

CARTOGRAPHY REVEALED: MULTICULTURALITY AND REGIONAL IDENTITIES OF THE BORDERLANDS

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Abstract: Borderlands are typical spaces where a multiplicity imperial and thus cultural, religious and ethnic contacts produces a multiplicity of perceptions and images. Through a number of examples of the Croatian borderlands, the main aim is to reveal the symbolic layer of the map that leads us into the process of imagining the past and constructing regional identities in the multicultural realities.

Keywords: borderlands; Croatia; history of cartography; multiculturalism; regional identities.

CARTOGRAFIA REVELADA : MULTICULTURALIDADE E IDENTIDADES REGIONAIS DAS FRONTEIRAS

Resumo: Fronteiras são espaços típicos onde a multiplicidade imperial e, deste modo, os contatos culturais, religiosos e étnicos produzem uma multiplicidade de percepções e imagens. Através de vários exemplos das fronteiras da Croácia, o objetivo principal deste trabalho é revelar o estrato simbólico do mapa que nos leva para o processo de imaginação do passado e construir identidades regionais em realidades multiculturais.

Palavras-chave: fronteiras; Croacia; historia da cartografia; multiculturalismo; identidades regionais.

CARTOGRAPHIE REVELEE: MULTICULTURALITE ET IDENTITES REGIONALES DES FRONTIERES

Résumé: Les frontières sont des espaces où la multiplicité impériale et, de cette façon, les contacts culturels, religieux et ethniques ont produit une multiplicité des perceptions et des images. A travers de plusieurs exemples retirés des frontières de la Croatie, cet article veut montrer les couches symboliques de la carte, capable de nous amener à imaginer le passé et bâtir des identités régionales à l'intérieur des réalités multiculturelles.

Mots-clés: frontières; Croatie; histoire de la cartographie; multiculturalisme; identité régionales.

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Introduction

Maps always represent much more than merely physical nature and inventory of space. Maps understood and considered as social construction of reality have a number of layers, including the symbolic one. They are conveyors of meanings, messages and perceptions of the world – and not only of an individual cartographer, but also of common societal and cultural values. They reveal what may be called the spirit of time: philosophical, political, religious and general socio-cultural context. Understood as images, maps can be used on one hand as a tool of disseminating messages, as well as a medium in constructing identities, and, on the other hand as a source in analyzing the perceptions of past places, territories and societies.

Researching past images through maps is of particular interest in multicultural spaces, where a variety of different cultures, religious systems, complex ethnic structures and imperial systems have met. Borderlands are such typical spaces where a multiplicity of contacts reflect and produce a multiplicity of perceptions, images and identities.

Early modern period in Croatian history is burdened with frequent changes of borders between three imperial systems¹ with different religious systems² and cultural traditions that have intertwined on the Croatian territory.

Maps could and often did represent an image with multiple layers of meaning and perceptions, such as distinction of social groups, related systems of beliefs, territorialization and de-territorialization of borderland communities; construction of regional identities; and comprehension of the temporality of the border and the continuity of Croatian territory.

Questioning regional identities in the multiculturalism of borderlands was based primarily on deconstructing the maps of the time; tracing the rhetoric of map and its symbolic meaning. Key elements were place-names as they are as much related to an

¹ Habsburg Monarchy, Venetian Republic and Ottoman Empire.

² Christianity and Islam.

invisible social world and to ideology as they are to the material world that can be seen and measured.

The research is based on the cartographic originals of the time from the map collections of the Croatian State Archives, The National and University Library and the Museum of Croatian History, as well as on the numerous published facsimiles (MARKOVIĆ, 1993, 1998; KOZLIČIĆ, 1995; MALEKOVIĆ, 1992).

