

Imagining the Morlacchi
in Fortis and Goldoni

by

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Abstract

The main objective of this dissertation is to determine how Goldoni's tragicomedy *La dalmatina* (1754) fits in the pre-Morlachist current of the Venetian literature of the eighteenth century, and to compare the portrayal of Dalmatians in this tragicomedy and other Goldoni's plays with the portrayal of the Morlacchi in Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774). The research led me into two main directions. The first direction is a research of Morlachism. Here, I review the main features of proto-Morlachism to present the portrayal of Dalmatians in Venice prior to the publication of Fortis's *Viaggio*, which initiates Morlachism. Then, I elaborate the portrayal of the Morlacchi in Fortis's *Viaggio* to define the main features of their image that were going to inspire numerous poets and novelists in the next decades. The second direction of my research is dedicated to Goldoni's portrayal of the exotic Other in general, and Dalmatians in particular. In order to determine particular features of the portrayal of Dalmatians in *La dalmatina*, I situate this tragicomedy within two contexts: firstly, within other Goldoni's plays that deal with Dalmatians, and secondly, within other Goldoni's plays of the same genre, i.e. his exotic tragicomedies written between 1754 and 1761.

Мојим родитељима,
Јелици и Милораду

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Introduction

This project deals primarily with the image of Dalmatians in the Venetian literature of the eighteenth century, with their portrayal in Carlo Goldoni's plays, and particularly in the tragicomedy *La Dalmatina* (1758). My aim is to assess to what degree Goldoni's portrayal of Dalmatians is related to a current of pre-Morlacchism in Venetian literature of the time, and to compare Goldoni's Dalmatian characters with Alberto Fortis's portrayal of the Morlacchi in the *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, two notable Venetian writers who did not know each other, Goldoni and Fortis, both included Dalmatia in their literary works. The former, in his plays, dedicates to Dalmatia a relatively marginal place, however, in the context of cultural relations between Venice and Dalmatia, his contribution is considered rather significant. The other, Alberto Fortis, a geologist, dedicated most of his research to Dalmatia. While Goldoni includes a few Dalmatian characters in his comedies, Fortis writes the first detailed ethnographic description of the Morlacchi in the form of travelogue, which carries important socio-cultural and political implications. By comparing the image of Dalmatians in Goldoni's *La dalmatina* and Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, I hope to reveal their similarities and differences, as well as the nature of Venetian Enlightenment with regard to Dalmatia as Venice's most important colony.

I will discuss these works first of all as literary texts, applying close reading. However, it was also necessary to include numerous historical data, relying on the methods of microhistory, as well as to observe the cultural relations between characters of different ethnic

background from the point of view of postcolonial criticism, relying primarily on the findings of Edward Said, Maria Todorova, and Larry Wolff.

Terminology issue

In order to understand the discussion, it is necessary to be familiar with the following terms: a) the use of various ethno-linguistic terms in Dalmatia; b) the relations between the Morlacchi and the rest of the Dalmatians; and c) the difference between proto-Morlacchism and Morlacchism.

In this dissertation, I will use the term Dalmatians (*Dalmati*) rather than Slavs, South Slavs, Adriatic Slavs, Illyrians, Croats, etc., for the following reasons:

1. In public perception, from antiquity and the Middle Ages until today, eastern Adriatic coast from the Kvarner islands to Albania, has been known as Dalmatia. In the eighteenth century, in geographical and political terms, it consisted of three parts: 1. Venetian Dalmatia (the present north and central Dalmatia); 2. independent Republic of Dubrovnik; 3. Venetian Bay of Kotor region.¹ At that time, there were several different terms used for Slavic population in Venetian Dalmatia: general terms, such as Dalmatians, Slavs, and Illyrians; or specific ethno-confessional terms, such as Croats (for Roman Catholics), and Serbs and Rascians (for Eastern Orthodox). The Morlacchi were a special, separated group. (see below)

2. In his plays, Goldoni used the term Dalmatians most often, and sometimes Slavs (*Schiavoni* in Venetian dialect), as well as local designations, such as *Raguseo* (a person from Dubrovnik). The modern term Slav or South Slav is too general because it implies all South Slavs from Slovenia to Bulgaria. The term Adriatic Slav is appropriate, although it is a bit wider than Dalmatian because it includes inhabitants of non-Dalmatian regions of Slovenian

Littoral, Kvarner, Istria, and Montenegrin Littoral; however, this term was not used in the 18th century.

3. Although most of Goldoni's acquaintances and characters were Roman Catholics whose descendants will accept Croatian national identity in the 19th century, and proto-Croatian national ideas were present among them even in Goldoni's times, the term Croatian is less appropriate because Goldoni never used the term, as well as because in his plays and personal life he deals with persons of other ethno-confessional groups from Dalmatia: a) Orthodox Morlacchi from inland Dalmatia who accepted Serbian national identity in the 19th century; b) Orthodox inhabitants of the Bay of Kotor and Paštrovići, who accepted Montenegrin or Serbian national identities in the 19th and 20th centuries; c) members of Italian linguistic and ethno-cultural community from Dalmatian cities.

In the eighteenth century, the Morlacchi were a rural population of the hilly and harsh hinterland in Venetian Dalmatia.² The majority of them were Roman Catholics and around one third were Orthodox Christians by religion. During the Ottoman conquests from the 15th to the 17th centuries, the Morlacchi, originating mostly from Bosnia-Herzegovina, inhabited the deserted area of inland Dalmatia. Since they were Christians, they constantly went to war against the Ottomans, fighting alongside Venice. Having been for centuries under the Ottoman rule³ as poor and deprived Christian Ottoman subjects (*raja*), they naturally appeared as the local Other to coastal Dalmatians, who were deeply influenced by Venetian and Italian culture and were quite different from the Morlacchi's "rough" way of life and customs. Here, it is important to note that the terms *Schiavo*, *Schiavone* (as well as other terms, such as *Illirico*, *Dalmato*, *Croato*, *Serbo*, *Rasciano*) for Slavic people of all Dalmatia and *Morlacco* for Slavs from Dalmatian hinterland sometimes overlap, but they are not always interchangeable. While the *Morlacco* is a *Schiavone*, it is not the case other way

around, since a coastal Dalmatian, especially if he lives in a city, is only *Schiavone*. An inhabitant of the hinterlands can be called *Morlacco* and *Schiavo* (as well as the other above-mentioned terms) equally since he belongs to a Dalmatian Slavic population.

The difference between proto-Morlacchism and Morlacchism in this dissertation is primarily chronological. The time period from the Middle Ages until 1774 is considered to be proto-Morlacchism, while Morlacchism begins after. There is a very important reason for this differentiation. The publication of Fortis's *Viaggio* in 1774 represents a turning point in both artistic and scholarly practice. Fortis treats the Morlacchi life and customs in exotic and stereotypical terms, but one still feels his empathy for them. His text is full of clichés, yet it's personal and original. Probably, due to that style of portrayal in accordance with the Enlightenment admiration for the noble savage, Fortis's views were uncritically adopted by many intellectuals in Western Europe, but also by scholars in Dalmatia and other South Slavic regions. That is why 1774 could be considered as the symbolic beginning of pre-Romanticism in the Slavic South. This year initiated Morlacchism, a literary current which was most intensive until 1830s-1840s. This conscious and organized exoticizing of the inhabitants of the hinterland Dalmatia will pave the way for other later stereotypical portrayals of South Slavs and for intellectual interpretations of these portrayals, known as Balkanism, demi-Orientalism, etc. Finally, we should not forget that these processes are going on even today, both, internally and externally. Internally, they are evident in the public discourse in Croatia, in which the *Vlaji* (Croatian term for Morlacchi) are often mentioned in most derogatory terms. Externally, they are present in the portrayal of the Balkan population in Western European and North American literature, film industry, media, etc., but also, or rather, especially, in academic circles.

Thesis structure

Chapter one, *Venetian Ideology of proto-Morlacchism*, is primarily a study based on cultural and literary history. It is a review of historical, political, and cultural ties between Italy, especially Venice, and Dalmatia. One of the results of this millennia-long relationship is exemplified in the portrayal of Dalmatians in Italian literature. For this purpose, I coined the term *proto-Morlacchism* to refer to a set of commonplaces in the portrayal of Dalmatians in Italian literature prior to 1774. Therefore, the objective of this chapter is to offer a background for understanding the phenomenon of proto-Morlacchism, and to show its possible influences on Goldoni and Fortis. Here, I define different types of proto-Morlacchism, based on chronological (long-term proto-Morlacchism and the Enlightenment/ Pre-Romanticism one) and geographical (Western Europe-the Balkans, Italy-the Balkans, Venice-Dalmatia) criteria. The political proto-Morlacchism is evident in numerous reports about Dalmatia and its population, which were written by the General Governors of Dalmatia and regularly submitted to the Venetian government. As for literary proto-Morlacchism, I review the most important texts in which the portraits of Dalmatians are, in some respects, similar to the ones that can be found in Fortis's travelogue. A prime example is Franco Sacchetti's poem from the 14th century. Unlike political proto-Morlacchism, which is for the most part a one-sided affair (as Venetians are discussing Dalmatians), in literary proto-Morlacchism we can often find answers from the Dalmatian side (an example is the poetic debate between the Venetian Zaccaria Valarésso and the "Morlacchi" writer Filip Grabovac).

Chapter two, *Alberto Fortis: Exoticising the Morlacchi*, is dedicated to Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, a travel book from 1774 that introduced the Morlacchi to Western Europe and initiated Morlacchism and Morlacomania. In this chapter, I discuss the key

concepts presented by Fortis in the *Viaggio's* central chapter, *On the customs of the Morlacchi*, relying mostly on postcolonial criticism of Fortis's text and Morlacchism that emerged from it. My analysis is based on the four topics which Fortis announces in the introductory lines of the chapter on the Morlacchi: 1. the image of the Morlacchi as the cruel Other; 2. contextualization rather than generalization as method of drawing conclusions about the Morlacchi; 3. the importance of personal experience in research; 4. differences between Morlacchi and the coastal Dalmatians, as well as Italians. Besides these topics, I also point out the importance of two more issues Fortis repeatedly returns to in his travelogue: the cruel treatment of the Morlacchi women, and criticism of the church (Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox alike) and its negative influence on the Morlacchi. I conclude this chapter with the summary of Fortis's portrayal of the Morlacchi and its importance, which is evident in an unexpectedly significant influence his travelogue had not only in Venice, but all over Europe, by initiating the so-called *Morlaccomania*, the first stage of literary Morlacchism, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In **chapter three**, *Close Otherness: Multilayered Ties between Goldoni and Dalmatians*, I review Goldoni's own "Dalmatian voyage," as Anna Scannapieco named Goldoni's plays portraying Dalmatians. Here, the cultural history of Dalmatians in Venice is discussed through a close reading of Goldoni's comedies featuring Dalmatian protagonists. Before dealing with the key play *La Dalmatina*, which I discuss in chapter five, there are three plays that deserve attention for their importance in assessing the playwright's portrayal of Dalmatians: *La Birba*, an intermezzo, one of Goldoni's earliest plays (1734-35), *La calamita de' cuori* (1752-53), a *dramma giocoso per musica*, and *L'impostore* (1754), a comedy in prose. Besides these plays, Goldoni's *Memoires* are also a useful source since they explain the function of many characters and describe the circumstances in which each play

originated. It should be stressed that the main characters of two of the plays, the fake captain in *L'impostore* and the noble woman in *La calamita de' cuori*, are from Dubrovnik, but they are not different in any cultural aspect from the other characters, who are from Italy. In *La birba*, however, the situation is very different. The protagonist's sister impersonates a Dalmatian character, the tradesman Stiepo Bruich. He exemplifies several Schiavoni, Dalmati, and Morlacchi stereotypes then known in Venice. This leads to the conclusion that Goldoni depicts significant differences among Dalmatians in Venice, depending on their social class: whether aristocrats and wealthy commoners or poor folk.

The **fourth chapter**, *Tragicomical Heroines: Goldoni's Gender Exoticism*, deals with Goldoni's exotic tragicomedies. All of them feature non-European characters, and were all produced in less than ten years (1753-61). The chapter starts with the definition of the genre and continues with a close reading, as well as an analysis of gender and colonial relations. Special attention is devoted to techniques that Goldoni employs to describe the exotic and/or Oriental Other, as well as to investigate relations between the exotic Others and Europeans. This is evident in tragicomedies that have European characters, such as both American tragicomedies (*La peruviana* and *La bella selvaggia*), but also, and even more interestingly, in tragicomedies that do not include European characters, such as the Persian trilogy plays (*La sposa persiana*, *Ircana in Julfa*, *Ircana in Ispaan*), where all the characters are Muslim, except for several Christians living in Julfa, an Armenian section of Isfahan. Even if absent, Europe and Europeans are often a point of reference, and Muslim customs are often contrasted to European ones. Needless to say, in these comparisons the European customs are usually favoured, which goes to show that, despite Goldoni's genuine cosmopolitanism, there is always a strong sentiment of colonial Eurocentrism in these exotic tragicomedies.

In **chapter five**, *Goldoni's Dalmatina: Tragicomedy of Venetian Demi-Orientalism*, I describe how *La dalmatina* differs from Goldoni's other Oriental and American exotic tragicomedies. By comparing its main features with those of other exotic tragicomedies, I emphasize their common characteristics, as well as the colonial aspect of these plays. I investigate how Goldoni constructs a demi-Oriental Other in *La dalmatina*. The term "demi-Oriental" is employed to differentiate Dalmatians from Asian and Muslim people. In discussions of the European Other, although some of the descriptions resemble Orientalist discourse, used in portrayals of Middle Eastern populations, it is often stressed that, due to geographical vicinity and certain cultural proximity, the European Other of Dalmatia differs from the Oriental Other. Since Dalmatians are the closest neighbours of Italy in the East, and they are part of its cultural world, as the closest European Other, they are consequently differentiated from non-European nations. In the case of Goldoni's tragicomedies, there are concrete examples that enable this kind of differentiation, such as contrasts between Muslims and Christians in *La dalmatina*, as well as his celebration of European civilization and virtues, especially among Dalmatians. An analysis of *La dalmatina* also includes a review of its critical reception that was often influenced by political and ideological views of scholars who researched it in the two and a half centuries. This criticism intensified in different historical periods when the political future of Dalmatia was being debated, especially in the last years of the two world wars. This is the main difference between *La dalmatina* and other exotic plays, for despite their similar topics, it was often politically instrumentalized. Goldoni himself instrumentalized the Dalmatians by accentuating their "genuine love" for the winged Lion, the emblem of Saint Mark the Evangelist and the Venetian Republic. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of how Goldoni introduced the *Leone* as a unifying force between Venetians as actors on the stage, and the Dalmatians in the audience who were watching the premiere of the play in the autumn of 1758 at Teatro San Luca in Venice.

In the **Conclusions**, I focus on a comparison between Goldoni's and Fortis's works to remark on the reception that Goldoni's plays and Fortis's work generated at the time and to observe their importance in modern times.

Chapter 1:

Venetian Ideology of proto-Morlacchism

Definition of proto-Morlacchism

In order to understand the term *proto-Morlacchism*, which I coined as *terminus technicus* in this dissertation to facilitate an understanding of this topic, it is necessary to summarize briefly a few commonplaces of Italian, especially Venetian, and Dalmatian common past. A long-term intermingling of Italian and Slavic cultures on the Eastern Adriatic coast formed a specific amalgam of cultures at the coast, on the islands, and especially in Dalmatian cities, and to some degree also in the hinterlands. However, in its essence, this culture was and remained Slavic, primarily Croatian, and to a lesser degree Montenegrin and Serbian. That is why even today in Dalmatia there is a special relationship to Italian culture. This unique relationship is a product of a centuries-long connection between two geographical areas around the *Mare Adriaticum*, a deep bay of the Mediterranean Sea, which for a long time was called *Golfo di Venezia*.

A cultural definition of the long-term relationship and communication between the Western Italian and Eastern Slavic countries of the Adriatic Sea are very complex. Besides, there's also a problem of asymmetry because the Western Adriatic country several times colonized culturally and politically the Eastern Balkan coast, while the opposite was never the case. Even the Ottoman colonization between the 14th and the 16th centuries, when the population of the Eastern Adriatic moved to the Western coast, did not really have an important cultural impact. In fact, among the several Croatian settlements in Italy, the only linguistic oases that remained were three villages in the southern region of Molise.

The basis of proto-Morlacchism, from the Roman conquests in the third century B.C., lies in the continued perception that the Western Adriatic coast holds a higher civilization compared to its eastern neighbour. This is the context in which I will discuss proto-Morlacchism of Venetians and other Italians, as well as various mutual stereotypes between the peoples of the two shores of Adriatic Sea.

Proto-Morlacchism and Morlacchism are symbolically divided by one year, 1774, when the Venetian abbé Alberto Fortis published *Viaggio in Dalmazia (Travels into Dalmatia)*. The year is seminal because with Fortis's publication, the "wild" Morlacchi, the inhabitants of the hinterland of Dalmatia, and Morlacchism make their appearance before the learned and enlightened West, on the eve of Romanticism.

Theoretically and chronologically, we could identify two subtypes of proto-Morlacchism:

- 1) A wider and permanent subtype, which goes on from ancient times until the Enlightenment. In this case, proto-Morlacchism is a long-lasting historical structure. (cf. Braudel 1958)
- 2) Enlightenment and pre-Romanticism as a relatively short period in which Carlo Goldoni and Alberto Fortis live and write.

In geographical terms, proto-Morlacchism could be defined in three ways, as a long-term relationship of:

- 1) Western Europe with the Balkans;
- 2) Italy and the Balkans;
- 3) Venice and its colonies in the Balkans and neighbouring regions.

Here, we are mostly concerned with the relationship between Venice and the Balkans, although we will often contextualize this relationship within the larger Italian and Western

European view of the Balkans. Millennia-long Italian colonization of the Eastern Adriatic coast left a crucial and enduring impact in this area. The vestiges of the Roman Empire, Christian and Catholic civilization, Venetian culture, and influences from other parts of Italy on the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Eastern Adriatic coast in the Middle Ages and in modern times, the influence of Trieste from the 18th century to 1918, the impact of Fascist Italy, the trade with Trieste as the closest Western city during socialist Yugoslavia, the most recent wars of the 1990s until today – all of these create a very complex picture which is visible in every aspect of life, and especially in art, and more concretely in literature.

Historical review of relationship between Italy and the Eastern Adriatic

The Romans, and later the Venetians, needed the Eastern Adriatic coast for their sea route to the Levant, because this coast with its many islands and protected bays is a much better sailing route than the Western Adriatic coast, which is flat, with larger waves, and therefore it is more difficult for sailing in bad weather conditions.⁴ Since prehistoric Illyrian times, the time of Greek colonization in the fourth century B.C., and the Roman Empire from Cesar and Augustus till its collapse, the Eastern Adriatic coast was the favorite sea route to Greece, Near East and the Black Sea. That is why, from its very beginning, it was strategically important for Venice to control it. In order to become a power, it became a Venetian priority to include the Eastern Adriatic coast in its *Stato da mar*.⁵ The very conception of *Stato da mar* implied that to the Venetians it was not crucial to own a large *terraferma* in the Balkans, as they had in their immediate hinterlands in the Paduan plain, but to control strategic sailing points to the south, the large islands of Crete and Cyprus.

After the Greeks colonized some of the islands and coastal cities (such as Zadar and Trogir), the Romans colonized the huge area near the Danube, which left a significant cultural

trace. In their first conquests of the Eastern Adriatic coast, but also later during the Middle Ages, the inhabitants of the Western coast encountered the prehistoric Illyrian population that they stereotypically regarded as "barbaric." The Romans encountered Illyric tribes, who under Roman influence started using their own vulgate, in this case the Eastern (Balkan)-Romance dialects, accepting, at the same time, some aspects of Roman culture. Later, in the early Middle Ages and after, Venetians encountered a symbiotic amalgam of Romanized Illyrians and Slavs, the so-called Vlachs, who lived in the neighbouring mountains. These Vlachs, who by the 15th century had almost completely accepted the Slavic language and intermingled freely with Slavs, were until the nineteenth century usually called *Morlacchi* in Italian documents.

Due to conquests of the "barbaric" Slavs in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., the Romans moved to the fortified cities at the coast and on the islands. They created the first cultural ties with Italy after the fall of the Roman Empire, because they continued to communicate with Italy, and considered themselves as parts of a larger Latin civilization. In official communication they used Latin, but otherwise they spoke *Dalmatic*, a specific Western Romance vulgate. During the Middle Ages, these "Romans," through marriage, became related to the neighbouring Slavs. A new amalgamized Slavic ethnos was created because Dalmatic language became extinct, but "Romans" influenced the Slavs culturally. These common cultural features of coastal and insular Dalmatia and Italy still exist today.

Venetian social and political proto-Morlacchism

The Venetian control over the coastal Dalmatia did not change from 1420 until the end of the Republic in 1797. Here, we will discuss social and political proto-Morlacchism, that is, selected situations in which the representatives of different classes of the Venetian society

create, promote, and maintain various, mostly negative cultural stereotypes about Dalmatians, particularly the ones from the hinterlands. When Venetian writers needed exotic subjects, especially in the 18th century, they often went to neighbouring Morlacchia, a few dozen kilometers away, and they found and analyzed a "savage" culture, forgetting that those same Morlacchi came to Dalmatian cities to trade their goods, that they used to come to live in those cities and mix with their population. In this relationship between the Morlacchi and the cities' population, each of them influenced each other culturally.

However, in Venice, the Dalmatian population was one of the many minorities. They were ridiculed in the so-called *schiavonasca* Renaissance literature of the 16th century, and partially in Goldoni's plays in the mid-eighteenth century, which testifies to the fact that there existed for centuries a continuous stereotyping of Dalmatians in Venice proper. However, these stereotypes were usually quite benign, and besides, they were part of various ethnic and linguistic communities' stereotypes that coexisted in multicultural Venice.

Inoslav Bešker notes that the first mention of the Morlacchi in Venetian texts is in the 14th century, whereas the systematic usage of that term by Venetian administration dates from the fifteenth century until the fall of the *Serenissima*. (Bešker 2007: 30-32, 47-52) One of the earliest descriptions of the "wild" Morlacchi is by the Paduan Palladio Fuso (Palladius Fuscus, 1450-1520) from 1520. Fuso spent part of his life as a teacher in Dalmatian cities, and he writes that the Morlacchi resemble beasts rather than human beings, they eat milk and cheese, and attack and rob foreign travelers, and consider plunder as the most glorious way of life.⁶ (Fusko 1990 [1540]: 90) Various reports about the Morlacchi and the coastal Dalmatians written by inquisitors and governors (*provveditori*) from the 16th century are also very interesting. They have a priority here because they clearly demonstrate the long-term existence of proto-Morlacchism.

I have chosen two reports by two Venetian *sindici* (i.e. inquisitors), Giovanni Battista Giustiniano and Antonio Diedo, whom the Government sent to the eastern Adriatic coast in 1553. Giustiniano wrote a detailed travelogue, and both *sindici* also submitted special reports to the Government. These reports include numerous interesting data, but also personal assessments of Dalmatians' cultural traits, including the traits of the urban coastal population, as well as the Morlacchi. They both emphasize the importance of trading goods with the Morlacchi and coastal cities. Besides, the Morlacchi were often hired as agricultural workers. However, they underscore their habit of robbery and banditry. They note that the relation between the cities' patricians and the folk are not very good, since their quarrels often end up in "barbaric cruelties." They also note the poverty of the population, frequent famine, wars with the Ottomans, and close and unstable borders.

Inoslav Bešker (2007: 62) points out that these Venetian officials do not care much about Dalmatians, Morlacchi, and Albanians; in fact, they dislike them. They cooperate with them primarily because of trade and benefits to the Republic. The officials include in their reports several not so appropriate descriptions of the Dalmatian population. In his report to the Government, Giustiniano notes that Dalmatians "live [...] with barbaric customs; they are by nature malicious and proud (arrogant)."⁷ (Giustiniano 1880 [1553]: 31) In his *Itinerary*, he indicates that Orthodox Morlacchi "live off milk and cheese, because all they have are animals; they are people of Serbian and heretic religion, and Ottoman subjects. They are dirty and filthy, and are all the time with animals."⁸ (Giustiniano 1877 [1553]: 253-254) Diedo's report is in some respects very similar, as he notes that "many [Dalmatians] lead very poor lives, they share their habitat with domestic animals, and use them to satisfy many life demands. They speak mostly Slavic and Italian (the *lingua franca*). By nature, they are damned, proud and suspicious, but are very faithful to your Government, so you could expect good from them at any moment."⁹ (Diedo 1880 [1553]: 3)

Similar stereotypes were present in the 17th century, when there were many wars in the mountains of Dalmatia, which left this area completely devastated. These were the wars between the Ottomans and Venice, but in fact, most of the soldiers were local Morlacchi, Catholics and Orthodox, on the Venetian side, and the ancestors of today's Bosniak Muslims on the side of the Ottoman Empire. These wars resulted in three Venetian conquests, but the Morlacchi were so fiery and ruthless that it became very difficult afterwards to normalize conditions and to "civilize" a population used to war and pillage.¹⁰

With the pacification after 1699, and finally in 1718, Venice faced entirely different problems, together with its own decadence. Considering the Enlightenment and the new physiocratic ideas, it realized its need for modernization, and, above all, for modernizing the colonies. Dalmatia and the newly acquired lands (*nuovo* and *nuovissimo acquisto*) became more important strategically and economically. (Wolff 2001: 1) But, how is it possible to "conquer," "tame," and "civilize" the poor inhabitants of the Dalmatian hinterlands that have a specific culture and are used to wars and pillage for centuries? The answer is to turn them into subjects who will succeed economically and pay taxes, who be in harmony with the central government, and will provide good publicity for Venice in educated circles around Western Europe. (cf. Bešker 2007: 74-81)

The result was an intensified proto-Morlacchism that anticipated Fortis's travelogue, as well as some aspects of Goldoni's work. Furthermore, in order to maintain new possessions in the Dalmatian hinterland, it was necessary to keep the Morlacchi at a "primitive level." Paolo Sarpi, the promoter of Venetian rule over the Adriatic, wrote to the Venetian Senate, probably in the first decades of the sixteenth century, that if they wished to keep the Dalmatians loyal, they should keep them ignorant.¹¹ (Sarpi, according to Bešker 2007: 93) This attitude remained constant until the fall of Venice in 1797.

Political proto-Morlacchism of the 18th century Venetian administration

Larry Wolff analyzed the texts of ten Venetian dignitaries from the 18th century, which show different aspects of the Venetian proto-Morlacchism Enlightenment. Among them are six Dalmatian Governors (*provveditori generali*): Zorzi Grimani (1732-1735), Giacomo Boldù (1744-1747), Francesco Grimani (1754-1756), Pietro Michiel (1762-1765), Domenico Condulmer (1769-1771), and Giacomo da Riva (1771-1774). They are joined by the famous Venetian intellectual and reformer Marco Foscarini, as well as by three Inquisitors (*sindici inquisitori*) Giovanni Loredan, Nicolo Erizzo, Sebastian Molin, whom the Venetian government, under Foscarini's advice, sent to Dalmatia after the governor Boldù went there in 1748. They wrote their reports on the situation in Dalmatia after their return to Venice in 1751.

Some of these reports contain interesting observations that clearly demonstrate the attitude of Venetian dignitaries that could have influenced Goldoni as he was writing *La Dalmatina* (1758) and other plays dealing with Dalmatians (*La birba* 1734, *La calamita de' cuori* 1752, *L'impostore* 1754). These reports certainly influenced Alberto Fortis and his seminal travelogue on the Morlacchi (1774).

The report by Governor Zorzi Grimani in 1732 described the Morlacchi as follows:

The Morlacco too, who is not of very ancient subjection (*sudditanza*), shows himself of optimal heart toward his prince. He is by nature ferocious, but not indomitable (*indomito*). He is accustomed to being treated without excess. Too much gentleness makes him impertinent, and extraordinary rigor renders him fierce and harsh. He does not love working the land; he is rather inclined to pillage, and succeeds best at arms. (Grimani 1732, according to Wolff 2001: 131)

According to Grimani, the coastal Dalmatians are the tamed Morlacchi, while the Morlacchi themselves should undergo a taming process. (Wolff 2001: 132) Grimani observed a great ethnic unity between the Morlacchi and the coastal Dalmatians, but neglected to state their cultural differences. As I will indicate in the next chapter, Fortis is not of the same opinion, as he exaggerately separates the Morlacchi from the coastal Dalmatians.

The notion that the Morlacchi are of a cruel nature is found in several sources. Governor Giacomo Boldù notes that it is an "invincible defect" of the coastal Dalmatians that they are unsuccessful in agriculture and mostly dedicated to "pillage, blood, and other human disorders [...] Also lazy by nature, especially the Morlacco [...] and incapable of discipline." (Boldù 1748, according to Wolff 2001: 132) Boldù, however, in 1748 was himself accused of embezzlement and corruption. He defended himself by justifying the corruption and oppression of his own administration with the negative character and customs of the Dalmatian nation, especially their lack of talent for economy. He also accused the Orthodox Morlacchi, which was applauded by Catholic conservatives in Venice. He claimed, for example, that the Morlacchi, generally, did not accept military and police discipline, and that they would rather create paramilitary formations and cooperate with the haiducs. Boldù criticized the barbarity and savageness of the Morlacchi, and demanded the destruction of their barbaric customs and the establishment of special standards for governing Dalmatia. (Wolff 2001: 132-136) This is how he described their habit of vendetta and murders:

Few are the memorials in which the truth is not masked, in which first place is not held by the malignity and calumny to which the Morlacchi are inclined by their own instinct. [...] They display such animosity and fervor in their suits, that if the judge were ignorant of the character of the nation, he would only with difficulty be induced

to believe that a subject could have so much audacity as to present himself so frankly before the court with plain lies. [...] If then one reflects upon the copious congeries of these orders that encumber these improper provinces (*province scorrette*), and especially the depraved and ferocious character of the nation, it will not be difficult to recognize that it is not possible among peoples who abhor the method of the courts, and no other law than that which they learn by the extravagance of their customs, to be able always to observe in criminal cases the legal method as it is observed in other parts of the state and especially in Italy. (ibid., Wolff 2001: 135-136)

In the context of Boldù's unsuccessful governance of Dalmatia, Marco Foscarini demanded enlightened reforms for Dalmatia in his detailed speech before the Great Council in 1747. He emphasized the importance of Dalmatia as the first Venetian province (*provincia primogenita*) and "antemurals" (*antemurali*), and accused the administration of Dalmatia of embezzlement and corruption. He noted that if Dalmatians were known once for their "bellicose valor," they are now known for their "infirmity." (Wolff 2001: 40-45, 129) Foscarini also spoke of an "infelice Morlacco," but also of the "villagers of Dalmatia, a people crafty from need and ferocious by nature."¹² (Foscarini 1880 [1747]: 220-221; Wolff 2001: 40, 129) Foscarini's description of the Morlacchi provoked both sympathy and fear among Venetians. (Wolff 2001: 129)

At the end of Boldù's mandate and because of Foscarini's speech, the Venetian government sent three Inquisitors (*sindici inquisitori*) to Dalmatia in 1748. They came back in 1751 and reported on the general disorder, confusion, and chaos in newly conquered Morlacchia, as well as on the "greed and malice" of some administrators who had contributed to the "extreme misery and desperation" of the population. They pointed out that the Venetian

courts were unfair to the poor Morlacchi (*poveri Morlacchi*). (Wolff 2001: 48-49, 138-140), but they also criticized the Dalmatians for being poor farmers:

If we were disturbed by the depravities and disorders in which we found these provinces immersed, our spirit was especially distressed at seeing the ineptitude (*dappocaggine*), and inertia (*inerzia*), of its peoples, which, as due to the laziness (*pigrizia*) of their ancestors, leaves the lands desperately idle (*perdutamente oziosi*). (Loredan et al. 1751, according to Wolff 2001: 139)

The Inquisitors criticized the Morlacchi wastefulness, innate savagery, and frequent bloodshed. Their irregular national character was "ferocious, violent, lazy, intemperate, indecent, barbarous." In their reports, the Inquisitors used Counter Reformation Catholic rhetoric, which was not, ideologically, in accordance with the postulates of the Venetian Enlightenment, but it was useful at the moment for their pragmatic needs. Under the authority of the Senate, the Inquisitors prohibited excessive spending during the patron saints celebrations and weddings, and they condemned vendetta, as well as the brutal and corrupt behaviour of the Morlacchi leaders. (Wolff 2001: 136-142)

Larry Wolff compared the attitudes of these Inquisitors to the trials that took place in Western Europe two centuries earlier, when in the 16th century the Reformed Church organized campaigns against popular culture. Peter Burke analyzed this topic in his famous book *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978: 207-243). In these reports, the Morlacchi are described, in many respects, as "Rabelaisian."¹³ Wolff also notes that they are described this way:

The Morlacchi appeared as a Rabelaisian race, characterized not only by ferocity, but intemperance, prodigality, debauchery, and the blasphemous perversion of religious

observance. Their 'ruinous' appetites for food and drink fit their natural inclination to violence and even, by implication, to some sort of bacchanalian sexuality. This utter condemnation of the customs of popular culture also contained an element of economic criticism with an emphasis on the squandering of time, wealth and resources. (Wolff 2001: 138)

Three years after the Inquisitors, the General Governor (*provveditore*) Francesco Grimani arrived in Venice. He enacted the famous enlightened "Grimani's laws," with which he attempted to reform agriculture in the whole of Dalmatia, and especially in Morlacchia, where he tried to promote farming among the Morlacchi, who were usually cattle-breeders. However, Grimani imposed very high taxes on land that was not very fertile, and the reform failed from the very beginning. (Wolff 2001: 49, 142-143) Grimani considered the Morlacchi good soldiers, but he also wrote that they could not be trusted: "Speaking about the Morlacco, all the observations of my predecessors combine to characterize him as ferocious, intemperate, inertial, and devoted to theft." (Grimani 1756, according to Wolff 2001: 143)

Grimani's successors expressed similar views, although by then the Serenissima was already in decline. Governor Pietro Michiel tried to attribute the economically shameful conditions of Dalmatia to the national character of the Dalmatians: "the indocile nature of its inhabitants, different in customs and in rite of religion." He claimed that "people [are] moreover not at all industrious [...] but lazy and profligate in the extreme, although abounding in lands that in other regions serve to render the subject comfortable, to give notable increment to commerce, and to bring appreciable utility to the state." He noted: "the true character of the Morlacco is intemperate to excess, lazy, inclined to theft and vendetta, restless and violent." A Morlacco is also "ferocious" and "inclined to arms," which was very

useful to Venice. They are loyal to their leaders, and that should be exploited. (Michiel 1765, according to Wolff 2001: 144)

In Pietro Michiel's view, the Morlacco could be redeemed if he so wished: "The Morlacco would be wealthy if he wished (*se volesse*) to apply the labor to the cultivation of lands, and if he felt (*sentisse*) the utmost temperance." (ibid.: 145) In 1939, an anthropologist and philosopher Vladimir Dvorniković expressed a similar opinion with regard to Yugoslavs, the Balkan inhabitants of the Dinarides: "many Yugoslavs live their whole life with one important illusion...that they 'could have done' or 'could do' many things – only if they 'had wanted to.'" For Dvorniković, this national self-delusion was the main obstacle to Yugoslavs' mental and cultural development. (Dvorniković 1990 [1939]: 978)

The last two governors before 1774, Domenico Condulmer and Giacomo da Riva, continued the tradition of stereotyping the Morlacchi. Condulmer claimed that the Morlacchi are "ferocious by nature." (Condulmer 1769, according to Wolff 2001: 146-147) Giacomo da Riva remarked that the Morlacchi are undisciplined, and that the main cause of their poverty lies in their leaders who steal from their people, and demand them to be submissive. (da Riva 1772, according to Wolff 2001: 149-150)

We could agree with Wolff that the Morlacchi during the Venetian Enlightenment were considered as a separate part of the Dalmatian nation. To Venetians, they were culturally alien because of their economic and social backwardness. As Michel Foucault (1984) notes, the ideal of discipline was central to Enlightenment thought, and in some regards it was also a leitmotif with some leaders of the Venetian Enlightenment. In the Governors' reports, the Morlacchi first appear as a problem of discipline, and later as a problem of imperial civilization. The Governors question was whether the Morlacchi could be civilized, while years later Fortis questions whether they should be civilized at all. This is the difference

between Venetian proto-Morlacchism and Western European Morlacchism, as defined by Alberto Fortis, as we shall see in the next chapter. (Wolff 2001: 129-131, 133, 170)

Literary proto-Morlacchism

Literary proto-Morlacchism is somewhat different, maybe even more complex than political proto-Morlacchism. For centuries, Dalmatians appeared in Italian literature sporadically. Although it might be expected that Italian writers were more familiar with Dalmatia, due to long-lasting ties with Venice and other parts of Italy, they often demonstrated a complete lack of knowledge about the country and its inhabitants. Still, those who spent time in Dalmatia left important traces in their writings about Dalmatian culture. Croatian scholars, specializing in comparative literature, in Croatian and Italian studies, researched in detail different aspects of these literary relations and their mutual cultural influences. Mirko Deanović and Mate Zorić were the first researchers, and later many other scholars followed. (Raspudić 2010: 5)

From the Italian side, there hasn't been a lot of research dedicated to literary relations. The most important scholar was Arturo Cronia, who was an expert on this topic but his interpretations were significantly influenced by his political views that reflected Italian claims over Dalmatia. While it is true that older Dalmatian literature was under strong Italian influence, which was crucial in many aspects, Cronia overemphasized its epigonic character and completely ignored its uniqueness. (Delbianco 2004: 221-223, 247)

The studies of Mirko Deanović and Mate Zorić, as well as of other Croatian researchers until the 1990s, in their research of older Italian sources, as well as of their contemporaries, often lacked a critical approach, which later was supplanted by postcolonial theory. During the Yugoslavia era (from 1918 until 1990), writers tended to stress the

"Westernness" of the Croatian nation and to differentiate it as much as possible from other South Slavic nations, which settled in the Balkans eastward of Croatia, with whom Croats shared a multinational federation. For this reason they often failed to note numerous colonial descriptions, attitudes, and interpretations regarding the Dalmatians in Italian literature and criticism. These scholars emphasized mostly the positive aspects of the relations between the countries. For example, they were very proud of the fact that Dante Alighieri mentioned Croatia in his *Commedia* (1321), regardless of the fact that he wrote about it as an unknown and distant country, as he mentioned other Balkan Slavic regions, such as *Schiavonia*, Raška, and Kvarner. (Deanović 1915: 370)

In the 14th century, Franco Sacchetti (ca. 1330-1400) wrote a damning piece on Schiavonia, by which he probably meant Dalmatia. Known for his *Novelle*, written in the style of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, he wrote a poem about his stay in Schiavonia, "Canzone distesa da Franco detto in Schiavonia." (Sacchetti, according to Deanović 1915: 366-367; see appx. I.1) The poem is the first known literary example that directly exemplifies what I have called proto-Morlacchism. Sacchetti's portrayal contains some realistic elements, especially descriptions of the footwear, wool linen (*schivina*), headgear in the shape of horns worn by women (other sources also mention this), as well as large earrings in the shape of hoop. However, the description of their dirtiness, wrinkled skin that smells like water used for washing fish, malodour on their breath, untrimmed nails and the general physical ugliness of women testify to Sacchetti's malicious stereotypes.

Francesco Petrarca also mentioned Dalmatia and Dalmatians in a letter where he refuses the advice of his friend Niccolosio Bartolomeo to write a letter to an unknown Dalmatian because: "Dalmatian is used to a different climate and different type of writing. We have a common sea, but not a coast, nor a spirit and character, and finally we do not have a common way of life or a speech."¹⁴ (Deanović 1938: 18)

In the fifteenth century, we observe two tendencies. On the one hand, Italian Humanism spreads its influence to Dalmatian cities that see the creation of very influential humanistic and literary circles that include all Dalmatians. In Venice, the so-called *schiaivonesca* literature is created, which ridicules Dalmatian and other Slavic inhabitants of Venice and their community in general. However, this trend is not unique to Dalmatians. Other ethnic minorities in Venice are made fun of, such as Greeks, Germans, Spanish, French, Turkish, Albanians. This trend paves the way for sixteenth century literature, when during the Renaissance, with the satire there is also the glorification of some aspects of the elite and folk culture on both sides. At the end of the fifteenth century, we note a significant development in Croatian vernacular literature. In these works, Italians are often imitated and glorified, for example in local Petrarchan poetry, but they are also ridiculed and criticized. We should not forget that at this time the wars with the Ottomans were taking place in Dalmatia. Italy was not exposed to these wars, and was in a different, far more relaxed social situation.

Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) commends the Latin poetry of Ivan Gučetić of Dubrovnik, but in his first secular drama in Italian, *Favola d'Orfeo*, he includes a Schiavone shepherd who speaks incorrect Italian. His contemporary from Tuscany, Antonio Cammelli (1436-1502) from Pistoia goes even further by including in his sonnet a very lascivious verse in which he lists Croatian colloquial terms for male and female genitals (*pisda*, *coraz*), as well as a verb for sexual intercourse (*giebati*). (Badurina 1997: 104-105) From a more apologetic side, we have the Florentine Humanist Philippus de Diversis de Quartigianis (who died in Dubrovnik in 1452). From 1434 until 1444, he was the principal of a Dubrovnik high school, and in his work *Description of the glorious city of Dubrovnik (Situs aedificiorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclytae civitatis Ragusii ad ipsius senatum descriptio)*, as well as in other works texts, he wrote very positively of life and culture in the city. (De Diversis 2004 [1440])

In the sixteenth century, Niccolò Macchiavelli in *Discorsi sulla prima deca di Tito Livio* mentions Dubrovnik in positive terms and compares it to ancient Rome, Athens, and Alexandria, as well as Renaissance Florence and Venice. (see Zorić 1989) It must be stressed that at this time Italian and Dalmatian (Croatian, Slavic) cultures were related in many ways. Dominko Zlatarić from Dubrovnik translated Torquato Tasso's pastoral *Aminta* while it was still a manuscript and published it in Venice in 1580, a few months before the original Italian version was published. Guarini's *Pastor Fido* was translated by Frano Lukarević Burina from Dubrovnik and published in 1592. Both these translations were bestsellers for a long time and they were performed numerous times in theatres in Dalmatia, and especially in Dubrovnik. (Torbarina 1997: 104-106, 112-115; Stipčević 1994: 183)

The most famous writer in Venice of *schiaivonesca* literature was Zuan Polo Liompardi (d. 1540). (see Zorić 1994) In his poems *Libero Del Rado Stizuxo* (1533), and *Libero de le vendette che fese i fioli de Rado stizoxo* (1575), he caricatures the speech of Venetian Schiavoni, a fusion of Dalmatian and Venetian dialects, but he also describes the Schiavoni's clothing, customs, and other traits. He went as far as to pretend that he was Ivan Pavlović (*Juan Paulavichio*) from Dubrovnik. He also wrote a comic "prayer" *Oraciun de San Rado* in *Schiavonesco*, the lingo of Venetian Dalmatians. (Liompardi 1533; see appx. I.2) Liompardi parodies some other *schiaivoneschi* genres of oral literature, such as theatrical toasts (*sdrauizza*) and laments. (Liompardi 1533, 1575; see appx. I.3) All these genres of oral literature are still alive in Dalmatia. Famous Venetian Renaissance dramatist Andrea Calmo (1510-1571) in his comedy *Il Travaglia* ridicules the Schiavoni for their "big nose" and their toasts. He writes: "A proverb says, when a Schiavone is born, a barrell of malice is born."¹⁵ (1994 [1556]: 276)

Counterparts to Liompardi's and Calmo's stereotypes are the prose comedies of the greatest Croatian Renaissance dramatist Marin Držić (1508-1567). In his most famous comedy, *Uncle Maroje* (*Dundo Maroje*), Držić writes:

O, poor Grubiša, he wondered in Italy, where they eat frogs and snails, where they drink sour wine and eat meagerly meals, where there are no toasts (*zdravjice*), and where they pour water into wine. Oh father, oh dear God, where has my unfortunate destiny led me? Where are you, Pribrat, Radat, Vukmir, Obrad, Radmil¹⁶, my beloved company? So far away, poor me!¹⁷ (Držić 2014 [1551]: 98)

Similar to Držić, three hundred years after him the great Montenegrin poet of the 19th century, Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813-1851) writes about the Venetian gentry in the city of Kotor, according to the legends of the older generations that used to know them. Njegoš mocks Venetian eating habits and the way they dress, as well as men's physical weakness and premature aging.

