

## INTRODUCTION

Constant and successive political expansion of the European powers on the Balkan possessions of the Ottoman Empire, which begun at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was followed by the emergence of a new political map of this area, but also by gathering the information on it. The information on such peoples as the Serbs or the Bulgars was a part of the newly acquired knowledge on the lands which previously belonged to the Turks. Until that time, only a small group of travelers and historiographers dealing with the history of the Byzantine Empire was familiar with it (Todorova 2009: 76; Sajkowski 2013b). Those findings also influenced the development of the knowledge on the South Slavs in general, i.e. the perception of the population which lived on the former borderlands of the Ottoman Empire, like the Croats or the Montenegrins (Jezernik 2004: 103–146). The strive for description of the societies inhabiting Southeastern Europe coincided with the emergence of the anthropologic instruments which allowed to describe the ethnicities, and with the birth of the nationalism, which both accelerated the processes of the depiction of the nations (Fine 2006: 272). The discovery of the Southeast European populations and attempts to understand their national character, language or culture, can be considered a part of the process of the evolution of the idea of the Balkans. Furthermore, it can be analysed in the context of the emergence of the notions of Eastern or Central Europe, which served to shape the civilizational geography of the continent (Todorova 2009: 62–115; Wolff 1994: 5–16). The emergence of those concepts was a long-lasting process which was deeply investigated by the researchers, mostly from a historical perspective, but also from the point of view of cultural studies or political sciences.

The existing literature on the subject, which depicted the Western discovery of the “Wild Europe”, encompasses some of the most important aspects of this very broad issue. However, some of the very important problems did not get as much attention as they deserved, or they were entirely neglected. Among them one can mention the question of the French contribution to shaping the Western European image of the Balkan peoples. The French were vitally interested in the matters of that part of Europe, and even reigned the considerable part of the territory which was later named the Balkans. This episode, which started

with the Napoleonic occupation of Dalmatia in 1806 and was followed by its further expansion in 1809 and creation of the Illyrian Provinces, ended very quickly, in 1813.

The French rule over the Illyrian Provinces which were a part of the Napoleonic Empire, including historical lands of Carinthia, Carniola, Croatia and Dalmatia, was relatively short and for that reason, the plans of extensive administrative, economic and social reforms were never implemented (Zwitter 2010: 27–36). However, the creation of a separate administrative entity by the French authorities, and their various activities in the field of education and culture, contributed to the emergence of national movements among the Slavs inhabiting this region. The researchers also pointed out that perhaps the only goal set and then successfully completed by the French authorities, was gaining the information on the region and the inhabitants ruled by them (Senkowska-Gluck 1980: 51). Due to their ethnic versatility, the Illyrian Provinces are an excellent subject of research on the Western depictions of the Southeastern European populations. The population of the Illyrian Provinces consisted of the Croats (Croatia, Dalmatia, Istria), the Slovenes (Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, Gorizia), the Serbs (Croatia and Dalmatia), the Italians (Gorizia, Istria, Dalmatia), and the Germans (Tyrol, Carinthia). It is also an interesting research subject in terms of the discussion on the view on the borders of the Balkans, or the Orient of Europe. This stems from the fact that the area of the Illyrian Provinces bordered with Austrian and Italian territories (thus, with Western European countries) from the north-west and with the Ottoman Empire (the country regarded as belonging to the Orient) from the south-east.

The ephemeral nature of the Illyrian Provinces which existed for less than four years, and the short presence of the French in the area of the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea in general, is perhaps the reason why the researchers who investigated the evolution of the idea of the Balkans ignored this episode of the Napoleonic reign in Southeastern Europe. The question of how the French perceived the peoples inhabiting the Illyrian Provinces has not been investigated, which is problematic, especially in a wider context of the emergence of the Western European image of the Southeastern Europe in the times of diminishing political position of the Ottoman Empire. This monograph aims to fill this gap and strives to supplement more general studies on that matter, previously conducted by such researchers as Maria Todorova, Božidar Jezernik, Larry Wolff and others.

Before delving into the matter of the specific problems the analysis of which will be outlined in this work, some basic facts on the history of the French political engagement in Southeastern Europe should be presented, as well as some elementary information on the Illyrian Provinces. France became more interested in Southeastern Europe firstly due to economic reasons. After the defeat in the Seven Years' War (1757–1763), as a result of which its oversea possessions were diminished, and while England begun its colonial domination, the French

were seeking new markets, and the Danube trade, as well as the whole Southeastern Europe, were considered a possible area of their economic expansion (Šamić 1960: 55–60).

