

International Journal *of* Euro-Mediterranean Studies

VOLUME 11 | 2018 | NUMBER 1 | SPECIAL ISSUE

Crossing Borders in Mediterranean Travel Writing

INTRODUCTION

Nataša Urošević, guest editor

SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

Constructing Identities. The Travel Experience of Elizaveta De Vitte and Rebecca West: A Compared Study Between Two Committed Women-Travellers

Cristina Cugnata

SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

Montenegro in Travel Accounts of Italian Authors in the Period of Balkan Wars

Olivera Popović

SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

Travelling Poets During the Greek Dictatorship: Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios in Italy

Amanda Skamagka

SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

Horizons and Limes of Travelogue with a Thesis – Rumiz's Journey Along the Adriatic and Ionian Coasts Through History

Vedad Spahić, Dragoslav Dedović

Résumés

Povzetki

ملخصات



International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies

ISSN 1855-3362 (printed)

ISSN 2232-6022 (online)

The aim of the International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies is to promote intercultural dialogue and exchanges between societies, develop human resources, and to assure greater mutual understanding in the Euro-Mediterranean region.

L'objectif de la revue internationale d'études Euro-Méditerranéennes est de promouvoir le dialogue interculturel et les échanges entre les sociétés, développer les ressources humaines et assurer une compréhension mutuelle de qualité au sein de la région euro-méditerranéenne.

Namen Mednarodne revije za evro-sredozemske študije je spodbujanje medkulturnega dialoga in izmenjav, razvoj človeških virov in zagotavljanje boljšega medsebojnega razumevanja v evro-mediteranski regiji.

The International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies (IJEMS) is indexed in Scopus, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Directory of Open Access Journals, Index Islamicus, OCLC, and Summon by Serial Solutions.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS
Manuscripts should be submitted electronically via e-mail ijems@emuni.si. Manuscripts are accepted on the understanding that they are original and not under simultaneous consideration by any other publication. Submitted manuscripts are subject to anti-plagiarism control.

All manuscripts are double-blind peer reviewed.
For detailed instructions about the style and content of papers, please see our author guidelines at www.ijems.emuni.si.

The International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies is published in English with abstracts in Slovenian, French and Arabic language. The journal is free of charge.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE

The *International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies* is an Open Access Journal distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. Copyright for all articles published in IJEMS is held by individual authors.
No author fees are charged.



PUBLISHED BY
Euro-Mediterranean University
Kidričevo nabrežje 2
SI-6330 Piran, Slovenia
Phone +386 59 25 00 56
Fax +386 59 25 00 54
www.ijems.emuni.si
ijems@emuni.si



Print run: 200
Printed by Demat d. o. o., Ljubljana

This publication is co-funded by



International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies *Table of Contents*

3 Introduction

Nataša Urošević, guest editor

9 Constructing Identities. The Travel Experience of Elizaveta De Vitte and Rebecca West: A Compared Study Between Two Committed Women-Travellers

Cristina Cugnata

29 Montenegro in Travel Accounts of Italian Authors in the Period of Balkan Wars

Olivera Popović

49 Travelling Poets During the Greek Dictatorship: Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios in Italy

Amanda Skamagka

69 Horizons and Limes of Travelogue with a Thesis – Rumiz's Journey Along the Adriatic and Ionian Coasts Through History

Vedad Spahić, Dragoslav Dedović

93 Abstracts

97 Résumés

102 Povzetki

106 ملخصات



INTRODUCTION

This special issue contains selected papers presented at the *Borders and Crossings International and Multidisciplinary Conference on Travel Writing*, which was held in Pula and on the Brijuni Islands in September 2018 (<https://www.unipu.hr/borders2018>). The conference, organized by the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, was a special occasion to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the 'Borders and Crossings' conference, the regular meeting of scholars interested in the issues of travel, travel writing and tourism in a unique historic environment of Pula and the Brijuni Islands National Park. The previous conferences were held in Derry (1998), Brest (2000), Versailles (2002), Ankara (2003), Birmingham (2004), Palermo (2006), Nuoro, Sardinia (2007), Melbourne (2008), Birmingham (2012), Liverpool (2013), Veliko Tarnovo (2014), Belfast (2015), Kielce (2016) and Aberystwyth (2017).

Among almost 150 papers presented at the conference by the scholars and researchers from 120 universities, institutes, research centres and libraries from all around the world there were different topics related to transnational mobility in the historical and global perspective. The conference panels (as well as this selection) covered a broad range of topics: narratives of journeys, border crossings, cultural encounters and exchanges, construction of (trans)national identities, migratory movements and diasporic identities but also cultural and literary tourism, travel journalism and multimedia, history of traveling as well as current challenges of sustainable tourism development in the Euro-Mediterranean area. The plenary lectures related to recent trends in travel writing, history of travel along the Istrian and Adriatic coast and the history of tourism in the Euro-Mediterranean area were delivered by distinguished professors: Tim Youngs from the Nottingham Trent University, professor emeritus Svein Mønnesland from the University of Oslo and professor Peter Borsay from the Aberystwyth University. Reflecting thematic, disciplinary and geographical diversity of presented research, this special issue includes four papers: the recent research related to construction of transnational, Pan-Slavic and



Yugoslav identities in the Balkans in travelogues of two committed women-travellers as well as the paper about little known travel accounts and reports of various Italian authors who visited Montenegro before, during and after the Balkan Wars. Besides an interesting insight into travelling literary diaspora during the Greek dictatorship, there is also an analysis of the famous Euro-Mediterranean travelogue written by Italian writer, by authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

| 4 |

The intensive development of modern tourism on the Adriatic began with the creation of a coordinated system of railway and maritime communications. The introduction of regular steamship lines of the Austrian Lloyd from Trieste to the Bay of Kotor in 1838 enabled also the visit of Italian travelers to Montenegro. In her paper *Montenegro in Travel Accounts of Italian Authors in the Period of the Balkan Wars* Olivera Popović from the University of Montenegro analyzed little known travel accounts and reports of various Italian authors who visited Montenegro before, during and after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). The author's findings underline the difference of accounts from the late 19th century with those from the period of Balkan Wars. While the former reported on positive sides of the rural society and its virtues, the latter focused on criticism. This change towards Balkan exoticism was a consequence of different ideas in Italian foreign policy. According to the author's analysis of the literary-historical and imagological aspects in the Balkanist discourse, the disdain for the Balkans was due not to its underdeveloped and primitive nature, but to the image of the evolution of a rural society into a bourgeois one – that is, the transformation to which the most economically developed countries had been subjected some decades before. Therefore, in the travelogues of Italian authors who visited Montenegro during the Balkan Wars harsh criticism, irony and sarcasm on account of the insufficient development of the country dominate; all this is written only a few years after the glorifications of its progress. Furthermore, the myth of the egalitarian society without conflict, regulated by the virtues of chivalry, has been dismantled. The paper shows how Balkan wars were important for Montenegro because of the decision of the state to act in



concert with the other Balkan countries in order to expel the Ottoman Empire from Europe and to achieve greater territorial expansion. In addition to this, during the Balkan Wars, political and other relations between Montenegro and Italy were significantly redefined, after Italy had established rather narrow connections with the small Balkan state, especially following the marriage of the Italian Crown Prince Vittorio Emanuele III of Savoy to the Montenegrin Princess Elena Petrović-Njegoš (1896).

The European interest in Balkans is elaborated in the paper *Constructing Identities. The Travel Experience of Elizaveta De Vitte and Rebecca West: A Compared Study between two Committed Women-Travellers* by Cristina Cugnata from the Ca' Foscari University Venice. Elizaveta de Vitte and Rebecca West partially shared the same travel experience: Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The former travelled through the area between 1902 and 1911, so in the very last years before World War I, while the latter in the 1930s at the eve of World War II. Although the two women-travellers had two different historical and cultural backgrounds, both distinguished themselves for their ideological commitment specifically expressed by travel. Besides analyzing the historical context and the process of construction of (trans)national identities, the author showed how historically, by entering the public world of travel, women transgressed gender norms that relegated them to the home. The very act of travelling and travel writing become a way to place themselves within a historical continuum and the two women became “agents of their own history”. On the other hand, the paper demonstrates how travel can work as an ideal paradigm to study the intersection of different axes that construct identity and how the genre of literary travel flourishes in close connection with the development of social and political ideas.

More recent Balkan issues are in the focus of the paper *Travelling Poets During the Greek Dictatorship: Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios in Italy* by Amanda Skamagka, post-doc in Comparative Literature at the University of Athens and a teaching fellow at the University of the Peloponnese (Greece). Her paper seeks to comparatively examine two Modern Greek poets of



different generations through their poems or prose, focusing on identity issues, memory and trauma. Both of them, self-exiles in Italy, composed works in which they were both in search of consolation and identity, yet constantly recalling traumatic experiences of the past or pleasant memories that eventually caused pain. These compositions form a special type of travel literature, a genre recognized as such in Greece only in the last quarter of the 20th century. Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios, so-journed in Italy during the seven years of the military junta in Greece (1967–1974). Both of them preferred displacement over succumbing to a regime they did not believe in. During their stay in the *Belpaese* and later on when they returned to their host country, they both composed poetry, published after the collapse of the dictatorship in Greece. In these special “travel poems”, Vrettakos and Patrikios seem to be seeking their personal and national identity within a foreign land. Although they were allowed to openly express themselves there, their work is tempered with feelings of homesickness. Memory and trauma are poetically represented in these “Italian” poems along with the natural, urban and cultural landscape of Italy. The author concludes with the questions: What defines the homeland? How do we characterise the other? Who is the foreigner, who is the stranger and who is the local? What is national, what is international and what is transnational? And what do border crossing, “nostos” and return mean to either of the poets?

In their paper *Horizons and Limes of Travelogue With a Thesis – Rumiz’s Journey along the Adriatic and Ionian Coasts Through History* Vedad Spahić from the University of Tuzla and his colleague, writer and publicist Dragoslav Dedović tried to answer the question of whether the thesis about the *clash of civilizations* which is based on the essentialization of differences can be deconstructed by the counter-theses that also rely on the essentialist views supported by the author of *The Route to Lepanto*, Paolo Rumiz. Instead of a clash of cultures, according to authors, Rumiz promotes the idea of ignorance, separation of Western Europeans from their own roots and the need to re-essentialize, to return to Lepanto, like salmon do – to the spring of peoples, monotheistic religions, cultures and civilizations. The topics of



the travelogue elaborate the Rumiz's central dichotomies: East – West, mountains – the sea, powerful multinational empires – evil nationalisms, Mediterraneanism – Atlanticism, etc. Collective mentalities remain fateful forces that initially govern individuals. Within such accentuated interpretations Venice holds a utopian measure of all things and events along the journey which reconstructs the registry of erased cultural memory and the traces of sunken empires: the Venetian Republic, the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Tito's Yugoslavia, which could not be seen due to a consumerism and tourism oriented presence and its inherent amnesiac hedonism. The authors believe the book could guide the reader to comprehend the fact that 'our sea' was once the center of a very complex world. They conclude that the Adriatic and the Mediterranean in their habitus are the optimal space for the travelogue creation of a multiperspective cultural image which includes the appearance of otherness, the changeability of identity, and the possibility of self-reflexive attention to the narrative process of the construction of the self.

All the papers submitted were peer reviewed from the experts in the field. The guest editor would like to express the great appreciation to all the authors who contributed to the success of the Brijuni conference as well as to EMUNI and the International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies for this initiative. We all hope that the fruitful cooperation that began at the Brijuni conference will continue on joint projects and future networking.

Pula, 15th February 2019
Nataša Urošević



Constructing Identities. The Travel Experience of Elizaveta De Vitte and Rebecca West: A Compared Study Between Two Committed Women-Travellers

CRISTINA CUGNATA

Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy

| 9 |

Elizaveta de Vitte and Rebecca West partially shared the same travel experience: Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The former travelled through the area between 1902 and 1911, so in the very last years before World War I, while the latter in the 1930s at the eve of World War II. Although the two women-travellers had two different historical and cultural backgrounds, both distinguished themselves for their ideological commitment specifically expressed by travel. Referring to Indira Ghose's studies, I will take into consideration that "the very fact of travel constituted a form of gender power for women [...]. By entering the public world of travel, women transgressed gender norms that relegated them to the home" (Ghose 1998, 12). Their descriptions of local people, history, folklore, politics, and their gaze will be used as a 'trope', i.e. a tool for "the epistemic appropriation of the other" (Ghose 1998, 9) in order to make a comparison between Elizaveta de Vitte's and Rebecca West's voices and the construction respectively of a Pan-Slavic and a Yugoslav identity. The aim of my paper will be to demonstrate how travel can work as an "ideal paradigm to study the intersection of different axes that construct identity" (Ghose 1998, 5) and how the genre of literary travel flourishes in close connection with the development of social and political ideas.

Key words: Elizaveta de Vitte, Rebecca West, Balkans, Travelogue, Pan-Slavism, Yugoslavism



INTRODUCTION

The Russian pedagogue Elizaveta Ivanovna de Vitte (1833–not before 1916) and the British journalist and literary critic Rebecca West (1892–1983) partially shared the same travel experience: Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The former travelled through the area between 1902 and 1911, so in the very last years before World War I, while the latter in the 1930s on the eve of World War II.¹ Both of them took a public position on the eve of a conflict, expressing their points of view on the current precarious *status quo* in the peninsula. It is noteworthy to consider that although the two women-travellers belonged to completely different historical, social and cultural backgrounds, they firmly expressed their ideological commitment thanks to travel and, subsequently, travel writing².

Travel experience enabled women to step outside domestic boundaries, i.e. to enter the public world. In this sense it expressed the need to explore the world, to understand the full spectrum of history, taking part in it personally. The bibliography of Eastern and Western travellers visiting South Europe and the Balkans is quite rich:³ explorations, military ventures, war operations, Grand Tours or simply travels to escape reality

- 1 Elizaveta de Vitte travelled through the Balkans within the Austro-Hungarian Empire's borders. Rebecca West travelled through the regions of Yugoslavia in 1937 and again in 1938.
- 2 Considering the extent and complexity of Elizaveta de Vitte's and Rebecca West's travel notes, my comparison will be mostly based on the chapters devoted to Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina where 'identity' seemed to represent a particularly controversial topic. For de Vitte, Elizaveta Ivanovna. 1903. *Putevyja vpečatljénija. Dalmacija, Gercegovina i Serbija. Lěto 1902 goda*. Kiev: Tip. M.M. Fichá; for West, Rebecca. 1993. *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey Through Yugoslavia*. Edinburgh: Canongate.
- 3 See, for example, Rosslyn, Wendy, and Tosi, Alessandra. 2007. *Women in Russian Culture and Society, 1700–1825*. Houndmills: Palgrave-Macmillan; Bracewell, Wendy, and Drace-Francis, Alex. 2008. *A Bibliography of East European Travel Writing on Europe*. Budapest/New York: Central European University Press; Bracewell, Wendy, and Drace-Francis, Alex. 2009. *Orientations: An Anthology of East European Travel Writing, ca. 1550–2000*. Budapest/New York: Central European University Press.



following a Romantic ideal, as, for example, when in summer 1859, Georgina Muir Mackenzie (1833–1874) and Adeline Paulina Irby (1831–1911), two brave travellers, educationalists and political agitators – just two of the many English Victorian ladies who travelled independently and wrote about it – were arrested as spies – travelling across the Carpathian mountains – and accused of Pan-Slavism. The “incident” led them for further trips (five exactly) through the regions of the Austrian and Ottoman Empires in order to learn about Slavic people.⁴

The purpose of my study will be to demonstrate how travelogue “evolves in close connection with the development of social ideas, political context and literary process” (Skibina 2014, 90). The gaze of these two women-travellers, which focuses on local people, history, folklore and politics, can be considered a ‘trope’, i.e. a tool “to study the intersection of different axes that construct identity” (Ghose 1998, 5) which leads to “the epistemic appropriation of the other” (Ghose 1998, 9). In addition, it is interesting to take into account how travel writing can produce images and stereotypes of the *other* (the Balkan Slav in this case) – which is a textual construct, an interpretation of reality – and knowledge, according to one specific ideological *discourse*. From this perspective, the works of author – travellers are an expression not only of their thought but also of their experience, imagination and the historical determinations they are involved in. Thus, these works allow the reader to focus on the evolution of socio-political and cultural paradigms, marking out a parallel way to study the ‘history of ideas’, as Foucault theorized:

4 Miss Georgina Muir Mackenzie and Miss Adeline Paulina Irby learnt Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian in order to investigate seriously facts and people focusing specifically on Christian Slavonic communities under Turkish rule. The two English travellers wrote many books, contributed papers on their travels and were very active in providing education for Christian Slavic girls and women in Bosnia and Herzegovina. See Muir Mackenzie, Georgina, and Irby, Adeline Paulina. 1867. *Travels in the Slavonic provinces of Turkey-in-Europe: The Turks, the Greeks, and the Slavons*. London: Bell & Daldy.

The history of ideas, then, is the discipline of beginnings and ends, the description of obscure continuities and returns, the reconstitution of developments in the linear form of history [...]. It becomes therefore the discipline of interferences, the description of the concentric circles that surround works, underline them, relate them to one another, and insert them into whatever they are not. (Foucault 2002, 154)

| 12 |

Overcoming the postulate that travel writing is a transparent reflection of the reality of other cultures, I will focus on de Vitte's and West's interpretation – and not reflection – of reality. Their travelogue helps to understand:

how scientific knowledge is diffused, gives rise to philosophical concepts, and takes form perhaps in literary works; it shows how problems, notions, themes may emigrate from the philosophical field where they were formulated to scientific or political discourses; it relates work with institutions, social customs or behaviour, techniques, and unrecorded needs and practices; it tries to revive the most elaborate forms of discourse in the concrete landscape, in the midst of the growth and development that witnessed their birth. (Foucault 2002, 154)

Anyway, de Vitte's and West's experiences deserve particular attention because of their purpose. For that, they travelled with a concrete purpose – being agents of their own history – chose a type of non-fiction writing that, like photographs or contemporary reports, can capture specific moments, frailties, fundamental details, giving us the chance to understand complex historical processes under the illusion that these descriptions faithfully depict that historical reality. Nowadays, those travel notes are fundamental materials to study the perception of the *other* in specific periods according to political ideology or personal ideas and prejudices. It has to be also taken into consideration that author-travellers often contributed to shaping public opinion through their points of view about current issues.

Trying to further deepen the relationships between literary genre, travel experience and the *world view* of the author-traveller, I find interesting the definition of “*polifunkcional'nyj*



žanr” (multifunctional genre) proposed by Marija Leskinen; the Russian scholar catalogues travel reports on the basis of the strategies employed by the author and their style into ‘literary’, ‘virtual’ and ‘scientific’ (i.e. geographic, ethnographic, etc.) travelogues:

In the XVIII–XXI centuries itineraries and travels have become the most favorite form for presenting attitudes, beliefs and experiences; they reflected artistic conceptions and looked for new forms of storytelling, embodied in political and scientific ideas [...]. Stories about the journey were actively used for didactic and moralizing purposes and became a tool of propaganda, manipulation, and advertising. Travelogue as a genre has blurred boundaries, it is easily integrated into any kind of non-literary text – from the novel to the guidebook, from the ethnographic literary essay to the diary, etc. [...]. It is a multifunctional genre with distinct signs of hybridity and dialogism.⁵ (Leskinen 2014, 235)

| 13 |

In contrast, Ol’ga Skibina places the travel report expressly in the context of the belletristic and explains that it summarizes the traits of both a scientific (*naučnyj*) and artistic (*chudožestvennyj*) text because of the sources to which it refers: “documents, figures, statistics, tables and artistic-subject world of the author, including equally all these elements: portrait, landscape, interior, and most importantly – the same author (narrator)”⁶ (Skibina 2014, 90).

5 “В XVIII–XXI вв. путевые заметки и травелоги становятся излюбленной формой изложения взглядов, убеждений и впечатлений; в них отражались художественные концепции и велись поиски новых форм повествования, воплощались политические и научные идеи [...]. Рассказы о путешествии активно использовались в дидактических и морализаторских целях, выступали инструментом пропаганды, манипуляции, рекламы. Травелог как жанр обладает размытыми границами, он легко встраивается в любые виды нелитературного текста – от романа до справочника-путеводителя, от этнографического литературного очерка до дневника и т.д. [...]. Это полифункциональный жанр с отчетливыми признаками гибридности и диалогизма”.

6 “Документы, цифры, статистика, таблицы и художественно-предметный мир автора, включающий в себя на равных все его

In this case, the background and the socio-cultural context belonging to the author-traveller play a fundamental role: “In literary travel, in contrast to scientific and other types, information material is based on the artistic and ideological concepts of the author. In addition to that, the genre of literary travel evolves in close connection with the development of social thought, the political situation and the literary process”⁷ (Skibina 2014, 90).

| 14 |

The stylistic analysis of travel note forms, which are identified as *zapiski* and *zametki* (notes), *pis'ma s puti* (letters from travel), *portrety i pejzaži* (descriptions and landscapes) – claims Skibina – needs to keep in mind the total compositional freedom, the autonomy of gender and, consequently, the uniqueness of the final text: “This genre is ‘hybrid’, intermediating; so, it is necessary to speak about the ‘polycentrism’ of its genesis”⁸ (Skibina 2014, 90), claims the Russian scholar.

To conclude this introduction, it is interesting to note that, despite socio-historical differences, the two travel experiences I am going to compare summarize the strong desire for self-determination and, in a certain sense, the negotiation of power, i.e. to be on the same level of other scholars, men, who had travelled the same routes, and to express one’s own critical opinion on the basis of a specific ideological *discourse*. Precisely through travel literature, the author-traveller’s self, projected in a wider space, becomes public and occupies an explicit position in political and cultural debate. As stated by Bernard Schweizer in this regard: “What gives a woman’s travel account a disruptive radical edge is not so much the gendered nature of her writing as the

элементы: портрет, пейзаж, интерьер, а главное, — самого рассказчика (повествователя)”.

- 7 “В литературных путешествиях, в отличие от научных и иных видов, информационный материал освещается на основе художественной и идеологической концепций автора. Кроме того, жанр литературного путешествия развивается в тесной связи с развитием общественной мысли, политической ситуацией и литературным процессом”.
- 8 “Жанр этот — «гибридный», промежуточный, следует говорить о «полицентризме» его генезиса”.



actual politics that motivate it, a politics based on specific views about social class, nationalism and comparative anthropology” (Schweizer 2001, 81).

THE TRAVELS OF ELIZAVETA DE VITTE AND THE ATTEMPT TO BUILD A PAN-SLAVIC CULTURAL NETWORK

The intensifying activities of the Balkan populations for political sovereignty particularly during the 19th century drew the attention of foreign observers and travellers. As Maria Todorova noticed: “The effort to study the ancient world through the lives of the contemporary inhabitants [...] was soon extended to the different Slavs and other ethnic groups inhabiting the peninsula who became the live figures of what came increasingly to be seen as the *Volksmuseum* of Europe” (Todorova 2009, 63).

In the first decade of the 20th century Elizaveta de Vitte travelled through the Austro-Hungarian Empire to look for unity among the Slavs; in her series titled *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija* (*Travel Impressions*)⁹ the author describes the Slavic world including the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Slovenes, the Galicians, and the Southern Slavs living in the Balkans and controlled by the government of Vienna.

De Vitte’s purpose was to support the idea of a Pan-Slavic unity, which would have been inspired and guaranteed by Russia because of their common cultural roots, which were based on the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage.

9 The complete series consists of six books: 1903. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija. Dalmacija, Gercegovina i Serbija. Lěto 1902 goda.* Kiev: Tip. M.M. Fichs; 1904. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija s’ istoričeskimi očerkami. Lěto 1903: Bukovina i Galičina.* Kiev: Tip. T.G. Mejnander; 1905a. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija i istoričeskije očerki. Čechia. Lěto 1903. I.* Kremenec: Tip. L.D. Šumskij; 1905 b. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija i istoričeskije očerki. Lužicy, Čechia i Moravija. Lěto 1903. II.* Kremenec: Tip. L.D. Šumskij; 1909. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija s’ istoričeskimi očerkami. Slovačina i ugrorussy. Lěto 1903, 1906 i 1907 godov.* Počaev: Tip. Počaevo-Uspenskoj lavry; 1911. *Putevyja Vpečatlěnjija s’ istoričeskimi očerkami. Lěto 1907 i 1910 godov. Al’pijskija zemli i Primor’e s’ Triestom*”. Počaev: Tip. Počaevo-Uspenskoj lavry.

Before focusing on the content of her travelogue, it is necessary to understand why Elizaveta de Vitte decided to investigate the problem of Slavic unity beyond the Russian Empire's borders. Answering this question needs a step backwards and takes us to her previous personal and professional experience.¹⁰ De Vitte had worked as *glavnaja nadziratel'nica* (main supervisor) and teacher for more than twenty years in three different female gymnasiums: in Tbilisi (1875–1878), in Kovno (1885–1897), and in Kiev (1897–1904). The enormous geographical space lets us rebuild an interesting journey along the inner suburbs of the Tsarist Empire: from the extreme south of the Empire (Tbilisi) to the centre (Kiev) passing through the *Zapadnyj kraj* or Western region (Kovno). She was induced to reflect on what Russian identity meant on the borders of the Empire, where differences among national identities appeared increasingly blurred¹¹.

