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**IMAGES OF (UN)RESPECTABILITY AND THE IMAGINING OF
THE NATION IN VLADOVIT ZOREC'S SATIRE *ČUDNOVATE
DIPLE* [THE MARVELLOUS FLUTE]**

The paper analyses discursive construction of images of respectability and how their role in the development of national identity is presented in the verse satire *Čudnovate diple* [*The Marvellous Flute*] by the 19th-century Croatian writer Vladovit Zorec. In terms of its stylistic formation, this is a heterogeneous work. Inter alia, the satire's author forms discourse strategies of Croatian Romanticism in the Revival period aimed at promoting national integration, and formulates political and ideological concepts of the Illyrian movement. He discursively forms the national community, describing various aspects of conviviality and entertainment practices, the family and the marital relationship, (un)desirable feminine and masculine roles and sexual behaviour. His satirical rhetoric strategies play the role of establishing and supervising the border between the respectable, 'normal', and the unrespectable, 'abnormal'. The paper shows that the satire's ideal of respectability is often formed by presenting the unrespectable 'otherness' and condemning the infringement of social and moral norms. This is done in order to potentially discipline, and raise national awareness of, various transgressive figures that the author addresses in the text (spouses, parents, youth).

Key words: *Croatian literature, Vladovit Zorec, satire, respectability, national identity, gender identity, Romanticism of the Revival period*

I

In a few papers dealing with satire during the Croatian National Revival and Romanticism during the Revival period,¹ the writer, attorney-at-law

¹ Literature of the Croatian National Revival is varied in terms of its stylistic formation. It is characterised by the co-existence of features of Romanticism, sentimentalism, Classicism

and city judge Vladovit Zorec (1819–1867), from the Croatian town of Sisak, distinguished himself as the author of *Čudnovate diple* [*The Marvellous Flute*] (1842), the first satire of the period. The work was an introduction to the so-called ‘Xenienjahre’ (Vodnik, 1909: 123), a period between 1842 and 1846, when Croatian literature saw the emergence of verse satires in response to current social, political and literary developments. In Croatian literary historiography, these texts have primarily been classified on the basis of the political and ideological concepts they expounded (Illyrian or Magyarone).² However, regardless of their political orientation, one can say that this body of literature enriched the 19th-century literary repertoire. It made the literary scene more dynamic by reflecting and (re)producing both efforts made and disputes that arose in the development of a national community and provision of legitimacy to modern national culture.

In the works that establish a system of these various satirical writings, Zorec’s satire is defined as an Illyrian satire (Vodnik, 1909 114–115; Barac, 1964: 85). Olga Šojat’s view is that Zorec showed himself as “a fighter for the progress of his people” (1951: 282). Literary historiography records his contribution to efforts to integrate the nation that were present during the Revival period, and emphasises that *Čudnovate diple* gave rise to, and deepened disputes on, the literary scene (Vodnik, 1909: 115). The satire was written at the time when the work on making literature autonomous, on establishing a literary canon and introducing aesthetic criteria to the judgement of literary texts, intensified. The newly-established *Kolo* [*Circle Dance*] magazine, launched by Stanko Vraz, Ljudevit Vukotinović and Dragutin Rakovac, gave more space to literary criticism.³ Zorec showed sympathies for a group of “well-meaning patriots” close to Ljudevit Gaj, who did not support the efforts of the *Kolo* editors, but “for the sake of higher considerations, sought an idyllic peace in literature, shunning any conflict” (Barac, 1964: 68). However, despite Barac’s statement on advocacy of “peace”, it is telling that Zorec chose satire, with its critical and polemical tones, to express his ideas. He dedicated it “to the memory of all *sitars* and *rešetars*”, alluding to Stanko Vraz, who used to

and the Enlightenment. Earlier literary historiography held the view that Croatian Romanticism was underdeveloped and/or specific, because literature was subordinated to the demands of National Revival. However, contemporary analysts emphasise that Romanticism was the dominant poetics of the period (cf. Brešić, 1994; Jelčić, 2002; Tomasović, 2008). Furthermore, it is emphasised that the Croatian National Revival, as well as revival movements in other European countries, developed “as part of European Romantic culture” in terms of many of its features (Bobinac, 2012: 145).