On the other hand, there was a political aspect of the French interest in this part of the continent. As early as during the reign of Louis XIV, France considered a possibility of partitioning the European Turkey (Kerautret 2015: 17). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the French diplomacy was particularly interested in its Bosnian borderland, tried to keep the Republic of Ragusa in the sphere of its influence, and carefully followed the Venetian policy in Dalmatia<sup>1</sup> (Špoljarić 2011: 35–52). In 1793, the consular agency in Travnik, in the Ottoman Bosnia, was opened, but the French diplomatic activity in the area which was later called the Balkans, was quickly followed by direct presence of the French troops and administration. In 1797, Napoleon put an end to the existence of the Republic of Venice, and in the very same year, the French troops entered the territories of Carniola and Carinthia, inhabited by the Slovenes for the first time (Kerautret 2015: 18). In 1805, by virtue of peace in Preszeburg (Bratislava), Austria renounced Istria and Dalmatia in favor of France, which were then annexed by the Kingdom of Italy controlled by Napoleon. The French troops fought in Dalmatia with the Russian forces, and under the pretext of protecting the Republic of Ragusa against them, they occupied it in May 1806, and in 1808 they formally sealed its demise.

The creation of the Illyrian Provinces can be regarded as the aftermath of the treaty of Schönbrunn (14 October 1809), under which Austria ceded the territories of Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, as well as the Civil and Military Croatia, to France. The decision of Napoleon to transform those lands, as well as the provinces of Dalmatia and Istria, into a new administrative entity of the Empire, inscribes itself undoubtedly in a more general geopolitical context, above all, in the continental blockage, as the ports of the Adriatic Sea controlled by the French, became inaccessible to the English. The aforementioned aspect of the expansion of the European powers on the territories of the Ottoman Empire should also be mentioned, as the Illyrian Provinces could be treated as a possible base for a potential expansion of the French on the territories of the *Turquie d'Europe* (Varlan 2015; Raspopović 2015; Šoja 2015). Finally, the presence of the Napoleonic army on

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<sup>1</sup> Since the time of peace in Požarevac in 1718, Venice did not undertake any political offensive against the weakening Turkey, which was manifested in its neutrality during the Russo-Turkish War in the years 1769–1774. The last three decades of the eighteenth century were a period of deepening weakness of Venice, which manifested itself both in the instability of the governments and in the ever-smaller military strength. Count de Vergennes, who was responsible for the French foreign policy in the years 1774–1787, feared that Austria would be able to conquer Venice, which would undermine the political significance of France in the north of the Apennine Peninsula and in the Adriatic basin. A potential alliance between Venice and Russia, which would result in both parties' territorial acquisitions of the Turkish lands, was also considered possible. In the 1770s, French diplomats acted to prevent such a scenario (Murphy 1982: 422–423; Lane 1973: 423–437).

the territories of Croatia, Carniola and Carinthia allowed to control the Habsburg Empire from the south (Auer 2015).

A new unit of the Napoleonic Empire which consisted of seven provinces, six civilian (Civil Croatia, Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, Dalmatia and Ragusa) and one military province (Military Croatia), had a very particular status. The General Government (*Gouvernement général*), consisted of the officers who were nominated by the Emperor: the Governor-General, Intendant General of Finances, and a Commissioner General of Justice, as well as of two subordinate officers. The Governor-General reported directly to the Emperor, and also prepared the reports for the ministry of war (Bundy 1987: 7). During the short period of the existence of the Illyrian Provinces, there were four people who were appointed to hold this most important post: general Auguste Marmont, who governed the provinces from October 1809 until early 1811, general Henri Gatien Bertrand (who governed until early spring 1813) and finally, general Jean-Andoch Junot and Joseph Fouché (the only civilian to hold this post). The last two held this position only for a couple of months. Governor-Generals were responsible mainly for the military and police issues, while the civil matters were to a large extent handled by the Intendant General who supervised the civil and financial administration, e.g. the intendants of the particular provinces. This function was performed consecutively by Luc-Jacques Dauchy, baron de Belleville, and count Chabrol (Bundy 1987: 24–25). Since the administration of the Illyrian Provinces was very centralized, and the process of the governance was executed mainly under the decrees, it could be considered the “police state” or the “command society” (Bundy 1987: 25).