This long and heterogeneous experience led de Vitte to the definition of a specific *Weltanschauung*: according to this world view, education had to be strictly based on Orthodoxy, on loyalty towards Tsarist authority, and on Russian nationalism.

In 1904, when she was working in Kiev, Elizaveta de Vitte decided to give up that job to follow her main interest:

And so, tending towards freedom, with this feeling I left K*[iev] on the 1st of June 1904 in order to wade through the West Russian borders. And the farther I went, stopping in many historical places, the more freedom I needed, freedom to work in another field,

10 De Vitte, Elizaveta Ivanovna. 1908. *Iz' vospominanij načal'nic ženskoj gimnazii v' trech' častjach' 1875–1904 g.*, I–II. Počaev: Tip. Počaevo-Uspenskoj lavry. Moreover, this website <<http://viaf.org/viaf/113047852/>> (last seen 14/01/2019) shows the main libraries where de Vitte's books are available. It is also possible to find them at the Russian State Library and at the State Historic Public Library of Russia in Moscow. See also Cobiss (2019a; 2019b).

11 For a proper historical introduction, see Etkind, Andrej et al. 2012. *Tam, vnutri. Praktiki vnutrennej kolonizacii v kul'turnoj istorii Rossii*. Moskva: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie; Kappeler, Andreas. 2009. *La Russia. Storia di un impero multietnico*. Translated by Alessandro Torelli. Roma: Edizioni Lavoro, 225–333.



which had begun to attract me in recent years and could satisfy my spiritual needs.¹² (de Vitte 1908, II, 171)

In the same period, she started to think about another crucial question: considering the ‘peripheral’ position that Russia occupies with respect to Western Europe, what was the role that it had to assume with regard to the universal progress of all humanity? How could Russia have contributed concretely to that?

Based on this thought, she decided to face directly the ‘Slavic question’ beyond the borders of the Tsarist Empire, contributing to the Pan-Slavic project. While Russia could accomplish its task – i.e. to place itself in Europe as a reference point for people with whom it shared a common cultural, linguistic and religious background and to contribute to the universal process of enlightenment (*prosveščenie*) – Elizaveta de Vitte, as an intellectual, would give her personal contribution to Pan-Slavic progress and conscience. This project simultaneously responded both to the need to redefine the position of the ‘great’ Russian Empire and to revise the role of the intellectual class, as Susanna Rabow-Edling has explained:

The nationalism of the Slavophiles was not a state-oriented nationalism aimed at political power. Rather, it was oriented towards national culture, and focused on the nation and the intellectuals in a symbiotic relationship. The nation, in the sense of the Russian way of life, needed the intellectuals as its interpreters and articulators. The intellectuals, on their part, needed the nation as their source for moral development. Despite its orientation towards culture, Slavophilism can be seen as a conscious project for social change [...]. Social change should be achieved through moral regeneration of the nation. (Rabow-Edling 2006, 137)

12 “И такъ, я рвалась на свободу, и съ этимъ чувствомъ я выѣхала изъ К** 1-го Іюня 1904 года, чтобы проѣхать по западно-русскимъ окраинамъ. И чѣмъ далѣе я ѣхала, останавливаясь въ разныхъ историческихъ мѣстахъ, тѣмъ болѣе мнѣ хотѣлось свободы, свободы работать на другомъ поприщѣ, которое стало меня привлекать послѣдніе годы и, хотя нѣсколько удовлетворять моимъ духовнымъ потребностямъ”.

In order to do that, de Vitte collaborated with cultural and philanthropic organizations, such as St. Nicholas, Peter and Paul Orthodox Brotherhood (Kovno), Historical Society of the Annalist Nestor (Kiev), Historical-Genealogical Society (Moscow), the Society of Supporters of Russian History in the Memory of Emperor Aleksandr III (Saint Petersburg). In addition, she was a member of the Slavic Society of Kiev.¹³ Thanks to that, she had the chance to travel to Austria-Hungary, focusing on the Slavs living in the Czech, the Slovak and the Slovenian lands, and in Galicia, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Bosnia and Serbia. Her aim was to show Russian readers how important the Slavs were inside the Dual Monarchy: Russia, as the guide of the Pan-Slavic world, had to intervene to support them. She was personally entrusted with keeping in touch with cultural circles, schools and Orthodox communities beyond the Russian borders to consolidate exchanges (through courses of Russian language and literature, grants for young students that let them study in Russian universities, funding for newspapers, etc.). Nevertheless, it was first necessary to make the Russian audience aware of the existence of Slavic communities that needed Russia's support. For that reason, she decided to travel and to take notes directly on the other Slavs.

In this regard, in the introduction to the first travel book titled *Putevyja vpečatľenija. Dalmacija, Gercegovina, Bosnija i Serbija. Lěto 1902 goda*, Elizaveta de Vitte wrote:

13 The Slavic Charity Societies (Moscow 1858, Saint Petersburg 1867, Kiev 1869, Odessa 1870) had philanthropic purposes. Their members supported pro-Russian organizations in different regions of the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian Empires and financed young Slavic students who wanted to attend university in Russia. After the Balkan crisis of 1877–78, these societies reduced their activities, working only on cultural projects: scholarships, sending of books to Orthodox schools and churches abroad, clubs that spread Russian language and literature, especially in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Galicia, Subcarpathian Ruthenia and Bukovina. The main activity was therefore to create cultural exchanges and networks, maintaining contacts with these communities abroad. See Boro Petrovich, Michail. 1956. *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 129–152.



Publishing our «*Putevyja vpečatljnja*», first, we have in mind those readers, who do not know anything about the Slavic lands. We want to make them interested and to wake up their desire to know them closer; but considering that present time is closely connected with the past, the history of the Slavs represents a *terra incognita* for a large number of our readers. Besides, the past of Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Bosnia is completely unknown, for that reason we will give also a short historical essay for each of them, because it is necessary for our aim. (de Vitte 1903, 3)

She had reached Zagreb and Rijeka by train through Lviv and Budapest. Then she went by boat to Zadar and Split. She was immediately impressed by the complex mix among the Italian, the Austrian, the Slavic nationalities, and by landscapes: “The weather was beautiful, the hot sun shone in its entire splendor, but the sea, into the Northern part, was grey and monotonous. Its monotony is interrupted on the right side by the appearance on the surface of the Kvarner islands, which abound in the Dalmatian coast [...]. The Julian Alps serve as a link connecting the Austrian Alps with the Balkan peninsula’s mountain system” (de Vitte 1903, 5).

After entering Herzegovina, Elizaveta de Vitte introduces this region, affirming that it was a land of heroes, who had obtained freedom from the Turks but immediately afterwards Austria took its faith, language, land and heart. She claims that “the occupation by the Austrian government should have brought civilization to the wild country. But thanks to historical essays we can know that in this country there was an ancient and highly developed civilization. The country was rich to guarantee its free development” (de Vitte 1903, 72).

The great number of military barracks surprised Elizaveta de Vitte, who arrived in Sarajevo on 3rd July 1903. In addition, she found an archaeological and an ethnographic museum, many mosques, such as the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque, an old Serbian-Orthodox church founded in the 16th century, a lot of government buildings, hotels and stores. In spite of the apparent growth, she claimed: “Bosnia and Herzegovina are the only countries in Europe where there are no independent newspapers; in the local newspapers, there are no headings for events in the

region, but only news about Austria is reported. It is the only country where no state institution has been established [...]; it may also be the only country where the natives do not participate in governance” (de Vitte 1903, 68).

In Mostar, as Rebecca West will also do, the Russian woman observes with great interest the presence of the Turks who seem to be scared, not able to talk freely, because of the huge number of Austrian soldiers. She also notices that local newspapers were always divided in two columns: on one side articles were written in Serbian (in the Cyrillic alphabet), on the other side in Latin: “A cultural wall has been built between two blood brothers, the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbs of the Kingdom” (de Vitte 1903, 73).

The Russian traveller repeatedly denounces the activity of the Roman Catholic Church at the expense of the Orthodox community, and the interference of the Jesuits. The Catholic Church had become a ‘weapon’, says de Vitte, in the hands of the Austrian government that constantly tried to fuel tensions between the Serbs and the Croats: “I was convinced that in the Austrian lands Constitution [...] is a force for the oppression of the weak Slavs thanks to its incompleteness. In Dalmatia the Austrian government constantly pits Serbs and Croats inciting Serbs against Croats, Croats against Serbs, while it [Austria] remains at the side” (de Vitte 1903, 18). Furthermore, she claims with conviction that Austrian politics was based on one specific idea: “divide et impera”. So, she invites the Tsarist government to protect its interests in the area despite the fact that the Treaty of Berlin had demoralized Russia and all the Slavs: “The Balkan peninsula to the Balkans” (de Vitte 1903, 70), she wrote.

REBECCA WEST AND HER JOURNEY THROUGH YUGOSLAVIA

When Rebecca West (Cecily Isabel Fairfield) visited the Balkans in the 1930s on the eve of World War II, she was already a famous writer and journalist. From the 1910s she wrote polemical articles for the *Freewoman* and for the socialist *Clarion*, demanding for women’s suffrage and better conditions for the working



class.¹⁴ She has been defined as a supporter of English left-liberalism, anti-communist, pro-Labourist, a democratic socialist, and so on.¹⁵ Bernard Schweizer described West as a ‘liberationist’, specifically with reference to her travel book *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1942): “her journeys in the Balkans furnished her with a host of arguments against every kind of oppression, in the public as well as in the private spheres. Consequently, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* is a monument to the ideologies of national self-rule, anti-imperialism, and feminism” (Schweizer 2001, 80).

| 21 |

Between 1935 and 1938, she went on three tours to Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with a specific purpose: to find an answer to and understand what was threatening Europe, which was supposed to come from the Balkans. She was wondering whether a new conflict, a war, was going to break out; in order to answer that question, she needed to visit the Balkans to have a more complete idea about the situation. The “Kingdom of the South Slavs” (Yugo-Slavia) had been founded in 1919, and when Rebecca West travelled there, Prince Paul Karadžević was ruling the country. He was the cousin of King Alexander I, who had been killed in 1934 in Marseilles; his murder represented the input of West’s reflection and travel:

I heard the announcer relate how the King of Yugoslavia had been assassinated in the streets of Marseille that morning. We had passed into another phase of the mystery we are enacting on earth, and I knew that it might be agonizing [...]. It appeared to me inevitable that war must follow, and indeed it must have done, had not the Yugoslavian Government exercised an iron control on its population. (West 1993, 2)

Black Lamb and Grey Falcon is much more than an ordinary travel book: it is an extraordinary “combination of passion and certainty” as Trevor Royle stated in his introduction to the book (West 1993, xvii), making it a timeless and essential

14 See Marcus, Jane. 1982. *The Young Rebecca: Writings of Rebecca West, 1911–17*. London: Routledge in association with Virago Press.

15 See Schweizer, Bernard. 2001. *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.



book in order to understand the complexities of the Balkans. Structurally, the book does not have a clear narrative line; it is a collection of travel notes and different thoughts about history, folklore, politics, lifestyle and society. West's long and deep reflection on various topics would need a proper analysis, but according to the aim of my article and in order to compare it with Elizaveta de Vitte's travelogue, I have decided to focus on one more specific question concerning the identity of those people, the Slavs, who lived there:

| 22 |

I knew nothing about the South Slavs, nor had I come across anybody who was acquainted with them. I was only aware that they formed part of the Balkan people [...]. Violence was, indeed, all I knew of the South Slavs. I derived the knowledge from memories of my earliest interest in Liberalism, [...], and later from the prejudices of the French, who use the word '*Balkan*' as a term of abuse, meaning a *rastaquouère* type of barbarian [...]. But I must have been wholly mistaken in my acceptance of the popular legend regarding the Balkans, for if the South Slavs had been truly violent they would not have been hated first by the Austrians, who worshipped violence in an imperialist form, and later by the Fascists, who worship violence in a totalitarian form. (West 1993, 19–20)

Rebecca West discovers contradictions and conflicts, and thus a deep heterogeneity from social and ethnic points of view. Visiting Trebinje, Mostar, Sarajevo, Ilidža, Travnik, Jajce and Jezero, the British traveller specially focuses on the Muslims living there. According to her, they were Slavs, converted by the Turks, who tried to maintain possession of their lands. She described how she felt as if she were in front of the corpse of a great empire: "I hate the corpses of empires, they stink as nothing else. They stink so badly that I cannot believe that even in life they were healthy" (West 1993, 280). All the young Bosnian Slavs who had been obliged to serve the special Sultan's army, called "Janissaries", had tried to defend their identity at all costs, but, in fact, Turkish education was unable to make them forget they were Slavs. However, it was not only the Ottomans who tried to bend the Balkan Slavs. In addition, she explains that Russia tried to influence Bosnia: "through several channels, some of them most unexpected" (West 1993, 353). Rebecca West gives as an



example the boarding school for girls of Tsetinye (Cetinje), the capital of Montenegro at that time, which the Russian imperial family founded and financed in order to educate the daughters of the aristocratic families of Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There is a constant reflection on the idea of Slavic unity in Yugoslavia. The three different guides, who led Rebecca West and her husband through Croatia, actually represented three different entities: Constantine, a Serbian poet, was a member of the Orthodox Church; Valetta, who worked at the University of Zagreb, came from Dalmatia and was a member of the Catholic Church; Marko Gregorijević was a journalist from Croatia. They always discuss the idea of Yugoslavian unity, their right to reach it and its difficulties.

According to Valetta, for example: “In Yugoslavia [...] it is as if the Serbs were the elder brother and we Croats the younger brother, under some law as the English, which gives the elder everything and the younger nothing” (West 1993, 84). Whereas Gregorijević stated: “we are its [of Austria] history. We Slavs in general, we Croats in particular. The Habsburgs won their victories with Czechs, with Poles, and, above all, with Croats. Without us the Austrians would have no history, and if we had not stood between them and the Turks, Vienna would now be a Moslem city” (West 1993, 63).

The conflict between the Serbs supporting a unified Yugoslavia and their non-Serbian opponents is expressed throughout the travelogue. Rebecca West openly declares her admiration for Serbia’s Byzantine heritage and for Orthodox Christianity – an authentic institution of Slav culture – in contrast with Roman Catholicism, which is described as a limiting and oppressive religious system. On the other hand, the Orthodox Church is seen as a vehicle of true Serbian culture.

In the epilogue, Rebecca West makes a long reflection on many different urgent topics. Writing about the South Slavs, the heritage left them from past great empires, and the disadvantages of being a part of this type of institution she claims:

In contemplating Yugoslavia these disadvantages of Empire are manifest [...]. The South Slavs have also suffered extremely from

the inability of empires to produce men who are able both to conquer territory and to administer it [...]. How strange a dream it was, it is, that the Southern Slavs should be reared to civilization by Russia! The Old Russia was not even a true empire, she was not even a modern state, she was rather a symbol of immense spiritual value but of little material efficacy. (West 1993, 1092–1906)

| 24 |

To conclude, considering West's opinions about the newborn Yugoslav reign, the reader cannot ignore repeated references to inner divisions, political contrasts, which were, according to the British woman, the heritage of Austro-Hungarian politics and, previously, of five centuries of slavery because of Turkish rule. At the end of the section devoted to "Croatia" Rebecca West wrote: "I had come to Yugoslavia to see what history meant in flesh and blood. I learned now that it might follow, because an empire passed, that a world full of strong men and women and rich food and heavy wine might nevertheless seem like a shadow-show" (West 1993, 103) and then: "Such a terrible complexity has been left by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which some desire to restore; such a complexity, in which nobody can be right and nobody can be wrong, and the future cannot be fortunate" (West 1993, 121).

It is noteworthy to observe how the places where she stopped mark out the complex process of history and its forces, which in Yugoslavia appeared particularly effective: "I knew that the past has made the present, and I wanted to see how the process works" (West 1993, 54). So, the reader can understand how the author-traveller adapts the journey motif to the purpose of political rhetoric. At that time, from Rebecca West's point of view, Yugoslavia was the symbol of imperialist resistance and nationalistic wrongs: "There is not the smallest reason for co-founding nationalism, which is the desire of a people to be itself, with imperialism, which is the desire of a people to prevent other peoples from being themselves" (West 1993, 843).

CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that Elizaveta de Vitte and Rebecca West came from two different countries with different socio-political



institutions and traditions, their travelogues have interesting common points, such as (1) ideological commitment: both de Vitte and West are never afraid of expressing their political opinion. To the former, inner divisions could have been overcome by the intervention of Russia in the Balkan *affaire* to save the Slavs from the Austrian threat; for that purpose, it would have been necessary to improve the sharing of common Slavic culture opening centres of study and schools. Instead, to the latter, it appears really difficult to make unity concrete considering historical, socio-cultural and religious background. In the first case, heterogeneity in Slavic identity in the Balkans represents a starting point for a common project, while in the second it risks becoming the reason for a new conflict (or more). (2) The very act of travelling and travel writing become a way to place themselves within a historical continuum. The two women became “agents of their own history”. Those lands are not just places to visit but need to be revealed and explained to be understood by their readers. (3) Both women-travellers think about women and their role in history.

On this last point, for example, according to Elizaveta de Vitte education was the most important conquest for women and the sole way to protect and maintain their true Slavic identity: “The aim of a common education for Slavic women is peace among the hostile Slavic nationalities thanks to the woman” (de Vitte 1903, 83). Rebecca West also makes some general comments about the history of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and tries to consider what would have happened if women had played a different role; she suggests as an example the case of Empress Elizabeth:

Elizabeth [...] should have solved the problem of the Slav populations under the Habsburg rule. The Slavs [...] came from Asia into the Balkan Peninsula early in the Christian era and were Christianized by Byzantine influence. [...]. Now all of these were under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Czechs and the Croats, and the Slovenes and the Slovaks and the Dalmatians [...]. Therefore they [the Austrians] harried the Slavs as much as they could, by all possible economic and social penalties, tried with especial venom to destroy their languages, and created for themselves an



increasing amount of internal disorder which all sane men saw to carry a threat of disruption. It might have saved the Empire altogether, it might have averted the war of 1914, if Elizabeth had dealt with the Slavs as she dealt with the Hungarians. (West 1993, 4–5)

To conclude, as scholars of women's travel writing have claimed, it is not so simple to define "gendered" elements that go beyond specific cultures and countries. It is possible that approaching these texts in terms of 'multiple discourses' becomes more productive in better understanding how scientific knowledge takes form in literature, emigrating from the theoretical field to political, nationalist and imperialist discourses.

| 26 |

REFERENCES

- Bracewell, W., and Drace-Francis, A. 2008. *A Bibliography of East European Travel Writing on Europe*. Budapest/New York: Central European University Press.
- Bracewell, W., and Drace-Francis, A. 2009. *Orientations: An Anthology of East European Travel Writing, ca. 1550–2000*. Budapest/New York: Central European University Press.
- Boro Petrovich, M. 1956. *The Emergence of Russian Pan Slavism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cobiss. 2019a. De Vitte. Accessed 14 January, 2019, <https://plus.si.cobiss.net/opac7/bib/search?q=de+vitte&db=cobib&mat=allma+allmate&auf=vitte%2C+elizaveta+de>.
- Cobiss. 2019b. De Vitte. Accessed 14 January, 2019, http://www.vbs.rs/scripts/cobiss?ukaz=SEAL&mode=5&id=0901450734265040&PF=AU&term=%22%D0%B4%D0%B5%20%D0%92%D0%B8%D1%82%D1%82%D0%B5,%20%D0%95.%22_
- De Vitte, E.I. 1903. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija. Dalmacija, Gercegovina, Bosnija i Serbija. Lěto 1902 goda*. Kiev: Tip. M.M. Fichs.
- De Vitte, E.I. 1904. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija s" istoričeskimi očerkami. Lěto 1903: Bukovina i Galičina*. Kiev: Tip. T.G. Mejnander.
- De Vitte, E.I. 1905a. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija i istoričeskije očerki. Čechia. Lěto 1903. I*. Kremenec: Tip. L. D. Šumskij.
- De Vitte, E.I. 1905b. *Putevyja vpečatlěnjija i istoričeskije očerki. Lužicy, Čechia i Moravija. Lěto 1903. II*. Kremenec: Tip. L. D. Šumskij.
- De Vitte, E.I. 1908. *Iz" vospominanij načal'nicy ženskoj gimnazii v" trech" častjach" 1875–1904 g., I–II*. Počaev: Tip. Počaevo-Uspenskoj lavry.



- De Vitte, E.I. 1909. *Putevyja vpečatljnija s' istoričeskimi očerkami. Slovačina i ugrorussy. Lěto 1903, 1906 i 1907 godov.* Počaev: Tip. Počaevo-Uspenskoj lavry.
- De Vitte, E.I. 1911. *Putevyja vpečatljnija s' istoričeskimi očerkami. Leto 1907 i 1910 godov. Al'pijskija zemli i Primor'e s' Triestom*". Počaev: Tip. Počaevo-Uspenskoj lavry.
- Etkind, A., et al. 2012. *Tam, vnutri. Praktiki vnutrennej kolonizacii v kul'turnoj istorii Rossii.* Moskva: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie.
- Foucault, M. 2002. *The Archeology of Knowledge.* London: Routledge.
- Ghose, I. 1998. *The Power of the Female Gaze. Women Travellers in Colonial India.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kappeler, A. 2009. *La Russia. Storia di un impero multi-etnico.* Translated by S. Torelli. Roma: Edizioni Lavoro.
- Leskinen, M. 2014. 'Zapiski poljakov sarmatskoj epochi v kontekste sovremennykh issledovanij putešestvija/traveloga v narrativnom aspekte.' In *Slavjanskij al'manach, 1–2*, edited by T. Vendina et al., 235–247. Moskva: INDRIK.
- Marcus, J. 1982. *The Young Rebecca: Writings of Rebecca West, 1911–17.* London: Routledge in association with Virago Press.
- Muir Mackenzie, G., and Irby, A.P. 1867. *Travels in the Slavonic provinces of Turkey-in-Europe: The Turks, the Greeks, and the Slavons.* London: Bell & Daldy.
- Rabow-Edling, S. 2006. *Slavophile Thought and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism.* Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Rosslyn, W., and Tosi, A. 2007. *Women in Russian Culture and Society, 1700–1825.* Houndmills: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Schweizer, B. 2001. *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Skibina, O. 2014. 'Putevoj očerk: sinkretizm žanra (na primere ruskij publicistiki XIX veka).' In *Voprosy teorii i praktiki žurnalistiki*, 4: 90.
- Todorova, M. 2009. *Imagining the Balkans.* Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Virtual International Authority File. 'Elizaveta Ivanovna'. Accessed 14 January, 2019, <http://viaf.org/viaf/113047852/>.
- West, R. 1993. *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey through Yugoslavia.* Edinburgh: Canongate Classics.

Montenegro in Travel Accounts of Italian Authors in the Period of the Balkan Wars

OLIVERA POPOVIĆ

University of Montenegro, Montenegro

| 29 |

This paper explores the little-known travel accounts of various Italian authors who visited Montenegro before, during and after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). These wars were important for Montenegro because of the decision of the state to act in concert with the other Balkan countries in order to expel the Ottoman Empire from Europe and to achieve greater territorial expansion. In addition to this, during the Balkan Wars, political and other relations between Montenegro and Italy were significantly redefined, after Italy had established rather narrow connections with the small Balkan state, especially following the marriage of the Italian Crown Prince Vittorio Emanuele III of Savoy to the Montenegrin Princess Elena Petrović-Njegoš (1896). We analyze the historical and socio-political context in which the image of Montenegro and of Montenegrins was created and define the characteristics of this discourse through the comparison of travel accounts of these authors with those published in previous epochs. We base our analysis on models of interpretation of the scholars who dealt with travel literature about Balkan countries in general, in order to make reference to the source of the discourse that the Italian authors embraced.

Key words: Balkan Wars, Imagology, Montenegro, Travel accounts



The Balkan Wars (1912–1913) represented the conclusion of a process aimed at expelling the Ottoman Empire from Europe, during which Montenegro, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria joined forces in an attempt to circumscribe both their territory and their national state (Hall 2000, 21; Andrijašević and Rastoder 2006, 273; Ivetić 2006, 10–11). Despite the attempts of the Great Powers to prevent an armed confrontation, the First Balkan War began on 8 October 1912, with the declaration of war by Montenegro against Turkey. Ten days later, the other allied countries also entered the conflict, and in a few months Turkey, partly due to internal political issues, lost almost all of its territory on European soil, which led to the signing of the Treaty of London, dated 30 May 1913 (Andrijašević and Rastoder 2006, 277). In the Second Balkan War, which lasted from June to August 1913 and which this time broke out between the former Balkan allies because of arguments over the division of the territories conquered in the First Balkan War, Montenegro sided with Serbia and Greece, against Bulgaria (Andrijašević and Rastoder 2006, 277). The allies, joined by the Romanian army, defeated Bulgaria, which was forced to renounce the territories in question by signing the Treaty of Bucharest (Andrijašević and Rastoder 2006, 277).