² For an overview of satires cf. Vodnik (1909: 112–123) and Barac (1964: 85).

³ For the work on defining the Croatian literary canon in the 19th century cf. Protrka (2008) and for the *Kolo* editors’ concept *ibid.*: 100–185, 188–188.

publish articles in *Kolo* under the pseudonym Rešetar. In *Čudnovate diple*, the satirical narrator explicitly polemicises with Vraz's and Vukotinović's articles on current literary and social affairs of the time. This in turn provoked critical reactions from Vraz, who wrote to the Czech writer Karel Jaromir Erben about the critics of *Kolo*, expressing the view that "[t]he taste of the flute (*Diple*) is the taste of (...) the local shoemakers" (Vraz, 1877: 309).

Zorec wrote his satire as a literary response to the debates on literary and other cultural policies and strategies of the Revival period. The period was marked by processes of national integration and incremental development of a modern bourgeois society. Both were determined by the multi-ethnic framework of the Habsburg Empire, which the satire reflected in several ways. The work presents and questions 19th-century middle-class lifestyle (family relationships, various aspects of middle-class conviviality and entertainment). This lifestyle developed in an environment where demands for the development of Croatian national identity intertwined and, at the same time, clashed with various nationally indifferent, cosmopolitan or foreign tendencies towards national and cultural assimilation.

There are many and varied analyses of the way national identity is formed and presented in Croatian Romantic literature; however, an analysis of the satires in the period is still missing. One should note that *Čudnovate diple* is stylistically a hybrid work. It contains elements of sentimentalism evident when describing the everyday life of the middle class, addressing social and economic circumstances, criticising the vice in aristocratic society, and extolling the ideals of middle-class morality.⁴ In addition, the satire's literary strategies and ideas correspond to Romantic efforts in the Revival period to homogenise the nation. The satire often vacillates between more modern intentions to enlighten the people, stemming from the Enlightenment and the Romantic period, and more conservative demands to (re-)educate the readership (cf. Šojat, 1951: 282). These features enable the analysis of strategies of national-identity development in Zorec's satire. The fundamental task of the revivalists was to awaken national consciousness. This became visible in their endeavours to cultivate the nation while promoting a symbiosis of patriotic efforts and moral values. The paper considers how the images of respectability are discursively formed in the satire, and what their role is in the formation of national identity.

⁴ For more on the features of sentimentalism mentioned cf. Hauser (1999: 58–59) and Pakty-Kosove (1977: 16–17).

II

In modern theories of the nation and nationalism, the concept of morality is emphasised as an important factor in the formation of national identity. Margaret Moore believes that ethics is a fundamental element determining nationalism, which she defines as “a normative argument that confers moral value on national members, and on the past and future existence of the nation, and identifies the nation with a particular homeland” (2004: 5). The ethical aspects of constituting and (self-)legitimising national communities include issues such as attitude towards cultural and social differences, (in)tolerance towards members of other nations, (in)equality of members of the national collective with respect to their gender, class, religious, race, sexual, age and other identities, the status of minority groups vis-à-vis the majority in the community, etc. (Moore 2004: 17–18; Yuval-Davis 2008: 46–59). Moreover, some analysts highlight the ethical ambivalences of various nationalisms. Their positive impacts can be manifested, for example, by acquiring national independence and regulating political and social civil rights. However, they can also result in various discriminatory practices and (intra-)national conflicts.⁵

George L. Mosse has given an interesting contribution to the study of the ethical dimension in the formation of national identities. He explored links between the development of nationalism and morality in the European bourgeois society of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Focusing on the study of the relationship between national, class and gender identities, especially sexuality, Mosse emphasises the relevance of the concept of *respectability*. He defines it as “‘decent and correct’ manners and morals, as well as proper attitude towards sexuality” (1985: 1), which has its foundations in Christian morality. The ideal of respectability played an important role in the formation of middle-class identity, its distinction from the aristocracy and the people. The middle class strove to attain (self-)legitimacy through their lifestyle, which was based, in addition to economic activities, “upon frugality, devotion to duty, and restraint of passions” (ibid.: 5).⁶

⁵ For a broader presentation of the ethical dimension of nationalism cf. Moore (2004). For an overview of different theories of the nation and nationalism with respect to the moral values they promote and/or analyse cf. Frost (2006: 11–35).