This very basic information on the Illyrian Provinces will be supplemented by more detailed observations in the further chapters of this work. At this point, one feature of the French government should be emphasized, i.e. a centralist nature of its administration, the effectiveness of which relied to a large extent on the knowledge on the local populations. The more French officers wanted to control each aspect of the existence of the Illyrian societies, the more they needed to know about them. This process of gathering knowledge was to a large extent successful, but this was observed not only by the researchers, but also by the French administrators of the provinces, who thought of themselves as of explorers and descriptors of those lands. Such a statement was made by Charles Nodier, a French Romantic author who was in charge of publishing *Télégraphe Officiel*, the official journal of the Illyrian Provinces. In his opinion, expressed in the second volume of his *Mélanges de littérature et de critique* from 1820, the French governors of this part of the Napoleonic Empire succeeded in gathering the information on the local populations:

When the last government of France spread its power up to the borders of ancient Greece and constituted the government under the name of Illyria in the provinces of Istria, Carniola, Carinthia, Croatia and Dalmatia, joining the Republic of Ragusa, there were few travellers in France or even in Europe who tried

to conduct their research in this old land, where they did not expect to find any traces of civilisation. The events of war and politics soon drove a large number of the French here, sometimes under the flags of the army, sometimes as those in charge of the administration, and the joys of quite a long peace were given to those who had some talent of observation and could use this time to gather the great multitude of documents about the moral history of the modern Illyria, gathered only superficially by their predecessors (Nodier 1820: 2)<sup>2</sup>.

The assumption that Austria and Venice did not care much about gathering the information about the land they governed seems to be exaggerated, if not untrue. However — comparing this opinion with other writings of Charles Nodier — it can be presumed that he really considered himself and other administrators, travellers and officers, the real discoverers of Illyria. Was opinion of Charles Nodier well justified? The verification of this statement is considered one of the main questions deliberated in this work.

## 1. The construction of the work and specific research questions

The time frame of the study encompasses mostly the period during which the Illyrian Provinces existed (1809–1813), however, because, as early as on 26 December 1805, when under the peace treaty from Preszeburg, Austria relinquished Istria and Dalmatia to the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, the sources related with the French rule over those lands between 1806 and 1809 were also included. Such a chronological scope of the analysis was also often chosen by the researchers who analyzed the history of the Illyrian Provinces, as they treated the Napoleonic reign over Dalmatia in the years 1806–1809 as its forerunner (Senkowska-Gluck 1980: 1630; Lapenda 2015).

Specific research questions which are posed in this work can be divided into two categories. The first one is strictly related to the process of governance. The construction of the image of the inhabitants of the Illyrian Provinces is viewed as the result of specific activities undertaken by the authorities of the provinces,

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<sup>2</sup> “Quand le dernier gouvernement français eut étendu sa puissance jusqu’aux limites de l’ancienne Grèce, et qu’il constitua en gouvernement provisoire, sous le nom d’Illyrie, les provinces d’Istrie, de Carniole, de Carinthie, de Croatie et de Dalmatie, en y joignant la république de Raguse, il y avait très-peu de voyageurs en France et même en Europe qui eussent poussé leurs recherches sur cette vieille terre où l’on supposait à peine quelque reste de civilisation. Les événements de la guerre et ceux de la politique ne tardèrent pas à y conduire une quantité considérable de Français, tantôt sous les drapeaux de l’armée, tantôt à la suite des administrations; et les loisirs d’une assez longue paix donnèrent à ceux qui étaient doués de quelque talent d’observation, tout le temps nécessaire pour le mettre en usage, et pour rassembler sur l’histoire morale de l’Illyrie moderne une foule de documents que leurs prédécesseurs n’avaient pu recueillir qu’en courant”.

e.g. the military conscription or implementation of the reforms, which all demanded the evaluation the population's nature and attitude. Those issues are taken into account — primarily, the main idea behind this work is to analyze how the experience of the governance changed the French perspective on the nations of Southeastern Europe, which had been perceived before from a more distant perspective. Those questions served as the backbone of the construction of this monograph.