Constructed realities

Image–reality dualism of the map opposes subjective and objective spaces, unreal and real geographies, mental images and cartographic representations. Maps as geographic representations have been commonly accepted as realistic, although constructed according to the conventions of artificial perspective (COSGROVE, 1998). However, geographic “reality” is not a nonimage, as argued by Phillips (1993). “Reality” is also humanly constructed and merely conventional, and the “truth” is constructed, theoretically and politically committed. At this point we start to question the “unquestionable scientific objectivity” of the cartographic representation of the world and to question the map as a “mirror of reality” (FUERST-BJELIŠ, 2012). Recent researches show a break between a model of cartography as a communication system, and one in which knowledge is constructed (CRAMPTON, 1996, 2001).

On the other hand, the subjectivity of images has been questioned by iconographers and iconologists as well (PHILLIPS, 1993). Images are not merely mental representations, they can be read as explicitly social (or political) texts. Iconography defines images as a sign system and locates them at the social level (PANOFSKY, 1983).

Although some scholars anticipated the idea of map as a socially constructed image earlier (KORZYBSKI in WRIGHT, 1942), it was J. B. Harley who formulated a broad strategy for understanding how maps redescribe the world, like any other document, in terms of relations of power and of cultural practices, preferences and priorities (HARLEY, 2001). “...Maps are at least as much an image of the social order as they are

measurements of a phenomenal world of objects” (HARLEY, 1989). In his seminal work on deconstructing the map Harley argues that deconstruction as discourse analysis, demands a closer and deeper reading of the cartographic text and may be regarded as a search for alternative meaning. It means reading between the lines of the map – “in the margins of the text” and a search for metaphor and rhetoric in the textuality of the map (HARLEY, 1989).

Based on the iconographic studies by E. Panofsky (1983), Harley has defined a number of semantic layers of the map. The symbolic one often has ideological connotations. It refers to power relationships, distinction of social groups and system of beliefs, to worldviews and to what may be called as a spirit of time.

Spatial, temporal and cultural context

In the course of three centuries (16th – 19th), the territory of Early Modern Croatia was determined by the borderlands of three imperial systems of the time: Habsburg Monarchy, Ottoman Empire and Venetian Republic (Figure1). Borders were, consequently, significantly influential in political, social, cultural, and demographic sense.

Triple border conditioned a true multicultural surrounding. Croatian territory was a “meeting point” of Western and Eastern world, Christianity and Islam as well as maritime and continental traditions. Frequent changes of borderlines were followed by population shifts and migration, introduction of new (other) social and cultural groups, as well as leading to mixed cultural, religious, ethnic groups and lifestyles in borderlands. Appreciation of these differences, sense of uniqueness and perception of otherness, through the territorialization, conditioned the creation of spatial images and eventually resulted in regional identity.



Figure 1: Croatia and triple border, 18th century.

Source: REGAN, K. ed. (2003).

Otherness, territory and regional concept

Maps reveal a number of images that reflect social recognition and territorialization through the distinction of social otherness and, on the other hand, perceptions of territorial continuity in the circumstances of border fluctuation, through the distinction of territorial otherness. These images are related to concepts that are embedded in maps and leading eventually to the construction of regional concept and identity. That is appreciation of differences, uniqueness and otherness that, through the territorialization, result in specific spatial images and regional identity (FUERST-BJELIŠ, ZUPANC, 2007; FUERST-BJELIŠ, 2011).

Morlacchia and Little Wallachia

The image of the ultimate western borderlands area of Ottoman Empire with Venetian Republic and Habsburg Monarchy is related to the recognition of Morlacchi /Vlachs, a

distinct social group as other. Their presence in the borderlands is a consequence of the population shifts due to the warfare and border fluctuations. Autochthonous sedentary population abandoned land and migrated towards more secure areas, while a large portion of the Croatian borderlands became a destination of new semi-nomadic pastoral communities from the Dinaric mountain hinterland. These borderlands communities are generally called Vlachs or Morlacchi in the Venetian tradition. These communities partly immigrated to the borderlands area spontaneously, combining the pastoral economy with military service, while they were partly colonized and settled by the official politics of Venice and Habsburgs.