May God be praised. They're strange people, indeed!

Have you noticed down here in Kotor Bay

this Sovra, the Venetian governor,

and the other Venetian gentlemen?

They like chicken or eggs better by far

than the ram meat or any ball of cheese.

What an untold quantity of chickens

they gobble up within a single year!

They are dying from all this lordly life,

with big bellies hanging and no moustache,
with their head tops dusted with some ashes,
wearing earrings on their ears like women.
When they attain the age of thirty years,
they get to look very much like old hags;
one feels ashamed even to look at them.
When they begin to climb the smallest stairs,
their faces turn as pale as a white sheet,
and something starts to throb beneath their throats.

So one might think they were not far from death. (Njegoš 2000 [1847]; see appx. I.4)

This cheerful atmosphere of mutually making fun of each other's cultural differences does not continue in the 17th century. (Raspudić 2010: 72) Catholic Counter Reformation and the Ottoman wars have an impact on literature, and epic poetry dominates Dalmatian, and especially Dubrovnik literature of the time. Mate Zorić notes that the Italian writer Pace Pasini, who in his novel *Historia del Cavalier Perduto* (1644) criticized Dalmatians for their "sinful, demonic character of Uscocchi and Haiducs folk," alluding to the fact that many Dalmatians took part in the wars with the Ottomans, but also in banditry as a consequence of the war. (Zorić 1992: 142)

In the 18th century, there is a renewed interest in several aspects of Dalmatian culture, including literature. Mirko Deanović notes that at this time some Italian writers still viewed the patriarchal style of life of Adriatic Slavs in derogatory terms, while others emphasized their bravery and some even considered the European culture of the learned Slavs equal to their own. (Deanović 1962: 136) Proto-Morlacchism has been discussed for decades as a specific current in Venetian Enlightenment literature. In many respects, it corresponded

primarily to the Enlightenment taste for the exotic and to the Pre-Romanticism fascination with the noble savage, as well as a specific literary "invention" of Eastern Europe. In the absence of intercontinental colonies, Venetian writers found exoticism in their own state by discovering these so-called wild people, so close to European civilization geographically yet so far away from it in their customs and way of life that they could easily compete in exoticism with the inhabitants of the newly discovered Pacific islands. (Wolff 2001: 193, 323)

Then there is polemic between the Venetian writer Zaccaria Valarésso and the Dalmatian "Morlacchi" writer, the Franciscan Filip Grabovac. (Fine 2006: 347-350, 362) Valarésso in his "mock-heroic" poem *Baiamonte Tiepolo in Schiavonia*, which takes place in the 14th century, makes fun of Dalmatians, and especially the Morlacchi. He mocks their military uniforms, which are a combination of local Balkan and Italian clothing, as well as their language which has many Italianisms. Commenting on the fact that a Catholic mass in Dalmatia could be held in the local language, which was a unique custom since everywhere else in the Catholic world the mass was held in Latin, Valarésso writes:

Here even the priests at the altar

Wear the moustaches of assassins,

And according to the usage of the land

Holy Mass is also in a barbarous language.¹⁸ (Valarésso 1770: 14)

Mocking the Dalmatians' large moustache was common among Italian writers of the 18th century. For example, Carlo Gozzi in *Memorie inutili* (Gozzi 1890 [1797]: Vol. I, 219-220) and Giovanni Grevembroch (1731-1807) in *Gli abiti de' Veneziani* (s.a., mid 18th c., according to Pizzamiglio 2006: 343) also ridicule the dense moustache of the Morlacchi.

I have already mentioned earlier Njegoš's verses where he mocks the shaved moustache of the Italians.¹⁹ In the same vein, Franciscan friar Filip Grabovac wrote a retort to Valarésso in his book *The Flower of Conversation of the Illyrian or Croatian Nation and Language* (*Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti rvackoga*), in 1747. However the book was confiscated by the Venetian government and Grabovac was imprisoned and he died in jail in 1749. Grabovac, however, had already made fun of Valarésso in a special pamphlet *Amorous exhortation of a fervent Dalmatian* (*Esortazione amorosa di un zelante Dalmatino*) of 1729:

Of all the Doge's dukes (*vojvode*)
who are Croatians,
the best Croat soldier
is the duke Antun Kumbat. [...]
And other miserable dukes,
as soon as they went to Italy,
they became Italian,
and they're saying: "We are not Croats!"
They shave their hair and wear wigs,
they remove their calpac and wear nice hats.
They run and race
to Italy to shave their moustache.
They shaved their nice hair,
they threw away fine silk belts, [...]
golden needles, gilded feathers,
they completely turned *lacman*!²⁰ [...]

They threw away their sharp nice curved sabers,
they buckled blunt and slim roasting spits (i.e. swords),
Thinking that they would be great heroes,
but Ottomans do not fear them at all! [...]
Oh, Doge, my bright crown,
they are the shame of Dalmatia.
Master, you have the power,
please, make them redress their Croatian uniforms! (Grabovac 1729; see appx. I.5)

This poem in South Slavic decasyllable verse swears loyalty to the Venetian doge, but also takes pride in the Morlacchi heritage. The military uniform of Dalmatian officers, which was, in many ways, similar to Ottoman uniforms, exemplifies a specific historical and cultural relation among three geographic areas of the Venetian state: Venice, coastal Dalmatia and Dalmatian hinterland. There had been many Venetian texts that anticipated the portrayal of the Morlacchi in Fortis's *Viaggio* and paved the way to Morlacchism. As mentioned before, the Morlacchi heritage is also the topic of some comedies by one of the greatest Venetian dramatists, Carlo Goldoni, but before delving in his exotic plays, I am going to discuss the work that made the Morlacchi popular, Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia*.

Chapter 2:

Alberto Fortis: Exoticising the *Morlacchi*

The text that introduced Dalmatia to the Venetian Republic in a new and quite original way, and very soon to the rest of Europe, is a travelogue by the Paduan naturalist, the abbot Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia*. This detailed account of the eastern Adriatic province, which includes scientific descriptions of fossils and the mineral wealth of Dalmatia, information about Dalmatian islands, rivers, lakes, and its natural world, is the most informed book on Dalmatia of the eighteenth-century. Although it deals mostly with fossils, flora, and fauna, and it would seem that it was intended primarily for those interested in palaeontology and biology, it also reports on the history of Dalmatian cities and their architecture, it elaborates on ancient inscriptions, Dalmatian social history, and the customs of its inhabitants. Interestingly, it gained most of its popularity in literary circles thanks to the chapter on the customs of the Morlacchi, "De' costumi dei Morlacchi."

Before I proceed with the discussion of the portrayal of the Morlacchi in this book, I will discuss some facts regarding Fortis's background on Dalmatia, since he spent some time in this province between 1765 and 1783, and maintained life-long relationships with several Dalmatians. The *Viaggio* was published in Venice by Alvise Milocco all'Apolline, in 1774.²¹ This book is a product of several Fortis's trips to Dalmatia in the early 1770s. During his sojourn, besides the places he visited to research the fishing industry and other agricultural areas, which was the main purpose of his journeys, Fortis also visited many coastal cities, as well as the Dalmatian interior, the so-called Morlacchia. Some of these trips were to the northern part of the coast, to the regions of Kvarner and Istria, though most of them were to Venetian Dalmatia and to the Republic of Dubrovnik, his main destinations after 1780. Fortis took his first longer journey to the eastern Adriatic coast in the spring of 1770,²² in the

company of John Symonds, a historian who became a Cambridge professor the following year, and Domenico Cirillo, a professor of botany at the University of Naples. (Pizzamiglio 2010: 2) Though they were supposed to visit Dalmatia, their research on the islands of Cres and Lošinj, and on the northern part of the eastern Adriatic coast, took longer than planned and they did not have time to continue to Dalmatia. After this journey, Fortis published *Saggio d'osservazioni sopra l'isola di Cherso ed Osero* (1771). In the summer of 1771, Fortis took another trip to the eastern Adriatic coast, in the company of an Anglican bishop from Londonderry, Frederick Augustus Hervey, and his nephew James. They started their voyage from Pula, in Istria, but returned to Italy when they heard that Vesuvius had erupted. Since the eruption was over by the time they reached Naples, they resumed their journey and visited several Dalmatian cities, as well as "Morlacchia," the Dalmatian interior. The following year, the Venetian Republic financed his trip to Dalmatia with the task to study ways to improve fishing on the coast and on the islands of Dalmatia. This time, Fortis was joined by an Englishman, Jack Harvey, and a sketch artist, Angelo Donati.²³ During part of the trip inland, the party was joined by young Giulio Bajamonti from Split, at the time a student of medicine in Padua. He later wrote one of the responses to the *Viaggio*, "Il Morlacchismo d'Omero" (1797).²⁴ In the summer of 1773, Fortis visited again the eastern Adriatic coast and after this trip he published, in April 1774, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*.²⁵

The work consists of two parts. The first part is dedicated to the three reformers of the University of Padua: Andrea Querini, Girolamo Grimani, and Sebastian Foscarini, where Fortis was hoping to get a tenured position, which he never obtained.²⁶ The second part is dedicated to a Swedish mineralogist Johan Jacob Ferber. Each part consists of several chapters describing places in Dalmatia, except for one chapter which is devoted to its population. All the chapters are in the form of letters, addressed to either a professor or a diplomat, with a title listed beside the name. Tomislav Pletenac indicates that this form of

writing, and especially the fact that institutions are stated in the heading, has for objective to increase the scientific importance of the contents of the work. That way, an addressee extends to the whole institution. "Besides, every letter individually determines the author who is connected to the addressee and the social area he occupies. The way he addresses that area supplies Fortis with authority and credibility, as well as a personal identification." (Pletenac 2003: 58) Pletenac states that the addressee, as a person who has the right, and even a duty, to present scholarly findings, legitimizes Fortis's writing, considering that Fortis, as a sender, is determined together with the addressee. (ibid.) In the *Viaggio*, however, the addressees, and therefore the sender, too, are multiplied, as they could be sorted in several groups: 1) Venice's political elite; 2) botany and nature professors; 3) distinguished Englishmen. This diversity opens the problem of the whole Fortis's discourse, as some topics are directly connected to the addresses and Fortis's relationship with them. "Therefore, Fortis's text is, in a way, a compromise between his personal wishes and instructions received in accord with the financial support. " (ibid.)

The second chapter of the first part, "Dei costumi dei Morlacchi," could be viewed within this context. It is dedicated to "His Excellency Milord John Stuart, Earl of Bute, etc."²⁷ (1713-1792), who was a British politician, and for a short time a prime minister. The choice of the addressee for this chapter was by no means accidental. Earl of Bute was interested in Dalmatia from very early on, and he was the patron of Robert Adam, an architect and the author of a famous book on Diocletian's Palace in Split, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764). Earl of Bute's protégés were also James Macpherson, who claimed to have translated the *Songs of Ossian* from Scottish Gaelic into English, as well as Melchiorre Cesarotti, who translated them into Italian.²⁸ Since the authenticity of the *Songs of Ossian* started being disputed as soon as they appeared, it is possible that Bute needed a proof that oral poetry transmitted through generations could exist

for centuries, like *Ossian* was believed to have existed and been transmitted since the third century. The best proof for that was another example of uncorrupted poetry. The Morlacchi and their poem *Hasanaginica*, which Fortis transcribed during his field trip to Morlacchia and translated into Italian as an example of the Morlacchi poetry, were ideal discoveries for this purpose. From Fortis's travelogue it is not easy to understand who the Morlacchi are, although he does devote the beginning of this chapter to their origins and to the etymology of the term "Morlacchi." Fortis states that the Morlacchi inhabit "the pleasant valleys of Kotar, along the rivers Kerka, Cettina, Narenta, and the mountains of inland Dalmatia," (Fortis 1778: 45) which indicates that they are the population of the hinterland Dalmatia. However, in the footnote that refers to this sentence, he states: "The country inhabited by Morlacchi is of much greater extent, not only towards Greece, but towards Germany and Hungary; but I confine my account to the small part of it which I saw."²⁹ (ibid.) From this statement we could assume that he applies the term Morlacchi to all Slavs, for he writes in the continuation of that sentence that the Morlacchi came to that area together with other nations "resembling them so much in customs and language, that they may be taken for one people, dispersed in the vast tracts from the coasts of our sea to the Frozen Ocean."³⁰ Still, despite the fact that Fortis mentions that due to similarities all Slavs could be viewed as one nation, throughout the travelogue he keeps emphasizing the difference between the Morlacchi and coastal Dalmatians, who are not only both Slavs, but also live just a few dozens kilometres away from each other. That is the key point in understanding who the Morlacchi are and what criteria are crucial in distinguishing them from the rest of Dalmatians. They are the inhabitants of Dalmatian interior, but, as Wolff remarks, for appreciating how they were perceived during the Venetian Enlightenment, the focus should not be on a geographical facet, but on an anthropological one, for it is not the geographical area that distinguishes the

Morlacchi, but rather they are viewed as an *aspect* of the Dalmatian nation, an anthropologically alien group, backwards in customs and economy. (Wolff 2001: 129)

The chapter on the Morlacchi describes their origin, their virtues, arts and talents, friendships, superstitions, music and dances, folk costumes, weddings, funerals, and other aspects of their culture. Most of all, it particularly emphasizes the Morlacchi's affinity for oral poetry, which was a very important part of their everyday entertainment. In order to illustrate the Morlacchi's fondness for poetry and the simplicity and beauty of their poems, Fortis includes in his travel account the transcription in Croatian and the Italian translation of the ballad "The Mourning Song of the Noble Wife of Asan Aga,"³¹ a ballad which was soon to create a great interest in the Morlacchi and their oral poetry among the European Romantics.

The variety of topics, including various spheres of the Morlacchi life, indicates that Fortis wishes to describe the Morlacchi in a scientific way, using the same methodology he used when he was describing different flora and fauna species or geological phenomena in other chapters of the book. This was the time when taxonomy was introduced in natural sciences by Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus, who developed a system of classification of plants and animals. Taxonomy facilitated the way of grouping and describing the objects of study of these sciences, as well as communication of scientists worldwide. In her seminal book *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt notes: "His [Linnaeus'] schema was perceived, even by its critics, as making order out of chaos – both the chaos of nature, and the chaos of earlier botany." (Pratt 1992: 25) Referring to Pratt's theory, Pletenac notes that taxonomy opened "the possibility of textual power over nature." (Pletenac 2003: 62) Someone who is familiar with the system, most probably a European familiar with Latin, is more powerful than someone who lives in chaos. Since the system was applicable to all known and unknown species of plants and animals, it became one of the basic arguments for western colonialism. (ibid.)

Similar methods started to be used when studying different cultures. That is the reason why, despite the fact that travel writings had been flourishing for a long time, it is only in the end of the eighteenth century that we could find travel writings that are in a way forerunners of later ethnographic studies. Fortis's *Viaggio* is certainly one of those writings.

Fortis describes the Morlacchi as aggressive and irrational, but he means to refer to their reputation which was only true a long time ago:

You have, no doubt, often heard, the Morlacchi described as a race of men, fierce, unreasonable, void of humanity, and capable of any crime. The inhabitants of the sea coast of Dalmatia tell many frightful stories about the cruelty of those people, that, induced by the avidity of plunder, they often proceeded to the most atrocious excesses of violence, by fire and sword. But these facts (though the truth of them is sufficiently authenticated, by the known veracity of those who relate them) are either of ancient date, or if some have happened in later times, they ought rather, from the characters they bear, to be ascribed to the corruption of a few individuals, than to the bad disposition of the nation in general. (Fortis 1778: 44)

The main aspects of the Morlacchi that I would like to develop from Fortis's account are announced in these two introductory sentences. They are: (1) the image of the Morlacchi as a cruel Other; (2) the choice of contextualization as opposed to generalization, as a method of drawing conclusions about the Morlacchi; (3) the importance of personal experience; and (4) the differences between the hinterland population of the Morlacchi, and the population of coastal Dalmatia, as well as between the Morlacchi and Italians.

1. The image of the Morlacchi as the cruel Other

At the very beginning, the Morlacchi are described as inhumane, aggressive, and irrational. Fortis mentions these characteristics as something the Earl of Bute must have heard several times during his sojourns "among us," without specifying if "us" means Fortis and his friends, or if it refers to Venetians in general. However, regardless of the precise definition of "us," the Morlacchi are clearly the Other, the ones who are very different from "us." Fortis addresses the Earl of Bute, but this "you" is also referred to the reader, thus acknowledging that the Morlacchi are the Other for the reader, too.

This distinction between "us," implying Fortis and his party, and "you," implying Earl of Bute and the reader, on the one hand, and the Morlacchi, on the other hand, is present throughout the travelogue. Despite his positive attitude toward the Morlacchi and the defensive stance he takes when they are unjustly portrayed, the Morlacchi are, nonetheless, perceived as the Other in various ways. Their otherness is alluded to by the very way Fortis describes them, as a subject of study, but primarily in regard to his writings about economic issues in Dalmatia. The otherness of the Morlacchi is particularly emphasized by qualifying many of their actions and customs as "barbarous." The adjective appears a few times as synonymous of "cruel" when he describes the haiducs'³² cruelty when they kill an ox just to eat a bit of the meat and use just a small part of the skin: "I have often heard them bitterly and justly censured, for the barbarous indiscretion of killing a poor man's ox, in order to serve themselves only with the small portion of the meat, and the skin." (Fortis 2010: 52; see appx. II.1) In another section, Fortis describes the inn (*han*) of the Castle of Vrana as a ruin, which is abandoned to the barbarity of the Morlacchi: "The Han, that stands near these ancient walls, is well worthy of observation, although it is also now in ruinous state, being abandoned to the barbarity of the Morlacchi, who inhabit the neighbouring lands, and carry off whatever materials suit them, to be employed in their wretched cottages." (ibid.: 25; see appx. II.2) But it is also true that Fortis blames the Venetians for the state of the Castle: "This castle, which at

the time of its foundation, was named Brana, or Vrana, by way of dignity, is now a frightful heap of ruins, reduced to that state by the Venetians." (ibid.; see appx. II.3)

Fortis employs the adjective "barbarous" even when it has nothing to do with cruelty, but is applied to something that fails to satisfy Fortis's aesthetic tastes, as women's clothing: "In some districts, they fix tafts of various coloured feathers, resembling two horns on their caps; in others, tremulous plumes of glass; and in others, artificial flowers, which they purchase in the sea port towns; and it must be confessed, that in the variety of those capricious and barbarous ornaments, sometimes a fancy not inelegant is displayed." (ibid.: 66-67; see appx. II.4) Fortis also makes use of the adverb, *barbaricamente*, to describe the colourful necklaces of the Morlacchi girls and women: "Both old and young women wear about their necks large strings of round glass beads of various size and colours [barbarously confused]; and many rings of brass, tin, or silver on their fingers. Their bracelets are of leather covered with wrought tin, or silver." (ibid.: 67; see appx. II.5)

The use of "barbarous" as an adjective and adverb can be found in descriptions of their singing where it is also used to qualify something that is not in accordance with Fortis's taste. For example, singing at a wedding reception is described as "barbarous screams:" "The bride is conducted to a church, veiled, and surrounded by the Svati on horseback, and the sacred ceremony is performed amidst the noise of muskets, pistols, barbaric shouts, and acclamations, and which continue till she returns to her father's house, or that of her husband if not far off." (ibid.: 70; see appx. II.6) The noun used to describe the Morlacchi singing, "urlo" (scream), is even more derogatory when it refers to singing than "scream" in English, since the same term is used in Italian (curiously, also in Croatian!) to refer to the howling of animals. In the section dedicated to singing and dancing, singing is once again referred to as "scream" (*urlo*), but this time, it is modulated barbarously: "A loud and long howl which is an *Oh!* barbarously modulated, constantly precedes the verse, the words of which are

pronounced rapidly, most without any modulation, which is all reserved for the last syllable, and ends with another long howl by way of thrill, raised louder and louder, while the breath lasts." (ibid. 85; see appx. II.7)

Dancing is described in equally derogatory terms. Their music is monotonous but their dance is wild. This is how Fortis describes *kolo*, the Morlacchi favourite round dance: "All the dancers, men and women, taking hold of each other's hands, form a circle, and turn slowly round, to the harsh [and monotonous] notes of the instrument.[...] The Morlacchi have an incredible transport for this rude dance." (ibid.: 86; see appx. II.8)

Fortis describes their poetry in similar ways:

The tune, to which these heroic songs are sung, is extremely mournful, and monotonous, besides, they bring the sound a little through the nose, which agrees perfectly well with their instrument. The verses of the most ancient traditional songs are of ten syllables, not rhymed. Their poetry does not want strength of expression, but the smallest ray of imagination rarely happens in it, and the little that is attempted is seldom happy. (ibid.: 82-83; see appx. II.9)

As with dancing, poetry also provokes a very emotional reaction among the Morlacchi, whereas it leaves Fortis unmoved: "Yet those songs have a great effect on the minds of the hearers, who are at pains to get them by heart; and I have seen some of them sigh, and weep at a paslage, which did not appear to me the least moving." (ibid.: 83; see appx. II.10) Only once Fortis speculates that the reason he does not share their excitement is because of his lack of understanding of their language and culture, but he quickly dismisses the thought. He thinks that the reason might well be that they are simple souls and are not used to sophisticated forms of art: "Perhaps the force of the Illyric words, better understood

by the Morlacchi, might produce this effect; and perhaps, as seems to be more probable, their artless minds, little stored with ideas, might more easily be affected." (ibid.: 83; see appx. II.11)

The Morlacchi dialect is also regarded as barbarous, although it is curious that he believes it to be equally barbarous as the coastal dialect, mostly because of many Italianisms. Fortis praises the admirable literary production written in the local language of the city of Dubrovnik, but he disapproves of use of Italianisms in other coastal cities. This practice of borrowing Italian words is also present among the Morlacchi, but, in his view and in opinions of the language experts he consulted, the frequent use of Italian terms renders their language barbarous:

The city of Ragusa has produced many elegant poets, and some poetesses, in the Illyrian tongue; and among them Ivan Gundulić (Giovanni Gondola) is much celebrated nor were the other cities, and islands of Dalmatia without their poets; but the many italianisms now introduced into their dialects have corrupted the ancient simplicity of the language. Even the dialect of the Morlacchi became equally barbarous, and full of foreign words, and phrases, as I am informed by those who have perfect knowledge of the language, and particularly by Matteo Sovich, archdeacon of Ossero, the most learned man of that country. (ibid.: 84; see appx. II.12)

So, according to Fortis, it would seem that Italianisms have corrupted the simplicity of the Morlacchi language and made it sound barbarous. It seems that anything complex does not suit the Morlacchi, only simplicity is adequate for them. While the adjective "barbarous" earlier on referred to the fact that they were not sophisticated enough, now their use of Italian words, which are supposedly civilized, is responsible for corrupting the Morlacchi language.

As several contemporary authors have observed, although Fortis was supportive of the Morlacchi, this should not prevent us from reading in his comments the bias of a civilized, and more worthy person. Nino Raspudić, for example, alluding to Žarko Muljačić who primarily commended the *Viaggio* as a text that introduced Dalmatians to Europe and referred to Fortis as a "friend of our people,"³³ claims that Fortis's discourse is the kind of xenophilia toward an inferior foreigner:

The fact that an "our peoples' great friend," differently from most of his Venetian predecessors, indeed speaks of Dalmatian Slavic population with personal liking, should not overshadow the fact that he speaks of them as of a civilizationally lower category of people, the ones that are on earlier stages of development and backward. This sort of xenophilia toward a lower, subordinated, and exotic foreigner is one of the common places of the orientalist discourse. (Raspudić 2010: 92)

This bias comes across very well in the third meaning of the adjective "barbarous." While in the earlier cases the term is synonymous with "cruel" and with "tasteless," it is also synonymous with "ancient." Fortis uses the term to refer to the past, as *secoli barbari*, and to the people that lived back then, but the usage is mostly neutral: "The origin of the Morlacchi [...] is involved in the darkness of barbarous ages." (ibid.: 45; see appx. II.13) By using the same adjective to refer to ancient times, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to describe the Morlacchi at the time of his visit, as it was the case with the previous two meanings of this adjective and its derivatives, Fortis creates a connection between the Morlacchi and ancient times. This connection is confirmed by several comparisons of the Morlacchi with some ancient peoples, such as ancient Morlacchi's predecessors, Illyrian tribes of Ardiaei and Autariatae, as well as with some ancient mythologies' personalities, such as Pylades and

Ceres. This connection with the past was often emphasized in descriptions of Eastern Europe. Wolff notes that the voyage to this part of Europe was often presented not only as a journey in geographical terms, but also in time. He quotes a passage from de Ségur's description of Poland: "But when one enters Poland, one believes one has left Europe entirely [...] everything makes one think one has been moved back ten centuries, and that one finds oneself amid hordes of Huns, Scythians, Veneti, Slavs, and Sarmatians." (de Ségur 1859: 300)

Interest in Eastern Europe was quite spread among Enlightenment philosophers and writers in Western Europe, such as Voltaire and Rousseau, who were fascinated by Russia and Poland, respectively. According to Wolff, it is in the eighteenth century that the traditional Renaissance North-South division between the civilized and uncivilized worlds shifts to a new East-West direction.³⁴ (Wolff 1994: 4-5) This, of course, does not mean that Eastern Europe was simply invented on false information and unreliable sources about its cultures. It implies the process of discovery and observation, but also imagination, of certain lands.³⁵ (ibid.: 356)

The process of construction of this cultural image included numerous travelogues of the time, written mostly in English and French, which described the lands of Eastern Europe as dangerous and underdeveloped, and their populations as semi-civilized and superstitious. Maria Todorova speculates that the reasons lie in the fact that "East came to be identified more often, and often exclusively, with industrial backwardness, lack of advanced social relations and institutions typical for the developed capitalist West, irrational and superstitious cultures unmarked by Western Enlightenment." (Todorova 2009: 11-12)

In this process of creation of Eastern Europe, the Republic of Venice played a very special role because of its geographical proximity to the imagined East-West border, and because of its political domination over the eastern Adriatic coast and Ionian islands, which influenced the development of a specific cultural representation of Slavic population, as well

as Albanian and Greek populations, though the latter ones to a lesser degree. (cf. Bufalini 1997)

2. Contextualization rather than generalization as a method of drawing conclusions about the Morlacchi

Fortis strongly opposes generalizations as a method of drawing scientific conclusions. In the section on the origins of the term Morlacchi, he criticizes several scholars who gave inaccurate interpretations of this term including the 17th century Croatian historian Ivan Lučić (*Giovanni Lucio, Joannes Lucius*), who translated it as Black Latins. After elaborating on the reasons why this translation cannot be accepted as valid, Fortis states that it is a product of generalization, which should not be used in science, although many scholars adopt this method: "It is the common defect of writers of the origin of nations, to draw general consequences from trivial and particular data, which depends very often on casual and transitory circumstances." (ibid.: 48; see appx. II.14)

Fortis condemns generalization at the beginning of the chapter on the Morlacchi where he states that the alleged cruelty of the Morlacchi is something that happened a long time ago, and it is something that can be ascribed to a few individuals rather than to the whole nation. (Fortis 1778: 44, see above) Even when he accepts that the Morlacchi did commit crimes, he contextualizes them by finding excuses for their actions. Initially the Morlacchi are described as cruel, inhumane, and unreasonable, but in the next sentence, Fortis finds the excuse that any army would necessarily be involved in some sort of aggressive behaviour after the war:

It is but too true, that, after the late wars with the Turks, the Morlacchi, habituated to murder and plunder with impunity, gave some examples of cruelty and rapine: but what instance can be given of troops just returned from war, and dismissed from the

exercise of arms, against the enemy of their sovereign, that have not peopled the woods and highways with thieves and assassins? (ibid.: 44; see appx. II.15)

Besides contextualizing the cruelty of the Morlacchi, he appeals to the understanding of the reader not to accuse the Morlacchi for their actions. Just as the reader starts getting a negative impression of the Morlacchi, Fortis finds a way of justifying their attitude or their actions. The same applies to Fortis's description of the haiducs, the most fearsome among the Morlacchi, who live in the woods and practically support themselves through robbery. Soon after stating that they are very cruel, Fortis advises those travelling in Morlacchia to hire a few of them to accompany him, for they are very loyal:

The greatest danger to be feared, is from the haiduks, of whom great numbers have retreated among the woods, and caves of those dreadful mountains on the confines; there, a traveller ought to get himself escorted by a couple of these honest fellows, and he is quite safe; for they are not capable of betraying him, although a banditti. (ibid.: 52; see appx. II.16)

As in the previous example, Fortis provides the background and the possible reasons for the haiduks' bad image. He justifies their misdeeds with the fact that they live in the woods and they lack food and clothes. He goes so far as to claim that if we knew the reasons why they run away into the mountains, instead of fearing them, we would feel sorry for them. However, he does not state those reasons. He only mentions that the haiducs are not vindictive and do not try to harm those who are responsible for their miserable lives. Who those people are, and how they harmed the haiducs, remains a mystery.

... and indeed, their case is commonly more apt to raise compassion, than dissidence, [...] they lead their life among the wolves, wondering from precipice to another, agitated by continual fear and suspicions, exposed to the severity of the seasons, and often deprived of the necessities of life, languish in the most solitary hideous caverns. It would be no wonder, if such men, irritated by the constant view of their miserable situation, were to commit acts of violence, especially against those to whom they attribute the cause of their calamities. Yet they very seldom disturb the tranquility of others, and prove always safe guides to travellers. (ibid.; see appx. II.17)

Once we are aware of the conditions they live in, we have a better understanding of their actions, and we are less inclined to accuse them of atrocities. However, even though Fortis dismisses generalizations, he often generalizes. Several of his descriptions of the Morlacchi suggest that he often bases conclusions on singular incidents. His very style of writing, where he uses the singular form when referring to a plural subject is an implicit generalization. Fortis often says "Morlacco" and means "Morlacchi," which is an indirect generalization: the behaviour or action of one Morlach is made to stand for the whole community. Also, he often draws similar conclusions about all South Slavs based on the example of the Morlacchi. Pavle Sekeruš remarked on this second type of generalization:

While describing these Morlacchi, Fortis believed that he was portraying South Slavs, and in fact it was just one isolated tribe that lived in hardly accessible Dalmatian mountains. He attributed the customs, folk garments, and local habits of that lost land to an entire nation, thinking that he was depicting its distinctive features. Thus, he influenced a number of texts about South Slavs by offering to the writers the most picturesque and remote European customs, and to the publicists and travellers

impartiality and objectivity of a naturalist, as a proof of accuracy of information.
(Sekeruš 2006: 348)

This style is characteristic of his entire prose from the beginning of the chapter on the Morlacchi when Fortis defines them as the population of hinterland Dalmatia, and distinguishes them from the rest of the Dalmatians, but he refers not only to all the South Slavs, but to all Slavs when he writes that they inhabit an area all the way to the Arctic ocean.

3. The importance of personal experience in research

Fortis's courage and his special connection to the Morlacchi enabled him to accumulate first-hand knowledge about them, despite the fact that he was warned not to go among them. Fortis took the risk and went because he valued the importance of first-hand experience. This was the only way he could meet the Morlacchi and observe them. He criticized authors who wrote about their customs or their language without any personal knowledge. He made an effort to become one of them before he wrote about their life and customs. He states that he intends to write only what he had witnessed personally:

I think it however a duty incumbent on me to write what I personally saw relative to their customs, and inclinations, and thereby to form some apology for that nation, by which I was so well received, and treated with such humanity. And I am more readily to dispose to do this as it can hardly be thought to proceed from interested views; it being unlikely that I shall ever return into these parts of Morlacchia, where I have already been. (ibid.: 44; see appx. II.18)

On several occasions Fortis stresses that he personally witnessed the events he describes. He is particularly impressed by the importance the Morlacchi give to friendship which they regard almost religiously. He recounts an event he attended when two girls became blood sisters in a church ceremony:

The Slavonian ritual contains a particular benediction for the solemn union of two male or two female friends in the presence of the congregation. I was present at the union of two young women, who were made *posestre*, in the church of *Perussich*. The satisfaction that sparkled in their eyes, when the ceremony was performed, gave a convincing proof, that delicacy of sentiments can lodge in minds not formed, or rather not corrupted by society, which we call civilized. The male friends thus united are called *pobratimi*, and the females *posestrime*, which means half brothers, and half sisters. (ibid.: 57; see appx. II.19)

Another virtue of the Morlacchi he admired was their hospitality. He often received presents from people he did not know and would never be able to repay them. He was particularly impressed by the hospitality of the duke Pervan:

I shall never forget the cordial reception and treatment given to me by *Pervan Voivode*, of *Coccorich* to whom I have nothing else to recommend me but my being in friendship with the family who were also his friends. He sent his horses and an escort to meet me on the road and during the few days which I spent in that neighbourhood, loaded me with all the luxuries of national hospitality. He sent his own son, and several of his people, to escort me as far as the plains of *Narenta*, a good day's journey from his house and furnished me with provisions in abundance and all this

was done without my being allowed to spend a single penny. On my departure from that hospitable mansion, he and all his family came out and followed me with their eyes, till I was out of sight. (ibid.: 54; see appx. II.20)

Considering his appreciation of the Morlacchi, as well as his efforts to spend time with them, and live the way they live, he regarded it as a special compliment when one Morlacco, after seeing that he was capable to live in the wilderness, told him that he was not an Italian, but a Morlacco. (Fortis 2010: 229)

4. Differences between Morlacchi, coastal Dalmatians and Italians

The fourth topic of Fortis's work concerns the geographical and, more importantly, the cultural differences within the Dalmatian population: the Morlacchi, who are wild, aggressive, and prone to crime, and the population of the coastal Dalmatia, who are civilized, and under strong Italian influence, and repelled by the behaviour of the Morlacchi. However, according to Fortis, the coastal Dalmatians are responsible for spreading stories about the cruelty of the Morlacchi. From his account, the Morlacchi do not have a high opinion of the coastal population either.

The inhabitants of the maritime towns, true descendents of the Roman Colonies, are no friends to the Morlacchi, who, in return, look upon them, as well as the inhabitants of the islands, with the greatest contempt: which reciprocical dislike, no doubt, precedes, in part, from ancient discords between the two races. A Morlack bows indeed before a gentleman of the city or an advocate, of whom he stands in need, but loves them not; and treats all others of whom he is independent, with the name of

Bodolo, which, according to his meaning is an injurious term. (Fortis 1778: 50; see appx. II.21)

To illustrate this antagonism, he relates an anecdote about a Morlacco soldier in Padua whom a priest, not knowing about their animosity, addressed as "Mr. Bodul." (*Bodul* (from Venetian *bodolo*) is a term used in Dalmatia to refer mainly to the people of the islands.) After hearing this, the soldier answered: "Father [...] don't tell me Bodolo or you will make me damn myself!" (ibid.:50) ("Frate, [...], non mi dir Bodolo, o perdinci mi danno!" (ibid.: 48)) According to Fortis, the differences in dialect, folklore, habits and temperament (*indole*) between the Morlacchi and the coastal population reveal that these two groups do not share the same origins, or if they do, it goes way back to ancient times.

In Fortis's view, Italians and coastal Dalmatians have corrupted the Morlacchi. He tends to be critical of the coastal population and criticizes them for being very similar to Venetians and Italians.

The morals of a Morlack, distant the sea coast and garrisons, are generally very different from ours. The sincerity, trust, and honesty of these poor people, not only in contacts but in all the ordinary actions of their life, would be simplicity and weakness among us. It is true that Italians who trade in Dalmatia, and the litoral inhabitants themselves, have but too often taken advantage of this integrity; and hence the Morlacchi are become much more diffident, than they were in former times; in so much that which they have so often experienced in dealing with Italians is passed into a proverb among them *passia-viro* and *Lanzmanska viro*, that is the faith of a dog, and faith of an Italian, are used to express the same reproachful meaning. (ibid.: 53-54; see appx. II.22)

Very often, while discussing the virtues of the Morlacchi, Fortis criticizes his fellow countrymen. When he describes the importance of friendship among the Morlacchi, he adds how the Italians do not value it the same way: "Friendship that among us is so subject to change on the lightest motives is lasting among the Morlacchi. They have even made it a kind of religious point and tied a sacred bond at the foot of the altar." (ibid.: 56-57; see appx. II.23) When he describes Pervan's hospitality, he mentions that such a host could not be found in Italy: "which affectionate manner of taking leave raised a kind of agitation in my mind which I never felt before and I can scarcely ever hope to feel again in travelling over Italy." (ibid.: 54-57; see appx. II.24)

Nikola Markulin points out that the cult of the *bon sauvage* in the Enlightenment, which Tzvetan Todorov places within a special doctrine toward the Other called "exoticism," often serves to criticize one's own society, usually Western, rather than to valorize the other ethnicity. In these cases, these portrayals of the Other are often idealized. (Markulin 2010: 216) In Fortis there are several instances of this type of description. I have shown how Fortis compares the importance of friendship and hospitality in Italian and the Morlacchi society. He also extends the comparison to medicine. He writes that the Morlacchi manage to fix dislocated bones much better than Italian doctors who often cripple their patients despite the fact that they have studied osteology. (Fortis 2010: 85)

Fortis, however, also notes some negative features of the Morlacchi. For example, as much as they value friendship, they feel a lot more animosity toward their enemies:

But as the friendships among the Morlacchi are strong and sacred, so their quarrels are commonly inextinguishable. [...] And so deeply is revenge rooted in the minds of this

nation that all the missionaries in the world would not be able to eradicate it. (ibid.: 58; see appx. II.25)

He notes that vendetta is even more common in Albania. While the Morlacchi sometimes manage to make peace between the families at war, in Albania peace usually has to be paid by the family that asks forgiveness.

While he compliments the Morlacchi for their hospitality, Fortis criticizes their inability to spend economically. He compares them to the Khoikhoi people of southwest Africa (referred to as Hottentots), who spend in a single week what could last them months if they were more economical. (Fortis 2010: 53) These two examples show the absence of measure, or even reason in Morlacchi. This is particularly obvious when Fortis states that despite the fact that they are intelligent and quick learners, they remain with their traditional methods of agriculture.

Besides these four topics announced in the introductory lines of the chapter on the Morlacchi, other important issues that are discussed are the place of women in their society and their attitude toward the church. As for the position of women, they are considered to be lower beings to the extent that when they mention their wives in conversation, they apologize to their interlocutors.

They never mention them [their wives] when they talk to a respectable person, without excusing themselves "if you allow me;" the most learned Morlacco, when he has to mention his wife, always says "forgive me, my wife," "pardon me, please, my wife." (my transl; see appx. II.26)

The Morlacchi women are described as strong and able to go through hardship. After giving birth they go back to work, they sleep on the floor and do all the work in the field. Their physical strength is demonstrated by a description of their breasts. In one of the most famous passages in the travelogue, Fortis states that their breasts are so big that they can feed children over their shoulders and the children are breastfed until they are five or six years old. Wendy Bracewell indicates that women with such improbably big sized breasts were present in various folktales all over Europe, including German, Slavic, and French ones. In the seventeenth century, travellers started attributing these features to women from other parts of the world, first in travel accounts of West Africa, to Hottentots, Tierra del Fuego people, and others.³⁶ "By the mid-eighteenth century, the image had become a common place in descriptions of primitive humanity." (Bracewell 2011: 224-225)

Fortis, however, takes a very ambivalent attitude towards the Morlacchi women. On the one hand, he shows compassion in describing in detail their hard life, but in other instances he blames them for their situation. He writes about their lack of cleanliness in the most derogatory terms, and even suggests that this is probably their way of showing their dissatisfaction with the way they are treated by men. Before they marry, they make a point of keeping clean but afterwards they let themselves go, as if they wanted to justify the contempt with which they are treated. (Fortis 2010: 63) It is no wonder, he writes, that they are despised as they are neither loving nor nice, but they distort and deform the gifts that Mother nature gave them: "I have often lodged in Morlack houses and observed that the female sex is universally treated with contempt. It is true that the women are by no means amiable in that country; they even deform and spoil the gifts of nature." (ibid.: 75; see appx. II.27)

Fortis also describes the Morlacchi attitude toward the Church, or churches, since there are two: the Roman Catholic Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church. He does not have a lot of respect for the priests of neither church:

A most perfect discord reigns in Morlacchia, as it generally does in other parts, between the Latin and Greek communion, which their respected priests fail not to foment, and tell a thousand little scandalous stories of each other. The churches of the Latins are poor, but not very dirty; those of the Greeks are equally poor, and shamefully ill kept. (ibid.: 63; see appx. II.28)

He blames the priests for many of the bad habits of the Morlacchi, mostly because, instead of educating and enlightening the population, they keep them ignorant and even incite unreasonable beliefs and superstitions. While he dislikes the Serbian Orthodox Church, he believes that both churches do an equally bad job with parishioners: "The Morlacks whether they happen to be of the Roman or of the Greek church have very singular ideas about religion and ignorance of their teachers daily augments this monstrous evil." (ibid.: 61; see appx. 29)

He relates an episode where two witches stole the heart of a young man. This ludicrous event was recounted to Fortis by a Franciscan monk who claims that he was present when it occurred. Two witches stole the young fellow's heart while he was sleeping and threw it in the fire. The monk, who watched the whole procedure, could not prevent them from doing it because they put a spell on him so he could not move. However, the spell lost its power when the heartless fellow woke up. They wanted to punish the two women, but they flew away. The monk took the heart from the fire and gave it to the young fellow to eat. While this story demonstrates how the Morlacchi are superstitious, it serves primarily to criticize the clergymen who believed the story, not because it was believable but because they would not dare admit that the monk invented it: "The good father told this story, and will tell it often, swearing to the truth of it and the people there not suspect why him see one thing for

another, and that the two women, one of whom was not old, have flown away for another reason than for being witches." (ibid.: 62-63; see appx. 30)

While Fortis shows more empathy toward the Morlacchi than many Venetians before him, his superior attitude is clear throughout the travelogue. Some critics have remarked that Fortis's personal position gave him extra reasons for presenting the Morlacchi in exotic terms. Žarko Muljačić who writes about Fortis mostly in laudatory terms and considers him responsible for introducing Dalmatia and its population to the rest of Europe, notes that Fortis's position is a three-fold handicap. As a Paduan, he was from a less developed part of the Venetian *terraferma* compared to Venice. Secondly, he was a citizen of the Venetian Republic that was considered a less advanced part of the Apennine peninsula.³⁷ Finally, today's Italy was considered a less developed part of Europe by many Enlightenment philosophers, compared to some western European countries. Muljačić states that that conviction followed Fortis throughout his life. (Muljačić 1996: 15)

Larry Wolff also notes that Fortis was from Padua, which is the least exotic province under the Republic. (Wolff 2001: 85) For Nino Raspudić, however, these biographical facts should not be overemphasized, but we should keep them in mind when explaining the reasons why Fortis needed to orientalize the Dalmatian coast in exaggerated terms. In order to make his own personal position more important and more Western, he needed to make the Eastern Other more marginal, and more exotic. (Raspudić 2010: 95)

In the last two centuries, Fortis's *Viaggio* has attracted a lot of criticism. The term *Morlacchism*, coined by his friend, Dalmatian scholar Giulio Baiamonti in 1797, refers, as Wolff indicates, "not only to the supposedly primitive character of the Morlacchi, but also to

the foreign fascination that they provoked during the late eighteenth century." (Wolff 2001:19) Or, as Valentina Gulin puts it, the word refers to: "the European reception of Dalmatian hinterlands of the eighteenth century [...] and all the reflections that have arisen out of this reception: Morlach exotics, Romantic Slavism, interest for Morlach (Croatian, Slavic) oral literature, literary discussions, activating of Dalmatian economic issues, identification and self-identification." (Gulin 1997: 85) Today, Morlacchism in its wider sense refers also to the portrayal of the Morlacchi during the 19th and 20th centuries, all the way to the present time, especially in Croatian public discourse about the "uncivilized" and problematic Vlachs (*Vlaji*), inhabitants of the hilly Dalmatian hinterlands, who are culturally different from the coastal urban Dalmatians. (Luketić 2013: 239-248)³⁸ Thus, in the larger European context, the Morlacchi lose their geographical and cultural character and appear as the image of the South Slavs in general, becoming the Other in a European East-West division.

