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# Between Barbarism and Civilization: The Image of the Inhabitants of Dalmatia under Napoleon (1806–1813) from the French Perspective in the Mediterranean Context

## Abstract

The article analyzes the image of the population of Dalmatia in the Napoleonic era. The analysis is mainly based on documents produced by the French administration of Dalmatia between 1806 and 1813, when the province was first part of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy and from 1809 belonged to a separate entity of the French Empire, the Illyrian Provinces. The study analyzes the picture of Dalmatian society that the French drew for practical administrative purposes and places it in the broader context of the concepts of the Balkans and Eastern Europe and, in particular, the environmental and historical peculiarities of the Mediterranean region. The article shows that the tensions between the settled population on the coast and the semi-nomadic pastoral communities in the Dalmatian hinterland, which was a characteristic phenomenon of the Mediterranean world, had a great influence, at least in the Dalmatian context, on the formation of ideas that later became part

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of the image of Balkan backwardness and other ideas about the Balkan region that took shape in the Age of Enlightenment.

**Keywords:** Dalmatia, Balkans, Illyrian Provinces, Mediterranean, history of ideas.

The beginning of the 19th century was a very special moment in the history of Southeastern Europe. The perspective of the Enlightenment and the emergence of the idea of civilizational progress changed the perception of this region, which was henceforth called the Balkans. The earlier designation of “European Turkey” became less and less significant as the Ottoman Empire gradually lost its possessions in Europe to the Habsburg Empire, Russia, and newly emerging states such as Serbia and Greece.<sup>1</sup> From the second half of the 18th century, France had also been interested in this part of the continent, mainly for economic and strategic reasons (Brun, 2007, pp. 1–2; Šamić, 1960, pp. 55–60). In 1806, after the defeat of the Habsburg Empire at the Battle of Austerlitz, Dalmatia (in Austrian possession since 1797) became part of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, and three years later it was directly incorporated into the French Empire as part of the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to analyze how the image of Dalmatia drawn in documents prepared by the French administrators used the ideas shaped by the Mediterranean context and the older North-South divide, as well as the concept of the new East-West antinomy, to explain the cultural and historical complexity of Dalmatia. The first, “Mediterranean” context can be understood in the geographical and environmental sense, as explained by Ferdinand Braudel (Braudel, 1972, 1985), but also in a more traditional way, as a historical and cultural space influenced by the legacy of the Greco-Roman world. The Mediterranean area can also be equated with southern Europe and a reference point for the north of the continent. This division has been described, for example, by Henryk Samsonowicz (Samsonowicz, 1999), and earlier by French historian of ideas Paul Hazard, who emphasized that in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the political, economic

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<sup>1</sup> This moment was also decisive for the emergence of the Balkan peoples (including the Slavic ones), a process that Napoleonic propaganda exploited in the same way as in the other territories controlled by the French (Grab, 2003, p. 3).

<sup>2</sup> This region was initially part of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, and from 1809, together with parts of Tyrol, Carniola, Istria, and Croatia, belonged to a separate unit of the French Empire, the Illyrian Provinces (Boudon, 2015).

and cultural center of Europe shifted from the South to the North<sup>3</sup> (Hazard, 1995, pp. 48–71). This shift anticipated a new division: the antinomy between the progressiveness of the West and the backwardness of the East. As later elaborated by scholars such as Larry Wolff or Maria Todorova, this new perspective had a great influence on the emergence of the idea of Eastern Europe and the Balkans (Todorova, 2007; Wolff, 1994).

In this paper the above question is examined on the basis of very specific historical sources: documents of the French military and civil administration of Dalmatia (1806–1813). Documents produced by the French administration of Dalmatia as part of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy and the Illyrian Provinces can be found mainly in two archives: the French National Archives and the Archives of the French Ministry of Defense. They concern the administration of the territory of the provinces and their population. Discussions about the participation of the local population in defending the borders of the Illyrian Provinces, the recruitment of military troops, and projects for economic reforms went hand in hand with reflections on the nature of local communities (Sajkowski, 2018, pp. 16–19). The analysis will also include some earlier testimonies about Dalmatia to show the broader context in which the main research material should be studied.