The toponyms Morlaccha or Morlacchia with a number of some other corresponding forms, such as Morlacca, Morlacha, Murlacha and Morlakia can be found on the maps as early as the 16th century (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Bonifačić's Map of the surroundings of Zadar and Šibenik with the region of Morlacha, 1573, facsimile. Source: MARKOVIĆ (1993).

Originating from the Venetian term for social community, the derived toponymic forms became a common name for the border region for more than three hundred years in circumstances where three imperial forces met. Throughout the course of

centuries, the term Morlacchi has been related to the territory they have settled. The term has gradually got the spatial connotation (FUERST-BJELIŠ, 1999-2000, 2011, 2012).

Territorialization is seen as a reflection of perceived otherness of Morlacchi and Vlach community; primarily through different social organization, religion, lifestyle and customs in relation to the prevailing population. Perception of otherness and uniqueness is the basis of regionality and regional identity that is leading to the construction of the regional concept of Morlacchia. The image of otherness is very well expressed on Vitezović's³ (1699) (Figure 3) and da Vignola's⁴ (1690) maps (Figure 4). What we can read on Vitezović's map from the notification along the border: "Terra deserta olim nunc a Valachis habitata" (deserted, depopulated and uninhabited land, yet inhabited by Vlachs!) is that Vlachs are considered as others in terms of social and religious differentiation (FUERST-BJELIŠ, ZUPANC, 2007; FUERST-BJELIŠ, 2011).



Figure 3: Vitezović's Map of the whole Kingdom of Croatia, 1699, facsimile. Source: MARKOVIĆ (1993).

³ Pavao Ritter Vitezović: Regni Croatiae Totius, 1699.

⁴ Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola: Parte della Sciavonia... abitata da popoli Slauini..., Rome, 1690.