Since the wars of the 1990s, the debate on the cultural differences between the Vlaji and the coastal Dalmatians intensified, together with the issue of the nature and "mentality" of the Balkan people. Many critics brought up the question of the innate cruelty and savagery of the people of this region and some critics, unfortunately, went so far as to mention that this was probably genetically determined. In many pseudo- and para-scholarly, and popular studies, the Vlaji migrations to the coast were described as conquests, while their style of economy and involvement in politics were criticized as corrupt. (see Luketić 2013) However, an interest in Fortis's *Viaggio* in the social sciences and the humanities also increased.

Chapter 3

Close Otherness: Multilayered Ties between Goldoni and Dalmatians

1. Dalmatians in Venice

In order to assess more closely Goldoni's representation of Dalmatians, my survey will also include other plays that deal with Dalmatians, and not just *La dalmatina* (1758), that could be viewed as the culmination of the playwright's literary relation with Dalmatia. There are three important, though minor, plays that deal with Dalmatia and Dalmatians, namely: *La Birba*, an *intermezzo*, staged during the Carnival season of 1734-35; *La calamita de' cuori* (1752-1753), a *dramma giocoso per musica*; *L'impostore* (1754), a comedy in prose. There are also several sections in his *Mémoires*, written many years later, in 1787, when Goldoni was already living in Paris for more than twenty years. The *Mémoires* include comments, background, and the inspiration for these plays; in some cases they also give the playwright's opinions on their reception, as well as an account of his personal experiences with Dalmatians. Even though the factual accuracy of the *Mémoires* has been disputed, they still represent a valuable source of information for my study since they include Goldoni's evaluation of his life and work from a different temporal perspective. Therefore, rather than discussing them separately, comments from the *Mémoires* will be inserted whenever they are relevant to my discussion of the play.

This analysis will later serve as a context for better understanding of the cultural background which was a setting for the performance of *La dalmatina*, in order to evaluate it more precisely from the thematic point of view, while its structural traits will be contrasted to those of other texts of its genre, i.e. of Goldoni's tragicomedies, particularly the ones which portray "exotic" heroines as main characters. This review will also enable me to determine

more accurately if Goldoni's texts dealing with Dalmatia or Dalmatians exemplify different stages of the playwright's understanding of Dalmatia, various aspects of his views on Dalmatia, or just provide an accidental inspiration for his dramatic endeavours, and, if they imply all of the above mentioned, to what degree they illustrate each of these motivations.

It is also important to mention the possible sources of Goldoni's knowledge of Dalmatia and Dalmatians, since Goldoni never travelled to Dalmatia. The only known personal connection with the province and its inhabitants, was his close friend, Stjepan Šuljaga Grmoljez from Dubrovnik, whom I will discuss later in the section on *La calamita de' cuori*. Another likely source was, of course, the Dalmatians' presence in Venice. That is why, before proceeding any further with an analysis of Goldoni's literary experience with Dalmatians, it is best to briefly delineate the situation in Venice in the 18th century.

As is well known, Dalmatia was part of the Republic of Venice for centuries. The first Venetian to conquer Dalmatia was Pietro Orseolo II in 1002. This conquest, however, was not long-lived, but it symbolized the beginning of the Venetian *Sposalizio del mare*. From the beginning of the 11th century onwards, the dukes of Venice held the title of "duke of Venice and Dalmatia." After more than three centuries of different rulers during the Middle Ages, among them Venetians, Dalmatia came under full Venetian control in 1420 and remained a part of the Venetian *Stato da Mar* until the dissolution of the Republic in 1797. The only area on the eastern Adriatic coast that remained independent of Venice was the Republic of Dubrovnik. During this time, *la Serenissima* had a significant impact on every sphere of Dalmatian life, noticeable even today, through different cultural influences. These influences are not always perceived as positive, and are often interpreted as typical of a colonial abuse of power that translates in the suppressed development of Dalmatian cities due to Venice's insensitive centralistic and exploitative policies. (Čoralić 2003: 10)

As for the influence of Dalmatia on Venice, it was significantly lesser, as in all colonial relationships, and was mostly in the form of contributions by individuals to Venetian life, or in some form of collective contribution, mostly military. For my research, however, this second direction of influence is relevant in order to determine the image of Dalmatia and Dalmatians that Goldoni may have formed and represented in his comedies.

During centuries of political and cultural relations between Venice and Dalmatia, there was a permanent immigration of Dalmatians to Venice, though larger-scale immigration began in the 15th century. The first Dalmatians settled in the eastern *sestiere*³⁹ of Castello, which became the destination of future generations of Dalmatians, as well as other immigrants, such as Greeks and Albanians. More than 40% of Dalmatians in Venice lived in this area. The other areas populated by Dalmatians included San Marco and Cannaregio. However, the number of Dalmatians in these neighbourhoods was significantly lower and none of them came even close to Castello. In today's Venice, there are numerous reminders of Dalmatian presence in the city. The most famous is the well-known Riva degli Schiavoni, a five hundred meters long shore which is the most convenient place for ships arriving in the city. On one part of the shore, across from today's luxurious hotel *Danieli Royal Excelsior*, there is a sign which informs that this section of the shore is reserved exclusively for ships from the Dalmatian islands of Brač and Hvar: *Fine di stazio dei abitanti della Brazza e di Lesina*. There are also several streets bearing the name Schiavoni, which was a common name for the South Slavic population of the Eastern Adriatic coast,⁴⁰ such as Calle Schiavona, Corte Schiavona, Fondamenta S. Giorgio dei Schiavoni. There are also streets named after certain people from Dalmatia: Corte Piero de Lessina, named after Petar/Pietro Fazanić from the island of Hvar; Corte del Solta, named after Alvise Solta, a rich immigrant from the Dalmatian family Solta, original probably of the island of Šolta, who in the 1560s built a house in a nearby street; Corte Sabbioncella (in newer city plans often mistakenly listed as

Sabbionera), after Domenico Sabioncella from the peninsula of Pelješac; Corte Martin Novello; Calle Schiavolina, after the family Schiavolin. In the area of San Marco, there is another Venetian neighbourhood which also had a number of Dalmatian immigrants, though much less than Castello. In this neighbourhood, there are also a few places named after immigrants from the eastern Adriatic shore, such as Corte, Sotoportego, Ponte, Fondamenta, and Palazzo Zaguri, the names of a street, passage, bridge, canal, and a palace named after the family Zagurević/Zaguri from Kotor. In the neighbourhood of Cannaregio, there is Calle and Ramo Dragan, named after a Dalmatian family famous for glass works on the island of Murano. Another Dalmatian family famous for glass production, the Ballarins from Split, has a bridge named after them on the island of Murano. Finally, in the neighbourhood of Dorsoduro, there are two streets named after settlers from the city of Dubrovnik, Calle Ragusei, and Calle larga Ragusei.

Besides place names, which could be found all over the city of Venice, but especially in Castello, there are also cultural institutions that testify to the centuries-long Dalmatian presence in the city, the most famous one being *la Scuola Dalmata dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone*, also known as *la Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni*. Founded in 1451, the *Scuola Dalmata* was a gathering place for Dalmatians in Venice, and functioned as an institution to assist newcomers in their new environment, as well as to serve as a place where documents regarding the Dalmatian presence in Venice were collected. As an institution, the *Scuola Dalmata* testifies to the Dalmatian cultural and economic contributions to Venetian society. Even today, the archives of the confraternity, *Archivio della Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone*, offer an indispensable source of information for researchers on the Dalmatian community and its history in Venice. This is one of the rare ethnic fraternities that survived Napoleon's occupation of Venice⁴¹ and existed uninterrupted since its foundation. Besides its importance for the Dalmatian community, it is significant for its artistic value because of a

series of Carpaccio's paintings that decorate the walls of the *Scuola*, which today is a museum.

The largest number of immigrants from Dalmatia came between the mid-fifteenth century and the mid-sixteenth century, particularly in the first few decades of the sixteenth century. After that, arrivals continued, but in significantly smaller numbers. These settlers' places of origin were from everywhere in Dalmatia and Venetian Albania, as the area of Boka Kotorska (ital. Bocche di Cattaro, today part of Montenegro) was called, and from the Central Montenegrin Littoral. In her extensive research of the history of Croats⁴² in Venice, Lovorka Čoralić lists the most common places of origin: Kotor, Bar, Budva, and Paštrovići in today's Montenegro; and Zadar, Split, Šibenik, and Dubrovnik⁴³ in today's Croatia.

Eighteenth-century Venice was a multicultural city, home to many immigrants of various ethnic backgrounds. Around 15% of the city's population was non-Venetian. Some of the most prominent communities included Greeks, who came in significant numbers especially after the fall of Constantinople, Jews, who became one of the most numerous communities in the city,⁴⁴ Albanians, Turks, Persians, Armenians, Germans,⁴⁵ as well as migrants from other parts of Italy, but primarily from Tuscany and Lombardy. The names of many places in Venice testify to the city's multicultural heritage, for instance: Calle dei Greci, Campo dei Greci, Fondamenta dei Greci, Ponte dei Greci, Rio dei Greci, Ramo dei Greci, Calle dei Albanesi, Calle dei Tedeschi, Ramo dei Tedeschi, Campo dei Tedeschi, Ruga Giuffa (named after the Armenian capital city of Julfa), etc.

As it often happens in multicultural cities, certain characteristics of Venice's inhabitants in the course of the centuries became cultural stereotypes. One of the richest

sources of these stereotypes are the literary works of this time where one can encounter types of every population. Portrayal of different ethnicities was particularly present in the *commedia dell'arte* tradition. *Buffoni* would assume the identity of different ethnicities and act in a way that emphasized their stereotypical features. One of the most well-known characters in the 16th century Venetian comedy was Ivan Paulavicchio from Dubrovnik, created by Zuan Polo Liompardi, who published texts in "lingua schiavonesca" (see Chapter on proto-Morlacchism):

"Buffoni", such as Domenico Taiacalze (d. 1513) and Zuan Polo Liompardi (d. 1540) developed stylized theatrical-linguistic personae drawn from various groups who had migrated to Venice: Greeks, Albanians, Germans, and most importantly, Dalmatians from Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik). The displaced Dalmatians lived in the Venetian zone of Castello, on the so-called Riva degli Schiavoni, and worked as sailors, fishermen, menial laborers, servants, soldiers, and merchants. The buffoni's performances in *grechesca*, *albanese*, *tedesca*, and *schiavonesca* amounted to complex forms of mimicry, the buffoni generating a stylized amalgam of Venetian and the particular foreign language, spoken by an ethnic persona who could either be the object or subject of ridicule (in the latter case, potentially levied against the Venetian patricians). Zuan Polo published text in *schiavonesca*, and adopted the Croatian persona "Ivan Paulavicchio" from Ragusa. (Henke 2008: 20)

As for Goldoni, whose plays are the subject of this study, his comedies have characters from different ethnicities present in Venice, such as Greeks, Armenians, Slavs, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Germans, and various Italian inhabitants in Venice, primarily from Bologna and from Naples.⁴⁶ Although not present in great numbers as these

ethnicities, characters from several Goldoni's plays came from Dalmatia, and they will be analyzed in the remainder of this chapter.

2. *La birba*, 1734-1735

Most of the sources that discuss Goldoni's ties to Dalmatia fail to mention this early work of the Venetian playwright. The play is about street entertainers. Goldoni himself states that *La birba* was inspired by their conversation in the streets of Venice.⁴⁷ The first researcher of Dalmatian dimension of Goldoni's work to devote attention to this play is Anna Scannapieco, who is also the first Italian scholar who has thoroughly studied this theme in Goldoni's work, which was mostly researched by Croatian and other South Slavic scholars, most notably by Frano Čale. Until Scannapieco, *La birba* was almost completely neglected by Goldoni scholars. This intermezzo, as Scannapieco notes, somehow escaped the zealous scrutiny of the Slavic Italianists as well as the accurate analysis and interpretation of Gianfranco Folena, who has researched the linguistic aspect of Goldoni's plays.⁴⁸ Folena lists all the languages, dialects, and regionalisms that can be found in the linguistically colourful Goldoni's work: Italian (Tuscan, Lombard, and Roman), Venetian (with inserts of Bolognese and Neapolitan as idiolects of the *maschere* and singers), French, German, and English (usually as one language), lingua franca levantina (with Turkish and Greek specifications), the Latin of doctors, notaries, and pedants with macaronic traces.⁴⁹ However, Folena fails to mention this episode from *La Birba*. A possible reason for this omission could be the fact that the episode with the Schiavone character, Stiepo Bruich from Paštrovići, impersonated by Cechina, appears only in the first edition of the intermezzo, Valvasense, 1735. Already in the next edition by Ghislandi, Milan, the episode with Stiepo Bruich was entirely eliminated, and the text from this edition was reproduced in all the following editions. As Scannapieco notes,

the omission of this episode in all the following performances and editions of the play, demonstrates that the Schiavone character was initially a product of its cultural environment in Venice and could only be understood in that environment. (Scannapieco 2004: 55-56)

For the purposes of my analysis, the linguistic aspect of the episode is not significant. Lexically, there is only one phrase: "Good morning, Sir," ("Dobro jutro, gospodine"; Goldoni 2010 [1735]: I, line 176) spoken by Cechina-Stiepo. Besides this phrase, there are other linguistic traits typical of the Schiavoni speech in Venice, such as the omission of articles, the change of "e" into "a" (*stara, mercanta*); the change of "e" into "i" (*forsi, mistier*), as well as the change of "o" into "a" (*formaggia*); the inversion of the word order (*parlar de muggier mia*). (Scannapieco 2004: 54)

As for Goldoni's plurilinguism, it is only typical of his *intermezzi*, but it is not used in his comedies, which goes to prove that it did not serve to create a realistic portrayal of the characters, but only to function as a tool to create a comic effect.⁵⁰ For my analysis, rather than specific linguistic traits of the Schiavoni speech, the figure of Stiepo Bruich, impersonated by Orazio's sister Cechina, is more relevant.

The play begins with Orazio who asks assistance from his sister Cechina because he is bankrupt. She hesitates to help him because he has already spent her dowry. Orazio's wife, Lindora, arrives and they argue as to who is responsible for the bankruptcy. At this point, Cechina impersonates the figure of Stiepo Bruich in order to make Orazio and Lindora believe that he is her husband. While Orazio argues with Lindora if they should ask Cechina for help, a voice answers: "Who is there?/ Who is talking?/ What do you want?/ Speak up or I will beat you up."⁵¹ (Goldoni 2010 [1735]: I, lines 120-123) Orazio immediately recognizes that the voice belongs to a Schiavone, "Come, un Schiavon?" (ibid.: I, lines 124) Pleased with the fact that Orazio did not recognize her, Cechina continues with her impersonation of her husband as an excessively aggressive man. First, Stiepo threatens to beat Orazio. When

Orazio says that he wants to talk to Cechina, he becomes even more violent: "Are you friendly with her?/ I will strangle her/ and I will stab you to death."⁵² (ibid.: I, lines 136-138) When Lindora expresses surprise at his hostile behaviour, he becomes even more offensive: "Be quiet mad woman,/ or I will slap you on the mouth."⁵³ (ibid. I, lines 140-141) Only after these threats, he introduces himself as Stiepo Bruich from Pastrovichio,⁵⁴ merchant of *castradina*, that is, dried mutton or sheep meat (ribs or legs), as well as candles from Kotor, salted cheese, and smoked mullet roe.⁵⁵ (ibid.: I, lines 146-150) They continue to argue and finally he agrees to let them live ("mi vita te donar"), if they do not try to talk to Cechina. Then, suddenly, he says in Slavic: "Dobro jutro, gospodine" (Good morning, sir), and tells them to sing and dance. (ibid. I, line 176) First, he invites them in a nice way: "If you are good friend/ if you are good woman/ sing and dance with me."⁵⁶ (ibid.: I, lines 181-183). However, when they don't dance, he becomes aggressive again: "If you don't dance/ I will beat you,/ if you don't sing/ I will kill you".⁵⁷ (ibid.: I, lines 189-192) Orazio and Lindora agree but tell him that they do not know how to sing in Schiavonesco. He tells them that they can sing along, but his song is also a warning to them not to come and ask for more money: "If you are not careful,/ I will play shrewd,/ if you keep coming at my door/ I will beat you and send you away."⁵⁸ (ibid.: I, lines 196-199)

The act ends with a non-violent song that introduces what will be their pastime for the rest of the play: "I want to enjoy my life,/ and think of nothing,/ I want always/ to sing and dance."⁵⁹ (ibid.: I, lines 202-205)

What is striking in the character of Stiepo Bruich is his hostile attitude. Cechina obviously chooses to impersonate a Schiavone husband knowing that it would be the most efficient way to convince her brother and his wife not to come to her house any more to ask her for money. Although he speaks Italian, Orazio immediately recognized him as a Schiavone, which points to the existence of specific traits of their speech that make them

easily recognizable to other Venetians. However, more than their phonetic characteristics, the reader is struck by the lexical aspect of Stiepo-Cechina's speech. In this episode, 85 lines long from the moment Stiepo appears until the end of the first part of the intermezzo (I, lines 120-205), out of which 42 lines go to Stiepo, there are nine different violent words, most of them referring to different ways of beating or killing: *menare*, *strangolare*, *sbudellare*, *dare una ciabatta sul muso*, *mandare a Patrasso*, *dare cortelada*, *sbusare*, *ammazzare*, *mandare via con bastone*. Stiepo's speech illustrates the image of a Schiavone, violent and threatening, that a Venetian would expect from the Morlacchi.

3. *La calamita de' cuori*, (1752-1753)

La calamita de' cuori is a *dramma giocoso per musica* performed for the first time on December 26th 1752 at the San Samuele theatre in Venice, with the music of Baldassare Galuppi, also known as Buranello (1706-1785), the composer who lived in Venice, and for a while in Petersburg. He was a famous composer of Venetian *opera buffa*, and composed many of Goldoni's *drammi giocosi*. *La calamita* was one of the most successful of these plays that gained international popularity.⁶⁰ Besides Galuppi, the music for the drama was composed by Antonio Salieri, who also composed the music for Goldoni's drama *La locandiera*. Salieri's composition, though, was not created for Goldoni's text, but for the text by Giovanni De Gamerra, who wrote a version of *Calamita* in 1767, according to Diderot's theory of bourgeois drama. Domenico Cimarosa, one of the most prominent composers of the Neapolitan School, also composed the music for this play.

The main character of the play is Bellarosa, a beautiful woman from Dubrovnik who is a magnet (*calamita*) of men's hearts. Four men, each of them typifying a different quality, are competing for her attention: Armidoro is constant (*costante*), Giacinto is charming

(*vezzoso*), Saracca is a braggart (*bravaccio*) and Pignone is a miser (*avaro*). Two of them, Armidoro and Saracca, are engaged to other women, Albina and Belinda.

The men call Bellarosa *calamita*, magnet, because of her extraordinary beauty and charm that captivate men's hearts so powerfully that she is as irresistible as a magnet. Her name, Bellarosa, a combination of *bella* and *rosa*, further emphasizes her beauty and grace. Men are attracted to her as to the beauty of a rose but her thorns make it difficult to approach her. Bellarosa provokes sighs and admiration, and the men who are enchanted by her beauty forget other women, as Saracca and Armidoro do.

The play takes place in Palermo. In the temple dedicated to the god of love, by Cupid's statue, the four men express their admiration for Bellarosa, and boast about their skills and virtues that will win her heart. In exchange for her love they will give her the best of what they possess. Armidoro will give her his loyalty and constancy. (Goldoni 2010 [1753]: I, see appx. III.1 and 2) Saracca who is arrogant threatens to use his physical strength to get what he thinks belongs to him. (*ibid.*, see appx. III.3) Pignone, being a miser, does not offer anything. If Cupid is wise, he says, he should give him Bellarosa. (*ibid.*, see appx. III.4) Finally, Giacinto, with little modesty, glorifies his own beauty and charm, and for these reasons he believes he is most suitable for Bellarosa. (*ibid.*, see appx. III.5 and 6)

Belinda and Albina, however, express their disdain for this foreign woman who has taken away their men from them and has managed to create so many problems in the city. They do not blame their lovers for their failed relationships, but blame her; they want to humiliate her by organizing a revolt and force her out of the city. Belinda will employ a woman's strongest weapon, her tongue, to spread malicious gossip against her. She promises revenge for anyone who intends to take her man, Saracca, away from her. She will become a beast, without compassion.

Bellarosa finds the entire situation amusing. She denies any intent to seduce the men, and claims to be completely natural with everybody. However, she does admit that she makes a special effort to be kind to everybody in the city, and to please everyone regardless of who they are. According to her, this is the only way that a foreigner can be accepted in an environment where nobody knows her. (ibid.: I, lines 113-121; see appx. III.7)

We see this in her encounter with Pignone and Saracca. When she is with Pignone, knowing that he is a miser, she emphasizes the importance of being thrifty, and tells him that she is always careful with her money. When she meets Saracca, who believes he is an exceptionally brave man, she tells him that she admires strength and bravery. Her behaviour, that may seem hypocritical, is justified because she is a foreigner and has to be nice to everybody in order to be accepted.

In the end, Bellarosa does not like Pignone because he is stingy, and she does not like Saracca and Armidoro either. She chooses Giacinto because he has a good heart, and tells Armidoro to return to his Albina, Saracca to his Belinda, and Pignone to his wealth. (ibid.: III, lines 1248-1255; see appx. III.8) The women now change their minds about her, and the play ends with the company celebrating the new couple, and the two reunited ones.

In this play, though the main theme is love, or rather an admiration for a woman who attracts the attention of several men, as it is in some other plays of Goldoni, *La vedova scaltra*, for example,⁶¹ the prevalent theme in the play, throughout all three acts, is the question of origin. The principal issue raised in regard to Bellarosa is where she is from, the question which is central in the first act, and dominates several discussions in the following two acts, also. The main reason for which Bellarosa is criticized is because she is a foreigner. The importance of this question is emphasized by the fact that it is addressed at the very beginning of the play, and that it is discussed again in the end of each act. It is a common place of Goldoni's *drammi giocosi* to have extended finales in the first two acts and a shorter

third act. Reposing this question in those extended finales explicitly demonstrates its importance.

In the first act, the question of origin is the central topic, for this act begins and ends with this issue. At the very beginning of the play, Bellarosa is presented as a foreigner. When women accuse her, besides her "arti" of seduction, that is her main sin: "That unknown foreigner"⁶² (ibid.: I, line 46), "Oh, for whom did you leave me?/ For the one who is unknown/ For the one who passes herself off as a lady/ And she is probably a peasant/.../ She is for sure a bastard"⁶³ (ibid.: I, lines 405-408, 417). Instead of disclosing where she is from, Bellarosa lets the four men guess it. The men list various Italian cities: Venice, Naples, Genoa, Brescia, Parma, Turin, Bologna, Milan, but nobody guesses her home town. Finally, Bellarosa discloses that she is from Dubrovnik.

In the second act, also, in the last scene, when Belinda and Bellarosa have an argument, the question of origin is employed against Bellarosa. Belinda, who comes to spoil an event organized by Giacinto for Bellarosa, again uses Bellarosa's unknown origin as the main argument against her. Now, once they know what city she is from, the question of her nobility is posed. (ibid.: II, lines 933-935) Several times, the women question Bellarosa's noble origins. She claims that she is noble: "If you wish to know/ I am noble, I am telling you and I maintain it"⁶⁴ (ibid: II, lines 943-944), but they make fun of her: "Madame marquise/ Madame countess/ What a great princess/ What a great nobility".⁶⁵ (ibid: II, lines 935-939)

In the end of the play, she confirms her nobility with her actions, resolving the situation so that everybody is happy. Both women change their opinions about Bellarosa. Albina is touched by the fact that Bellarosa thinks about her, and states that she has noble thoughts: "I know and I admit/ that Bellarosa has noble thoughts",⁶⁶ (ibid.: III, lines 1256-1257) while Belinda states that she is of noble blood: "She is born of ladies and cavaliers".⁶⁷ (ibid.: III, line 1258) This time, the question of origin is posed by Pignone, who is left without

a partner. However, nobody pays attention to that anymore. Bellarosa demonstrated by her actions that she is of noble blood.

The play's main theme is our relationship toward foreigners, how we relate to the Other, as well as our inherent mistrust that we feel toward people whose origins and nationalities are not our own. Bellarosa is blamed not so much for attempting to seduce their men, which she is not, but because she is a foreigner and her social status is in question.

In some cases, an unknown origin could be a reason of someone's attractiveness. There are cases when the unknown implies some sort of mysticism attached to it, provokes someone's interest in a foreigner, and finally ends in one's experience of joy that comes with a discovery of different attributes of the unknown. Here, however, the unknown is perceived exclusively as a negative aspect, and it is relevant only while it is unknown. Once Bellarosa revealed where she is from, nobody mentions her city anymore. Nobody even attempts to find out something about Dubrovnik. It might have been any other city, the plot would not have changed much. However, while it is unknown, it is used against her. Every time Bellarosa's unknown origin is mentioned, it is done so exclusively with a negative connotation. As we have seen, Albina and Belinda mention it against her on every occasion, almost as if it were a vice, while the ones who admire Bellarosa, never allude to it. In fact, the only time when a man poses a question of Bellarosa's unknown origin is in one of the last scenes, when Pignone, having remained alone, without a partner, states that nobody even knows who Bellarosa is. Before that, while he viewed her in positive terms, he never questioned it, but now, when she chose another man, he addresses this issue, as if he wanted to insult her.

In several comedies Goldoni portrays ethnic stereotypes and the fear and mistrust that people have toward foreigners. (See Fido 2000; 2006) Several critics, first among them Frano Čale, pointed out that Goldoni might have written this play to celebrate a woman from Dubrovnik because of his friendship with Stijepo Šuljaga who was also from there. According

to Čale, this was Goldoni's way of thanking Šuljaga for supporting him in many difficult moments. This reading is based on similarities in treatment that Bellarosa receives as a foreigner and the treatment Šuljaga received in Venice, particularly from those who opposed Goldoni's reform. (Čale 1990: 463)

Before I continue with the discussion of this interpretation, I will briefly introduce Stjepan Šuljaga and describe some key moments of his relationship with the playwright, since this relationship is Goldoni's most personal link with people of the eastern Adriatic coast.

Stjepan Šuljaga was born on February 16, 1719 in Dubrovnik and was a literary critic who lived in Venice. He was preparing to be a priest when in 1735 his maternal uncle Ivan Grmoljez asked him to join him in Cyprus to work in his business which he would later inherit. It was an unofficial adoption by a relative who did not have any children. Against his wishes, Šuljaga moved to Cyprus and worked with his uncle for more than ten years. Although he dedicated his most productive years to this business and was very successful, the fact that the adoption was never legalized in writing enabled Grmoljez's wife, Tommasina, to dispute it after Grmoljez's death in order to prevent him from inheriting the business which had been promised to him.⁶⁸ In 1747, Šuljaga married and with his new wife moved to Venice where he met Goldoni and became one of his closest friends.

The playwright, known to his biographers as not very generous with emotional expressions in private correspondence, shows very warm attitude when writing to Šuljaga, and on several occasions starts the letters addressing him as "dearest friend, erudite (learned), honest and lovable," "dear, most honourable friend Šuljaga," "dearest friend and protector."⁶⁹ In his *Mémoires* Goldoni writes the following about Šuljaga:

I will never forget Sir Stefano Sugliaga of the city of Dubrovnik, currently royal and imperial secretary in Milan. This very learned man, this respectable philosopher, warm

and affectionate friend, whose heart and wallet were always open for me; this man whose intelligence and character were worthy of equal respect, he set about to answer to satirical arrows aimed against me. His energetic and eloquent prose had much more effect than disguise of the verses and poetic images.⁷⁰

Indeed, Šuljaga's heart and wallet were always there for Goldoni. He enjoyed Goldoni's trust and was responsible for staging his plays when the playwright left for Paris. He was even allowed to make changes in Goldoni's texts if the theatre demanded it. On several occasions he helped him financially. However, more than financial help, Šuljaga supported him in his theatre reform that faced mounting opposition by many in the theatre world.

His fiercest opponent was the Jesuit Pietro Chiari who tried to oppose Goldoni by writing counter-comedies to his comedies. When Goldoni wrote *La vedova scaltra* (1748), Chiari answered with *La scuola delle vedove* (1749); when Goldoni wrote *Pamela nubile* (1750), after Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela* (1740), Chiari came out with *Pamela maritata* (1753).⁷¹ Goldoni's *La sposa persiana* was followed by Chiari's *La schiava cinese* (1753), Goldoni's *Il filosofo inglese* was followed by Chiari's *Il filosofo veneziano* (1753), and so on. Stjepan Šuljaga wrote on Chiari's comedies to expose him and criticize him. In *Istruzioni per il teatro comico*, which he published anonymously, Šuljaga criticized Chiari's style in *Il filosofo veneziano*, by pointing out that it was more suitable for a novel than a play, and defends Goldoni's view that comedy should correct vice. (Čale 1968: 115-118) Chiari gave his answer in the last scene of Act IV of his comedy *Il poeta comico*, where two characters, Zanetto and Agapito, discuss Šuljaga's letter. Rather than responding to Šuljaga's arguments, Chiari ridicules Šuljaga for his grammar and style, implying that a foreigner who

makes grammar mistakes should not preach others on literary issues. (Chiari 1758: 76; see appx. III.9)

Šuljaga's answer can be found in the *Lettera anonima all'autore della Commedia, o sia Disertazione, intitolata il "Poeta Comico,"* where, once again, he criticizes Chiari's style and his views that comedies should not be written in prose. As the debate intensified in 1755, Chiari's supporter, Giambattista Vicini replied to Šuljaga's *Lettera* in his pamphlet *L'Asino in cattedra o sia Difesa della Lettera Anonima Ragusea recitata e scritta da Sostenta Facchino Coimrincese*. He also wrote a sonnet in the form of a pamphlet, in which he ridicules Šuljaga and his background. (Ortolani 1905: 505; see appx. III.10; cf. Čale 1968: 125)

Frano Čale uses Chiari's comedy and Vicini's sonnet to discredit Šuljaga as the basis for his argument that Bellarosa was inspired by Goldoni's wish to thank Šuljaga. Čale views Goldoni's choice of the character from Dubrovnik, and particularly the issues of origin that are discussed in the play, as an indication that this play was inspired by his friendship with Šuljaga. Arguments which are used by Albina and Belinda in their attacks on Bellarosa, such as the fact that she is a foreigner, that her origins are unknown, that she is not aristocratic, are exactly the same as the arguments Chiari and Vicini used to humiliate Šuljaga. Frano Čale concludes that due to these similarities, the choice of Bellarosa as the central character of the play is not random, "it reveals the author's ideas and views, his polemical exposure toward conservative opponents and direct connection to important life experiences." (Čale 1990: 463) Anna Scannapieco, however, claims that Čale's suggestion that this play was written to celebrate Šuljaga's native city is one with many "interpretative misunderstandings clearly derived from a pure evaluation prejudice." (Scannapieco 2004: 58) Firstly, she questions the fact that Goldoni was that close to Šuljaga at the time this drama was written, and states that Šuljaga was central in Goldoni's life in 1760s, after Goldoni left for Paris and the debate with *chiaristi* intensified, but for the early 1750's, she claims, there are no proofs of this friendship.

This argument is difficult to prove. The evidence I consulted indicates that Šuljaga was involved in the theatre reform debate in the 1750s, as the letter and the poem quoted above, as well as some other documents and letters suggest. The question remains if Goldoni befriended Šuljaga during the debate or after. Given the fact that both critics, Čale and Scannapieco, contributed immensely to the research of the Dalmatian theme in Goldoni's plays, I will rather remain undecided on this particular issue, since I do not have enough proofs to support either of their claims in this regard. Secondly, Scannapieco notes that the city of origin of Bellarosa was mentioned in a farcical way, so it does not make much sense that the playwright wished to thank Šuljaga by celebrating his native city, as suggested by Čale. (ibid.) As an example of this farcical depiction of Dubrovnik, she points out to two scenes from the play. The first one is in the end of the first act when the four men are listing various Italian cities in order to guess where Bellarosa is from. These cities are, according to Scannapieco, mentioned in rather ridiculing way. The second scene is in the end of the play when Pignone asks Bellarosa about her origins and Giacinto, who is by then Bellarosa's chosen partner, tells her that she does not need to repeat where she comes from and the details about her previous life. Scannapieco interprets this scene as Giacinto's fear that Bellarosa would say something that might be embarrassing. (ibid: 58-59) Though it is indisputable that Giacinto interrupts Bellarosa when she starts explaining why she left her city, we cannot be sure if Giacinto intervened because of his fear what she might say or just because he wanted to stress that the competition for Bellarosa is over, that he is the winner, and that she does not have to answer any questions to other men. Another important point is that Giacinto's reaction interpreted by Scannapieco as farcical refers to Bellarosa's past rather than the city of Dubrovnik. In fact, the city itself is not an issue here. Still, even if we completely accept Scannapieco's argumentation, that interpretation does not negate the fact that Bellarosa and Šuljaga faced similar problems as foreigners in Venice. Scannapieco's claim that Čale's criticism of Goldoni

contains some forms of prejudice and statements that are not founded on the texts is justifiable, as we shall see in his interpretations of some other Goldoni's plays where he overemphasizes the importance of Goldoni's friendship with Šuljaga. However, in this case, Scannapieco's arguments validly contest Čale's suggestion that Goldoni intended to *celebrate* a woman from Dubrovnik, but they do not negate his claim about the existence of this resemblance. While it might have been unintentional from Goldoni's point of view, and he might have not had in his mind Šuljaga while creating a portrait of Bellarosa, deliberately or not, he did depict a character that faced similar problems in Venice as his friend from Dubrovnik. Čale's detailed analysis of the playwright's relationship with Šuljaga, and particularly his meticulous research of the criticism that he was subjected to by Goldoni's opponents, offer a valid argumentation for the statement that there are certain similarities in the way the scholar from Dubrovnik and Bellarosa were treated as foreigners in Venice.

4. *L'impostore*, 1754

This comedy was written when Goldoni was asked to write a comedy on military life, without female characters. He immediately recalled an episode of a man from Dubrovnik who passed himself as a captain. Goldoni's brother was impressed by this captain and offered him a place to stay. In the end, the captain managed to trick Goldoni and his brother by telling them that he needed 6000 lira to pay his fines to the court, otherwise he would be put in jail. Goldoni and his brother Gianpaolo felt empathy for him and collected the money to help him, only to wake up the following morning and realize that the captain had left. In the introductory letter to the comedy, Goldoni referred to this event as an inspiration for the play. However, he did not disclose where the captain was from in order not to create bad feelings toward the city and bring dishonour to its population. (Goldoni 1761: 71) Even in the

following edition by Pasquali, Goldoni did not disclose this information, stressing that the inhabitants of that city were honourable: "He would deserve that I reveal his name and home country and that way perpetuate his embarrassment, but I did not do it and do not wish to do it due to respect to his honourable co-citizens."⁷² Only in his *Memoires* does Goldoni reveal the identity of the captain. In chapter XLV of the first part of his *Mémoires*, Goldoni recounts the whole episode with the phony captain from Dubrovnik (*capitano raguseo*), that his brother Gianpaolo invited to his house. It is interesting that in relating the whole incident he mentions how the captain used the same greeting as Stiepo Bruich in *La birba*: "gospodina, gospodina, dobro jutro, gospodina!" Goldoni's explanation is that the Captain who was also a Schiavone probably made fun of the Illyrian salute. (Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 74).

Even this Goldoni's statement is interpreted by Frano Čale as having something to do with Šuljaga. He states that the omission of the captain's homeland is due to Goldoni's friendship with Šuljaga. Čale suggests that it is because of him that the playwright did not want to disclose the home town of the captian. (Čale 1990: 462) Needless to say, in this case, Šuljaga's importance is overemphasized. In fact, in his *Memoires* or in the prefaces to his comedies, Goldoni often makes excuses and offers explanations if he feels that depictions of some characters might have offended somebody.⁷³

Scannapieco, however, discovers some other interesting reasons for this omission. In his *Memoires*, Goldoni discloses the city where Orazio came from, but he also recounts the whole episode which inspired him to write this comedy. In this episode, he mentions some details which Scannapieco views in the light of political problems of Venetian rule over Dalmatia, which are also discussed by Wolff. Before Scannapieco's meticulous research, *L'Impostore* was just mentioned as being inspired by an episode in Goldoni's life, but the interpretation of his recount of this episode in the *Memoires* had not drawn any critical attention. Scannapieco suggests that this play informs about a serious political problem in

Venetian colonies at the time, where the government had difficulties keeping the population in the Republic's army. (Scannapieco 2004: 63) This phenomenon was particularly present in Dalmatia, parts of which suffered enormous poverty during the Venetian rule, and the government of Venice seemed unable or uninterested to solve that problem. As several historians have noted, despite proverbial and often emphasized Dalmatian loyalty to Venice, many Orthodox inhabitants of the northern part of the province, during the time of extreme poverty in the late 18th century opted for Russian army. (see more Berengo 1954; Wolff 2001) According to Scannapieco, this is the central issue behind the episode in *l'Impostore*. Through a personal episode, Goldoni actually draw attention to a serious political problem the Venetian army was facing at the time. The low-profile of the comedy, as well as the fact that the identity of the fraud captain was disclosed only in the *Memoires*, more than thirty years later, further confirm this observation.

In conclusion, on Goldoni's ties to Dalmatia and Dalmatians, we could say that he had some general knowledge about the province, though not more than the average educated Venetian of the time. While he had a friend from Dubrovnik, that relationship, regardless of how close they really were, did not affect his work on the theatre, as some critics suggested. Unlike *La Birba*, where Stiepo from Pastrovicchio, is described in detail during the eighty-five lines long episode in which he appears, starting from his character, the products he is selling, the way he is talking, in *La calamita* and in *L'impostore* that is not the case, for Bellarosa and the captain are not described in those terms, at all. A partial reason for such a detailed description in *La birba* might be the fact that Stiepo character is an impersonation, appearing in an episodic role, therefore some of the features are overemphasized to render the episode comic, while in *La calamita* and in *L'impostore*, Dalmatians are the protagonists, present throughout the play. In *L'impostore* this lack of description is understandable since we

do not know where the captain is from. But, in *La calamita*, where the question of origin is central, we still do not learn anything about people from Dubrovnik. The question of her home city is important while it is not known. Once the other characters find it out, it is not important any more. Although they stress that she is foreign, in the way she is portrayed, there is nothing special that would suggest that; she is not different in any way, neither in behaviour nor looks, from other characters in the play. This lack of any allusion to Bellarosa's ethnic difference compared to other characters is explicitly shown in the end of Act 1, when the four men guess where she is from. They mention various cities of today's Italy, not even thinking that she is a foreigner. None of her attributes suggest such a possibility. With this lack of difference, Goldoni, unintentionally, shows that urban educated Dalmatians, in this case the ones from Dubrovnik, do not differ at all from Venetians. While in the case of Stiepo Bruich the difference is obvious from the very moment he appears, Bellarosa and the captain do not differ at all from Venetians. While in the previous chapter, in the *Viaggio*, we saw a description of the hinterland Dalmatians, known as the Morlacchi, European noble savages, living in an environment different in many respects from Venice, here in all three cases urban Dalmatians are portrayed. Of course, in this comparison I do have in mind a large difference in the functions of these portrayals due to different genre of these texts. Focusing exclusively on the very image, though, Goldoni manages to demonstrate differences between different types of urban Dalmatians. And it is interesting that all three plays portray Dalmatians in Italy, *La birba* in Venice, *La calamita* in Palermo, and *L'impostore* in Genoa.

Chapter 4:

Tragicomic Heroines: Goldoni's Gender Exoticism

Goldoni and tragicomedies

Although Goldoni is best known for his prose comedies, his rich opus contains texts of many other genres such as tragicomedies, tragedies, opera buffa, opera seria, intermezzi, cantatas, serenades, and poetry. Tragicomedies are, after comedies and opera buffa, the third most representative genre in Goldoni's oeuvre. He wrote them in two periods of his career. In the early period he wrote seven tragicomedies: *Belisario* (1734), *Rosmonda* (1735), *La Griselda* (1735), *Don Giovanni Tenorio, o sia Il dissoluto* (1736), *Rinaldo di Montalbano* (1736), *Enrico, re di Sicilia* (1738), and *Giustino* (between 1734 and 1740).⁷⁴ All these plays were produced at the San Samuele theatre, where Goldoni worked until 1747. They are mostly plays based on already existing plots and characters: *Belisario* is a recurrent character of the 17th and 18th centuries tragic theatre, as is *Don Giovanni*; *Rosmonda* is based on a novel,⁷⁵ *Griselda* on Boccaccio's *novella* from the *Decameron*;⁷⁶ *Enrico* is based on a *novella* from *Gil Blas*, a picaresque novel by Alain-René Lesage; *Rinaldo di Mont'Albano* is inspired by a well-known *commedia dell'arte* plot, while the plot of *Giustino* is drawn from the Ancient Greek writer Procopius of Caesarea. Some of these early tragicomedies were very successful, most notably *Belisario*, *Griselda*, *Giustino*, and *Rinaldo di Mont'Albano* was even translated into French. Other plays such as *Rosmonda* and *Don Giovanni Tenorio* were less successful.

