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DALMATIA – BETTIZA'S LOST HOMELAND

The paper analyses the potential of Bettiza's fiction for the development of Croatian and Italian cultural relations as well as tourist promotion of the Croatian historical region of Dalmatia. Particular attention is focused on the novel *Exile*, in which the author writes a family chronicle by evoking his Split roots. At the same time, he describes the atmosphere, customs and picturesque figures of Dalmatian towns in the interwar period, the encounter of Slavic and Roman culture, as well as the destiny of the Italian population there who, due to the turmoil of war and socialist revolution, decided to leave their homeland. Reception of Bettiza's work, as an account of an individual history that is completely different from the written (national), the collective history, can positively affect the Italian perception of Dalmatia as a tourist destination, and it can improve the distorted image of Croats living there, which has been created for decades in Italy, through the activist action of extreme groups, therefore it can be of multiple use. Proving that not all Italians forcibly left their former homeland, but that a part of them left freely seeking a better life for themselves and their families not seeing any perspective in the upcoming communism, allows for the construction of bridges between Slavic and Roman culture, and an even better and more effective tourism promotion of this Croatian region in the context of Italian tourist interests. The research results show that the reception of Bettiza's work may have a positive impact on the promotion of Dalmatia and may be used for that purpose.

Keywords: *Enzo Bettiza, Dalmatia, Split, Zadar, migrations, tourism*

1. Introduction

Bettiza's novel, a family chronicle entitled *Exile*, presents a journey through the onetime Dalmatia. The story is a return to the author's childhood and youth spent in his native Split and his education in Zadar. By evoking his Split and Dalmatian roots, Bettiza describes the atmosphere, cuisine, customs and picturesque figures of Dalmatian towns in the interwar period, the encounter of Slavic and Roman culture and the destiny of the Italian population there, who, due to the turmoil of war and socialist revolution, decided to leave their homeland. Analyzing the literary work of Zadar's *esuli* (exiles), Gunjević-Kosanović (2016) points out that the most voluminous body of literature by those authors with a traumatic experience of leaving their homeland was written long after that experience. Their works became to a certain extent the topic of interest in the 1990s when all the intensity of destruction, suffering and exile re-occurred in their native country. At that time, there was no a more persistent promoter of Croatian interests in Italy than Enzo Bettiza, a voice of credible impartial witness, and a respected expert for Central and Slavic Europe, who was greatly helping to bring to light the truth about aggression against the young Croatian state (Bešker 2017). The novel reminiscently wells up in the author provoked by the outbreak of Croatian Homeland War in the 1990s and the Serbian aggression against the Republic of Croatia. He describes the atmosphere before the journey, which for the Italian national minority, who decided to opt for Italian citizenship at that moment, meant a kind of displacement from their homes and a departure into the new and the unknown, although nation-wise close and similar. He describes in detail, mixing real memories and fiction, many neighborhoods of two Dalmatian towns, calling forth the lost homeland of his compatriots going on the way with no return. Thinking back to his roots, Bettiza, from the Roman, Italian perspective, meets the Croatian and other Slavic worlds on the Dalmatian coast and its hinterland, describes Serbian mythology and mythomania, and analyses the oriental influence from the nearby Bosnia.

In addition to cultural sightseeing, a modern tourist is also interested in hearing a story that originated within the heart of the city and which shaped a particular narrative relation to reality, thus Bettiza's story about life and childhood spent in Dalmatia (Split and Zadar) in the early 20th century can be used for a more complete and different perception of a space and its history. Croatian culture, which is extremely rich in themes of leaving, exile, and abandonment of the native soil in its folk and artistic expression, epic and lyrical tone, often places exile on the pedestal of historical tragedy and its political reflections (Kirin-Jambrešić 1997: 175).

The analysis of Bettiza's novel *Exile* will also seek to show its potential in promoting Croatian tourism, especially the Croatian historical region of Dalmatia, primarily in the Italian tourist market, since by learning about the history and culture of Zadar and Split, tourists can also be offered the life story of Enzo Bettiza,¹ whose content contributes to the perception of a different image of history, not only in terms of historical facts in exile, but also in illustrating the life of the time (e.g. customs, gastronomy, interpersonal relationships, legends on ridicules,² education, family attitudes and specific Mediterranean humor).

Namely, „different levels of the past, constructed collective histories and personal histories of the individual appear as different voices within the formal one self, representing a network of these internal temporal and psychic layers. The past of the subject does not exist by itself, it exists only in narrative, discursive forms. Instead of facts, we encounter scenes and images in the text, while the past, instead of being factual and actual eventuality, is revealed as a discursively shaped and symbolic, at the textual level, fictional reality. Therefore, talking about the past is not a sum of what happened, but an intervention into the past, confessional strategies of time creating discontinuity and independent effects, rather than continuity and causality. The distribution of memory space, using De Certeau's words, is guided by the principles of unexpectedness and unpredictability, in parallel with the principle of reproducibility“ (Zlata, according to Bošković 2017: 134).

The aim of this paper is to determine whether the reception of Bettiza's novel, his intimate and different story, can arouse positive emotions in the numerous Italian population who, due to a series of unfortunate circumstances, left the territory of the Republic of Croatia, especially Dalmatia, as well as their descendants and compatriots, motivating them to visit their old homeland as tourists. We will also seek to demonstrate the possible usefulness of Bettiza's novel *Exile* in improving Croatian and Italian cultural relations by breaking historical myths according to which all Italians forcibly left their former homeland.

Furthermore, the question to which Škvorc tries to find the answer in his text „Multiculturalism and multiculturalism in the post-colonial state of affa-

¹ In recent years, modern tourist looks for emotional experience as well, a relational story that offers, above all, an escape from the daily hustle and bustle (Skoko 2017).

² The distinctive Mediterranean feature of the former Split was also created by many figures whose behavior was in any way contrary to the general one, and was in the focus of public curiosity. The relationship between such individuals and the mass was, in fact, reciprocal. As much as the streets and taverns were entertained by their feats, so too did they reciprocate the urge of these typical Split public spaces, because an eccentric becomes strange only when spotted by a group and motivated to act (Kudrjavcev 2002).

irs...” (2010) may become a hypothesis in this paper, precisely because of the possibility of existence of the so-called multiculturalist perspective on literary theory and, from such a perspective, we can speak not only of identity but also of the study of literary systems at the level of realized poetics and what stands behind them as an interpretation, an attempt to decode layers of meaning.

2. Historical and Geographical Overview of Dalmatia

Dictionaries commonly describe Dalmatia in two ways, concerning its history and the present day. Historically, this is „a) a Roman province (named after the Dalmatae tribe) extending from the Raša in Istria to the Mati River in Albania, including the islands from the Kvarner to Boka, b) the name of a country with various historical frameworks and with different borders, c) one of the three parts of the Triune Kingdom (the crown country of the Kingdom of Dalmatia until 1918)“ (Croatian Encyclopedic Dictionary 2003: 212). In the contemporary sense, it is „2. the region of Croatia between the south of Velebit Channel to the Montenegrin coast, including islands within these borders and the hinterland totaling an area of 12 157 km² and a population of about 800 000“ (ibid.). The major determinants of the formation of social identities are common space, culture and the past (Mirošević 1911: 1). Dalmatia is a region with unique historical, cultural, anthropological and sociological distinctions, which came into existence due to the encounter and often conflicts between different cultures and forces in this small area, where we find the traces of Illyrian, Byzantine, Venetian, Napoleonic, Roman, Austrian and other rulers in a direct contact.