⁶ G. L. Mosse published the book after the publication of two studies by influential modernist theoreticians on the nation and nationalism: one on “imagined communities” by Benedict Anderson (1983, 2006) and the other on the “invention of tradition” by Eric Hobsbawm (1983). Although their approaches are very different, what is relevant for this paper is that they emphasise the role of literary, educational, medical and other discourses in the process of formation of national identities. Moreover, I rely on the research by Mosse, since he also analyses respectability as a discursive construction of identity that developed within a specific social and historical context.

Unlike Mosse, who views respectability as something that determines the identity of the middle class, some contemporary analysts believe that this is a trans-class identification concept (Skeggs, 1997; Masters, 2010; Smith, 2018). However, they agree that the ideal of respectability was based on (self-) representation and verification of the moral authority of ‘respectable’ individuals and collective bodies, and served the function of differentiating them from various ‘Others’. Respectability discourses were shaped in dialogue with national, class, racial, gender, medical and other discourses, with the emphasis on the fluidity and alterability of the concept of respectability. For “different groups have differential access to the mechanisms for generating, resisting and displaying respectability” (Skeggs, 1997: 2). Woodruff D. Smith relies on Judith Butler’s theoretical tenets on the performativity of gender identity that is formed by continuous repetition and stylisations of the body, regulated and limited by various cultural norms.⁷ However, he develops them further, advancing a thesis on the performative character of respectability that is manifested in human behaviour, social manners “or actions which stage presentations of bodies (dressing and following fashion)” (2018: 109). Unlike Mosse, who claims that the ideal of the middle-class lifestyle was based on thrift, Smith believes that consumer practices played an important role in “performances of respectability”, because an adequate performance of respectability required material resources (for various public occasions, entertainment practices, clothes etc.). In this way, members of a certain community could ensure social reputation (*ibid.*: 110–117).

Spread of respectability discourse is connected with modernisation processes that resulted in changes to the value system and identification footholds, transformation of economic relations, communication mechanisms, conviviality practices and entertainment. Respectability is viewed as an ambivalent category that is a constituent element of modern bourgeois society, but is formed as a reaction to its negative phenomena (Mosse, 1985: 9; Smith, 2018: 5). According to Mosse, national-identification discourses played an important role in the dissemination of the ideal of respectability (1985: 9). To implement national and political projects, it was necessary to determine social values and norms, which included a clear arrangement of gender roles. The concept of respectability played an important role in the supervision and regulation of family life, marital relationships, care for children, sexuality and health, as well as moral judgement on men’s and women’s appearance, clothes, and private and public behaviour (Mosse, 1985: 14–20; Skeggs, 1997: 2–3). The ideologies of national integration and the ideal of respectability they promoted had a

⁷ For these theses cf. Butler (1993).

patriarchal character, which became manifest in the (re)production of gender asymmetries in the distribution of social roles (Yuval-Davis, 2008). Men were considered the foundation of the nation; they had to be serious, rational and virile, and had to control their (sexual) passions. On the other hand, the imperative of motherhood was imposed on women, who were assigned the role of protectresses of social order and morals (Mosse, 1985: 17).

Bearing in mind the previous observations, the paper explores how images of (un)respectability are discursively formed in Zorec's satire and, consequently, how national identification, ethical and gender discourses intertwine. Satire⁸ seems to be particularly stimulating for analysis of the aforementioned questions. The reason for this is that its fundamental features are criticism and mockery of negative social phenomena and human defects with an aim "to exercise moral judgement", and in doing so "[i]t calls attention to individual or collective evil, and, explicitly or implicitly, urges the reader or viewer to participate in the censure of that evil" (Greenberg, 2019: 13). A satirical narrator can (only) introduce himself as a moral arbiter whose role is to act as a corrective of society, protect the community's interests (Knight, 2004: 52) and advocate certain social and moral values. Analysts accentuate the ethical ambivalence of humour (including satirical humour) since it does not have an exclusively corrective function, but can (re-)create national, gender and other stereotypes, (re)produce various discriminatory practices and, therefore, function as a mechanism of social inclusion and exclusion (Carty & Musharbash, 2008: 214). The paper will explore how these ambivalences are manifested in Zorec's satire.