In the next decade, Goldoni wrote mostly comedies, but he returned to tragicomedies in 1753 with *La sposa persiana*, the first and the most famous in a series of "exotic" tragicomedies written between 1753 and 1761. The return to the genre is usually explained by

the fact that Goldoni signed a contract in 1753 with the San Luca theatre. The change of theatre was due to financial reasons, since the owners, the Vendramin brothers, offered Goldoni a significantly higher amount of money for his work. Instead of 450 ducats, which was the yearly amount he received at Sant'Angelo, he was offered 600 ducats. Besides this positive financial arrangement, this change was less favourable in other ways.⁷⁷ After the first two comedies he wrote for San Luca failed, *La donna di testa debole, o sia La vedova inafetuata* and *Il geloso avaro* (both produced 1753),⁷⁸ Goldoni realized that the lack of success of these comedies was due to the new group of actors who were not used to his way of doing plays, and he did not have enough time to familiarize them with his style. (Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 117)

Maria Ortiz notes that these actors lacked natural expressiveness, which had been the actors of Sant'Angelo's main merit, as well as possessing the necessary skills for representing his comedies.⁷⁹ For *La sposa persiana* Goldoni had problems with the first actress, Teresa Gandini, who was almost fifty years old and, according to Goldoni, created serious problems for the younger roles that the first actress was supposed to play. Although she was willing to give up her role as *prima donna*, it was her husband who insisted that she remained the leading actress.⁸⁰ (Ortiz 1905: IX/38) Pietro Gandini threatened to leave if she was not given major roles. Goldoni was especially dependent on them, since they were both involved in the play: Teresa Gandini as Fatima, the main female character, but Pietro Gandini was even more important because he appeared in a female role and did an excellent impersonation of Curcuma, the manager of the female slaves. Gandini was particularly upset because, although Goldoni officially appointed his wife to play the title role, in reality, he gave the main role of Ircana to Caterina Bresciani with whom the audience fell in love. In the *Mémoires*, Goldoni states that it was because of her that the play was so successful.⁸¹

It is because of Bresciani that the audience wanted the play to be continued, but Pietro Gandini threatened that he and Teresa would not play in it. He even went to the owner Vendramin to complain.⁸² Fortunately for Goldoni, Vendramin was on his side, and the Gandini finally were invited to go to Dresden and they left Venice for good. As a result, Teresa Gandini was replaced with another actress in the role of Fatima, and Curcuma, who was played by her husband, was sentenced to death because of her misdeeds, and in the third version Goldoni introduced a comic character for the slave, Vajassa, who performed the role. In *Ircana in Julfa* neither character appears. Had there not been problems with Pietro Gandini, who knows what the plot of the second and third versions would have been.⁸³

When he wrote his comedies, for Goldoni was very important to take into consideration the actors that would play the roles. The actors themselves were an inspiration for most of Goldoni's celebrated characters. He wrote *Donna di garbo* (1743) for Anna Baccherini, while for Cesare Darbes, a great Pantalone, he wrote *Due gemelli veneziani* (1748) and *L'uomo prudente* (1748). Lady Medebach, who often suffered from imaginary illnesses, became an inspiration for one of his most appealing comedies, *La finta ammalata* (1751). For Maddalena Marliani Goldoni wrote *La locandiera* (1753), *Donne gelose* (1752) e *Serva amorosa* (1752). For Francesco Bonora, known as Golinetti, he wrote *Il Momolo cortesan* (1739). (Ortiz 1905: IX/37) These are just some of the plays written for specific actors whose talents he admired. Considering his special creative relationship with actors, Goldoni realized that at San Luca with a new troupe of actors he was more inclined to write a different type of plays, and this probably led to his experiment with exotic tragicomedies.

Goldoni also felt the need to modify his repertoire through technical changes since the San Luca had a significantly larger stage than the Sant'Angelo. As Goldoni noted in his *Mémoires*, the San Luca's stage was not adequate for comic plays which lost the necessary intimacy in the larger space. (Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 117) Finally, there was a need to attract a

new audience to the theatre. As Goldoni's popularity was not at its peak at this time and the debate with Chiari was intensifying, he needed to regain recognition. After two unsuccessful comedies, *La donna di testa debole, o sia La vedova inafetuata* and *Il geloso avaro* (both produced 1753), he decided to try to make these changes and to introduce new settings for his plays. As Ortiz notes, the third play for San Luca was supposed to fulfill several goals: to satisfy Pietro Gandini and to silence the actors of Sant'Angelo theatre who, after the failure of the first two comedies at San Luca, claimed that they were the main reason for Goldoni's previous success, and finally, to earn the applause, popularity, affection, and support from the audience who had been hostile towards him.⁸⁴

Thomas Salmon's *Modern History: or, the Present State of All Nations*, published in 1739 in London,⁸⁵ which Goldoni mentions in his *Mémoires* as an inspiration for *La sposa persiana* (1734),⁸⁶ in its loose Italian translation, *Lo stato presente di tutti i paesi e popoli del mondo naturale, politico e morale. Con nuove osservazioni e correzioni degli antichi, e moderni viaggiatori*, published in Venice between 1740 and 1761 in twenty-three volumes, was one of the most well-known books on Persia in the eighteenth century. It served as source of information for many fictional works dealing with the Middle East, and, especially, with Persia.⁸⁷

The Middle East was much more known to Europeans in comparison with the Americas and their population. Antoine Galland's translation from Arabic to French of *One Thousand and One Nights* in 1704 caused an increase of Western Europe's interest in the art of the Middle East. Furthermore, Galland's translation offered new insights in this region and introduced many new topics that generated great interest in Middle Eastern countries, as if they were being discovered for the first time.

Defining the tragicomedy

In Goldoni's case, the tragicomic genre should be considered with reserve. In some editions, he insisted on calling some of these plays "tragicomedies," while in other editions, he referred to them as "comedies." In his address to the reader, *L'autore a chi legge*, in *La sposa persiana*, Goldoni distinguishes between comedies, tragedies and tragicomedies, and explains why this play should be considered a comedy. He states that he was inspired by Persia to write this play, but he did not take the plot from history, which is reserved for tragedies, *drammi per musica* and tragicomedies. (Goldoni 2003 [1753]: 144-145) Based on this, all three plays of the Persian trilogy are comedies, as none of them draws its subject from history, that is, they are all equally historical and non-historical at the same time since they all follow the same plot. However, in the first edition, the first two plays are referred to as comedies, while the third one he calls a tragicomedy.⁸⁸ The need to differentiate between genres came from Goldoni's research into forms of drama that deepened his interest in styles that are different from comedy. In her elaborate commentary on the last edition of Goldoni's Persian plays, the editor Marzia Pieri, notes that the playwright applied to these forms an outworn poetic scheme of tragicomedy, which made it possible for dramatists in the previous two centuries to create the most bizarre performances.⁸⁹ As for his referral to the third play as tragicomedy, according to Pieri, it is possible that the reason for the distinction lies in the nature of its plot. Differently from *La sposa persiana* and *Ircana in Julfa*, which are dominated by personal disputes and passionate conflicts, the plot of *Ircana in Ispaan* deals with war, and is more political. Years later, Goldoni lost interest in questions of genre and all three plays were published under the general title: "Comedies and tragedies in verse of various meter" (*Commedie e tragedie in versi di vario metro*), where they are all referred to as "five-act comedy in verses" (*Commedia di cinque atti in versi*).⁹⁰ In the introductory section to *Ircana in Ispaan*, the play is also referred to as "comedy:" "Here it is, finally, dearest

reader, that comedy known as the Third Ircana" ("Eccoti finalmente, Lettor Carissimo, quella Commedia comunamente chiamata *la Terza Ircana*." (Goldoni 2003 [1756]: 331)

When it comes to genre specifications, similar inconsistencies can be found in Goldoni's American tragicomedies. In Antonio Zatta's edition of 1792, "Comedies and Tragedies in Verses of Various Metre," a genre distinction is made between *La peruviana* and *La bella selvaggia*, *La dalmatina* and *La bella giorgiana*. *La peruviana* is referred to as a "five-act comedy in verses" (commedia di cinque atti in versi), while the other three are called "five-act tragicomedy in verses" (Goldoni 1792) Twenty years later, in the 23rd volume of the 1811 Bertini edition of Goldoni's comedies, *La peruviana* is again listed as comedy, "five-act comedy in verses," while *La bella selvaggia* is referred to as "five-act tragicomedy in verses." (Goldoni 1811) In "Autore a chi legge," Goldoni discusses the genre of *La peruviana* and states that because of its heroic Peruvian characters, it can be said to be a tragedy even though the plot is the reason why it is a comedy or a tragicomedy. (Goldoni 1758: 3)

In the *Mémoires*, Goldoni classifies both American plays the same way. He writes about *La peruviana* as a "five-act comedy in verses," and later describes it as "a romance comedy." *La bella selvaggia* is also mentioned as "commedia", but later he describes its contents and the setting as a "romance comedy." (Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 139, 144)

It seems that Goldoni had a clear idea of what a tragicomedy was, as he states in the introductory letter to *La sposa persiana* quoted earlier. However, it is evident that he did not think this definition and distinction were important, or, perhaps, he considered "comedy" as a more general term, which included tragicomedies in the wider sense.

Most critics refer to all the plays discussed in this chapter as tragicomedies. While the definitions of comedy and tragedy established by Aristotle in the *Poetics* were accepted with minor clarifications and modifications throughout the centuries, the genre of tragicomedy did

not have the same theoretical foundation in antiquity, even though for a while they coexisted on the same stage. The genre of tragicomedy was not defined until the Renaissance, which was a crucial period of its development. At this time, tragicomedy reached its peak in terms of the number of plays that were thought to belong to the genre, even though the definitions and conventions that various writers attributed to it were arbitrary and continued to be so until Goldoni's time.

The term "tragicomedy" was coined long before the Renaissance; it is first mentioned in the third century B.C. by the Roman playwright Titus Maccius Plautus, who employs the term in his play *Amphitryon*. In the Prologue of the Plautus's play, one of the main characters, Mercury, defines the play as a tragicomedy to justify his decision to mix slaves and gods, who, according to the classical convention could not be included in the same drama. Plautus does not offer any further explanations for the term "tragicomedy," therefore, if we are to interpret "tragicomedy" according to Mercury's statement in the Prologue, the use of this term is explained exclusively by an unusual combination of characters, and not by any other features of the play. The main characters are gods and kings, who are normally *dramatis personæ* of tragedies, and slaves who are mostly portrayed in comedies. Together, they do not fit in neither comedy nor tragedy, which were, at the time of Plautus, still strictly defined according to Aristotle's definition. (Plautus 2014)

Most probably the first writer who defined tragicomedy as a distinctive genre was Giambattista Guarini, who in his *Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry* (1601) elaborates on its main features. Guarini views tragicomedy as a combination of comedy and tragedy that takes on characteristics of each. Rather than describing it as blending of two genres, which is how it was usually described, Guarini lists the features that tragicomedy takes from each genre and explains how these features are modified in the new form. For Guarini, tragicomedy is not

just a blending of randomly chosen characteristics of tragedy and comedy, it is the *right* melange of *some* of their characteristics.

[Tragicomedy] takes from tragedy its great persons but not its great action, its verisimilar plot but not its true one, its movement of the feelings but not its disturbance of them, its pleasure but not its sadness, its danger but not its death; from comedy it takes laughter that is not excessive, modest amusement, feigned difficulty, happy reversal, and above all the comic order. (Guarini 1603: 511; translated by Foster 2003: 18)

Since Guarini's attempt to define tragicomedy originated from a need to define the genre of his major work, *Il pastor fido* (1590), he goes even further and argues that tragicomedy is superior to tragedy and comedy, especially for contemporary audiences. He suggests that drama should evolve according to changes in the audience's tastes, which do not welcome the frightening experience of classical tragedy, while comedy, and especially the *commedia dell'arte*, has lost its reputation. He concludes, therefore, that tragicomedy offers the right blend of comic and tragic elements in accordance to the new tastes.

From Guarini's definition to Goldoni's plays there is a century and a half. Even though Goldoni does not follow exactly Guarini's definition nor does he give much thought to a precise classification of his plays,⁹¹ both authors sensed that something new was needed on the stage. Guarini criticized the *commedia dell'arte* more than a hundred years before Goldoni abandoned the form. Although their times were very different, as were their works and ideas about the theatre, their criticism of the *commedia dell'arte* and their insistence for new dramatic forms were the same.

The question of the genre of Goldoni's plays drew the attention of several critics. Some noticed melodramatic elements in some of his plays. For example, Elena Sala di Felice in her article "Esotismo goldoniano," demonstrates, by analyzing the main features of *Ircana in Ispaan*, the way the genre of melodrama surfaces in this play. She discusses the battle between Machmut and Osmano when Fatima intervenes to prevent her father Osmano from attacking and injuring Machmut when he is disarmed. In this highly emotional scene (Act III, scene 7), Fatima and Machmut defend each other from angry Osmano. First Fatima tries to convince him not to hurt Machmut, reminding him how he had treated her like a daughter against his own son. Machmut shows that he respects Fatima just as much as she respects him, by telling her father that Fatima is much more virtuous than him, and more worthy. This, however, only angers Osmano even more, and once again Fatima has to stand between the two protecting Machmut with her body. The mutual respect that Fatima and Machmut have for one another has a reverse effect on Osmano. Instead of convincing him of Fatima's virtues, Machmut's words anger him even more to the extent that he disowns Fatima and openly states that he hates her, and wishes to kill her instead of Machmut. (Goldoni 2003 [1756]: 374) This time, however, Machmut stands in her defence.

According to di Felice, the other two plays of the Persian trilogy, beside *Ircana in Ispaan*, also share several features that demonstrate that all of them should be characterized as melodramas. These features include Fatima's character, a frequency of certain key adjectives, and tears. In Fatima's character, she stresses her exemplary virtue in every situation she faces, similar to exceptionally virtuous characters portrayed in melodramas, particularly those by Metastasio, under whose influence Goldoni probably developed this character. As for the adjectives that contribute to the audience's empathy, which is one of the features of melodrama, she notes a frequency of terms like *miseri* and *sventurati* employed by characters to define themselves, which is also due, most probably, to Metastasio's influence. (Di Felice

2007: 141) Another feature that contributes to a melodramatic climate is the use of the vocative "idolo mio," which appears several times in the Persian trilogy. Tears are another key component of melodrama that Sala di Felice examines.

As for defining the term "exotic tragicomedies," it should be noted that Goldoni himself did not use the term 'exotic,' although this adjective was in use since the 16th century, Goldoni, instead, in his *Mémoires*, refers to the three plays of the Persian trilogy as "oriental comedies." The first critic to use the term was Maria Ortiz in her article "Commedie esotiche del Goldoni" ("Goldoni's exotic comedies") (1905), where the term implies a wider meaning than "oriental," since it is not geographically limited to the Orient, but also includes the two American tragicomedies, *La peruviana* and *La bella selvaggia*. Hobart Chatfield-Chatfield Taylor, the author of Goldoni's biography, includes in this classification some plays that today we would hardly consider "exotic." (Chatfield-Taylor 1913: 121, 124, 359-388, 441-450) Krzysztof Zaboklicki discusses the history of classification of Goldoni's exotic plays and explains that highly economically developed countries, such as England and the Netherlands, were not considered "foreign" to the Venetian audience and consequently the plays set in those countries could not be differentiated in terms of exoticism from the plays that took place in non-European countries or with non-Europeans as major characters, and they should not be classified in the same group. (Zaboklicki 1982) Critics usually classify as 'exotic' some if not all the plays I deal with in this chapter, except for *La bella giorgiana*, which is often omitted in discussions of exotic plays. However, Franco Fido includes her in a study of exotic heroines. In his article "Eroine esotiche nelle 'tragedie galanti' scritte fra Roma e Parigi (1759-1761)" (Exotic heroines in 'romantic tragedies' written between Rome and Paris (1759-1761)), Fido discusses *La bella giorgiana* together with *Gli amori di Alessandro Magno* (1759), *Artemisia* (1759), *Enea nel Lazio* (1760), and *Zoroastro* (1760), and refers to them as "romantic tragicomedies" or "romantic tragedies."

For the purpose of my study, I have chosen to classify exotic plays according to place they are set in. The first group consists of tragicomedies dealing with the East and the Middle East (or Near East), such as the tragicomedies of the Persian trilogy (*La sposa persiana*, *Ircana in Julfa*, and *Ircana in Ispaan*), and *La bella giorgiana*. The second group consists of American tragicomedies: *La peruviana* and *La bella selvaggia*. As for *La dalmatina*, since it is central to my thesis I will discuss it in a separate chapter.

All tragicomedies, the Oriental as well as the American ones, except for *La bella giorgiana*, were written in Martellian verse. This is a fourteen-syllable verse, derived from the Alexandrine of medieval French. It was created by Pier Iacopo Martello (1665-1727), who used this type of verse in his tragedies. The first play Goldoni wrote in Martellian verse was *Il Molière* (1751). He also wrote a number of plays in this verse, tragicomedies and comedies alike, mostly with a historical theme. Starting from *La sposa persiana*, the majority of the plays performed between 1753 and 1759 were written in Martellian verse, the last one was *La donna forte* (1759), after which he never used it again.

Persian trilogy

The three plays which are referred to as the Persian trilogy were not initially planned as a trilogy. *La sposa persiana* was very well received by the audience and was performed for thirty-four consecutive nights. It also brought great popularity to the leading actress Caterina Bresciani.⁹² The title of the first play of the trilogy, *La sposa persiana*, and the plot introduce Fatima as the protagonist and Ircana as the antagonist. However, it is Ircana who was more favourably received by the audience. The success of the play instigated Goldoni to write a follow up since the audience was eager to see what was going to happen to Ircana. *La sposa persiana* was also very successfully received outside of Italy. It was translated into several

languages and played in Vienna in 1759 and 1763, Barcelona (1765), Paris (1772) and in Lisbon (1780, 1792), where the other two plays (*Ircana in Julfa* and *Ircana am Ispaan*, 1786) were also translated in Portuguese a few years later. (Pieri 2003: 534) *Ircana* received such a favourable reception that Goldoni even mentions her in his comedy *Il festino* (1754). In the twelfth scene of Act II of the play, several theatre aficionados discuss *La sposa persiana*. They debate whether it is a comedy, whether the playwright faithfully depicted Oriental customs, and, finally, they discuss the female characters, Fatima, *Ircana*, and Curcuma.

As for the title of the play, the critic Elena Sala di Felice suggests that a possible source for the title of *La sposa persiana* are two paintings by Giovanni Antonio Guardi, *Matrimonio turco* and *Corteo della sposa*, the older brother of the more famous Venetian painter Francesco Guardi. Commissioned by a prominent art patron Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg, in the early 1740s, Guardi created several paintings which depict Turkish life and customs known as "turcherie."⁹³ Sala di Felice also suggests that the first scene of *Ircana in Julfa* might have been inspired by another painting by Guardi, *Odalisca e soldati in un bosco*, (Odalisque and soldiers in a wood)⁹⁴ with a slight modification: instead of the soldiers Goldoni portrayed Bulganzar, the eunuch, and two Armenian merchants, Demetrio and Zaguro.

Plots

Before I proceed to the analysis of these exotic tragicomedies, I will briefly summarize their plots, as well as the plot of *La bella giorgiana*, which although not directly related to the others, is still an example of Goldoni's exotic plays. Geographically, all these plays, together with some other plays of different genres, such as *Lucrezia romana in Costantinopoli*, *L'Impressario delle Smirne*, represent Goldoni's dramatic explorations of the

East, which encompasses quite a large geographical and culturally diverse area. These plays include Turkish characters, such as in *L'Impressario delle Smirne*, which, although takes place in Venice, has as a protagonist from Izmir, as well as Persians and Georgians. Goldoni also made dramatic explorations of the Americas in *La peruviana*, set in France, but with Peruvian characters, and *La bella selvaggia*, set in Guyana and featuring Portuguese and natives.

La sposa persiana

The main characters of the first play of the Persian trilogy, *La sposa persiana*, are Tamas, Fatima, and Ircana. Tamas is in love with the slave Ircana, but he is betrothed to Fatima, whose father, Osmano, arranged the marriage with Tamas's father Machmut when Tamas was a child and Fatima was just born. This love triangle is not a problem per se, since this practice is acceptable in Persia. However, the slave Ircana does not accept her secondary role of lover, and insists on a monogamous relationship. Caught between his love for Ircana, and his father's wishes, as well as Fatima's virtuous behaviour, Tamas cannot decide. The plot revolves around Tamas's indecision and the problems created by Curcuma, the slaves custodian, who claims to be a confidante of both Ircana and Fatima, not out of friendship but out of interest because she is after their jewels. The complications for Tamas come first from Fatima's father, Osmano, who insists that he marries Fatima, then, from his own father, Machmut, who wants the same, though he is not as aggressive, and finally, from Fatima who refuses to leave the household, since she has done no wrong and, according to customs, he cannot divorce her. The situation is further complicated by Fatima's exceptionally virtuous behaviour and completely positive outlook, even towards people who are very demanding, such as Ircana. Tamas respects her for that although he prefers Ircana. After hearing that Tamas refuses to marry his daughter because he loves a slave, Osmano decides to buy Ircana

from Machmut to eliminate the obstacle to Fatima's marriage. When she hears this, Ircana goes into hiding, but she is eventually caught. In order to prevent further conflicts, Fatima convinces her father that Ircana should belong to her, as it was she who suffered the most because of Ircana's relationship with Tamas. When Osmano accepts her proposal, Fatima sets her free on condition that she leaves the household. The play ends happily when Tamas finally accepts to marry Fatima.

The play ends tragically only for Curcuma. She is the most tragic character of the Persian trilogy. At the beginning she is presented primarily as a comic character but in the course of the play her negative features prevail, and she pays her sins with her life. The audience does not witness her punishment, but is informed by Ali. Curcuma is responsible for many witty scenes throughout the play because of her obsession with youth, for which everybody makes fun of her. Considering how Goldoni was preoccupied with the age of actresses and how he was pressured by Gandini to give his fifty-year old wife the role of a young actress, it is perhaps not an accident that the playwright assigned to Pietro Gandini the role of Curcuma, a slave obsessed with her age. His impersonation of Curcuma was so excellent that Goldoni, despite their quarrels, always praised his professional performance. Curcuma's flaws, which at the beginning of the play are humorous, become more serious later in the play. When she asks Ircana and Fatima for their jewels in exchange for her help to gain Tamas's heart, she appears funny and her intention to steal the jewels justifiable, since she has worked all her life without recompense. When, later, she gets into greater and more serious misdeeds her punishment and unfortunate end become inevitable.

Ircana in Julfa

The second play in the Persian series, *Ircana in Julfa*, describes her life in this city, which is in the Armenian part of the city of Isfahan, where the first and third plays take place. Ircana is taken to Julfa by the black eunuch Bulganzar, but since he does not own her, she decides to sell herself and gives him a jewel as commission for helping her to find buyers. Two Armenian merchants, Demetrio and Zaguro, are interested in buying her and they are trying to convince her to sell herself to one of them. Finally, she decides to give herself for free to Demetrio, on condition that he will treat her well and that her honour is protected. She tells him about her life, how she was sold by her parents to Machmut, about her love for Tamas, about Fatima and the reasons why she left Isfahan. He agrees to help her. Before they arrive to his household, he suggests that she remains in men's clothes. As soon as Ircana arrives at Demetrio's household, she attracts the attention of all the women who reside there: Demetrio's widowed sister Kiskia, her daughters, Creona and Merliotta, and even his wife Zulmira. Ircana under her new adopted name of Ircano, manages somehow to control this comic situation. She is very skillful in defending herself from all these women and kindly turns them down without disclosing her gender. In the meantime, Tamas arrives secretly and tells her that he cannot marry Fatima because he is still in love with her. Although Ircana does everything in her power to dissuade the women from courting her, this is becoming more and more difficult, as the women, especially Kiskia and Zulmira, become more forceful in their courtship. Despite Ircana's kindness, her refusal angers Kiskia who threatens to inform her brother that Zulmira had a relation with him. Although this is not really a problem for Ircana, she is very uncomfortable with the fact that now she has enemies in the household. Her secret is revealed when Zaguro arrives for a visit. Despite his promise to accept Ircana's decision to go with Demetrio, he now wants revenge and informs Zulmira that Demetrio bought a female slave, not a male one. In the meantime, Kiskia tells Demetrio that Zulmira had a love affair with Ircano, so when Zulmira accuses him of hiding Ircana's gender, he reproaches her for

having an extra-marital love affair. Zulmira pretends to forgive Ircana, but when they are alone she tries to kill her. Creona arrives just in time to save her. When everything calms down, Ali arrives and tells Tamas the good news. His marriage to Fatima is dissolved and Ali is going to marry her instead.

Ircana in Ispaan

Ircana in Ispaan is the continuation of *La sposa persiana*, if we take into account that in the second play, *Ircana in Julfa*, Ircana is not in Isfahan, and most of the characters from the first play, except for Ircana, Tamas and Ali, do not appear in the second. In the third play, Ircana and Tamas return to Isfahan where there are no more obstacles to their marriage. However, now they need to convince Machmut⁹⁵ and Osmano to accept the new situation. They need first to persuade Machmut to let them enter his property, since he refused to let Tamas there anymore. Even though he is not as angry as Osmano, Machmut feels a very strong fatherly affection towards Fatima, and he is very angry at Tamas for leaving her. Tamas and Ircana now have to come up with a good excuse to make Machmut forgive them and decide to play on his love for Tamas. Ircana arrives first and informs him that Tamas is dead. He is devastated, so when he hears that he is alive, he forgives them everything and lets them on his property. Now they need to convince Osmano but this proves to be a more difficult task, as Osmano ignores their excuses and threatens to attack Machmut's household with his army. Osmano goes to Machmut and starts a fight but thanks to Fatima's intervention, Machmut is saved. Luckily, the representative of the Grand Visier, Scacch Bey, arrives with the order that despite his impeccable military record, Osmano is not supposed to use the army for his personal vendetta. Osmano refuses to give up his weapons and Scacch Bey arrests him. Fatima is devastated and, since Machmut and Tamas owe their lives to Fatima who saved

them from Osmano, Machmut decides they should help save Osmano. Scacch Bey calculates the price they should pay for Osmano's freedom and Machmut gives him the money. Osmano arrives, thankful to Machmut and the story ends happily. The play closes with Ircana's words: "Here's the happy end of Ircana's adventures."⁹⁶ (Goldoni 2003 [1756]: 416)

La bella giorgiana

Dadian, the king of Imereti, is unsatisfied with the number of women he received as annual contribution from Bacherat. In order to please him, Bacherat offers him his daughter, Tamar. However, Dadian does not keep her for himself, but donates her to his slave Macur. This angers Vachtangel, Bacherat's official, himself in love with Tamar, and he asks Abchar, Dadian's vizier, for help. Although Abchar, who is married to Dadian's sister Ottiana, accepts Dadian as the king, he does not approve of his tyrannical behaviour and decides to help Vachtangel. Impressed by Tamar's beauty and eloquence, Abchar asks Macur to sell him Tamar, but he refuses. Abchar asks Dadian to revoke his gift to Macur and to give Tamar to him instead. Dadian first refuses, but being aware that he already has too many enemies, he decides to please Abchar and to fulfill his wish. However, after meeting Tamar and realizing how beautiful and eloquent she is, he decides to keep her for himself. Abchar is angry and wants revenge. At the same time, Bacherat, Tamar's father, after he hears from Vachtangel that Tamar had been given to the slave Macur, he is angry with Dadian and wants revenge. Abchar and Bacherat join forces and agree to attack Dadian. They decide to divide the Georgian states, Imereti and Mingrelia, among themselves. In the meantime, Dadian tells Ottiana that Abchar has joined forces with Bacherat. Ottiana blames Tamar for everything and convinces her brother that he should kill her. However, Tamar manages to convince Dadian to change his mind, and he decides to let her live. When Bacherat's and Abchar's soldiers arrive,

Dadian locks Tamar up in the tower and Abchar dies in the battle. After hearing that he is dead, Ottiana is not sad because she considers him a traitor, but she is angry because Tamar is still alive. In the meantime, when Bacherat's soldiers attack the tower, Dadian asks Bacherat to save Tamar, but after hearing that Bacherat captured Ottiana and intends to kill her, he orders Tamar's execution. Thanks to Vachtangel, both women are saved. Thinking that she is in love with Vachtangel, Bacherat offers him to marry Tamar. However, Tamar reminds her father that although he won this battle, one day his enemies will unite and attack him. In order to prevent further wars, she suggests, he should unite with Dadian and they should both rule the country together. She insinuates that this can be accomplished if she marries Dadian. At first, Vachtangel is angry because Tamar will not be his wife, but she reminds him that they never loved each other. She tells her father that Vachtangel should be a vizier and advises him to marry Ottiana.

American tragicomedies

La peruviana

As Goldoni states in his *Mémoires*, *La peruviana* was based on the epistolary novel *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747) by Françoise de Graffigny, one of the world's most famous female dramatists of the time. Goldoni imitates the simple and natural style of the protagonist Zilia but he changed the plot to a happy ending. The main characters of the play are two Peruvians, Zilia and Aza, and the Frenchman Déterville. The play takes place in Paris. Déterville is in love with Zilia, and although he knows that she loves her compatriot Aza, he decides to give her a large part of his wealth. His brother-in-law, Rigadon is not very happy about that. Zilia is thankful and respects Déterville, who also promises her that he will bring Aza to her. Rigadon, who stopped loving his wife Cellina and who is only interested in

money, goes to Paris, to look for compromising information about Aza to prevent Zilia from marrying him. Since he cannot dissuade Déterville from giving his wealth to Zilia, he at least wants Zilia to marry Déterville so that the money remains in the family. Rigadon writes a letter from Paris informing Déterville that Aza had a love affair with Zulmira, a Spanish lady who arrived with him and her father, Don Alonso, to Déterville's household. Déterville tells his servant Pierotto to give the letter to Zilia and ask her to read it alone. Before she has a chance to read the letter, Aza arrives and convinces her that he did not have an affair with Zulmira. It is true that Zulmira is in love with Aza, but they did not have an affair. Aza and Zilia decide to get married, but she realizes that Aza has changed. Déterville is devastated because Zilia is going to marry Aza. Unexpectedly, a Peruvian king's servant, Kanick, arrives and informs Aza and Zilia that they are brother and sister. Although in their culture the marriage between them would be possible, European customs do not approve of such a marriage and they decide to respect these customs. When the play ends Zilia marries Déterville and Aza Zulmira.

La bella selvaggia

La bella selvaggia is also based on the interaction between Europeans and Americans but the location is Portuguese Guyana. Di Felice suggests that Goldoni might have been inspired by Voltaire's play *Alzire*, which was performed in Venice, and Goldoni probably attended the performance. Although Voltaire's play deals with the Spanish conquest of Peru, and Goldoni's with the Portuguese conquest of Guyana, Voltaire's influence is noticeable in the characters' attitude toward colonisation: the more gentle approach promoted by Don Alvarez, who insists on pursuing true Christian values, and an aggressive approach promoted by his cruel son, Don Gusman. In Goldoni's play, these viewpoints are voiced by Don Alonso, and Don Ximene, respectively.

Camur and Zadir, natives of Guyana, are held in prison. While Camur is desperate because they are slaves of Europeans, though they are wiser than them, Zadir is worried about his loved one, Camur's daughter Delmira who is in the hands of the Europeans. Camur, however, does not doubt that she is faithful. At this time, their compatriot Papadir arrives to inform them that they are free because the Portuguese commanders, Don Alonso and Don Ximene, are both in love with Delmira. He also tells them that he is particularly surprised by how Europeans treat women kindly, while Europeans are surprised by the Guyanan's practice of cannibalism. Don Alonso later meets them and finds their behaviour barbaric and he informs Delmira that he has freed them. Delmira is faithful to Zadir, but she now realizes that she also likes Don Alonso. However, she finds Don Ximene very rude and annoying and asks Don Alonso to protect her from him. Don Ximene's wife Donn'Alba arrives from Brazil and is devastated because she loves her husband even though he is a very mean man. Zadir, now jealous of Don Alfonso, wants Camur to kill Delmira. He is the father who gave her life and he can also take it away. Don Ximene arrives and sends Camur and Zadir back to prison and tells them that their destiny is in Delmira's hands. Angry because he cannot control Don Ximene, Don Alonso shows him the king's letter where it says that they are both commanders, but in case of disagreement, he should have the command. When Don Alonso hears that Zadir wanted to kill him, he intends to punish all the Americans, but Delmira convinces him that there are too many innocent people. Finally, Don Alonso forgives them and liberates them. After realizing that Don Alonso is a fair man, Zadir tells him that although he is a European, he is a virtuous man and he deserves Delmira for a wife, and gives them his blessing.

There are also several episodes with an American Schichirat and a Portuguese Rosina. He does not have much respect for Europeans, though he loves their wine. Rosina keeps promising him more wine if he shaves his beard, which is a symbol of masculinity for him. Finally, when he is asleep, after having drunk a lot of wine, she shaves his beard.

Common characteristics of exotic tragicomedies

The following analysis of the common characteristics of exotic tragicomedies is inspired by Franco Fido's study of the common features of the heroines of Goldoni's tragicomedies or 'tragedie galanti'⁹⁷ between the years of 1759 and 1761. Fido analyzed *Gli amori di Alessandro Magno*, *Artemisia*, *Enea nel Lazio*, *Zoroastro*, and *La bella giorgiana*, and chose the following five characteristics that are present in some if not all of these tragicomedies: 1) sententious reflections and maxims scattered in dialogues to sustain the tragic dignity; 2) presence of princesses who cannot stand each other and fight brutally; 3) their desire to reign; 4) use of women's charm to seduce the powerful men on whom their destiny depends; 5) their brilliant dialectic ability. (Fido 2009: 69-70) According to Fido, the protagonist of *La bella giorgiana*, Tamar, incorporates all of these characteristics.

While exotic tragicomedies share some of these features, in my view, in the exotic tragicomedies, besides the portrayal of female protagonists, which is central to Fido's analysis, two more issues are also significant: 1) description of the different protagonists' cultures and 2) the way Goldoni presents the encounter between these cultures. For this reason, I decided to list a separate set of common features, according to which these plays are analyzed here.

It is important to note that these features are not valid for all Goldoni's tragicomedies, but only for the exotic ones like the Persian trilogy plays and the American tragicomedies. In the next chapter I will discuss how *La dalmatina* fits within this set of characteristics. *La Bella giorgiana* is also the exception for several reasons. Firstly, it is not written in Martellian verse, which is a significant feature of exotic tragicomedies, since this fact suggests that they could be understood as a special trend in Goldoni's theatrical experiments. Secondly, in *La*

bella giorgiana there are no encounters of cultures, as is the case in all the other exotic tragicomedies, to a lesser or a higher degree. Finally, *La bella giorgiana* is set in the Caucasus in a Christian environment, and differs geographically from other exotic tragicomedies since it does not take place either in the Middle East or in the Americas. Still, despite these differences, *La bella giorgiana* shares some of the same characteristics of exotic tragicomedies, since it was written just after the last exotic tragicomedy, and bears the name of a foreign woman.

In short, the common characteristics of exotic tragicomedies I plan to discuss are: 1) female dramatic domination stated in the title of the play; 2) unfulfilled prearranged marriages and double weddings; 3) eloquent and wise female protagonists; 4) female protagonists presented as victims of their societies' customs; 5) encounter of cultures.

1) female dramatic domination stated in the title of the play

The importance of the female characters (over the male ones) in exotic tragicomedies is inscribed in the very title of the plays, as each one is named after the female protagonist. Franco Fido notes this in his comparison of *La bella giorgiana* to other protagonists from galant tragedies, where not only a woman's drama occupies an honourable place in the play action, as it does in other *tragedie galanti* that are titled after the main male characters (*Gli Amori di Alessandro Magno*, *Enea nel Lazio*, and *Zoroastro*), but female supremacy is acknowledged already in the very title of the play, which is named after her. Fido notes that this is also the case in the Persian trilogy, as well as in *La peruviana*, *La bella selvaggia*, and *La dalmatina*.⁹⁸

The women's names are also linked to a geographical place, either country or ethnicity (Persian, Georgian, Peruvian) or a city (Julfa, Ispahan). The only play that does not seem to have a specific geographical name is *La bella selvaggia*. However, considering that

'selvaggia', wild, is used almost interchangeably with 'americana,' the noun can be considered a specific geographical name rather than an attribute. This is not the only occurrence of the word "selvaggia" in this tragicomedy. Stefania Buccini indicates that in the last decades of the eighteenth century, America continued to be perceived in Italian literature as a mythic continent and the terms "americano" and "selvaggio" were synonymous. (Buccini 1992: 212)

Besides the titles, the names also disclose significant information about the characters. For example, in the Persian trilogy, the titles reveal the main attributes of the two female protagonists. *La sposa persiana* does not contain the name of the person, but rather her role in the family. Her personal name is not important, she is a Persian spouse. Fatima has been instructed from birth how she should perform this role, since she has known who was going to be her husband from the day she was born. The title of the first play might have well been *Tamas's spouse*. However, even though it seems that she wants to be exclusively with Tamas, at the end of the third play she accepts to marry Ali, and this way she proves that she is primarily *la sposa persiana*, regardless of who her spouse may be. The spouse is as unimportant as she is. In Ircana's case, her name is inscribed in the titles of the second and third plays, *Ircana in Ispaan* and *Ircana in Julfa*, to place in evidence her strong personality which is her main asset. These titles do not even mention her ethnicity, as in the case of Fatima, only the places where she is in the plays. Still, Ircana's name derives from her ethnicity, as Ircania is an ancient name for Persia.

Other exotic tragicomedies are titled after the protagonists's ethnicities rather than their personal names. In contrast to Ircana, this indicates that these heroines, despite their qualities and originality in some respects, are primarily portrayed on the basis of their ethnicity. Only in Ircana's case, personal traits are more significant than social ones, for she is the only one who fails to behave in accordance to the expectations that her society imposes on women.

While there are many Goldoni's plays that take the title after a woman's role in the family (*La vedova scaltra*, *La buona moglie*, *La moglie saggia*, *La figlia obbediente*, *La madre amorosa*, *La vedova spiritosa*, *La sposa sagace*, *La buona madre*), not many of them contain an original character's name. *Rosmonda*, *Griselda*, and *Artemisia* are already well-known characters,⁹⁹ which leaves only *Pamela nubile*, *Pamela maritata*, and *Le inquietudini di Camilla* together with the two *Ircana* as plays whose title emphasizes the main female figure. As for the ethnicity indicated in the title, this seems to be the specific practice of exotic tragicomedies. Besides references to 'Persian,' 'Peruvian,' 'Dalmatian,' and 'Georgian,' the only other Goldoni's play that contains a female character's ethnicity is *La scozzese* (1761), the Scottish woman. Finally, also common in Goldoni's titles are the epithets that characterize the woman's role or function: *La putta onorata*, *L'eredità fortunata*, *La dama prudente*, *La donna volubile*, *Le donne gelose*, *Le donne curiose*, *La donna vendicativa*, *La donna stravagante*, *La donna bizzarra*, *La donna forte*.¹⁰⁰

2) unfulfilled prearranged marriages and double weddings

In each tragicomedy, there is a pre-arranged marriage, either in the form of engagement or promise. In the Persian trilogy, it is between Fatima and Tamas, in *La peruviana* between Zilia and Aza, and in *La bella selvaggia* between Delmira and Zadir. However, in all of these tragicomedies, that prearranged marriage is not fulfilled. If the Persian plays are analyzed separately, then the promise is fulfilled at the end of the first sequel, but, this fulfilment is short-lasting since already at the beginning of the second sequel, Tamas leaves Fatima, and in the end of the third play he marries Ircana and Fatima marries Ali.

Besides unfulfilled promises, in the Persian trilogy and *La peruviana*, there are two marriages at the end, though the reasons behind these weddings differ. In the Persian trilogy,

Ali decides to marry Fatima so that Tamas can marry Ircana. He informs Tamas and Ircana about his decision at the end of *Ircana in Julfa*. Before, this possibility could not have been foreseen. The only hint comes in the third act of *Ircana in Julfa*, where Ali asks Tamas if it would be possible to resolve the situation by finding another spouse for Fatima. (Goldoni 2003 [1755]: 293; see appx. IV.1). However, even here, there is no mention of who the spouse might be. Only in the penultimate scene of the play, Ali discloses that he is to be Fatima's new spouse. (ibid.: 321; see appx. IV.2)

Ali's unexpected decision to wed Fatima is a sign of his friendship for Tamas. The way Ali announces the news also indicates that he is more concerned with Tamas and Ircana than himself. The "lucky event" (*fortunato evento*) of which he speaks, is not Ali's marriage to Fatima but the fact that Tamas is no longer engaged to Fatima and he is free to marry Ircana. Ali does not even say that he is getting married, but rather that he found a *sposo* for Fatima, so that Tamas can literally be rid of her. It is clear that Ali decides to marry Fatima only to help Tamas fulfill his dream to marry Ircana. This is Ali's main function in all three plays, to be Tamas's most faithful friend and to function as a *deus ex machina* to resolve the main complication of the plot.

Besides helping Tamas, Ali also validates Persian customs. Fatima arrived in the household in order to be married, if she were to return home, she would embarrass her family, not to mention that her father would feel it to be his right to take revenge for the shame that would come on his family. By marrying Fatima, he fulfills everyone's wishes, maintains peace between the two distinguished Persian families and preserves Persian tradition.

In *La peruviana*, the decision to have a double wedding occurs in the last act but from the very beginning such a possibility existed, since the Europeans were in love with the Peruvians, even though these were promised to each other in Peru. Until the very end we are not sure if Zilia will marry Aza or Déterville, or whether Aza will marry Zilia or Zulmira. As

for Déterville and Zulmira, the only possibility is to be coupled with one of the Peruvians. In the end, the shocking news that Aza and Zilia are brother and sister prevents them from getting married, especially since such a marriage would go against European norms. The irony is that they have always been proud of their Peruvian heritage, and often critical of European customs, and now it is precisely a European custom that prevents them from marrying.

One aspect double weddings have in common is that a custom is partially responsible for them. In the Persian trilogy, a double wedding is necessary to preserve Persian customs; in *La peruviana*, the weddings serve to accommodate European customs. Since they cannot marry each other, Zilia and Aza marry two Europeans and instead of one wedding, there are two. In both cases the marriages are not pre-arranged, although there were arrangements made beforehand. In the Persian trilogy, Fatima's and Tamas's respective fathers arranged their wedding many years before. In *La peruviana*, Zilia and Aza promised to each other to marry. In the course of the plays, these pre-arrangements are questioned and, in the end, they are not fulfilled.

In both cases the marriages are among characters of different social class or ethnic background, and they become ways of overcoming barriers these mismatching backgrounds produce, namely social barriers in the Persian trilogy, and ethnic differences, in *La peruviana*. The weddings in the trilogy are among characters of different social classes: Tamas, a financier's son, marries Ircana, who is a slave, while Fatima, an army officer's daughter, marries Ali, whose social background is not completely clear, but it is certainly lower than Tamas's since Machmut gives a part of his wealth to match the requirements to be Fatima's spouse. In *La peruviana*, ethnic backgrounds of the characters are different. Instead of a marriage between people of the same, Peruvian, ethnicity, one marries a Frenchman and the other a Spanish woman. In the Persian trilogy, overcoming barriers can be seen in a positive

way, as a kind of emancipation from the established order. In *La peruviana*, the weddings can be interpreted as both, overcoming social barriers, and as symbolizing the success of European colonialism. Even though the Peruvians feel themselves to be superior to the Europeans, in the end they adjusted to European customs and accepted them. The Europeans did not win them over because of their economic and military superiority, but because they are more advanced culturally and socially. This is precisely how colonizers tend to present the success of their efforts: colonization succeeds not because it is imposed on others but because others accept it as being more advanced.