Dalmatia is the area about which Enzo Bettiza (2004: 17) will say that „as early as from the ancient times it has been some kind of Mediterranean Scandinavia (...) an exceptional island in the Slavic world, mostly an island of farmers and landowners. Fraught with a multitude of ports, inlets, islands and small rocky islands, inhabited by fishermen, pirates, carpenters, dignified by the history of the reputed maritime Republic of Dubrovnik, the fame of which its famous sailors and deep-sea masters spread across the oceans.“ And Dubrovnik, for its art and architecture, will be called the „Athens of South Slavs“ (ibid: 19).

2.1. Literary tourism – a novel seen as a connection between a writer and a place of event

Tourism is one of the most propulsive industries in the world. It is a global and contemporary phenomenon that takes on ever greater proportions, tourist travels being an unavoidable part of modern life. From Krippendorf's concept of „tourism as a counter-day-to-day life“, nothing has changed in conceptual terms to date, but tourism in a marketing sense is increasingly linked to the concept of the tourist destination as a key determinant (Miletić; Krajnović; Bosna 2014: 340), „which is a desired, a *dream come true* goal of the modern *tourist nomad*, and at the same time the focal point of tourism, the *intersection* and integrator of the total tourist offer and the generator of the economic and non-economic effects that tourism brings to the receiving community (ibid).“ In the Republic of Croatia, tourism occupies a much more significant place than in many other world economies, as it accounts for almost a fifth of GDP revenue and is one of the key growth generators of the Croatian economy (Rihelj 2018).

Ban et al. (2011) believe that in today's globalized economy tourist destinations are in a competitive relationship to achieve economic benefits, whereby they become a kind of products to be branded. Luft (2000) points out regions as the vital geographic units, i.e. tourist destinations in which a tourist offer has to be developed because they represent the space for an intensive stay of holidaymakers. Interdisciplinary literary works have long been used to promote a tourist destination as a specific form of the interpretation of cultural heritage (Urošević 2014: 274). What is most often emphasized here is the importance of travel books, either in the context of a study of the history of these literary works in our regions (Pederin; 1991, Duda; 1998) or their applicability for the designing of Mediterranean culture and tourist itineraries and European cultural routes (Urošević 2014). Pederin (1978) points out that travel books have played an essential role in the development of cultures in the Mediterranean since the Phoenician and Greek times. Peoples of different cultures, social and political structures, as well as opposite worldviews, have repeatedly met and intensively traded and communicated with each other.

Urošević (2014: 273) points out that the records of the most important travel writers of the Enlightenment, Romanticism, Realism, as well as Modernism (Albert Fortis, Charles Yriarte and Hermann Bahr) specifically addressed the image of the Adriatic coast as a representation and construction of the Mediterranean imagery and an exotic Arcadia on the edges of European civilization. Pederin (1991: 11) argues that the constant of travelogues is to compare the foreign and the domestic and find traces of one's own national

culture in another. Due to the particular situational and contextual political conditions, new meanings, functions and relationships have been continuously intertwined in travel writings throughout history.

Bettiza's novel, a family chronicle under the title *Exile*, is a very interesting narrative in this respect. It is a journey through the onetime Dalmatia. The story is a return to the author's childhood and youth spent in his native Split and his education in Zadar.

Gajski et al. (2011: 5–6) believe that „cultural tourism is permeated with almost all the factors that make up the personality of a place, which may include history, ethnology, archeology, art, architecture, population and their lifestyles – tradition, social, economic and political structure, but also food, wine and other local products as well as many more. If we include the landscape, flora and fauna of a destination, we will get what distinguishes one place from another, that is, its personality or identity“.

Since literary tourism mainly involves the connection between writers and the places of literary works, they see intertwining of reality (biographical facts and real places associated with writers) and fiction (part of a fictional world with its own events, characters and places). Therefore, in the world of tourism, fantasy and reality are intertwined (Kožul 2014).

However, cultural practice, whose main function is to establish a phantasm of identity diversity within a globalized market, is depoliticized and futile, unlike that culture which, for the pleasure of tourists, is recreated for a moment out of context, in its most superficial and commercial aspects. Therefore, the logic that legitimizes the culture of a collective by assigning it the role of an advertising gimmick, or goods with good sale, is in direct contradiction with the needs of the collective for the culture to serve it as a space of freedom, creativity, and critical thinking. Such culture, that is, literature, finds its ideal form in a tourist brochure (Tutek 2017).

3. Enzo Bettiza – a Dalmatian with a lost homeland

Enzo (Vincenzo, Christian name Vinko) Bettiza was born in Split or, as he liked to point out, in Dalmatia, on July 6, 1927, and died in Rome, Italy's capital, on July 26, 2017. He completed the Croatian primary school in his native town, while he attended and finished the Italian classical grammar school in Zadar (Bešker 2017). He experienced the contact and conflict of Roman, Italian and Slavic, Croatian culture in his own home as well. He was born into a wealthy Italian family of Vincenzo Bettiza, a co-owner of the first Dalmatian cement plant *The Gillardi and the Bettiza*. His mother was from the Vušković family on the island of Brač. After the First World War, his father opted for Italian citizenship,

while his uncle, a painter, Petar Bettiza chose to take Croatian, i.e. Yugoslavian citizenship (Bešker 2017). Bešker will point out that thanks to the father's side of the family he was a native speaker of Italian, but that „his mother's origin deeply nested him into the Croatian language, which he spoke fluently (and phonetically more suitable than Italian, in which Slavic origin was heard), while their home assistant and nursemaid from Dalmatian hinterland instilled in him the love of this region (at home they used to call him little *Vlaj*, or *piccolo Morlacco*) as well as the love of local cuisine which he preserved“ (Bešker 2017).

He was a journalist, a politician, a publicist, a novelist, and an essayist. The encyclopedic data says that he was particularly specialized in Central and Eastern Europe themes (encyclopedia.hr). The Austro-Slavic cultural basis (Bešker 2017), which he acquired in his hometown, greatly facilitated obtaining these competencies and becoming a foreign correspondent from the centers of these areas. In his long journalistic work, he worked for numerous Italian daily newspapers and periodicals (he worked as a journalist for *Epoca* magazine, as a correspondent for the *Stampa* from Vienna and Moscow and he was a years-long commentator for newspaper *Il Corriere della Sera*) as well as the national public broadcasting company RAI – *Radiotelevisione Italiana S. p. A.* After the split-up in *Corriere*, he left the editorial office to start the daily newspaper *Il Giornale nuovo* together with Indro Montanelli in 1974 (Bešker 2017), in which he was also a co-director (enciklopedija.hr). He engaged Frane Barbieri from Makarska to work for his journal (Bešker 2017).

Since his professional, journalistic focus was primarily on the study of the fate of European states and events within the framework of world communism (Maroević 2006), his public, political engagement did not lack either. Along with his early episode of supporting the Italian Communist Party, which will be described by Tonko Maroević as „a form of resolving the complex of traumatic bourgeois affiliation – and also an exceptionally early breakup with the historical left wing“ (Maroević 2004: 6), he will soon become a Social Democrat only to end his political career as the Left Liberal (Bešker 2017). He was named a Senator on the list of Liberal Party (1976–79) (Maroević 2004) and spent ten years working as a representative in the European Parliament (1979–89) (Bešker 2017). He was awarded by the President of the Republic of Croatia Stjepan Mesić the Order of Danica Hrvatska with the figure of Marko Marulić for the improvement of cultural and other relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Italian Republic, and was also awarded by Italian President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi (Bešker 2017).