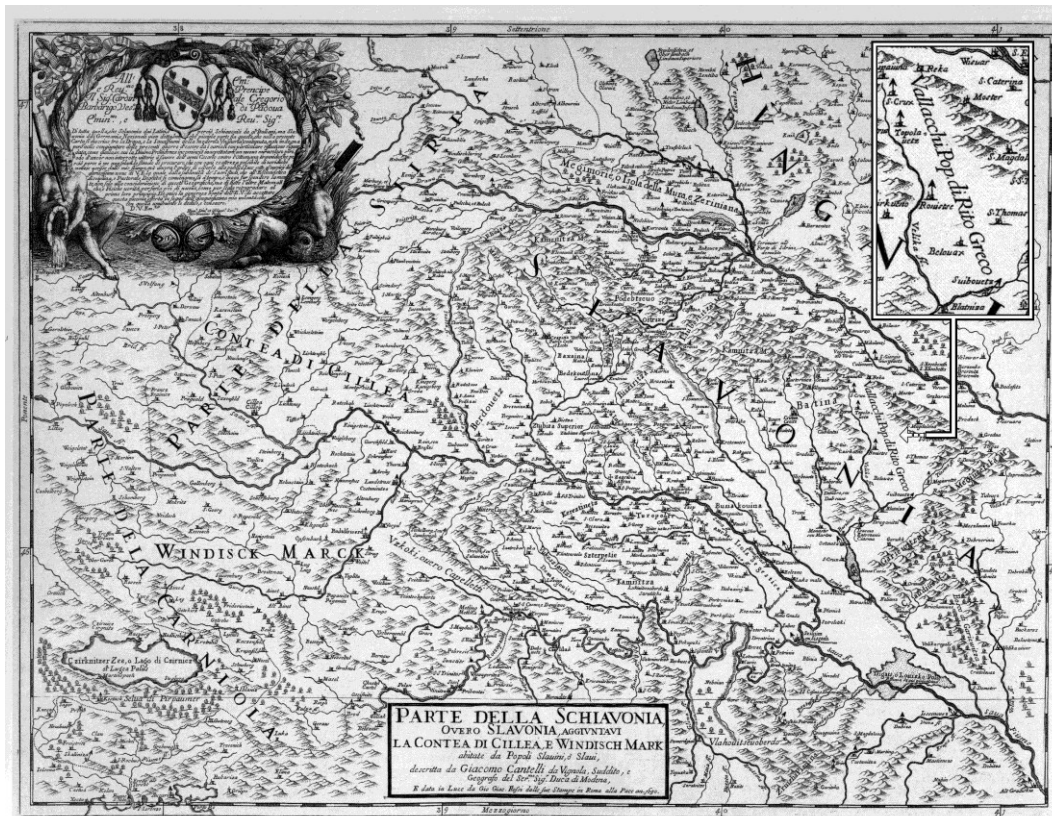


Figure 4: Da Vignola’s map of Slavonia, 1690, facsimile.
Source: MALEKOVIĆ (1992).

At the other hand, da Vignola (1690) is pointing primarily to the religious differentiation of the borderlands communities when noted: “Wallacchi Pop. Di Rito Greco”⁵ (Vlachs, people of the Greek ritual) in the area that century later would be called Kleine Walache (Little Wallachia) on von Reilly’s map⁶ (1790). The western border of Ottoman Empire with Habsburg Monarchy was at the first place the border of Islam and Christianity. However, Orthodox Christians within the prevailing Roman Catholic religious affiliation of (Habsburg) Croatia were considered others. Their territorialization eventually led to the construction of regional concept of Little Wallachia, noted for example on von Reilly’s map (1790).

Morlacchia was an important regional concept if looking at the significance given by the typography. On Coronelli’s map⁷ (1700) for instance, La Morlaquie is listed in the

⁵ Orthodox Christians. The prevailing religious affiliation is Roman Catholic.

⁶ Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly: Das Koenigreich Sklavonien und Herzogthum Syrmien, Vienna, 1790.

⁷ Vincenzo Maria Coronelli: Nouvelle carte du Royaume de Dalmacie..., la Morlaquie, la Bosnie et la Servie..., Paris, 1700.

title of the map along with Bosnia, Serbia, Hungary and Croatia. In addition, in famous French encyclopedia edited by Diderot and D'Alembert⁸ (1782), La Morlaquie was given the same significance as other lands i.e. Bosnia and Serbia (MIROŠEVIĆ, FARIČIĆ, 2011).

With the disappearance of triple border conditions by the end of the wars with Ottoman Empire, the context of significance within which the Morlacchi/Vlach community have been evaluated throughout the centuries, was dissolved.

This change is clearly recognizable in the disappearance of toponyms associated with Morlacchi and Vlachs. Constructed in the multicultural border circumstances of the 16th – 19th centuries, they disappear from the maps with the change of circumstances that created them. Following the change in the rhetoric of the maps, we can read about the territorialization as well as about the de-territorialization of borderland communities. Cognition of social and cultural otherness along with the (de)territorialization of communities led to the (de)construction of regional concepts.

Contested identities of border regions

The issue of old and new border in the areas subdued to frequent changes throughout the history opens the question of identity of a border region. The research has shown that in spite of newly established political order and new borderlines, the perception of tradition and historicity of lands and territory still exists as a mental map in collective memory. Sense of common history and origin that is embedded in such regions reflects the image/mental map different to the actual status (FUERST-BJELIŠ, 1996, 1998). Probability of the existence of different versions of such mental map is much higher in the areas marked by significant changes through their historical and geographical development (MIROŠEVIĆ, FARIČIĆ, 2011).

⁸ Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, D. Diderot et J. D'Alembert (eds), Bern et Lausanne, 1782.

Cassini (1792)⁹, for example, on his map of Dalmatia, one of three Croatian historical provinces¹⁰ (Figure 5), clearly showed both: the actual supreme powers along with the appreciation of Croatian historical territory. We can read about the Croatian lands: Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, perceived as autochthonous, enduring and constant, still divided in different jurisdictions; Hungarian, Venetian and Turkish, as Croatian territory was on the borders of these empires.