The war in the Balkans forced Italian diplomacy into a defensive position. Italian public opinion generally supported the liberation struggles of the Balkan peoples. The Italian Government, on the other hand, had to be more cautious in order not to damage its relationship with Vienna (Biagini 2012, 80). In an attempt to maintain a balanced position in the Balkans, between a desire to affirm its presence and the intention to contain Austrian expansionism, Italy supported the idea of forming the independent state of Albania (Biagini 2012, 174). The Montenegrin government felt betrayed by this decision, because it expected the greatest support for its aspirations to come in particular from Italy, because of the dynastic and economic relationships that linked the two countries.¹⁶

16 Closer relations between the two countries had been enshrined in 1896 by the marriage of the heir to the Italian throne, Prince Vittorio



Italian public opinion was extremely well informed as to the participation of Montenegro in the First Balkan War. Both at the beginning of the crisis and during the military operations, various Italian newspapers sent their reporters to get first-hand news about the events. Some of them, such as Alessandro Dudan (1883–1957),¹⁷ Gualtiero Castellini (1890–1918),¹⁸ Eugenio Guarino (1875–1938)¹⁹ and Giulio Barella (1888–1942),²⁰ pub-

-
- Emanuele III of Savoy, to the Montenegrin Princess Jelena Petrović-Njegoš – an event that had aroused enormous interest among Italians about Montenegro, and a large number of scientific and informative publications (Cronia 1958, 502; Kilibarda 1993).
- 17 Alessandro Dudan, born in Split, started writing about politics at a young age. He graduated in Law from Vienna, then devoted himself to a journalistic career by starting to collaborate with the newspaper *Dalmata*. He wrote for important Italian newspapers such as *La Tribuna*, *La Stampa*, *L'Adriatico*, *Il Messaggero*, *La Rassegna contemporanea*. Dudan arrived in Montenegro in 1911 and described this visit in the article “Travel notes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Montenegro and in Albania during the Malissori insurrection” (Dudan 1912). See Vittoria 1992.
 - 18 Gualtiero Castellini was born in Milan. He followed the Italian military operations in Libya, and later also the Balkan Wars as a war correspondent collaborating with *Il Carroccio*, *La Grande Italia*, *L'Idea nazionale* and *L'Illustrazione italiana*. He wrote various political works and travel reports. He visited Montenegro in 1912 and published his observations first in the *Illustrazione italiana* and then, with a few changes, in the monograph entitled *The Balkan Peoples in the Year of War, observed by an Italian* (Castellini 1913). See Merolla 1978.
 - 19 Eugenio Guarino was born in Naples. At a young age he joined the organization *Gioventù operosa*, and then the Neapolitan section of the Italian Socialist Party called *Il Fascio dei lavoratori*. He wrote for many newspapers connected with Socialism. Towards the end of 1901, he became a member of the municipal council of Naples, and in 1906 he was Vice-President of the Italian Socialist Party. From 1909 he lived in Rome, and later in Milan. He arrived in Montenegro in October 1912 as editor of the daily newspaper *Avanti!*, whose director at the time was Benito Mussolini. Guarino published his correspondence on the situation in the Balkans in a volume entitled *In the Balkans during the War: Letters from Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Turkey*, (Guarino 1913). See Sircana 2003.
 - 20 Giulio Barella was born in Rovigo and, after studying Law, he collaborated with various Italian newspapers, including *Il Resto del Carlino*, *L'Adriatico*, *La Perseveranza* and *La Tribuna*. He visited Montenegro in October 1912, as editor of the Milanese newspaper *Il Secolo*. Barella

lished the impressions of their stay in the country in the form of travelogues.²¹ By offering a great deal of information and describing the specificities of the Montenegrin geographic and cultural space, they influenced Italian public opinion; not only are their writings therefore precious as primary sources for research, but they are also particularly useful for the analysis of the tradition of the representation of Montenegro and for the identification of the stereotypes and connotations related to this Balkan country that existed at this time.

| 32 |

From November to May 1912, two teams of Italian doctors also worked in Montenegro, sent to help the Montenegrins by the Italian Red Cross. One was stationed in Podgorica, under the supervision of Prof. Bartolo Nigrisoli (1858–1948) and the other at Lake Skadar, directed by Prof. Torquato Scocciati (Cipolla and Vanni 2013, 844). Both these doctors published their impressions on the permanence in those places, but odeporic elements are more present in the report of Scocciati (Scocciati 1914; Nigrisoli 1915). After the conclusion of the Balkan Wars, in 1914 the military doctor Stefano Santucci also went to Montenegro. As a member of the International Commission charged with delimiting the borders of northern Albania, he visited the border regions between Montenegro and Albania and published a travelogue about his stay in these countries (Santucci 1916).

Among the Italian visitors who offered a printed testimony about their stay in Montenegro in the turbulent period of preparation for the war, it is also important to mention the geographer Guido Cora (1851–1917).²² The Balkan Wars offered

published his correspondence in a book entitled *The Balkan Turkish War seen and experienced by Montenegrin outposts* (Barella 1913). See *Dizionario degli italiani d'oggi* 1928, 62–63; Rovito 1922, 30.

- 21 The selection of the material to be analyzed is based on the definition of those critics who believe that the travelogue is a literary genre modelled, from a thematic point of view, on a reliable journey made by the author who, in narrative form and in the first person, describes the places visited and the people met (Duda 1998, 48; Chirico 2008, 39–41).
- 22 Guido Cora, born in Turin, showed, from his high school days, a great interest in geography, publishing his first scientific article at the age of



an opportunity to authors to recall their previous journeys to Montenegro, and the Trieste writer Umberto Saba (1883–1957) published a memoir story of odeporic content in 1913, in which he narrated his visit to the country in 1904 (Saba 1913).²³

The travel accounts of Montenegro published during the Balkan Wars do not have many artistic pretensions and belong to the genre of scientific-journalistic writing. The reason for such a choice is attributable to the prevailing necessity of their publication, most notably the need to gather information on Montenegro and on Montenegrins at that precise moment in history. Most of these works are characterized by clear political propaganda tendencies, hence they deserve special attention because they highlight the change in Italian discourse concerning Montenegro, compared with the previous period.

While at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, thanks to the establishment of kinship relations between the ruling dynasties of Italy and Montenegro, the authors of travel books were interested in the history, geography, ethnography, literature, architecture, education and journalism of Montenegro, the travel accounts published during the Balkan Wars reveal the lack of this kind of interest, leaving considerable

eighteen. Inspired by the most important German geography magazine *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen*, he founded the journal *Cosmos*. Later he became a correspondent member of the Royal Geographical Society of London, from which, in 1886, he received a gold medal. For the publisher Paravia of Turin he created a series of globes and physical and political maps, the best in Italy at that time. In 1881, he became an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy of Turin, and three years later he promoted the Society of Geography and Ethnography. From 1898 he held for many years, as a free lecturer, his own course of lessons. Cora visited Montenegro for the first time in 1899, describing his stay in the travelogue "In Montenegro. Travel Impressions" (Cora 1900/1901). At the time of the Balkan Wars he wrote an article entitled "The Balkan Peninsula at the present time. Travel Impressions" (Cora 1912), in which he describes his fifth journey to the Balkans in 1911. Cf. Surdich 1983.

- 23 On his return from Montenegro, Saba immediately published his impressions of this experience in a short report entitled "Montenegro" (Poli 1904).



space for political considerations, as indeed, considering the circumstances, was to be expected. These considerations reveal an evident subalternity to the majority political positions in the Italian public debate. Reporters of nationalist orientation or those who supported Mussolini's socialists, such as Dudan, Castellini and Guarino, give a representation of Montenegro full of irony, harsh criticism and polemical tones. On the other hand, Barella, the correspondent of the *Secolo*, which at the beginning of the twentieth century promoted the interests of Giolitti's government, and from 1912 also the ideas of the Italian Socialist Reformist Party (De Nicola 2012, 85–87), tries to represent Montenegro and Montenegrins in the best possible light. The attitude of Barella is shared by the geographer Guido Cora, while the writings of the Italian doctors contain very little in the way of political analysis.

Regarding the need to declare war on Turkey, and the general causes of the conflict, the opinions of these authors were quite divergent. During the Turkish–Montenegrin War between 1876 and 1878, when Italy had also waged wars fighting for the definition of its national territory, the Montenegrins had received great support from the Italian public, whereas during the Balkan War this support began to waver.²⁴ The nationalist Gualtiero Castellini saw in this war a fight for the economic emancipation of Montenegro, while Dudan and Guarino, supporters of Mussolini, who at the time was firm in his anti-imperialist position, criticized Montenegrin foreign policy, considering it adventurist. In contrast, Cora attributes the responsibility for the outbreak of the First Balkan War to the European powers, who had missed the opportunity to solve the problem of the Turkish–Montenegrin border by forming a mixed commission,

24 The Turkish–Montenegrin war from 1876 to 1878 brought to Montenegro the double benefits of territorial expansion and the international recognition of its independence at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Among the Italians reporting from the battlefields of these events were the journalist Eugenio Popovic, who published his articles under the pseudonym Emilio Tergesti (Tergesti 1876) and the member of the Italian parliament Alfredo Serristori (Serristori 1877).



but also to the violence of the Turks, who had not allowed the Montenegrin authorities to find a peaceful solution to the question of setting boundaries.

These authors also dealt with broader political issues, analyzing the already very tense relations between Montenegro and Austria-Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian administration in the Balkans in general, and the position of Italy in the Mediterranean area. Since the Dual Monarchy was the main rival to Italy in the Adriatic, the correspondents holding nationalist views directed criticism towards its administration, expressing the hope that Italy would be able to restore its power to the territories once ruled by the Republic of Venice (Dudan 1912, 48–49; Castellini 1913, 15–16).

Furthermore, Gualtiero Castellini refers to the problems that Italy had to face in its attempt to maintain good relations both with Austria and with Montenegro (Castellini 1913, 7), while Guido Cora blames his government for a lack of support for the Balkan peoples, whereas Balkan inhabitants had followed with sympathy and affection the Italian conquests in Libya (Cora 1912, 289–290). Italy's final decision to support Albanian independence was justified by the fear that the creation of a strong Southern Slavic state could damage Italian interests in Dalmatia (Castellini 1913, 8).

Almost all of these authors devoted their attention to the relationship between Montenegro and Italy. However, this theme, which was always present in the Italian travelogues about Montenegro at the end of the nineteenth century, showed an approach that was very different to that found in earlier travel writers. The dominant feature of the travel accounts published on the eve of and immediately following the royal wedding in 1896, was the constant reference to the ties between Italy and Montenegro, to the proven friendship between the two peoples, to the same national objectives that united them, to the extensive knowledge of the Italian language and literature in Montenegro, as well as to the strong interest of the Montenegrins in the situation in Italy and its colonial conquests (Mantegazza 1896; Rossi 1896; Borsa 1896; Baldacci 1897; Corrodi 1899; Cagni 1899). This tendency remained in Barella's book and in



Cora's article, while the other authors who dealt with this topic gave a completely different picture of Italian–Montenegrin relations. Castellini believed that a dynastic policy between Montenegro and Italy did not exist and that the Italian influence in Montenegro, despite the collaboration in the economic field of the two countries, was irrelevant, whereas Guarino announced the worsening of diplomatic relations between the two countries due to the signing of the peace treaty between Italy and Turkey. The authors also insist on great differences in the mentality of the two peoples, representing the Italians as diligent and industrious, rational in their political decisions and committed to economic progress, while the Montenegrins are depicted as a fighting people who started conflicts for the simple enjoyment of fighting (Guarino 1913, 59–62). Even when they observe similarities between the two countries in relation to various negative activities, such as the disinformation of public opinion on the course and the result of military operations, the correspondents conclude that the Montenegrins do not do it “with the refined elegance of Italians but with rough barbarity and even with childish naivety” (Guarino 1913, 22).

The most significant changes in the forms of representation of Montenegro and Montenegrins with respect to previous travel accounts can be perceived in the descriptions of the Montenegrin King, Nikola I Petrović (1841–1921). Therefore, while the travel writers who had visited the country only a few years earlier described the ruler with admiration while resolving the controversies and complaints of his subjects, praising him in particular for his astuteness, his enlightened government and his open and cordial relationship with the people, while also representing him as a generous benefactor and the main driver of progress, later visitors criticize his absolutist government and his hostility towards the application of the Constitution, citing examples of political persecution and tyranny (Dudan 1912, 40; Guarino 1913, 18). During the Balkan Wars, for the first time we find evidence of deep political divisions within Montenegrin society and of the totalitarian government of the Montenegrin monarch. Authors such as Dudan, Castellini and Guarino point out that the modernization of Montenegro, achieved with the



adoption of the Constitution and with the institution of the parliamentary system in 1905, was only apparent and superficial, recognizing in it the emulation of a type of civil behaviour devoid of the true values of contemporary Europe.²⁵ The judgments on the intelligence and ability of Nikola I remain unchanged, but now these traits are qualified as exceptional craftiness combined with a great ruthlessness (Dudan 1912, 40; Guarino 1913, 17–18). His literary work, which was translated and praised in earlier travel books, is almost completely ignored in these later accounts. The attempt to dissolve the image of the rulers of the dynasty of Petrović as artists with a remarkable talent is also reflected in the loss of interest on the part of the travel writers in the literary opus of the famous ancestor of the Montenegrin King, the Prince-Bishop and poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851). Just a few years before, fragments of his works translated into Italian could even be found in the books of naturalists (Baldacci 1897, 18, 82). Even the sons of Nikola I, once portrayed as aristocrats of refined culture, who when needed would have been ready to demonstrate their patriotism and their warlike virtues, are now being harshly criticized, especially the heir to the throne, Danilo.

The homogeneity of the image of Montenegro as a backward and neglected country is also evident, in contrast to the dominant image in the travel accounts published at the time of the Savoy–Petrović marriage, in which the reader could easily distinguish the different characteristics of Cetinje as a political and cultural centre, of the mercantile cities such as Podgorica and Nikšić and of the rural villages on the outskirts of Montenegro. While the Italian authors who came to the country during and after 1896 highlighted its economic, social and cultural progress, those who wrote about Montenegro at the time of the Balkan Wars underline the defects of its development, despite

25 It is interesting that some Italian authors believed that the adoption of the Constitution and the establishment of parliamentarianism in Montenegro were in fact overly progressive events that could even lead to the ruin of the country (Mantegazza 1896, 204, 270; Mantegazza 1910, 157–158; Frenzi 1910).

the fact that the country was, at that time, much more modern and urbanized than it had been at the end of the nineteenth century. The authors also note that the merit of the Montenegrin economic progress achieved in the previous period was to be attributed to foreign capital, and they underline the key role of Italian investment, urging their government to take advantage of the opportunity to realize their own interests, to prevent a situation in which Italians would only be the pioneers in giving life to many projects whose fruits would have been collected by third parties.²⁶

Montenegro is also represented as a backward country because of the lack of social stratification characteristic of modern countries and due to the absence of class struggle. Unlike the travel writers who visited the country between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who were for the most part lovers of traditional Montenegro, of its heroic society that developed naturally and independently, and that in their visions lived in the bliss of ingenuity, purity, naturalness, simplicity and frankness, as opposed to the artificiality and superficiality of the urban environment, the later visitors take as a point of reference the situation in their own country, interpreting the differences as defects in the environment they are confronted with.²⁷

One topic that aroused great interest in the Italian authors was the relationship between the members of various religious confessions. At the time of the Savoy–Petrović marriage the degree of civilization that Montenegro had achieved by promoting a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional state was glorified by emphasizing the mutual consideration and peaceful coexistence of Orthodox Christians and Muslims. Those inhabitants who followed Islam were represented as opponents of the heroic society

26 A group of Venetian capitalists opened some enterprises in Montenegro that led to the economic transformation of the small Balkan country (Vernassa 1976, 338–364; Burzanović 2009).

27 The romantic idealization of Montenegro as an ancient and healthy heroic community is also present in the travel accounts of other foreign travellers (Jezernik 2008, 113, 161; Šistek 2009, 257–260; Čagorović and Carmichael 2006, 62, 66; McArthur 2010, 82; Bracewell 2008, 181).



and its chivalrous-moral code, since they were mainly concerned with trade, or were portrayed as a community of backward traditions exposed to the beneficial effect of the modernization impulses and reforms of Prince Nikola I. By contrast, in the period of the Balkan Wars we are presented for the first time with an inverse image. Turkey, in Eugenio Guarino's book, is depicted as an advanced civilization against which the Montenegrins fought, guided by their innate barbarism, while the Muslim inhabitants are described as capable and enlightened citizens, oriented towards progress (Guarino 1913, 50–51). Stefano Santucci wrote on the continuation of the conflict between the members of different nationalities and religions in Montenegro after the end of the Balkan Wars, noting that the Muslim population in the territories just conquered by Montenegro hated the Montenegrins, who treated them violently, so that many were forced to emigrate as a result of fear of reprisals (Santucci 1916, 23–25). Although he records a case of the desecration of Muslim religious buildings, this author points out that the Montenegrin government was attempting to mitigate the effects of other national influences mostly through the school system (Santucci 1916, 23–25).

Men from Montenegro, both in times of war and in times of peace, were represented simply as warriors, but the view of the travel writers in relation to this image changed during the war in very specific ways. Although the Montenegrins were blamed for their monolithic warrior tradition and their lack of interest in economic development, many authors who wrote about the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were aware of the problem of the relative lack of fertile land, and also believed that the Montenegrins were not even able to deal with other activities, especially commercial ones, due to their alleged indifference to material wealth, something that in the eyes of some authors made them noble in comparison with other peoples. Moreover, the defects of the heroic society were rarely the subject of harsh criticism, representing, instead, picturesque details that contributed to the country's exoticism. In the period of the Balkan Wars, in Italian travelogues, for the first time, there is a tendency to dismantle the myth concerning the ability and skills of the Montenegrin warriors. Therefore, while



the authors describing the situation in Montenegro during the Turkish–Montenegrin war between 1876 and 1878 invited their government to study the way of fighting of the Montenegrins and praised the mastery of their leaders, the new reporters highlight the defects of their military education, despite the modernization of the Montenegrin army that had been carried out a few years earlier, and despite the experience that young Montenegrins had acquired in military schools abroad.²⁸ The image of fearless, skilled and experienced warriors, who had struggle in their blood, is now replaced by the appearance of clumsy and confused young men under the guidance of inexperienced officers (Castellini 1913, 36; Guarino 1913, 40, 49). In addition, the news related to Montenegrin victories is questioned, while information on those successes that could not be denied was accompanied by explanations according to which Turkey, by military tactics, had decided to withdraw from certain positions, or even that the Turkish soldiers in post on the outskirts of the Ottoman Empire were not even aware of the beginning of the war (Guarino 1913, 39). Unlike the travel writers who at the time of the previous Montenegrin conflict had emphasized the crucial role of priests and their desire to share the fate of the people in everything, we now find emphasis on the war-mongering activities of the Orthodox clergy (Dudan 1912, 43) or the comfortable life of the Metropolitan Bishop as compared to the hardships endured by the people (Guarino 1913, 24). These remarks mainly characterize the book of Eugenio Guarino, who described Montenegro with particular animosity. A completely different image is offered by Giulio Barella and Guido Cora, in whose writings the Montenegrins are described as virtuous and courageous warriors, who are contrasted with the treacherous, arrogant and cruel Turks.

The only thing that in fact ensured the glorification of Montenegro even in the travelogues of the early twentieth century was the patriotism and the extreme sacrifice of the people.

28 The Montenegrin army and its modernization were the main subject of the writings of the Italian sub-lieutenant Eugenio Barbarich, who had visited Montenegro in 1896 (Barbarich 1897).



Almost all the authors recognize, as fundamental characteristics of Montenegrin society, the complete dedication to the common goal, resistance and the desire for glory, and those who show sympathy towards the Montenegrins were impressed by the exemplary behaviour of its inhabitants (Scoccianti 1914, 15–16). Therefore, Barella provides an idealized representation of the Montenegrins who, driven by high aspirations of freedom and inviolable moral principles, drive away the Turkish tyrants, sacrificing, without hesitation, not only themselves but also their offspring, believing that no sacrifice is too great for the motherland. Offering such an image, he continues the tradition of *heroic discourse* on Montenegro, adhered to also by Torquato Scoccianti.²⁹

Another theme that caught the particular attention of the Italian correspondents in this period was the fate of the wounded. Guarino talks about the disorganization of the Montenegrin authorities concerning medical assistance, highlighting the fact that warriors remained for days on the battlefield or died along the difficult route to the hospital, and that even in hospitals they were not adequately assisted because of the absence of medical supplies and medicines, as well as of medical personnel. Doctor Scoccianti summarily confirms the claims of Guarino, emphasizing the problem of the slow transport of the wounded from the battlefield to the hospitals. Negligence is attributed mainly to the war customs of the Montenegrin people. In fact, he reports that the members of the health service, in contravention of the orders given, refused to leave the battlefield, taking care of the wounded only at the end of the fight. Among the problems he had to face during his service in Montenegro, Scoccianti indicated the same ones found by the correspondents of the

29 The *heroic discourse* appears in the first half of the nineteenth century, at the time of the decline of Ottoman power and popular uprisings that led to the establishment of various national states in the Balkans. The core of this discourse was the right to struggle for freedom and independence, and the Balkan warrior in that perception was not seen as a barbarian executioner but as a respectable and valiant hero (Šistek 2009, 265). With reference to Italian travel books, this type of discourse was dominant in the travel reports published during the Turkish–Montenegrin War of 1876–1878.



Turkish–Montenegrin war of 1876–1878 (Tergesti 1876, 210–211), most especially the firm refusal of amputation as medical treatment.

As in the case of authors who had published travel accounts on Montenegro in the second half of the nineteenth century, the later travel writers also showed interest in the attitude of men towards women, albeit to a much lesser degree. In all these travelogues the position of women represented a sort of cultural barometer in the evaluation of the progress that a civil state had achieved. Although the authors who noted the name of a Montenegrin woman with whom they had talked or her considerations about any subject were rare, in many travel books we find phrases of disapproval concerning the despotic attitude of men towards women. The Montenegrins are usually criticized for the physical exploitation of the fair sex, for their lack of interest in helping women in agricultural activities and for the little consideration they paid to women in social relations. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Italian authors recorded some changes in Montenegrin society and praised the King's attempts to improve the condition of women. They also noted the advantages of their life by comparing it with the condition of their neighbours in the territories governed by the Turks, referring above all to their personal security and freedom of movement at all times of the day and night, even during wartime. The representation of Montenegrin men as the defenders of the right of women's mobility is also present at the end of the 1870s in the travel accounts of the authors who showed sympathy towards the Montenegrins. In the travelogues published at the beginning of the twentieth century, however, this tendency fades and the descriptions are of women carrying heavy loads and doing all the rural activities, while their husbands devoted themselves exclusively to the arts of war.

CONCLUSION

We can conclude that the Italian authors were aware of the role they would play in creating the image of Montenegro, carefully choosing a visual representation functional to didactic



literary production. In this regard, it is difficult not to pursue the general consideration that many authors, at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, published travel books on Montenegro to show that the small Balkan country deserved to be listed among the civilized countries dedicated to cultural, social and economic development, while many of those who described it in the turbulent period of 1912–1913 assumed the task of disputing such an image.³⁰ Therefore the discourse of Italian travel writers about Montenegro from the period of the Savoy–Petrović marriage to the proclamation of the Kingdom of Montenegro in 1910 was particularly assertive, despite the numerous political and economic problems that the country faced during this period, while the first extremely negative representations appear only at the time of the Balkan Wars. Although in these accounts there are examples of the exaltation of the humanity and the heroism of the Montenegrins, an ironic tone in the description of their characteristics or the socio-political order of the country is much more frequent.

Several factors might have contributed to the existence of this duality of discourse. The tradition of the glorification of Montenegro continues in the accounts of those authors who believed that Italy and Montenegro should cultivate friendly relations, to the political and economic advantage of both countries, an attitude that was in line with the official Italian policy towards Montenegro during the first decade of the twentieth century. On the other hand, a *Balkanist discourse*³¹ marked the travelogues of the authors who supported the ideas of the Italian opposition parties, whether they were nationalists, who

30 Negative representations of Montenegro and criticism of Montenegrin sovereign policies are also present in the works of other foreign travel writers in the early twentieth century, but the Balkan Wars led to their suppression and the reproduction of the traditional images of the Montenegrins as fearless heroes (Šistek 2009, 141–167).