His literary opus, which can be formally divided into publicist writing and fiction (Maroević 2004), is not devoid of political connotations either. Moreover, his works „have the basis in the aforementioned professional biograp-

hy but also in the biographical background of a dual origin, a class-national conflict and emotional substrate of isolation, detachment, incomplete affiliation“ (Maroević 2004: 6)³. While he as a journalist tried to present an objective image of different regions (Maroević 2004), as a writer „he especially tried to understand the psychological meritum of the emblematic personalities of our century (ranging from communist revolutionaries, functionaries and dissidents to national fighters), going deep in the psychology of characters and even the physiology of some decisions and options, most often taking into account the characteristic mixing of race and blood“ (Maroević 2004: 6). He will add: „The exceptionally good bildungsroman *Phantom of Trieste* (*Il fantasma di Trieste*, 1958) is followed by the discursive shadow of a book *Myth and Reality of Trieste* (*Mito e realtà di Trieste*, 1966), in which the theme finds its historical background showing as accurate as possible. Specific narrative strategies (fiction-faction combination) are shown in the book entitled *Moscow Diary* (*Il diario di Mosca*, 1970) preceding the informational and panoramic travel literature presented in *Moscow Here – from Ivan the Terrible to Stalin* (*Qui Mosca – Da Ivan il Terribile a Stalin*, 1974), while the extensive anthropological-historicist study named *Lenin's Secret* (*Il mistero di Lenin*, 1982) is a prelude to an even more ambitious and more comprehensive novel of the epoch entitled *Phantoms of Moscow* (*I fantasmi di Mosca*, 1993) (Maroević 2004: 7). On over two thousand pages of this book, Bettiza went under the skin of Bolshevik International, gathered at the Moscow Hotel Lux in the fateful late 1930s. At the level of debate, ideas and controversies, intertwined lives of the protagonists and the capture of the spirit of the time, he in his way realized the beloved counterpart of Mann's *The Magic Mountain*“ (Maroević 2004: 7).

He invested most of the work energy into writing non-fiction books, with which he informed the recipients in an attractive way and expressed his interest in literature (Maroević 2004) – *The New German Culture* (*La nuova cultura tedesca*, 1965), *Another Europe* (*L'altra Europa*, 1966), *Another Germany* (*L'altra Germania*, 1968), *Via Solferino* (1982), *The Year of the Tiger* (*L'anno della tigre*, 1988).

The Croatian language saw only the publication of fictional version of the chronicle *Phantom of Trieste* in 1965 (*Il fantasma di Trieste*, 1958), a family chronicle *Exile* in 2004 (*Esilio*, 1996), and the book on the city of Split during the war *The Lost Book* in 2009 (*Il Libro Perduto*, 2005).

³ Identities influence the selection of research questions that are considered important, both for groups with dominant identities and for those with minority identities. Humans as fundamentally social beings cannot escape the effects of identity on interpretative perspectives, because they are fundamental to the process of the entire production of knowledge (Gunew according to Škvorec 2010).

4. Exile viewed through the complexity of multiculturalism as an identity space and a deep political ocean in which an individual disappears along with her/his story

Exile is one of the oldest and ever-present literary motifs. From the very beginning of civilization, it has been present in different segments of life (Gunjević-Kosanović 2016), „founded primarily on the punishment in the form of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, to the present day retaining a form of punishment which through ‘uprooting’ an individual from his homeland leaves him with irreversible consequences“ (Gunjević-Kosanović 2016: 8). In the early historical periods, exile was primarily seen as a geographic relocation of an individual (Gunjević-Kosanović 2016), which most often meant the forcible expulsion from the homeland or the city, while the return of the exiled was forbidden and he was sentenced to imprisonment or ultimately to death (Šakić 2014). This exclusion from the community was considered equal to death sentence (Šakić 2014) probably because „in ancient civilizations – in the Roman Empire and the ancient Hellenes time – exile was a punishment in the form of expulsion for the privileged classes, while members of the lower classes of society were not subject to it as their punishment most often included imprisonment or physical labor“ (Gunjević-Kosanović 2016: 8). „In modern times, especially in the twentieth century, exile does not only mean the geographical relocation of a person, but there is also exile that the individual imposes on himself. Most often it is a protest against the dominant ideology“ (Šakić 2014). Unlike the physical borders, „these are psychological borders and concern the person who is in exile, the so-called ‘inner’ exile. They are usually intellectuals and writers who choose such a form of isolation to show a kind of defiance, but also a lack of interest in the world around them, i.e. they decide to focus on their mind, where their creation in exile is transformed in this case into a kind of intellectual refuge“ (Gunjević-Kosanović 2016: 8). In Bettiza, of course, it is the first form, although not in the real sense of the word. Unlike the Zadar exiles (*esuli*), who were truly *exiled* from their own city, this does not refer to Bettiza. Zupanc (2004) explains that the word *esuli* comes from the Italian word *esule*, meaning an exile, which originally derives from the Latin *ex(s)ilium* meaning exile, expulsion. He notes that the official Italian practice used to call the Italian citizens who arrived in the country from the former Italian colonies *profughi*, in the meaning of refugees. The word *izbjeglica* (an exile) in the Croatian language comes from the Croatian base word *bijeg* (escape), while refugees are people who, because of the dangers of war, political violence and other misfortunes, flee from the country and seek shelter in another country (Zupanc 2004). Bettiza's case, unlike *esuli*, as he

emphasized, can be classified under an entirely different category of *optants*. The word *optant* comes from the Latin verb *optāre*, meaning to wish, to choose. It is a person who has the freedom of choice, that is, the right of the resident of a given area which was annexed to another country to choose, under certain conditions, between two citizenships (Zupanc 2004). He explicitly explains this in an interview given to the Croatian media: „We did not escape. We are not refugees. We normally left, willingly. They let us go. The war had already ‘bitten’ the country sufficiently even without the help of the communists who came to power. (...) he (father Vincenzo – author’s note) replied: „I do not see space for work, everything is lost, let’s go. (...) We went to Italy. We opted for Italy“ (Silobrić 2012).

Maroević also says that „the Bettiza’s family simply decides to leave Split after the capitulation of Italy, feeling that it has lost the possibility of decent work and civic life“ (Bettiza 2004: 10). This proves that, unlike the official propaganda of the exiles, there is another big portion of the Italians (their compatriots) who voluntarily left their homeland, mainly because of their disagreement with the newly established communist system and fear of drowning in the Slav mass after the fall of Italy. Of course, the fear of retaliation by the Titoist forces against the Italian population for the crimes committed by the Italian fascists on the eastern Adriatic coast should not be neglected. In this direction also goes Škvorc’s (2010) thesis that the narrative consciousness of the collective story of a nation, community and minority identification, relates to an unusual process of separation in the way that on the one hand there occur assimilation and acceptance of the majority at the macroscale, above all popular culture as moral and political as well as pragmatic and everyday paradigms within which there can be seen special features based on the elements of daily political communion and egalitarianism, while on the other hand the microscale sees the consolidation of an imaginary special entity, functioning as a closed structure with its own narrative, its own version of history, exile, homeland, fight for freedom, with emphasis on the complex of misunderstanding in the homeland.

Addressing this issue is necessary as can be also seen from the recent political incident of Antonio Tajani during the solemn commemoration of the „Day of Remembrance of the Victims during the Exodus from Istria, Rijeka and Dalmatia“, held on February 1, 2019 in Basovizza, causing an unprecedented scandal in the European Union. On the eve of the memorial, in his Twitter post the President of the European Parliament called on the Italians to „feel a moral duty and to attend the Memorial Day with the tricolor on their heart“, ending his speech in Basovizza with the following words: „Long live Trieste, long live the Italian Istria, long live the Italian Dalmatia!“ (tele-

text HTV, February 11, 2019), which was interpreted in the media and in the Croatian and Slovenian public as reaching out for the Croatian and Slovenian national territories.

This is not the only provocation made by Italian officials. Following Antonio Tajani on Italy's Republic Day, June 2, 2019, Trieste City Councilor Lorenzo Giorgi on his Facebook profile uploaded a map of Italy covering the Croatian, Slovenian and Montenegrin coast. He uploaded the map from the official website of the Italian irredentist movement, which was accompanied by the text: „Nothing can be considered done until the justice is done“. Giorgi added his comment: „Our Italy“ (the portal GlasIstre.hr, June 4, 2019; M. K. S., Slobodna Dalmacija, June 4, 2019).