A similar situation occurs in *La bella selvaggia*. Here, there are no double weddings, but the Guyanese female protagonist, Delmira, does not marry her compatriot she was promised to, but a European man. The reasons are different from those in *La peruviana*, since nothing prevents Delmira from marrying Zadir. She chooses Don Alonso because she is in love with him and because he is a virtuous man. The decision goes beyond ethnic considerations. From the very beginning, her fiancée, Zadir, suspects that she will choose a European man. On the other hand, both Europeans, Don Alonso and Don Ximene, use every opportunity to convince Delmira that Zadir is not good for her because he is not sophisticated enough. However, because Zadir's behaviour turns out to be very aggressive and Don Alonso's very charming, she loses interest in Zadir and falls for Don Alonso. In the end, Don Alonso proves to be a generous man, so even Zadir has to admit that he is virtuous enough to be Delmira's husband, and he gives them his blessings. (Goldoni 1831a [1757]: 520; see appx. IV.3) The ending of *La bella selvaggia*, even more than the ending of *La peruviana*, represents a victory of the Europeans over the Americans. While in the latter play the reason for the Peruvians break-up is beyond their control, and in the end everyone is happy, in *La bella selvaggia*, Zadir remains without a partner, while Delmira marries Don Alonso.

3) eloquent and wise female protagonists

Considering the inferior position of women in society, their eloquence and wisdom are the only tools they have at their disposal to fulfill their wishes and obtain what they want. The female protagonists are portrayed as very attractive physically, but it is their rhetorical skills and their intelligence that attract men the most. In *La sposa persiana*, this is best illustrated by Fatima. Tamas is in love with Ircana, but Fatima, thanks to her eloquence, manages to convince him to marry her at the end of the first play. At first, Tamas refuses to see her for he is sure that he loves Ircana. Ali convinces him to meet her to see if she is more beautiful than Ircana, and then to make his decision. However, it is not her beauty that all of a sudden causes Tamas's indecisiveness as to whom he wants to marry. When Fatima uncovers her veil, Tamas says to himself: "No, she is not more beautiful, [...] Ircana is prettier".¹⁰¹ (Goldoni 2003 [1753]: 175) However, after talking to her for a while, he starts liking her: "What an unusual style! What a love! What wonderful words!"¹⁰² (ibid.: 177) Fatima is aware of her disadvantaged position from the beginning, and realizes that the only way she can win Tamas's heart is to make him feel pity for her, and she succeeds. Even though she feels humiliated, she manages to hide her anger, and continues to obey the advice she received from Machmut and Osmano to maintain the proper behaviour for a Persian wife. She is humble, nice, and forgiving. She hopes that by being virtuous, she will win Tamas's heart. She is nice to Ircana, although Ircana is rude to her, openly telling her, time after time, that she hates her. In Ircana's view, Fatima's virtuous behaviour is hypocritical, she pretends to be nice just to win Tamas's heart. After one of Ircana's passionate outbursts, when she attacks him physically, and Fatima defends him, Tamas begins to believe that Fatima deserves his love (Goldoni 2003 [1753]: 229), but this is short-lived. Nonetheless, Fatima's strategy in the first play demonstrates how powerful her eloquence and intelligence are. Her patience, gentleness,

wise words, and crying when needed, helped her achieve her objective to win Tamas's heart, at least for a while.

The most eloquent heroine in these exotic tragicomedies is, without doubt, Delmira, the protagonist of *La bella selvaggia*. Delmira's oratory serves to illustrate the virtues of her Guyanese people, to compare the *selvaggi* and the Europeans, and, more generally, to expand on human virtue. She impresses the Europeans, and thanks to her, many of her Guyanese people are freed from prison. Her analysis of European and Guyanese societies even impresses Donna Alba, the sister of Don Alonso, who at first does not believe that it is possible for a native to be intelligent and virtuous, as she thinks that virtue is something one acquires at birth and depends on where one is brought up: "This is how speaks woman among savages [...] Delmira, because of your talents I should not despise you."¹⁰³ (Goldoni 1831a [1757]: 563)

A close second, when it comes to eloquence is Tamar, the protagonist of *La bella giorgiana*. She is a typical example of a *femme fatale* who makes every man she meets fall in love with her. Once again, it is not her beauty, although she is exceptionally pretty, but her eloquence that wins them over.

4) female protagonists presented as victims of their societies' customs

The most determined criticism of women's role in Persia comes from Ircana. In one of her monologues, she gives her views on the role and function of women among Muslims. She bewails their restricted movement, as they are not allowed to go out of their homes unaccompanied. Whether they are slaves or free women, their destiny is the same. They are expected to spend their lives between four walls. (Goldoni 2003 [1753]: 158; see appx. IV.4)

The slave custodian, Curcuma, in her comic way, expresses her views on Persian men's taste for multiple love affairs. After hearing that Tamas promised Ircana an exclusive

relationship, Curcuma tells her that this would hardly be the case since Persian men like to be with hundreds of women and she condemns the man-made law that allows the practice. (ibid.: 160; see appx. IV.5) She says that in other countries, presumably Europe, women have a very different position. They are men's companions, they are respected and honoured. (ibid.: 160; see appx. IV.6)

But the women are not alone, men also do not approve of these cultural practices. For example, Tamas is the first one to complain because he has to marry a woman that was chosen for him by his father. Tamas reflects on the disadvantaged position of Persian men compared to Europeans. While European men are able to see hundreds of women, Muslims do not have this privilege. Because of a different dress code for women in Muslim countries, according to which they have to be covered, and because they cannot leave their households, Muslim men do not have a chance to see any women, except for the ones they are married to. Tamas finds it unreasonable that European men envy Muslims for being able to be married to many women. Considering the way a woman is chosen for a man, and the fact that many men do not enjoy their marriage anyway, having a relationship with more women means just having more problems. He finds the European custom of being able to look at women much more to his taste. (ibid.: 155; see appx. IV.7) Machmut provides yet another view on Persian cultural practices. Polygamy, he tells Tamas, is allowed among Muslims, but it is not common in Persia. However, they are allowed to have as many women as they want in their seraglio.

In the Persian trilogy, the rivalry between the two female protagonists is the result of a conflict between tradition and the younger generation. Despite her powerless position as a slave, Ircana refuses to behave according to the norms dictated by her society and is quite critical of tradition. From the very beginning, she voices her desire for a monogamous relationship with Tamas, and her attempt to achieve it is one of the central themes of the trilogy. She says that she would rather be dead and despised, “più tosto, o morta, o

disprezzata" (ibid.: 158), than have to share her love for Tamas with other women. Fatima, on the other hand, who is from a higher social class and the daughter of a military officer in the Persian Army, respects social customs and accepts to be the wife of the man chosen by her father, who is also the one who instructed her on the virtues of a good wife. Obedience, Osmano tells her, is the most important quality of a good Persian wife and she should obey her husband as she obeyed her parents, and as she obeys her country. To love and obey her husband is the best way to keep him happy and contented, and to win his heart. (ibid.: 171-172; see appx. IV.8) Although Osmano is not aware at this time that Tamas loves Ircana, he also tells Fatima to be tolerant if her husband has lovers since it is acceptable for men to have affairs, especially with their slaves. If this should happen, she is supposed to win her husband's heart with love, gentleness, virtue, and respect. (ibid.: 172; see appx. IV.9)

Fatima receives a similar advice from her father-in-law, Machmut who knows that Tamas is in love with Ircana. In his advice, he particularly emphasizes love affairs with slaves. He advises her on how to arise interest in Tamas, suggesting concrete steps that she ought to take to win his heart. When he mentions the possibility that Tamas may be interested in other women, he tells her that it is her sole responsibility to prevent him from that. If he is satisfied with her, he will not be interested in other women. (ibid.: 173; see appx. 10) Osmano's and Machmut's words have a deep disturbing effect on Fatima. She feels that being tolerant will not suffice to accommodate the wishes of her future husband. She fears the competition of a bold slave and already anticipates the possibility, and the shame of being divorced and sent back to her father's home. (ibid.: 174; see appx. IV.11)

When Fatima finally meets Tamas, her fears become real, but she does her best to hide them. She has been taught to behave according to the rules, and now these rules even regulate her feelings. Not only does she accept to marry Tamas, but she even loves him because she was told to do so. (ibid.: 175; see appx. IV.12)

Although in the course of the Persian trilogy, Tamas is often undecided between the two women, when he meets Fatima for the first time, he tells her truthfully and openly that he is marrying her against his will because he loves another woman. Fatima is even willing to let Ircana be his mistress, but Tamas tells her this is impossible since Ircana wants an exclusive relationship with him. Tamas suggests to her that they should divorce, but she refuses, reminding him that, according to the Koran, unless a woman does something wrong, a man cannot divorce her. Since she has not done anything wrong, he cannot divorce her. A woman who left her father's home should not return there, if she did, people would think that she did something wrong. Fatima is so deeply indoctrinated to behave according to the rules, and to prevent, at any cost, anything that could be regarded with disapproval from her society, that she accepts everything as long as she is not forced to return home in shame. After Tamas decides to leave her to search for Ircana, Fatima even accepts to marry Ali so as not to embarrass her family if she returns home without a husband.

If we consider these two women as symbolizing the status quo or a change in well-established customs, the ending could be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, since Ircana is successful in not only marrying Tamas, but she also manages to have a monogamous relationship with him, changing the ways that men relate to women in the Persian world, and between social classes, this is a victory for change. On the other hand, it could also be interpreted as a victory for tradition, a triumph of the very customs which Ircana fought against, since her victory is possible because some characters accepted sacrifices so that tradition could be upheld. Therefore, we could say that while it is a victory for progress, at the same time, the old ways are preserved thanks to Fatima's and Ali's sacrifice. In this case, Goldoni's message can be interpreted as stating that the traditional system can only be maintained with great individual sacrifice and self-abnegation, since we never know what Fatima really wants. She not only denies herself for the sake of preserving social norms and

customs, as Tamas did when he chose to marry her, she also does not even know what she wants, since she was brought up not to think for herself. At the same time, she possesses a very strong character, she is respectful of social rules and behavioural norms, as well as of people, whether her promised husband, her father, her father-in-law or even Ircana, to whom she is always nice, regardless of the fact that she is her rival and the reason of her unhappiness.

Ircana, on the other hand, places the personal above the social. She is portrayed as a strong woman, and her strength, similarly to Fatima's, consists in accepting every sacrifice in order to achieve what she desires. However, while Fatima's strength is demonstrated in her respect for social norms and customs, Ircana's strength is demonstrated in her disrespect for those norms, in the pursuit of trying to fulfill her own wishes regardless of the cost. Instead of accepting to be just Tamas's lover, from whom she would certainly receive special treatment, she risks it all because she is not willing to share him with anyone. She takes a risk when she dresses as a man, knowing full well the dire consequences if she is discovered. Her struggle, however, also illustrates a process of reform of the existing rules. The others' attitude towards her can be seen as the initial resistance towards new ideas, which are not understood at first, and are condemned as morally corrupt and unacceptable. However, as soon as the need for the new is understood as good and as necessary by the highest authorities (by both their fathers), it is accepted. Still, this change is accepted only when Ali and Fatima get married, that is, when the balance is restored once again. So, rather than a change of ways, it is a question of accepting what is different, if it does not impact significantly on the social system and if it does not entail a radical change, but allows it to remain the same. It is an exception, rather than a change.

Goldoni, however, was more concerned with a portrayal of individual characters, especially female ones, rather than with more general aspects of social reform. In discussing

the different types of women in Goldoni's plays, Franco Fido notes that the Persian trilogy is characterized by the women's passion, as both Ircana and Fatima are filled with strong emotions, unthinkable for the women of his Venetian plays. However, these passions are manifested in opposite ways: Fatima suffers her passion in silence, while Ircana has outbursts of passion.¹⁰⁴

In the American tragicomedies, young people and especially women are the victims of their social mores. In *La bella selvaggia*, Delmira's fiancée Zadir, after attempting to kill her because she wore European clothes, demands from her father to kill her. Delmira also agrees that her father has the right to kill her because he gave her life: "Yes, father, you gave me a life one day/ to you, without complaining, I am returning this gift of yours."¹⁰⁵ (Goldoni 1831a [1757]: 561) Fortunately, her father, who rescued her from Zadir, refuses to do that. Her life is completely under the control of her father and fiancée, but when it comes to deciding who she marries, it is Zadir who decides that she can marry Don Alonso.

5) encounter of cultures

In all these plays, the encounter of different cultures is one of the central themes. In the Persian trilogy, the actual encounter occurs only in the second play which Ircana spends in the Christian, Armenian part of Isfahan, called Julfa. However throughout the trilogy, and despite the fact that there are no European characters, comparisons are made with Europe and European culture. In the American plays, the plot revolves around actual encounters between Europeans and Guyanese on one hand, and Peruvian characters on the other, in Guyana and in France, respectively. In *La peruviana*, there are also Spanish and French characters, so the comparisons extend also to these European cultures.

In descriptions of Persian culture, the Islamic component is particularly emphasized. Goldoni describes several cultural practices that illustrate the life of a Muslim household. All

these practices are introduced in contrast to European cultural practices. *La sposa persiana* begins with Tamas's lament over his prearranged marriage and his sorrow that not even opium, which is known to cure melancholy, could help him. (Goldoni 2003 [1753]: 151) When Ali complains that Tamas ignores his advice, Tamas suspects that Ali is intoxicated with opium. When Ali tells him that he has also prepared a dose for Tamas, he also turns to the audience to describe the cultural differences between Persia and Europe, over the consumption of opium. While opium may be poison for the Europeans, it brings “unusual” joy to them. (ibid.: 151-152) Later in the play, Ali also points out the negative aspects of opium. While Europeans believe the myth that it is poisonous, opium can be a remedy, especially for those suffering from love, and it can bring them joy, but the continued use can also render men obtuse and slow-witted, “stolidi ci rende il replicato abuso”. (ibid.: 210)

Opium is mentioned eleven times in four scenes of *La sposa persiana* (I,1; I,7; II,11; IV,3 and IV,4, the last two, although divided in two scenes, are, in fact, one scene). These references to opium, especially in the opening scene of the play, right from the very beginning emphasize that the audience is watching a different culture from the European one, hence so many references to Europe. And it is not only a different culture, but in some respects it is opposite from Europe, for what Europeans consider to be almost a poison, in Persians culture is a remedy.

In *La bella selvaggia*, instead, the drug is wine which, ironically, the Europeans introduced to the natives. In the play, wine is responsible for Schicherat's, one of the natives, distorted view of reality. Wine is mentioned twenty-three times in all the scenes featuring this character (II 1; IV 5, 6; V 1). According to Schicherat, wine is the one good thing that Europeans brought to Guyana, for he does not have a lot of appreciation for anything else European. He dislikes their food¹⁰⁶ (Goldoni 1831a [1757]: 556), and he does not consider their women beautiful (ibid.) Wine, however, in his view, compensates for all these other

European failings. He loves it so much that he would do any type of work, and would even be a slave if he received his share of wine. (ibid.; see appx. IV.13) Schicherat's intoxication almost ends tragically. He is punished for drinking wine when he loses his beard, which for him represented manhood.¹⁰⁷ While Goldoni shows that wine can have negative effects, opium is described almost romantically, and nowhere is there mention of its devastating effects.

In the Persian trilogy, we also get a lesson on coffee, where it is grown and collected, and how it is transported to Isfahan. From Curcuma, the guardian of the slaves, we have a description of how the best coffee is from Arabia, how it is brought to Spain, how it grows and how it is made. You don't need much, she says, you need the right quantity, you need to boil it at least seven times, raising and lowering the temperature, and the coffee is done. (Goldoni 2003 [1753]: 210; see appx. IV.14)

In the Persian trilogy, there is also a detailed description of Persian food. When Machmut is preparing a grand feast in honour of the new bride, he lists all the different delicacies that will be served. He mentions which products are going to be omitted for religious reasons, and those that are harmful but eaten in Europe, such as pork and different salsas. (ibid.: 163-164; see appx. IV.15)

Besides showing knowledge of opium, the bad effects of wine, coffee and Persian food, Goldoni also makes use of many Persian terms that contribute to an understanding of Persian religious and public practice: *Al Cadì* (a judge in Persia, and in Turkey), *Mufti* (the head of the "false" Muslim religion), *Sofi* (the distinguished name for the king of Persia), *Killientar* (a finance manager), *Rabdar* (Police chief); *Divano* (Divan Beghl, a supreme judge). There are terms for buildings, such as *Caravanzera* (a type of Inn, closer to a hotel), *Kabà* (the ancient temple of Mecca). Mention is made of various Persian monetary units, such

as: *Mamoède* (a Persian coin, the equivalent of a Venetian ducat); *jomani* (a Persian monetary unit equal to five Venetian ducats), *tomani* (twenty thousand Venetian ducats).

Goldoni's representation of Persian culture follows a stereotypical portrayal, containing many clichés present in other European authors writing about Muslim countries. One of these is the word for Muslims, "Moamettani." As several critics have noted, this noun was never used by Muslims to refer to themselves or their religion and it has been considered to be essentially wrong. As early as 1875, Reginald Smith, who used it in the title of his book, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, states that he employed it "in compliance with European custom," even though he was aware that it was a misnomer. And he added: "the name was never used by Mohammed himself, nor by his earlier disciples, and, in spite of the reverence paid to the Prophet, it has always been rejected by his followers themselves as a rightful appellation."¹⁰⁸ (Smith 1875: 110) The usage of this term in Europe, according to Edward Said, is one of the many examples that show how representations of the Orient were always a way of domesticating Islam and adapting it to Christian standards:

One constraint acting upon Christian thinkers who tried to understand Islam was an analogical one; since Christ is the basis of Christian faith, it was assumed – quite incorrectly – that Mohammed was to Islam what Christ was to Christianity. Hence the polemic name "Mohammedanism" given to Islam, and the automatic epithet "imposter" applied to Mohammed. (Said 2003: 60)

While Goldoni took descriptions of Persian cultural practices almost verbatim from Salmon's book on Persia, he was not sure how his portrayal of Persian culture in *La sposa persiana* would be received. In *Il festino*, a play where he dedicates almost an entire scene to characters' comments on *La sposa persiana*, part of the dialogue is devoted to a discussion of

how truthful is the play's cultural component. Although the audience has enjoyed the play there are detractors who criticize the author for "many improprieties": that characters lack verisimilitude, that characters like Curcuma, the manager of the seraglio, are usually wise and old, and that the author should have examined the customs of the Persian better. A character who defends Goldoni states that the playwright has been as true to their customs as he could, taking advice and direction from travellers, "Dai viaggiatori ha preso norma, consiglio e lume", and that characters like Curcuma are experts in deceit and in fraud, "Esperte nell'inganno, maestre delle frodi." (Goldoni 1831b [1757]: 403-404; see appx. IV.16)

The debate, however, is not resolved. Whether truthful or not, critics like Maria Ortiz find these passages one of the weakest aspects of the Persian trilogy. (Ortiz 1905: X/75) They appear recited verbatim from Salmon's book and are really just reports on Persia to provide the audience with the sufficient background to help them understand the play. Ward agrees with Ortiz and argues that Goldoni confines his portrayal of Persian culture to purely descriptive passage and fails to investigate the matter further. According to her, Persian culture in these plays is limited to creating a background for the story and nothing more. (ibid.: X/76-79)

Careful analysis of the exotica in *La sposa persiana* (as well as in its two sequels), shows it to function primarily as a form of "tourist attraction" for the armchair (or theatre-seat) traveler. [...] Still, although intriguing, the abundant data on Persian ways bear little intrinsic connection to the story. The effect is rather that of an exotic tapestry draped over a considerably simplistic plot. (Ward 1993: 215)

According to Ward, if these flaws, primarily the fact that Persian characters explain to

each other their own customs, are disregarded, Goldoni offers descriptions of Persian culture that function ornamentally, but are not important for the plot. (ibid.: 217)

While there is no doubt that these cultural practices contribute to the background of the play, their function is not the only purpose. Since the play takes place in Isfahan, and there are no European characters, it is clear that the presentation of Persian culture to a European audience, by contrasting it to European culture, conveys a certain ideological message, especially when the latter is always shown to be superior by comparison. While Goldoni's approach to Persian culture appears, in some instances, fairly neutral, there are several scenes that contrast European and Persian cultural practices, usually criticising the Persian for being inferior, which clearly indicates Goldoni's stand in this regard. This is evident in debates of cultural practices, particularly those regarding the position of women, as I have noted earlier.

This is evident also from the way Islam is portrayed in the text, as well as from Goldoni's comments in the footnotes. Goldoni defines the Quran as the book of laws and of the false religion of Mohammedians,¹⁰⁹ while Mufti is described as the chief of the false Mohammedian religion.¹¹⁰ (Goldoni 2003 [1753]: 194, 196) The way Goldoni describes some of these cultural practices does not serve just as a background for the plot. For example, the harem has been one of the most distinguishing traits of the Muslim world from the point of view of Europeans. It has been employed in numerous paintings, novels, and plays as a setting that immediately transfers the reader or the spectator into the Muslim world. In the Persian trilogy plays, Goldoni utilizes the harem not only as a setting that will give a taste of the Oriental to the plays, but will also raise an awareness of a society where people are strictly divided on the bases of their sex, as well as point out the consequences that this separation can have on the individuals' upbringing and knowledge. Di Felice notes that Goldoni's description of a harem is not just the typical "luogo di delizie" (hall of pleasures), but offers also a critical

view of the institution from both, a male, as well as from a female point of view. As I have shown, Ircana and Tamas are both critical of this institution, especially because it keeps men and women apart and does not foster an understanding between them, although they live together in the same household.

In *Ircana in Julfa*, women are presented as more liberated compared to the first and third plays that take place in the Muslim part of the city of Isfahan. The very fact that Demetrio has to hide from his wife that Ircana is a woman alludes to a significantly better position of women in a Christian household. While in the Persian household, the practice of men to have lovers among their slaves is approved by everyone except Ircana, Demetrio is hiding Ircana's gender in order not to raise suspicion with his wife. Though this is never mentioned as a reason for Ircana's impersonating a man, it is obvious that it is the main reason, since there are no other men in the household from whom Demetrio might want to protect Ircana.

Unlike the plays of the Persian trilogy, where several Persian cultural practices are described, in the American plays there are no descriptions of Peruvian or Guyanese cultural practices. In the Persian trilogy, food, coffee, and opium consumption are described in detail, while in the American plays the only product is wine, and it is a product introduced by the Europeans themselves. But this lack of descriptions of material culture seems to be compensated by discussions on virtue and morality. American and European virtues, are analyzed and contrasted, and in this case most of the comparisons are in favour of the Americans, Peruvian and Guyanese alike. Ward explains these allusions to the superiority of American morality as a consequence of Enlightenment philosophy that privileged the state of nature and valued less economically advanced cultures as closer to pure and uncorrupt morals:

The character of the exotica in the two American comedies is highly indicative of the intellectual climate of the Enlightenment. Although Goldoni never takes a revolutionary stand [...], both *La peruviana* and *La bella selvaggia* clearly exemplify contemporary debates regarding man's true nature, the human condition, the role of social and scientific progress, the merits and pitfalls of civilization, European or otherwise. (Ward 1993: 220)

The Peruvian and Guyanese characters are shown to be morally uncorrupt by civilization. This is particularly true of Zilia and Delmira. For Delmira, a person is not necessarily virtuous if they are born in a civilized society, and the prime example is Don Ximene, to whom she openly declares that, because she was born in the American wilderness, she is not any less virtuous than him. What counts is how a person is virtuous, regardless of background. Those who are high-born appreciate honour and virtue much less, whereas those who are low-born appreciate virtue and love of their country. (Goldoni 1831a [1757]: 562; see appx. IV.17) When don Alonso's sister, donna Alba, objects that it is impossible for a woman who is born in "an obscure land" (*selve oscure*) to be virtuous, Delmira answers that what makes people virtuous is the equality that exists among them. While in a civilized society, people envy those who are wealthier and of a higher social class, in her culture because everyone belongs to the same class people do not compete with one another in wealth or class, but in virtue. People in big European cities are used to power from an early age, but this brings out spite and envy toward those who are higher.¹¹¹ In these "obscure lands" like Guyana everyone is equal and people's worth is not measured by their blood line or by their birthrights but by how one is worthy of honour and virtue, which are within everyone's reach.¹¹² These are the only real and worthwhile qualities that everyone can achieve, whereas

in Europeans their honour is not deserved but is the result of chance and circumstance.¹¹³
(ibid.: 563; see appx. IV.18)

These two American tragicomedies also address some crucial questions regarding intercultural relation. As Adriane Ward argues, these plays are concerned with exploring a "psychological, spiritual, inner landscape of the non-European." Unlike the Persian trilogy plays, where Europe is shown to be superior to Persia, in the American plays, native cultures are in many respects superior to the European. Paradoxically, however, it is always European culture that triumphs in the end. In *La peruviana*, Peruvian characters live in France, they accept French values and are slowly assimilated to their new surroundings despite the fact that they continuously stress that they are Americans. In *La bella selvaggia*, the native characters also accept European values, even more than in *La peruviana*. In this play, this paradoxical situation is well described by Camur and Zadir who lie in chains. Even though they are servants and slaves of the Europeans, their heart is still generous and strong.¹¹⁴ Camur's advice to Zadir is to show those arrogant conquerors that call them savages that they are stronger and wiser than they.¹¹⁵ (ibid. 553; see appx. IV.19)

At the end of *La peruviana*, although the Peruvians are free men, they have lost everything to the Europeans. More than human virtue, these American plays are concerned with issues of colonialism than any other Goldoni plays. The end of the play, according to Vittorio Caratozzolo, spells out the final defeat of the natives who lose everything: the land and the women. (Caratozzolo 1997) With the arrival of the Portuguese, the Guyanese became prisoners in their own country, and although Don Alonso is shown to be a virtuous man who sets them free, even though they tried to kill him, nowhere Goldoni poses the question of what he is doing with his army in Guyana in the first place.

As for the portrayal of the natives, Stefania Buccini suggests that there were two ways of portraying the Americans in Italian 18th century theatre: one realistic, and the other as parody:

The Italian eighteenth century tended to lead the myth of the noble savage back within bourgeois horizons and therefore within a realistic and familiar context. The theater confined this orientation, which developed along two tracks: on the one hand, the realistic representation of the American Indian as reflected in bourgeois ideals, and on the other hand, the parody of the primitive man, a recurrent theme in comedies, farces, and librettos. (Buccini 1997: 85)

Buccini suggests that Goldoni in his tragicomedies followed the realistic path, but in his portrayal of natives, especially of Schicherot, Goldoni also followed the second path, a parody of the primitive man. *La dalmatina*, which I discuss in the next chapter, shares some of the features of these exotic tragicomedies, but it also departs from them in very significant ways.

Chapter 5:

Goldoni's *Dalmatina*: Tragicomedy of Venetian Demi-Orientalism

La dalmatina, performed in 1758, is the last exotic tragicomedy Goldoni wrote in Martellian verse. Differently from other exotic plays, which feature characters from parts of the world that are far from Venice, this play portrays Dalmatians, the closest Venetians' neighbours and countrymen. However, the play is not set in Dalmatia, but in Morocco, in the city of Tetuan on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. This choice of setting is somewhat different from other exotic settings that are set in places perceived as exotic places and are at the same time the female protagonists' home places,¹¹⁶ except for *La Peruviana*, which takes place in France, the male protagonist's home country. *La dalmatina*, is also an exception. Some critics interpret this choice of setting as a sign that Dalmatia, due to its vicinity and multiple cultural connectednesses to Venice, failed to appear as exotic country for most of the Venetian audience, but it was exotic enough to provide Goldoni with a heroine for the play. (cf. Wolff 2001: 25)

The main topic of this chapter revolves around this question: what are the differences between *La dalmatina* and other exotic tragicomedies? Was Goldoni's objective to describe Dalmatia as a semi-colonial province and Dalmatian characters as demi-oriental? Is the term *demi-oriental* an appropriate designation for Dalmatians in the play? If so, does the setting in Morocco serve to create a contrast between orientals and demi-orientals with regard to Venice? Or, is the play just one of Goldoni's exotic tragicomedies and the choice of its setting and characters should be interpreted as accidental, or as much intentional as Guyana or Persia are?

In order to find answers to these questions, I shall examine the portrayal of Dalmatians in *La dalmatina*, in comparison with the portrayal of Moroccans in the play as representatives of a truly oriental type. Then, I will situate the images of Dalmatian and Moroccan characters in the context of other characters from Goldoni's exotic tragicomedies, examined in the previous chapter. Other important aspects of this analysis are the multilayered ties between Dalmatians and Venice, discussed in Chapter 3, which will enable me to place the image of Dalmatians within the frame of cultural and literary relations between Venice and Dalmatia. Finally, I will attempt to situate the image of Dalmatians in *La dalmatina* in the wider context of recent scholarship that deals with the portrayal of the European Other, in order to establish how and to what extent this literary portrayal is a reflection of wider and deeper cultural implications.

Texts taken into account for this examination include: the text of the play, Goldoni's introduction to the written version of the play (*L'autore a chi legge*), in which he described his recollections of the first performance, as well as his comments on this play and its success in the *Mémoires*. Before proceeding with the discussion, I will briefly summarize the plot of the play, and review several critical evaluations of *La dalmatina*, that propose different interpretations of certain aspects of this tragicomedy significant for my analysis.

Plot

The slaves' foreman Marmut, informs the Tetuan's governor Ibrahim that a European ship is arriving and that the Europeans wish to buy the slaves captured by the Moroccans. The European captain is particularly interested in the beautiful Dalmatian slave Zandira. Although he likes her, Ibrahim agrees to sell her not to inconvenience Ali, the pirate who captured her and who is also in love with her. However, selling Zandira will create other problems because

Ali before he went on another trip told Marmut not to sell her. Ibrahim informs Zandira that there is a captain who wants to buy her, but she refuses to go anywhere without Lisauro, a Greek slave she is in love with. Zandira relates to Ibrahim how she was captured by Ali and his soldiers when she was going to meet Radovich,¹¹⁷ the man she was promised to by her late father. In captivity, she fell in love with Lisauro. Since her father died in the battle with Ali, she thought that she was not obliged to marry Radovich any more. In the meantime, the European captain, who just arrived, informs Ibrahim that he is Radovich and agrees to pay a high price for Zandira. However, she refuses to go without Lisauro. Radovich meets Lisauro who, in order to please him, tells him that he is Dalmatian. Radovich decides to buy both of them provided that Zandira marries him, and Lisauro will be free to go wherever he likes. Lisauro accepts but he does not tell him the truth, because he does not want to leave Zandira. Later, Marmut reveals to Lisauro that he knows he is Greek and that he has a fiancée in Greece, but promises to keep the secret if Lisauro gives him weapons and other belongings. Lisauro agrees to give him everything except his sword in which he has a secret hoard of money.

In the second act, Ali arrives with a new ship of slaves. Among the slaves, there are three Greeks from the island of Zakynthos, a Ionian island under Venetian rule. They are Argenide, Lisauro's fiancée, her father Canadir, and her maid Cosimina. Argenide is distraught when she hears from Marmut that Lisauro has a lover. When Ali finds out that Zandira is to be sold to a Dalmatian captain, he is very angry with Ibrahim. In the meantime, Lisauro plans to escape with Zandira. Marmut is pressing them to go away as soon as possible before Ali finds out, but Zandira refuses to leave before she finds out what happened to Radovich. She doesn't love him, but feels a moral obligation towards him because he bought her and Lisauro's freedom. While they quarrel, Ali arrives and seizes Zandira. Ibrahim,

exasperated, orders his soldiers to go after Ali. Radovich takes off on his ship to go after Ali. Lisauro offers to join him, but Radovich does not want to be on the same ship with his rival.

The third act opens with Argenide and Cosimina who ask Mustafa to invite Lisauro to talk to them. Argenide gives him a ring for his service. In order to find out if Lisauro still loves her, Argenide and Cosimina invent a story. Cosimina informs Lisauro that Argenide had an accident and she's not sure if she will survive. He is upset when he hears this. On the way back, however, Canadir reveals to him that Argenide is well. Then he meets Marmut who tells him about the battle between Ali and Radovich. When Argenide finds out that Lisauro went to battle for Zandira, she is desperate. After hearing Argenide and Canadir complain of Lisauro's behaviour, Ibrahim thinks that although Lisauro is a free man, he should be punished because he treated Argenide unfairly.

The fourth act opens with Radovich battling Ali at sea. Lisauro realizes that he will lose Zandira either way, since she will belong to one of the winners. Later, he encounters Ali and Zandira, and offers to help her. After he rescues her from Ali, Lisauro wants to run away with her, but she still insists on going to the city to find out what happened to Radovich. Since it is very dangerous for her, Lisauro suspects that she is in love with him, but she denies it. She loves Lisauro, but she is thankful to Radovich because of everything he has done to help her. Lisauro fears that Radovich will not accept his relationship with Zandira after all the troubles he has gone through. Suddenly, they hear the sound of weapons and they see Radovich fighting against several Africans. Lisauro joins him and helps him kill a few of them, while the others run away. Suspicious that Lisauro wanted to run away with Zandira, Radovich accuses him of being unfair after everything he has done to help him. Lisauro gives him money to repay him for his freedom, since he does not want to owe him anything. Then, they start arguing about Zandira. Lisauro claims that she belongs to him, and challenges Radovich to a duel. Radovich refuses to fight another Dalmatian and suggests that they have a

duel upon their return to Dalmatia. When Lisauro admits that he is Greek, Radovich and Zandira find it disgraceful that he lied about his country of origin. When Radovich finds out that Lisauro is from Zakynthos, he again refuses to fight him, this time because they are both subjects of the glorious Republic of Venice, but when Lisauro calls him a coward, he cannot ignore the insult and they fight. An officer intervenes to interrupt their duel and to arrest Lisauro. When he is taken away, Lisauro tells Zandira that what he did was because of his love for her, that she was his mistake and his punishment. Zandira reflects on what he told her when she is alone. Although Lisauro's actions were not noble, she accepts his reasons that his love for her was the main cause of his mistake.

In the last act, Marmut informs Ibrahim that Ali was wounded and that he is dying. He also tells him that Ali wants to leave him the money Ibrahim is supposed to receive for the slaves' sale. Ibrahim thinks that this is one of Marmut's tricks and refuses to give him the money. Lisauro wonders why he is going to prison, and thinks that it is because he wounded Ali. Ibrahim, however, knows that Lisauro wounded Ali in self-defence. He tells Lisauro that he is going to prison for his unfair treatment of Argenide, unless he fulfills his obligations toward her. Lisauro admits that he was in love with her, but he is not any more. When Zandira hears this, she is furious with Lisauro and tells him that she doesn't love him anymore because he is a liar. Not only did he conceal where he came from, but he never told her about Argenide. Ibrahim tells Lisauro that he should go back to Argenide, but he refuses because he does not think that she will forgive him, and even if she did, he does not care for her anymore. When Argenide hears this, she is devastated, and Zandira gets even more angry with him and promises Argenide that she will not stand between them. Canadir urges Ibrahim to help them because some people are interested in buying Argenide for the Moroccan king's court. Ibrahim could refuse to sell her only if she had a fiancée. Zandira asks Lisauro to save Argenide, but he doesn't have any more money because he gave all of it to Radovich when he

tried to repay him for giving him his freedom. In the end, Radovich decides to buy all the European slaves, and Zandira and Ibrahim commend him for his action. Lisauro asks Argenide's forgiveness. The play ends with Zandira's speech in which she promises to love Radovich and asks him to take her to their beloved Dalmatia, and exalts once more the just and glorious Venetian empire.

Success

La dalmatina was very popular at the time. It was staged thirteen times in a row, and in the following years it had numerous replicas. In total, there were thirty-seven performances, which makes it the second most popular Goldoni's comedy from 1758-1770, second only to *La scozzese*.¹¹⁸

The success of the play was due to its "theatricality," as some critics tended to interpret the plot of the play and the scenes that were unusual for Goldoni's comedies. The first act opens in a room with a Turkish sofa, the second at the sea port, with a view of the ships, among them one armed Turkish xebec that is landing, the third one in the slaves' quarters, the fourth act at the beach with at the end a forest with a few huts, and the last act in the governor's chambers. In answering Goldoni, who informed him about a series of new comedies he was planning, Francesco Vendramin, the owner of the San Luca theatre, told him that only plays that contain enough theatricality, such as *La dalmatina*, could satisfy the taste of the Venetian audience. (Vedramin 1885 [1759])

Critical reception

Despite its success on the stage, *La dalmatina* was not received positively by critics. In fact, it was considered one of Goldoni's less important plays, often described as mediocre. It attracted critical attention mostly because of its theme, rather than its aesthetic value and style. It has been often criticized for lacking Goldoni's simple "realism," for its unbelievable plot, for lack of comic situations, as well as for its monotonous verses. The characters were thought to be unconvincing because of the playwright's lack of knowledge of Dalmatia and Dalmatians.

In appraisal of criticism, we should bear in mind that negative critical evaluation of *La dalmatina*, as well as of other exotic tragicomedies, might be, at least partially, if not more substantially, a consequence of juxtaposition of these plays with the most famous Venetian plays, a comparison in which exotic tragicomedies share a disadvantaged position from the very beginning, considering Goldoni's substantial acquaintance with Venice and Venetian life, and his, in most cases complete, unfamiliarity with the settings and characters featured in exotic tragicomedies.

Some critics have warned that negatively evaluated properties of these plays should not turn the critical attention away from them and prevent us from investigating some other qualities of theirs. The main problem regarding a dismissal of exotic tragicomedies solely because they do not seem to be of the same artistic quality as Goldoni's Venetian masterpieces is that it is actually a neglect of one entire genre. According to Frano Čale, this kind of criticism a priori rejects all the specific traits of this genre which are different from the characteristics of the plays dealing with Venice. This genre, Čale indicates, comprises of its own distinguishing features, such as Martellian verse, spectacular effects, adventurous stories, unexpected encounters, and terrible ship battles. (Čale 1993: 138)

The main reason for differences between exotic and Venetian plays is the fact that the Venetian life was going on before Goldoni's eyes, with him as its active participant, while for

many settings featured in exotic tragicomedies, the only source of knowledge available were travel books or similar literature that described other countries. Although very popular at the time, many of those books contained oftentimes poorly substantiated or sometimes even entirely unsubstantiated information about the places they were describing. For the characters, also, despite the fact that Venice was a city of many ethnic communities, including those which the tragicomedies' characters come from, Goldoni had to rely mostly on written sources, bearing in mind that the topics of exotic tragicomedies depict events not present in Venetian settings, such as the life in the harem, naval battles, etc. As it could be deduced from negatively evaluated aspects of the play, all of them, except for monotonous verses and absence of humorous situations,¹¹⁹ refer to unbelievability and lack of convincingness, which are consequences of absence of the playwright's familiarity with the world he portrayed. This is also the case with *La dalmatina*. However, it seems that critics were more rigorous in the case of *La dalmatina* in this regard, possibly because it was assumed that Goldoni should be more familiar with its topic and characters due to geographical vicinity of Dalmatia, its political adherence to the Venetian Republic, as well as on account of considerable presence of Dalmatians in the city of Venice. Several reviews of the tragicomedy underline the playwright's lack of knowledge about Dalmatia and Dalmatians.

Giuseppe Sabalich, for example, remarks that Goldoni did not have any cultural background whatsoever for some of his exotic tragicomedies, adding ironically and that his Dalmatian woman might as well be Japanese, and the Persian one could have been African¹²⁰. (Sabalich 1902: 141-142) A few years later, in his essay on Goldoni in Zadar, Sabalich criticizes again the quality of the play. (Sabalich 1907)

Arturo Cronia shares these negative views pointing out the play's poor quality, as well as its unconvincing Dalmatian characters, who might pass for Japanese or Persian¹²¹. (Cronia 1958: 332)

Edgardo Maddalena also remarked on Goldoni's complete lack of knowledge about Dalmatia and its people, stating that apart from its title and several allusions to Dalmatia, the play has nothing to do with the region. Even the name of the female protagonist, as others have indicated, is not Dalmatian.¹²² (Maddalena 1891) It is interesting that Maddalena mentions Carlo Gozzi, Goldoni's contemporary and fierce rival, as an example of a writer who is well-informed about Dalmatia. Although he undoubtedly had better opportunity than Goldoni to gain more first-hand knowledge about this province and its inhabitants, since he resided in the town of Zadar for three years in his youth,¹²³ Gozzi certainly could not be considered a writer who produced a realistic description of Dalmatia and a fair portrayal of its inhabitants. In his *Memorie inutili*, published in 1797, Gozzi relates his memories from Dalmatia. In this text, Gozzi writes in most derogatory terms about Dalmatian women, and gives one of the most negative descriptions of the Morlacchi. The contents and the tone of his memoirs suggest that Gozzi's portrayal of the Dalmatian was more of a means of ridiculing those people than offering a text about adventures he experienced. (Gozzi 1890 [1797]: 237-238; see appx. V.1) In another essay on theatre in Zadar, Maddalena mentions Goldoni's failure to portray the local colour of Dalmatia and suggests that it might have been the main reason why the play, despite its topic, was never performed anywhere in Dalmatia.¹²⁴ (Maddalena 1920: 899)

As for the name Zandira, it seems to have been chosen to rhyme with the names of characters of other exotic tragicomedies: Delmira, the name of the protagonist of *La bella selvaggia*, and Zulmira, the name of the Spanish lady in *La peruviana*. This choice testifies to Goldoni's aim to follow primarily the style he developed in other exotic tragicomedies rather than to offer a realistic account of Dalmatia. Since he was familiar with the names Radovich and Beizic,¹²⁵ names of places, as well as some expressions, as we have seen in *La birba* and *L'impostore*, it would have been very easy for Goldoni to think of a name for a Dalmatian

woman had he wanted the heroine's name to sound realistic. By naming the protagonist Zandira, Goldoni indicated that *La dalmatina* would be as his other tragicomedies, and comparable to them. The cultural component was important only for the development of two themes: the celebration of the Venetian empire and the glorification of Dalmatians as Venice's staunch subjects.

One of the first reviews of *La dalmatina* in Croatia, by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, quoted several verses from Goldoni's play to demonstrate how Venetians still nurture a lot of respect for Dalmatians, who made significant contributions to the Republic. (Kukuljević 1842: 205) In his *Intorno a cose dalmatiche e triestine*, Nicolo Tommaseo, one of the most prominent Dalmatians of the nineteenth century, indicates that Goldoni's play is "a comedy that honours the Dalmatians, and particularly the women from this small, poor, and neglected nation".¹²⁶ (Tommaseo 1847: 61-62)

Idealization of the *Serenissima's* "gentle" rule over Dalmatia, mentioned several times in the play by Zandira and Radovich, provided material for political elaboration, especially during the difficult times of ethnic turmoil in the last century when the political rule of Dalmatia was being questioned on both shores of the Adriatic. Pompeo Molmenti, for example, reads in Goldoni's play an example of the Dalmatians' inexplicable affection for Italians:

And the language of Italy is still today and it will always be the language of trade and civilization in the Dalmatian provinces, which used to be under the Republic, not as a habit of enslaving obedience, but because of the feeling of strong and eternal love.¹²⁷ (Molmenti 1907)

Giulio De Frenzi, alias of Luigi Federzoni, goes as far as to advise Dalmatians that it is more suitable for them to recognize their literary image in the portrayals of Radovich and Zandira, than in Marko Kraljević, a Serbian epic hero, who had the reputation of being very violent against women and was even prepared to kill them. This kind of demeanour, De Frenzi argues, might be appropriate for literary heroes of the Balkan people, but it is certainly not desirable for Dalmatians, who reside on the shores of the Adriatic Sea and had been influenced by Venetian morality and civilization.¹²⁸ This way, De Frenzi, skillfully, while complimenting Dalmatians, by viewing them as different and more noble than other Slavs living on the Balkan peninsula, primarily those that lived under the Ottoman empire, also appropriates them – they are living on "our" – Italian, Venetian – sea, not "theirs."