31 The *Balkanist discourse* represents a system of stereotypes that leads to labelling the Balkans as a semi-developed, semi-colonial, semi-civilized and semi-Eastern region. This category is used to indicate the opposition to Europe, which symbolizes hygiene, order, self-control, respect for laws, justice, and effective administration (Todorova 2006, 68–69, 241).



believed that Italy should impose itself as a power that would assert its supremacy in the Adriatic, to the detriment of the political aspirations of the Southern Slavs, or, as was the case with Mussolini's socialists, great adversaries of military campaigns at that particular time.

Beyond the issues concerning the sphere of foreign policy, the appearance of negative representations was also conditioned by the fact that these authors encountered Montenegro in a context quite different from those who had visited it between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The circumstances of war affected the spheres of interest of the authors, directing them towards data relevant to military preparation and tactics, issues where Montenegro was disadvantaged compared with neighbouring countries (Hall 2000, 15, 18). An important role in the formation of the attitude towards Montenegro may also have been played by the correspondence from journalists from Scutari, which aroused the empathy of the Italian public for the inhabitants of the city under siege. Gino Berri, for example, wrote about the hunger, the cold, the terror and the other sufferings of the Albanians who suffered the siege and the bombardment of the Montenegrins (Berri 1913).

The authors' personal opinions about the way a society should function, created under the influence of the environment from which they came, also affected the representation of Montenegro to the Italians. Many of the defects and shortcomings of Montenegrin society were found in the modernization process carried out from the era of the Prince-Bishops to the time of the secular Princes. Although this process brought progress, it also made the country less exotic in the eyes of foreign travellers, showing instead its contradictions and limits (Caccamo 2011, 107). This confirms the thesis that in the *Balkanist discourse* the disdain for the Balkans was due not to its underdeveloped and primitive nature, but to the image of the evolution of a rural society into a bourgeois one – that is, the transformation to which the most economically developed countries had been subjected some decades before (Todorova 2006, 111). Therefore, in the travelogues of Italian authors who visited Montenegro during the Balkan Wars harsh criticism,



irony and sarcasm on account of the insufficient development of the country dominate; all this is written only a few years after the glorifications of its progress. Furthermore, the myth of the egalitarian society without conflict, regulated by the virtues of chivalry, has been dismantled.

REFERENCES

- Andrijašević, Ž. and Š. Rastoder. 2006. *Istorija Crne Gore od najstarijih vremena do 2003*. Podgorica: Centar za iseljenike Crne Gore.
- Baldacci, A. 1897. *Crnagora: memorie di un botanico*. Bologna: Ditta Nicola Zanichelli.
- Barbarich, E. 1897. 'Alcune note sull'esercito del Montenegro: appunti di viaggio', Estratto da: *Rivista Militare Italiana*. Roma: Enrico Voghera.
- Barella, G. 1913. *La guerra turco-balcanica vista e vissuta agli avamposti montenegrini*. Venezia: Casa Ed. Veneta.
- Berri, G. 1913. *L'assedio di Scutari, sei mesi dentro la città accerchiata*. Milano: Treves.
- Biagini, A. F. 2012. *L'Italia e le guerre balcaniche*. Roma: Edizioni nuova cultura.
- Borsa, M. 1896. *Dal Montenegro: lettere*. Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche.
- Bracewell, W. 2008. 'Travels through the Slav World'. In *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe*, edited by W. Bracewell and A. Drace-Francis, 147–195.
- Burzanović, S., ed. 2009. *100 godina željeznice Crne Gore*. Cetinje-Podgorica: Obod-Željeznica Crne Gore.
- Caccamo, F. 2011. 'Alla scoperta della sponda orientale dell'Adriatico. Viaggiatori in Albania e in Montenegro'. In *Rotte adriatiche: tra Italia Balcani e Mediterraneo*, edited by S. Trinchese and F. Caccamo, 95–112.
- Cagni, M. 1899. *Dieci giorni al Montenegro*. Roma: Società editrice Dante Alighieri.
- Castellini, G. 1912. 'II. La guerra e la diplomazia.' *Illustrazione italiana* 36 (1): 228–230.
- Castellini, G. 1912. 'III. Il Montenegro in armi.' *Illustrazione italiana* 37 (1): 256–257.
- Castellini, G. 1912. 'IV. Vita estiva in una piccola capitale.' *Illustrazione italiana* 38 (2): 280–282.



- Castellini, G. 1913. 'Ricordi minimi di un corrispondente di guerra nel 1912.' *Illustrazione italiana* 2 (1): 42.
- Castellini, G. 1913. 'Lettere dall'Albania.' *L'illustrazione italiana* 20 (1): 478; 21 (1): 538; 23 (1): 563; 24 (1): 590.
- Castellini, G. 1913. *I popoli balcanici nell'anno della guerra, osservati da un italiano*. Milano: Fratelli Treves.
- Castellini, G. 1914. 'L'Adriatico, il mare della guerra.' *Illustrazione italiana* 39 (1): 284–285.
- Chirico, D. 2008. 'The Travel Narrative as a (Literary) Genre.' In *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe*, edited by W. Bracewell, and Alex Drace-Francis, 7–59. Budapest/New York: Central European University Press.
- Cipolla, C. and P. Vanni. 2013. *Storia della Croce rossa italiana dalla nascita al 1914*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Cora, G. 1900. 'Nel Montenegro. Impressioni di viaggio.' *Nuova antologia*, 174 (1): 652–680; 175 (1): 73–97, 243–261.
- Cora, G. 1912. 'La penisola balcanica nel momento attuale. Impressioni di viaggio.' *Nuova antologia di lettere, scienze ed arti*, 162 (1): 287–297.
- Corrodi, H. 1899. *Un'escursione nelle montagne nere*.
- Cronia, A. 1958. *La conoscenza del mondo slavo in Italia: bilancio storico-bibliografico di un millennio*, Padova: Officine grafiche Stediv.
- Čagorović, N. and C. Carmichael. 2006. 'Constructing and rethinking Montenegrin national identity.' *Narodna umjetnost*, 43 (1): 59–74.
- De Frenzi, G. 1910. 'Cettigne si fa bella.' *Il Giornale d'Italia* 232, (1): 8.
- De Frenzi, G. 1910. 'Dietro le quinte del Giubileo. Crisi ministeriale latente.' *Giornale d'Italia*, (1): 235.
- De Frenzi, G. 1910. 'Conversando col Presidente del Consiglio Tomanovic.' *Giornale d'Italia*, (1): 236.
- De Nicola, M. A. 2012. *Mario Borsa: biografia di un giornalista*. Tesi di dottorato di ricerca, Università degli studi della Tuscia – Viterbo.
- Duda, D. 1998. *Priča i putovanje: hrvatski romantičarski putopis kao pripovjedni žanr*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Dudan, A. 1912. 'Appunti di viaggio in Bosnia-Erzegovina, in Montenegro e in Albania durante l'insurrezione dei Malissori.' *Rassegna contemporanea* 7, (1): 27–50.
- Formiggini, A. F. 1928. *Dizionario degli italiani d'oggi*. Roma: Formiggini.
- Guarino, E. 1913. *Nei Balcani durante la guerra: lettere dal Montenegro, dalla Serbia, dalla Bulgaria, dalla Rumenia, dalla Turchia*, Milano: Società Editrice Avanti.
- Hall, R. C. 2000. *The Balkan wars 1912–1913. Prelude to the First World War*. London and New York: Routledge.



- Ivetić, E. 2006. *Le guerre balcaniche*, Bologna: Mulino.
- Jezernik, B. 2008. *Divlja Evropa*, prevela s engleskog S. Glišić. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek.
- Kilibarda, V. 1993. *Bibliografija o Crnoj Gori na italijanskom jeziku (1532–1941)*, *Crnogorska bibliografija*, tom IV, knj. 4, Cetinje: CNB Republike Crne Gore «Đurđe Crnojević».
- McArthur, S. 2010. *Being European: Russian Travel Writing and the Balkans, 1804–1877*, PhD diss., University College London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies.
- Mantegazza, V. 1896. *Al Montenegro, un paese senza parlamento: note ed impressioni (agosto–settembre 1896)*. Firenze: Successori Le Monnier.
- Mantegazza, V. 1910. *Questioni di politica estera*. Anno quinto. Milano: Fratelli Treves.
- Merolla, R. 1978. 'Castellini, Gualtiero', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Accessed on 10 January, 2019, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gualtiero-castellini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gualtiero-castellini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).
- Nigrisoli, B. 1915. *Osservazione e pratica di chirurgia di guerra. Campagna del Montenegro contro la Turchia (1912–1913) e notizie ed impressioni sui primi feriti della guerra nostra contro l'Austria (maggio–luglio 1915)*, Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Poli, U. 1904. 'Il Montenegro.' *Il Lavoratore*, April 4.
- Rossi, A. 1896. *Un'escursione nel Montenegro*. Milano: Carlo Aliprandi editore.
- Rovito, T. 1922. *Letterati e giornalisti italiani contemporanei, dizionario biobibliografico*, seconda edizione, Napoli.
- Saba, U. 1913. 'Come, dieci anni fa, fui bandito dal Montenegro.' *Il Resto del Carlino*, 102 (1): 8.
- Santucci, S. 1916. *Un viaggio nell'Albania settentrionale*. Roma: Tip.
- Scoccianti, T. 1914. *Appunti sul servizio di guerra prestato nel Montenegro, durante la campagna balcanica, dall'Ambulanza 29 della Croce Rossa italiana (novembre 1912–maggio 1913)*. Cingoli: Tip. F. Luchetti.
- Serristori, A. 1877. *La costa dalmata e il Montenegro durante la guerra del 1877: note di viaggio*. Firenze: Tipografia di G. Barbera.
- Sircana, G. 2003. 'Guarino, Eugenio, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.' Accessed on 10 January, 2019, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/eugenio-guarino_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/eugenio-guarino_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)
- Surdich, F. 1983. 'Cora, Guido.' *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. Accessed 10 January, 2019, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guido-cora_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guido-cora_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)
- Šitek, F. 2009. *Naša braća na Jugu: Češke predstave o Crnoj Gori i Crnogorcima 1830–2006*. Cetinje and Pogorica: Matica crnogorska.

- Tergesti, E. 1876. 'Una visita al principe del Montenegro.' *Guerra d'Oriente*, 2 (1): 15; 3 (1): 23–24; 4 (1): 26–27.
- Tergesti, E. 1876. 'Lettere dal Montenegro.' *Guerra d'Oriente*, no. 3 (1): 39; 6 (1): 44–46; 24 (1): 185–187; 27 (1): 209–211.
- Todorova, M. 2006. *Imaginarni Balkan*, prevele s engleskog A. B. Vučen i D. Starčević. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek/Krug, 2. izdanje.
- Vernassa, M. 1976. 'Opinione pubblica e politica estera. L'interessamento italiano nei confronti dell'area balcanica (1897–1903).' *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, (1): 338–364.
- Vittoria, A. 1992. 'Dudan, Alessandro.' *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Accessed on 10 January, 2019, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alessandro-dudan_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alessandro-dudan_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)



Travelling Poets During the Greek Dictatorship: Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios in Italy

AMANDA SKAMAGKA

University of Athens, Greece

| 49 |

Two of the most acclaimed Modern Greek poets, Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios, sojourned in Italy during the seven years of the military junta in Greece (1967–1974). Both of them preferred displacement over succumbing to a regime they did not believe in. During their stay in the Belpaese and later on when they returned to their host country, they both composed poetry, published after the collapse of the dictatorship in Greece. In these special “travel poems”, Vrettakos and Patrikios seem to be seeking their personal and national identity within a foreign land. Although they were allowed to openly express themselves there, their work is tempered with feelings of homesickness. Memory and trauma are poetically represented in these “Italian” poems along with the natural, urban and cultural landscape of Italy. Several questions arise when reading these poems inspired in Italy by Vrettakos and Patrikios: What is Greece and what is Italy? What defines the homeland? How do we characterize the other? Who is the foreigner, who is the stranger and who is the local? What is national, what is international and what is transnational? And what do border crossing, “nostos” and return mean to either of the poets? This paper seeks to comparatively examine two Modern Greek poets of different generations through their poems or prose, focusing on identity and alterity issues, memory and trauma. The aim is to prove that both of them, self-exiles in Italy, composed works in which they were both in search of consolation and identity, yet constantly recalling traumatic experiences of the past or pleasant memories that eventually caused pain. These compositions form a special type of travel literature, a genre recognized as such in Greece only in the last quarter of the 20th century (Παναρέτου 1995).

Key words: exile, Greek dictatorship, Italy, Patrikios, poetry, Vrettakos



INTRODUCTION

Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios suffered the same fate of self-exile abroad during the regime of the colonels in Greece. They both composed poetry or prose in their host country, Italy, and their work could be included in Greek travel literature, albeit differing from the Greek travel writing canon.

| 50 |

GREEK TRAVEL LITERATURE

Whereas travel writing about Greece by non-Greeks has been studied systematically, travel writing by Greeks has not received the same degree of attention and analysis, with the emphasis on impressions and the art of recording them (Tziovas 2009, 157). Moreover, the literary status of travel writing has only been recognized in Greece in recent decades; this fact is unsurprising, since it is a genre reflective of, and responsive to, the modern condition of increasing globalisation, mobility, travel and cross-cultural contact (Thompson 2011, 2). Greek travel literature has only scarcely and theoretically been studied and identified as a genre in Greece and it was only at the end of the 20th century that a corpus of Greek travel literary texts was compiled (Παναρέτου 1995, 15–17). Most of the Greek travel literature authors of the 20th century, such as Nikos Kazantzakis, Kostas Ouranis, Elias Venezis, I.M. Panayiotopoulos and Takis Papatsonis, moved for recreational or work purposes and incorporated their travel impressions into literary texts, travel accounts or articles, namely prose (Παναρέτου 1995, 9–10). Some of them also undertook travel specifically for the sake of writing about it, whereas others, such as Yiannis Psycharis, Alexandros Pallis and Dimitrios Vikelas, are considered to be diaspora writers having produced travel narratives (Tziovas 2009, 158).

However, few are the Greek writers who fled from totalitarian regimes and whose writing features themes related to exile, displacement, distance, separation, detachment, border crossing and identity seeking in their oeuvre (Gaertner 2007, 1). The majority of them were political exiles in Eastern Europe in the aftermath of the Greek Civil War (1946–1949) who produced novels and short stories in which they negotiated the trauma



of their political defeat and exile (Apostolidou in Tziovas 2009, 215–216). On the other hand, Nikoforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios were two poets who travelled west and successfully amalgamated travel impressions with exile sentiments, despite the fact that the definitions of exile and tourism occupy opposite poles in the modern experience of displacement (Kaplan 1996, 27). Both unwilling tourists, they absconded to Europe to evade political persecution by the Greek regime of the colonels, suffering homesickness, and yet relishing their independence and freedom to wander. Considering the interface between travel and exile and the fact that most of their travel texts are in verse rather than prose, unlike the larger part of Greek travel literature, their poems/prose in this paper can be considered to appertain to a special and seldom studied kind of Modern Greek travel literature.

THE REGIME OF THE COLONELS IN GREECE

From 21st April 1967 to 24th July 1974, Greece was ruled by the Greek military junta, widely known as the regime of the colonels. On the evening of 20th April 1967, a group of right-wing army officers led by brigadier general Stylianos Pattakos and colonels Georgios Papadopoulos and Nikolaos Makarezos seized power in a coup d'état, which they denominated the “revolution to save the nation”. They immediately occupied or sealed key points, such as ports, airports, radio stations, newspapers, ministries, police headquarters and the telecommunications centre. Political freedoms and civil liberties were instantly suppressed and several articles of the Greek Constitution, such as those protecting freedom of thought and freedom of the press, were suspended. New rules were imposed “by order of the revolutionary committee” and a new government was sworn in.

Following the coup, more than 6,000 suspected communists and political opponents were imprisoned or exiled on the grounds that they were enemies of the country. Most of them were subjected to internal exile on deserted Greek islands, such as Makronisos and Gyaros, or remote inhabited islands such as Leros and Agios Efstratios (often called AiStratis). Others,



including famous artists, authors, activists and journalists, were in external exile, involved in the resistance and organising protests in European capital cities or helping and hiding refugees from Greece (Διαμαντόπουλος 2000; Doulis 2011). Two of the most important Greek poets of the 20th century, Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios, were among those who lived in self-exile abroad during the years of the regime. This paper begins with the presentation of Vrettakos's case because of his belonging to an earlier generation of Greek poets than the latter.

| 52 |

NIKIFOROS VRETTAKOS IN ITALY

When the military coup occurred in 1967, Nikiforos Vrettakos (1912–1991) departed for Trogen, Switzerland. He first visited Italy in May 1969 but, in the meantime, had to postpone his return to Italy until April 1970, when he finally reached Palermo, the capital of Sicily, and its university to deliver lectures. He was astonished and “dreamfully impressed” by the analogies between Sicily and his motherland, the Peloponnese (Rotolo 2002, 114). A few months later, the founder of the Sicilian Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Bruno Lavagnini, proposed that Vrettakos relocate to Palermo, with the purpose of collaborating on the Greek–Italian Dictionary which the Institute was to publish. Vrettakos resided in Sicily until June 1974, working and raising awareness of the critical situation his country was undergoing. Unfortunately, he was constrained by having to spend five months as an inpatient in Cervello Hospital, suffering from tuberculosis, as a conclusion to his Sicilian stay. He returned to the Italian island on a final trip in 1985 (Rotolo 2002, 114–115; Rotolo 2015, 29).

Spending the last four years of the regime of the colonels (1970–1974) in Sicily, Vrettakos composed a number of poems there, which he entitled *Sicilian poems*. In those poems he expressed his personal trauma of self-imposed exile and his emotionally painful survival in a period of crisis in his homeland. Moreover, the poet appeared to be in search of his identity while in a foreign country away from home.



THE SICILIAN POEMS – SEEKING IDENTITY AND HOME

Most of Vrettakos's *Sicilian poems* were written in Sicily from 1970 to 1974 and consist of the poet's memories from his Sicilian sojourn, his friendship with the local people and his traumatic personal experiences; they are exile poems (Στέφος 1993, 369–370). However, they are also a kind of travel poetry, a kind of “topography” (Λεοντή 1998, 24), in which Vrettakos sought the Greek national, topographic and cultural identity in a foreign country. The Greek identity, as formed by the aesthetics of the 20th century, the so-called “greekness”, is based on avoiding the mimicry of foreign models and returning to topos, the Greek place, landscape, geography, climate, the Attic Sun and the Aegean Sea, the sky and mountains, the sea and islands (Λεοντή 1998, 195).

Since Vrettakos wrote most of the *Sicilian poems*³² while displaced in Italy, they abound in bitter feelings caused by the loss and memory of the Greek landscape, of the poet's homeland. The prefatory verses to the poetry collection, deriving from the poem “I had” included in another collection entitled *Internal Adventure*, present this sense of longing:

*And Greece,
now, like a faraway moon of chalk
dims, in memory's space...*³³ (Βρεττάκος 1990, 7).

Probably the most characteristic poem, which indicates the basic element of the Greek identity according to Vrettakos, the Greek sun, inaugurates the collection. It is entitled “My sun”, revealing the poet's intimacy and emotional attachment to the sun and light, which is a motif in Greek Modernism (Λεοντή 1998, 211). Vrettakos declared:

*They took my sun away, but I will find it.*³⁴ (Βρεττάκος 1990, 9)

32 Most of Vrettakos's *Sicilian poems* have not been translated into English. Therefore, the English verses appearing in this paper are the fruits of a personal translational effort. The same goes for Patrikios's prose and some of his poems. In these cases, the original text is also cited.

33 ... *Κ' ἡ Ελλάδα,
τώρα, σαν ένα μακρινό φεγγάρι από κιμωλία,
φέγγει, αμυδρά, στις μνήμης το διάστημα...*

34 *Μου πήραν τον ήλιο μου, αλλά εγώ θα τον βρω.*



Residing in a foreign country, the Greek sun is the first thing Vrettakos craves. The sun and light as identity features are a recurrent theme in the *Sicilian poems* and in many of Vrettakos's contemporary poems. The poet in Sicily dreamed of the sun renewing his old passport (Βρεττάκος 1990, 11), but this was merely a dream, since the regime in Greece would not renew his passport, in order to prevent him from returning. Vrettakos's loyalty to the sun is symbolic of his allegiance to Greece; encountering the sun abroad engendered ambivalent feelings within the poet, as in the poem "Meeting the sun in the Sicilian hills":

*The thunderbolt of your friendship found me, sun,
in unprotected hills
and smashed my heart,*³⁵ (Βρεττάκος 1990, 12)

and the poet felt mute and blind, unable to express himself anymore. The Sicilian hills were "unprotected" in contrast to the hills in Ploumitsa, Vrettakos's motherland, hills which could be defined as protective.

The memory of the Greek identity, of home, caused pain. Yet the poet took the sun with him when leaving, as well as the water, another element of nature connected to Greek identity, for instance in the poem "Leaving" (Βρεττάκος 1990, 14). And if this friend was sometimes lost, there were moments when it reminded him that home was love, wherever it originated from:

*And then I said
while seeing our common sun visiting me
[...]
that the strongest thing in this world
is not death, as we think. It's love.
[...] And I said
for this reason that the shiniest thing in this world
is not the sun, as we think. It's love.*³⁶ (Βρεττάκος 1990, 20–21)

35 *Με βρήκε, ήλιε, ο κεραυνός της φιλίας σου
πάνω σε λόφους που δεν προστατεύονται
και μου σύντριψε την καρδιά.*

36 *[...] Κ' είπα τότες
βλέποντας τον κοινό μας ήλιο που μ' επισκεπτόταν
[...]*

The second feature of Greek identity is the sea, which also symbolizes love in Vrettakos's poetry (Κακούρου-Χρόνη 1993, 288–289), the sea that unites Greece and Italy, the sea which the poet gazed at in order to describe his homeland in its waters:

*Soon, from welcoming hills, I'll be able
to look face to face at the sea
like a friend recognized after long absence.
There, on the shore beyond,
I'll know my country still exists.* (Vrettakos 2005, 34)

| 55 |

The poet was aware of the fact that Greece was not visible along the sea horizon he was looking at and, if it were, the sea of Palermo is not situated toward Greece anyway. Yet he hoped to hallucinate “the beating of her heart” (Vrettakos 2005, 34). So, the sea Vrettakos contemplated was a consolation, a shelter; it was hope (Κακούρου-Χρόνη 1993, 290) and led him to a dreamful realization of his most intense desire, the nostos, the painful return to his motherland, walking on the waves, riding on Arion's dolphin, following the music heard from his land (Βρεττάκος 1990, 16).

At other times, the view of the sea mingling with the ancient Greek ruins in Sicily formed a timeless, common cultural identity for the two places:

*Transparent time, sea and archaic columns,
intersecting the horizon and time
in Selinunte [...] ³⁷* (Βρεττάκος 1990, 13)

The relationship between Greece and the sea is timeless and eternal at the same time, because in Greece the sea fills your veins with salt, light and sounds from eternity (Βρεττάκος 1990, 20).

*ότι το δυνατότερο πράγμα σ' αυτόν τον κόσμο
δεν είναι όπως νομίζουμε ο θάνατος. Είναι η αγάπη.
[...] Κ' είπα*

*γι' αυτό πως το λαμπρότερο πράγμα σ' αυτό τον κόσμο
δεν είναι όπως νομίζουμε ο ήλιος. Είναι η αγάπη.*

- 37 *Διάφανη ώρα, θάλασσα κι αρχαϊκές κολώνες,
που τέμνουν τον ορίζοντα και το χρόνο
στη Σεληνούττα. [...]*



The natural landscape in Sicily – trees, flowers and animals – bears a resemblance to that of the poet’s motherland in the Peloponnese. This can be geologically and geographically explained, since Sicily and the Peloponnese are in the same parallel. So, Vrettakos would seek the Greek identity even in the Sicilian plants:

Was it the silver olive tree, my old girlfriend?

*The lemon trees that snowed flowers in my heart?*³⁸ (Βρεττάκος 1990, 14)

The olive trees, revered and recurrent in Greek mythology, history and landscape, the lemon trees that abound in both countries and emitted a pleasant odour in the air the poet breathed (Βρεττάκος 1990, 19), but also other trees that grow in both countries and cover Europe in their scent (Βρεττάκος 1990, 20) and flowers, such as geraniums (Βρεττάκος 1990, 21), mimosa (Βρεττάκος 1990, 22), “the big magnolias” (Βρεττάκος 1990, 24), are certainly not the only ones in the Sicilian hills, but they exemplify the common topography of Greece (the Peloponnese) and Italy (Sicily).

Sometimes, the “Greek garden” is just a metonymy of the Greek cultural identity. Vrettakos explains this in his poem entitled “Via Noto 34”, in which he describes the address in which the Sicilian Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies is housed in Palermo, referring to the Institute’s director, Bruno Lavagnini:

*his face lights up as if he were to enter
a Greek garden. And it’s true.*

*The rooms bloomed. From Homer to
Solomos, you thought the names
were flowers moving.*³⁹ (Βρεττάκος 1990, 23)

38 *Νάτανε η ασημένια ελιά, η παλιά μου φιλενάδα;
Οι λεμονιές που χιόνισαν στην καρδιά μου ανθούς;*

39 *το πρόσωπό του φωτίζεται ως νάσαι να μπει
σ’ελληνικό περιβόλι. Κ’ είναι αλήθεια.
Οι αίθουσες έθαλλαν. Απ’τον Όμηρο ως
το Σολωμό τα ονόματα, θαρρούσες
πως ήταν λουλούδια που σάλευναν.*

The Greek poets' oeuvre in the Institute's library are flowers blooming in the Greek garden and they are alive, they move, they are ready to talk to anyone interested in them.