The latest political scandal was recorded right on the 100th anniversary of D'Annunzio's occupation of Rijeka.⁴ In the heart of Trieste, at the Piazza della Borsa, on September 12, 2019, the city authorities of Trieste unveiled a monument to Gabriele D'Annunzio, one of the forerunners of the Italian fascist movement. Along with the city fathers, the monument was unveiled by Bruno Guerri, the president of the association *Il Vittoriale degli Italiani*, who was also the curator of the 'Disobbedisco' exhibition, which celebrates the centenary of the D'Annunzio's reign in Rijeka from 1919 to 2019 (Ban, September 12, 2019). On the same day, unknown perpetrators displayed a historic flag of the former Kingdom of Italy on the fence of the Governor's Palace in Rijeka, which included present-day Croatian regions, distributing propaganda leaflets, while Croatian police prevented four Italian neo-fascists from trying to commit a similar international provocation (VP, Dnevnik.hr, September 12, 2019).

As pointed out earlier, unlike his father Vincenzo, Bettiza will say, „My father's older brother, Marin, a philosopher, remained in Split, saying, 'I opt for what will happen to Split'“ (Silobrić 2012), accepting the Croatian culture. This is supported by the fact that they still have close relatives among today's Croats. Bettiza explains this fateful splitting of the family in more detail in the novel: „...a renouncing decision of uncle Marin (...) opened a painful wound in his already troubled relations with his closest relatives. With fairly substantiated evidence, he argued that it would be more logical to accept historical fatefulness than stand up to it. It would, therefore, have been much more natural and useful to accept the transition from the obsolete Austrian to the new Yugoslav citizenship, rather than to opt for Italy and take a path of a clear separation of the minority from the Slav majority“ (Bettiza 2004: 33).

⁴ Rijeka was a free state under the Rapallo Treaty. As early as September 12, 1919, the Italian chauvinist and poet Gabriele D'Annunzio, with his Blackshirts paramilitary troops, entered Rijeka and declared it an integral part of Italy (Kardum 2003).

Explaining his uncle's fears, Bettiza says that at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy „...all Dalmatians, whether they spoke Croatian or Italian, were Austrian citizens and all enjoyed the same rights. Under Yugoslavia, on the contrary, the word ‘under’ could indeed be painful for those who were ready with the Italian passport or a foreign one, to separate themselves from a multitude of their Slavic fellow citizens“ (Bettiza 2004: 33). Bettiza estimates that the choice of Italian citizenship „...as uncle Marin warned, is a beautiful romantic option, but unwise, rough, a kind of self-destruction, it was a challenge that brought such person to a situation in which he was not welcome in his own home“ (Bettiza 2004: 33). He was of the opinion that „...this is where the first historical foundations of the post-World War II migration lie, as well as of the extinction of Italian Dalmatians, already forever missing from their own country“ (Bettiza 2004: 33).

There are still a lot of meeting points between *esuli* and Enzo Bettiza. Gunjević-Kosanović (2016) considers that it is necessary to mention in the context of the exile of the Italians of Zadar's roots that „it is a specific phenomenon: they did not lose their homeland then since Zadar at that time was an Italian *provincia*: they lost their city, and it was as difficult as losing their homeland because even their fellow-countrymen in the first years did not accept them gladly“ (Gunjević-Kosanović 2016: 8). She also highlights the fact that they mostly experienced themselves and they still do, as a special nation, Dalmatians, often referring to their Latin-Roman-Illyrian-Venetian origins (Gunjević-Kosanović 2016: 8). She thinks that here we can find an answer to „why there is a whole stream of Zadar *esuli* who tirelessly write about their town and whose production and perspectives – whether literary, memoir and/or memorial, critical or historical, are expressed in a not-insignificant intellectual repository that serves as a form of affirmation toward the fellow-citizens, and other peoples as well as a form of self-affirmation“ (Gunjević-Kosanović 2016: 8–9).

Bettiza lost his native town, but also his homeland, setting off in a fishing boat from the eastern to the western coast of the Adriatic Sea. He did not feel at home in the new Romance environment either, just like his father, Vice, whom he described as a *Homo austriacus*. Vincenzo Bettiza „was a serious and honest industrialist of the Austrian style, accustomed to keeping his word“ (Bešker 2017), and upon his arrival in Italy, „where he found a completely different business culture“ (Bešker 2017), in a short time he was legally ‘ripped off’ (Bešker 2017). Bettiza felt like an exile even in his own home divided between Romance and Slavic culture, especially when he was sent to an Italian school in Zadar and when he „...had to move all the time between the forced school stay in Zadar and the Slavic and more intimate environment

of Split“ (Bettiza 2004: 24). Even then, „...he felt the problem of a bilingual boy, separated, almost unknown to himself. A boy who never knew where and whom he belonged to“ (Bettiza 2004: 24).

Like Zadar *esuli*, his perception of the Dalmatian nation is complex, complicated and even frustrating. He is aware of his Slavic, Croatian roots and Italian culture in which he was brought up, as well as his Dalmatian affiliation. He will say the following about his Slavic and Croatian origin: “of course, this is a Croatian surname. There you are, I’m here, ours (...) Since the seventeenth century, we have been called Bettiza (...) probably earlier, but I do not have these old documents. (...) I was born in Split. I first spoke Croatian with my mother, with my father and my grandmother on my mother’s side. (...) This is my first language, my mother tongue (...) my family roots are in Croatia. I have family members in Split, Brač, Zagreb, and even in Belgrade. In Montenegro as well because the Vuškovićs are native Montenegrins“ (Silobrčić 2012). Besides, he will gladly agree with the statement of the Croatian translator, writer and publisher Zlatko Crnković: „...ethnically and culturally, taking it together, Bettiza is a Croatian writer, who writes in a foreign language, in Italian“ (Silobrčić 2012). He will say the following about the Italian culture which mainly shaped him: „during the Italian Risorgimento and later, under the Napoleon and Venetian rule, we had Italian culture but without Italian blood though. This is a typical European paradoxical situation of the border. As far as blood is concerned – I have no one, I have no one in Italy. (...) Culturally, I have enough Italian, Italian schools, Italian cultural experience“ (Silobrčić 2012). He will express his original Dalmatian identity as follows: „we are here from Dalmatia. We are not Italians (...) We are true Dalmatians. We are Dalmatians more than anyone (...) None of us was born outside Dalmatia. (...) we are the true, indigenous Dalmatians who, because of the paradox of history, had strange and contradictory destinies“ (Silobrčić 2012). Bešker (2017) rightly places Bettiza in the Matvejević’s category „between asylum and exile“ because he consistently emphasized that he was neither repelled nor expelled and points out that „he has never expressed even a light shadow of hatred towards the surroundings from which he set out into the world. He maintained friendships, deep and lasting. He did not include himself among the group of refugees or exiles, even when this could pay him off in his political activity, in gathering votes in the elections“ (Bešker 2017).

Writing about the creation of Zadar *esuli*, the authors who in their works addressed the exile from their native land (Raffaele Cecconi, Liana De Luca, Fulvio Anzellotti et al.), Gunjević-Kosanović (2016) claims that writing to most of these writers serves as a therapeutic removal from the traumas brought about by the expulsion from their native town, although among them there

are also authors of serious artistic value, such as Raffaele Cecconi. In his novel, Bettiza explains that he has not long been involved „in such a meticulous analysis of the mysterious mental disorder that will give such a surreal feature of a light, but ever-present nightmare to a long period of his diaspora“ (Bettiza 2004: 248). He believes that some inner voice has always discouraged him from the idea of digging into the phenomenon of exile (Bettiza 2004), because „a syndrome or various syndromes are often beyond words, hence difficult to describe, deeper than the first traumatic blow that means ultimate eradication, deadly like a shipwreck for a shipwrecked sailor swallowed by the waves of an unknown ocean“ (Bettiza 2004: 248).