Figure 5: Cassini's map of Croatian territory, 1792, facsimile.
Source: MALEKOVIĆ (1992)

Turkish Croatia and Turkish Dalmatia

Although Croatia regained large parts of its territories by the peace treaty with Ottoman Empire at the beginning of 18th century, it failed to get back some of its historical lands. That was, primarily, the area between two rivers, Una and Vrbas, the area between the new and the old border. There are cases where the inscription, either a general one like "Croatia", or a more specific one like "Turkish Croatia" cover the interfluvial territory that is beyond the new actual border, but integral part of the

⁹ Giovanni Maria Cassini: *La Dalmatia con le Isole Adiacenti*, Rome, 1792.

¹⁰ Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia.

historical Croatian territory. There is quite a number of maps of different political backgrounds and cartographic traditions that are equally sharing the same image of Turkish Croatia at the ultimate western borderlands of Ottoman Empire, as well as Turkish Dalmatia at the southern borderlands i.e. M. Schimek's map (1788), J. von Reilly's maps (1790), map edited by Artaria and Comp. (1807), J. Szeman's map (1826), E. Zuchery's map (1848), Halavanja's map (1851) (MARKOVIĆ, 1993, 1998; MALEKOVIĆ ed., 1992).

Searching for metaphors will lead us to the perception of temporality of border fluctuation in these centuries of their frequent changes. Consequently, the territory of Turkish Croatia represents a mental map of the interfluves as integral Croatian territory in spite of the newly established border, as well as it is for Turkish Dalmatia on the south. This is an image of the new borderline as a temporary condition in relation to the "real historical" border. The image include the awareness of a temporality of the borders and understanding and appreciation of the continuity of Croatian territoriality, including Dalmatia as Croatian historical land (Turkish CROATIA/DALMATIA; emphasized by the author). At the other hand, the image reveal the distinction of cultural otherness (TURKISH Croatia/Dalmatia, emphasized by the author) that is grounded in the distinction of "Turkish"/Muslim as Other and the distinction of Christian Croatia versus Muslim Croatia. Thus, the image is pointing out to the awareness of different religious identities of the twofold region.

These examples open two levels of reading: old and new border as real historical border versus temporary border; distinction of different religious and cultural identities, Christian versus Muslim Croatia. The consciousness of the otherness and uniqueness as related to the territoriality is leading to the construction of regional identity. These elements are formative elements of regional identity and the regional concept in both examples: in Morlacchia as well as in Turkish Croatia and Dalmatia (FUERST-BJELIŠ, ZUPANC, 2007; FUERST-BJELIŠ, 2011).

Reflections

Still, the development and reflection of these regional concepts are different. Turkish Croatia has undergone the process of conceptual translation. By the mid 19th century it has changed the name into Bosanska Krajina¹¹. While the old name of Turkish Croatia emphasized the Croatian territoriality of different religious and cultural identity, the name of Bosanska Krajina is emphasizing the border character of the territory. Turkish Croatia / Bosanska Krajina retained its borderland character even later through the participation in the organization of Military Border that additionally sustained the image of otherness in terms of a particular military mentality, apart from multiculturalism. Still, Bosanska Krajina, as a regional concept, has preserved territorial coverage with an image of otherness and uniqueness in the multicultural and multiethnic sense. There has been a change in spatial image that conditioned the change, but also the preservation of regional identity and concept.

Turkish Dalmatia, at the other hand, along with the Austrian occupation of Ottoman territory in 19th century, gradually gave priority to the, until then, subordinated regional concept of Herzegovina. Still today, Herzegovina has distinct identity as a region within the Republic of Bosnia & Herzegovina, and it is culturally strongly bounded with Croatian region of Dalmatia, showing the development of multiple identities of the borderlands region.