In the *Sicilian poems* Vrettakos was in search of the Greek identity, but he sometimes seems to be struggling, realizing he is an expatriate, detached from his homeland, from the place he was born and raised. So, these poems are also a kind of heterotopia which means a real topos, a place seen as something different (Λεοντή 1998, 85). Vrettakos was seeking his homeland but far afield from it, whereas a heterotopia can also be a marginal place, such as a prison, a hospital, a ghetto. Moreover, a heterotopia can be a place with works of art from all civilizations and times, which are supposed to be protected, places such as museums, libraries and archaeological sites (Λεοντή 1998, 86). Alterity in Vrettakos's poems, though, is not to be detected only in heterotopias. Otherness is a wide term, including a plethora of different forms that something appears in, and we have to define what this something is (Γκότοβος 2001, 30), by connecting it to linguistic, cultural, social characteristics. In Vrettakos's Italian-themed poems, alterity can be studied at a geographical, individual, national and global level.

Even if Vrettakos resided in Italy for several years and expressed his gratitude to the local people cordially hosting him, he remains on the periphery, never ceasing to regard it as a foreign country, a place away from home. Consequently, his perspective remains the one of an outlander, of a Greek person. The *Sicilian poems* abound in nostalgia for homeland, bitterness for detachment and desire of homecoming. The sun, the sea, nature, the Greek antiquities of Sicily are the connectors between the self-banished poet and his home, they are the similarities between Italy and Greece which the poet is seeking, in order to find consolation in the foreign yet welcoming place he is in ("I was in a foreign but brotherly bed" (Βρεττάκος 1990, 20), he wrote). The poet was far from home, far from the "protective" hill of Ploumitsa (Rotolo 2015, 14) where he reached adulthood, in "unprotected hills" (Βρεττάκος 1990, 12), which did not offer him the sense of safety, security or intimacy, causing him a lot of pain. Although these 'others', the foreigners, were like



brothers to him, they consoled him (Βρεττάκος 1990, 15), even if the world around him was often incomprehensible (Βρεττάκος 1990, 25). Lastly, some other heterotopias in the *Sicilian poems* are the library of the Sicilian Institute (Βρεττάκος 1990, 23) and Cervello Hospital where he received medical care and observed other inmates, such as the “amico partigiano Luigi” (Βρεττάκος 1990, 18).

TITOS PATRIKIOS IN ITALY

Titos Patrikios was born in Athens in 1928 and has recently celebrated his ninetieth birthday. He was active in the resistance movement against the German occupation, but during the years of the Greek Civil War he was displaced within the borders of his own country to detention camps on the islands of Makronisos and AiStratis. Later, he was exiled outright to Paris and Rome, working for UNESCO and several French research institutes. The poet’s loss of his home and his mother tongue are clearly evident in his poems, which combine nostalgic recollections of sexual encounters with an almost allegorical longing for what is absent: the body of the beloved woman, as well as the body of the beloved homeland. Patrikios found in his displacement a profound but guilt-ridden motivation to speak for those who could (or would) not (Bakken in Patrikios 2006, 16).

Patrikios is considered to be a humanistic “poet of witness and engagement, a survivor of imprisonment, hard labor, censorship, protest and exile. His biography, in short, is the biography of the intellectual left in post-War Greece. He narrowly escaped death by firing squad, once had to bury his poems to keep them from discovery by the authorities, and endured years abroad, away from his home country, Greece, utterly displaced from his family and literary community” (Bakken and Yiannias 2007). Of course, this is the case of many leftist poets and artists at the time, such as Patrikios’s “spiritual father”, as he calls him, the poet Yiannis Ritsos, who was also Vrettakos’s friend.

Patrikios lived between Paris and Rome from 1959 to 1975, but he also visited multiple Italian cities. He repatriated a year after the restoration of democracy and even now he still cannot



help returning to Italy at least once a year. In the poems and prose he composed during the years of the Greek dictatorship that he spent in Italy, he immersed himself in the architectural, urban, cultural, artistic, natural and political landscape of the country. He reflected on the past while also problematizing the current reality, he compared ancient and modern Roman times and people, and he gave readers an insight into history, often expressing memory and trauma.

MEMORY AND TRAUMA IN PATRIKIOS'S "ITALIAN" POEMS/PROSE

Patrikios's post-1950s poems are "full of nostalgia and disappointment with one's country and its people, especially in their acceptance of the Papadopoulos dictatorship, which caused his exile to Rome and Paris" (Myrsiades 2008). In 1967, some months after the establishment of the dictatorship in Greece, Patrikios's bitter memories were awakened. In the poem entitled "Names", written in December 1967, which belongs to the collection *Optional Stop*, he recalled some of his friends, poets who *had* suffered and *still* suffered, banished on deserted Greek islands, while he was away from home but, at least, free to live and express himself:

*The only thing I can write
is your name
poet friends, forgotten companions,
Kostas, Manolis, Tasos, Yiannis.
A pencil and a piece of paper
are to be found under any circumstances*⁴⁰ (Πατρικίος 2018, 135)

40 Το μόνο που μπορώ να γράψω
είναι τ'όνομά σας
φίλοι ποιητές, σύντροφοι ξεχασμένοι,
Κώστα, Μανώλη, Τάσο, Γιάννη.
Ένα μολύβι και χαρτί
Βρίσκονται σ'όλες τις συνθήκες.



About a year later, in September 1968 at a Poetry Conference in Barberino, Italy, Patrikios tried to raise awareness on the problematic survival of those exiled poets in Greece:

From the beginning I posed the problem of the exiled by the Junta poets, Yiannis Ritsos, Kostas Kouloufakos, Manolis Fourtounis, Tasos Spyropoulos, Yiannis Negrepontis, for whom they all expressed their solidarity. At the very same moment, a decree was approved unanimously denouncing the Junta and demanding their immediate release.⁴¹ (Πατρίκιος 2006, 217)

In May 1968, during the Paris uprising he experienced firsthand, he composed a poem of introspection and self-consciousness, entitled “Intermediate stations”:

*Another winter has passed
without seeing the colour of your mountains
change on time of day
without knowing whom I will find again
of those I would like to be waiting for me.*⁴² (Πατρίκιος 2018, 137)

It seems that the poet addressed his verses to his homeland, Greece, which he yearned for, being abroad. Nostalgic, bitter emotions made Rome, the ancient and glorious city, look miserable (Πατρίκιος 2018, 137). The mountains, just like Vrettakos’s hills, represented the homeland for Patrikios, as in the poem “The mountains”, even if Greece is a country supposed to be defined by the sea and sun:

In the beginning was the sea.

41 “Έθεσα από την αρχή το πρόβλημα των εξορίστων από τη Χούντα ποιητών, του Γιάννη Ρίτσου, του Κώστα Κουλουφάκου, του Μανόλη Φουρτούνη, του Τάσου Σπυρόπουλου, του Γιάννη Νεγρεπόντη, για τους οποίους όλοι εξέφρασαν την αλληλεγγύη τους. Την ίδια κιόλας στιγμή εγκρίθηκε ομόφωνα ένα ψήφισμα που κατάγγελλε τη Χούντα και απαιτούσε την άμεση απελευθέρωσή τους”.

42 *Πέρασε ακόμα ένας χειμώνας
χωρίς να βλέπω το χρώμα των βουνών σου
ν’ αλλάζει με τις ώρες
χωρίς να ξέρω ποιον θα ζαναβρώ
απ’ όσους θα ‘θελα να περιμένουν.*

*I was born among islands,
me too an island that emerged temporarily
just in time to see light – this also like a stone –
and then sink back again.
The mountains came later.
I chose them.*

*Somehow I must share the weight
that for ages pressed this country down* (Patrikios 2006, 104)

So, it was a matter of choice, a matter of identity someone could assume. Modernist Greek poets praised the sea and sun; he chose the mountains and stones to express his national identity and carry the burden of classical inheritance. It is the stone he sang of again in Rome, in September 1969:

*Again the same arrogance:
to chisel your life on another life,
as if you wanted to withdraw
your own figure from inside the stone
believing you had liberated it* (Patrikios 2006, 106)

While Patrikios seemed to be seeking his identity, one should not forget he was in a foreign country. Even if he may have been feeling at home, free to express himself, alterity and otherness often appeared to be dominating, as in the poem entitled “Foreign skies”:

*Always foreign, we turn
from country to country, from city to city.
The little glint of the home country
in the corner of the eye
always fading
under foreign skies* (Patrikios 2006, 107)

Patrikios struggled to recall his homeland’s light, its image, the feelings associated with it. He felt alien; the country he resided was a foreign country, his identity faded, transformed, vanishing day by day. The memory he preserved from home represented persecution, torture, hardship, betrayal because the body could not suffer torture anymore (Πατρίκιος 2018, 146), the war, and following wars that never stopped, and lack of progress (Πατρίκιος 2018, 147). Until a woman recovered his homeland:



*You brought back my land.
Light and red dirt
Stomped upon by tyrants and enemies.
You brought back the storms
of the autumn sea
that rinsed the dust
from my face
and I felt beneath my flesh
the same spine of mountains
that through the years
kept the homeland standing (Patrikios 2006, 109).*

But this woman reintroduced another feature of his Greek identity, his mother tongue, the means of communication he should have negated, living in a foreign country:

*You brought back my language.
Old words, buried
in ruins and ash,
now come to light
[...]
Raw metal of words,
thirst, and adequacy
of communication (Patrikios 2006, 109).*

Last but not least, this woman reinstated his city, Athens, the capital of Greece:

*You brought back my city,
which lives and changes away from me,
containing the houses that disappeared
and the river that was covered over.
and she brings the dream of an unknown sea:
You brought back the dream.
Unknown sea, unexplored
sea of mine,
volcanic island,
a bet with death.
Not knowing if we'll sink again
or if we'll surface even higher (Patrikios 2006, 110)*

Patrikios's friends and old companions were in prison; some of them were heroes, and others could be regarded as cowards



(Πατρίκιος 2018, 153). The poet was mutable away from home, like some kind of liquid obtaining the shape of the container in which it is enclosed (Πατρίκιος 2018, 154). He felt like a stranger in somebody else's house, since it was a friend who accommodated him in a temporary dwelling which was not his *home* (Πατρίκιος 2018, 158).

Titos Patrikios recalled the years of hardship, dictatorship and exile even in poems and prose he composed and published decades later. In January 2004, he wrote the poem "Political refugees in Rome, in 1970 and later on", in which he once more reminisced about his self-imposed exile in Rome during the Greek dictatorship:

*So many persecuted people I saw in the cities
I was forced or I chose to live in
but I met them closer in Rome
which received us like a maternal hug.
We had all fled similar fascisms
companions speaking another language, brothers at once
with common starting points, with divergent perspectives,
and then I discovered on the opposite coast
tortured on opposing paths, fugitives
from regimes I used to admire.*⁴³ (Πατρίκιος 2018, 390)

The capital city of Italy, Rome, where he resided during the dictatorship, proved to be like a mother to him and to other political refugees of the time, who did not speak the same language as the Greek poet, yet they all shared the same destiny and often the same ideology.

43 *Τόσους κνηγημένους έβλεπα στις πόλεις
που αναγκαζόμουν ή διάλεγα να ζήσω
αλλά τους γνώρισα από πιο κοντά στη Ρώμη
που μας δεχότανε σαν μητρική αγκαλιά.
Όλοι είχαμε ξεφύγει από παραπλήσιους φασισμούς
σύντροφοι αλλόγλωσσοι, μονομιάς αδέρφια
με τις κοινές αφετηρίες, με αποκλίνουσες προοπτικές,
κι έπειτα ανακάλυπτα στην αντίπερα όχθη
βασανισμένους με αντίδρομες πορείες, φυγάδες
από καθεστώτα που άλλοτε τα θαύμαζα.*

Patrikios recalled his sojourn in Italy, the monuments he visited there and the historical facts related to those monuments. Sometimes, sightseeing in Italy allowed him to evade his harsh reality, due to the impact of art and beauty. For instance, while visiting Florence on 13th September 1968 and some of the city's most renowned museums, such as the Uffizi Gallery and the Pitti Palace, Patrikios assumed that "the beauty of a city is not something self-sufficient. It is easily transformed into hell by violence, oppression, occupation. That is what happened in Athens a year ago with the coup [...]"⁴⁴ (Πατρίκιος 2006, 214). For this reason, Patrikios seemed to be searching for a new homeland in Florence, an attractive one, as he defined it, exclaiming "at last, here is an attractive homeland"⁴⁵ (Πατρίκιος 2000, 50), even if this was far from his own homeland. Patrikios is an art lover; he admired the paintings in the Italian museums and meditated upon their meaning and significance, as he did when he contemplated a painting called *Ideal city*. The poet realized that only temporarily had he found an ideal city in his imagination, elsewhere, in foreign cities, in different times (Πατρίκιος 2000, 83). Patrikios was aware there could be an attractive homeland but not an ideal city and that he was "a Greek as the others see him"⁴⁶ (Πατρίκιος 2000, 60). Therefore, the poet was Greek, an expatriate in a foreign country, where he discovered Greek elements but not a Greek identity; because, as he mentioned, when we are far away from home, we love it "passionately, agonizingly, but without obligations", as Dante loved Beatrice⁴⁷ (Πατρίκιος 2000, 65).

44 "η ομορφιά μιας πόλης δεν είναι κάτι αυθύπαρκτο. Εύκολα μετατρέπεται σε κόλαση από τη βία, την καταδυνάστευση, την κατοχή. Έτσι, έλεγα, έγινε η Αθήνα πριν από ένα χρόνο με το πραξικόπημα [...]"

45 "επιτέλους, να μια ελκυστική πατρίδα".

46 "ένας Έλληνας όπως τον βλέπουν οι άλλοι".

47 "Από μακριά αγαπάμε τη γενέθλια γη παθιασμένα, βασανιστικά, αλλά χωρίς υποχρεώσεις. Όπως ο Δάντης τη Βεατρίκη".

CONCLUSIONS

Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios are two of the most acclaimed Modern Greek poets who travelled to Italy during the seven years of the military junta in Greece. Both of them favoured a self-imposed exile abroad rather than succumbing to a regime they were averse to. Nevertheless, had they not crossed the borders of their homeland, they would have faced internal exile, which was the case for many other left-wing poets of the time. During their sojourn in the “Belpaese” and later when they paid short return visits to their host country, they both composed verses or prose, which were published after the restoration of democracy in Greece or even decades later. In these special travel compositions, Vrettakos and Patrikios seem to be seeking their personal and national identity, in a foreign land in which their new-found freedom of expression allowed them to explore their longing for their homeland. The themes of historical and personal memory and trauma are poetically represented in these “Italian” poems/prose, along with the natural, urban and cultural landscape of Italy.

In these compositions Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios were inspired in Italy; the poets address questions of national identity and otherness, in an effort to comprehend what homeland is, who the others are, what national, international and transnational is and what border crossing, “nostos” and return mean to each of the poets. Vrettakos was undoubtedly painfully nostalgic, yearning for his homecoming, whereas Patrikios also expressed homesickness, yet seemed to have more peacefully accepted the loss. Both poets were outsiders in a foreign country, which was friendly yet ultimately not their home. They were Greeks in Italy; they had crossed the border, losing all markers of their identity: their house, their land, their family, their people and their language. Although homeland relates to a sense of belonging, being welcomed is insufficient for having a national identity. In search of consolation, they envisioned the Greek natural landscape when they contemplated the Italian sun, sea or mountains, projecting home on to their current reality. Furthermore, Patrikios sought his consolation in Italian art



and, unlike Vrettakos, explicitly referred to the persecuting regime that had resulted in his exile, the burden of which was hard to overcome. In this special subgenre of travel poetry, narratives of melancholy, discomfort, bitterness and homesickness are predominant, notwithstanding both poets' gratitude for the opportunity to live in Italy, a country that, at least, felt like home.

REFERENCES

- Apostolidou, V. 2009. 'The politics of memory in the fiction of Greek political exiles in Eastern Europe.' In *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700*, edited by Dimitris Tziouvas, 215–227. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Doulis, T. 2011. *The Iron Storm: The Impact on Greek Culture of the Military Junta, 1967–1974*. Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation.
- Gaertner, J. F. 2007. 'The Discourse of Displacement in Greco-Roman Antiquity.' In *Writing Exile: The Discourse of Displacement in Greco-Roman Antiquity and Beyond*, edited by J. F. Gaertner, 1–20. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Kaplan, C. 1996. *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Myrsiades, K. 2008. 'A Modern Odysseus.' *American Book Review*, 29 (4): 13–24.
- Patrikios, T. 2006. *The Lions' Gate: Selected Poems of Titos Patrikios*. Translated by Christopher Bakken, Roula Konsolaki. Missouri: Truman State University Press.
- Rotolo, V. 2002. 'Η Σικελία στην ποίηση του Νικηφόρου Βρεττάκου.' *Διαβάζω*, 425 (15): 114–18.
- Rotolo, V. 2015. *Nikiforos Vrettakos*. Chania: Regione dell'isola di Creta-Dipartimento di Chania.
- Thompson, C. 2011. *Travel Writing*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Tziouvas, D. 2009. 'Indigenous Foreigners: The Greek Diaspora and Travel Writing (1880–1930).' In *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700*, edited by D. Tziouvas, 157–176. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Vrettakos, N. 2005. *Thirty Years in the Rain. The Selected Poetry of Nikiforos Vrettakos*. Translated by Robert Zaller, Lili Bitá. Boston and MA: Somerset Hall Press.
- Yiannias, V. J. 2007. 'Titos Patrikios: A Lion among Greek Poets.' Accessed on 5 February 2019, <http://www.greeknewsonline.com/titos-patrikios-a-lion-among-greek-poets/>
- Βρεττάκος, Ν. 1990. *Σικελικά ποιήματα*. Αθήνα: Αστrolάβος/Ευθύνη.



- Γκότοβος, Α. Ε. 2001. *Οικουμενικότητα, ετερότητα και ταυτότητα: Η επαναδιαπραγματέυση του νοήματος της παιδείας*. Ιωάννινα: Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων.
- Διαμαντόπουλος, Θ. 2000. 'Η δικτατορία των συνταγματαρχών, 1967–1974.' In *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, edited by Ε. Κωφός, 266–286. Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών.
- Κακούρου-Χρόνη, Γ. 1993. 'Συνάντηση με τη θάλασσα. Η θάλασσα, ένα άλλο σύμβολο στην ποίηση του Νικηφόρου Βρεττάκου.' In *Μνήμη του ποιητή Νικηφόρου Βρεττάκου (1912–1991)*, edited by Π. Δ. Μαστροδημήτρης, 288–289. Αθήνα: Δόμος.
- Λεοντή, Α. 1998. *Τοπογραφίες Ελληνισμού. Χαρτογραφώντας την Πατρίδα*. Translated by Παναγιώτης Στογιάννος. Αθήνα: Scripta.
- Παναρέτου, Α. Π. 1995. *Ελληνική ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία. 20ός αιώνας: Η άνθηση και η ακμή*. Αθήνα: Επικαιρότητα.
- Παναρέτου, Α. Π. 1995. *Ελληνική ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία. Η μακριά πορεία των απαρχών ως τον 19^ο αιώνα*. ν. 1. Αθήνα: Επικαιρότητα.
- Πατρίκιος, Τ. 2000. *Συνεχές ωράριο. Διηγήσεις*. Αθήνα: Κέδρος.
- Πατρίκιος, Τ. 2006. *Περιπέτειες σε τρεις σχεδίες*. Αθήνα: Κέδρος.
- Πατρίκιος, Τ. 2018. *Ποιήματα Β' 1959–2017*. Αθήνα: Κίχλη.
- Στέφος, Α. 1993. 'Περιδιάβαση στα Σικελικά ποιήματα του Νικηφόρου Βρεττάκου.' In *Μνήμη του ποιητή Νικηφόρου Βρεττάκου (1912–1991)*, edited by Π. Δ. Μαστροδημήτρης, 369–383. Αθήνα: Δόμος.



Horizons and Limes of Travelogue with a Thesis – Rumiz’s Journey Along the Adriatic and Ionian Coasts Through History

VEDAD SPAHIĆ

University of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina

| 69 |

DRAGOSLAV DEDOVIĆ

Deutsche Welle, Germany

This work tries to answer the question of whether the thesis about the clash of civilizations which is based on the essentialization of differences can be deconstructed by the counter-theses that also rely on the essentialist views supported by the author of *The Route to Lepanto*, Paolo Rumiz. Rumiz does not travel in order to become aware. He is aware, therefore he travels. He is a travel writer who does not feed himself with the political energy of the concrete travelling experience, but rather associates his experience with the fullness of his anti-globalization ideas. The analytical approach applied by the authors in this paper does not have at the forefront the historical-cultural and theoretical context through which they would, among other things, deal with Rumiz. Rather, it is strongly focused on Rumiz’s text, through which, inductively, they seek to highlight some important coordinates of this broader context. Supplementary themes of his travel writings are elaborations of ideas about the preference of one side in a register of a few Rumiz’s central dichotomies: East vs. West, mountains vs. sea, good multinational empires vs. bad nationalism, Mediterraneanism vs. Atlanticism, etc. Collective states of mind are the forces that rule over the individuals. Venice is an absolute measure of such interpretation of the world; it is understood as a zero criterion of utopian way of valuing all the things he encounters during his travel which attempts to reconstruct all the memories and traces of erased cultural heritage of the former empires. Instead of a clash of cultures, Rumiz promotes the idea of ignorance, separation of Western Europeans from their own roots and the need to re-essentialize, to return to Lepanto, like salmon do – to the spring of peoples,



monotheistic religions, cultures and civilizations. Rumiz’s choice of facts from history, or those from the experience of his fellow travellers, often shows “the syndrome of self-service”, an arbitrary arrangement of facts that support his thesis freely, but at the same time not mentioning those that could refute it. The Battle of Lepanto is seen as the starting point, the cause of the situation nowadays. This work has shown that, despite the irrefutable elements of the literary, his travelogue compromises its literary status, as it serves only to exemplify the treatise; it does not reveal anything new but merely confirms his starting agenda and therefore compromises its literal status.

Key words: Travelogue with Thesis, Literariness, Clash of Cultures, Essentialism, Deconstruction, Venice, the Adriatic, Lepanto

INTRODUCTION

Why have all the empires from the east Mediterranean sunk? Why does the West not understand the East anymore? These questions have urged Rumiz to set out on a journey to Lepanto, the place of the great sea battle between the Holy League, led by the Spaniards and Venetians on one side and the Ottoman fleet on the other. He sailed across the Croatian, Montenegrin, Albanian and Greek coast to reach his final destination. Lepanto is an ordinary Greek town called Nafpaktos today, but in October 1571 it was a place with the largest number of casualties in one day. Forty thousand people died during a battle that lasted only a few hours. Christians won. But they had lost Cyprus previously. So, was not it somehow a draw?

The travel story was published in twenty-two sequences in the Roman left-wing daily paper *La Repubblica* in August 2004. Bilić translated it into Croatian and it was published in 2005. At first sight, his story could be put in the context of the modern matrix of cultural mobility. One of its features is the reconstruction of pre-modern itineraries, as well as the problem of so-called cultural making of space known as ‘upheaval towards space’. Some recent theories consider this to be a thorough attempt to develop a more creative and efficient balance between the



spatial/geographical and temporal/historic, which is considered one of the most important roles of humanistic science in the third millennium (Duda 2012, 15), leaving behind the modern paradigm of travelling as a metaphor of human restlessness and free will, as autonomous activity which causes pleasure or glorifies escapism. The motives of Rumiz's supplementary thematization⁴⁸ correspond with the main sphere of interest of today's travel writing which usually covers the following topics: identities, alterities and imagology, colonial, postcolonial and globalization issues, the questions of enlightenment, modernity and post-modernity... (Duda 2012, 22).

| 71 |

Rumiz does not travel in order to become aware. He is aware, therefore he travels. His journey from Venice to Lepanto is a travel with a thesis. It is formatted within the postcolonial discourse; the main premise about the lost memory of history and the price that Europe as well as the West generally, which is still paying, is sublimed in the preface to the Croatian edition of the book. It starts: "They are shouting 'Lepanto! Lepanto!' and waving the flag of 1571 victory over the Turks, serving as a warning to Islam after 9/11 but in reality they know very little or nothing about the war back then. They know nothing about Venice, Byzantine or the Mediterranean. They know nothing about the peoples living on the coasts of the Adriatic or Ionian seas, let alone the Ottoman Empire" (Rumiz 2005, 7). His main thought is concisely stated in the text a number of times, such as: "All the great Mediterranean civilizations were able to make peace between different religions. All except ours. It takes time to make an amalgam, and time is what we lack. We are ruined by the speed, our thoughts are vanishing and meditation is being destroyed. The complexity is lost" (Rumiz 2005, 151). The main thesis was divided into twelve operative and auxiliary sub-theses in the Croatian preface:

48 Supplementary thematization includes all forms of knowledge and announcements that build upon on the essential expose of the travelogue. There are two modes to supplementary thematization, the first one being speculative enhancement, while the second entails figurative procedures (Duda 1998, 134).