In this context, it is not surprising that James Clifford (1990) wrote how travelers move under strong cultural, political and economic constraints. Specific circumstances are crucial determinants of travel in question, e.g. movements in specific colonial, neo-colonial and post-colonial circles, different diasporas, border areas, exile, tours and returns. This approach to travel means a range of material spatial practices that produce knowledge, stories, traditions, behaviors, music, books, diaries and other cultural expressions. Thus, neither the harshest travel conditions nor the most exploitative regimes can completely quell the resistance or emergence of diasporic and migrant cultures.

Bettiza believes that „The echo of the syndrome continues even after the first severe losses which exile imposes on the exiled: a loss of land and identity,⁵ forgetting the mother tongue, material deprivation, weakening of marital relationships, loss of physical connection with the grave of his deceased (I could personally see how getting away from the graves, being oblivious of the family's deceased, in the context of exile speeds up the decline of kinship bonds). A total return of the lost balance in the first hours of uprooting is a rare case. Even when an exile manages to rebuild life, family, offsprings, homeland, a new linguistic and cultural identity, he cannot avoid and can never completely miss the trait of the initial trauma. He can get used to it, alleviate it, pretend to have forgotten it, but he will never completely wipe out its trace. There will always remain a scar instead of a wound“ (Bettiza 2004: 248).

⁵ According to Eagleton, treating two individuals equally does not mean treating them in the same way because individuals have different needs and potentials, therefore this is about equality of the individual. The thesis that we, as a community or even communities, find ourselves in a situation where everyone has to be deprived of a good deal of personal individuality in order to qualify for individual respect within a particular profiled group within which a constructed or essentialist conceived identity pattern belongs. The true concept of equality deconstructs the concept of identity and non-identity, thus complicating the relationship between difference and identity. Namely, in the triangle created by such deconstruction, the focus of the research attention is on the terms of difference, equality and identity (Eagleton according to Škvorc 2010).

He concludes briefly: „the disturbing schizoid anomaly, although under control, which I have tried to explain at least to myself while writing these pages, is nothing else but a true expression of a typical trauma of exile expressed in words and terms. I tried to bring to light, out of the depth of my own experience, something that I could not explain not even to my loved ones because I could not find the right tone and the words to do it. After all, how do you express in normal and understandable sentences, a phenomenon that is not normal or understandable in itself? (...) What words do you invent to give shape to this mute collision with reality, this stubborn rejection of reality, the deterrence of an ungrateful reality of exile, which makes every exile, at least for some time, a wandering ghost across a deserted marsh after the death that occurred at the moment of expulsion and parting without return?“ (Bettiza 2004: 248–249).

Bettiza brings the image of Split and Zadar. He compares the former Italian Zadar to which he reluctantly goes due to separation from his family and the later Slavicized city, destroyed after the Anglo-American bombing and influenced by the communist planning economy, which was certainly reflected in the depersonalization of urbanism and architecture.

Without choosing words, Bettiza speaks about the post-war Zadar, unlike the pre-war one in which he was educated, sometimes also writing about Split, either about Zadar's architecture or the population structure of both post-war Dalmatian cities: „Of course, the anthropology and special culture of Dalmatians, *Herzkultur illirica*, have changed. The ugly and synthetic present-day Zadar was rebuilt without compass after the major destruction and is no longer the one that it used to be. There are no old Italian families in Split, who gave to that especially dynamic 19th-century town, traders and industrialists, mayors and industrialists, architects and engineers, philologists and prominent scientists. The arrival of 'Vlaji' from the mountain and the countryside spoiled and diluted the acid chemical composition of the local humor“ (Bettiza 2004: 271–272). He is particularly critical of the new Slavic Zadar: „The new Slavic community, altered, degenerated, was scraped together during one generation among the ghastly Zadar ruins, where you no longer could hear the Venetian dialect of the former inhabitants, scattered in exile or soon extinct in an already unrecognizable place. Once a small aristocratic and commercial town, a Venetian colonial market, then the seat of the Austrian governor, a peculiar anti-autarchic exception of the autarchic Italy, today Zadar has become a shadow of itself, pale and gloomy, the periphery of the eastern Adriatic, until recently martyred by the siege of the armed Serbs of neighboring Vlach Krajina“ (Bettiza 2004: 104). He was also traumatized by his first departure to Italy from the Italian town of Zadar at the beginning of the Italian occupation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: „my first exile on the other side of the Adriatic lasted only one

month. (...) This happened in April 1941 when a short war broke out between Italy and Yugoslavia. (...) I was in the third grade of the Zadar grammar school, and that year I was supposed to take the exams for a junior-level secondary school certificate. From day to day we were warned that the war with Yugoslavia was at the door and that the Italian minority in Zadar was surrounded and endangered by the enemy troops, that the life and property of all Italian Dalmatians were in danger. They also told us that children, women and the elderly had to immediately leave the city and escape across the sea, to the Italian coast. The exams were carried out ahead of schedule, I passed them with flying colors, and after the closing of the school, I boarded, along with my older brother, a large Cosulich motorboat that sailed to Ancona. My brother and I had a problem unlike the other children and young men on the same boat who were accompanied by mothers and older relatives. The two of us were not from Zadar. Our parents, while we were on our way to Italy, were perhaps stopped in Split and could not leave Split because it was in the Yugoslavian territory. (...) So Marino and I left Zadar forever. Both of us being minors, we went to the other Adriatic coast, not knowing with certainty whether we were going to join our parents when we get there finally“ (Bettiza 2004: 189). However, he will always look back with affection on the school days spent in Zadar: „I would sometimes get carried away looking from my window at the draw-bridge, connecting the romantic peninsula with the Cereria town block (...). With slight creaking of medieval metal reinforcements, the bridge was occasionally pulled up to let a big Italian, Yugoslav or Greek ship pass through its opening. I also watched the line hydroplanes linking Zadar with Trieste and Ancona and followed them long when they were sailing off and when they were anchoring in the Cereria port between the enormous whirlpools of the sea and the loud thundering of the propellers. When I had done all my homework, I went for a walk down the street of Calle Larga, and there, in the company of some peers, I would drink juice or hot chocolate in a coffee shop“ (Bettiza, 2004: 47).

All of the above quotes are supported by Assman's (2005) thesis that not factual but historical memory is important for cultural memory.⁶ Indeed, in the analyzed Bettiza's novel, the past as well collapses into symbolic figures to which memory is attached, because this narrative of exile, as well as others addressing fathers, exodus, moving through the desert, conquering the land,

⁶ Specifically, in the 20th century, the social sciences and humanities largely devoted their research to problematizing the phenomenon of remembrance and memory. These constructs of both individual or collective remembrance as well as individual or collective memory have been shown to indicate in an interesting and layered manner the complex relationship between the experience of the individual and the community towards the conception of their past.

are also some of the figures of recollections that occur in festivities in liturgical form, illuminating the momentary situation of the present.