III

Čudnovate diple "condemns aristocracy's vice, which is manifest in the lives of the wealthy middle-class" (Šojat, 1951: 282), and a specific pseudo-lordship of members of lower social classes (house servants). Members of the middle class are criticised for their national indifference and/or declarative patriotism, for imitating various aspects of the nobility's leisure (dances, parties) and their lifestyle (following fashion trends, polyglotism, cosmopolitanism, hedonism), in their attempt to reproduce an imagined aristocratic glamour. This criticism implicitly contains the condemnation of an Austro-German, i.e.

⁸ In scholarly literature, satire is defined as a genre, practice, mode or discourse. For a brief overview of various definitions of satire cf. Plejić Poje (2012: 8–19), Greenberg (2019: 3–26) and Simpson (2003: 1–11). In this paper, the concept of satire is used to describe a work dominated by satirical discourse, i.e. where "*the satirical appears as a decisive quality*" (Plejić Poje, 2012: 8).

Viennese, culture of living, which was imitated by members of the upper social classes in urban centres of Civil Croatia and Slavonia and the Military Frontier. In this way, they strove to manifest their socio-economic status and belonging to an imagined European cosmopolitan cultural community.

The satire's focus on legitimising national culture is clear in the verse dedication at its beginning. The satirical narrator identifies himself nationally in line with the manifesto of the Illyrian movement. In the Romantic manner, he presents his authorship as a poetic-musical performance ("I will sing (...) / Accompanied by my loud / Marvellous Illyrian flute!"), Zorec 1842: [10]).⁹ The narrator explains his discontent with the current state of affairs and his motivation for writing the satire using a combination of a typical satirical topos of *mundus inversus*¹⁰ ("Now, in this age / Everything goes, / Wrong and not right, / In a word, upside-down", *ibid.*: 12) and a medico-digestive metaphor ("This is neither good, / (...) Nor to be had with bread", *ibid.*: 12). The food metaphor carries the connotation of social and moral transgression. The world in which social values are turned on their head is interpreted through the prism of the nation and politics. Criticising a blind following of foreign influences as a threat to national stability, the narrator condemns nationally-indifferent members of the collective who try to jeopardise national values and efforts by the faithful sons of the homeland. He believes that they want "To deprive them of their language / This ancient adornment, - / And destroy the people / Whose glory is known to the whole world.", (*ibid.*: 14). The verses quoted contain the Romantic idea of the nation. It is characterised by the primordial belief in the ancient history of the nation and by interest in the language as a pillar of national identity and confirmation of the nation's cultural and historical continuity.¹¹

In doing so, the narrator presents himself as a concerned member of the national community who tries to discipline trouble-making fellow countrymen using the values promoted by nation-building discourses of Romanticism in the Revival period. In addition to criticising indifference, the satirical discourse elaborates an acceptable moral code of the national community based on patriotism, freedom, loyalty and self-abnegation.

⁹ For the Romantic principle of musicality cf. Flaker (1976: 116–117), and for Romantic presentation of authorship as a poetic and musical performance cf. Brunčić (2018: 126, 173–175).

¹⁰ The topos of the world turned upside-down "serves both censure of the times and denunciation of the times" (Curtius, 1990: 96).

¹¹ For a broader presentation of Romantic concept of the nation cf. Perkins (1999: 21–30); Özkırımlı (2010: 11–16).

IV

Representation of the national community included considerations of various aspects of conviviality and entertainment practices, the family and marital relationships, (un)desirable female and male roles and sexual behaviour. The narrator's satirical rhetoric strategies play the role of establishing and supervising the border between the respectable, 'normal' and the unrespectable, 'abnormal'. Indeed, the idea of developing and integrating the national community, as emphasised by Peter Fritzsche, necessarily requires driving impulses, and therefore "the national narrative must sustain itself by reproducing its own state of jeopardy" (quot. after Berger, 2021: 18). Consequently, the satire often forms the ideal of respectability by othering and denouncing the acts of overstepping social and moral norms, with the view of potentially disciplining various transgressive figures in the text (spouses, parents, youth etc.).