The first issue, the analysis of which constitutes the first chapter of this work, concerns the names which were present in the French literature and documents and which served to describe the inhabitants of the Illyrian Provinces. This matter may be considered an attempt to depict the way in which the French authorities recognized and named the governed populations, a problem which is basic and thus should be clarified before the other ones. The analysis includes the terms referring to the entirety of the population of the Illyrian Provinces, such as *Illyriens* (“Illyrians”), as well as those which were used to name the particular groups of the population: *les Carniens*, *les Vindes*, *Slovenzi* (the names describing the inhabitants of present Slovenia), *les Croates* (the Croats), *les Morlaques* (the Morlachs), *les Dalmates* (Dalmatians). The analysis juxtaposes the information which was known to the French observers before 1806, when Istria and Dalmatia became Napoleonic possessions, with the information gathered by the officers and civil officials who arrived on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea after this date, to demonstrate the changes which occurred in the representation of this area. The question of the meaning of socionyms and ethnonyms is discussed not only as the point of reference for the evaluation of the French knowledge about the populations they governed. It is also discussed in a more general context of the emergence of the idea of the Balkans, constructed by the Western European sources, as determining geographic and ethnic vocabulary played a vital role in this process (Garde 2004: 29).

Another problem the analysis of which is outlined in the second part of the monograph, is the picture of the inhabitants of the Illyrian Provinces in the light of the state propaganda conveyed by the articles published in the official journal *Télégraphe Officiel*. The issue of the idealized image of the society, which can be treated as the projection of the expectations of the French governors towards their subjects, is also analyzed in the context of the emerging stereotypes and *clichés* which later served as descriptive categories of this part of Europe. The analysis outlined in the chapter shows that the patterns of description were created not only from the point of view of an external, distant observer, which is present e.g. in travelogues, but also in the dialogue between the local populations and the new government. This part elaborates on such specific problems as the image of the inhabitants during public celebrations, their devotion towards the Emperor as subjects and soldiers, their attitude as the members of the society and beneficiaries of the progressive reforms implemented by the rulers.

The next part of the monograph suggests an opposite approach and focuses not on the expectations communicated by the governors to their subjects, but on the practice of the governance, and the image which emerged as its consequence, and which was created for the internal purpose of the administration. The population of the Illyrian Provinces was required to be loyal towards their rulers, and above all to deliver the soldiers to the French army, hence this part of the monograph focuses on the latter issue. The chapter includes the analysis of various reports which concerned the process of the conscription, as well as the assessment of the potential of the troops coming from the Military Croatia. It also presents the observation on the collaboration of the Illyrian subjects with hostile powers, e.g. Russia, as well as the examples of their devotion towards France. This analysis allows for better understanding of the impact of the politics on the image of the population of the Illyrian Provinces, but also those of South-eastern Europe in general — an issue which is often neglected in the works presenting the emergence of the idea of the “Wild Europe”.

The last question and the last part of the work concerns the matters which were investigated more broadly by the researchers who analyzed the emergence of the ideas of the Balkans or the Eastern/Oriental Europe, i.e. its civilizational backwardness, often noticed by the observers coming from the Western part of the continent (Lampe 1989). However, this problem is not investigated from a usual perspective of travelogues, but that of the French reports and correspondence concerning various attempts to modernize the Illyrian Provinces. Economic matters are investigated in the first place; they include the issue of how the image of the local population was constructed in the context of the exploitation of the natural resources and the projects of agricultural reforms. The abolition of feudalism, implementation of the Napoleonic Code, and more general discussions on the form of a government which would suit best the population inhabiting the Illyrian Provinces, also had an impact on the construction of the image of the local societies.

Those problems, the analysis of which served as the basis for this work, do not exhaust all of the issues discussed in this monograph. The second category of the questions place the observations made by the French in a more general context of how the ideas of the Balkans or the Eastern Europe evolved. Those problems are analysed throughout all the chapters and include firstly the evaluation of the extent to which the observations made by the French administrators were original and to what extent they merely copied the information gathered by their Venetian and Austrian predecessors. This analysis will allow to verify Charles Nodier’s conviction of a pioneering nature of the French discoveries in the Illyrian Provinces. This problem concerns not only gathering new information on the governed societies, but also the way in which it was interpreted. This could include the perspective of the anthropology of the French Enlightenment, or some elements of the Romantic fascination with folk culture, which was already present by that time.