First of all, it should be emphasized that the name Dalmatia was mainly associated with the ancient province of the Roman Empire. Even the name for the new part of Napoleon's possessions in Europe, the Illyrian Provinces, was chosen in this context, partly because of the obvious references to ancient Roman (republican and imperial) symbolism commonly found in Napoleonic propaganda (Bundy, 1987, p. 1). It should be noted, however, that this reference to the Roman past of Southeastern Europe is no different from earlier practiced representations of this area. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the geography of the entire region known as the Balkans was viewed in the context of its ancient past, particularly Dalmatia.<sup>4</sup> French travelogues from the 17th century (and earlier) focused on describing the remains of the Palace of Diocletian in Split and the remains of the nearby city

<sup>3</sup> The former was identified with Mediterranean Europe, the latter with England, the Netherlands or the western German states.

<sup>4</sup> This regularity is especially visible in the areas that became part of the Ottoman Empire. In French geography manuals, ancient provinces like Thrace and Mesia were described in more detail than the actual geography of the Sanjak of Klis or the Eyalet of Rumelia (Sajkowski, 2013, pp. 28–35).

of Salona, sometimes accompanied by detailed sketches of some of the most interesting historical monuments and inscriptions. Reflections on Dalmatia's Roman past were accompanied by reflections on Dalmatian modernity, which was linked to Venice and its rich culture (Šamić, 1960, pp. 8–49). When, after its defeats in the Seven Years' War, France began to consider the Balkans as a possible area for economic and later political expansion, this image of Venetian Dalmatia built on its Roman past persisted and even became more detailed. It is most evident in works such as the description of the Dalmatian coast written by Nicolas Bellin and published in 1771 (Bellin, 1771, pp. 66–88) and in mentions in historical works (Richer, 1753, p. 388; Voltaire, 1759, p. 223) as well as in encyclopedias and dictionaries (Moreri, 1725, p. 554).

A fascination with Dalmatia's Roman past is not unique to French literature. The Palace of Diocletian itself was depicted in detail by English architect Robert Adam in his work *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (Adam, 1764). Interestingly, the drawings depicted not only the ruins but also the surrounding area, including the then current population in Turkish dress. Adam wanted to show the neighborhood between the Roman past and the Oriental present.

A similar emphasis on the Roman heritage of Dalmatia is found in the work *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* by Louis François Cassas and Joseph Lavallée (Cassas & Lavallée, 1802). It must be emphasized that *Voyage pittoresque...* was published just five years after the dissolution of the Republic of Venice by Napoleon and four years before the incorporation of Dalmatia into the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy. This was not a coincidence, and this publication can be seen as an anticipation of France's expansion plans in the region (Caillet, 2011, p. 926). This book could have been similar to the work by Robert Adam mentioned earlier: a collection of drawings showing the most interesting examples of Roman remains as sketched by François Cassas during his trip to the Adriatic in 1782. However, the drawings of the amphitheater and temple of Augustus, the triumphal arch in Pula, or the Palace of Diocletian in Split were complemented by a detailed historical study of Istria and Dalmatia and a description of the journey, both written not by the traveler himself, but by Joseph Lavallée, decades after Cassas had visited Dalmatia (Caillet, 2011, pp. 924–925). The drawings also included depictions of bustling cities and ports on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, such as Trieste, Pola, Zadar, and Split (Cassas & Lavallée, 1802, pp. 64–65, 67–69, 70–71, 72–75, 120–121, 124–125, 150–151).