Many modern theories of the nation emphasise the central role of the family in national-identity development projects. Metaphorically, nations can be presented as families, which is meant to highlight and reinforce links existing within the nation (Smith, 1991: 79). Moreover, "the family offers a 'natural' figure for sanctioning social *hierarchy*" (McClintock, 1993: 63), including the (re)production of gender roles and hierarchies. As already noted, respectability discourse has played an important role in creating and sustaining gender constellations in the family while, at the same time, reinforcing the role of the family in regulating and supervising corporality and sexual behaviour (Mosse, 1985: 20).

In line with the postulated moral imperatives of care for the welfare of the nation, the narrator condemns the sin of sexual transgressions (adultery, promiscuity, prostitution) as potential threats to the stability of the family and nation, and the health of the nation. At the same time, this dismantles the Romantic ideal of infinite love and deviates from Croatian Romantic love discourses, in which speech on sexuality and carnality is repressed. However, although sexual taboos were relaxed as a result of using the topic of sexual transgressions in a principally more open manner, this did not imply the advocacy of sexual freedoms. Instead, the narrator's denouncement of sinfulness reaffirms the middle-class ideal of respectability and repeats his demand for supervising sexuality.

The satire presents the identities of the adulterous husband, the adulterous wife and the prostitute as problematic and stigmatised Others in relation to the images of respectable masculinity and femininity, marking them as inappropriate in the national-identity narrative, as well. Respectable men were virile, rational and enterprising family providers, and respectable women were

responsible for the family's health and morals; they were presented as guardians "of continuity and immutability of the nation" (Mosse, 1985: 18). Thus, they were assigned the role of symbolic "bearers of the collectivity's honour" (Yuval-Davis, 2008: 45). The identities of adulterer, adulteress and prostitute were defined through their subverting conventions of middle-class morality. Although the narrator criticises improper sexual behaviour of both men and women, one can still notice some asymmetries in the intensity and manner in which arguments for his condemnation are put forward. Namely, female sexual transgressions are addressed more exhaustively, which demonstrates patriarchal abhorrence and the need to discipline female sexuality as 'more transgressive' than male.

Inappropriate male behaviour is originally defined by means of economic categories. Therefore, the narrator denounces male adultery as an aspect of neglect of duty by the family provider and protector ("Children at home / Suffer hunger and thirst / While they waste their riches / On shameless women", Zorec, 1842: 22). While condemning female sexual transgressions, the narrator reproduces clichés on the sinfulness of women and the threat they pose to social order, and then his reproof transforms into condemnation of the whole female sex. This is implied by his comment on meetings of women and allusion to witches' gatherings ("They are holding their covens now", *ibid.*: 66), which result in inappropriate, harmful behaviour. Female adultery is denounced as an aspect of resistance to male authority and an attempt to reverse gender roles (wife mistress versus husband "like an old henpecked husband"). Analogies are established between insatiable economic, consumer and sexual appetites of women (they "rob men's wallets"; "It is fashionable now / For any woman / To have at least two lovers", *ibid.*: 66). Thus, a close bond is established between women's economic interests and inclination towards moral transgressions. Claiming that this is some sort of modishness, the narrator implies that improper behaviour is a consequence of negative tendencies in modern society. While criticising adultery, the narrator still does not attack the institution of marriage as a discriminatory contract (that implies female subordination), but implies, reminding us of the husband's responsibilities in marriage, that women are not mere powerless victims of conventions in marriage. He is uncomfortable with the possibility that women have, to resist conventions in marriage and society.