Having determined the extent to which the administrators of the Illyrian Provinces contributed to the description of the provinces in the ethnographic sense, the manner of creating such a depiction should be considered, especially in the context of the emergence of the ideas of the Balkans, or those of the Eastern Europe. Such researchers as Bozidar Jezernik mentioned many elements which constituted those concepts, e.g. backwardness or exoticism which could be associated with the Orient or even with more distant parts of the globe. Since the Illyrian Provinces bordered with the Ottoman Empire, belonging to the world of the Orient, the question of a possible “oriental” element of the image of the populations of the Napoleonic Empire should be posed, as well as the question regarding other possible influences, resulting from various depictions of the populations considered uncivilized.

The last, but maybe the most fundamental question posed in this work stems from the two previous ones, and it concerns the structure of the gathered knowledge. Which Illyrian populations were treated by the French as worth being described, and which were less present, or even absent in the general image of those societies? The necessity of analyzing this problem appeared after the completion of the research inquiry, as a large part of the gathered research material concerned a few specific territories of this part of the Napoleonic Empire and the populations which inhabited them. Some of the societies, on the other hand, were described in less detail, or almost ignored by the French observers. This disparity concerns also the features which were considered characteristic for the Illyrian populations in general. The construction of the work somehow follows those disproportions which are visible especially in the last two parts of the analysis.

## 2. Research method and sources

The scope of the historical documents which are investigated was broad, but the main idea was prioritizing those which were produced directly by the French governors, i.e. the reports and the correspondence of the civil and military administration, stored mainly in the National Archives of Paris and the archives of the French Ministry of Defense. Those sources were considered the primary ones, as they were strictly related to the process of governance. Because most of the documents stored in both of those archives were never published, the extensive citations of the manuscript transcriptions are included in this study.

Among the most important sections stored in *Archives Nationales* which were used in this work, the correspondence of the Governor-General, Bertrand, should be mentioned (section 390 AP 17), as well as the correspondence of general Lauriston (section 200 AP 1), or the documents stored under the number AF 1713 IV, which include a variety of documents produced by the French administration, e.g. the letters of general Marmont addressed to Viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, Eugène de Beauharnais (Marmont 1806), or the reports of auditor



André Abrial, on the possibility of implementing the Napoleonic Code in Dalmatia (Abrial 1806b). Another archival section which is very important, can be found under the file number 138 AP 149, and it contains such documents as a general note on the economy and industry of the Illyrian Provinces (Catineau-Laroche 1810), Marmont's report on the Military Croatia (Marmont 1810), or the deliberations on the feudality in Carniola by Joseph Vogou (Vogou n.d.), and the deliberations on the Civil Croatia by baron de Viennet (Viennet 1810). Section F<sup>1</sup>62 is another archival unit stored in *Archives Nationales* which is worth mentioning, as it contains the reports on the state of the administration and economy of the provinces, made by their intendants, and addressed to the Intendant General Chabrol (*Rapport General sur l'Administration de la Dalmatie*, 1813), or his responses to those reports (Chabrol 1813a, 1813b). The National Archives of Paris also contain many other documents which became a very useful research material. The research material stored in *Archives Nationales* is vast and varied, as it encompasses both the civil and the military aspect of the French administration.

The documents which are stored in the French Ministry of Defense (*Service historique de la Défense*, Vincennes) are much easier to categorize and can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of *les rapports* (the reports), which are the descriptions of a certain area, are compiled into a pre-designed survey, enumerating the pieces of information about geography of every land, its natural resources, agriculture, and finally the society and its customs. Such reports were made by e.g. general Charles Nicolas d'Anthouard (Anthouard 1806a) and engineer Lasseret (Lasseret 1806). The second group are travel itineraries which often contain similar information as the reports, although this information is not classified according to the survey, but mentioned with the description of each day of the travel. To those two kinds of documents the third one can be added — correspondence between the officers. Such sources contained both the information useful for military maneuvers and detailed descriptions on the indigenous population, including its character, confession, and advancement of its agriculture and industry.

