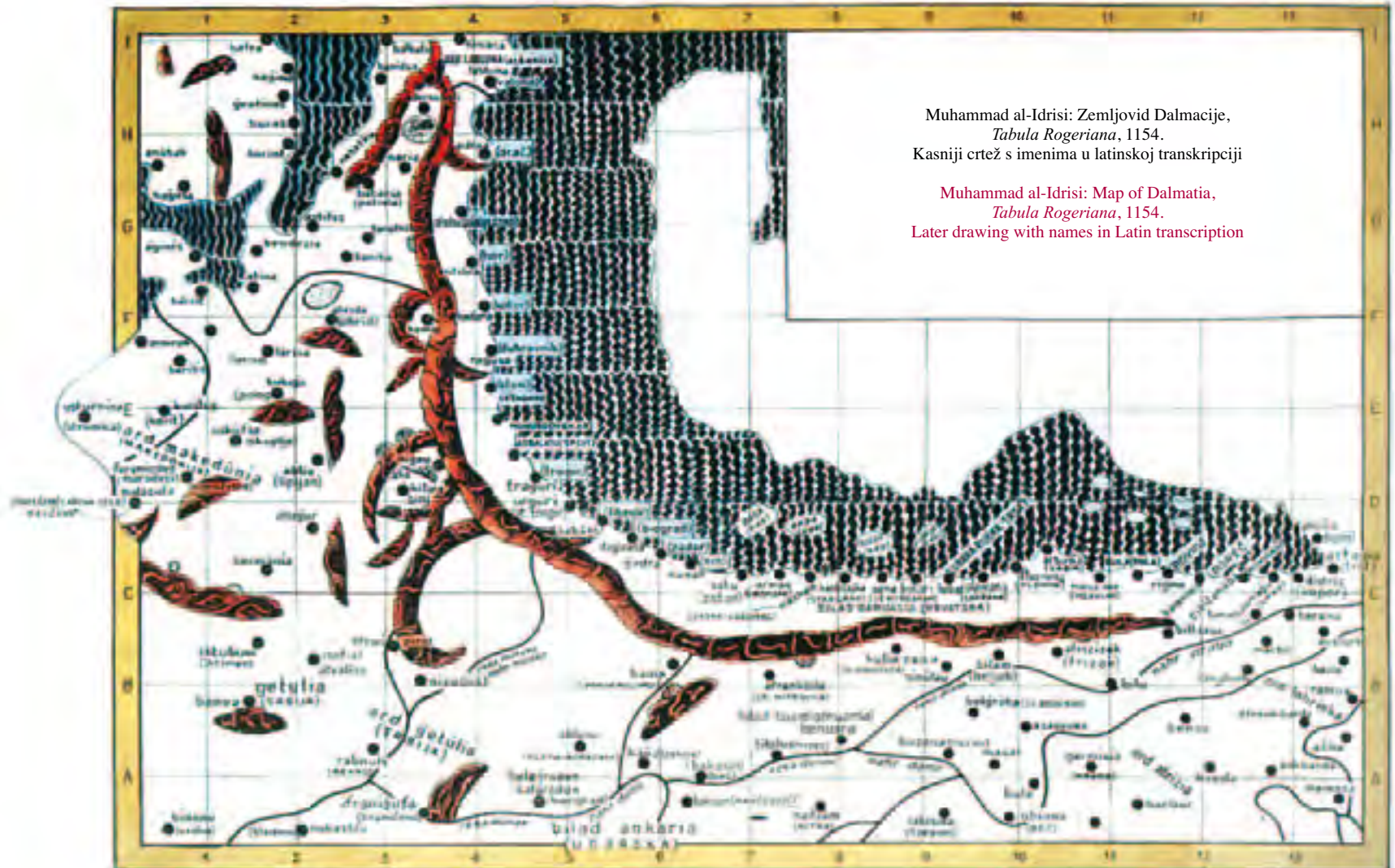
Prvo tiskano izdanje knjige Muhammada Idrisija, Rim, 1592.