The attack on prostitution is primarily connected with some stereotypical images of female corporality and sexuality as threats to the stability of social order. While presenting prostitutes, the names used to refer to them are an

important strategy for forming their identity.¹² Prostitutes are called all sorts of names, such as “dissolute”, “shameless woman” and “degenerate”, which stigmatise, degrade and finally dehumanise her. Naming thus becomes a mechanism to articulate the narrator’s moral abhorrence and social exclusion since the prostitute is considered a threatening figure who deviates from the ideal of respectability. Furthermore, calling women disparaging names is linked to social perceptions of unrespectable women’s work (“They earn their bread / Insultingly”, *ibid.*: 100). It is telling that the division of responsibility for this sort of sexual transgression rests on gender asymmetries, which reveals double standards of social morality in the satirical narrator’s discourse. The prostitute is demonised and her body pathologised as infectious and “dirtied”, whereas users of her services are presented as innocent victims (“They foul, poison and infect / Innocent youth as well”, *ibid.*: 100). The motif of (venereal) disease in the satire metaphorically denotes female moral and corporal degradation. Consequently, uncontrolled female sexuality is presented as a threat to social and familial, and thereby national, morality and health.

V

In addition to citizens’ private lives, the narrator also addresses their public life. The satire describes various environments of middle-class conviviality, such as the church, walks in city streets, cafés and dance parties. The central target of the attack is city youth, figures of flirting girls and fops (*gizdelini*). The treatment of this topic shows how relevant Zorec’s satire is in the context of literary history. While criticising negative phenomena, he questions the transformation of 19th-century urban everyday life and entertainment practices, and accentuates the influence of conviviality on “particular constructions of gender, class and national identity” (Russell & Tuite, 2006: 3–4). In *Čudnovate diple*, these descriptions are determined by the 19th-century social and cultural perceptions of the norms of acceptable and respectable behaviour. The satire presents the role of these spaces of conviviality in building and reflecting heterogeneous social tendencies and identity affiliations: the national and the nationally-indifferent or cosmopolitan, indifference to foreign fashion trends and trendiness, allowed pleasures and excessive hedonism, respectability and unrespectability.

Since the nation was understood “as both a *historical* fatality and as a community imagined through language” (Anderson, 2006: 146), the narrator particularly criticises communication practices of young people strolling city

¹² For more on the role of naming in the process of identity building cf. Peternai Andrić (2012).

streets who lack awareness of their national affiliation. Using multilingual macaronic expressions, the narrator feigns communication between young boys and girls: “*Küss die Hand! I will gladly / serve Ihnen, / Szivem, belkem tokja / Und be Ihr Sklave.*” (Zorec, 1842: 61). The narrator finds there the ground to argue and make a disqualifying judgement that “they rave in frenzy” (ibid.: 62) and spoil the beauty of the national language. He categorises their linguistic incompetence as intellectual and moral deficiency.

Special emphasis is given to the description of dance parties, which were given multiple meaning in the society of the 19th century: they functioned as platforms to demonstrate one’s national and political views, and as marriage markets offering opportunities for courtship and flirting.¹³ This topic is communicated intertextually, since Zorec’s satire was written as a literary response to the 1842 polemic led in the *Danica* [*Morning Star*] magazine¹⁴ and *Kolo* magazines between Lj. Vukotinović and P. Štoos on the masked national ball held in January 1842 and (in)adequate expression of one’s national affiliation. Vukotinović criticised it, claiming that it demonstrated nationally-indifferent, European customs of the wealthy Zagreb middle class, as visible in their choice of clothes and the use of German (1842a: 23). He levelled sharp criticism at women, accusing them of insincere and declaratory patriotism (1842a: 23; 1842b: 140–142). Štoos tried to defend the ball’s national character and the significant contribution of many patriotic women. Unlike Vukotinović, who established the opposition of national to foreign/European as mutually exclusive values, Štoos emphasised the heterogeneity of European identity, which is made up of “signs of almost every nation” (1842: 32). He interpreted the promotion of national culture as a way to verify its European values.

Intertextually, Zorec’s satire is a follow-up to the polemic. This is indicated by the use of various paratextual elements, such as remarks in footnotes and the title of an appendix at the end of the satire *Odgovor na sastavak: “Još nešto o narodnom balu”* [*Response to the Essay: More on the National Ball*] (Zorec, 1842: 111). The narrator deals with the topic of dance parties and the presence of women in public life at several places throughout the satire, not just in the appendix, and his views are ambivalent. Polemicising against Vukotinović’s thesis on the national ball, the narrator sends more tolerant messages about the significance of the national *kolo* dance [circle dance] in pro-

¹³ For more details on city dance parties in Croatia in the first half of the 19th century cf. Katarinčić (2005) and Niemčić (2005).