The archives stored in the *Archives Nationales* and *Service Historique de la Défense* contain the most important manuscripts which were used in this work, and because of their number and variety, they were treated as the assemblage representative for the entirety of historical sources related to the French administration of Dalmatia and the Illyrian Provinces in the years 1806–1813. Of course, this corpus can be supplemented by the documents which are stored in other archives, e.g. the archives of general Bertrand Clausel stored in Kotor, Montenegro (Državni arhiv Crne Gore — Odjeljenje Istorijски arhiv Kotor), which were also occasionally referred to in this work (Clausel 1808). The research inquiry also included the archives in Rijeka (e.g. section DARI-482), Zadar and Dubrovnik, but because they were written mainly in Italian, which is perfectly visible thanks to the protocols summing up the work of the local administration, they were not

used in this work (Protokoli 1810–1813). A similar problem concerned the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana, in which the documents related to the French administration in Illyria are stored, but most of them are written in German. Some of the important manuscripts were transcribed and published, and among them, the correspondence of the intendant of Carniola, Fargues (Fargues 2004) and the observation on the Illyrian Provinces made by Lujo Matutinović should be mentioned in the first place (Matutinović 2009).

Those testimonies, whether they remained manuscripts, or were published recently as transcriptions, have one common feature: they were intended for the internal use of the French civil administration and officers. Those kinds of sources were juxtaposed with the ones which were published in print, and the target of which was the larger public. Among them, *Télégraphe Officiel*, the official newspaper of the French authorities, constitutes a very important testimony which allows to investigate how the governors depicted the governed societies while addressing them. Last, but not least, the research inquiry included printed documents which were more and more often investigated by the historians dealing with the history of the stereotypes and emergence of the stereotypes, i.e. the travel literature, as well as erudite works on “moral history” and fiction literature which were based on it. When it comes to the travel literature, it is necessary to mention the travelogues by Louis-François Cassas and Joseph Lavallée, Balthasar Hacquet, Carlo Botta or Marcel de Serres, which weren't strictly related to the French rule over the Illyrian Provinces, although they served as an important point of reference for the analysis of other documents, especially those produced by the French administration (Cassas, Lavallée 1802; Botta 1811; Serres 1814; Hacquet 1815).

Such a choice of the research material allowed to present the image constructed by the French not only from the point of view of a passing and distanced observer, but also in the context of a short, yet strong relationship between the rulers and their subjects. The difference between those approaches is sometimes very hard to notice as they were complementary, yet the choice of the wide spectrum of historical sources allows for a better depiction of this phenomenon of the French governors who perceived themselves as the enlightened discoverers and descriptors of Southeastern Europe as early as in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but had to enter a new role of the governors, responsible for the populations which they knew before only as travelers or even only as the readers of the travel literature.

The diversity of the genre which included reports and correspondence of the French administration, remarks and the side notes to the travel accounts, or a generic and synthesizing dictionary or encyclopedic entries, as well as the press, required using research tools from various fields. The main point of the methodological reference are the studies of the researchers who investigated the process of the emergence of the Western representations of Southeastern Europe, among which the studies of Bozidar Jezernik, Ivan Pederin, Maria Todorova and Larry

Wolff should be mentioned in the first place (Jezernik 2007; Pederin 1991; Todorova 2009; Wolff 1994). This list should be supplemented by more general studies on the Enlightenment representations of the non-civilized peoples, or the history of anthropology in the 18<sup>th</sup> or at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in general. Such studies were conducted by Michèle Duchet, who investigated the entirety of this issue, or more recently by Ann Talbot, who focused on the work of John Locke, or by the researchers who analyzed literary representations of the Other, regarded as a barbarian or as a noble savage (Duchet 1971; Carlos 1997; Talbot 2010; Ellingson 2001). As it can be seen, the methodology of the research is not based on theoretical works, but on the practical studies from the domains of the cultural history, in which various representations of the Other were analyzed. However, some more general and theoretical works also served as a source of inspiration and as the point of methodological reference, starting with the first works defining the history of ideas by Arthur O. Lovejoy or Paul Hazard (Hazard 1995; Lovejoy 1999), and finishing on the more recent research on the history of stereotypes or imagology (Chew 2001; Beller, Leerssen 2007; Blažević 2014b).

The list of the research methods used in this study is longer, as different kinds of the documents used demanded a very specific approach. The analysis of the journals and other printed sources profited from the achievements of the scholars dealing with press history, readership and the public sphere (Bury 1996; Barker, Burrows 2002), while the analysis of the French image of the Croat or Dalmatian troops would not be possible to outline without the discoveries made by the researchers dealing with military history (Stoker 2009).