While Adam's depiction of Roman ruins features Orientally dressed silhouettes strolling through the corridors of the ancient Palace of Diocletian in Split, Cassas places modern, European-dressed figures in the same locations (the drawings showing the ancient temples of Jupiter and Asclepius in Spalato).<sup>5</sup> However, he did not ignore the Oriental influences – they are visible in the drawing showing the dress of the modern inhabitants of the Salona area (near Split) or in the image of the vestibule of the Palace of Diocletian. The images presented by Cassas were generally less dramatic than Adam's juxtaposition of the glorious Roman past and the Turkish influence that had replaced it, as they also reflected the aspect of Dalmatia belonging to the Venetian or, by extension, the Western European world. Therefore, his publication showed a much more complex spectrum of Dalmatia's historical heritage.

This complexity of the Dalmatian cultural heritage is also evident in the historical study by Joseph Lavallée that complements Cassas's drawings. In his opinion, Dalmatia was a space where extremes met. Interestingly, he did not place neighboring Turkey on one side of this juxtaposition, but the Slavic world in general, associated with the pastoral communities of the Morlachs.<sup>6</sup> In his opinion, the peoples living in the interior of the province were direct heirs of the "savages and barbarians" who had flooded Europe in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In contrast, he spoke of "Dalmatians," i.e. the inhabitants of the urbanized and Italianized coast. Interestingly, while associating them with the Roman heritage, he emphasized that the Dalmatians had inherited the Roman culture in its degenerated form of the late Roman Empire or in an Orientalized version of the Byzantine heritage (which could be related to the fact that Dalmatia was part of the Eastern Roman Empire in the early Middle Ages):

Finally, we find here Rome under Augustulus and Byzantium under Andronicus; and after fourteen hundred years, if one is attentive and takes the trouble, with knowledge of history, to study the people whom Dalmatia presents to the traveler, one recognizes in the Dalmatians the exact picture of what the Romans were like when they reached the last period of their degradation, and in the Morlachs an

<sup>5</sup> *Vue d'une partie du grand vestibule, appelée Piazza del Duomo, Vue d'une partie de la galerie du temple de Jupiter, Vue d'une partie du grand vestibule du temple de Diocletien en regardant le temple d'Esculape* (Cassas & Lavallée, 1802, pp. 153–155).

<sup>6</sup> This name comes from the Greek term Mavrovlahi, i.e. the black Vlachs, although the term "Vlach" is not used in the ethnic sense but as a socionym denoting shepherds (Czamańska, 2016).



approximate idea of the barbarian founders of some of the great empires of Europe that we now see so polite. (Cassas & Lavallée, 1802, pp. 60–61)<sup>7</sup>

This and other fragments of *Voyage pittoresque...* show that Lavallée did not see the urbanized coast of Dalmatia as an area that belonged to Europe's economic and cultural core. He criticized the view of Italians such as Alberto Fortis, who presented the coastal part of the province as an example of prosperity and progress, and claimed that cities such as Zadar were degenerating (Cassas & Lavallée, 1802, p. 83). Such opinions can be linked to the broader problem of the weakening of the Republic of Venice, which became a secondary European power in the 18th century as Mediterranean trade routes became less important in the age of growing colonialism (Wolff, 2001, pp. 1–6). Italian observers like Fortis, who studied the economic potential of Dalmatia on behalf of the Venetian state in the second half of the 18th century (Wolff, 2001, pp. 323–326), were able to portray this issue, as well as the general efficiency of local administration, more positively than an outside observer. The portrayal of Zadar as a city that was not progressing (and even regressing) signaled that Dalmatia needed to be judged not only in terms of historical differences between the South, i.e. the ancient Roman world, and the North, which represented barbarism (Samsonowicz, 1999, pp. 14–23), but also through the newly emerging idea of the difference between the progressive West and the backward East.