However, despite the unpleasant experiences, his native Split was described with most affection. Maroević will emphasize that the book is „very emotionally impregnated, and in that love it is sometimes also necessarily blind“ (Bettiza 2004: 10), in the sense of exaggeration, giving to his hometown „precisely the mythical properties (exaggerating with both Diocletian and Marmont and St. Jerome, as well as with Marjan“ (Bettiza 2004: 10). Through Diocletian, Marmont and certain other great men who built part of their lives into the city at the foot of Marjan, he makes us more familiar with the Dalmatia of the Roman Empire, Venice, Napoleon's French Administration in Dalmatia, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Italy and Yugoslavia. Writing a family chronicle in the form of an essay, he describes his vivid relatives. His distant ancestor is Girolamo, allegedly associate of Bonaparte's marshal Marmont. His grandfather Pietro, who, according to his interpretation, was a prominent representative of the Split branch of the Christian-Social Party of the Viennese mayor Karlo Lueger and close to the Italian Mayor of Milan Antonio Bajamonti, according to other sources was characterized as a „commander of Bajamonti's bersalieri, actually paid thugs who assaulted the Split Croat members of the Popular Party“ (Baras 1996: 16).

He will say for his father that „by nature and life habits, university education and Viennese elegance of conduct and clothing, he was an embodiment of the model of that rare and already extinct citizen of the world who used to be called *Homo austriacus*“ (Bettiza 2004: 32). He further explains: „but in Austrian areas that have become Yugoslav, things are always much more complex than it seemed at first sight. The definition of *Homo austriacus*, which covered the space between Vienna and Krakow, all the way down to Split, implied a certain degree of refinement, beautiful habits, and an adaptable imperial way of thinking. But it did not include the feature of nationality, which remained in a way unseemly and agreeable, rather separated than related to the character of civilized behavior. A citizen of the Empire could act and behave in society quite naturally as a perfect *Homo austriacus* and feel at the same time Slovene, Czech, Polish, Jew, Croatian and Italian“ (Bettiza 2004: 32). These qualities, of course, along with business honesty, cost him dearly upon his arrival in Italy and a crude clash with a completely different cultural and business climate. He experienced somewhat the so-called moral assimilation. According to Škvorc (2010), this would mean 'renouncing' a part of the identity due to joining a part of the dominant identity at the level of political identification. It can also be about cultural assimilation, moral detachment and choosing the position of „the other“ who creates a „new story“.

Describing Uncle Hugo, he unequivocally condemns the fascism he witnessed as a high school student in Zadar. He will say that „he is a preserved remnant of old Austria, hierarchical, bureaucratic, conservative and yet liberal“ (Bettiza 2004: 71). He will also add that „the former romantic Zadar, the most bocklin of all our old walled cities, with its conscientious civil servants, its multinational military crews, was surely more likeable to uncle Belich than the Italian-fascist oasis of the twenties and thirties, in which the insufficiently autarchic luxury of the free port and the unrestrained ideological autarchy of the belligerent and frantic border nationalism simultaneously and contradictorily were celebrated“ (Bettiza 2004:71).

Through his Croatian mother, whom he also attributes a part of Turkish genes, the author describes the influence of the near Bosnia on the Slavic Dalmatian population in the sense of accepting oriental customs and the tendencies for the fortune tellers and forecasters. This was manifested, among other things, in „the excessive striving for the most expensive beauty products and the Turkish coffee so much that, despite being surrounded by numerous servants, mother always prepared coffee herself with a Bosnian grinder with arabesque, looking for a mysterious oasis and signs of destiny and the future in the coffee residue at the bottom of the cup“ (Bettiza 2004: 40). It was also seen in the subtle reception of all the fortune tellers and forecasters, witches, magicians „which did not lack in Split, a port town, where all kinds of confused and bizarre vagabonds came from the sea and the Bosnian hinterland“ (Bettiza 2004: 40). This behavior, unusual for members of the Italian colony, as Bettiza says, „would upset my father and provoke detest of the uncle Gianni and the aunt Tina“ (Bettiza 2004: 40).

Furthermore, her use of the word *dušman* is interesting. „Under the influence of some kind of defensive and distrustful egoism, she looked at the human race as being divided in two strictly separated Manichean species: on the one side there were a few good people who without discussion accepted her person as she is, on the other there were a number of wicked people whom she classified into the rank of damned *dušmani*“ (Bettiza 2004: 95). Bettiza ironically explains the term: „*Dušman* is an indefinite term, because it is completely Slavic and Balkanian, weird, riddled with the shaman and tribal meaning, without the correct equivalent in other European languages except in Russian. *Dušman* is a little less and a little more than a frontal enemy attacking with his face exposed. It is a concealed, invisible, secret enemy, it is the one who is tempting to inflict evil upon us without a notice of open conflict, the one who plagues evil and misfortune behind our back and is therefore very difficult to be protected from him. Using that word, „Pravda“ wrote that for the Russian soldiers the Afghan guerrillas were more *dušmani* than the actual enemies.

For the Serbs today, those are Muslims in Bosnia. And for my mother, most of the Italians in Zadar“ (Bettiza 2004: 95). The author describes mother's intolerance towards the city where she least liked to travel: „...a strange town, in her opinion, it was artificially Italianized, plus this city imprisoned two her male children in an unnecessary Italian school, thus she felt repulsion for Zadar, and perhaps hatred“ (Bettiza 2004: 93). Humorously described is also her prophetic curse addressed to the city: „I can still hear a few passionate words chanted slowly in Croatian: *Damned Zadar! Let it be swallowed by black patula and plague from top to bottom!* In the imaginativeness and poetry of cursing my mother was able to infuse the harsh biblical talent of the Balkan world“ (Bettiza 2004: 116–117).

The Roman population contributed no less to the clash of cultures. „Neither did the Italian population of Dalmatia perceive much differently their Slavic neighbors. Mostly, Slavic women became the wives of Italian citizens, which was also difficult to take, but very rarely, almost never did it happen that a wealthy Italian woman would choose a husband from a Slavic family“ (Bettiza 2004: 37). „When a young girl from Bettiza's Italian family married a Serbian officer twice her age at the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, his aunt Tina, also a member of the Italian colony, calmly reasoned: „poor Ines, so young and so beautiful but so ruined! Yet, I told her, it is better to destroy your life with a 40-year old Serbian man than a 20-year old Croat!“ (Bettiza 2004: 37). Bettiza explains such a reaction of a true Dalmatian, a representative of the Italian colony: „Although what she said did not mean much (...) by pointing to the difference between tolerant Serbs and intolerant Croats, she nevertheless reflected the then quite a widespread mood in the Italian colony. They generally regarded Serbs as indirect, tolerant and distant rivals, but the Croat, already from Bajamonti's time, was a domestic rival, close and direct opponent. The Croat was that other one, closer, more similar, more elusive“ (Bettiza 2004: 37).

He came to know Serbian mythology in his earliest days, thanks to the Orthodox nursemaid from Dalmatian hinterland who was also a nursing lady: „I can say that I know this phenomenon from my biography. I was brought up in a Serbian way as a child, and I had, with that receptive indulgence typical of childhood, tried and felt all that penetrating power of the fairy tale suggestion of the Serbian myth and legends about glory and death“ (Bettiza 2004: 22). „She also taught me to make sign of the cross with three fingers, and before going to Italian elementary school, she taught me to spell letters in Cyril and Methodius scripture. Slowly, I was becoming in everything and through everything a little, enthusiastic, rural Serb“ (Bettiza 2004: 178). He is aware of the pernicious power of Serbian myths and mythomania in the preparation and

realization of various crimes in the war: „Myths are neither true nor false, they are old mental creations; they are prehistoric, tribal and by the way and the kind infantile and amoral. Transferred like an irritating drug into the dramatic present, in a tangle of reconquest and new victory, re-discovery and re-confirmation of their own identity, they can become the driving and destructive forces“ (Bettiza 2004: 23). Because of these experiences, it was easier for him to understand the Croatian situation in the Homeland War and to transmit the truth around the world.