¹⁴ The *Danica* literary magazine was published under the titles *Danica Horvatska, Slavonska i Dalmatinska* [*The Croatian, Slavonian and Dalmatian Morning Star*] (1835; 1843–1848) and *Danica Ilirska* [*The Illyrian Morning Star*] (1836–1843; 1849).

moting national identity and the pivotal role of women in supporting national and cultural advancement. While criticising the disparagement of women's contribution and their national consciousness, the narrator advances a thesis typical of national and patriotic Romantic discourses on the role of women in the cultural reproduction of the nation ¹⁵ ("Since upbringing is an affair of women, / It is reasonable to try to curry favour with them", *ibid.*: 112). On the one hand, the narrator gives his own instructions on how to treat women properly. On the other hand, he fiercely attacks girls' behaviour at dance parties that transgresses gender limits and codes of middle-class respectability. Girls' inappropriate behaviour is interpreted as a result of poverty of parental upbringing and of the educational system.

The narrator's negative views on women's dance have to do with his uneasiness caused by the stronger prominence of women in the public and by perceptions of women's bodies, pleasures and sexuality. "The dance floor is one location (...) where the body is central, and where sexuality, implicated in the production, limitation, and control of desire, is permitted expression" (Gotfrit, 1988: 129), so dancing might become a site of transgression of social and cultural norms. Dance discourse is therefore focused on criticising and disciplining female behaviour. Satirical effects are attained by depicting "disproportions between efforts and goals" (Draitser, 1994: 59) in the figures' behaviour, such as contrasting dance, as girls' attempt to seduce, with its clumsy performance.

Describing girls in a grotesque and caricatural manner¹⁶, the narrator stigmatises their dance passion and vigour as behaviour inappropriate for women ("They are jumping like monkeys", Zorec, 1842: 25; "The are hopping and riding around / Like witches on brooms", *ibid.*: 29). Although, at the time, some voices of praise could be heard about the health benefits of dance,¹⁷ the

¹⁵ Yuval-Davis uses the phrase 'cultural reproduction' to denote images of women "as the bearers of collectivity's honour" who reproduce the nation culturally "in their 'proper' behaviour, their 'proper' clothing" (2008: 45) and transmit national cultural values through education and upbringing.

¹⁶ Draitser defines the grotesque as "the denigrating device [which] compares a human being to an animal or to a thing" (1994: 135) and is characterised by "comic and repulsive elements" (*ibid.*: 137). Caricature is evident in the "disproportion in a character's external appearance" (*ibid.*: 135). Simpson states that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish these techniques, since they can be intertwined, and one can be subsumed within the other (2003: 140). Zorec lists one grotesque element after another in order to create a caricature of the girls' dancing bodies.

¹⁷ The translation of a review of William Ellery Channing's book, published in the *Danica* magazine, contains his theses on the refining impacts of dance on bodily and mental health (cf. Babukić, 1839: 115). In the Revival culture, next to such reflections there were also different views on dance which reproduced stereotypical demands for women to be demure

satire forms a cliché on the harmfulness of dance to women's health. Directly addressing girls as intratextual addressees, the narrator uses quasi-medical arguments to prove negative effects of dance parties ("Then, you come home / Seized by cramps and headache / (...) Coughs and sore throats", *ibid.*: 31). This stereotype is linked to the motif of fickleness and ephemerality of female beauty, which is a frequent topos in the misogynistic satire.¹⁸ The narrator ironises dance and women's beauty practices as unsuccessful matrimonial strategies burdened by excessive eroticism. He presents them as performances of unrespectability, as manifestations of the sin of pride, and as attempts to conceal their empty souls and moral inferiority ("Few of them / Care for morality!", *ibid.*: 33).

VI

The intertwining of demands to clearly display one's national identity, on the one hand, and the ideal of respectability, on the other, is noticeable in Romantic fashion discourses. There, the perceptions of local nationally-conscious men and women are accompanied by a demand for an adequate dress performance and verification of one's national identity by supporting the Illyrian dress style. This middle-class expression of fashion was one of the 'invented traditions', created as a combination of fashion (basically foreign, Viennese and Parisian fashion trends) and anti-fashion elements¹⁹ taken over from the older dress tradition (from traditional and folk clothes).²⁰ Revivalists called this clothing *narodna oprava* [folk attire]²¹ and referred to *surka* (peasant-style men's jacket) and *crvenkapa* [red hat] as its characteristic components.

and respectable in their dancing performances. For the social role of dance and attempts to discipline female corporality in the 19th century cf. also Župan (2013: 131–134).