Similar observations were made in 1806 by a French officer, Colonel Lasseret, who noted the differences between the uncivilized hinterland of Dalmatia and the urbanized coast, and treated the city of Ragusa as Lavallée treated Zadar – as belonging to Europe, though not to its center, but rather to its periphery. He claimed that the manners of the Ragusan nobility were polite, but also showed signs of the “austerity of the Turks”<sup>8</sup> (Lasseret, 1806, pp. 25–29). Another report on Ragusa, anonymous and undated but probably also written during the first years of the French presence in Dalmatia

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<sup>7</sup> “On retrouve enfin ici Rome sous Augustule, et Byzance sous Andronic; et au bout de quatorze cents ans, pour peu que l'on soit observateur, et que l'histoire à la main l'on se donne la peine d'étudier les hommes que la Dalmatie présente au voyageur, on acquiert dans les Dalmatiens l'exacte connaissance de ce que furent les Romains arrivés au dernier période de leur dégradation, et dans les Morlaques celle à-peu-près de ce que durent être dans l'origine les fondateurs barbares de quelques uns des grands empires de l'Europe que nous voyons si policés aujourd'hui.”

<sup>8</sup> “Les Ragusains ont quelque chose de la gravité des Turcs; ils ont néanmoins de beaucoup de vivacité d'esprit et de politesse dans les manières.”

(from 1806), goes much further in its criticism of the customs of the local population: “The Ragusans are stubborn and cling to their old customs; they are two hundred years behind other nations in matters of knowledge. These people are afflicted with absurd prejudices and superstitions, and are excessively fanatical”<sup>9</sup> (*Aperçu sur la république de Raguse*, n.d.). The anonymous author, who was influenced by the enlightened critique of superstition or even by the anticlerical concepts of the French Revolution, explicitly used the category of backwardness, which later became associated with the ideas of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Interestingly, he invoked not the influence of the Ottoman Empire but outdated customs and Catholic fanaticism when he mocked that the Ragusans possessed “more relics than the Papal States.” His opinion, while radical, reflected the process of Ragusa’s decline as a political, economic, and cultural power, which began with the decline of Mediterranean trade in the Age of Discoveries and was exacerbated by the catastrophic earthquake that destroyed the city in 1667 (Blockmans et al., 2017, p. 148).

The two aforementioned documents (Lasseret’s report on Dalmatia and the anonymous observation on Ragusa) were written at a time when the French had already taken over the rule of Dalmatia. The need to gather information about this province was primarily a matter of internal security and secondarily a matter of correctly assessing the province’s economic and military potential (Sajkowski, 2018, p. 99). This practical approach can be traced in the first reports from Dalmatia in 1806–1807. One of these reports, written by Colonel Sorbier, divided the population of Dalmatia into three groups: the Italians who lived on the coast, the Orthodox part of the population (who were willing to cooperate with the Russians), and the shepherds who lived in the interior of the province (the Morlachs), who were believed to be descended from the ancient Scythians (Sorbier, 1806, p. 17). In fact, the latter two groups were often considered as one, as can be seen from another report, by d’Anthouard, who also described the Slavs as descendants of Scythian barbarians (Anthouard, 1806, p. 11).

Associating the Slavic population in the hinterland of Dalmatia with a lack of civilization or even barbarism appears in the correspondence and memoirs of the first governor general of the Illyrian Provinces, Marshal Marmont (Marmont, 1809, 1857, p. 27), but it was an idea that

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<sup>9</sup> “Les Ragusains sont entêtés et tiennent fortement à leurs anciens usages, ils sont restés en genre de connaissances à l’égard aux autres nations deux cents ans en arrière. On y est infecté de préjugés absurdes, se superstitions: on y est fanatique à l’excès.”



was widespread in European literature of the Enlightenment. The most extensive study proving the association of Slavs with barbarians (such as Huns or Pechengs) was made by French diplomat and military man Claudes-Charles de Peyssonnel and published in 1765 (Peyssonnel, 1765). A similar view emphasizing the barbarian heritage of the Slavs was shared by Voltaire and Edward Gibbon (Gibbon, 1809, p. 25; Voltaire, 1759, p. 223). As Fortis had noted in his description of Dalmatia, the inhabitants of the towns claimed that the Slavic shepherds still showed traces of their barbarian origins and their hostility towards the Latin world, since they did not respect the ancient Roman culture and used stones from the ruins as building material for their houses (Fortis, 1778b, p. 58).