The first printed version of Muhammad Idrisi's book, Rome, 1592



Muhammad al-Idrisi: Zemljovid Dalmacije,
Tabula Rogeriana, 1154.
 Kasniji crtež s imenima u latinskoj transkripciji

Muhammad al-Idrisi: Map of Dalmatia,
Tabula Rogeriana, 1154.
 Later drawing with names in Latin transcription



Geoffroi de Villehardouin

Prvi posjetitelji sa Zapada koji su opisali Dalmaciju bili su križari Četvrtog križarskog rata 1202. godine. Posjet nije bio baš prijateljski. Iako na putu da oslobode Svetu zemlju, njihov je prvi cilj bio Zadar, koji su opsjeli, osvojili i opljačkali, ostajući u gradu nekoliko mjeseci, dok ga nisu potpuno uništili. Križarska vojska, sastavljena od francuskih i njemačkih plemića i njihovih armija, bila je prinuđena na ovaj napad na jedan kršćanski grad zbog Venecije, koja je smatrala Zadar suparnikom. Tako, kad su križari stigli u Veneciju da bi uzeli brodove u najam, Mlečani su tražili da im prvo pomognu zauzeti Zadar. Iako su se kolebali, križari su pristali, te su naknadno čak uspjeli dobiti blagoslov od Pape! Francuski plemić, jedan od vođa Četvrtog križarskog rata, Geoffroi de Villehardouin (oko 1160 – oko 1213) napisao je kroniku *O osvojenju Carigrada*, prvi put objavljenu 1585. godine. Njegova kronika, napisana na starofrancuskom jeziku, daje vjerodostojan opis ovih dramatičnih događaja u Zadru. Križari su se vjerojatno služili starim kartama Ptolemeja. Mnogo kasnije je mletački slikar Andrea Michieli likovno predstavio osvajanje Zadra.

Geoffroi de Villehardouin

The first Westerners describing a visit to the Dalmatian coast, were the Crusaders of the Fourth Crusade in 1202. The visit was not exactly a friendly one. Although on their way to liberate the Holy land, their first goal was the town of Zadar (Zara), which they besieged, conquered and plundered for several months, until they finally destroyed it. The Crusader army, consisting of French and German noblemen and their armies (hosts) were forced to make this attack on a Christian town because of the Venetians, who concidered Zadar a rival. So, when the Crusaders arrived in Venice, to hire ships for the voyage, the Venetians demanded that they first should help them take Zadar. Although hesitating, the Crusaders did comply, and afterwards even manged to get the Pope's blessing! The French nobleman, one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, Geoffroi de Villehardouin (c. 1160 – c. 1213) wrote *De la conquê te de Constantinople (On the Conquest of Constantinople)*, first published in 1585. His chronicle, written in Old French, gives a historical correct account of these dramatic events. The crusaders probably used copies of ancient maps by Ptolemeus. A pictorial presentation was made much later by the Venetian painter Michieli. The English translation is done by Frank T. Marzials, in London in 1908.