1. The clash of civilizations is of historical continuity;
2. This clash is not religious or cultural;
3. The clash exists between the East and the West, theocracy and democracy;
4. The identity of Europe is inclusively connective (Europe is not only the West; it is the bridge between the East and West);
5. The line of division goes through the Balkan peninsula, more precisely through Mostar and its Old Bridge as a symbol;
6. There is an opposition between the Mediterranean complexity and the Atlantic lack of criticism;
7. Mild European/Bosnian Islam serves as a buffer zone and a prophylaxis in this clash of civilizations;
8. The historical factography stands opposed to the nonchalant perceptions influenced by mass media;
9. Venice became the leading Mediterranean navy due to the concept of knowledge as power, knowing the enemy;
10. This concept has made it possible that, despite the wars, the Mediterranean had continuity in the field of culture and communication up until 19th century;
11. Nationalisms, which are hydrophobic by nature, have ruined the Mediterranean complexity;
12. The only true winners of Lepanto are the Atlantic countries with a colonial mentality.

ACTANTIAL STRUCTURE OF TRAVELOGUE WITH A THESIS

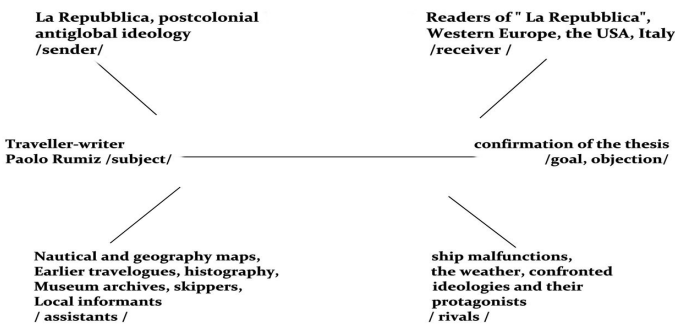
Rumiz claims there is no winner of the Battle at Lepanto. The Mediterranean lost. Venice and Constantinople have slid into decadence, while the Atlantic countries have become the bright future. European nationalists are not aware of what they are saying about famous historic battles against Islam. This is because they do not know anything about it, and they do not know either Islam or anything about the Christians living in the Mediterranean. Therefore, they do not know their own past. Inner otherness is amputated. This line of thought brings us to the problem of the inner disruption of a good part of Europe which has a long history of wanting to liberate itself from Marx’s idea that “those who cannot represent themselves must



be represented”. Europe has never distanced itself from colonial stereotypes; it tried to be politically correct for too long, it hid the skeletons in the closet for too long, stuffed things under the carpet, went silent over many ‘hot topics’ which left enough space for aggressive extremists to act, “which made Lepanto become the right wing’s toy. They simply allowed it to become a toy. For goodness’ sake, talking about Lepanto is not politically correct. One never knows when it will provoke another conflict of civilizations, which is always present” (Rumiz 2005, 156).

Rumiz’s travel writing is not nurtured by the political energy of travel experience, but rather he associates it with his anti-globalization ideas. In this context the actantial scheme, in relation to the theoretical standard of literary-oriented travelogue, shows significant differences. The most prominent difference refers to the object/goal of his journey, and the actantial position of the opponent who does not have a status of pseudo-opponent but that of concrete enemy. He explains this in a situation: “On the boat next to ours are ‘the Lombardi’ who have lion on the mast, just like ours. When I tell them we are sailing to Lepanto, they answer: ‘Bravo, those Muslim dogs should all be killed.’ I patiently try to explain that our symbol of lion has nothing in common with theirs, this is not *Lega Nord* lion, it is a Venetian lion” (Rumiz 2005, 156).

Figure 1: The actantial scheme of “The Route to Lepanto”



Source: Author’s own analysis.

By sailing across the Adriatic coast, the author tries to reveal the long-forgotten stories to the present Mediterranean



world. He writes down the things his senses experience, but he is consciously avoiding the realities that do not fit his ideology (this will be discussed further in the work). He also passionately writes about the things that cannot be clearly seen in the real world, that is, the traces of former empires. The Venetian Republic, the Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarians, even Tito’s Yugoslavia have all disappeared under the influence of consumerism, tourism and hedonism which prevail in the present. Rumiz differentiates between the terms ‘traveller’ and ‘tourist’. The traveller is a curious searcher for the sunken civilizations, he is ready to understand and interpret them, whereas the tourist is forgetful, he is sunbathing, and the peak of his journey is taking an interesting photo of the scenery. The emotions are also dichotomic – on one side is the affection towards ‘our sea’ and the lost empires on its coast, and on the other side there is dourness towards the present which is not able to establish continuity with its Mediterranean past.

LITERARINESS IN PROCRUST’S BED OF IDEOLOGY

However, examples of double supplementary thematisation (substantial and metaphorical-metonymical), which are more literally potent, are the most successful when they are beyond appellativeness and proved elaboration of starting theses, and when they more closely correspond to modernistic travelogue tradition which “prefers an individual, melancholy, self-indulgence, experiment with the unknown world ... transferring events from the world into the narrator’s consciousness. They speak the very best through the selected authorized motives“ (Duda 2012, 212). At such intervals, the eastern Adriatic coast appears as a kind of *locus amoenus* to Rumiz. Fascination of the seen and the inference of its literarization remain irreplaceable guarantees of literature travelogue authenticity: “From Marco Polo to the Belgian t’ Serstevens, travelogue as literature genre had to transform itself by keeping its core of pedestrian experience of the world, seeing and hearing it in close“ (Begić 197, 549).

However, Rumiz’s intention was not to oppose the new splits on the map of the Mediterranean, but to point to the old



fracture that divided Europe into the Orient and the Occident from Poland to Sicily. According to Rumiz, as pointed out in the introduction, the clash of civilizations has always existed, and it is not that only the Islamic and Christian world fought each other, but also geopolitical blocks – East and West, Constantinople and Rome. This war is older than the religions and ideologies. This is the reason why Rumiz wants to avoid the main postulate of Samuel P. Huntington, an American political scientist, who, in his theory of ‘the clash of civilizations’ stated that conflicts in the future would be led between the blocks in which cultures would gather, not on the basis of ideologies or geopolitical interests. However, Rumiz’s view of ‘space’ of the Occident and the Orient is very similar to Huntington’s theory about cultural blocks. The only difference is that Rumiz feels sorry for the lost ability to understand the potential enemy, because the Mediterranean is a place of conflict as well as the sea of interaction.

Complexity is always structured as a unity of diversity, and hence the sympathy for Sarajevo as the embodiment of co-habitation, symbiosis and amalgamation, those values that post-modern “Atlantism” ruthlessly devalues, transforming ‘the clash of civilizations’ into a culture conflict, in the conflict of reduced identities: “But above all, is Sarajevo. The Western emancipation and delicacy of the East, plum brandy and cevapi (grilled minced meat fingers), minarets and mini-skirts, wine with soda and yoghurt, sweet honey and Sacher cake” (Rumiz 2005, 99). This almost perfect measure of precise metonymically focused perception and empirical facts (in stylistic manuals labelled as a figure of synatresm), which means sequencing of words, phrases or sentences in order to give the most exhaustive depiction, as opposed to accumulation in which linguistic elements are amassed of similar meaning while in sinatrim different details are amassed (Bagić 2012, 291). Their distribution is often made complex by anti-theses which are by principle *pars pro toto* signified as one symbolical conjuncture of cultural space, and that distribution is always disrupted when there is not enough factographical evidence to illustrate an a priori thesis i.e. the one about the debacle of multiculturalism where Bosnia and Herzegovina is an experimental country in



this world of hostile civilizations. This idea of Rumiz, which is based on some premeditated views, leaves little space for shades and differences, and also for all the facts that do not fit his ideology. For example, after the war, in Mostar no new mosques were built, and some of the old ones have still not been rebuilt. But, Rumiz wrote: “Mujahedeen came from the Arabic countries. They had the reason to wage a war. Milošević generated a new enemy, which had not existed before. And today when there are so many mosques in Mostar, the whole world is afraid” (Rumiz 2005, 100). The American military leaders did not know that they bombarded “the first tower of human kind, the archetype of Babylon tower – Zigurat” (Rumiz 2005, 137). According to the travelogue discourse “the noticed objectivity is another term for the knowledge that needs to be directed” (Duda 1998, 64). For the travelogue with a thesis, this objectivity is an instrument of the ideas that need to be directed. Everything that cannot serve that purpose, even when it is seen, seems to be suppressed.

THE ESSENTIALIZATION OF SPACE

By insisting on the conflict between democracy and theocracy, Rumiz discovers perhaps his biggest weakness. By using attractive publicist links and simplifications, he makes the spaces more essential and attaches immortal ideological attributes to them. Europe is a place of conflict but also of encounters, and the demolition of the Old Bridge in Mostar meant “the rejection of the East contained in the European Space”. In another part it is said: “Even in 1991, it all started on the Neretva river, and then Europe also committed suicide” (Rumiz 2005, 98). If he refers to the demolition of the Bridge, it happened in 1993! But it is more important that he puts a world-historical meaning in that event: “The fall of the skyscrapers in New York was already contained in the ritual murder of this symbol of the encounter of the East and the West” (Rumiz 2005, 100). In spite of everything in the “seismic line of the Battle of the West and the East” it is clear that this line is full of “points of encounter of the two worlds” (Rumiz 2005, 99). Although he is on the side of the ‘Mediterranean complexity’ which incorporates otherness as a



component of its own identity, and knowing that he respects the fact that identities are shaped through the definition of boundaries between actors involved in conflict, his motivation is basically not a multi-cultural projection, but a reminder of possible allies in the clash of democracy and theocracy – a reminder of a mild Bosnian Islam or a post-Byzantium Christianity, with a prominent calling on Venetians, who understood their East and perceived its complexity much better than the present Atlantic Pact understands Islam.

Rumiz's persistence on restitution of complexity, and taking into consideration his professional status, is in line with the idea of French new Marxism on interpellation as a producer of identity. Writing about the ideological function of literature, Althusser sees it as one of the mechanisms that shape the subject as 'a slave deceived by freedom'. Subjectivization is done by submission to the ideological devices such as church, school, family, the media, etc. which invite individuals to recognize themselves in their discourse (Althusser 2015, 48). However, in times of rapid change and diversity in spreading sources and ideas, when the traditional sources of authority (politicians, religious leaders, teachers, reporters) are questionable, the question of ideological function of literature and its social involvement has an entirely another dimension. As a result of the aforementioned social trends, identity has become increasingly multiplied, broken, centrifugal, transitive, idiosyncratic, and, what is particularly valuable in this case, and authors like Rumiz would have to consider, identities today possess more polycentric than hierarchical structure.

One of the more seductive of Rumiz's arguments, that nationalist claims are 'naturally hydrophobic' and that the Adriatic Sea has always been a bridge of connectivity and continuity, and that twentieth century nationalisms are responsible for destroying this continuity, would hardly pass the factual test. Switzerland never had an exit to the sea, the Spaniards of the fifteenth century, as Rumiz noticed, "invented the Inquisition and expelled the Jews". After all, fascism firstly won in maritime Italy. So, one had to deal with hydrophilic fascisms and inquisitions, as well as with 'hydrophobic' democracies. It cannot be overlooked that



this choice of facts from history invokes ‘self-service syndrome’ – you enter the past as in a self-service store in order to take only what and how much you need at the moment. Besides, the entire book is based on questioning one historical event and the time that passed from back then, and also on cultural measuring of space that separates contemporaries from that point. This approach, known as the ‘zero-year syndrome’, is interpreted from the moment the author deems most appropriate to justify his or her own views. What happened before that, if it does not go in favor of the intention of the text, is simply ignored. Within such a concept, the historical fact in historiographic discourse is no longer a breakthrough of an important event that breaks the silence of the time, but rather a chosen and constituted phenomenon. This intellectual arbitrariness is most likely based on the basic author’s choice – in impressionist portraying of blunt moves on a large canvas, without checking the credibility and consistency of his own analytical model. It is undoubtedly, a genre contamination of the elements of feuilletonist discourse based on simple solutions, conjectures and passages with which a travel writer moves towards receptionist horizons of a definite audience profile – in this case, the presumed majority of the readers of a daily newspaper.

Rumiz is angry with “the tumour that kills identity” and this tumour is triggered by globalization and small nationalisms. His Venetian nostalgia has the same urge as a grievance for Habsburg, the idealization of the Ottoman Empire or nostalgia for Yugoslavia: it is a sorrow for the past magnitude within which the opposites pervaded. Venice is a better West that understands its East. Rumiz says that the Mediterranean amalgamates the conflicts, but also the nations. Love for the sunken Venetian power and love of the Mediterranean for the author mean the same: “Blood flows out from the Adriatic Sea, religious wars, ethnic cleansings, battles, prosecution, yet all is absorbed by the Adriatic and it remained a bridge between nations” (Rumiz 2005, 53). Anxiety about revealing immutable essences (identity cores) and their appearing paradigms does not fade from the first to the last page, and it is sealed by the common content of all essentialisms – the salmonid passion with roots/



sources, which is explicitly labelled as the profound impulse of Rumiz's journeys: "I feel that we are going to the battle, to the place of slaughter but also to the source of our lives. We return as salmon to the Lepanto, the source of all the nations, the monotheism, the civilizations. Everything originates from there, even the word Europe. It happened in Baghdad, thousands of years before our time, when someone looking towards the West said to 'Ereb', The Land of the Falling Sun" (Rumiz 2005, 139) ... "The more you go to the battle of all battles, the more you will find the place where the Gods talk to each other" (Rumiz 2005, 150).

GOOD SEA, BAD OUTBACK

Which attributes are ascribed to the interior and which to the maritime civilization? "Sea eats you, clings on to you and absorbs you. The Mountain throws you, tears you, rejects you" (Rumiz 2005, 61). "In Sicily, in Greece, Albania or Dalmatia, people from the interior have an atavistic fear of the sea", claims Rumiz and, by using his multilinguism, he attempts to create an etymologically proven chain for his thesis: "Lučica is a harbor (mandrač) derived from the Greek 'mandra', a herd that gathers in the closed area, where it is safe" (Rumiz 2005, 84). Through the dichotomy of the bad land and the good sea, the author debates the belonging/non-belonging to Venice as the embodiment of complexity. Having this in mind, the stylistically rhetorical contribution to the exemplification of the fundamental thesis is significant; in this case, it is the hydrophilic/terrophobic idiosyncrasy of the travel writer: "One needs to understand that the region Veneto is not Venice. It is a different planet altogether: 'A Land State', villages with parsons, the followers of the Northern League and mosquitoes. However, Venice is, very much like Istria and Dalmatia a 'Sea State' consisting of captains and traders-warriors, Treviso is as far away from the Adriatic as is the Moon or Zagreb". The crucial semantic effect is achieved by the crafty use of zeugma, a figure that "connects that what would otherwise be left apart ('state', parsons, Northern League, mosquitoes, AN.) by developing unexpected associations, making ironic and satirical displays and opening space towards critical



opinion and verbal distancing in relation to the topic” (Bagić 2012, 316). This and many other such examples enable those contextually oriented analyses of discourse to be seen not only as aesthetical but also ideological, social-cultural by connotative designations of style, and therefore confirm that literary values of travelogues are generated dually: “from one side, from its informative and referential function because travelogues cannot be separated from the reality without losing their genre identity, and from the other side, out of transferring aesthetical/poetical experience from travelling” (Puriš 2013, 11).

The schematic divide between the good sea and evil hills is one of the more constant dichotomies upon which Rumiz builds the dramaturgy of his manuscript. Out of this quite provocative and interesting formulations often emerge: “Culturally, Zadar is closer to Istanbul than to its own wild outback” (Rumiz 2005, 60). On the same trail as a significant example of essentialized dichotomies is, according to the above, that what we shall denote as dinarophobia and it operates as a coin word of the traditional complex of euro- and latino-centric stereotypes about the Slavs and the Balkans (here veiled by virtual postcolonial critical-analytical optics, which, in Rumiz’s case, irritates with its superficiality by uncovering its ostensibly unbiased intellectual ethics; it is also manifested organically because in the end it could not have been veiled, which can be seen in the fragment quoted below, full of disgust with digestion symptoms). Truth be told, there is its obverse in the South Slavic imaginary – almost equally expressed Venetophobia (which is, symbolically, not to be found on the horizon of the travel writer’s interest as it contradicts the thesis of the Adriatic as a sea “that absorbs and remains a bridge between the nations”) and this term remains to be found in literature in *longue durée* to continuity from Njegoš to Kamov, Selimović, Horozović, or Aralica. “Even nowadays”, writes Rumiz, “these Mountains of the Moon are mother of all the robberies disguised as crusades. When the Turks vanished, the Muslims of Balkans were the next target; the Ottoman bridge in Mostar was destroyed. Serbs or Croats, a majority of the instigators of the recent Balkan war are Dinaric people. Milošević, Arkan, Karadžić, associates of President



Tudman. Even the conflict with the coast is still difficult. This is almost an altitude clash, considering the steepness of the mountains ... To go there, even today is a bit horrible. The horror I have witnessed in places such as Gospić even today makes my stomach twirl“ (Rumiz 2005, 60).

Beyond being self-impressed by heuristics of his own remarks and analogies, in which Rumiz is persistent even under penalty of digression or being silent of certain facts, there is ample self-revelation of these in the subtext and between the lines of the travel writings. After the uttered claim on “the Adriatic as the sea of closeness”, there is a comment “Precisely on the sea does the Balkans display its mindlessness. The sea belongs to everyone; you cannot make ethnical cantons on it. And the fish do not need passports“ (Rumiz 2005, 63), which even to the most average of readers presents a queue of unsaid reminders on the many naval-territorial claims from Prevlaka, The Bay of Neum, the industrial fishing belt, the Savudrian wave, all of which cannot fit in the author’s idyllic maritime amalgam. On the same note is the Procrustean form of interpretation of the Dubrovnik aggression: “It was not a war but hillbillies’ envy of the coast that was in the possession of the gentlemen” (Rumiz 2005, 106).

At times the text leaves an impression of a poetic love statement towards the Mediterranean civilization, sometimes it is a fierce critique of cultural one-sidedness and sometimes one-sidedness by itself. Generalizations that serve the populist communication in the greatest of measures hail from the assurance by the author that the collective mentalities are the forces of destiny which govern individuals. In Istria he recognizes “the Slavic turmoil that peers out in the Mediterranean” (Rumiz 2005, 46). The morlaic continuity, wild mountain outlaws *versus* Mediterranean sophistication. These kinds of simplifications as always contain triaged factual undertones and as such are located quite arbitrarily in an interpretation that is too far-fetched. Rumiz’s model of supplementary thematization is constantly based on the associative mechanism of metaphoric-metonymic connection of objects, appearances and meanings in time and space, by which he always remains within the gravitational field



of fundamental thesis on historical amnesia and its acute consequences, which in turn makes far-fetched or banal the recognized link by compromising the intention of heuristic actualization of the cultural memory matrix. For example, on arrival at a small Lošinj market, the occasion is such, typical Rumiz-like, *conchetto*: “Small Square with benches in wonderful shade, and this is already Greece. On such a place a man can sit and meditate. When I think that today in Veneto there are people who cut benches to prevent strangers and immigrants from sitting, while, perhaps in Athens Democracy was born on such a bench, where in the shade conversations could be held” (Rumiz 2005, 52). By watching Rumiz’s perception using comparative approach, it can be seen an interesting counterpoint in Croatian ‘insular prose’ which shows this space filled with symbolic dialogue openness and Mediterranean complexity totally differently as “a self-satisfied micro cosmos, a universe for itself in which, because of spatial disconnection with the land, existential problems and human drama are sharper and often lead to paroxysm with mostly fatal consequences” (Nemec 2006, 294).

THE AMBIVALENT EAST, THE ATLANTIC AMNESIA OF THE WEST AND CRAFTMEN’S ‘OVERSIGHTS’

The global framework for this image is the conflict between East and West, which in itself is not geopolitical, religious or economic. The only conflict of civilization, according to Rumiz, is the conflict between mentalities/identities. In such a way the East gets the unchanging role; only the historical agents are replaceable: “Call him emperor, Saddam, Stalin or Bin Laden. The story is the same. A clash of mentalities. And that’s it.” (Rumiz 2005, 106). Rumiz, however, contradicts himself when abolishing cultures and religions that format mentalities and identities. One should not overlook the fact that even the critics of Huntington’s thesis condition described by Rumiz connotes as a clash of cultures. According to Alain Touraine: “The world is permeated by clashes that are far more radical than clashes in the classical industrial age, because it is now a conflict of cultures and identities that are fundamentally non-negotiable” (Vrcan 1999, 17). Vrcan also



varies the same notion: “When social conflicts become conflicts between cultures, then there is no longer a possibility of mediation, there are no common beliefs and practices which are replaced by the assertion of absolute differences and the total rejection of others, and the world becomes more pervaded by crusades and struggles to life and death rather than politically negotiable conflicts” (ibid.). However, one deems the term ‘clash of cultures’ to be inappropriate given the openness, depth and complexity of each individual culture, but also given the marginalized negotiable potentials within the context that solely and exclusively manipulates and radicalizes cultural differences.

The East is ambivalent. Rumiz glorifies the Ottoman tolerant policy towards the exiles that becomes clearer when considered in contrast to fifteenth-century Catholic anti-Semitism and anti-Islamic extremism: “Spain is a country that exiled the Jews in the same year Columbus discovered the Atlantic. The idea of ‘purity’ of race begins here; Hitler did not discover anything new. As well as the massacre of the American Indians, even the horror of the Inquisition began then. The matching of numbers is creepy: 1492 as 1942 the year of the Wansee conference which will decide on the annihilation of the Jews. At the time of Lepanto many of them – people from the Mediterranean, the Sephardic – have hidden away and made themselves rich in Venice, Corfu, Solun, Dubrovnik, Istanbul, Sarajevo. A Turk is more tolerant than the Catholic king” (Rumiz 2005, 153). This kind of interpretation of contemporary conflicts leads to the general conclusions about entire nations: “I think that Croatians are hyper-Catholics because they, along with the Serbs along the border, suppressed the Orient – the orthodox potential – which is within them” (Rumiz 2005, 88).

Rumiz, as mentioned, often has neither the time nor the will for fact checking. Finally, he is on a ship. So, in his culinary-cultural observations he reveals to us that “‘the kebab’, the largest Turkish industry in the United Europe, had disembarked in Germany” (Rumiz 2005, 48). A neat note with one singular flaw being that it is completely wrong. The European ‘doner kebab’ was invented by post-Ottoman Turks in Berlin when they put the usually horizontal spit on a vertical axis and rotated it and



offered this as a fast food alternative to the hamburger. From this point ‘the kebab’ had won Europe. However, for this region the oversights are more important and they must irritate any educated reader who travels across “the sea of history” with Rumiz. This way, among Matvejević, Adorno, Habermas and other critically oriented praxis philosophers, the travel writer has arcanely placed Krleža on Korčula, the intellectual close to the top state authorities.

| 84 |

A completely laconic attempt to explain today’s indifference of Croats towards the Battle of Lepanto ensues. Without any remorse, Rumiz deprives himself of the very complexity that he had been ascribed to Venice, by journalistically and laconically going for the first viable, one-dimensional interpretation: “In Zagreb, the battles Croats have won for strangers are not counted. And it is not an issue if the word is about Catholic Venice” (Rumiz 2005, 91). For Venice, the Croats, among others, have triumphed over the Turks who mark the event today as *Sinjska alka* and the average familiarity with the history of these places is sufficient to understand that if the victory of the Sacred League on Lepanto had not been won, the map of Croatia would have been completely different. The Ottoman fleet would have, by all accounts, without any major resistance sailed into the Adriatic and subjugated its eastern shore which had already been observed by the Sultan’s land forces from the surrounding mountains. For explication of the Croatian deafness towards the Lepanto, if it indeed exists, it obviously takes a bit more – complexity.