This statement by Fortis forces one to ask whether the image observed in the documents of the French administration of the Illyrian Provinces, influenced by the perspective of the Enlightenment, did not contain or reinterpret elements already present in the image of the Slavs of the rural Dalmatian hinterland created by the inhabitants of the urbanized coast. The negative image of Slavic shepherds did not just emerge in the 18th century but had been developing since the Middle Ages. In his work on the history of Trogir, Split, and Šibenik, 17th-century Dalmatian historian Ivan Lucić claimed that in 1362 “Vlachs or Morlachs, at that time the shepherds of the mountains dividing Croatia and Bosnia,”<sup>10</sup> began to settle without permission in territories belonging to Dalmatian cities (Lucio, 1674, p. 279). Thus, the conflicts between the semi-nomadic shepherds from the interior and the coastal population living in the cities and cultivating the land continued for centuries. In the 16th century, the complicated relations between the Slavic shepherds and the population of Venetian-controlled coastal Dalmatia became a diplomatic problem, as the shepherds could easily migrate to Turkey to avoid taxes (Caciur, 2016).

When the Dalmatian hinterland became a Venetian possession in the 18th century, the new authorities tried to force the shepherd population to change their way of life, as the local farmers and fruit growers considered the Morlach shepherds and their activities harmful to agriculture (Šarić, 2010, p. 49). On the other hand, the shepherds considered the inhabitants of the cities as those who wanted to exploit them. This was also reflected in French documents, for example, in an 1806 draft on agrarian reform

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<sup>10</sup> “Erano detti Vlachi, o Morlachci in quel tempo li pastori delle montagne che dividono la Bosna della Croatia.”



in which an anonymous French official pointed out that many Morlachs lived in extreme poverty because they had become indebted and lost their wealth due to the usurious prices of goods sold by merchants from the cities (*Projet d'agriculture*, 1806, p. 6). This tension between the coastal population and the inhabitants of the hinterland was described by Ferdinand Braudel in his study of the Mediterranean, in which he described the shepherds who inhabited the Mediterranean as a special category of people who lived outside the usual rules of conduct:

The population of the low-lying areas, the farmers and fruit growers look at them with fear and hostility when they pass by with their herds. In the eyes of this population, as well as city dwellers, they are barbarians, semi-wild creatures. Herd owners and cunning traders, waiting for their herds to be led out of the mountains, unanimously try to deceive them. (Braudel, 1985, p. 35)<sup>11</sup>

The negative image of the Slavic peoples that can be explained by the Mediterranean peculiarity of the relations between farmers and shepherds, was then merged with the historical context of antagonism between the world of the Romans and the world of the barbarians. Of course, there were many Romance-speaking shepherds in the Balkans, including Vlachs (considered as an ethnic, not a social group), Aromanians, and Istro-Romans. Even the name of the Morlachs (“the black Vlachs”), associated with the Slavs in Dalmatia, was originally placed in the Latin context, and this fact was widely known in the 18th century. In 1749, the French *Journal des Savants* mentioned that Dalmatia was inhabited by “*Morlaks, Maurovlachi*, i.e. black Latins.” These people were said to be “descended from the Roman colonists whom Trajan settled in Dacia on the Danube and who spread the Latin language in these areas”<sup>12</sup> (“Caroli du Fresne, Domini du Cange”, 1749, pp. 712). This explanation of the ethnonym was also known to Alberto Fortis, who denounced it, which was easy since many of the ethnic Vlachs in the Balkans were Slavicized and the name “Vlach” itself had begun

<sup>11</sup> “Ainsi s’est constituée une catégorie d’hommes à part, d’hommes hors de la règle commune, presque hors la loi. Le peuple des régions d’en bas, agriculteurs ou arboriculteurs, les voit passer avec crainte et hostilité. Pour eux et pour les gens des villes, ce sont là des barbares, des demi-sauvages. Propriétaires et maquignons retors, qui les attendent au terme de leurs descentes, sont d’accord pour les dupes.”