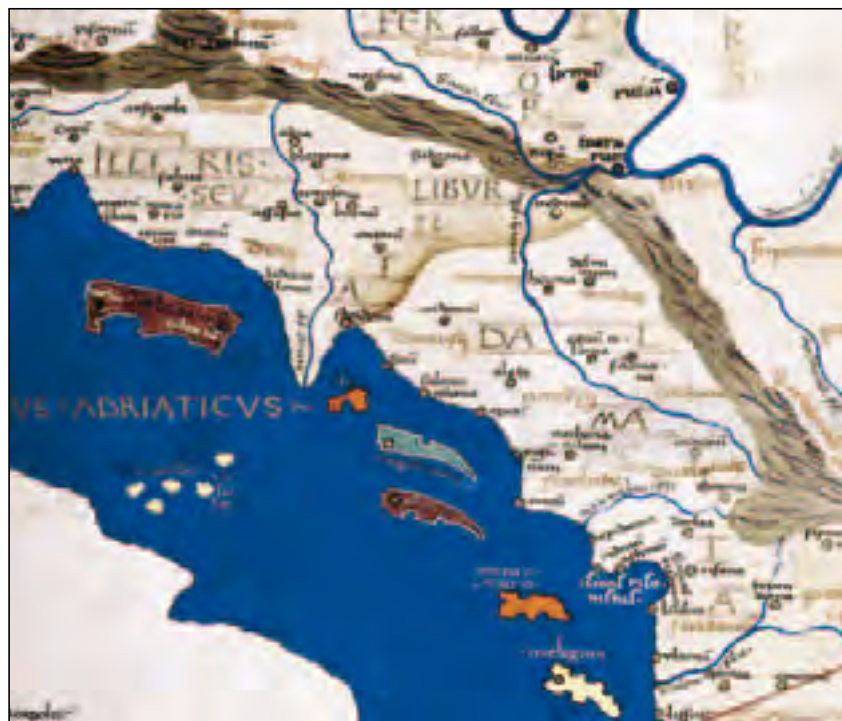
Osvojenje Zadra

Uoči sv. Martina (10. studenog 1202) stigli su pred Zadar u Sklavoniji, te vidjeli grad opasan visokim zidinama i visokim tornjevima; i uzalud biste tražili ljepšeg grada, ili jačega. I kad su ga hodočasnici vidjeli, vrlo su se začudili, te govorili jedan drugome: “Kako bi jedan takav grad mogao biti osvojen, osim Božjom pomoći?” Prvi brodovi koji su stigli pred grad bacili su sidra čekajući ostale; i ujutro je dan bio vrlo lijep i vedar, te su sve galije stigle s robom, i svi ostali brodovi iza njih; i zauzeli su luku silom, i razbili lanac koji ju je branio, a bio je vrlo jak i dobro napravljen; i pristali su na taj način da je luka bila između njih i grada. Onda ste mogli vidjeti mnogo viteza i mnogo časnika kako su u roju izašli iz brodova, uzimajući mnoge dobre bojne konje, te mnogo šatora i paviljona. Tako se vojska utaborila. I Zadar je osvojen na praznik Svetoga Martina. Sljedećeg dana, nakon proslave sv. Martina, došli su neki od ljudi iz Zadra i obratili se mletačkom duždu, koji je bio u svom paviljonu; rekli su mu da će predati grad i sva imanja njegovoj milosti – ako njihovi životi budu pošteđeni. Ali dužd je odgovorio da ne prihvaća te uvjete, nikakve druge uvjete, osim u suglasnosti grofova i baruna, s kojima treba vijećati. Tada je ustao opat iz Vauxa, iz reda cistercita, i rekao im: “Gospodari, zabranjujem vam, u ime rimskoga Pape, da napadate ovaj grad; jer su ljudi u njemu kršćani, a vi ste hodočasnici.” Kad je dužd čuo ovo, postao je vrlo srdit i vrlo uznemiren te je rekao grofovima i barunima: “Sinjori, dobio sam ovaj grad, prema sporazumu s njima, na moju milost, ali vaši su ljudi prekršili taj sporazum; vi ste se obvezali da mi pomognete zauzeti ga, i pozivam vas da to učinite.” Sljedećeg jutra vojska je postavila tabor pred gradskim vratima, te je postavila svoje katapulte i druge ratne sprave, kojih su imali napretek, a s morske strane postavili su ljestve s brodova. Onda su počeli bacati kamenje po gradskim zidinama i tornjevima. Na ovaj način napad je trajao oko pet dana. Tada su opkopari dobili zadatak da sruše jedan od tornjeva, te su počeli podrivati zid.

Kad su ljudi u gradu to vidjeli, predložili su ugovor, kakav su ranije odbili na savjet onih koji su željeli razbiti vojsku. Tako se grad predao duždevoj milosti, samo uz uvjet da će svi životi biti pošteđeni. Tada dođe dužd k grofovima i barunima i reče im: “Sinjori, uzeli smo ovaj grad po Božjoj milosti, i po vašoj. Sad je zima, i ne možemo se maknuti odavde prije Uskrsa, jer ni u jednom drugom mjestu nećemo naći dovoljno hrane; a ovaj grad je vrlo bogat, i dobro opskrbljen svim robama. Podijelimo ga zato na sredini, mi ćemo uzeti jednu polovicu, a vi drugu.” Kako je govorio, tako je i učinjeno. Mlečani su uzeli dio grada prema pristaništu, gdje su brodovi, a Franci su uzeli drugi dio. Oba su dobili stambeni prostor, kako je bilo pravedno i zgodno. Onda je vojska digla tabor i uselila se u grad. Tako je vojska boravila u Zadru cijelu zimu (1202–1203) na oči mađarskog kralja. Ali znate da ljudima srca nisu bila spokojna, jer je jedna strana pokušala svim snagama da razbije vojsku, a druga se držala. Toliko je vremena prošlo da je sad korizma, a vojska se pripremala da plovi o Uskrsu. Kad su brodovi natovareni dan poslije Uskrsa (7. travnja 1203), hodočasnici su se okupili u luci, a Mlečani su razorili grad, i zidine i tornjeve. Geoffroi de Villehardouin, 1202.