Morlacchia and Little Wallachia have experienced the dissolution. The change in the multicultural architecture of the space and community as well as disappearance of triple border by the 19th century have led to the change of the spatial image and in this particular case conditioned the disappearance of the regional identity and concept. All these examples of socio-cultural images and spatial and regional concepts are common to all relevant European cartographies, regardless of different (and often opposed) political affiliations, interests and attitudes towards the borderlands. They

¹¹ Krajina has a meaning of borderlands.

are not imposed from above, from the centers of political power, but reflect an internal and local knowledge and perceptions.

Conclusion

Borderlands are typical spaces where a multiplicity of contacts reflect and produce a multiplicity of perceptions and images.

Map deconstruction was employed as a basic research strategy, signifying a search for alternative meaning, metaphor and rhetoric in the textuality of the map. Key elements of analysis were place-names and smaller cartographic transcriptions and objections as they are as much related to an invisible social world and to ideology as they are to the material world that can be seen and measured.

These images reflect social recognition and territorialization through the distinction of social otherness and, on the other hand, perceptions of territorial continuity in circumstances of border fluctuation, through the distinction of territorial otherness.

The consciousness of the otherness and uniqueness as related to territoriality is leading to the construction of regional identity. These elements are formative elements of regional identity and the regional concept in examples discussed: in Morlacchia and Little Wallachia as well as in Turkish Croatia and Dalmatia. These regional concepts, however, have undergone throughout different developments and have different reflections in present time. Morlacchia and Little Wallachia, as regional concepts, have been dissolved with the change of the multiethnic and multicultural triple border circumstances and the change in spatial image by the 19th century. On the contrary, Turkish Croatia, as a regional concept, has preserved territorial coverage with an image of multiculturalism till present time, but with the stronger accentuation of its borderlands character under the new name of Bosanska Krajina. The preservation of regional concept of Turkish Croatia / Bosanska Krajina is considerably due to the longer persistence of borderlands development even later through the Military Border and linking military and multicultural components of regional identity.

Former Turkish Dalmatia as present Herzegovina within the Republic Bosnia & Herzegovina has retained strong cultural bonds with the region Dalmatia within the Republic of Croatia, based on the sense of shared common history and identity.

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ESTIMATIVA DA PRODUÇÃO DE SEDIMENTOS E ANÁLISE DE CENÁRIOS DAS ÁREAS PRIORITÁRIAS À RECUPERAÇÃO AMBIENTAL NA BACIA HIDROGRÁFICA DO RIO JAGUARI (MG/SP)

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Resumo: Os custos com tratamento de água mostram-se crescentes, sobretudo, nas bacias hidrográficas que revelam algo grau de intervenção, tal como ocorre na bacia do rio Jaguari (MG/SP). A conservação de recursos hídricos mediante ações de infraestrutura verde revela-se como sendo uma excelente alternativa. Constituiu como objetivo do presente estudo efetuar a comparação entre o cenário atual de produção de sedimentos, com um cenário hipotético que contemplou a restauração florestal de ambientes degradados.

Palavras-chave: Recuperação ambiental; Produção de sedimentos; Bacias hidrográficas, Sistemas de informações geográficas.

ESTIMATION OF THE SEDIMENTS YIELDED AND SCENARIO ANALYSIS OF PRIORITY AREAS TO ENVIRONMENTAL RECOVERY IN RIVER JAGUARI (MG/SP)

Abstract: Water treatment costs are rising, mainly in the hydrographic basin showing a high degree of intervention, as it is the case with the Rio Jaguari (MG/SP). The conservation of hydric resources through green infrastructure actions reveals itself as being an excellent alternative. The purpose of this study has been comparing the current scenario of sediment production to a hypothetical scenario that includes the reforestation of degraded environments.

Keywords: Environmental recovering; Sediments yielded; Hydrographic basin, Geographic information system.

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