Giuseppe Ortolani interprets the playwright's admiration for Dalmatians' faithfulness, honesty, honour, and military skill in the context of Goldoni's patriotism: "that play evokes many warm memories sacred to every Venetian and Italian heart." (Ortolani 1950: 1350-1355, according to Čale 1988: 57-58) Felice Del Beccaro also characterizes *La dalmatina* as Goldoni's act of patriotism at a moment when la Serenissima needed the approval and moral support of all her sons.¹²⁹ (Del Beccaro 1979: 90)

In Croatia, *La dalmatina* was analyzed most thoroughly by Frano Čale who dedicated several extensive studies to this play. In his article, "Goldoni's *Dalmatina* between conformist patriotism and illuministic cosmopolitism," Čale identifies two major themes but valorizes them differently, arguing that there is a significant disparity between Goldoni's handling of these two issues. Čale views the glorification of Venice as obligatory rhetoric to compliment the Republic's government, while he believes that his exceedingly positive portrayal of Dalmatians is the result of the playwright's truthful admiration for these people.¹³⁰

Although Čale is a skilfull reader of Goldoni, in his interpretation of Goldoni's motivations for the plays where Dalmatia and Dalmatians are featured, especially *La*

dalmatina, but also *Calamita de' cuori* and *L'impostore*, he tends to overemphasize Goldoni's respect for Dalmatians, which he understands as a consequence of the playwright's friendship with Stjepan Šuljaga. While I do not intend to contest in any way the importance of Šuljaga's friendship for Goldoni, for there is no doubt that a dedicated scholar as Čale was, would not present unsubstantiated claims, I still have to suggest that this friendship does not necessarily imply that Goldoni nurtured special admiration for Dalmatians. Furthermore, favouring one single culture would contradict Goldoni's cosmopolitan views.

Although Čale perceives interpretative disparity between Italian and Croatian critics, he himself falls in the same trap. Unlike other Croatian scholars he criticizes for failing to analyze the Venetian aspect of the play, he includes this aspect in his analysis, however, he immediately dismisses it as conformist, and therefore less relevant for any serious analysis. Čale goes as far as to maintain that any critical interpretation which implies that this tragicomedy was inspired by the playwright's appreciation of Venice is founded on superficial analysis and insists on Goldoni's special respect for Dalmatians as a sole motivation for *La dalmatina*.

Iva Grgić also emphasizes the importance of the Dalmatian theme, while the Venetian theme is seen as an issue of practicality, since the play was performed before Venetian audience:

In the tragicomedy *La dalmatina*, in two Dalmatian characters, beautiful and chaste Zandira and noble and brave Radovich, we read a great friendship, even Goldoni's admiration for Croats. In order for that admiration not to seem insulting to arrogant Venetian audience, the characters, beside praising their "Illyrian homeland" also express loyalty to the Venetian lion. The comedy became very successful after its

performance in Venice and became the most popular among his so-called exotic comedies. (Grgić 1993: 64)

From this review of criticism, it is evident that a critic's ethnic background largely decides on which of these two themes the emphasis is going to be placed. Croatian critics stress Goldoni's idealization of Dalmatians, while the Italians focus on the playwright's glorification of the Republic of Venice. Some of them completely dismiss the other theme, such as is the case with Iva Grgić, who states that Goldoni was obliged to write nicely about Venice since the play was staged before Venetian audience, at the same time ignoring the fact that the same reasoning could be applied to demonstrate that he was obliged to idealize the Dalmatians in the play because of their presence in the audience, too. As Scannapieco notes, this is a play where the author's political engagement seems to be expressed in very programmatic and problematic terms. (Scannapieco 2004: 66) While we might be uncertain of the extent of Goldoni's ideological stance, it undoubtedly served various ideological positions that became vocal in different interpretations, especially at times of political unrest.

Only in the last two decades critics have attempted to move away from these two ideological standpoints in their interpretations of the play. Renewed interest in *La dalmatina* came at the end of the 1990s when Larry Wolff published several articles on Dalmatia and Venice in the eighteenth century, and, especially, in his seminal book *Venice and the Slavs. The discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (2001), where he devotes special attention to *La dalmatina*. Wolff examines Goldoni's play as a text that preceded the *Morlaccomania* in Venetian and European literatures in the second half of the eighteenth century brought about by the publication of Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774). According to Wolff, the play contains some elements that place it among the works that defined Venetian politics toward its eastern province. Wolff maintains that the portrayal of

Dalmatians reflects, in some respects, the image propagated later by Fortis: "Putting Dalmatia before the theatrical public of Venice in 1758, Goldoni established a preliminary milestone, anticipating Fortis, for the exploration of imperial issues and the formulation of ideology of the Adriatic empire in the spirit of the Venetian Enlightenment." (Wolff 2001: 27)

Another scholar who contributed to the modern revalorization of this tragicomedy is Anna Scannapieco, the editor of the new, very detailed, critical edition of *La dalmatina* (2005). In her introductory essay to this edition, Scannapieco surveys a "Goldonian journey in Dalmatia" which includes all Goldoni's plays that in one way or another deal with Dalmatia: *La birba*, *La calamita de' cuori* and *L'impostore*. This modern edition abounds with various data on performances, information on the texts, and explanation of each verse of the *Dalmatina*. It is a critical edition that is certain to popularize the play and promote future research in the field.

Zandira, Dalmatians, and Venice

What strikes one the most in the play, from the beginning to the very last line, is the continuous praise of Dalmatians and their loyalty to Venice. Radovich and Zandira are the most idealized characters, from the political point of view, since they are proud of their motherland and are faithful to the Lion, as well as from a moral point of view, for they are honest, courageous, and just. Similarly, the Dalmatian nation, and the Illyrian (i.e. South Slavic) lands, are praised as places inhabited by exceptionally virtuous people.

When she first appears, in the third scene of Act 1, Zandira introduces herself to Ibrahim and tells him about her background. This speech, which is very important because it contains the main themes of the play, is about patriotism, her Illyrian *patria*, and the glorious Venetian empire. Each mention of Dalmatia is followed by a description of its population's

worthiness, first by Zandira's own virtues, later by the virtues of all Dalmatians, as if the very fact that someone is Dalmatian makes them exemplary. The introductory lines of her speech are about her personal qualities, primarily her honesty, and the love she nurtures for her nation. She emphasizes that she would never, at any cost, try to hide or negate her origins, as Lisauro did when he pretended to be Dalmatian. She praises the excellence of her ancestors and is proud to be a descendant of such glorious people. The end of the speech is a tribute to the just Venetian empire. (Goldoni 2005 [1758]: I, 3, 158-159; see appx. V.2) In this speech, Goldoni introduces the main topics of the tragicomedy: the valour of the Slavs and the glorious Venetian state. The Venice's *Leone* is mentioned three times, *patria* twice, *nazione* twice, and the following terms once: *Dalmazia*, *illirica terra*, *l'adriatico mare*; as well as other key words and phrases: *il militar valore*, *felicitade intera*, *saper*, *giustizia*, *clemenza*, *riflorir la pace*. Goldoni employs this terminology to create a mosaic of various aspects of life under the Venetian empire, which is idealized (the generous Lion, the unconquered Lion, the feared Lion) and provides its inhabitants with a peaceful and contented life: " [the Lion] rules the people, with wisdom, justice and mercy".¹³¹

Goldoni presents two topics of the play, the valour of the Slavic Dalmatians and the glorious Venetian empire, as connected and interrelated with Zandira's personal virtues, as if they created a unity. This way, they are perceived as linked in the rest of the play. Later on, even if one of these themes is mentioned, the spectator/reader has all of them in mind, since Zandira designed a very strong correlation between them. Therefore, all references to Dalmatians in the rest of the play are not only Goldoni's way of celebrating Dalmatians, but they are also a vehicle for praising their loyalty to Venice. Whenever a Dalmatian character is shown as righteous, we have in mind the virtuousness of his or her entire nation, as well as of the empire they live under.

In the last scene of the play, there are two more speeches that celebrate the rule of the just Lion in a similar way. One is Radovich's speech when he decides to buy all the European slaves from Ibrahim (V, ultima, 228; see appx. V.3), and the other is Zandira's reaction to his speech where she compliments his honourable gesture and asks his forgiveness. She is now certain as whom she wants to get married to. As indicated above, at the beginning Goldoni created a relationship of interconnectedness between personal virtues, Dalmatians' virtues, and the virtues of Venice. Since personal virtues are closely connected to the nation and the empire, choosing a partner also becomes an act of patriotism. Radovich's virtues and his wish to buy off the slaves of all the nations living under Venice, make him a true son of his nation, a descendant of the brave and glorious *Schiavoni* and a faithful subject of the Venetian empire, which, like Radovich, also brought together those nations under its political umbrella. In him are revealed all the qualities of her beloved Dalmatian nation and she shares with him an admiration for the great Lion. (ibid.: V, ultima, 229; see appx. V.4) The very end of the play is reserved for repetition of the main ideas: once again Zandira's speech focuses on similar issues: Dalmatian virtues, patriotism, and the fortunate peoples who live under Venice's protection. (ibid.: V, ultima, 230; see appx. V.5)

These speeches at the end of the play contain a very similar repertoire of patriotic words and phrases, as the opening speeches. It is interesting that all of these words and phrases are placed in these few passages that portray Dalmatian characters, Zandira, in the first case (Act I, scene 3), and Radovich and Zandira in the second case (Act V, last scene), who describe to other characters, to Ibrahim in the first case, and to all characters in the second, the value of their nation and the glorious and just rule of the Venetian empire. Even though these passages comprise a relatively small part of the text, they have an important impact on the whole play since they are (among) the longest speeches in the play and all the above-mentioned nouns and attributes are concentrated in them.

In fact, the majority of dialogues in the play revolves around different topics and involves other characters. If the number of appearances is taken as a criterion, Zandira and Radovich are not the most dominant characters in the play. Lisauro appears in twenty-four scenes of the play and is the only character present in all five acts. The second most frequent character is Marmut who shows up in twenty-three scenes, in all acts but one (IV). Ibrahim takes part in eighteen scenes, and also misses Act IV. Zandira comes onstage fifteen times, in all acts except for Act III, and Radovich also misses Act III in his thirteen appearances. Argenide appears twelve times, in Acts II, III, and V. Cosimina nine times in Acts II and III, Canadir eight in Acts II, III, and V, and finally Ali seven in Acts II and IV. As it could be noticed, the Greek characters make the largest number of appearances in the play, fifty-three, followed by Moroccans, who take part in forty-seven scenes (I didn't include minor characters who pronounce a couple of lines, such as Mustafa and Offiziale), while two Dalmatians together show up only twenty-seven times. If we look at monologues, also, most of them are Lisauro's, five of them, while Ibrahim, Marmut, Zandira, Radovich, Ali, and Cosimina each have one. Still, the Dalmatian characters open and close the play with very powerful statements, and this way they manage to establish the basis of an interpretative structure for the play, which is focused on Dalmatians and the Venetian empire.

The dedicatory letter and the address to the reader also announce these themes. The play is dedicated to his excellency Gian-Franco Pisani, Supreme Magistrate of St. Mark, a member of the famous Venetian family Pisani. Goldoni writes it while in Paris, on the occasion of the jubilee, and from the very beginning he declares his intention to celebrate Venice with this play.¹³² The terminology is similar throughout the dedicatory letter. The dedication describes the good deeds that various generations of this family accomplished for Venice and Venetians. As expected, the most frequent word is *patria*, which is mentioned ten times, followed by four mentions of *Venezia*, five of the *Repubblica*, two *nazione*, and one

Serenissima. Already in Paris, Goldoni wishes more than ever to be in his "adorable homeland" to unite with the people in the squares and in the streets and to sing hymns to the Republic. The playwright lists numerous members of the Pisani family and explains their importance for the city, but while mentioning each family member, Goldoni uses the opportunity to praise Venice.

Features of *La dalmatina* and other exotic tragicomedies

La dalmatina shares almost all the common features of Goldoni's exotic tragicomedies that I have identified in the previous chapter. The most important are:

a) female dramatic domination stated in the title of the play

As in other exotic tragicomedies, *La dalmatina* is titled after the ethnicity of the female protagonist.

b) unfulfilled prearranged marriage and double wedding

This is the feature in which *La dalmatina* differs the most from other exotic tragicomedies. Unlike other plays in which prearranged marriages never take place, in this tragicomedy not only one, but two prearranged marriages take place. Both of them are known to the spectators from the very beginning of the play. In Act 1, scene 3, Zandira relates how she was promised to Radovich who appears in the following scene. The other couple are Argenide and Lisauro, a relationship that Lisauro keeps secret until the last scene of Act 3 when Canadir informs Ibrahim about it. Both couples are also monocultural, differently from American tragicomedies where couples are formed from individuals of different ethnic backgrounds.

Zandira was promised to Radovich by her father, and Argenide and Lisauro were engaged to be married when they were in Greece. While in captivity, Zandira and Lisauro fall in love, however, when Radovich appears on the scene, the situation changes. It is never clear, though, if Zandira falls in love with Radovich or if she is with him out of obligation, for she is in love with Lisauro for most of the play. At the beginning, when Radovich buys her from Ibrahim, she does not even want to be liberated unless Lisauro is liberated. Radovich buys them both on condition that she marries him. After that, although she is still in love with Lisauro, her respect for Radovich increases. In Act II, she misses a chance to run away with Lisauro, in order to see what is happening with Radovich. In Act IV, she risks going to the city, although she knows that it is dangerous, just to find out how Radovich is doing after battling Ali. On both occasions Lisauro suspects that she is falling in love with Radovich, but she denies it.

As her respect for Radovich increases, she becomes gradually disappointed with Lisauro. She is disillusioned with him when she finds out that he lied that he was a Dalmatian hoping he would have a better chance of being rescued by Radovich; she is disappointed because it is unimaginable for her, proud as she is of her birthplace, that someone would hide their ethnicity. Her other disappointment is when she discovers that he had a fiancée, Argenide, and that he had left her and hidden the fact. Still, she never mentions that she is falling in love with Radovich. Unlike other Goldoni plays, at the end of the play she announces suddenly her love for Radovich because he is a true Dalmatian.

Croatian scholar Nino Raspudić suggests an interesting comparison between Zandira's love for Radovich and Dalmatia's love for Venice. (Raspudić 2010: 158) At first, Zandira does not love him but respects him and is thankful to him because he saved her from captivity. She is with him out of duty. This interpretation is particularly interesting because Venetian Dalmatia had its borders with the Ottoman territories for centuries, and as in the

case of Zandira and Radovich, if we take Radovich as the personification of Venice and Zandira of Dalmatia, Dalmatia probably saw Venice as a better option than the Ottoman empire. (Berengo 1954)

c) eloquent and wise female protagonists

Zandira wins men's hearts with her eloquence and wisdom. While her beauty is unquestionable, it is her eloquence that makes men fall in love with her. Ibraim describes her as abounding in virtues, which is the main reason he is interested in her, more than her physical beauty, which is also exceptional. (ibid.: I, 1, 155; see appx. V.6) Her speech is similar to the speeches of other exotic heroines: it makes people admire her. Ibrahim, for instance, is even more impressed by Zandira after she speaks to him. (ibid.: I, 3, 161; see appx. V.7)

d) female protagonists are victims in their societies

The inferior position of women is not an issue in *La dalmatina*. None of the women in this play complain about the difficulties they face because of their gender. The only time their status as women is mentioned is when Marmut comments on the privileged status that European women enjoy compared to Muslim women. Commenting on Zandira's eloquence, he finds it fortunate that Moroccan women are not similar as European women in that regard: "One hears great things about European women/ thank Heaven that our women are not so virtuous" ("Dalle donne europee si sentono gran cose;/ grazie al ciel che fra noi non son sì virtuose. " ibid.: II, 10, 185) When Marmut expresses his feelings to Cosimina, and she refuses him because it would be polygamy, "I have never made love in my life so far,/ and I don't want to do it Turkish style" ("Non ho fatto all'amore finora in vita mia,/ e non lo voglio fare all'uso di Turchia." ibid.: II, 4, 178), Marmut's reply is that arrogant women in his country

are treated with the club. "And when women quarrel among themselves/ a little club does wonders" ("E quando fra di loro si destano litigi,/Un poco di bastone suol operar prodigi" *ibid.*: II, 5, 179)

When Lisauro cannot decide which woman to pick, Argenide or Zandira, Marmut tells him to follow his custom and to take them both: "Follow our custom, take them both." ("Siegui l'usanza nostra; prendile tutte due." *ibid.*: V, 4, 226) However, these comments are not so much perceived as misogynist, since Marmut's and Cosimina's dialogues are usually humorous. Since there are no Moroccan women in the play, these comments serve only to reinforce Goldoni's message expressed in all his exotic tragicomedies that European women enjoy greater privileges compared to women in other parts of the world, especially those in the Muslim world, as we saw in the Persian trilogy. This way he presents women's position as index of civilization.

However, several issues in the play testify that the position of the European women is not as great as Goldoni wants us to believe. Like Fatima in the Persian trilogy, Zandira was promised to Radovich by her father. She is treated like merchandise by the men in the play. She does not have much to say in deciding her destiny. Ironically, the only man who does not use his position to force her to be with him is one of the Muslims, Ibrahim. Although he, as the governor, has the right to decide what will happen to her, he does not use that right to force her to be with him. Still, it is questionable if he does not do it because he is so noble, or in order to preclude conflicts with Ali, for the latter is also in love with her, and since he captured her in the first place he claims her, too.

e) encounter of cultures

In *La dalmatina*, the characters of the play are from three different cultures: Dalmatians, Moroccans, and Greeks. Unlike the Persian trilogy, which includes descriptions

of Persian-Muslim culture, such as consumption of food, tobacco, opium, etc, there are no references here to any cultural aspects of these cultures, except for minor details regarding the setting of some acts, such as the Turkish sofa (*soffa alla turchesca*) in the first act or a Turkish xebec (*uno sciambecco turco*) in the second. However, *La dalmatina* places greater emphasis on morality in these cultures.

All the characters in the play are representatives of their cultures, so that their virtues or lack of, even the most personal ones, count as typical of their culture. Zandira makes the point in her introductory speech where she presents her own virtues as Dalmatians' virtues. Unlike the Dalmatian characters who are portrayed exclusively in positive terms, among the Moroccans and the Greeks there are positive characters, such as Ibrahim and Argenide, and negative ones, such as Ali and Lisauro, as well as comic characters like Marmut and Cosimina.

As for Moroccan characters, Goldoni depicts them in sharp contrast to the Dalmatians. While there are significant differences among the Moroccans, as Africans (*Affricani*), they are introduced in negative terms. Ibrahim is the most positive Moroccan character, if not one of the most positive in the whole play, but in his case he is singled out as different from other Africans. While with Radovich and Zandira Goldoni illustrates the virtuous character of all Dalmatians, Venetians, and even Europeans, Ibrahim's virtue differentiates him from his fellow countrymen. At the same time, Ali, who is at the opposite pole of the virtue scale and is the most negative character of the play, is often portrayed as a typical African. Among the Moroccans, Marmut is probably the most odd, as he shares some of the negative traits of the Africans, for example, avidity and misogyny, but because he is also a comic character, he is not made to appear to be as negative as Ali.

Unlike the virtuous Radovich, who spends all his money to buy European slaves from Ibrahim, the Moroccans are portrayed from the beginning as caring only about making

money: not only when they rob foreign ships and capture foreign slaves in order to sell them, but also in the way they deal with one another. In the first scene of Act I, Marmut tells Ibrahim that he promised Ali not to sell Zandira, but then he thinks that if something should happen to Ali, he would lose all the money, he breaks the promise. He cares far less about Ali's life than about his money. (ibid.: I, 1, 156; see appx. V.8)

A few more times it is mentioned that Africans are obsessed with money. Once, Ibrahim tells it when he comments on Zandira's virtue: "It's true that we are greedy for money/ but a beautiful and wise woman is a special treasure"¹³³ (ibid.: I, 2, 157) This obsession with finances seems to be a feature they are known for among other nations, as well, since Argenide is also aware of that: "You know that Africans are greedy for money?"¹³⁴ (ibid.: III, 3, 193)

Goldoni portrays Ali as the embodiment of an African that Ibrahim has in mind when he complains about the negative image of his countrymen. Interestingly, most of the negative comments about African and Muslim cultures come from Ibrahim. He expresses several times stereotypical opinions on Muslims, mostly in attempts to distinguish himself from the rest of them. He approaches Zandira in a respectful way, stressing that, although she is a slave, he will not use his power to make her his wife. The veiled reference is to Ali who wants to take her by force: "Although I was born in Africa, I despise tyranny"¹³⁵ (ibid.: I, 3, 161) In his answer to Argenide who asks him to have mercy for Lisauro, although he just betrayed her, Ibrahim says: "It's true that you are in Africa, but you are not among Persian tigers".¹³⁶ (ibid.: III, 11, 204) He also criticizes Marmut saying that every dishonest act of an African serves to reconfirm the negative stereotype. (ibid.: V, 1, 222; see appx. V.9)

A similar criticism awaits Lisauro. When he is criticized for lying about his home country and for being unfaithful to his fiancée, he is not only blamed for his negative actions, but also because, by those actions, he is bringing shame on his own country. On his arrival to

the island, Canadir talks to Lisauro and upbraids him for being unfaithful to his daughter Argenide. Canadir blames him not only because he was immoral and made his daughter suffer, but also because Lisauro's action could bring reproach upon the Greek people. Other people might question the loyalty of all the Greeks based on Lisauro's unfaithfulness to his fiancée Argenide. (ibid.: III, 6, 198; see appx. V.10) He experiences equal defamation when his other lie is discovered. When he admits to Radovich that he was untruthful when asked about his ethnicity and reveals that he is Greek, Radovich accuses him that by lying about his origins, he has been unfair to both nations, for he betrayed Dalmatia and offended Greece. Although Lisauro's lie, unlike his betrayal of Argenide, did not damage anyone, he is reproached for committing a serious transgression. Fortunately, Radovich admires Greece as a country, so instead of interpreting Lisauro's deceit as a sign that Greeks are dishonest, he finds Lisauro unworthy of such a great country as Greece. (ibid.: IV, 6, 216; see appx. V.11) When Radovich hears that Lisauro is from Zakynthos, a Ionian island under Venetian rule, he immediately considers him a fellow countryman, since he respects in him a subject of Venice. Lisauro is forgiven because they share the same, just ruler. (ibid.: IV, 6, 217; see appx. V.12)

Had Lisauro known how great Radovich's admiration for Venice was, he would not have misinformed him about his homeland. He introduced himself as Dalmatian only because he thought that his chances to be saved by Radovich were greater if the latter thought they were compatriots. According to Nino Raspudić, this scene also demonstrates inferior position of Dalmatians in regard to Venice:

So, the servant of Radović's master automatically becomes his brother because they share the same joy of submission. The Lion is a head which thinks and rules, while Radović, as a metonymy of Schiavone, represents a body which is subordinate to the head, which listens to it and fulfills its orders. (Raspudić 2010: 158)

Had he known that all fortunate subjects of Venice, "sudditi felici del Leone," were Radovich's compatriots, his lie would have been unnecessary. Radovich lets Lisauro go after everything he had done to him, only because they are both under the same Adriatic ruler.

While among the Greeks and Moroccans there are some characters with negative traits, Zandira and Radovich are portrayed as exemplary throughout the play. Goldoni wants us to think that just being Dalmatian is a measure of virtue. This is especially true when it comes to being truthful: there are several references that explicitly make the point that Dalmatians are unable to lie. Zandira explicitly states that honest women do not know how to lie: "You can only hear the truth from my voice/ Honest women do not know how to lie with their lips"¹³⁷ (ibid.: I, 3, 158). She also refuses to go along with Marmut's lie that Lisauro is her cousin, even though this lie was meant to help her. (ibid.: I, 6, 166) The third example is when Radovich agrees to trust Lisauro because a Dalmatian heart is unable to lie: "I excuse old age, I forgive an innocent love/ a Dalmatian's heart cannot lie."¹³⁸ (I, 10, 169) We have also Lisauro's statement about Zandira's truthfulness. When Argenide and Cosimina decide to test Lisauro's feelings for Argenide, Lisauro fears that if Argenide lied to him now, she could also lie in other situations. On the other hand, he is always sure about Zandira. She may be reckless, but she never lies: "her heart is sincere and she is incapable of lying."¹³⁹ (ibid.: III, 7, 200) In the last scene, when Zandira promises her love to Radovich, she promises him sincerity above all: "Faith, constancy, and love my heart gives you. You know that she who is born a Dalmatian cannot lie."¹⁴⁰ (V, ultima, 230) These examples underscore the Dalmatians' inability to lie. They are an illustration of the fact that the Dalmatians' insistence on the importance of being truthful is not just a myth, but it is proved by their actions.

While usually considered a virtue, this inability to lie, however, does not have to be interpreted exclusively as an evidence of the Dalmatians' moral excellence. Nino Raspudić,

for example, construes it as a way of infantilizing of the Dalmatian characters, and making them appear like naïve children:

This way, Dalmatian characters are denied a possibility to lie, as a sort of autonomy of a word in regard to a thing. Although morally unacceptable, in its essence a lie implies certain complexness, therefore a somewhat higher intellectual level than a simple ability to speak, and it is typical for corrupt grown-up people, while, for example, animals and innocent children do not know of it. That is how Dalmatian characters cannot lie, too. They are simple soldiers and cheerful Lion's subjects, whose purpose and meaning are in that service... (Raspudić 2010: 157-158)

This naiveté of Radovich is also evident in the episode when he trusts Lisauro that he is Dalmatian. Radovich asks him if he heard of his family, and Lisauro starts complimenting the famous family of Radovich's. (ibid.: I, 10, 168-169; see appx. V.13) Radovich, feeling pleasant that finally somebody other than him testifies about his fame in Dalmatia, fails to question Lisauro anything further about his background and that way check if he is really Dalmatian. He prefers listening to the compliments than asking Lisauro anything whatsoever about his family or Dalmatia. Thus, it is his vanity that made him believe Lisauro.

Therefore, although Dalmatian characters are portrayed in the most positive terms, some events in the play, such as this one, reveal some of their not so positive features. In the end, we must remember that most of the positive aspects of Dalmatian characters we know are actually the ones Zandira and Radovich relate. Other than this Lisauro's statement about Radovich, no other characters talk in positive terms about Dalmatia or Dalmatians, which signals another not so highly esteemed feature of theirs, rodomontade.

Universal value system overcomes cultural differences

Regardless of differences between the ethical systems of different characters, which are the result of their cultural backgrounds and various moral systems in their societies, a universal value system exists and is accepted by all of them. This value system is particularly evident in Ibrahim, Zandira and Radovich.

Ibrahim criticizes Marmut and Ali throughout the play because they are, with their misdeeds, confirming negative stereotypes about Muslims. He is aware that these stereotypes are based on a few cases and that virtue and justice are present all over the world:

We are men too, we have reason within us

We are part of humanity, we feel tender affection

Heroes can be found frequently in every land,

And also worthless people like you are everywhere.¹⁴¹ (ibid.: V, 1, 222)

A similar view is proposed by Zandira, who, although she praises her nation, maintains that virtue and justice exist everywhere: "Virtue, justice reign everywhere/ I appreciate your gifts, but I don't hide my heart from you."¹⁴² (ibid.: I, 3, 161) This view is also expressed by Radovich in his concluding speech, when he promises Ibrahim that he will spread a good word about Africans. By relating his positive experience with Ibrahim, Radovich will try to change the negative image of Africans. He also invites Ibrahim to spread a good word about Dalmatians and to teach his pirates to respect the Dalmatians, to consider them brave warriors, but also loyal in peace. (ibid.: V, ultima, 229; see appx. V.14)

In the last instance, the positive portrayal of Dalmatians is Goldoni's way of glorifying Venice as a just and virtuous empire. He wants to instil in his middle-class audience not only

the loyalty of the Dalmatians to Venice but also the friendship and allegiance between the two peoples. When they exalt the Serenissima, Zandira and Radovich are telling the audience that Venice is a ruler of countries, that it rules with justice and clemency, but knows how to punish the audacious. The veiled reference is to Ali who kidnapped Zandira and whose punishment is justified even by the governor Ibrahim. This is also Goldoni's way to teach his middle-class audience a sense of justice when dealing with the new foreign population that is making its way in the Republic and to treat everyone with the justice they deserve.

The importance of *La dalmatina* for Goldoni is clear from his letter to the reader that precedes the written version of the play, where the author mentions the success of the premiere and expresses his gratitude to the actress who played the role of Dalmatina, for her talent and especially for being accepted by the Dalmatians in the audience. His enthusiasm over the success of the comedy seems to be due primarily to the fact that the play was received positively by the Slavs, who are valorous and faithful subjects of the Republic of Venice. Goldoni also adds a warning to his audience to remember to always be fair to Dalmatians and he jokes that if he himself was not fair, his journey to Rome would not be safe. Should the Venetians not be fair to Dalmatians, they can be sure to incur the wrath of the Dalmatians in the audience.¹⁴³

Milica Bakić-Hayden introduced the notion of "nesting Orientalisms" by applying Said's model of Orientalism to the former Yugoslavia. For Bakić, "Asia is more 'East' or 'Other' than Eastern Europe; within Eastern Europe itself this gradation is reproduced with the Balkans perceived as most 'Eastern;' within the Balkans there are similarly constructed hierarchies." (Bakić-Hayden 1995: 918) This process of orientalizing the Other to the one's East is very useful in analyzing the phenomenon of Morlacchism in Dalmatia, Venice and Europe, since the Morlacchi in each of these contexts represent the Other to the East. In most of the texts discussed, we can observe how the mechanism of orientalizing the Eastern Other

works: in Goldoni's play, the Dalmatian characters represent European values in a Moroccan setting in opposition to the barbaric and primitive values of the Africans/Moroccans. Whereas, in contrast to Goldoni's middle-class Venetian audience, the Dalmatian is the "barbarian," the one who may retaliate if not treated justly.

Leone in petto

At the end of his letter to the reader, Goldoni mentions that the same love for Venice inspired him to write this tragicomedy. The same Lion, he writes, connects both sides of the Adriatic. He also apologizes to the Greeks for having included a Greek in the play that was not very "praiseworthy" (*lodevole*). He says that Lisauro is one of those ancient Greeks who were feared by the Trojans for bearing gifts.¹⁴⁴ (Goldoni 2005 [1758]: 152)

According to Wolff, the expression *Leone in petto*, mentioned several times in the play mostly by Zandira and Radovich, also functions in a wider context. It represents a concept that connects the playwright with Radovich and the two of them to the audience:

The sentimental connection between Goldoni and his Dalmatian hero, between the hero and the public, between the public and Goldoni, is the lion in the breast, "*il mio Leone in petto*," the totemic expression of Venetian patriotism that inspired the whole conception of the drama. The patriotic purpose of the drama was to pose the common identity of Venetian and Dalmatian, crossing the Adriatic and transcending the cultural barrier between province and metropolis, between Slavs and Italians. (Wolff 1997: 435-436)

The role of the *Leone in petto* is not limited to the stage, but also functions off the stage. Goldoni mentions the Dalmatians who came to the theatre with their swords. They are quite different from typical theatre goers and seem rather strange in a theatre ambience. Goldoni, however, is very happy that they were satisfied with his portrayal of Dalmatians in the play. In a way, all the relations on and off the stage are interconnected by the *Leone in petto*, which is a way of bonding all the characters in the play, the audience as well as all the people that represent the different ethnicities of the Venetian Republic.

Conclusions

Two learned Italians of different generations, Goldoni and Fortis, with different life experiences, of different professions, present us with two very different views on the issue of Dalmatians and Morlacchi, i.e. the Other, and in some respects: the closest Other. We could say that Goldoni, who had Dalmatian acquaintances and friends in Venice, created a "benevolent" picture of them, differently from Fortis who, by "going native" almost became a Dalmatian insider, but his portrait of Dalmatians is in some respects "malevolent."

The most remarkable aspect of Goldoni's own *viaggio in Dalmazia* is a diverse portrayal of Dalmatians. In the *La calamita* and *L'impostore*, the protagonists, a noble woman and a fake captain, respectively, are from Dubrovnik, but, they do not differ in any respect from the noble and rich Venetians. In *La birba*, however, the protagonist is an unsophisticated, poor, lower-class Dalmatian, very similar to a typical Dalmatians depicted by many writers before Goldoni, especially in *schiavo* literature from the 16th century (examples are in the chapter on proto-Morlacchism). Elements of proto-Morlacchism are also present in the description of Dalmatians/ Morlacchi present in the audience at the premiere of *La dalmatina* in 1758, which Goldoni wrote in his *Memoires*. With swords at their side, they watched the play with great interest, but it is also easy to imagine them sitting with Fortis in their Dalmatian hills. Finally, in *La dalmatina*, where Goldoni glorifies Dalmatians in the context of Venetian political ideology, the protagonist is the brave Radovich who defends the interests of Venice and Europe in Morocco. When he buys off all European slaves and presents himself as the defender of Europe, everyone proclaims him to be the pride of whole Europe. Interestingly, a similar discourse is present in the national mythologies of Croats and Serbs, in which these two nations are introduced as defending Europe from Islam.

Thus, unintentionally, in his portrayal of Dalmatians, Goldoni manages to incorporate differences between coastal and urban Dalmatia, on the one hand, and continental and rural Dalmatia, on the other hand, as well as show Dalmatians as defenders of Europe. With these four types: (1) a wealthy Dalmatian who has no problem fitting within a Venetian or Italian elite class; (2) a simple Dalmatian who does not know Italian properly and who makes a living selling the typical products of his land; (3) a rural and violent Morlacco; and, finally (4) a defender of Europe, a hero of national mythology, Goldoni, by exploring a wider range of Dalmatian characters, manages to portray the population of Dalmatia in a way which is more complete and more comprehensive than Fortis, who devoted his entire life to researching Dalmatia.

A more comprehensive view of *La dalmatina* can be found in comparison with other Goldoni's tragicomic heroines, among whom Zandira, the heroine of *La dalmatina*, occupies a special place. In his under-researched tragicomedies Goldoni played with different ethnic characters, foreign languages, exotic countries and cultures in a unique, charming, coherent, and even hermetic way.¹⁴⁵ Still, when we analyze them closely, one has to be careful in separating the fiction from the reality. The cultural and social elements in Goldoni's tragicomedies are often products of his imagination, and they did not derive from the realities of life.

Goldoni's theatrical buoyancy and serenity even today have an unprecedented reception in Dalmatia, probably one of the most intensive ones outside Italy. Goldoni's comedies are highly popular in Croatia, as Frano Čale notes: "There's no other comediographer in the world, [except for Goldoni], whose art is so perfectly adaptable to renew itself in other's clothes and to become a part of a completely new environment, new "national" flavour, without losing its traits created by its great author, on the contrary, thanks to those traits." (Čale 1984: 1) Katja Radoš Perković catalogued the performances of

Goldoni's comedies in Croatia from 1772 till 2013. Interest in his plays intensified after the Second World War, and it has not stopped to this day. Since 1945, there have been over 150 productions of thirty Goldoni's comedies. (Radoš Perković 2013: 343-382) During this period, comedies such as *La locandiera* and *Le baruffe chiozzote* have had more than twenty different productions. It is interesting that in the season 1950-51 there were nine of Goldoni's plays performed. (ibid: 350-351) This is an indisputable proof how Italian culture, despite the recent Second World War and various political manipulations was widely accepted as the closest to Dalmatia. It should not be forgotten that this was also the time of the so-called Trieste crises: the dispute over the jurisdiction of the city of Trieste between Italy and Yugoslavia, 1945-1954.

Some critics note that Goldoni is closer to Croatians, especially to the inhabitants of Dalmatia and other coastal regions, not only because of the universality of his humour, but also because of the similar cultural milieu between Venice and Dalmatia. Sometimes his comedies are adapted by simplifying the original text and changing the contents. Furthermore, they are domesticated by placing the characters and the plot in a local environment and by translating into the local dialect. Sometimes, translators and teatrologists employ comic elements which derive from the *commedia dell'arte* and use various stereotypes in these adaptations.¹⁴⁶ (ibid.: 305-311)

Fortis's work carries a different significance compared to Goldoni's. While attempting to prove himself before the Western European elite and escape from his Paduan-Venetian "provincialism," Fortis writes an incorrect ethnographic description of the Morlacchi. While writing about Morlacchia as region in a natural state, where people live like good savages, incorrupt, unconventional, characterized by primordial moral virtues, Fortis allegedly discovers an unknown country, relying on the fact that Dalmatia was for centuries terra

incognita for most of Europe, however not so for Venetians. Through exaggerations, idealizations, and mystifications, Fortis sketches a very one-sided portrait of the Morlacchi. Although he does deconstruct some negative stereotypes and sometimes speaks in favour of the Morlacchi, attempting to convince the Venetian government to improve the situation in Dalmatia, he also promotes a number of negative stereotypes about the Morlacchi, which he invented or they were already present in Venetian documents or in the popular culture of coastal Dalmatians. (cf. Bešker 2007: 98-122; Novak 2011: 238-239)

While describing the Morlacchi, Fortis did not contextualize the fact that a few kilometres away from their villages, in the cities of Zadar and Dubrovnik, in the salons of the rich nobility he used to discuss philosophy and attended art music concerts. Those noble and rich friends of Fortis were mostly of the same ethnicity as the Morlacchi, their language was similar to the Morlacchi, and they were familiar with the Morlacchi culture, which they did not perceive as so exotic as Fortis presented it to his European readers. However, Fortis was not alone in his incorrect description of Morlacchi. Many writers, either Italian or from other Western European countries, after publication of Fortis's *Viaggio* in 1774, have continued to develop a colonial discourse about them. And like Fortis, they have neglected many of their cultural aspects, and mostly ignored specificities of the coastal and urban population of Dalmatia.

Similar to Goldoni's popularity in Croatia, Fortis's book represents probably the most famous book about Dalmatia ever written (Novak 2011: 239), which is even today the subject of interdisciplinary research and vigorous debate in scholarly, as well as, in public discourse. This is primarily in the context of postcolonial criticism, and particularly with discourse dealing with the European Other, such as Adriatic demi-Orientalism and Balkanism. (Todorova, Wolff, Bešker, Pletenac, Raspudić). The Morlacchi perfectly fit in both of these concepts. Due to many aspects of close relations between Dalmatia and Italy, which make this

relationship different from a classical colonial discourse, which Edward Said called Orientalism, this relationship is often referred to as Adriatic demi-Orientalism. (Raspudić 2010: 33-34) In a way, the Morlacchi are also the predecessors of Balkanism, present in 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries portrayals of the Balkan people in Western Europe. (Todorova 2009)

Fortis indirectly influenced literature, too, although it was not his primary objective. His transcription and translation of the oral Morlacchi ballad *Hasanaginica* opened to the world an unknown sphere of South Slavic and Balkan living oral epic, which is the best preserved narrative oral poetry in Europe. Differently from James Macpherson who invented Celtic myths, Fortis did not need to invent the mythological and epic heritage of the Morlacchi, for it was still alive and well. Folklorists of the nineteenth century were impressed by their poetry, and they researched it all the way into the twentieth century when Harvard Homerologists Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord developed theories of formulaic memory that later influenced literary theory (Parry/Lord thesis). It is worth mentioning that *Hasanaginica* was translated into many European languages, and among its translators were some of the most renowned poets of the time, such as Goethe, Herder, Scott, Tommaseo, Pushkin, Mickiewicz, and others. Also, there's a play, a film, and a ballet based on this ballad. Besides, Fortis, as a specific mediator between Dalmatian and Western European elite befriended and corresponded with Dalmatian pre-Romantic writers: Giulio Bajamonti from Split, and Đuro Ferić, Marc Bruère Desrivaux, and Francesco Maria Appendini from Dubrovnik. Inspired by Fortis's publication of *Hasanaginica*, they began to collect oral poetry; however the tradition of transcribing oral poetry existed among local writers since the Middle Ages. Still, Fortis was not without his detractors. A young student of medicine in Padua, Ivan Lovrić from Sinj, of Morlacchi background, wrote a polemic book *Osservazioni sopra diversi pezzi del Viaggio in Dalmazia del signor abate Alberto Fortis* (1776), in which

he criticizes Fortis's exaggerations and his exoticizing of the Morlacchi. However, Lovrić's mode of describing the Morlacchi is very similar to Fortis's. (Novak 2011: 239-240)

The ideology of Morlacchism, as demi-Orientalism, and literary Morlacomania in European Romanticism, as a result of the publication of Fortis *Viaggio* in 1774, can be said to last until the first decades of the 19th century; however, their influence is also felt much later, and, in certain ways, until today. There were also Dalmatian Morlachists, local Croats and Italians. By introducing Venetian's and Western European's modes of Orientalism to their neighbours in the hinterlands, they made possible popular negative representations about them. (cf. Bešker 2007: 8, 230-235; Raspudić 2010: 41)

Morlacomania was a literary fashion at the time; however the ideology of Morlacchism creates a deeper, and we could say, a more dangerous path for various colonial claims, ideological debates and political disputes which, unfortunately, often resulted in bloody conflicts in Dalmatia and other Balkan countries. During the nineteenth and, especially, during the twentieth century, Morlachist discourse transformed into Balkanist discourse which was meticulously researched by Maria Todorova and some other researchers. (Todorova 2009; cf. Luketić 2013) Italian demi-Orientalist discourse about Eastern Adriatic coast initiated with Venetian Enlightenment in the 18th century, relying on Fortis's Morlacchism. It included a myth about Italy's civilizing role of Dalmatia, and later in Croatia, and Croats as eastern Others. Through the prism of specific biologism, Dalmatians were attributed the features typical of the inferior Others in colonial discourses, the ones who need to be civilized, as opposed to Italians who were presented as superior masters and assigned the role of civilizers. (Raspudić 2010: 6, 16, 26, 28, 32-34)

During the past two decades, interest in Morlacchism, Morlacomania and Adriatic demi-Orientalism increased significantly, and research became more diverse, attempting to re-

examine earlier findings in the light of new views on the Enlightenment and Romanticism, as well as focusing on some new aspects that appeared with the thriving of postcolonial theories. The wars in ex-Yugoslavia in the 1990s contributed to the rise of interest in this topic. An important research was conducted by the historian Larry Wolff, who published two seminal books (1994, 2001) and several articles on this topic. Also, a few doctoral dissertations dealt with this phenomenon: a) in the light of postcolonial theory (Tomislav Pletenac 2003, Nino Raspudić 2010 [2008]); b) as a historical phenomenon (Inoslav Bešker 2007 [2002]); or, c) as literary curiosity (Luana Giurgevich 2008).