The Conquest of Zadar

On the Eve of St. Martin (10th November 1202) they came before Zara in Sclavonia, and beheld the city enclosed by high walls and high towers; and vainly would you have sought for a fairer city, or one of greater strength, or richer. And when the pilgrims saw it, they marvelled greatly, and said one to another: “How could such a city be taken by force, save by the help of God himself?” The first ships that came before the city cast anchor, and waited for the others; and in the morning the day was very fine and very clear, and all the galleys came up with the transports, and the other ships which



Dalmacija prema “Petoj karti Europe” Klaudija Ptolemeja, 15. st.

Dalmatia after “The Fifth Map of Europe” by Claudius Ptolemy, 15th c.

were behind; and they took the port by force, and broke the chain that defended it and was very strong and well-wrought; and they landed in such sort that the port was between them and the town. Then might you have seen many a knight and many a sergeant swarming out of the ships, and taking from the transports many a good war-horse, and many a rich tent and many a pavilion. Thus did the host encamp. And Zara was besieged on St. Martin's Day.

On the day following the feast of St. Martin, certain of the people of Zara came forth, and spoke to the Doge of Venice, who was in his pavilion, and said to him that they would yield up the city and all their goods – their lives being spared – to his mercy. And the Doge replied that he would not accept these conditions, nor any conditions, save by consent of the counts and barons, with whom he would go and confer.

Then rose the abbot of Vaux, of the order of the Cistercians, and said to them: "Lords, I forbid you, on the part of the Pope of Rome, to attack this city; for those within it are Christians, and you are pilgrims." When the Doge heard this, he was very wrathful, and much disturbed, and he said to the counts and barons: "Signors, I had this city, by their own agreement, at my mercy, and your people have broken that agreement; you have covenanted to help me to conquer it, and I summon you to do so."

The next morning the host encamped before the gates of the city, and set up their petreries and manoonels, and other engines of war, which they had in plenty, and on the side of the sea they raised ladders from the ships. Then they began to throw stones at the walls of the city and at the towers. So did the assault last for about five days. Then were the sappers set to mine one of the towers, and began to sap the wall. When those within the city saw this, they proposed an agreement, such as they had before refused by the advice of those who wished to break up the host. Thus did the city surrender to the mercy of the Doge, on condition only that all lives should be spared. Then came the Doge to the counts and barons, and said to them:

"Signors, we have taken this city by the grace of God, and your own. It is now winter, and we cannot stir hence till Eastertide; for we should find no market in any other place; and this city is very rich, and well furnished with all supplies. Let us therefore divide it in the midst, and we will take one half, and you the other."

As he had spoken, so was it done. The Venetians took the part of the

city towards the port, where were the ships, and the Franks took the other part. There were quarters assigned to each, according as was right and convenient. And the host raised the camp, and went to lodge in the city. Thus did the host sojourn at Zara all that winter (1202–1203) in the face of the King of Hungary. And be it known to you that the hearts of the people were not at peace, for the one party used all efforts to break up the

host, and the other to make it hold together.

So much time had passed that it was now Lent, and the host prepared their fleet to sail at Easter. When the ships were laden on the day after Easter (7th April 1203), the pilgrims encamped by the port, and the Venetians destroyed the city, and the walls and the towers.

Geoffroi de Villehardouin, 1202



Andrea Michieli
Vicentino
(1542–1617):
*Juriš križara na
Zadar, 1202.*
(detalj).
Palazzo Ducale,
Venecija

Andrea Michieli
Vicentino
(1542–1617):
*The Crusaders
Conquering the
City of Zadar in
1202 (Detail).*
Palazzo Ducale,
Venice