Bettiza, with extreme bitterness and sorrow, describes the culturecide of the communist authorities committed in the late 1950s devastating Sustipan, „one of the most beautiful and historically most interesting cemeteries of the whole Mediterranean“ (Bettiza 2004: 109), according to the Catholic periodical *Furche*. On the pretext that a hotel would be built in this place, which was never realized, the communist regime, without a notice, decided to wipe out that cemetery with bulldozers. They wiped out nations, biographies, most diverse destinies: admirals of the Venetian Republic, Dalmatian deep-sea masters, Napoleonic officers, Austrian generals, Lombardian high officials (...) Hungarian aristocrats and Czech bureaucrats, writers and artists from every Central European region, famous local patriots, Italians and Croats...“ (Bettiza 2004: 109). All this is a testimony to the richness and the encounter of cultures in Split and Dalmatia.

Split's multicultural Mediterranean spirit of Dalmatia has been preserved in spite of various influences through history: „How many different kinds of Split and how many different types of Dalmatia have I known over the years? Only one oasis in the turbulence of local history managed to preserve a fairly happy and untouched for seven centuries. The cunning maritime and Renaissance Republic of Dubrovnik. The Republic had miraculously become rich and all that long time maintained itself between the Venetians and the Turks, along with the exceptional commercial and cultural bilingual flourishing, and also three-lingual if we add Latin. In the rest of Dalmatia, the turbulent and changeable historical events introduced various rituals and alphabets, flags and bayonets, edicts and war laws, transactions and transitions between wars and constant invasions, pestilences, horrors and destructions. The language and customs tower of Babylon, ruled by Rome and Byzantium, the Turks and Venetians, Hungarians and Austrians, French and Serbs, Italians and Croats. The country in a constant movement, a continuous metamorphosis, which for centuries had no peace or true national identity. Perhaps it is there, in these layers and permanent frantic metamorphoses that for indigenous Dalmatians mean a neurotically changeable state of successive exiles in their own home, lie the roots of the great iconoclastic and malignant cynicism of Split resi-

dents. I have mentioned many times this particular and unique feature of my city. I thought it was completely gone; stifled by wars, revolutions, exiles; flooded by the ethnic and social transplants encouraged by the communist regime to suffocate the aspiration and the presumption of local autonomy. However, I was wrong“ (Bettiza 2004: 271).

The gastronomic variety which little Enzo Bettiza had the opportunity to enjoy in his Split home, which he describes in detail in the long chapter of his book entitled *Cuisine*, is also a testimony to the mixing and intertwining of different world cultures. The dynamics in the kitchen is best attested by his mother's impressions when she moved to their house: „They never stopped cooking, working, cleaning, preparing complex dishes like sarma or paštica requiring a few days of patient preparation. Sauces and brodetos of all kinds were made, beef and chicken meat stews, venison ragus, *čevapčići*, *ražnjići*, *škartoci*, apple and cherry strudels, Bosnian pies, Easter bread of Trieste, pancakes, party rolls with jam, gugelhups, donuts, honey or oats cakes, risottos and paradizot. At the same time, the young maids, under the supervision of the older cooks, plucked ducks and turkeys, boiled lobsters, marinated mussels and sardines“ (Bettiza 2004: 145).

Here we can find similarities with the works of Goran Tribuson, which Ivan Bošković addressed (2013), where the aromas and flavors of dishes serve as a reminder of significant dates of the family and general social calendar.⁷

4.1. Dalmatia – a Pantagruel country where Mediterranean humor and hedonism live on

He will say the following about the blending of different cuisines in an original Dalmatian taste: „...this sleepless food workshop unceasingly produced and combined different types of multi-ethnic dishes and delicacies: Venetian, Slovenian, Turkish, Balkan, Hungarian, Viennese, even Jewish (...) In the wealthy houses of former Dalmatia, that Pantagruelian country, all those piquant tastes and scents, spicy and exotic, although mutually different, were able to mingle with an original and rare gastronomic illusion marvelously. The old Dalmatian cuisine, border and ethnically mosaic cuisine, with the most diverse civilizations and culinary imaginations flowing into it from all

⁷ Clothes and food most often express social status. Namely, in their symbolism there is always more impetus than those contained in social customs and habits. It is therefore not surprising that much has been written in the literature about the role of food and food codes in general in shaping the image of time. Often, food also has the function of pointing to the social position of the characters, symbolizing the unfolding and emphasizing significant moments of the story (Bošković 2013).

four corners of the world, was then labeled as one of the most complete and richest in Europe“ (Bettiza 2004: 147–271). His father Vincenzo „Used to say that not only Venice, Constantinople, Vienna and Budapest, but even Paris and Strasbourg participated in the diversity of our cuisine without borders. To substantiate this claim, he often mentioned the example of *paradižot* which, with its floating egg whites on yellow cream, was a faithful reproduction of *nuages* or *files flottantes*, which Marmont’s Frenchmen brought to Dalmatia. Or he also opposed the mild Venetian beans and pasta to the very thick Dalmatian beans and pasta claiming that with its dark brown juice, its pork meat and its mutton ham is more similar to the speckled ragu *cassole*, the main dish of French countryside cuisine. (...) In his long descriptions, he alternated France, Middle Europe and the Mediterranean“ (Bettiza 2004: 151–152). When it comes to sweets, „the three types of imperial arts of pastry merged: Habsburg, Ottoman and Napoleonic. The Habsburg one was divided into two parts: the Viennese and the Budapestian“ (Bettiza 2004: 157).

Bettiza describes the particular poetic hedonism of Dalmatians, Split residents when it comes to food, which mirrors the legacy of ancient civilizations: „In all this, there was something Homeric. To dream and write poems about food, imagine it and talk about it in details, boil it long in words before tasting it on the plate, then praise it or criticize after it was eaten. This activity was one of Dalmatia’s favorite pastimes before and after a meal. The gastronomic excitement was a bait that attracted and inspired the unrestrained wishes of legendary Split gourmands, like my father, famous for their devout adoration of good food. Neither could the attractive power of a woman, although rooted in Tommaseo’s sensuality of Dalmatians, overcome that of a delicious meal“ (Bettiza 2004: 147). This is where all the prejudices and social differences between the interlocutors vanished: „Culinary passion, spread at all levels, neglected all class and gender differences and prejudice; the obsession with the noble cuisine united fine folk and commoners, captains and sailors, priests and laymen, gentlewomen and their maids. Several times I had an opportunity to see my father, a lively gourmand but selective and fickle almost professional, suddenly ardently discussing meat or fish with a worker of his. Then the relationship between the owner and the subordinate would immediately calm down. The reciprocal enthusiasm for food reduced the social distance, transforming both, the industrialist and worker, into dietary experts of the same degree: both of them, even when of different opinion, would begin to discuss in detail the looks of a recently caught dentex fish with the wise, polemic experience of two rival ichthyologists“ (Bettiza 2004 :147). Dalmatian passionate talk about food is a specific reflection of the Mediterranean spirit, gastronomy being an essential part of Dalmatian everyday life: „Con-