### 3. State of the art

There are no works on the French image of the inhabitants of the Illyrian Provinces, although there are studies which encompass a more general problem of the representation of the peoples inhabiting the Western Balkans, especially in the travel literature. One of the first studies on this matter was written by Nicolae Iorga and published in a work entitled *Les voyageurs français dans l'Orient européen* (Iorga 1928). The problem of the observations of the French travelers who visited Dalmatia was later mentioned by such researchers as Marija Rožman-Kandido or Ivan Pederin (Rožman-Kandido 1990–1991; Pederin 1991). The issue of the French image of Bosnia and Dalmatia on the brink of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century appeared in the study by Midhat Šamić, which touches upon the period after the emergence of the consular agency in Travnik, i.e. after 1793, which means that his deliberations also concern the period of the existence of the Illyrian Provinces (Šamić 1960). Even though Šamić concentrated mostly on the image of Bosnia, and, instead of taking the problem approach, he focused, above all, on the specific travelers performing diplomatic or military functions, the study, published in 1960, is still one of the most substantial works concerning the relations

between France and the Balkans at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This focus on the specific individuals who were the bridge between the world of the South Slavs and France is observable also in the later literature on the subject. The scholars drew particular attention to Charles Nodier, whose connections with Illyria were depicted by Rudolf Maixner (Maixner 1924). In turn, the investigator of French-Croatian relations, Gabrijela Vidan, devoted her attention to Lujo Matutinović, the author of the depiction of the Illyrian Provinces (Vidan 2009). Last but not least, it is necessary to mention the works which considered the French image of the Morlachs in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, not only in the context of travelogues, but also in the context of *belles lettres*, and which were published by such researchers as Vojslav Yovanovitch, Marijan Stojković, Andrei Pippidi, Barbara Maggs, Valentina Gulin, Cvijeta Pavlović or Inoslav Bešker (Yovanovitch 1911; Stojković 1929, Pippidi 1980; Maggs 1989; Gulin 1997; Pavlović 1998; Bešker 2007). The entirety of the problem of the French image of the peoples inhabiting the area of the Eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was also described by the author of this work (Sajkowski 2013a).

The analysis outlined in this study profited also from the works on the French rule in Dalmatia and the Illyrian Provinces. The works of Paul Pisani on the French rule in Dalmatia, Fran Zwitter's studies on the Illyrian Provinces, or Melita Pivec-Stele's publication on the economy of this part of the Napoleonic Empire, are the examples of one of the earliest, yet still very valuable sources of information used in this analysis (Pisani 1893; Zwitter 2010; Pivec-Stele 1930). Among the works which were published later, particular attention should be drawn to the studies conducted by Monika Senkowska-Gluck, or Frank Bundy (Senkowska-Gluck 1980; Bundy 1987). A very detailed study on a very specific part of the Illyrian Provinces i.e. the Military Croatia, was conducted by Drago Roksandić, who, in his work *Vojna Hrvatska*, focused mostly on the history of the Croatian Military Frontier under the French reign (Roksandić 1988). The latest general study on this part of the Illyrian Provinces appeared in 2015, and was edited by Jean-Olivier Boudon (Boudon 2015). Also, there is a wide range of articles concerning e. g. the implementation of the Napoleonic Code in Illyria (Kranjc 2011), cultural development under the reign of Napoleon (Dayre 1941), or national emancipation of the Slavic language (Baras 1977; 2006). Some information on the Illyrian Provinces may also be found in larger publications on the relations between the world of the South Slavs and France (Vodopivec 1987).

In the last decade, there appeared also two very important publications devoted to the historical documents related to the Illyrian Provinces. The first one is the translation and the critical analysis of the work by Lujo Matutinović, which was first published in French and translated into Croatian (Matutinović 2009). The second one is a catalogue of sources directly related to this part of the Napoleonic Empire, made by Josip Kolanović and Janez Šumrada, (Kolanović, Šumrada 2005). The latter work was especially important for the research inquiry.

Apart from the aforementioned works, the bibliography was also supplemented by the analysis of *Triplex Confinium* (Roksandić, Štefanec 2000; Šarić 2010b; Blažević 2014a), as well as some more general publications on the Napoleonic Empire (Schneid 2002; Ellis 2003; Stoker 2009). The list of the scientific publications which contributed to this work is much longer, yet the state of the art presented above depicts the most important research fields which were useful for the analysis outlined in the next chapters.

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