VENETIAN PROJECTION – A JOURNEY AS A READING OF A PALIMPSEST

Rumiz never forgets that he sails under the Venetian flag – so much so that he finally put it on the mast. His Venice is a kind of absolute criterion for questioning the unsteady coasts, states, people, cultures, identities. The Venetian Republic is, according to this travelogue, a utopian measure of things. Non-critical venetophilia also gives an indirect answer to why the South Slavic venetophobic heteroimagology is not spoken of, which is



certainly not unknown to a travel writer of Rumiz's erudition capacity. It is simply incompatible with the idealized personal images, such as those that support the myth of a good conqueror, and are counterpoints to self-referential passages. They can even be cunningly 'provoked' in the environment whose intimate and meditative content is adapted to the scene. And in such an environment 'in the middle of nowhere', through the traces of discrete signs (reading the landscape as a text), lives the emancipatory spirit of Saint Mark: "The Kornati infatuates you, it makes you forget everything. Even Venice. And yet its signs never leave you, even in this deserted island without docks, monuments, cathedrals. White stone bits put everywhere, even in the middle of nothing, allow docking. A symbol of a discreet presence that lived together with others' customs and did not want to change anyone. The factory sign of an empire that fought, but also traded with Turkey" (Rumiz 2005, 76).

Since Venice is a paradigm, any critical re-examination of its historical role is excluded from the basic intent. "Venice was the only empire capable of ruling without the need for territory" (Rumiz 2005, 76), quoting Anastasia Stouariti, a Greek scientist. At this point in the travelogue appeared a golden opportunity to demonstrate the distinctive characteristics of Venetian colonialism, which, in the words of Simmel, always preferred to retain the role of a stranger rather than accepting the role of the master, since the interest in trade was always ahead of that of exploitation. In his ever-relevant vision of the figure of a stranger, Georg Simmel points out that he "is by nature not a landowner. [...] Awareness of trade and purely monetary affairs gives the stranger the specific character of mobility. Trade lives on in the synthesis of distance and proximity that forms the formal position of the stranger. [...] He comes into contact with everything, but he is not related to anything related to relative, local, professional fixedness" (Simmel 2001, 155). And, indeed, such a Venetian position has found an expression in the more abstract attitude towards the territory and colonization of the eastern Adriatic coast and, in this sense, with all the 'claims' of territorial rights and partial expansion towards the interior, the need to create a safe passage for navigation and trading activities can



be understood. All this, of course, does not exclude them from governance, it is only moving it to – in the global context – a strategically important maritime space, for which the Venetians are more similar to the neocolonial masters of maritime trading routes than the classical colonial powers. They provide military and diplomatic routes as well as the conditions under which goods, money and people can move. For such a role in the past, the key issue was inclusiveness based on knowledge of the other and communication skills, which, after all, essentially determined the character of Venetian Balkanism/Orientalism.

In general, linguistic material is something which Rumiz gladly brings up no matter how (in)effective that sort of evidence might be in an argumentation of merits – the political-historical parallels encircled by the identity narrative of the sea of complexity. “Mad words mock the nations”, he concludes, but it should not be ignored that this is no privilege of the Mediterranean but rather a nightmare of linguistic purists around the world, a word, a universal diagram of linguistic and cultural geminations about which Predrag Matvejević wrote, with a similar reason but literally more convincing, in his *Mediterranean brewery* (Matvejević 1990, 35–36).

Navigation becomes a register of lost cultural memory, the measurement of the obscured cultural space. Venetian printing houses in Montenegro print the first Serbian books. Venetian printing houses in Venice print the first Croatian books ... Croats of Italian descent, Italians with Croatian roots. *Trilingvism*. “Fascism destroyed all of it”, Rumiz says, concluding, “That was Europe, not like it is today” (Rumiz 2005, 80). But, as it has been said, Rumiz does not question the historic Venice, so this additional work must be briefly done here, at least in the form of indications and some open questions. When did the Venetian sophisticated colonialism fall apart? When another form of colonialism emerged that, in addition to the acquired technological primacy, cultivated a new relationship towards the other – “racial” superiority, cruelty and greed (one without the other would not guarantee “success”). The Venetian model of complexity remained at the door of the ‘dialectic of enlightenment’. Neither one was in a balanced relationship with



the modernization of technology or modernization by emancipation, although Venetian inflicted less damage on humanity. Rumiz's equally losing nostalgic lamentation sinks like the rusted anchor of the Venetian galleon to the muddy bottom, to the unnecessary rhetorical question: "Why did Venice persistently look at the East instead of investing in the West?" (Rumiz 2005, 170). It had to first invest in itself, in the reconstruction of identity to which this book is dedicated. And it was already too late for that! A changed world measure was not followed by alignment, aspectual filling of gaps, capturing of a new direction and conquering a new horizon.

THE EASTERN ADRIATIC IDENTITY BETWEEN THE ESSENCE AND CONSTRUCTION

Rumiz tries to refresh his view of the Montenegrin coast and refresh it with the simplifications that, in the close observation, turn out to be romantic resonances, in the supposed proof of the one-way essentialized connection of nature – the mentality: "Montenegro, a name that disturbs, and not without reason. The Turks reluctantly came to these harsh mountains. Tough residents. Steeped Mountains" (Rumiz 2005, 115). All this fits with what theorists of the culture of travel call the "pre-arranged look", despite the authors' efforts to achieve the effect of seduction by using nominative sentences, ellipses and subdivisions that create the impression of film framing. Geocritique as a domain of cultural studies dealing with "poetics of interactions of human spaces and literature" (Juvan 2011, 245) would, beyond any doubt, categorize Rumiz in the class of writers of distinctively intertextually superfluous perception of reality.

However, Rumiz does not need to hide the back. In other words, if the name of one country brings disturbance, while its inhabitants are welcoming and cruel, then it may have been a compliment two centuries ago. Today it is a warning. The book also reveals some historical details that do not correspond to the local nationalist narrative, but perhaps only to some Venetian sentiment. He also recalls that those Montenegrins in Boka, who were Venetian subjects for hundreds of years, remained



faithful to Venice. Alviž Visković, the patriarch of Bokelj and Prince of Perak, in 1797, after the fall of the Venetian Republic, made a searing speech: “During these 377 years, our blood, our lives, have always been given to you St. Marko; and we are delighted to keep it, you with us, we with you [...] Let our heart be your honored tomb, and may our tears be the most vibrant post-humous speech for you” (Rumiz 2005, 119). “Skjavoni” loved us. Everything but an ‘inferior race’, as Mussolini said in Pula“, Rumiz concluded. It is a pity that travel sources have not quoted sources to confirm that this love was mutual.

Albania was beyond Venetian power. Rumiz floats along its shores to confirm his thesis about mountain people who fear the absorbing sea: “The dazzling sky, the sea is as empty as never before. There are not any tourists. No Albanians go to sea. They are shepherds, and for shepherds the sea is fear, sickness and pain“ (Rumiz 2005, 129). Albania does not participate in Mediterranean civilization, but the bridge has been built over the Atlantic: “Albania is Pakistan which becomes Far West without passing through Europe and the Mediterranean. It looks like it’s close to Italy, and it’s actually too far away. It’s already the Atlantic Ocean. You can see this when you see the pictures of Bill Clinton, hung by the newsstands as if it is Madame Carmen. Big Bill who bombarded the historic enemy of the Squiptars, Serbia” (Rumiz 2005, 133). This is about “historical enemies”. This takes over stereotypes and nationalistic constructions as the true truth. This episode may most clearly indicate that Rumiz’s narrative absorbs facts based on already adopted/explicit thesis. On the metonymy contrast, with the figure of synetresm, there is also a description of those environments characterized by the absence of complexity and organic contrasting. An example is Albania with its instant modernization, where the cohabitation of tradition and novelty occurs in pejorative forms: “Ten kilometers of the last Mercedes model and a rig with hooded asses, high-heeled girls with lowered eyes, accompanied by mothers and brothers always ready for the fight and quarrel, shops with loud oriental music, peasants with a bear on the aisle, are singled out in full voice. And yet, newsstands with horns of mouflon and video-telephones, the latest house and bilge, the smell



of jasmine and stench of burnt plastic, loose dogs and sellers of the best yoghurt on the planet. [...] a country in an uncertain situation between the middle ages and post-modern“ (Rumiz 2005, 132). How much the essentializing image of Albania was (un)sustainable can be seen in the image of the Albanian coast (construction and tourism boom) only fifteen years after the creation of Rumiz’s travelogue.

Greece, on the other hand, is framed by positive clichés. Rumiz thus quotes an example of Saint Spiridon whose relics were respected by Orthodox and Catholic priests and Jews and Muslims at Corfu: “Strange, the more you go to battle over battles, the more you find places where Gods talk to each other” (Rumiz 2005, 150). Rumiz’s Helenophilia is “platonic”; moreover, he does not feel the need to conceal its vigor with Greek ‘complexity’, in which, it must be recognized, he invested a lot of effort writing about Venice or Dalmatia. Is this Greece abolished for an indefinite time by the status of the European cultural heritage? A fierce altercation between two Greek men about the cost of the Athenian Olympic Games, which ends with laughter, is a trivial argument for such a generalized generalization (and in today’s Greece, there would surely be foundations for completely opposite contradictions). Well, after several pages he denied himself and pointed out the back of Greek ‘complexity’: “In the century of nationalism [...] the Greeks will do as well as the Serbs, they will swear that they have never served in Ottoman troops – and they did serve – totally” (Rumiz 2005, 165).

Coming to the place of the naval battle, Rumiz does not feel historical vibrancy. Everything has changed. “It does not make sense to make trigonometry from history”, the travel writer concludes. “We do not have competitive rivals who have fought for primacy, but they were complex and dialogic: We do not have the Byzantines, we miss Venice “ (Rumiz 2005, 172). He cites an example of Christian fighters in the Ottoman fleet who served the Sultan in a natural way: “They feel as Byzantines, and for them the Sultan is nothing but the successor to Byzantine, eastern Rome” (Rumiz 2005, 165). Right after comes a detail that somewhat contradicts this statement. In the Battle of Lepanto, galleys on Ottoman ships, “mostly Christian slaves”, rebelled



and thus contributed to the defeat of the Ottoman fleet. Rumiz remains consistent in the dichotomic interpretations of the world: East/West, mountains/the sea, good multinational empires/bad nationalisms, Mediterraneanism/Atlanticism. Where European civilization started, in the Mediterranean, Europe lost itself: “While we were still shouting ‘My mother, here are the Turks’, others took us off the sea. They took Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, the Suez Canal. Then the Cold War missiles came. Terrorism, too.” (Rumiz 2005, 170). The so-defined Europe, the one that is not only the West but also contains the East, is Rumiz’s bridge. The bridge was ruined: “We did not understand Sarajevo, which is behind the house threshold, so how can we understand Baghdad?” (Rumiz 2005, 172).

INSTEAD OF THE CONCLUSION: “THE SEA OF COMPLEXITY” AS A SIMPLIFICATION METHOD

This travelogue moves us away from a comfortable national-historical environment. Even his unilateralities and exaggerations, if we want so, can be used to understand that there was really one center of the complex world in our “sea”. True Mid-Earth. In addition, Rumiz is a writer who can make the travelogue a literature that does not depend only on the interestingness of itineraries, but is often based on the subtle literary performance of the attitude, style and narration. However, the weaknesses of the text are multiple, and the greatest is the selective treatment, both because of the experiences and the sources. A travel writer with a thesis never counts in advance with a variety of resistance outside of a homogeneous, but, inside, a distinctively different corpus of different materials and practices that he intends to make a theme of. To travel in order to prove something narrows the passage of the exemplification of belief; the knowledge is limited by the goal. And it should be remembered: the travel writer is an author, writer and hero of the travelogue. The narrative is always based on the classical principle of imbalance or change. The assumption of each narration is that something must happen, the balance must change. The traveller/storyteller returns differently to how he has gone. According to Lotman,



the literary hero is a kid of change, it can only be the one who crosses the border and passes from one semantic field to another (Lotman 1976, 109). In spite of the unquestionable elements of literacy, a travelogue that serves as an exemplification of the thesis, which does not disclose a new one but already confirms the starting point, compromises its literary status, especially when others appear as actors in a crafted show. In addition, the conceptual scope of this book is absolutely not at the forefront of the introduction of the aforementioned recent spatial theories – the perception of space and place – which interprets them as dynamic structures, as something that constantly arises and which is inextricably intertwined in power relations. Local dynamics always produce new meanings, and this is, of course, incompatible with essentialism. Rumiz's travelogue accordingly missed the chance: it is the Adriatic and the Mediterranean in their habitus that are the optimal space for the travelogue creation of a multiperspectivity cultural image in which the appearance of otherness comes across as well as the changeability of identity and the possibility of self-reflexive attention to the narrative process of the construction of the self.

REFERENCES

- Altiser, Luj (Louis Althusser) 2015. *Ideologija i državni ideološki aparat*. Beograd: Karpos.
- Bagić, Krešimir 2012. *Rječnik stilskih figura*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- Begić, Midhat 1987. *Umjetnost pripovijedanja, Miscellanea*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša – Svjetlost.
- Duda, Dean 2012. *Kultura putovanja: Uvod u književnu iterologiju*. Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak.
- Duda, Dean 1998. *Priča i putovanje: Hrvatski romantičarski putopis kao pripovijedni žanr*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1997. *Sukob civilizacija i preustroj svjetskog poretka*. Zagreb: Izvori.
- Lotman, Jurij 1976. *Struktura umetničkog teksta*. Beograd: Nolit.
- Matvejević, Predrag 1990. *Mediterranski brevijar*. Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske.
- Nemec, Krešimir 2006. *Putovi pored znakova*. Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak.



- Puriš, Bernisa 2013. *Stilistika bosanskohercegovačkog putopisa XX vijeka* – doktorska disertacija. Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet u Sarajevu.
- Rumiz, Paolo 2005. *Odavde do Lepanta: Istočnom jadranskom i jonskom obalom po moru povijesti*. Split: Slobodna Dalmacija.
- Simmel, Georg 2001. *Kontrapunkti kulture*. Zagreb: Jesenski i Turk.
- Vrcan, Srđan 1999. 'Znakovita zbrka oko etničkog', In *Kultura, etničnost, identitet*, ed. Jadranka Čačić-Kumpes, 15–39. Zagreb: Institut za migracije i narodnost – Naklada Jesenski i Turk – Hrvatsko sociološko društvo.



ABSTRACTS

CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES. THE TRAVEL EXPERIENCE OF ELIZAVETA DE VITTE AND REBECCA WEST: A COMPARED STUDY BETWEEN TWO COMMITTED WOMEN-TRAVELLERS

Cristina Cugnata

Elizaveta de Vitte and Rebecca West partially shared the same travel experience: Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The former travelled through the area between 1902 and 1911, so in the very last years before World War I, while the latter in the 1930s at the eve of World War II. Although the two women-travellers had two different historical and cultural backgrounds, both distinguished themselves for their ideological commitment specifically expressed by travel. Referring to Indira Ghose's studies, I will take into consideration that "the very fact of travel constituted a form of gender power for women [...]. By entering the public world of travel, women transgressed gender norms that relegated them to the home" (Ghose 1998, 12). Their descriptions of local people, history, folklore, politics, and their gaze will be used as a 'trope', i.e. a tool for "the epistemic appropriation of the other" (Ghose 1998, 9) in order to make a comparison between Elizaveta de Vitte's and Rebecca West's voices and the construction respectively of a Pan-Slavic and a Yugoslav identity. The aim of my paper will be to demonstrate how travel can work as an "ideal paradigm to study the intersection of different axes that construct identity" (Ghose 1998, 5) and how the genre of literary travel flourishes in close connection with the development of social and political ideas.

Key words: Elizaveta de Vitte, Rebecca West, Balkans, Travelogue, Pan-Slavism, Yugoslavism
IJEMS 11 (1): 9 – 27

| 93 |



MONTENEGRO IN TRAVEL ACCOUNTS OF ITALIAN AUTHORS IN THE PERIOD OF BALKAN WARS

Olivera Popović

| 94 | This paper explores the little-known travel accounts of various Italian authors who visited Montenegro before, during and after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). These wars were important for Montenegro because of the decision of the state to act in concert with the other Balkan countries in order to expel the Ottoman Empire from Europe and to achieve greater territorial expansion. In addition to this, during the Balkan Wars, political and other relations between Montenegro and Italy were significantly redefined, after Italy had established rather narrow connections with the small Balkan state, especially following the marriage of the Italian Crown Prince Vittorio Emanuele III of Savoy to the Montenegrin Princess Elena Petrović-Njegoš (1896). We analyze the historical and socio-political context in which the image of Montenegro and of Montenegrins was created and define the characteristics of this discourse through the comparison of travel accounts of these authors with those published in previous epochs. We base our analysis on models of interpretation of the scholars who dealt with travel literature about Balkan countries in general, in order to make reference to the source of the discourse that the Italian authors embraced.

Key words: Balkan Wars, Imagology, Montenegro, Travel accounts
IJEMS 11 (1): 29 – 48

TRAVELLING POETS DURING THE GREEK DICTATORSHIP: NIKIFOROS VRETTAKOS AND TITOS PATRIKIOS IN ITALY

Amanda Skamagka

Two of the most acclaimed Modern Greek poets, Nikiforos Vrettakos and Titos Patrikios, sojourned in Italy during the seven years of the military junta in Greece (1967–1974). Both of them preferred displacement over succumbing to a regime they did not believe in. During their stay in the Belpaese and later on when they returned to their host country, they both composed poetry, published after the collapse of the dictatorship in Greece. In these special “travel poems”, Vrettakos and Patrikios seem to be seeking their personal and national identity within a foreign land. Although they were allowed to openly express



themselves there, their work is tempered with feelings of homesickness. Memory and trauma are poetically represented in these “Italian” poems along with the natural, urban and cultural landscape of Italy. Several questions arise when reading these poems inspired in Italy by Vrettakos and Patrikios: What is Greece and what is Italy? What defines the homeland? How do we characterise the other? Who is the foreigner, who is the stranger and who is the local? What is national, what is international and what is transnational? And what do border crossing, “nostos” and return mean to either of the poets? This paper seeks to comparatively examine two Modern Greek poets of different generations through their poems or prose, focusing on identity and alterity issues, memory and trauma. The aim is to prove that both of them, self-exiles in Italy, composed works in which they were both in search of consolation and identity, yet constantly recalling traumatic experiences of the past or pleasant memories that eventually caused pain. These compositions form a special type of travel literature, a genre recognized as such in Greece only in the last quarter of the 20th century (Παναρέτου 1995).

Key words: exile, Greek dictatorship, Italy, Patrikios, poetry, Vrettakos
IJEMS 11 (1): 49– 67

HORIZONS AND LIMES OF TRAVELOGUE WITH A THESIS – RUMIZ’S JOURNEY ALONG THE ADRIATIC AND IONIAN COASTS THROUGH HISTORY

Vedad Spahić, Dragoslav Dedović

This work tries to answer the question of whether the thesis about the clash of civilizations which is based on the essentialization of differences can be deconstructed by the counter-theses that also rely on the essentialist views supported by the author of *The Route to Lepanto*, Paolo Rumiz. Rumiz does not travel in order to become aware. He is aware, therefore he travels. He is a travel writer who does not feed himself with the political energy of the concrete travelling experience, but rather associates his experience with the fullness of his anti-globalization ideas. The analytical approach applied by the authors in this paper does not have at the forefront the historical-cultural and theoretical context through which they would, among other things, deal with Rumiz. Rather, it is strongly focused on Rumiz’s text, through which, inductively, they seek to highlight some important coordinates



of this broader context. Supplementary themes of his travel writings are elaborations of ideas about the preference of one side in a register of a few Rumiz's central dichotomies: East vs. West, mountains vs. sea, good multinational empires vs. bad nationalism, Mediterraneanism vs. Atlanticism, etc. Collective states of mind are the forces that rule over the individuals. Venice is an absolute measure of such interpretation of the world; it is understood as a zero criterion of utopian way of valuing all the things he encounters during his travel which attempts to reconstruct all the memories and traces of erased cultural heritage of the former empires. Instead of a clash of cultures, Rumiz promotes the idea of ignorance, separation of Western Europeans from their own roots and the need to re-essentialize, to return to Lepanto, like salmon do – to the spring of peoples, monotheistic religions, cultures and civilizations. Rumiz's choice of facts from history, or those from the experience of his fellow travellers, often shows “the syndrome of self-service”, an arbitrary arrangement of facts that support his thesis freely, but at the same time not mentioning those that could refute it. The Battle of Lepanto is seen as the starting point, the cause of the situation nowadays. This work has shown that, despite the irrefutable elements of the literary, his travelogue compromises its literary status, as it serves only to exemplify the treatise; it does not reveal anything new but merely confirms his starting agenda and therefore compromises its literal status.

Key words: Travelogue with Thesis, Literariness, Clash of Cultures, Essentialism, Deconstruction, Venice, the Adriatic, Lepanto
IJEMS 11 (1): 69–92

RÉSUMÉS

CONSTRUIRE DES IDENTITÉS. L'EXPÉRIENCE DE VOYAGE D'ELIZAVETA DE VITTE ET DE REBECCA WEST : UNE ÉTUDE COMPARÉE DE DEUX VOYAGEUSES ENGAGÉES.

Cristina Cugnata

Elizaveta de Vitte et Rebecca West partagent en partie la même expérience de voyage : Dalmatie, Serbie, Bosnie-Herzégovine. La première a parcouru la région entre 1902 et 1911, c'est-à-dire dans les toutes dernières années précédant la Première guerre mondiale ; la seconde, elle, dans les années 1930, à la veille de la Seconde guerre mondiale. Bien que les deux voyageuses viennent de deux contextes historiques et culturels différents, elles se sont toutes les deux distinguées par leur engagement idéologique, justement exprimé par le voyage. Me référant aux études d'Indira Ghose, je considérerai que « le fait même de voyager constituait une forme d'agentivité pour les femmes [...]. En entrant dans le monde public du voyage, les femmes ont transgressé les normes de genre qui les reléguaient au foyer » (Ghose 1998, 12). Leurs descriptions de la population locale, de son histoire, de son folklore, de sa politique, et leur regard serviront de « trope », à savoir un outil permettant « l'appropriation épistémique de l'Autre » (Ghose 1998, 9) afin de dresser une comparaison entre les voix d'Elizaveta de Vitte et de Rebecca West et la construction d'une identité panslave et yougoslave, respectivement. L'objectif de mon article sera de démontrer que le voyage peut fonctionner comme un « paradigme idéal pour étudier l'intersection de différents axes qui construisent l'identité » (Ghose 1998, 5) et que le genre littéraire du récit de voyage prospère en lien étroit avec le développement des idées sociales et politiques.

Mots-clés: Elizaveta de Vitte, Rebecca West, Balkans, récit de voyage, Panslavisme, Yugoslavisme
IJEMS 11 (1): 9 – 27



LE MONTÉNÉGRO DANS LES RÉCITS DE VOYAGE DES
AUTEURS ITALIENS PENDANT LA PÉRIODE DES GUERRES
BALKANIQUES

Olivera Popović

| 98 |

Cet article explore des récits de voyage peu connus de divers auteurs italiens qui se sont rendus au Monténégro avant, pendant et après les guerres des Balkans (1912-1913). Ces guerres étaient importantes pour le Monténégro en raison de la décision de l'Etat d'agir de concert avec les autres pays des Balkans afin d'expulser l'Empire ottoman de l'Europe et de réaliser une plus grande expansion territoriale. En outre, pendant les guerres des Balkans, les relations, entre autres politiques, entre le Monténégro et l'Italie ont été considérablement redéfinies, l'Italie ayant noué des liens plutôt étroits avec le petit État des Balkans, notamment à la suite du mariage du prince héritier italien Vittorio Emanuele III de Savoie avec la princesse monténégrine Elena Petrović-Njegoš (1896). Nous analysons le contexte historique et socio-politique dans lequel l'image du Monténégro et des Monténégrins a été façonnée, et définissons les caractéristiques de ce discours en comparant les récits de voyage de ces auteurs avec ceux publiés au cours des précédentes époques. Nous basons notre analyse sur des modèles d'interprétation de chercheurs ayant traité de la littérature de voyage sur les pays des Balkans en général, afin de faire référence à la source du discours adopté par les auteurs italiens.