<sup>12</sup> “La Morlaquie, qui fait partie de la Dalmatie Hongroise, est située sur le Golfe de Venise. Elle est habitée par les Morlaques, Maurovlacbi, c’est-à-dire, les Latins Noirs. Ces Peuples, sont des restes des Colonies Romaines que Trajan avait établies dans la Dace au-delà du Danube, et qui y avoient porté l’usage de la langue Latine.”

to describe the social class of shepherds (Czamańska, 2016). Although this naturalist and traveler wanted to portray the inhabitants of Dalmatia as “good savages,” he was nevertheless convinced that they had been barbarians in the past and therefore could not be descendants of the Roman colonists (Fortis, 1778a, pp. 6–7). The association of the Slavs with a barbarian threat that could endanger the Greco-Roman world was part of the European historiographical tradition, shaped primarily by medieval Byzantine sources (Sajkowski, 2023).<sup>13</sup>

The question of the alleged barbarism of the Slavs was another issue that could be viewed either in the context of the Mediterranean or in the new context of the difference between East and West. In the Age of Enlightenment, the term “barbarism” was defined not only historically, but also in its anthropological context, in which it was seen as one of the earliest stages of human development. This stage was equated with pastoral and nomadic life, which was considered inferior to agriculture. The Venetian and French attempts to implement agricultural reforms in the Dalmatian hinterland (development of fruit growing, introduction of the potato) went hand in hand with an evaluation of the development of the pastoral peoples living in this area. The intendant of Dalmatia described the living conditions of the Slavic shepherds from Dalmatia as follows: “Their houses are only poor huts; where the family lives among the animals, they lie curled up around a fireplace from which black smoke rises, and feed on dough baked over the coals, or on roots if the earth yields them ...”<sup>14</sup> (*Rapport General*, 1812).

Such descriptions can, of course, be placed in the aforementioned context of anthropology, which ranks pastoral peoples among the less civilized societies, characterized by traits from the “childhood of mankind” period such as laziness, myopia, and emotionality (Saint-Amand, 2011, pp. 58–59).

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<sup>13</sup> Moreover, some apologists of Slavdom, such as Mavro Orbini, did not deny the alleged atrocities of the Slavs in the early Middle Ages, but presented them as evidence of the Slavic warlike character (Orbini, 1601, p. 15). Orbini tried to portray the Slavs not only as victorious conquerors of Southeastern Europe, but also as inheritors of the culture of the ancient Illyrians (including their language), but the image of these former inhabitants of Dalmatia was not positive either. French historiography did not idealize the Illyrians, but portrayed them – citing Roman historians – as cruel highwaymen and pirates. Such a portrait was drawn, for example, by Count de Buat and Jean Baptiste Gibrat in their treatises on ancient history (Buat, 1772, p. 295; Gibrat, 1790, p. 257).

<sup>14</sup> Leurs maisons ne sont que des misérables cahutes; où la famille se retire au milieu des animaux, là accroupie autour d'un âtre d'où s'élevé une noire fumée, elle mange la pâte cuite sur les charbons, ou les racines quand la terre lui en donne encore.”

It should be noted, however, that these criteria were often used to explain images and ideas that predated the Enlightenment. The French were convinced that the Morlachs were unsuitable for military service due to their barbaric, uncontrollable nature. Numerous reports and memoirs, such as those by Governor General Marmont, General Lauriston and other officers, some of Venetian provenance, such as Colonel Zulatti, pondered how to discipline these societies so that they would become “proper soldiers” like the neighboring population of Military Croatia (Lauriston, 1810; Marmont, 1809; Zulatti, 1806). Many of these pejorative opinions about the Morlachs, however, resembled earlier images drawn by former Venetian governors and the inhabitants of Dalmatian cities. As Fortis had noted a few decades before French troops entered Dalmatia, “... the inhabitants of the coastal towns of Dalmatia tell endless anecdotes about the cruelties of this people who, possessed by habitual rapacity, have often gone to cruel excesses” (Fortis, 1778a, pp. 1–2).<sup>15</sup>