versations among the residents of Split, dominated by food obsession, could often be monochord, but this made them more penetrating under a seeming materialism; it transformed them into a detailed debate of high and stubborn expertise. For example, the conversation about a soft rib of a suckling pig, a milk suckler kept in the dark cave from birth to the slaughter, used to rise to the technical and aesthetic level of extraordinary descriptive power. At the heart of an imaginary Split academy, one must surely find the art and science of gastronomy“ (Bettiza 2004: 147). Unrestrained Split residents with pleasure connected this gastronomic hedonism with peculiar derision of their ridicules, specific, quirky personalities, without which Split would not be what it was, the city of unusual people, interesting fates and roles. This gave them vent to their cheerful and ironic nature (Bettiza 2004: 114). Bettiza points out that „the opposition to any sentimentality in old Split was so widespread and rooted, prejudiced, and enacted so that it had almost assumed the meaning of permanent city regulation. The condemnation of lamentation, the new lyrical mood, the ease of crying, was present in the streets and noble houses. The lamentation of a professional mourner at a funeral, however sincere and spontaneous it may have been, was considered to be the desecration of the Split dignity“ (Bettiza 2004: 107). And, „woe betide anyone who, by a word alone, or just by a rude gesture and posture, accidentally discovered their comic aspect or just a vulnerable side of their nature“ (Bettiza 2004: 107). One who in any way „becomes ridiculous is never able to get rid of it or return to his normal life. He gets swallowed by a whirl of grotesqueness. Once proclaimed ridiculous, he, with joyful cynicism, gets excluded from being given due consideration and respect by the citizens“ (Bettiza 2004: 147). Begging in Split was forbidden, and „alms, the compassion for the poor, underwent a certain old rule and style; charity was a public ritual, not an individual act of mercy, and it was related to calendar occasions and certain hours“ (Bettiza 2004: 107). The mayor organized a miraculous feast on Christmas Eve, and the guests were the most famous and most distinctive urban *ridikuli* (ridicules), as they called them in the picturesque and lovely Split dialect. All of them were hump-backed, crippled, large-headed, they stammered, they were funny tramps, crafty fellows, who, being constantly exposed to cruel mockery were forced to spend time on the streets and squares. They gathered for a few hours in a happy company around the patriarchal figure of the city mayor, who ate and joked with them“ (Bettiza 2004: 107–108). Similarly, local entrepreneurs gathered these ridicules and beggars once a week and mocked them as they did to each other (Bettiza, 2004: 168–169).

Split's Pazar (outdoor market) for long has been a significant place of Split's gastronomy, from where the residents have supplied themselves with

fresh foods, but at the same time, it remains a specific place of vivid characters in the open. Bettiza will remember it during his Russian travels: „Some thirty years later I found in Moscow, much more than in Istanbul, a pattern of a commercial institution somewhat similar to that of the old Split Pazar. I have in mind kolhoznyj rynek, an open-air market where peasants coming from all over Russia, especially the Caucasus, sold at free, often forbidden, prices the products from their family land, which they cultivated at the edges of the kolkhoz. In the loud hive of Transcaucasian and Siberian races that populated these free kolkhoz markets, after so many years I saw people who, by their clothes and exotic physiognomies, reminded me of the Balkan and Adriatic variety and the crowd of the Split Pazar“ (Bettiza 2004: 182).

5. Conclusion

The fact is that in today's modern tourism marketing activities are increasingly related to the concept of a tourist destination since it is the goal of a contemporary holidaymaker. Tourist destinations offer numerous and very similar services, while only rare ones realize the appropriate inventiveness, diversity and distinctiveness compared to the competition (Alkier-Radnić 2003). To promote a tourist destination, as we have already mentioned, literary works have long been used. For this reason through an analysis of Bettiza's novel *Exile*, we attempted to determine and offer its potential for the promotion of the Croatian region of Dalmatia, in particular on the Italian tourist market. Although Bettiza was disappointed with the architecture of post-war Zadar, inadequately adapted after its destruction occurred during the Anglo-American bombardment, and commented on the changes in the structure of the Split and Zadar population, the book is written mostly in an affirmative manner, and when it comes to Split, sometimes even with excessively biased glorification. In an essayistic way, through the prism of an optant and his family chronicle, he presents different periods and personalities from the rich and stormy past of Dalmatia (from the time of the Roman Empire, Venice, Napoleon's French Administration in Dalmatia, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Italy, the Independent State of Croatia and Yugoslavia). He especially highlights the city of Split, the encounters and conflicts of different cultures, primarily the Croatian Slavic and the Italian Roman, which, in the region of Dalmatia, created a recognizable multicultural Mediterranean spirit. This image of Dalmatian multi-ethnicity is complemented with an extraordinarily accurate and vivid presentation of Dalmatian gastronomy and gourmet hedonism. This description will leave no prospective tourist indifferent as it reflects the heritage of previous civilizations from antiquity to date, its formation being influenced by

many world cuisines, from Venetian, Triestino, Slovenian, Turkish, Balkan, Hungarian, Viennese, and even by those from Paris and Strasbourg.

The reception of Bettiza's novel can arouse strong and different emotions in a large number of Italian citizens who, due to a series of unfortunate circumstances, left the area of the Republic of Croatia, especially Dalmatia, as well as in their descendants and compatriots, and make them visit their old homeland. The novel *Exile* will certainly help create a more positive and complete attitude about the former Croatian fellow citizens of their ancestors. In order to better illustrate Bettiza's novel, it is contextualized and analyzed through the prism of a particular discipline of the so-called cultural memory. Specifically, in the 20th century, social sciences and humanities largely focused their research on problematizing the phenomenon of remembrance and memory. This approach is supported by the fact that precisely these constructs of both individual and collective memory, as well as individual and collective remembrance, in an interesting and layered way, pointed to the complex relationship between the experience of the individual and the community towards the conception of their past (Janković 2010).

Part of the Italian public has built up the myth of the criminal character of the Slavs, especially Croats and Slovenes, for the crimes of the Titoist communist forces, whose most extreme form was demonstrated by throwing them into the foibes, while another form of eradication is a forced persecution of the Roman population after the World War II. Bettiza's family chronicle proves that there is a certain proportion of the Italian population who have self-willingly left their homeland by opting for free Italian citizenship, mostly because of their disagreement with the newly established communist system, wanting to live up to the values of civil society, as well as for the fear of drowning in the Slav mass after the fall of Italy. Some of them were certainly afraid of the indiscriminate retaliation that may followed the crime of fascist terror that had been carried out in Croatia since the 1920s.

The destination in the narrow sense, apart from the goal or target of a journey, indicates the notion of destiny or fate (Alkier-Radnić 2003), therefore, this is also symptomatic for the analyzed book *Exile*. Many descendants of the Italians who were displaced from Dalmatia, after reading Bettiza's book, will inevitably consider a visit to the lost homeland of their ancestors as their fate. However, the book can undoubtedly encourage members of many other peoples to visit this exciting and colorful Croatian region after reading it.

6. Literature

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DALMACIJA – BETTIČIN IZGUBLJENI ZAVIČAJ

U radu se analizira potencijal Bettičine beletristike u razvijanju hrvatskih i talijanskih kulturnih veza te turističkoj promociji hrvatske povijesne regije Dalmacije. Posebna je pozornost usmjerena na roman *Egzil* u kojem autor evocirajući svoje splitske korijene piše obiteljsku kroniku. Ujedno opisuje atmosferu, običaje i živopisne likove dalmatinskih gradova u razdoblju između dva svjetska rata, susret slavenske i romanske kulture te sudbinu talijanskog stanovništva koje je zbog vihora rata i socijalističke revolucije odlučilo napustiti svoju domovinu. Recepcija Bettičina djela, kao prikaza jedne individualne povijesti koja je potpuno drugačija od zapisane (nacionalne) kolektivne, može pozitivno utjecati na percepciju Talijana o Dalmaciji kao turističkoj destinaciji, ali i na popravljanje iskrivljene slike o Hrvatima koji tamo žive, a koja se desetljećima stvarala u Italiji aktivističkim djelovanjem ekstremnih skupina pa može biti višestruko korisna. Dokazujući da nisu svi Talijani prisilno napustili svoju nekadašnju domovinu, već da je dio njih optirao slobodnom voljom tražeći bolji život za sebe i svoju obitelj, ne vidjevši perspektivu u nadolazećem komunističkom društvenom uređenju, omogućava se izgradnja mostova između slavenske i romanske kulture kao i još bolja i učinkovitija turistička promidžba te hrvatske regije u kontekstu talijanskih turističkih interesa.

Ključne riječi: *Enzo Bettiza, Dalmacija, Split, Zadar, migracije, turizam*