Mots-clés: guerres des Balkans, imageologie, Monténégro, récit de voyage

IJEMS 11 (1): 29 – 48

LES POÈTES VOYAGEURS PENDANT LA DICTATURE
GRECQUE : NIKIFOROS VRETTAKOS ET TITOS PATRIKIOS
EN ITALIE

Amanda Skamagka

Deux des poètes grecs modernes les plus acclamés, Nikiforos Vrettakos et Titos Patrikios, ont séjourné en Italie pendant les sept années de la junte militaire en Grèce (1967-1974). Tous deux ont préféré l'exil plutôt que de céder à un régime auquel ils ne croyaient pas. Pendant leur séjour dans le *bel paese* et plus tard lorsqu'ils retournaient dans leur pays d'accueil, ils ont tous les deux composé des poèmes, publiés après l'effondrement de la dictature en Grèce. Dans ces « poèmes de voyage » spéciaux, Vrettakos et Patrikios semblent rechercher leur identité personnelle et nationale en pays étranger. Bien qu'ils y soient autorisés à s'exprimer ouvertement, leur travail est tempéré par le sentiment du mal du pays. La mémoire et les traumatismes sont représentés lyriquement dans ces poèmes « italiens » aux côtés du paysage naturel, urbain et culturel de l'Italie. Plusieurs questions se posent lors de la lecture de ces poèmes inspirés en Italie par Vrettakos et Patrikios: Qu'est-ce que la Grèce et qu'est-ce que l'Italie? Qu'est-ce qui définit la patrie? Comment caractérisons-nous l'Autre? Qui est l'étranger et qui est le local? Qu'est-ce qui est national, qu'est-ce qui est international et qu'est-ce qui est transnational ? Et que signifient le franchissement d'une frontière, le « nostos », et le retour pour l'un et l'autre des poètes ? Cet article cherche à examiner de manière comparative deux poètes grecs modernes de générations différentes, par le biais de leurs poèmes ou de leur prose, en se concentrant sur les questions d'identité et d'altérité, de mémoire et de traumatismes. L'objectif est de prouver que les deux, exilés en Italie, ont composé des œuvres dans lesquelles ils étaient à la recherche de consolation et d'identité, tout en rappelant constamment des expériences traumatisantes du passé ou des souvenirs agréables qui ont fini par causer des souffrances. Ces compositions constituent un type particulier de littérature de voyage, un genre reconnu en tant que tel en Grèce seulement dans le dernier quart du XXe siècle (αυαπέτου 1995).

| 99 |



Mots-clés: exil, dictature grecque, Italie, Patrikios, poésie, Vrettakos

IJEMS 11 (1): 49– 67

HORIZONS ET LIMÈS D'UN CARNET DE ROUTE – LE
PÉRIPLÉ DE RUMIZ LE LONG DES CÔTES ADRIATIQUES ET
IONIENNES, À TRAVERS L'HISTOIRE

Vedad Spahić, Dragoslav Dedović

| 100 |

Cet article tente de répondre à la question de savoir si la thèse sur le choc des civilisations, fondée sur l'essentialisation des différences, peut être déconstruite par les contre-thèses qui s'appuient également sur les vues essentialistes soutenues par l'auteur du Chemin de Lépante, Paolo Rumiz. Rumiz ne voyage pas pour prendre conscience. Il est conscient, donc il voyage. C'est un écrivain de voyage qui ne se nourrit pas de l'énergie politique de l'expérience concrète du voyage, mais qui associe plutôt son expérience à la plénitude de ses idées antimondialistes. L'approche analytique employée par les auteurs dans cet article ne met pas en avant le contexte historico-culturel et théorique dans lequel ils incluraient Rumiz entre autres choses. L'article est, à l'inverse, fortement centré sur le texte de Rumiz, à travers lequel, inductivement, les auteurs cherchent à mettre en évidence certaines coordonnées importantes de ce plus large contexte. Les thèmes complémentaires de ses écrits de voyage constituent l'élargissement des idées sur la préférence, dans le cadre d'un registre de dichotomies chères à Rumiz, d'un côté plutôt qu'un autre: Est contre Ouest, montagnes contre mer, bons empires multinationaux contre mauvais nationalisme, méditerranéisme contre atlantisme, etc. Les états d'esprit collectifs sont les forces qui régissent les individus. Venise est une mesure absolue d'une telle interprétation du monde ; elle est considérée comme un critère zéro de la manière utopique de valoriser tout ce qu'il rencontre au cours de son voyage, qui tente de reconstruire tous les souvenirs et traces du patrimoine culturel effacé des anciens empires. Au lieu d'un choc des cultures, Rumiz promeut l'idée de l'ignorance, de la séparation des Européens de l'Ouest



de leurs propres racines et de la nécessité de ré-essentialiser, de revenir à Lépante, comme le fait le saumon - au printemps des peuples, des religions monothéistes, des cultures et des civilisations. Le choix de Rumiz de recourir à des faits historiques, ou à l'expérience de ses compagnons de voyage, montre souvent « le syndrome du self-service », un arrangement arbitraire de faits qui étayaient librement sa thèse, mais sans mentionner ceux qui pourraient la réfuter. La bataille de Lépante est considérée comme le point de départ, la cause de la situation actuelle. Ce travail a montré que, malgré les éléments irréfutables du littéraire, son récit de voyage compromet son statut littéraire, dans la mesure où il ne sert que d'illustration du traité; il ne révèle rien de nouveau mais confirme simplement son agenda initial et compromet donc son statut littéral.

| 101 |

Mots-clés: carnet de route, littéralité, choc des cultures, essentialisme, déconstruction, Venise, Adriatique, Lépante
IJEMS 11 (1): 69–92



POVZETKI

GRADNJA IDENTITET. POPOTNIŠKA IZKUŠNJA ELIZAVETE DE VITTE IN REBECCE WEST: PRIMERJALNA ŠTUDIJA DVEH PREDANIH POPOTNIC

Cristina Cugnata

| 102 |

Elizaveta de Vitte in Rebecca West sta si deloma delili isto potovalno izkušnjo: Dalmacija, Srbija in Bosna in Hercegovina. Če je prva potovala po tem območju med leti 1902 in 1911, torej v zadnjih letih pred prvo svetovno vojno, pa je druga popotniške izkušnje pridobivala v tridesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja na predvečer druge svetovne vojne. Čeprav sta imeli obe popotnici različni zgodovinski in kulturni ozadji, pa je obe odlikovala njuna ideološka predanost, izražena preko popotništva. Ob upoštevanju ugotovitev Indire Ghose, da je potovanje predstavlja obliko moči spola za ženske [...]. Z vstopom v javno sfero potovanj so ženske uspele preseči spolne norme, ki so jih pošiljale domov” (Ghose 1998, 9). Njuni opisi lokalnega prebivalstva, zgodovine, folklore, politike in opažanja bodo uporabljeni kot “metafore” (*trope*), oziroma kot sredstvo za epistemsko prisvajanje drugega s ciljem primerjave pogledov Elizavete de Vitte in Rebecce West na gradnjo panslovanske in jugoslovanske identitete. Cilj pričujočega prispevka je pokazati kako lahko potovanje deluje kot ‘idealna paradigma za proučevanje preseka različnih osi, ki gradijo identiteto’, in kako žanr literarnega popotništva raste v tesni povezavi z razvojem družbenih in političnih idej (Ghose 1998, 5).

Ključne besede: Elizaveta de Vitte, Rebecca West, Balkan, potopis, panslavizem, jugoslovanstvo
IJEMS 11 (1): 9 – 27



ČRNA GORA V POPOTNIŠKIH ZAPISIH ITALIJANSKIH AVTORJEV TEKOM BALKANSKIH VOJN

Olivera Popović

Članek raziskuje manj poznane popotniške zapise mnogoterih italijanskih avtorjev, ki so Črno goro obiskali pred, med in po balkanskih vojnah (1912–1913). Slednje so bile za Črno goro pomembne zaradi njene odločitve o sodelovanju z drugimi balkanskimi državami z namenom pregona Otomanskega cesarstva iz Evrope in večjega širjenja ozemlja. Poleg tega so se v času balkanskih vojn politični in drugi odnosi med Črno goro in Italijo znatno spremenili, saj je Italija z majhno balkansko državo vzpostavila precej ozko naravnane odnose, kar je bilo še posebej očitno po poroki italijanskega prestolonaslednika Viktorja Emanuela III. Italijanskega s črnogorsko princeso Eleno Petrović-Njegoš (1896). V članku analiziram zgodovinski in socio-politični kontekst v sklopu katerega je bila ustvarjena podoba Črne gore in Črnogorcev ter značilnosti diskurza v popotniških zapisih primerjam s tistimi, ki so bili objavljeni v prejšnjih dobah. Svojo analizo sem osnovala na modelih interpretacije raziskovalcev, ki so proučevali popotniško literaturo o balkanskih državah nasploh, in sicer z namenom identificiranja izvora diskurza, ki so ga kasneje prevzeli italijanski avtorji.

| 103 |

Ključne besede: balkanske vojne, imagologija, Črna gora, popotniški zapisi

IJEMS 11 (1): 29 – 48

POTUJOČI PESNIKI V ČASU GRŠKE DIKTATURE: NIKIFOROS VRETTAKOS IN TITOS PATRIKIOS V ITALIJI

Amanda Skamagka

Dva izmed najbolj priznanih modernih grških pesnikov, Nikiforos Vrettakos in Titos Patrikios, sta v Italiji sobivala v času sedemletne vojaške hunte v Grčiji (1967–1974). Obema jima je bil ljubši pregon kakor pretirana vdanost režimu, v katerega nista verjela. Med njunim začasnim bivanjem v Belpaese, in kasneje



ob njuni vrnitvi v gostujočo državo, sta oba pesnila poezijo, ki je bila objavljena komaj po padcu diktature v Grčiji. V tej posebni »potujoči poeziji« Vrettakos in Patrikios iščeta njuno osebno in nacionalno identiteto na tujih tleh. Kljub temu, da jima je tam bilo dovoljeno, da se svobodno izrazita, je njuno delo prepojeno z občutenjem domotožja. Spomini in travma so v tej »italijanski« poeziji pesniško upodobljeni skupaj z naravno, urbano in kulturno krajino Italije. Ob prebiranju pesmi Vrettakosa in Patrikiosa, ki jih je navdihnili Italija, se nam poraja mnogo vprašanj: Kaj je Grčija in kaj Italija? Kaj opredeljuje domovino? Kako določimo drugo? Kdo je inozemec, kdo je tujec in kdo domačin? Kaj je nacionalno, mednarodno in kaj transnacionalno? In kaj prečkanje meja in vrnitev pomeni za vsakega izmed pesnikov? Članek skuša primerjati omenjena moderna grška pesnika različnih generacij skozi njuno poezijo ali prozo, z osredotočanjem na identitetne težave in težave drugosti, spomine in travmo. Cilj članka je dokazati, da sta oba samo-izgnanca v Italiji pesnila poezijo, skozi katero sta iskala uteho in identiteti ter se konstantno opominjala na travmatične izkušnje iz preteklosti ali prijetne spomine, ki jima navsezadnje prav tako povzročajo bolečine. Te pesmi oblikujejo posebno vrsto popotniške literature, žanr, ki je bil kot takšen v Grčiji prepoznan zgolj v zadnji četrtini 20. stoletja (Παυπέτου 1995).

Ključne besede: izgon, grška diktatura, Italija, Patrikios, poezija, Vrettakos

IJEMS 11 (1): 49 – 67

OBZORJA IN LIMES POTOPISA S TEZO – RUMIZOVO POTOVANJE PO JADRANSKIH IN JONSKIH OBALNIH POTEH SKOZI ZGODOVINO

Vedad Spahić, Dragoslav Dedović

Pričujoče delo skuša odgovoriti na vprašanje ali lahko tezo o spopadu civilizacij, ki temelji na poudarjanju razlik, razrešimo s protitezami, ki se podobno naslanjajo na esencialistične poglede Paola Rumiza, avtorja knjige *Poti do Lepanta*. Rumiz ne



potuje zato, da bi se zavedal. Zaveda se, zato potuje. Je potujoči pisatelj, ki se ne hrani s politično energijo konkretnega potujočega doživetja, temveč svoje izkušnje povezuje s polnostjo lastnih protiglobalizacijskih idej. Analitični pristop, ki so ga avtorji ubrali v tem prispevku, v ospredje ne postavlja kulturno-zgodovinskega in teoretskega pristopa do Rumiza, temveč se osredotoča predvsem na Rumizovo besedilo, s katerim poskušajo induktivno poudariti nekatere pomembne koordinate zgoraj omenjenega konteksta. Dopolnilne teme njegovih potopisov lahko razumemo kot pojasnjevanje idej o preferencah in razumevanju Rumizovih osrednjih dihotomij: vzhod proti zahodu, gore proti morju, dobri večnacionalni imepiri proti slabemu nacionalizmu, mediteran proti atlantizmu, itd. Kolektivno stanje uma so sile, ki vladajo nad posamezniki. Benetke so absolutno merilo tovrstne interpretacije sveta, saj je razumljen kot ničelni kriterij utopičnega načina vrednotenja vseh stvari, s katerimi se srečuje med potovanjem, in jih poskuša rekonstruirati kot spomine in sledi izbrisane kulturne dediščine nekdanjih imperijev. Namesto spopada kultur Rumiz spodbuja idejo nevednosti, ločitve zahodnih Evropejcev od lastnih korenin in potrebo po ponovni esencializaciji in vrnitvi v Lepanto, kot losos – k pomladi narodov, monoteističnim religijam, kulturam, in civilizacijam. Rumizova izbira zgodovinskih dejstev oziroma izkušenj njegovih sopotnikov pogosto kaže na “sindrom samopostrežbe” oziroma samovoljne razporeditve dejstev, ki svobodno podpira njegovo tezo, a hkrati ne omenja tistih, ki bi to tezo lahko ovrgli. Bitka pri Lepantu je obravnavana kot izhodišče, vzrok za današnje stanje. To delo je pokazalo, da njegov potopis, kljub neizpodbitnim elementom literarnega besedila, ogroža njegov literarni status, saj služi zgolj za ponazoritev razprave; ne razkriva nič novega, temveč zgolj potrjuje njegovo začetno agendo in posledično ogroža njen status.

Ključne besede: potopis s tezo, literarnost, spopad kultur, esencializem, dekonstrukcija, Benetke, Jadran, Lepanto
IJEMS 11 (1): 69–92



بناء الهوية. تجربة سفر إيزافيتا دي فيت وريبيكا ويست: دراسة مقارنة بين اثنين من المسافرين

كريستينا كوجانا

شاركت إيزافيتا دي فيت وريبيكا ويست جزئياً نفس تجربة السفر: المانيا ، صربيا ، البوسنة والهرسك. سافرت الأولى الى المنطقة بين عامي 1902 و 1911 فى السنوات الأخيرة قبل الحرب العالمية الأولى ، بينما سافرت الأخيرة في الثلاثينيات عشية الحرب العالمية الثانية. على الرغم من أن المسافرتين كان لهما خلفية تاريخية وثقافية مختلفة ، فقد تميز كلاهما بالتزامهما الأيديولوجي المعبر عنه بالتحديد بالسفر. بالإشارة إلى دراسات أندريا غوس ، سوف أخذ في الاعتبار أن "حقيقة السفر تشكل شكلاً من أشكال القوة الجنسانية للمرأة [...] بدخولهن إلى عالم السفر العام ، تجاوزت النساء المعايير الجنسانية التي نقلتهن إلى المنزل" (Ghose 1998: 12). سيتم استخدام أوصافهم للسكان المحليين والتاريخ والفولكلور والسياسة ونظراتهم باعتبارها "trope" ، أي أداة "التملك المعرفي للآخر" (9 ، Ghose 1998) من أجل إجراء مقارنة بين أصوات إيزافيتا دي فيت وريبيكا ويست وبناء ع هوية سلافية ويوغسلافية. سيكون الهدف من بحثي هو توضيح كيف يمكن أن يمثل السفر "نموذجاً مثالياً لدراسة تقاطع المحاور المختلفة التي تبني الهوية" (5 ، Ghose 1998) وكيف يزدهر نوع السفر الأدبي مع تطور الأفكار الاجتماعية والسياسية في ارتباطا وثيقا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: إيزافيتا دي فيت ، ربيكا ويست ، البلقان ، ترافلوج ، السلافية ، اليوغسلافية.

الجبل الأسود في وصف السفر للمؤلفين الإيطاليين في فترة حرب البلقان

أوليفيرا بوبوفيتش

تستكشف هذه الورقة روايات السفر غير المعروفة لمختلف المؤلفين الإيطاليين الذين زاروا جمهورية الجبل الأسود (مونتيجرو) قبل وأثناء وبعد حروب البلقان (1912-1913). كانت هذه الحروب مهمة لجمهورية الجبل الأسود بسبب قرار الدولة التصرف بالتنسيق مع دول البلقان الأخرى من أجل طرد الإمبراطورية العثمانية من أوروبا وتحقيق توسع إقليمي أكبر. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، خلال حروب البلقان ، تم إعادة تعريف العلاقات السياسية وغيرها بين جمهورية الجبل الأسود وإيطاليا بشكل كبير ، بعد أن أقامت إيطاليا علاقات محدودة إلى حد ما مع دولة البلقان الصغيرة ، وخاصة بعد زواج ولي العهد الإيطالي فيتوريو إيمانويل الثالث من سافوي ب أميرة الجبل الأسود إيلينا بتروفيتشنيجوش (1896). نقوم بتحليل السياق التاريخي والاجتماعي والسياسي الذي تم فيه إنشاء صورة الجبل الأسود ومواطنيها وتحديد خصائص هذا الخطاب من خلال مقارنة وصف سفر هؤلاء المؤلفين مع تلك المنشورة في العقبات السابقة. نبنى تحليلنا على نماذج لتفسير العلماء الذين تعاملوا مع أدب السفر حول دول البلقان بشكل عام ، من أجل الإشارة إلى مصدر الخطاب الذي تبناه المؤلفون الإيطاليون

الكلمات المفتاحية: حروب البلقان ، الخيال ، جمهورية الجبل الأسود ، حسابات السفر

الشعراء المسافرين خلال الديكتاتورية اليونانية: نيكيفوروس فريتاكوس وتيتوس باتريسيوس في إيطاليا

اماندا شاماجكا

اثان من أكثر الشعراء اليونانيين الحديثين المشهود لهم ، نيكيفوروس فريتاكوس وتيتوس باتريسيوس ، الذين قضاوا في إيطاليا خلال سبع سنوات من الطغمة العسكرية في اليونان (1967-1974). فضل كلاهما النزوح على الخضوع لنظام لم يؤمنوا به. أثناء إقامتهم في بلبايس ، وبعد ذلك عندما عادوا إلى بلدهم المضيف ، قام كلاهما بتأليف شعر ، تم نشره بعد انهيار الديكتاتورية في اليونان. في تلك "قصائد السفر" الخاصة يبدو أن فريتاكوس وباتريكيوس يبحثون عن هويتهم الشخصية والوطنية داخل بلد أجنبي. على الرغم من السماح لهم بالتعبير عن أنفسهم علناً هناك إلا أن عملهم يخفف من مشاعر الحنين إلى الوطن. يتم تمثيل الذاكرة والصدمة الشعرية في هذه القصائد "الإيطالية" إلى جانب المناظر الطبيعية والحضرية والثقافية لإيطاليا. تتور أسئلة عديدة عند قراءة هذه القصائد المستوحاة من إيطاليا بواسطة فريتاكوس وباتريكيوس: ما هي اليونان وما هي إيطاليا؟ ما الذي يحدد الوطن؟ كيف نميز الآخر؟ من هو الأجنبي؟ من هو الغريب ومن هو المحلي؟ ما هو الوطني وما هو الدولي وما هو عبر الوطني؟ وماذا يعني "عبور الحدود" و "توسيتوس" والعودة لأي من الشعراء؟ تسعى هذه الورقة إلى إجراء دراسة مقارنة لشاعرين يونانيين حديثين من أجيال مختلفة من خلال قصائدهم أو نثرهم ، مع التركيز على قضايا الهوية والبدائل والذاكرة والصدمة. الهدف من ذلك هو إثبات أن كليهما ، المتقنين الذاتيين في إيطاليا ، ألفا أعمالاً كانتا يبحثان فيها عن العزاء والهوية ، مع التذكير باستمرار التجارب المؤلمة من ذكريات الماضي أو الذكريات اللطيفة التي تسببت في النهاية في الألم. تشكل هذه المؤلفات نوعاً خاصاً من أدب السفر ، وهو نوع الإعراف به على هذا النحو في اليونان فقط في الربع الأخير من القرن العشرين (Uavapétou 1995).

الكلمات المفتاحية: النفي ، الديكتاتورية اليونانية ، إيطاليا ، باتريسيوس ، الشعر ، فريتاكوس

آفاق وحدود السفر مع أطروحة - رحلة رميز على طول ساحل البحر الأدرياتيكي والأيوني عبر التاريخ فيداد سباتش ، دراغوسلاف ديدوفيتش

يسعى هذا العمل إلى الإجابة على سؤال حول ما إذا كانت أطروحة مواجهة الحضارات التي تستند إلى أساسيات الاختلافات يمكن تفكيكها من خلال أطروحة مضادة تعتمد أيضاً على الآراء الأساسية التي يدعمها مؤلف كتاب "الطريق إلى لياننتو ، باولو روميز. لا يسافر روميز من أجل أن يعي أو يدرك، بل هو مدرك لذلك يسافر. إنه كاتب سفر لا يطعم نفسه بالطاقة السياسية لتجربة السفر الملموسة ، بل يربط تجربته بملء أفكاره المناهضة للعولة. إن النهج التحليلي المطبق من قبل المؤلفين في هذه الورقة لا يتناول في الصدارة السياق التاريخي والثقافي والنظري الذي من خلاله يتعاملون مع روميز. بدلاً من ذلك ، فهو يركز بشدة على نص روميز ، الذي يسعى من خلاله بشكل حثيث إلى تسليط الضوء على بعض الإحداثيات المهمة لهذا السياق الأوسع. المواضيع التكميلية لكتابات سفره هي مجموعات من الأفكار حول تفضيل جانب واحد في سجل لبعض التميزات لرومين: الشرق مقابل الغرب ، الجبال مقابل البحر ، الإمبراطوريات الجيدة متعددة الجنسيات مقابل القومية السيئة ، البحر الأبيض المتوسط مقابل الأطلسي ... إلخ الحالات الذهنية الجماعية هي القوى التي تحكم الأفراد. البندقية هي مقياس مطلق لهذا التفسير للعالم. من المفهوم أنه معيار الصفر للطريقة الطوباوية لتقييم كل الأشياء التي واجهها أثناء سفره والتي تحاول إعادة بناء كل ذكريات وأثار التراث الثقافي المحو للإمبراطوريات السابقة. بدلاً من صدام الثقافات ، يروج روميز لفكرة الجهل ، وفصل الأوروبيين الغربيين عن جذورهم الخاصة والحاجة إلى إعادة الجوهري ، والعودة إلى لياننتو ، مثل السلمون ، إلى ربيع الشعوب والأديان التوحيدية والثقافات والحضارات. إن اختيار روميز للحقائق من التاريخ أو من تجارب زملائه المسافرين يُظهر غالباً "متلازمة الخدمة الذاتية" ، وهو ترتيب تعسفي للحقائق التي تدعم أطروحته بحرية ، ولكن في الوقت نفسه لا يذكر تلك التي يمكن أن تدحض ذلك. تعتبر معركة لياننتو نقطة الانطلاق والسبب في الوضع في هذه الأيام. لقد أظهر هذا العمل أنه على الرغم من العناصر الأدبية التي لا يمكن دحضها فإن حواره يعرقل وضعه الأدبي لأنه يعمل فقط على تجسيد الرسالة. إنه لا يكشف عن أي شيء جديد ولكنه يؤكد فقط أجدثته الأساسية وبالتالي يعرض وضعه للخطر.

الكلمات المفتاحية: حوار مع الأطروحة ، الأدب ، صراع الثقافات ، الأصولية ، التفكير ، البندقية ، البحر الأدرياتيكي ، لياننتو



EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Prof. Dr. Abdelhamid El-Zoheiry,
Euro-Mediterranean University, Slovenia

DEPUTY EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Assoc. Prof. Ana Bojinović Fenko,
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

EDITORIAL BOARD

Assoc. Prof. Chahir Zaki,
Cairo University, Egypt

Dr. Barbara Gornik,
*Science and Research Centre Koper,
Slovenia*

Assoc. Prof. Karim Moustaghfir,
Al Akhawayn University, Morocco

EDITORIAL OFFICE

Mr. Faris Kočan

ADVISORY BOARD

Prof. Dr. Samia Kassab-Charfi,
University of Tunis, Tunisia

Prof. Dr. Abeer Refky, *Arab Academy
for Science, Technology and Maritime
Transport, Egypt*

Prof. Dr. Nizar Messari, *Al Akhawayn
University, Morocco*

Prof. Dr. Jurij Toplak, *Alma Mater
Europaea, Slovenia*

Prof. Dr. Rym Ayadi, *HEC Montreal,
Canada*

Prof. Dr. Mohammed M. Shabat,
Islamic University of Gaza, Palestine

Prof. Dr. Francesco Martinico,
University of Catania, Italy

Prof. Dr. Serkan Karas, *Centre for
Regional and STI Studies and Support,
Greece*

Prof. Dr. Mouïin Hamzé, *National
Council for Scientific Research,
Lebanon*

Prof. Dr. Assem Abu Hatab, *Swedish
University of Agricultural Sciences,
Sweden*

Prof. Dr. Maurizio Scaini, *University of
Trieste, Italy*

Prof. Dr. Mona Esam Othman Fayed,
Cairo University, Egypt

Assist. Prof. Jacopo Zotti, *University of
Trieste, Italy*

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aydin, *Kadir Has
University, Turkey*

Prof. Dr. Claudio Cressati, *University of
Udine, Italy*

Assist. Prof. Mietek Boduszyński,
Pomona College, United States

Prof. Dr. Lola Bañón Castellón,
Valencia University, Spain



Euro-Mediterranean University
Kidričevo nabrežje 2
SI-6330 Piran, Slovenia
www.ijems.emuni.si
ijems@emuni.si