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that this paper quotes only a small part of the observations made by the French administrators of Dalmatia, but they have been selected as representative of the general depiction of the population of the Dalmatian interior, produced primarily for the practical purposes of administration. They are also representative of the general ideas that Napoleonic officers and officials had about the population they governed. This representation can certainly be placed in the context of the enlightened idea of progress, which became a new tool to explain the historical processes according to which different societies developed and became more and more civilized. This new perspective was the crucial element that shaped the ideas of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. However, this article shows that the discussion of the origin of these concepts should not be conducted without taking into account the development of earlier ideas and the peculiarities of the different parts of Southeastern Europe.

Dalmatia is a very good example of a region where natural conditions and the different functioning of societies shaped the way different groups perceived each other. The distrust between the farmers and fruit growers who populated the Dalmatian coast on the one hand, and the shepherds

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<sup>15</sup> “Votre séjour parmi nous, vous aurez souvent entendu parler des Morlaques comme d’un peuple féroce, inhumain, stupide, & capable de commettre tous les crimes ... Les habitants des villes maritimes de la Dalmatie, racontent une infinité d’actions cruelles de ce peuple, qui livré à une rapacité habituelle, s’est porté souvent à des excès atroces.”

in the interior on the other, was characteristic of the entire Mediterranean region, but it led to stereotypes that were successfully incorporated into the notion of the Balkans or Eastern Europe. Moreover, it should be emphasized that the French rulers of Dalmatia quickly adopted these ideas and used them for their governmental purposes, which proves how convincing they were for them and how deeply they were rooted in the Dalmatian reality. They were also legitimized by the specific perception of the Dalmatian past, often identified with an antinomy between the ancient Roman heritage and the barbarian forces hostile to it, which was perceived as the source of the current civilizational difference between the coast and the hinterland of the region.

A completely new element here, one that was not a simple reinterpretation of existing ideas and can be found in the observations of the French, is the image of Dalmatian cities, which could be presented as backward in their development or as being under the influence of Oriental culture. This proves that both elements of Dalmatia's Mediterranean distinctiveness – the coast inhabited by a settled population and the mountains inhabited by semi-nomadic shepherds – could be described as backward or peripheral due to the new division of Europe into West and East. In this new context, all of Dalmatia, whether coastal or inland, could be placed in this second category of Europe's southeastern periphery, later called the Balkans.

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## Między barbarzyństwem a cywilizacją – obraz mieszkańców Dalmacji pod rządami Napoleona (1806–1813) w perspektywie francuskiej w kontekście Śródziemnomorza

Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu analizę wizerunku ludności Dalmacji pod panowaniem francuskim w epoce napoleońskiej. Analiza ta opiera się głównie na dokumentach wytworzonych przez francuską administrację Dalmacji w latach 1806–1813, kiedy to prowincja była najpierw częścią napoleońskiego Królestwa Włoch, a od 1809 r. częścią odrębnego podmiotu Cesarstwa Francuskiego, Prowincji Iliryskich. Niniejsze studium analizuje obraz społeczeństwa dalmatyńskiego stworzony przez Francuzów dla praktycznych celów zarządzania i zestawia go z szerszym kontekstem idei Bałkanów, Europy Wschodniej i przede wszystkim środowiskowych i historycznych uwarunkowań Śródziemnomorza. Artykuł wykazuje, że zjawiska napięć, które występowały między osiadłą ludnością wybrzeża a pół-koczowniczymi społecznościami pasterskimi wnętrza Dalmacji, co było charakterystycznym zjawiskiem świata śródziemnomorskiego, miały – przynajmniej w kontekście dalmatyńskim – ogromny wpływ na pojawienie się idei, które później stały się częścią obrazu bałkańskiego zacofania i innych koncepcji dotyczących regionu Bałkanów, które miały kształtować się głównie w epoce Oświecenia.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Dalmacja, Bałkany, Prowincje Iliryskie, Śródziemnomorze, historia idei.





## Note

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