Multipart political and cultural relationships between Dalmatia and Italy after the end of the Venetian domination in 1797, and after the abolishment of the Republic of Dubrovnik in 1806/ 1808, should not be reduced to the phenomena of Morlacomania, Morlacchism, and Adriatic demi-Orientalism, which, in the case of Italian right-wing extremism from Risorgimento onwards transformed them into political and cultural irredentism, i.e. the movement for annexation of Dalmatia to Italy. Regardless of different political and ideological disputes, the times of difficult, even bellicose relations, as well as oppressive cataclysms in the 20th century initiated by either side, the relationship between Italy and Dalmatia have always remained in a special way close and familiar, multiple and complex.

ENDNOTES

¹ Venetian sources often named Bay of Kotor region as *Albania veneta*, which is sort of historical nonsense because the area of Kotor was not populated by Albanians, but by the Slavs, culturally and ethnically closely related to the inhabitants of other two parts of Dalmatia).

² Although the Morlacchi (other more rare terms are Valacchi and Uscocchi) inhabit some regions neighbouring Dalmatia, such as Lika and Herzegovina, here, they will be treated exclusively within geographical borders of Venetian Dalmatia.

³ The expansion of the Republic of Venice in the second part of the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth century made it possible for Venetians to come in contact with the population previously living under the Ottomans. In just fifty years, between 1669 and 1718, there were three border changes between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman empire in the hinterland Dalmatia: the Nani line, defined in 1669 by the Treaty of Candia, the Grimani line, known as *nuovo acquisto*, defined in 1699 by the Treaty of Sremski Karlovci, and the Mocenigo line, also known as *nuovissimo acquisto*, defined in 1718 by the Peace of Požarevac.

⁴ Venetian historian Vettor Sandi notes that Augustus conquered Dalmatia to secure a favourable sailing route for himself. (Sandi 1755: 326, 334)

⁵ Raffaino Caresini, *il Cancellier Grande Veneziano*, in his *Chronica* (1343-1388) notes: "esser cossa propria da Veniexia a coltivar el mar e lassar star la terra". (according to Bešker 2007: 6) Later, the main proponents of the Venetian right to control the Adriatic were Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623) from Venice and Giulio Pace (1550-1631) from Vicenza. Sarpi's book *Dominio del mare Adriatico della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia* (1st edition Venice 1685, second edition Helmstat 1750) and Pace's book *De dominio maris Hadriatici dissertatio*

pro Venetis (first edition Lyon 1619, second edition Frankfurt 1669) represent seminal monographies that offered theoretical and factographic support to the Venetian elite's idea of the Adriatic Empire of the Republic of San Marco. (see Acquaviva & Scovazzi 2007), Venetian historian Giacomo Diedo represented similar ideology in the mid 18th century. (Diedo 1751: 44-46)

⁶ "Cuisus incolae uno omnes vocabulo Morolachi, qui ferinum potius, quam humanum aspectum prae se ferentes lacte, caseoque victitant, e prope vias abditi viatores alienigenas adoriuntur, atque despoliant: Denique summam laudem esse putant ex rapto vivere."

⁷ "vivono [...] con costumi barbari; sono di natura maligni et superbi."

⁸ "Vivono di late et formaggi, perchè tutto il suo consiste in animali, et sono gente di fede serviana et eretica, et sudditi del Signor Turco. Sono sporchi et lordi, et stanno insieme con li animali continuamente."

⁹ "Dalmatini ... molti d' essi menano una vita così misera, che le loro proprie stantie et quelle de' suoi animali son un' istessa, dalli qualli traseno gran parte delle loro sustantie. Parlano per lo più lingua schiava et franca; sono per natura maledici, superbi et sospettosi; ma i populi sono alla serenità vostra devotissimi, di modo che da loro il qual si voglia occasione si potria sperar ogni buon frutto."

¹⁰ Some local cultural historians think that it is unjust that these wars are named after Greek provinces Crete (Candian or Cretan war, 1645-1669) and Morea/ Peloponnese (Morean war, 1684-1699), considering that the most violent battles took place in the Dalmatian hinterland. At that time, as Venetian governor Zorzi Morosini noted in 1673, Dalmatia was "the only support of the absolute [Adriatic] Gulf's control." ("unico sostegno dell'assoluta padronanza nel Golfo.") (according to Bešker 2007: 18, 92)

¹¹ "Se volete i Dalmati fedeli, teneteli ignoranti."

¹² See also Venturi 1969: 276-292.

¹³ About Rabelais see Bahtin 1984.

¹⁴ "... dalmata, ut celo sic stilo alteri assuefactus. Unum mare est nobis, se non unum litus, non unus animus, non unum ingenium, non unus denique seu vivendi seu loquendi mos..."

¹⁵ "dise ben el prouerbio: 'co vien al mondo un schiavon nasce una barila de malizie'."

¹⁶ All the names mentioned here are typical of the Dalmatian hinterland, i.e. they could be considered Vlach/ Morlach names.

¹⁷ "Bijedan se Grubiša u latinsku zemlju doskitao, gdje se žabe i spuži ijedu, gdje se ogrestija pije i gdje se na ure oni bijedan obrok jede, gdje se u zdravjice ne pije, a voda se u vino lijeva. Tata, mili Bože, gdje si me moja srjeća, huda srjeća dovede? Gdje si, Pribrate, Radate, Vukmiru, Obrade, Radmile, moja ljubima družino? Daleko mi ste, bijedan!"

¹⁸

Qui fino dell' Altare i Sacerdoti

Portano due mustacchi da sicario,

Ed all' usanza del paese espressa

Barbara lingua ha pur la Santa Messa. (14)

¹⁹ Wolff also notes different customs in regard to moustache in Dalmatia and Venice. (Wolff 2001: 54-55)

²⁰ Derogatory term for Italians and Dalmatian coastal population excessively influenced by Italy.

²¹ In this chapter I will use Italian digital edition of Fortis's *Viaggio* from 2010 (ed. Eva Viani), and for English translation I will use the first edition from 1778. While some parts of the text lack in English version, I translated the missing parts in square brackets.

²² Before that, Fortis visited briefly Istria in 1765 during Easter holidays. (Bratulić 2004:11)

²³ The final drafts of the drawings, however, were done by Giacomo Leonardi. (Bratulić 2004:13)

²⁴ In 1773, based on the findings during this journey, Fortis compiled a report on fishing and fish trade in Dalmatia, which he read in Venice before a Senate committee, *Deputazione straordinaria alle Arti*, founded that year with an aim to liberalize economy and improve fishing.

²⁵ After the publication of the *Viaggio*, Fortis travelled a few more times to the eastern Adriatic, mostly to Dubrovnik, where he had a number of friends. Fortis kept close contact with his friends from Dubrovnik, and even sent them tax-free some banned books. According to Žarko Muljačić, Fortis made twelve trips to the eastern Adriatic coast between 1770 and 1793. For more details on Fortis travels to Dalmatia, see Muljačić 1996; 2011.

²⁶ Some say that it was because of his ideas for reforms, which were too modern.

²⁷ "A sua eccellenza Mylord Giovanni Stuart, Conte di Bute, ec."

²⁸ For more about Earl of Bute and his interest in Dalmatia, see Janković 1954.

²⁹ "Il paese abitato da' Morlacchi s'estende molto di più, così verso la Grecia, come verso l'Allemagna e l'Ungheria; io circoscrivo la mia relazione al poco che ho visitato." (Fortis 2010: 43)

³⁰ "somiglianti ad essi ne' costumi e nel linguaggio sì fattamente, che possono essere prese per una sola, vastamente distesa dal nostro mare sino all'Oceano Glaciale." (Fortis 2010: 43)

³¹ "Žalosna pjesanca plemenite Asanaginice," Fortis transcribed it this way: "Xalostna pjesanza plemenite Asan-Aghinize," Italian translation: "Canzone dolente della nobile sposa d'Asan Aga."

³² The term "haiducs," or "hajduci," sing. "hajduk" in Croatian means social bandit. (see Hobsbawm 1969)

³³ Žarko Muljačić is the most famous Croatian critic who researched Fortis. Raspudić refers to several articles and books where Muljačić referred to Fortis this way. (Raspudić 2010: 92) Nikola Markulin also points out to this uncritical attitude toward Fortis by naming his article: " 'The friend of our people': the Portrayal of Other in Alberto Fortis's text *Viaggio in Dalmazia*." (Markulin 2010)

³⁴ "the intellectual work of the Enlightenment [...] bring about that modern reorientation of the continent which produced Western Europe and Eastern Europe. [...] Just as the new centers of the Enlightenment superseded the old centers of the Renaissance, the old lands of barbarism and backwardness in the north were correspondingly displaced to the east. The Enlightenment had to invent Western and Eastern Europe together, as complementary concepts, defining each other by opposition and adjacency." (Wolff 1994: 5)

³⁵ "The work of invention lay in the synthetic association of lands, which drew upon both, fact and fiction, to produce the general rubric of Eastern Europe. That rubric represented an aggregation of generative and associative observations over a diverse domain of lands and peoples. It is in that sense that Eastern Europe is a cultural construction, an intellectual invention of the Enlightenment." (Wolff 1994: 356)

³⁶ "Travelers gradually began to attribute the same exaggerated characteristics to human women living in the far corners of the earth. The story first appears at the beginning of the seventeenth century in accounts of West Africa. European travelers subsequently ascribed the ability to suckle over the shoulder to, among others, Hottentots, Tierra del Fuegians, Greenlanders and Tasmanian aborigines, differentiating them physically as well as culturally from their own kind." (Bracewell 2011: 224)

³⁷ This is based on Franco Venturi's statement that in the 18th century, Lombardy, Tuscany, and a part of the Kingdom of Naples (around the city of Naples) were considered as advanced

parts of Italy, while all other parts, including Venice, despite its a bit more liberal cultural politics, were regarded archaic. (Venturi 1965: 9)

³⁸ In her book, *Balkan: od geografije do fantazije*, Katarina Luketić discusses the *Vlaji* as an internal Other in contemporary Croatia, particularly in the chapter "Mafijaši, Hercegovci, Vlaji i drugi demoni" ("Mafiosi, Herzegovinians, Vlaji, and other demons"). (Luketić 2013: 239-248)

³⁹ The city of Venice is divided into six major neighbourhoods, called *sestieri*, three of them are below the Canal Grande: Castello, San Marco, Cannaregio; and three are above the Canal: San Polo, Santa Croce, Dorsoduro.

⁴⁰ For an explanation of the usage of the term Schiavoni, see Introduction.

⁴¹ Other confraternities, such as the *Scuola degli Albanesi*, also known as *Vergine Maria e S. Gallo*, and the *Scuola de San Zorzi dei Greci*, were closed after the fall of the Republic.

⁴² Most Croatian sources, especially the ones written after the 1990s, discuss Croatians rather than Dalmatians, when examining cultural ties with Venice, and Italy in general. The most substantial number of Croatians, though, were the ones from Dalmatia, which at the time also included Boka Kotorska, which is in present Montenegro. Čoralić lists the following percentages of Croatians from different regions from 1450 till 1625, which confirms the overwhelming numbers of Adriatic population: Dalmatia 45%, Boka Kotorska 34%, Croatia (which includes Kvarner, today's western Croatia, from Rijeka to Zagreb, and, in the east, parts of Slavonia; or today's Croatia without Istria and Dalmatia) 6%, Republic of Dubrovnik 6%, Schiavonia (not clear, in Italian sources this term usually refers to the whole area inhabited by South Slavs; here it is probably used to denote persons who did not specify their place of origin and instead presented themselves as South Slavs) 5%, Istria 2%, Bosnia 2%. (Čoralić 2001: 444) For more on terminology used in different sources, see Introduction.

⁴³ Although independent politically, and even for the most part of its history Venice's main rival for the control of the Adriatic sea, due to its ethnic and cultural unity with other cities in Dalmatia, here, Dubrovnik will be examined as a geographical and cultural part of Dalmatia.

⁴⁴ Compared to other places in Christian Europe, Venice had less hostile laws regulating the settlement and business of Jews. First, they inhabited the island Spinalunga (Giudecca). Later, after being accused for usury and banned from the city limits, the Jewish community moved to surrounding places on terraferma, such as Mestre. However, since the city needed skillful bankers, in 1516, the Jews were allowed to live in one area of Cannaregio, known as Ghetto Vecchio, which was enlarged in 1541 and 1633 (Ghetto nuovo, Ghetto nuovissimo). More about various communities in Venice, see Čoralić 2004: 115-120; Decroisette 1999)

⁴⁵ Germans, Turks, and Persians would sometimes come to the city for a limited time period, so those communities had buildings, the so-called "fonteghi," for lodgings of their tradesmen while they are in the city: *Fontego dei Tedeschi*, *Fontego dei Turchi*, and *Fontego dei Persiani*. (Čoralić 2004: 118)

⁴⁶ For example, in *drammi per musica*, which include 85 texts, the French are the ethnicity that appears most often, 73 times (in this number are included the following variations: Francia, francese, francesi)! They are followed by Germans, mentioned 34 times (variations: tedesco, -chi, -a; English 28 times (including Inghilterra, inglese, inglesi), Spanish 25 times (Spagna, spagnolo, -i, -a, as well as variations with "uolo:" spagnuolo, -la, li, le), Greeks, 12 times. As for the migrants from Italian cities, the most numerous are Bolognese and Neapolitans. I was able to research these texts thanks to an excellent Internet site, www.carlogoldoni.it/carlogoldoni/home.jsp, created by Anna Laura Bellina and Luigi Tessarolo, where all *drammi per musica*, are digitalized.

⁴⁷ In the preface of Pasquali edition of this text, in 1775, the playwright explains his motivation for writing this play: "Trattenendomi di quando in quando nella piazza San Marco,

in quella parte che dicesi la Piazzetta, e veggendo ed attentamente osservando quella prodigiosa quantità di vagabondi, che cantando, suonando e elemosinando, vivono del soave mestier della birba, mi venne in mente di trar da coloro il soggetto di un intermezzo giocoso; e mi riuscì a meraviglia." (Scannapieco 2004: 52)

⁴⁸ "La parlata di Cechina-Stiepo Bruich è infatti sfuggita sia allo zelante scrutinio degli italianisti di area slava sia all'acutezza d'analisi e d'interpretazione di un Gianfranco Folena: nessun riferimento a inserti schiavoneschi è infatti rintracciabile nella puntuale disamina del plurilinguismo del Goldoni librettista comico realizzata dallo studioso." (Scannapieco 2004: 54)

⁴⁹ "Il *Calepinus septem linguarum* del Goldoni librettista comico comprende, con l'italiano ("Tosco" o "romano" o "Lombardo") e il veneziano (e gli inserti di bolognese e napoletano come idioletti di maschere o di canterine), il francese, il tedesco e l'inglese (che di solito fanno tutt'uno), la lingua franca levantina (con specificazioni turchesche e grechesche), il latino dei medici [...], dei notari [...], dei pedanti [...], con punte maccheroniche." (Folena 1983: 323)

⁵⁰ "Anche nella valutazione di questa tessera schiavonesca ben si potrà sottoscrivere quanto già da tempo autorevolmente argomentato sul plurilinguismo goldoniano – tanto caratteristico degli intermezzi (e, in parte, della produzione giocosa) quanto progressivamente sempre più estraneo, come residuo artificiale dell'improvviso, alle commedie – cioè il suo non rivestire funzione realistica, caratterizzante, ma soltanto ludica, il suo inserirsi nella tradizione delle metamorfosi e dei travestimenti, ingrediente comico puramente giocoso, vero e proprio lazzo mimico-verbale-musicale." (Scannapieco 2004: 55)

⁵¹ "Chi star? Chi bater?/ Che cossa voler?/ Via presto parlar,/ se no mi menar."

⁵² "Forsi aver amizuzia?/ Mi ella strangolar./ e ti razza de puorco sbudellar."

⁵³ "Taser ti donna matta/ o mi te dar su muso mia zavatta."

⁵⁴ *Pastrovicchio* (ital. *Pastrovichi*) refers to Paštrovići, a littoral area in today's Montenegro, between the town of Budva and the area of Spič near the town of Bar.

⁵⁵ "Mi star mercanta de castradina,/ aver candella ma cattarina,/ formaggia salada,/ botarga fumada,/ de tutto portar."

⁵⁶ "Se ti star bon amico,/ se ti star bona femena/ con mi cantar, ballar."

⁵⁷ "Se ti no ballar/ mi te sbusar./ Se ti no cantar/ mi te mazzar."

⁵⁸ "Se ti star omen'accorta/ mi star furba parte mia,/se vegnir più alla mia porta/con baston mi mandar via."

⁵⁹ "Mi mondo goder/ e gnente pensar,/mi sempre voler/cantar e ballar."

⁶⁰ Besides Venice, it was staged in many Italian and European cities, including: Brescia and Florence (1753), Milan, Dresden and Hamburg (1754), Bologna (1755), Rome (1757), Salò, Genova, and Moscow (1759), Modena (1760), London (1763) Cremona (1765), Lisbon (1766), Reggio Emilia and Modena (1768), and Aranjuez (1769). (Čale 1990: 461-468)

⁶¹ *La vedova scaltra* could be compared to *La calamita* in several aspects. Both plays recount a story of several men competing for attention of a woman. In *La vedova*, though, the men are of different ethnicities: Le Bleau is French, Runebif is English, Don Alvaro of Castile is Spanish and the Count of Bosco Nero is Italian. Rather than a duel, in this play the female protagonist, Rosaura, challenges their faithfulness. During the Carnival, she approaches each of them impersonating a woman of their nationality. All men, except for the Count of Bosco Nero, accept that woman's courtship, so Rosaura chooses the Italian as the most loyal to her. Also, like in *Calamita*, two men accept the loss, while the third one, Don Alvaro, irritated by the way she treated them, leaves without congratulating the Count.

⁶² "Questa ignota straniera"

⁶³ "Ma per chi mi lasciasti?/ Per una sconosciuta;/ Per una che si spaccia per signora,/ E sarà forse una villana ancora./.../ Al certo è una bastarda:/ Scommetto dieci scudi, e li deposito."

⁶⁴ "Se lei saperlo brama,/ son nobile, lo dico e lo sostegno ..."

⁶⁵ "Signora marchese/ signora contessa/ che gran principessa!/ Che gran nobiltà!"

⁶⁶ "Or conosco e confesso/ Che Bellarosa ha nobili pensieri ..."

⁶⁷ "Ella è nata di dame e cavalieri."

⁶⁸ Frano Čale researched thoroughly Šuljaga's legal battle and correspondence regarding it. (Čale 1968: 88-103)

⁶⁹ "carissimo amico, dotto, onesto ed amabile," "caro onoratissimo amico Sciugliaga," "carissimo amico e procuratore." Unfortunately, Giuseppe Ortolani's edition of Goldoni's correspondence, which is the most relevant one, was not available, so here I quoted these letters (Ortolani, *Tutte le opere...*, vol. 14, p. 197, 225, 250) indirectly from Frano Čale 1968: 108.

⁷⁰ "Non dimenticherò mai il signor Stefano Sugliaga della città di Ragusa, attualmente segretario reale e imperiale a Milano. Quest'uomo dottissimo, questo filosofo stimabile, caldo e affezionatissimo amico, di cui il cuore e la borsa erano sempre aperti per me; quest'uomo insomma, il cui ingegno e carattere eran ben degni di un ugual rispetto, si accinse alla risposta ai satirici dardi vibrati contro di me. L'energica ed eloquente sua prosa faceva molto più effetto dell'orpello dei versi e delle poetiche immagini." (Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 142)

⁷¹ Goldoni will also write a continuation of *Pamela maritata* for the season 1759-60.

⁷² "Meriterebbe costui, ch' io pubblicassi il nome, e la Patria sua per eternare la sua vergogna; ma non l'jo fatto e non voglio farlo per rispetto de' suoi onorati Concittadini." (Goldoni 1761: 8-9; cf. Čale 1989: 1272)

⁷³ For example, in *La dalmatina*, which is discussed in chapter 4, Goldoni in the last sentence of the preface (*L'autore a chi legge*) apologizes to Greeks for the way he depicted Lisauro. (Goldoni 2005 [1758]: 152)

⁷⁴ It is possible that this series of tragicomedies was interrupted by two comedies *L'uomo di mondo*, also known as *Momolo sulla Brenta* and *Il prodigo*, a.k.a. *Momolo cortesan* (both produced 1739), that Goldoni might have written between *Enrico* and *Giustino*. We do not know this for sure, since the year when *Giustino* was produced cannot be confirmed with certainty, as all the sources dealing with this play note that its first performance was sometime between 1734 and 1740. In any case, that does not negate the fact that Goldoni's writing career started with tragicomedies, since the first six listed above were produced one after another, without any other texts written in between. We just do not know if he wrote six or seven of them in a row.

⁷⁵ Although the name recalls the Lombard queen Rosmonda, who lived in the sixth century, and became a famous character of the Italian theatre tradition, the plot of Goldoni's *Rosmonda* has nothing to do with the story of this character.

⁷⁶ This is an indirect connection, since Goldoni's play was inspired by Apostolo Zeno's libretto based on Boccaccio's novella.

⁷⁷ Several sources suggest that the contract with the Vendramin brothers was not as favourable for Goldoni as he claims in his *Mémoires*, since he was obliged to produce eight comedies a year. A couple of years later, the playwright was offered more favourable conditions, which he expresses in a letter to Count Arconati Visconti: "Non ho più l'obbligo delle otto commedie, ma per ogni commedia mi darà cento ducati o dugento ducati di recognizione onorevole perch'io non scriva per altri teatri di commedia a Venezia, onde s'io farò le otto solite, averò un onorario non più di ottocento ducati, ma di mille, senz'obbligo di essere colla persona unito alla Compagnia nè a Venezia, nè fuori." (Goldoni 1885: 34-35)

⁷⁸ It is possible that between these two plays Goldoni produced one play for the Sant'Angelo theatre, *La donna vendicativa* (1753). Most listings of Goldoni's plays place this comedy between *La donna di testa debole* and *Il geloso avaro*. In any case, these two plays are still

the first ones produced for the San Luca theatre, since *La donna vendicativa* was produced for Sant'Angelo. Since all the sources mention the season of fall 1753 for all three plays, and not the exact date, we cannot be sure of the order, i.e. if *La donna vendicativa* was written before the two first plays written for San Luca, or in between them, as the listing of Goldoni's plays suggests.

⁷⁹ "In primo luogo egli non aveva avuto il tempo bastante per abituare i comici del teatro S. Luca a quella naturalezza espressiva di voce e di gesto che era il pregio principale della compagnia del Medebach, e requisito dispensabile per la rappresentazione delle sue commedie, i cui caratteri erano ritratti dal vero con un'esattezza che gli veniva perfino rimproverata come eccessiva." (Ortiz 1905: IX/38)

⁸⁰ "La Gandini, con un buon senso raro in una donna [sic!], si sarebbe rassegnata a passare in seconda fila, ma c'era il marito che non lo permetteva." It seems that Teresa Gandini presented a very serious obstacle for Goldoni. Maria Ortiz goes so far as to claim that having her as the main actress was as if somebody clipped his wings, and suggests that, even though Goldoni himself had other difficulties, Teresa Gandini was the main hindrance to a success at San Luca: "Presentargli ora un'attrice cinquantenne dirgli: ' D'ora innanzi sarà questa la Rosaura bella e patetica per cui languiranno d'amore e Lelio e Florindo; per essa s'incroceranno le spade, per essa si comporranno le canzonette sospirose, e dolci serenade sotto i suoi balconi navigheranno la sera pel queto canale ' era addirittura un tarpargli le ali, un chiudergli una delle vie più feconde d'ispirazione!" (ibid.)

⁸¹ "Delle soddisfazioni che mi procurò questa commedia son debitore affatto alla signora Bresciani, che recitava Ircana e per cui appunto l'avevo immaginata e composta. Gandini non voleva che fosse usurpato nulla sui diritti dell'impiego di sua moglie, e avrebbe avuto ragione se fosse stata prossima alla cinquantina; onde, per evitar liti, feci per la seconda amorosa una parte di maggior spicco rispetto a quella della prima attrice. Posso ben dire che la mia fatica

fu ricompensata, non essendo possibile rappresentare una passione così viva e travolgente con maggior forza, energia e verità della signora Bresciani. E invero tale fu l'impressione che fece in una commedia sì fortunata quest'attrice, la quale al brio e all'intelligenza aggiungeva la grazia di una voce armoniosa e di una piacevolissima pronunzia, che non si chiamò in seguito con altro nome, se non con quello d'Ircana." (Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 119)

⁸² This is what Goldoni writes about this episode in his *Memoires*: "Avrei soddisfatto la richiesta [del pubblico che chiedeva il seguito della *Sposa Persiana*] con piacere, ma non potevo. Gandini, sommamente irritato contro il pubblico e contro di me, diceva che l'avevo ingannato, che gli avevo fatto un tiro da meritar la forza, che avevo avuto l'arte diabolica di sacrificare sua moglie senza che lui se ne accorgesse. La mia intenzione però non era di fargli torto, ma di forzarlo ad accettare il vantaggioso partito da me propostogli; e questo era un rendergli servizio malgrado la sua brutalità. Sempre più ostinato, quest'uomo irragionevole andò ad avvertire il proprietario del teatro che sua moglie non avrebbe certo recitato il seguito della *Sposa Persiana*, di cui aveva inteso parlare." (Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 120)

⁸³ For problems with Pietro Gandini, see Ortiz 1905: IX/38-40. For Goldoni's account of the conflict with Pietro Gandini, see Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 116-120.

⁸⁴ "Eccoci finalmente a questa terza commedia che doveva raggiungere tanti fini: deludere il puntiglio del Gandini, incaponito a far passare per giovane la moglie di cinquant'anni, imporre silenzio ai partigiani del teatro S. Angelo, e procacciare al Goldoni applausi, simpatie e nuovi fautori nel pubblico del nuovo teatro, che si annunciava un po' ostile. Il titolo era "*La Sposa Persiana*", l'ambiente musulmano, nomi esotici come Tamas, Macmut, Fatima, e poi harem, turbanti, donne velate, narghilè, Persiani seduti a gambe incrociate, eterni fumatori d'oppio, quanto insomma ci voleva per mettere in moto le fantasie, e richiamare molta gente a teatro." (Ortiz 1905: IX/39)

⁸⁵ The full title of the book is: *Modern History: or, the Present State of All Nations: Describing Their Respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals and Minerals.*

⁸⁶ In his *Mémoires*, this is how Goldoni describes the idea behind *La sposa persiana*: "In vista dello scopo propostomi, andavo in cerca di un argomento che potesse somministrarmi arguzie, diletto e spettacolo a un tempo stesso. A questo fine avevo sfogliato la storia delle nazioni moderne del Salmon, tradotta dall'inglese in italiano. Non vi trovai la favola che forma il soggetto della composizione che avevo disegnato; ma da questo libro esatto, istruttivo e piacevole ricavai le leggi, i costumi e gli usi dei Persiani, e dalle narrazioni particolareggiate dell'autore inglese composi la commedia a cui diedi il titolo di *Sposa persiana*." (Goldoni 2002 [1787]: 117-118)

⁸⁷ There is also an interesting connection between Salmon and Goldoni that might have instigated Goldoni to read sections of this enormous work. In 1753 Venetian editor Giambattista Albrizzi published the 20th volume of this book dedicated to the Venetian dominion: *Continuazione dell'Italia o sia descrizione degli altri stati del Dominio Veneto, cioè del Dogado, Trivigiano, Friuli, Istria, Dalmazia e Levante Veneto*. In this volume, in the second chapter, *Governo, Forze, Rendite, Moneta, Traffico della Repubblica di Venezia. Si aggiungono gli Abiti, gli spettacoli Pubblici, e altri Costumi della Città*. Among other topics, Salmon here writes about Venetians and theatre, and particularly praises Goldoni: "Molti sono nella città questi luoghi, ove si fanno pubbliche rappresentazioni, già più sopra da noi accennati della descrizione di essa Quel genere di rappresentazione, che chiamasi Dramma per Musica, è nato si può dire in Venezia, ove tuttavia è in grand'uso, e donde s'è diffuso a'di nostri poco meno che in tutta l'Europa. Nel passato secolo ebbe i suoi principi, benché alcuni ne facciano ascendere l'origine fino al tempo del passaggio per Venezia di Arrigo II Re di

Polonia e di Francia. Questo spettacolo è sì noto, che soverchia ne farebbe ogni descrizione. Lo stesso può dirsi della Commedia Italiana, condotta non ha guari a notabil grado di perfezione dal celebre Carlo Goldoni Avvocato veneziano, essendo nelle lunghe sere Autunnali e del Verno i Teatri frequentatissimi." (Salmon 1753: 85-86)

⁸⁸ These are the texts on the title pages of the first edition of the plays: *La sposa persiana*: "La presente *Commedia* di carattere orientale in cinque atti in versi rimati" (ibid.: 136); *Ircana in Julfa*: "*Commedia* in cinque Atti in versi" (Goldoni 2003 [1755]: 238); *Ircana in Ispaan*: "La presente *Tragicomedia* fu rappresentata per la prima volta in Venezia nell'Autunno dell'anno 1756" (Goldoni 2003 [1756]: 326). (my italics)

⁸⁹ " 'Commedia di carattere orientale' sarà definita anche l'*Ircana in Julfa*, e "tragicommedia", invece, l'*Ircana in Ispaan*: l'esitazione nomenclatoria è la conseguenza di una ricerca drammaturgica *in fieri*, che appassiona Goldoni in questi anni anche a prescindere dal confronto logorante con le mode teatrali del momento, e lo incuriosisce ad esplorare per proprio conto versanti stilistici e psicologici di natura genericamente "non comica" a cui applica confusamente schemi di poetica abbastanza logori, ripescati appunto dal *mare magnum* tragicomico, che da due secoli consentiva ai teatranti i più fantasiosi *escamotages* compositivi." (Pieri 2003: 443)

⁹⁰ "È vero anche, d'altra parte, che la terza puntata della trilogia, così guerresca e "politica", potrebbe configurarsi di un gradino superiore alle altre due in cui predominano invece conflitti e passioni di natura privata. Pochi anni dopo, nella Zatta, questo genere di questioni diventa irrilevante, e i tre pezzi della trilogia confluiscono in un volume di 'commedie e tragedie in versi di vario metro' con la comune definizione di 'commedia di cinque atti in versi.' " (Pieri 2003: 443)

⁹¹ The best illustration of Goldoni's nonchalant attitude in this regard are the classifications of his plays under different categories at various times during his writing career. As I have noted

earlier, Goldoni referred to some plays as tragicomedies at one moment and as oriental comedies at another. (see above)

⁹² "La gente accurse, il successo fu magnifico, strepitoso, il popolo cantò i versi della Sposa Persiana come già le ottave del Tasso; la Bresciani che aveva recitata la parte d'Ircana non fu d'allora in poi chiamata altrimenti che Ircana famosa." (Ortiz 1905: IX/39)

⁹³ These paintings are catalogued in the book by Alessandro Bettagno (2002), under numbers 24 and 7, respectively, in Schulenburg collection.

⁹⁴ Schulenburg collection n. 10. (Bettagno 2002)

⁹⁵ Unlike the first play, where Tamas's father's name is spelled Machmut, in this play, his name is spelled Machmud, however, for the sake of consistency, I will use the spelling "Machmut."

⁹⁶ "Ecco che lieto han fine le avventure d'Ircana."

⁹⁷ In his article "Eroine esotiche nelle "tragedie galanti" scritte fra Roma e Parigi (1759-1761)," Fido uses both terms to refer to these plays.

⁹⁸ Fido has noted that the female characters are central even in Goldoni's tragedies with the male names in the titles, such as *Zoroastro*, *Amori di Alessandro Magno* and *Enea nel Lazio*, while in the case of *La bella Giorgiana*, it is announced already in the title of the play: "... in *Zoroastro* (come in precedenza negli *Amori di Alessandro Magno* e nell'*Enea nel Lazio*, tutte con eroi eponimi maschi) i drammi e i paterni dei personaggi femminili occupano il posto d'onore nell'azione: lo stesso avviene ancora ne *La bella Giorgiana* (dicembre 1761), in cui però Goldoni sembra dare atto a tale supremazia drammaturgica delle donne fin dal titolo, come già nelle tre "persiane", nella *Peruviana*, nella *Bella selvaggia* e nella *Dalmatina*." (Fido 2009: 69)

⁹⁹ Giovanni Rucellai's tragedy *Rosmunda* (1525), Griselda from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (X, 10), Artemisia is based on Voltaire's *Semiramide*.

¹⁰⁰ The situation is similar with titles of male characters when it comes to adjectives. The only difference is that in many cases they do not contain the word "uomo." Instead, they appear as nominal adjectives: *Il bugiardo*, *L'adulatore*, *L'impostore*, *L'avar*, *L'apatista* (o sia *L'indifferente*), etc., and just a few contain the word "uomo": *L'uomo di mondo* (o sia *Momolo cortesan*), *L'uomo prudente*. Since in the Italian language it is possible to create a feminine nominal adjective, as it is possible to create a masculine one, and they are equally common, there is not a linguistic justification for this choice. It remains enigmatic why Goldoni insisted on mentioning the word "donna" in the title. Is it because he wanted to give an idea of different types of women that are out there? And in the case of men, it was enough to stress a characteristic, since nominal adjectives stress a feature rather than a person. This is a question that could be included in analyses dealing with Goldoni's feminism/antifeminism.

When it comes to personal masculine names, in most cases they were already known, either as fictional characters from a previous theatrical tradition (*Rinaldo di Montalbano*, *La gelosia di Arlecchino*), or from historical personalities (such as: *Belisario*, *Enrico re di Sicilia*, *il Molière*, *il Terenzio*, *il Torquato Tasso*, *Gli amori di Alessandro Magno*, etc.), most of whom have already inspired literary texts before Goldoni. As for a character's ethnicity mentioned in the title of the play, the number of plays is much smaller compared to the number of plays that allude to a female character's ethnicity. They include: *I due gemelli veneziani*, *L'avvocato veneziano*, *Il filosofo inglese* and *Il medico olandese*. It is interesting that none of these plays deals with what we consider to be 'exotic' places, as is the case with most of the titles containing female characters' ethnicities. Finally, when it is a question of a character's role in the family more common are those with "figlio" or "padre": *Il figlio d'Arlecchino perduto e ritrovato*, *Il padre di famiglia*, *Il padre per amore* and *L'amore paterno* (o sia *La serva riconoscente*).

¹⁰¹ "No, che non è più bella, [...] Ircana è più vezzosa."

¹⁰² "Che stile inusitato! Che amor! Che dolci accenti!"

¹⁰³ "Parla così una donna fra popoli selvaggi [...] Delmira, il tuo talento merita ch'io non ti sprezzi."

¹⁰⁴ "ne ciclo persiano [...] la passione sofferta in silenzio o declamata con furore rispettivamente dalla sposa male amata Fatima e dalla schiava Ircana, portatrici di una forte carica emotive, impensabile nelle fanciulle borghesi di tante *pièces* veneziane." (Fido 2009: 60-61)

¹⁰⁵ "Sì, genitor, la vita tu mi donasti un giorno,/ a te senza lagnarmi questo tuo don ritorno."

¹⁰⁶ "Mangiar io non mi curo le vostre porcherie ..."

¹⁰⁷ There are no sources that confirm the custom of growing beards among American Natives, or the belief that a beard symbolizes masculinity. On the contrary, most of the sources and travel accounts report that indigenous men of the Americas did not have beards as Europeans did.

¹⁰⁸ Smith does not state explicitly in his explanations that it is a misnomer, however it is a conclusion a reader can easily draw because the title of the passage where the topic elaborated on page 111 reads "Mohammedanism misnomer."

¹⁰⁹ "il libro delle leggi e della falsa religione dei Maomettani ..."

¹¹⁰ "il capo della falsa religione maomettana."

¹¹¹ "Miraste con dispetto i gradi a voi maggiori/E il verme dell'invidia nascosto io ogni seno."

¹¹² "Il merto non consiste nel sangue e nei natali/Non si distingue il grado, ma apprezzasi di più/Chi supera nel pregio d'onore e di virtù."

¹¹³ "Negli altri non ha merito, che il caso e la natura."

¹¹⁴ "in servitude io serbo cuor generoso e forte."

¹¹⁵ "Veggano quei superbi che chiamanci selvaggi/ Che Siam di lor più forti, che siam di lor più saggi ..."

¹¹⁶ *La bella selvaggia* takes place in Guyana, the plays of the Persian trilogy in Persia, *La bella giorgiana* in Georgia.

¹¹⁷ In South Slavic central linguistic diasystem (Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian), the surname Radović (in Goldoni's *Dalmatina* Radovich) is a very common surname, especially in Montenegro (Bay of Kotor and hinterland) and north and south Dalmatia (Zadar and Dubrovnik area).

¹¹⁸ "terza delle novità goldoniane proposte al teatro San Luca di Venezia durante l'autunno del 1758, *La dalmatina* ebbe tredici repliche ininterrotte (dalla 46a alla 58° delle 72 recite complessive che si tennero in quella stagione), tutte con incassi molto elevati." (Scannapieco 2005b: 234)

"... negli anni successivi la tenuta spettacolare della tragicommedia finì per farne uno dei classici del repertorio goldoniano del San Luca. Seconda solo – e di strettissima misura – alla *Scozzese* per numero di rappresentazioni (nonché al *Todero* per numero di allestimenti), nel periodo 1758-1770 *La dalmatina* si stabilì infatti nella *hit parade* della produzione goldoniana e costituì uno dei titoli più acclamati dell'intera offerta spettacolare veneziana del secondo Settecento." (ibid.: 317)

Besides the first production, which included thirteen presentations, in the period 1758-1770, there were eleven more productions with twenty-four presentations, which include: five times at the Carnival 1758-59, three times in the fall 1759, four times in the fall 1760, twice in the fall 1761, once at the Carnival 1761-62, twice at the Carnival 1762-63, twice in the fall 1765, once in the spring 1766 in Torino, twice in the fall 1766, once in the spring 1768 in Torino, and once at the Carnival 1768-69. (ibid.: 332)

¹¹⁹ Martellian verse is differently evaluated by Goldoni himself at different times of his career. As for humorous situations, we should bear in mind that it is a tragicomedy, not a

typical comedy; therefore the requirements for comic are reduced. Besides, there are two comic characters in the *Dalmatina*, Cosimina and Marmut.

¹²⁰ "[Goldoni] volle forzare, e scrivere delle *dalmatine* che possono esser giapponesi e delle *spose persiane*, che possono esser anche africane!"

¹²¹ "Goldoni, confondendo Slavi e Italiani di Dalmazia, scrive la sua *Dalmatina*, che non è solo 'tragediaccia' o 'drammanone da arena', ma è così indefinita e 'internazionale' che potrebbe passare per giapponese o persiana."

¹²² ... di *dalmatino*, si può dire tosto, non c'è nulla, se si prescinde dal titolo e da certe allusioni alla nostra cara terra, messe in bocca a singoli personaggi. Il Goldoni non conosceva punto la Dalmazia. Che se egli vi avesse soggiornato come p.e. il suo emulo Carlo Gozzi, gli sarebbe venuto fatto di comporre sulle avventure occorsegli, meglio che un drama d'effetto, fuori d'ogni verità, una bella e sana commedia, com'era da lui. [...] anche il nome [della protagonista] non ha proprio da vedere col nostro paese [...] Il Goldoni ha voluto – come si vede – glorificare governo e governati, pigliando due colombi ad una fava. Ma della Dalmazia aveva idee assai vaghe. E non pare che consti all'ingenuo poeta come una buona parte de' Dalmati fosse civile; e per lingua costumi e tradizione per nulla diversa dai Veneziani."

¹²³ Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806) went to Zadar in 1741, where he spent three years in military service under the Venetian *Provveditore Generale* for Dalmatia.

¹²⁴ "Come mai quando i drammi romanzeschi andavano a cielo e i martelliani non mettevano ancora orrore ai comici e al pubblico, nessuna compagnia pensò a disseppellire a Zara quella *Dalmatina* che il Goldoni scrisse proprio a esaltazione dei valorosi "schiavoni", i più fedeli sudditi della Serenissima? [...] Ma in quel drama manca purtroppo interamente il color locale nelle figure e nell'intreccio. Sarà ben questa la ragione per cui non ebbe fortuna fra noi." (Maddalena 1920: 899)

¹²⁵ Zandira's maiden name Beizic sounds like the surname Bezić from the Dalmatian island of Šolta.

¹²⁶ "una commedia a onorare i Dalmati, e segnatamente le donne di questa piccola povera nazione negletta ..."

¹²⁷ "A jezik Italije još je danas i uvijek će biti jezik trgovine i civilizacije u dalmatinskim pokrajinama, koje su se jednog dana podvrgavale Republici ne po navici ropske poslušnosti, nego zbog osjećaja jake i neprolazne ljubavi."

¹²⁸ "Né i Dalmati possono ancor oggi desiderare un elogio più alto, più caloroso di quello che il Goldoni tessé delle loro virtù native. Meglio giova ad essi riconoscersi nelle immagini oneste e attreanti di Zandira e di Radovich anzi che nella figura ponderosa ma sconsumata del mitico beone Craglievic Marko, assunto eroe nazionale della Serbia dopo aver militate coi Turchi oppressori della sua terra, il quale nelle rapsodie illiriche appare sempre troppo pronto ad ammazzare le donne che, come Rosanda, lo respingono, o che, come la Figlia del Re arabo, lo annoiano; e sovente non ha difficoltà a portar via alle sue amanti anche i quattrini. Il che può ammettersi forse tutto sommato, per un eroe balcanico, ma deve necessariamente ripugnare a coloro che, affacciati alla riva del nostro mare, respirano la civiltà e la moralità di un clima storico alquanto differente." (De Frenzi 1920)

¹²⁹ "È evidente che *La Dalmatina* rappresenta un atto sincero d'amor patrio in un momento in cui la Serenissima aveva bisogno del consenso e dell'appoggio morale di tutti i suoi figli." He even interprets it in the context of other Goldoni's plays that also conveyed, he claims, similar messages: "Si ricordi, a questo proposito, che sei anni prima, nel 1752, Goldoni aveva composto, sul medesimo argomento, una serenata, *L'amore della patria*, in onore del doge Loredan, così come per *La Dalmatina*, curandone da Parigi l'edizione per il Pasquali, pensò di dedicarla a Gian Francesco Pisani, procuratore di San Marco, del quale sottolinea – dopo

accenni alle giustificate apprensioni del momento – "l'eroico, costante amore" per la patria veneziana." (Del Beccaro 1979: 90)

¹³⁰ "... bisogna mettere in rilievo, ancora una volta, che quelli [versi] di lode al Leone sono senza sviluppo e si esauriscono in se stessi, mentre quelli che si riferiscono ai protagonisti dalmati trovano la loro verifica in molti altri affini e complementari e determinano non solo il carattere dei personaggi, ma tutta l'azione dell'opera. Per capire le divergenze di senso e di funzione fra i due aspetti fusi e forzamente interdipendenti degli encomiastici versi citati 'il veneziano' e 'il dalmata', il primo in cui l'acclamazione alla potenza del conquistatore-padrone terribile magiusto suona come un *cliché* retorico; il secondo in cui i versi di lode al carattere dei dalmati riflettono la simpatia più volte dimostrata dall'autore alla gente d'oltre mare – è necessario richiamare l'attenzione ad alcuni fatti ben noti concernenti l'orientamento ideologico di Goldoni, e ad altri, relativi ai suoi rapporti con gli 'schiavoni'." (Čale 1993: 144-145)

¹³¹ "... i popoli governa/ Con *saper*, con *giustizia*, e la *clemenza* alterna ..."

¹³² "Il giubillo, e le acclamazioni di codesta Serenissima Dominante per la elezione di Vostra Eccellenza alla sublime dignità di Procuratore per merito, arrivarono sino a Parigi, ed io, che m'interesso con rispettoso finale amore nel bene, e negli onori della mia Patria, mi sono consolato con me medesimo, e con tutti quelli che qui si trovano della nostra Nazione." (Goldoni 2005 [1758]: 145)

¹³³ "È vero, fra noi prevale l'avidità dell'oro;/ ma bella donna, e saggia è un singolar tesoro."

¹³⁴ "Avidi gli Affricano sono dell'oro, il sai?"

¹³⁵ "Benché in Affrica nato, la tirannia ho in orrore."

¹³⁶ "Frena il duol furibondo Cangia le voci insane./ Sei nell'Affrica, è vero, ma non fra tigri ircane."

¹³⁷ "Il ver della mia voce solo sperar tu puoi/ Non san le oneste donne mentir coi labbri suoi
..."

¹³⁸ "Scuso l'età, perdono a un innocente amore/ Temer non so mendace d'un dalmatino il
core."

¹³⁹ "ma il di lei cuor sincero mentir non è capace."

¹⁴⁰ "Fede, costanza, amore solo a te il cor destina; Sai che non sa mentire chi nata è
dalmatina."

¹⁴¹

Uomini siam noi pure, abbiam ragione in petto

Sentiam d'umanità, proviam tenero affetto

Frequenti in ogni terra si trovano gli eroi,

E trovansi per tutto i vili pari tuoi.

¹⁴² "La virtù, la giustizia regna per tutto il mondo/ Gradisco i doni tuoi, ma il cuor non ti
nascondo."

¹⁴³ "La commedia è stata ottimamente dai comici rappresentata. La valorosa signora Caterina
Bresciani ha sostenuto con tanto spirito, e verità il carattere della dalmatina, che ha meritato
gli applausi di tutti, e specialmente degli Schiavoni. Questi valorosi, fedelissimi sudditi della
Repubblica Serenissima di Venezia, quando intesero annunciare una donna illirica sulle
scene, temevano qualche tratto di licenza poetica sul carattere assai rispetabile della nazione, e
guai a me, se non l'avessi resa quella giustizia che merita; difficilmente me l'avrebbero
perdonata, e non so se avessi fatto il viaggio per Roma. Grazie al Signore nessuno si è mai
potuto per questa parte doler di me, e mi fu scritto per consolarmi che andavano i nazionali a
truppe co' loro spadoni a vedere la loro compatriota, facendo applauso all'onorato Radovich,
allora quando vantavasi di portare gelosamente: Il suo Leone in petto." (ibid.: 151-152)

¹⁴⁴ "Evvi in essa un certo greco, poco lodevole, ma è uno di quelli del tempo antico, temuti dai Troiani, quando ancora recavano loro dei donativi."

¹⁴⁵ For example, the success of *La Peruviana* (maybe the best reception of a play in the entire 18th century) testifies how it is important to research Goldoni's tragicomedies which were neglected so far. (Joly 1978: 204)

¹⁴⁶ Katja Radoš Perković criticizes these adaptations indicating that they trivialize and banalize original Goldoni's plays. (ibid.: 305-311)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

1. **Franco [Francesco] Sacchetti**, *Canzone distesa...*, second half of the 14th century, in Mirko Deanović 1915, pp. 366-367

Canzone distesa da Franco detto in Schiavonia

S' io mai peccai per far contra il superno
Or n' ho penitenza
In parte, che valenza
Tanta non ha ch' io senta alcun conforto,
Stando di lungi in un paese esterno
D' umana conosenza.
Gente con apparenza
Sì brutta veggio che m' han quasi morto.
Onde gran doglia in lor paese porto
[...]

E vanno con calzari cordati a maglie
Nel cuoio di vecchia troia,
E con mante' ch' a noia
Sono a veder di sì brutta schiavina;
Di lor capei rintorte le pendaglie
Veggendo par ch' io muoia;
Sì son di forte cuoia
Lucignolati ed unti di piscina.
Sanza vederli, con sì gran ruina,
Gittan lezzo di becco;
Assai mi stian di stecco,
Chè e' m' uccidon con puzzosa forza
Portando l' unghia grande come scorza.

Or chi volesse qui d' amare inizio
Tosto veder potrebbe
Femmina, che sarebbe
A par col diavol con suo' alti corni,
Nere, scontorte, fuor di bello indizio,
Che ciascuna darebbe,
Nel loco ove starebbe,
Dolore assai a chi le stessi in torni.
Le loro orecchi, che forati a torni
Son per metter lor cerchia
A cui la piace, benchè a tutti spiaccia
Veder sì brutta gente a faccia a faccia.

2. **Zuan Polo Liompardi** [alias Iuan Paulavichio], *Libero Del Rado Stizuxo*, Venetia, 1533

Oraciun de San Rado
E prego dio de celo

signiur de tutto mundo
e san Rado iocundo
che se uarda uostra chaxa
da pegola e da raxa
che fogo non ga bruxa
e da chaxa fumoxa
da dona rabiuxa
da lari e da furfanti
da marioli e chalchagnianti
da femena fratiera
e da hauer mal di piera
da strige e da striguni
da mal de strangoiuni

...

san Rado da Modrusa
che ue varda da ienduja
e da putane herbere
da gaiofe fratiere
da lare e da furfante
da scroue chalchagniante
e da doia de recchia
da putana vecchia
da hosto nouello
da chagar el buello
da mal de figao
da prete schieregao
da bastunada de orbo
da bechadura de corbo
da morsegadure de cani
da furia de villani
da zente doloruxe
da chize rabiuxe
e da ogni malatia
a me chusi sia
e che andemo in cielo suxo
dove e Rado stizuxo
e star con anzoli santi
in rugnia ragniorum
per fin vita sechula
sechalorum.
Amen.

3. **Zuan Polo Liompardi** [alias Iuan Paulavichio], *Libero de le vendette che fese i fioli de Rado stizoxo*, Venice, 1575

Zuan Polo Liompardi [alias Iuan Paulavichio], *Libero Del Rado Stizuxo*, Venice, 1533

Tuti cridaua sempre viua viua
signiur michulo chel fo fio del rado
e quel schiauuni tuti se vidiua
chel iera vn de latro piu gaiardo

cantaua canzuni bele con la piua
e dela porcho magniaua carne lardo
e con bon tempo a velo ga landeua
e trunfizando sdrauiza la feua. (Liompardi 1575: Canto quinto)

Lamento de Margarita

Ai boxe boxe boxe [O, God, God, God]
aida Margarita
ai grama del mio uita
senza Rado ... (Liompardi 1533)

El lamento de Licha

Ai mare margarita
ai maicha draga mia [O, my dear mother]
ai fior del schiauonia
uui ga iera. (Liompardi 1575: Canto duodecimo)

4. **Petar II Petrović Njegoš**, *Gorski vijenac*, 1847 [1981, pp. 70-71]

Fala Bogu, jest veliko čudo!
Vidi te li ovde u Kotoru
baš ovoga Sovru providura
i ostalu gospodu mletačku?
Voli su ti kokoš ali jaje
nego ovna ali grudu sira.
Koje čudo mogu na godinu
kokošakah oni pozobati!
Pa pogini u ono gospodstvo,
spušti kulje, a obrivi brke,
a pospi se po glavi pepelom,
a brnjice ka u žene uši.
Kako tridest napuni godinah,
svaki dođe kao babetina,
od bruke se gledati ne može;
kako pođi malo uza stube,
ublijedi kako rubetina
a nešto mu zaigraj pod grlom,
rekao bi, onaj čas umrije!

5. **Filip Grabovac**, *Esortazione amorosa...*, 1729

Esortazione amorosa di un zelante Dalmatino in verso illirico sopra il vestir abusivo al presente praticato da molti ufficiali della stessa nazione illirica omettendo l' antico uso eroico delli loro segnalati antenati appreso la Sereniss. Republica. Dedicato il poema al gran merito di Sua Eccel. il Sig. Zaccaria Vallaresso, Savio di T. F. alla Scrittura.

Što god Princip imade vojvoda
od hrvacke ruke i naroda,
ne imade boljega Hrvata
nad vojvodu Antuna Kumbata. [...]

A ostale neboge vojvode,
kako koje Taliju prohode,
učine se oni Talijaši
ter govore: "Mi nijesmo naši."

Kose briju, a peruke diju,
kalpak sviju, a klobuke viju
tere trču u sve nagle trke
u Taliju za obrijat brke.

Obrijaše svoje lipe vlase,
odbaciše svione pojase, [...]
igle zlatne, perje pozlačeno,
na lacmansku sve je obraćeno. [...]

Odvrgoše lipe ćorde britke,
pripasaše tupe ražnje vitke.
Da bi bili najbolji junaci,
kad ji vide, ne boje se Turci. [...]

Već principe, moja svitla kruno,
to je rugo Dalmacije puno:
gospodine, to j' u tvojoj ruci,
na hrvacku nuder jih obuci!

APPENDIX II

1. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 50]

Sembra un tratto di barbara indiscretezza l'uccidere il bue d'un poveruomo, per servirsi solamente d'una picciola porzione della carne e della pelle.

2. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 27]

È ben degno d'osservazione l'han, che sta vicino a queste macerie, quantunque anch'egli sia adesso rovinoso ed abbandonato alla barbarie de' Morlacchi abitatori delle campagne vicine, che vanno a prendervi materiali da impiegare nelle goffe loro fabbriche.

3. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 26]

Il castello, detto per eccellenza Brana o Vrana nel tempo della sua fondazione, è adesso un orrido ammasso di rovine, ridotto a questo stato dall'artiglieria veneziana.

4. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 64]

In alcuni distretti piantansi sulla berretta de' fiocchi di penne colorite, che rassomigliano a due corna; in alcuni altri vi mettono de' pennacchi tremolanti di vetro, in altri de' fiori finti che comprano alle marine; e fa d'uopo confessare che, fra la varietà di que' capricciosi e *barbari* ornamenti, vedesi qualche volta spiegata una sorte di genio.

5. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 64]

E donne e fanciulle portano al collo grossi fili di pallottole di vetro di varia grandezza e color *barbaricamente* confusi; alle mani quantità d'anella di stagno, d'ottone e d'argento; ai polsi smaniglie di cuoio coperte di lavori di stagno, o d'argento se sieno assai ricche.

6. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 69]

Condotta alla chiesa la sposa velata e coronata fra gli svati a cavallo, e compiute le sagre cerimonie, fra gli spari di pistole, d'archibugi e urli *barbarici* e grida rumorose d'allegrezza viene accompagnata alla casa paterna o a quella dello sposo se sia poco lontana.

7. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 83]

Un lungo urlo, ch'è un "*oh!*" modulato *barbaramente*, precede sempre il verso; le parole che lo formano sono rapidamente pronunziate quasi senz'alcuna modulazione, ch'è poi tutta riserbata all'ultima sillaba e finisce con un urlo allungato a foggia di trillo, che rialzi nello spirare. (ibid.: 83)

8. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 84]

Tutti i danzanti, uomini e donne, prendendosi per mano formano un circolo, e incominciano prima a girare lentamente ondeggiando, su le *rozze* e *monotone* note dello stromento [...] Il trasporto che hanno i Morlacchi per questa danza *selvaggia* è incredibile.

9. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 80]

Il canto eroico de' Morlacchi è flebile al maggior segno e *monotono*: usano anche di cantare un poco nel naso, il che s'accorda benissimo collo stromento cui suonano; i versi delle più antiche loro canzoni tradizionali sono di dieci sillabe, non rimati. Queste poesie hanno de' tratti forti d'espressione, ma appena qualche lampo di fuoco d'immaginazione, né quello ancora è sempre felice.

10. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 80]

Esse fanno però un grand'effetto sull'anima degli ascoltanti, che a poco a poco le imparano a memoria; io ne ho veduto alcuno piagnere e sospirare per qualche tratto, che a me non risvegliava veruna commozione.

11. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, pp. 80-81]

È probabile che il valore delle parole illiriche meglio inteso dai Morlacchi abbia prodotto questo effetto; o forse, il che mi sembra più ragionevole, le anime loro semplici e poco arricchite d'idee raffinate hanno bisogno di piccioli urti per scuotersi.

12. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 82]

La città di Ragusi ha prodotto molti poeti elegantissimi, ed anche delle poetesse di lingua illirica, fra' quali è celebratissimo Giovanni Gondola; né le altre città litorali e dell'isole di Dalmazia ne furono sprovviste, ma i troppo frequenti italianismi ne' dialetti loro introdottisi, hanno alterato di molto l'antica semplicità della lingua. I conoscitori di essa (col più dotto de' quali, ch'è l'arcidiacono Matteo Sovich di Ossero, io ho avuto su di questo particolare lunghissime conferenze) trovano egualmente barbaro e ripieno di voci e frasi straniere il dialetto de' Morlacchi.

13. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 43]

L'origine de' Morlacchi, [...] è involta nelle tenebre de' secoli *barbari*.

14. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 46]

Egli è un difetto pur troppo comune agli scrittori d'origini questo trar conseguenze universali da piccioli e particolarissimi dati, dipendenti pell'ordinario da circostanze eventuali e passeggere.

15. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 42]

Sarà pur troppo vero che dopo le ultime guerre coi Turco, i Morlacchi, abituati all'impunità dell'omicidio e del predare, avranno dato qualche esempio di crudeltà sanguinaria e di rapine violente: ma quali sono mai state le truppe che, ritornate dalla guerra e licenziate dall'esercizio dell'armi contro il nemico del proprio Sovrano, non abbiano, sciogliendosi, popolato i boschi e le vie pubbliche d'assassini e di malviventi?

16. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 50]

Il pericolo maggiore che potrebbe temersi, viene dalla quantità di Haiduci che suol ritirarsi pelle grotte e pe' boschi dell'aspre e rovinose montagne di quel confine. Non bisogna però farsene paura oltremodo. Il ripiego, per viaggiare con sicurezza ne' luoghi alpestri, si è appunto quello di prendere per isorta una coppia di que' galantuomini, che non sono capaci d'un tradimento. (Fortis 2010: 50)

17. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 52]

mettendo le mani nelle cause della loro misera situazione, si trovano pell'ordinario casi più atti a destar compassione che diffidenza. [...] Eglino menano una vita da lupi errando fra precipizi dirupati e inaccessibili, aggrappandosi di sasso in sasso per iscoprir da lunge le insidie, agitati da un continuo sospetto, esposti all'intemperie delle stagioni, privi sovente del necessario alimento, costretti ad arrischiare la vita per procurarselo, e languenti nelle più orrende e disabitate sinuosità delle caverne. Non sarebbe da meravigliarsi, se frequentemente si udissero tratti d'atrocità da questi uomini insalvatichiti, e irritati dal sentimento sempre presente d'una sì miserabile situazione; è ben da stupire che, lungi dall'intraprendere cos'alcuna contro le persone alle quali credono dovere le proprie calamità, essi rispettino pell'ordinario la tranquillità de' luoghi abitati, e sieno scorte fedeli de' viandanti.

18. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, pp. 42-43]

Io mi credo di dovere alla nazione, da cui sono stato così ben accolto e umanamente trattato, un'amplissima apologia, scrivendo ciò che personalmente delle sue inclinazioni e costumi ho veduto; e tanto più volentieri secondo questa mia disposizione, quanto meno sospetto d'interessatezza posso incontrare, non dovendo io probabilmente mai più ritornare ne' luoghi della Morlacchia, dove sono già stato.

19. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 54]

Il rituale slavonico ha una particolare benedizione per congiungere solennemente due amici, o due amiche, alla presenza di tutto il popolo. Io mi sono trovato presente all'unione di due fanciulle, che si facevano *posestre* nella chiesa di Perussich. La contentezza che trapelava dagli occhi loro, dopo d'avere stretto quel sacro legame, provava agli astanti quanta delicatezza di sentimento possa allignare nell'anime non formate o, per meglio dire, non corrotte dalla società, che noi chiamiamo colta. Gli amici così solennemente uniti chiamansi *pobratimi*, le donne *posestrime*, ch'è quanto a dire *mezzo-fratelli* e *mezzo-sorelle*. (ibid.: 54)

20. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 52]

Io non mi dimenticherò per sin che avrò vita dell'accoglienza e trattamento cordiale fattomi dal *vojvoda* Pervan a Coccorich. Il mio solo merito era d'essere amico d'una famiglia d'amici suoi. Egli mandò monture e scorte a incontrarmi, mi ricolmò di tutte le squisitezze dell'ospitalità nazionale ne' pochi giorni ch'io mi trattenni in que' luoghi, mi fece scortare dal proprio figlio e dalle sue genti sino alle campagne di Narenta, che sono una buona giornata lontane dalle di lui case, e mi premunì di vettovaglie abbondantemente, senza che potessi spendere in tutto questo un quattrino. Dopo che fui partito dall'albergo di sì buon ospite, egli e tutta la sua famiglia mi seguì cogli occhi, né si ritirò in casa che nel momento in cui mi perdettero di vista.

21. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 48]

La poco buon' amicizia che hanno gli abitatori delle città marittime, veri discendenti delle colonie romane, pe' Morlacchi, e il profondo disprezzo che ad essi e agl'isolani vicini rendono questi per contraccambio, sono anche forse indizi d'antica ruggine fra le due razze. Il Morlacco piegasi dinanzi al gentiluomo delle città, e all'avvocato di cui ha bisogno, ma non lo ama; egli confonde poi nella classe dei *bòdoli* tutto il resto della gente con cui non ha interessi, e a questo nome di *bodolo* attacca un'idea di strapazzo.

22. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, pp. 51-52]

Il Morlacco, che abita lontano dalle sponde del mare e da' luoghi presidiati, è generalmente parlando un uomo morale assai diverso da noi. La sincerità, fiducia ed onestà di queste buone genti, sì nelle azioni giornaliere della vita come ne' contratti, degenera qualche volta in soverchia dabbenaggine e semplicità. Gl'Italiani che commerciano in Dalmazia, e gli abitanti medesimi del litorale ne abusano pur troppo spesso; quindi è che la fiducia de' Morlacchi è scemata di molto, e va scemando ogni giorno più, per dar luogo al sospetto e alla diffidenza. Le replicate sperienze ch'essi hanno avuto degl'Italiani, han fatto passare in proverbio fra loro la nostra malafede. Eglino dicono per somma ingiuria egualmente "*passia-viro*" e "*lanzmanzka-viro*", fede di cane e fede d'Italiano.

23. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 54]

L'amicizia, così soggetta anche per minimi motivi a cangiamento fra noi, è costantissima fra i Morlacchi. Eglino ne hanno fatto quasi un punto di religione, e questo sacro vincolo stringesi appiè degli altari.

24. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 52]

Questo affettuoso congedo mi destò nell'anima una commozione, ch'io non avea mai provata sino allora, né spero di provare sovente viaggiando in Italia. (ibid.: 52)

25. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, pp. 55-56]

Se le amicizie de' Morlacchi non peranche corrotti sono forti e sacre, le inimicizie loro sono poi per lo più inestinguibili, [...] La vendetta è così immedesimata nell'anima di questa nazione, che tutti i missionari del mondo non basterebbono a sradicarnela.

26. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 73]

Essi non le nominano giammai, parlando con persona rispettabile, senza premettere l'escusatoria "*con vostra sopportazione*"; il più colto Morlacco, dovendo far menzione della moglie sua, dice sempre "*da prostitute, moia xena*", "vogliate perdonarmi, mia moglie". (Fortis 2010: 73)

27. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 73-74]

Io ho dormito più volte in casa di Morlacchi, e sono stato a portata di veder quasi universalmente praticato questo disprezzo al sesso femminile, che se lo merita colassù, dove non è punto amabile o gentile, anzi deforma e guasta i doni della natura.

28. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 61]

Fra le due comunioni latina e greca passa, secondo il solito, una perfettissima disarmonia; e i rispettivi ministri delle Chiese non mancano di fomentarla: i due partiti raccontano mille storielle scandalose l'uno dell'altro. Le chiese de' Latini sono povere, ma non assai sporche; quelle de' Greci sono egualmente povere, e sudice vergognosamente.

29. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 59]

Sieno della comunione romana, o della greca que' popoli hanno stranissime idee in proposito di religione; e l'ignoranza di coloro che dovrebbero illuminarli, fa che divenghino ogni giorno più mostruosamente complicate.

30. **Alberto Fortis**, Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774 [2010, p. 60]

Sua Riverenza faceva e fa forse ancora questo racconto, giurandone la verità sul suo petto; né la buona gente si credeva o si crede permesso di sospettare, che il vino l'avesse fatta travedere, o che le due femmine, una delle quali non era vecchia, fossero volate via per tutt'altra ragione che per essere streghe.

APPENDIX III

1. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La calamita de' cuori*, 1753, I, lines 9-13

ARMIDORO
Amor, tu che ricovri
su queste arene sconosciuta ancora
la bella che innamora,
a me concedi di sua destra il dono,
ché fra gli amanti il più costante io sono.

2. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La calamita de' cuori*, 1753, I, lines 30-32

ARMIDORO
Se apprezza il di lei cuore
la costanza e la fede,
all'amor mio non negherà mercede.

3. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La calamita de' cuori*, 1753, I, lines 17-20

SARACCA
Eh, corponon di Bacco,
cacerò tutti in sacco.
Amor, me la concedi colle buone,
o me la prendo con un cospettone.

4. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La calamita de' cuori*, 1753, I, lines 14-16)

PIGNONE
A me fa che si unisca,
Nume accorto e sagace,
Costei che a tutti piace.

5. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La calamita de' cuori*, 1753, I, lines 23-25

GIACINTO
Chi vuol rendersi grato
all'idolo amoroso,
esser d'ée, qual son io, bello e vezzoso.

6. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La calamita de' cuori*, 1753, I, lines 33-34

GIACINTO
S'ella fa conto della leggiadria,
Bellarosa senz'altro sarà mia.

7. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La calamita de' cuori*, I, lines 113-121

BELLAROSA
Procuro con giudizio

Di dar nel genio a chi trattar mi vuole.
 Buone grazie e parole,
 A tutti ne dispenso.
 E sian belli o sian brutti,
 O da vero o da scherzo, io lodo tutti.
 Questo è quel che mi giova
 A far ch'io sia stimata e ben veduta
 Dove son forastiera e sconosciuta.

8. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La calamita de' cuori*, III, lines 1248-1255

BELLAROSA
 Di quattro amanti
 Essere non poss'io.
 Adempio il dover mio,
 A Belinda lasciando il suo Saracca,
 Ad Albina Armidoro,
 E all'avaro Pignone il suo tesoro.
 Giacinto non ha impegni ed è amoroso;
 Non fo torto a nessun se 'l fo mio sposo.

9. **Pietro Chiari**, *Il poeta comico*, 1758, p. 76

ZANETTO
 L'autor vol de Commedie mostrar tutta la pratica;
 E de no aver el mostra principio de grammatica.
 In otto sole pagine ghè trenta solecismi:
 In ogni riga almanco ghè quattro barbarismi.

10. **Giambattista Vicini**, *Un Chiarista al Protopapà dei Goldonisti. Sonetto dedicato al merito singolarissimo del Sig. Stef. Sciugliaga Mercante di Vin di Cipro*, in Giuseppe Ortolani 1905, p. 505

È venuto a un mercante raguseo
 Un parossismo tal d'ippocondria,
 che stanco d'esser scriba fariseo,
 s'è posto a far lo scriba in poesia.
 Nato di sangue torpido e plebeo
 Lo fe' rinascere una vecchia arpia,
 fatto d'una sartora cicisbeo,
 mangiò dote, denari e mercanzia.
 Povero pazzo! Non è buon servente,
 perché già un'altra l'ha ridotto al verde,
 e poeta non è, se non sa niente.
 Neppur è Raguseo, se il suo disperde,
 Ragusi tien tal vincitor possente,
 e da Goldoni ei tien, ch'oggi la perde.

APPENDIX IV

1. **Carlo Goldoni**, *Ircana in Julfa*, 1755 [2003, p. 293]

TAMAS Morto m'avran; ragione hanno sulla mia vita
Un genitore offeso, una sposa tradita.
ALÌ Ma se il destino offrisse a Fatima infelice
Uno sposo novello?
TAMAS Ah, ch'io sarei felice.
Ma son vane lusinghe del tuo amor, del tuo zelo.
Tanta felicitade non mi promette il cielo.
ALÌ Tamas, chi sa? T'accheta, non disperar.

2. **Carlo Goldoni**, *Ircana in Julfa*, 1755 [2003, p. 321]

TAMAS Parla, Ali. Che ci rechi?
IRCANA Quali speranze, Ali?
ALÌ Or che parlar mi è dato, sciolgo per voi gli accenti;
Nunzio sono agli afflitti di fortunati eventi.
Tamas non ha più sposa. La strinse altro desio
A uno sposo novello.
TAMAS E chi sarà?
ALÌ Son io.
TAMAS Oh amico!
IRCANA Oh caro Ali!

3. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La bella selvaggia*, 1757 [1831a, p. 520]

ZADIR
Di tua pietà due volte fu la mia vita un dono:
Di tal esempio in faccia, so che un ingrato io sono.
E per potere appieno ricompensar tuoi doni.
Sopra il cor di Delmira a te cedo le ragioni:
Amala che sia tua, che di tal sorte è degna,
La tua virtude, Alonso, ad emularti insegna.

4. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 158]

IRCANA
Donna fra' Maumettani, sia schiava, o sia consorte,
Deve qual rea cattiva viver tra ferree porte;
E rendersi può solo il carcer men penoso
Dall'amor di colui, che è signor nostro, e sposo.

5. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 160]

CURCUMA
Figlia, se tal promessa a te fia poi serbata,
Poi dir, che la fenice in Persia hai ritrovata;
Che un uom di donna sola contentisi è un portento:

Vorrebbero i Persiani possederne anche cento.
Oh maledetta legge, fatta dall'uomo ingrato,
Che rende di noi donne sì misero lo stato!

6. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 160]

CURCUMA

Compagne son dell'uomo le donne in altro clima;
Servito è il sesso nostro, e si onora, e si stima;
E se d'[un] uomo solo dee contentarsi, almeno
Posto è da pari legge anche ai mariti il freno.

7. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 155]

TAMAS

Noi non godiam quel bene, che agli Europei vien dato;
Donna mirar non sua, è al Maomettan vietato.
Itali, Galli, Ispani, Angli, Germani e Greci
Non pon, qual noi possiamo, otto tenerne o dieci;
Ma per le vie scoperte mirarle a cento a cento,
E vagheggiarle almeno possono a lor talento.
E pur serba l'Europa fra gli abitanti suoi,
Chi un serraglio infelice suol invidiare a noi,
Come se d'un legame, che a lor molesto è reso,
Non si dovesse a noi moltiplicare il peso.

8. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, pp. 171-172]

OSMANO

Figlia, questo che premi, del tuo sposo il suolo:
Fuor del paterno impero, devi obbedir lui solo.
[...]
L'obbedienza, che usasti ai genitor severi,
Usala in avvenire dello sposo agl'imperi;
Che se obbedisti il padre talor con qualche stento,
Nell'obbedir lo sposo troverai più contento.
Amalo, e coll'amore anche il servir sia misto,
Se vuoi del di lui cuore formar l'intero acquisto. [my italics]

9. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 172]

OSMANO

Schiave avrà il tuo consorte, l'uso comun ti è noto,
Non esca dal tuo labbro contro di loro un voto;
Ma vincerle procura, accanto al tuo diletto,
In amore, in dolcezza, in virtude, in rispetto;
Ed ei, trovando il merto col casto nodo unito,
Amerà con costanza gli amplessi di marito.
[...]

Ama quel che amar lice, non quel che giova, e piace;
Serba, promovi, e cura la domestica pace:
Misura con l'onesto e l'utile, e il diletto,
Prima il ciel, poi lo sposo: soffri, conosci; ho detto.

10. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 173]

MACHMUT

Se il figlio mio non langue, tosto che può mirarti,
Usa di sposa amante, i vezzi, i sguardi, e l'arti.
Soffri da prima il gelo, o lo vedrai fra poco
Ardere ai tuoi bei lumi, ardere al tuo bel foco.
Vietare io non potei, per legge, o per costume,
Ch'egli non rimirasse di qualche schiava il lume.
Ma spero (e lo vedrai) che sol di te contento,
Ogni straniero fuoco nel suo cor sarà spento.

11. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 174]

FATIMA

Negletta s'io mi vedo per una schiava audace,
Come tacer penando? come soffrirlo in pace?
E se un divorzio ingrato mi torna al genitore,
Qual menerei mai vita tra il dispetto e il rossore?

12. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 175]

FATIMA

Dolce obbedire a sposo, che può volere, e prega;
Squarcierò il velo ingrato, che disciogliersi niega.
Ecco la sposa vostra, ecco la vostra ancella (si scuopre),
Che v'ama, che v'adora.

13. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La bella selvaggia*, 1757 [1831a, p. 556]

SCHICHIRAT

Solamente una cosa da noi non praticata .
Piacemi estremamente, e parmi delicata .
Quel, che vino chiamate. Jeri ne ho tracannato
Quattro vasi ricolmi, e poi mi ho addormentato.
Che bel piacer quand'uno qualche dolor si sente,
Colla bevanda in corpo dormir sì dolcemente!
Non ho provato al mondo pia amabile diletto.
Il vin rallegra i spiriti, il vin riscalda il petto.
Se altro voi non aveste di buon, che il solo vino,
Sol per questa cagione vi venero e v'inchino.
Sì , starei volentieri coi schiavi alla catena,
Purchè mi permettessero di bere a pancia piena;
E anche mi adatterei a far qualche mestiere,
Se il vino in abbondanza mi dessero da bere.

14. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 210]

CURCUMA

Ecco il caffè, signore, caffè in Arabia nato
(Ali beve il caffè mentre ella ragiona),
E dalle caravane in Ispaan portato.
L'arabo certamente sempre è il caffè migliore,
Mentre spunta da un lato, mette dall'altro il fiore.
Nasce in pingue terreno, vuol ombra, e poco sol;
Piantare ogni tre anni l'arboscello si suole.
Il frutto non è vero che esser debba piccino,
Anzi deve esser grosso, basta sia verdolino.
Usarlo indi conviene di fresco macinato,
In luogo caldo, e asciutto con gelosia guardato.
[...]
A farlo vi vuol poco;
Mettervi la sua dose, e non versarlo al fuoco.
Far sollevar la spuma, poi abbassarla a un tratto,
Sei sette volte almeno, il caffè presto è fatto.

15. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La sposa persiana*, 1753 [2003, p. 163-164]

MACHMUT

Del terso e bianco riso sodo pilò sia fatto,
Di burro, e droghe carco, nel color contrafatto.
Sieno in minuti pezzi nello schidion girati,
D'aromati nutriti i migliori castrati.
Lepri, maiali ed altre carni vietate immonde
Non sianvi alla mia mensa; cerchinle i ghiotti altronde.
Del bove in acqua pura al più l'uso permetto,
Salse bandisco, e suglihi, e ogni manicaretto,
Lasciando agli Europei la follia, ch'io deploro,
Di accellerar coi cibi il fin de' giorni loro.

16. **Carlo Goldoni**, *Il festino*, 1757 [1831b, pp. 403-404]

BAR[ONESSA OLIVA]

Cogli abiti, col verso, col merto degli attori,
Con qualche novità l'autor la porta fuori.

MAD[AMA DORALICE]

Eppure è un'opra tale, che trentaquattro sere
Ha sempre fatto gente, e a tutti diè piacere.

MAR[CHESA DOGLIATA]

A tutti? Se sentiste quel che ne dicon tanti!
Vi è chi l'ha esaminata ben ben da tutti i canti;
E vi ha trovato dentro di molte improprietà.

BAR[ONESSA OLIVA]

Dicon che nei caratteri non ci sia verità.

[...]

BAR[ONESSA OLIVA]

Appunto con tal donna [Curcuma] l'autor preso ha dei sbagli.
Son savie, son matrone le vecchie dei serragli.
Meglio doveva gli usi esaminar dei popoli.
Vi sono dei serragli anche in Costantinopoli.
MAR: L'autor di quei di Persia dipinto ha il ver costume.
Dai viaggiatori ha preso norma, consiglio e lume:
E accordano i migliori, che sono tai custodi
Esperte nell'inganno, maestre delle frodi.

17. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La bella selvaggia*, 1757 [1831a, p. 562]

DELMIRA

Nata io son fra le selve, voi nato in bel terreno,
Ma l'onor, la virtude da voi s'apprezza meno. .
Voi della patria vostra poco amate il decoro
Io la virtute apprezzo, e la mia patria onoro.

18. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La bella selvaggia*, 1757 [1831a, p. 563]

DELMIRA

Nata di sangue illustre siete in real cittade,
A comandare avvezza fin dalla prima etade.
[...]
Ma confessar dovrete, che in mezzo a tai splendori,
Miraste con dispetto i gradi a voi maggiori.
E il verme dell'invidia nascosto io ogni seno,
Vi macerava il core d'ogni plebeo non meno .
Fra queste selve oscure dove siam tutti eguali,
Il merto non consiste nel sangue e nei natali .
Non si distingue il grado, ma apprezzasi di più
Chi supera nel pregio d'onore e di virtù.
Questi son veri beni che ognun da se procura.
Negli altri non ha merito, che il caso e la natura.

19. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La bella selvaggia*, 1757 [1831a, p. 553]

CAMUR

Degli Europei siam servi, schiavi ci vuol la sorte;
Ma in servitude io serbo cuor generoso e forte.
Segui tu pur l'esempio. A rei conquistatori
Cela la tua viltade, nascondi i tuoi timori
Veggano quei superbi che chiamanci selvaggi
Che Siam di lor più forti, che siam di lor più saggi.

APPENDIX V

1. Carlo Gozzi, *The Memoirs of Count Carlo Gozzi*, 1797 [1890, pp. 237-238]

... but the exportation of the Morlacchi cost his Excellency the greatest trouble. These ruffianly wild beasts, wholly destitute of education, are aware that they are subjects of Venice; yet their firm resolve is to indulge lawless instincts for robbery and murder as they list, refusing obedience in all things which do not suit their inclinations. To reason with them is the same as talking in a whisper to the deaf. They simply resisted the command to form themselves into a troop and leave their lairs for Italy.

Their chiefs, who were educated men, brave and loyal to their prince, strained every nerve to carry out these orders. It was found needful to recall the bandits, who swarm throughout those regions, outlawed for every sort of crime – robberies, homicides, arson, and such-like acts of heroism. Bribes too were offered of bounties and advanced pay, in order to induce the wild and stubborn peasants to cross the seas. I was present at the review of these Anthropophagi; for indeed they hardly merited a more civilised title. It took place on the beach of Zara under the eyes of the Provveditore, with ships under sail, ready for the embarkation of the conscripts. Pair by pair, they came up and received their stipend; upon which they expressed their joy by howling out some barbarous chant, and dancing off together with uncouth gambols to the transport ships. I revered God's handiwork in these savages while deploring their bad education, and felt a passing wish to explore the Eden of eternal beatitude in which the Morlacchi dwell.

It is certain that the Italian cities under our benign government were more disturbed than guarded by these brutal creatures. At Verona, in particular, they indulged their appetite for thieving, murdering, brawling, and defying discipline, without the least regard for orders. At the close of few months, they had to be sent back to their caves, in order to deliver the Veneto from an unbearable incubus. ... [of] this indomitable flock of rams.

2. Carlo Goldoni, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, I, 3, pp. 158-159]

(I use the most representative edition of *Dalmatina* from 2005, edited by Anna Scannapieco. In every citation, I quote the Act firstly, then the Scene, and finally the page numbers.)

ZANDIRA

Il ver dalla mia voce solo sperar tu puoi.
Non san le oneste donne mentir coi labbri suoi;
Sia di me, di mia sorte quello che il ciel dispone,
Amo più della vita l'onor di mia *nazione*.
Della mia *patria* il nome a trionfare avvezzo
So che farà maggiore delle disgrazie il prezzo.
So che l'inamicizia fra il vostro sangue e il mio
In vopi di mie catene può accrescere il desio.
Pure, se il ver mi chiedi, sveloti il vero ardità;
Pria di negar la *patria*, perder saprei la vita.
In *illirica terra* nacqui, non lo nascondo
Ho nelle vene un *sangue* noto e famoso al mondo.
Sangue d'illustri eroi, d'eterna Gloria erede
Che alla sua vita istessa sa preferir la fede;
Che più d'ogni grandezza ama *il nation* splendore,
Che la fortezza ispira e il militar valore.

Della *Dalmazia* in seno ho il mio natal sortito
 Dove *l'adriatico mare* bagna pietoso il lito.
 Dove goder concede *felicitade intera*
 Il *Leon generoso* che dolcemente impera.
 Sì, quell *Leone invitto* che i popoli governa
 Con saper, con giustizia, e la clemenza alterna;
 Che sa premiare il metro, che sa punir l'audace,
 Che nel suo vasto impero fa rifiorir la pace.
 L'*almo Leon temuto*, cui della fede il zelo
 Caro agli uomini rende, e lo protegge il cielo.

3. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, V, ultima, p. 228]

RADOVICH

Signor, vano soccorso di mendicar non giova:
 Il soccorso non manca 've Radovich si trova.
 Pria di spiegar le vele verso il paterno tetto,
 tutti i schiavi europei di riscattar prometto.
 [...]

Nulla da voi richiedo in ricompensa, o amici ,
 premio siami il contento di rendervi felici;
 premio co' suoi tesori, premio conceda il cielo
 all'amor della patria, e della fede al zelo;
 [...]

(a *Lisauro*)

pénititi dei trascorsi, torna alla sposa allato.
 Ti riscattai, credendoti nato in terren schiavone,
 godo di averlo fatto per un di tua nazione;
 tutti son miei fratelli i sudditi felici ,
 che del Leon son nati sotto i gloriosi auspici.

4. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, V, ultima, p. 229]

ZANDIRA

Ah sì, del suolo illirico, e dell'Europa intera
 sei Radovich l'esempio, tu sei la gloria vera.
 Tu mi risvegli in petto della mia patria il vanto,
 e trattener non posso per tenerezza il pianto.
 Pianto di gioia è questo di una viltà incapace,
 non ti pensar ch' io pianga per traditor mendace .
 L'amai per un inganno, poscia è l'amor durato
 finché quel cor non vidi di fellonia macchiato;
 ora dal sen lo stacca col più geloso impegno
 un che vantare il nome della mia patria ò indegno.
 Sì, Radovich pietoso, sei liberal con tutti;
 fa' che goder io possa di tua bontade i frutti .
 Deh se per mia fortuna tua il genitor mi rese,
 scordati del passato non rammentar le offese.
 Rendami il pentimento degna del tuo perdono,
 chiamami ancor tua sposa, dammi la destra in dono

5. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, V, ultima, p. 230]

ZANDIRA

Deh Radovich pietoso, che nel mio amor confidi,
partiam da queste arene, torniamo ai patri lidi.
Fede, costanza, amore, solo a te il cuor destina,
sai che non sa mentire chi nata è dalmatina.
Questo costume antico del nostro ciel si ammira,
nuovo zel, nuova fede chi vi comanda inspira;
e per mare, e per terra siete alla gloria nati
oh dell'adriaco impero popoli fortunati!

6. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, I, 1, p. 155]

IBRAIM

So chi è costei; fra quante schiave da noi fur prese,
forse è l'unica donna che col suo bel mi accese;
e tanto non mi piacque il bel del suo sembiante,
quanto la sua virtude render mi puote amante,

7. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, I, 3, p. 161]

IBRAIM

Questa gentil fierezza, questo tuo nobil vanto
Cresce al mio cor, Zandira, l'incominciato incanto.
Piacque mi il tuo sembiante tosto ch'io ti mirai,
ma la bella virtude supera il bel dei rai.

8. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, I, 1, p. 156]

MARMUT

Farlo promisi, è vero, ma penso poi che in mare
Alì perir potrebbe, schiavo potrebbe andare,
che tu perder potresti un utile sicuro
ed io per un incerto, il certo non trascurò.

9. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, V, 1, p. 222]

IBRAIM

Sono i tuoi pari, indegno
Per cui barbaro è ditto degli Affricani il regno,
Pochi corsar feroci, pochi sensali vari,
Che vendon l'altrui sangue per merci o per danari,
Bastano a screditare l'onor di questi lidi,
Fan che da noi si credono della barbarie i nidi.

10. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, III, 6, p. 198]

CANADIR

carco finor ti rendo di benefizi, e doni,
 fé prometti alla sposa, l'inganni e l'abbandoni?
 Questo della tua patria è l'onorevol grido
 che ai Dalmati recasti, che or pòrti a questo lido?
 Qual della greca fede avrà concetto il mondo,
 di tradimenti un greco nel rimirar fecondo!
 Di tal ingrato eccesso, di tai pensieri audaci
 quei che barbari appelli, no, non sarian capaci,
 ché d'onestà le leggi sono nell'uom le prime,
 che dappertutto il cielo, e la natura imprime.
 Alza i lumi dal suolo, mirami traditore,
 dimmi se almen risenti in faccia mia rossore.

11. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, IV, 6, p. 216]

RADOVICH

Perfido! se mentire il tuo natal pretendi,
 la mia nazion tradisci, la tua nazione offendi .
 Grecia ò patria onorata, madre d'eccelsi eroi.
 tu ti conosci indegno di star fra figli suoi.
 E la mia patria illustre specchio d'onor, di fede
 Sdegna in te menzognero un vergognoso erede.

12. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, IV, 6, p. 217]

RADOVICH

L'isola fortunata ne' lidi suoi felici
 dell'Adriatico impero gode qual noi gli auspici.
 Vanne, in te del mio principe un suddito rispetto
 Ho la mia patria in core, ho il mio Leone in petto.

13. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, I, 10, pp. 168-169]

RADOVICH

Accostati, chi sei?

LISAURO (Fingere a me conviene)

Signore, ho anch'io l'onore d'esser di tua nazione.

Spalatro è la mia patria, civil m'ia condizione;

nel militar mestiere fu noto il padre mio

Stiepo Calabrovich; son militare anch'io

(Il labbro di Zandira farò sì unisca meco). (da sé)

MARMUT

(Bravo. Schiavon si finge; ma io lo so, ch'è un greco).

RADOVICH

Sai chi son io?

LISAURO

Conosco de' Radovicci il nome

so che i marziali allori ti coronar le chiome.

Nota è la tua virtude alle natie contrade,

e so che gl'infelici ti destano a pietade.

MARMUT
(È adulator perfetto!)

14. **Carlo Goldoni**, *La dalmatina*, 1758 [2005, V, ultima, p. 229]

RADOVICH
Ibraim generoso, alle natie contrade
noi promettiamo il vanto recar di tua pietade,
narrando a chi vi crede barbari ed inumani,
che la virtude impera ancor fra gli Affricani.
Di me tu pur rammenta, narra ai corsari tuoi,
Che a rispettarci imparino, che temino di noi.
Ch'è della gloria illirica il mar pieno, e la terra,
che siam fedeli in pace, e vittoriosi in guerra.