¹⁸ Although *Čudnovate diple* cannot be characterised as an explicit follow-up to Croatian satirical tradition, it still contains a number of motifs that appear in Croatian misogynistic satires in the early modern age, which implies Zorec's awareness of the conventions of satire in literature. For more detailed presentation of features of Croatian misogynistic satire in the 17th and 18th centuries cf. Plejić Poje (2012: 154–164).

¹⁹ Polhemus and Procter write that fashionable clothing is characterised by a constant change, while anti-fashion (folk costumes, clergy robes, military uniforms, royal attire, etc.) is settled and changes slowly (2002: 216). For more information on fashion in the Croatian National Revival cf. Simončič (2011) and Smetko (2017).

²⁰ Writing about the creation of various collective identities, Hobsbawm referred to the importance of different "invented traditions" understood as "a set of practices (...) of a ritual or symbolic nature" that "imply continuity with the past" (1983: 1) and contribute to homogenising and legitimising the community.

²¹ The term 'narodna haljina' [folk dress] was used by Vukotinović (1842c: 115), and the terms 'narodna nošnja' [folk costume] and 'narodna oprava' [folk attire] by Šulek (1842: 203–209).

Since Illyrian fashion was an amalgam of the foreign and the national, in Romantic revival discourses and in Zorec's satire it is presented as a factor establishing and delineating identity affiliation. It serves to separate one's own national from the national Other or the cosmopolitan. Depending on their national affiliation, dress practices presented either a verification or a moving away from the desirable models of femininity and masculinity. Therefore, it is right to say that fashion disputes confirm John Fiske's statement that "[e]very commodity reproduces the ideology of the system that produced it: a commodity is ideology made material" (2010: 10). At the same time, these gender-coded dress styles were supposed to reflect the ideal of middle-class respectability. With its simplicity and dark tones, men's fashion supported the image of disciplined nature, sobriety and business-like ambition as desirable characteristics of masculinity. On the other hand, women's fashion expression was characterised by dressing up in order to present the family's social and economic standing (Simončič, 2011: 239), as well as embodiment of the ideal of demureness and morality.

In non-fiction discourses of the Revival period, different fashion expressions are also considered as consumer practices. This is a time of varied and ambivalent reactions to (proto-)modernisation processes in the society of the 19th century that testify to the complexity and heterogeneity of the Revival period. The arguments used by various authors often combined the emphasis on rationality, education and progress of the Enlightenment period, and Romantic advocacy of authenticity and emotional sincerity as basic prerequisites for social development. For example, the subject in Vukotinović's feuilleton entitled *Zimske misli* [*Winter Thoughts*] condemns the nobility's prodigality, material luxury and dependence on foreign influences ([1841]: 153). B. Šulek considers that the way foreign fashion trends are followed shows a negative influence of modern European urban culture and draws attention at the same time to alluring and destructive effects of an emerging consumerist culture. He believes that trendiness has pushed many families into poverty and calls for rational behaviour. He accentuates the value of folk costume that reveals national authenticity and peculiarity, and pleads for wearing folk costume as a way to demonstrate one's patriotism and spiritual virtues (Šulek, 1842: 206). S. Mlinarić reflected in a similar manner. He used economic arguments to support his demands, stressing that folk costume is cheaper than imported foreign clothes and "that every true patriot will buy and wear cloth from his home mill and use it (...) for all his attire" (1842: 364).

Judgements on consumer habits of members of higher social classes (since lower classes had modest economic power) and criticism levelled at foreign fashion trends as aspects of contaminating and assimilating influen-

ces of foreign cultures reflected how uneasy the revivalists were about what they perceived as regressive impacts of social changes. Therefore, revivalist discourses promote the importance of protecting domestic economic interests and strive to establish national borders by (re)defining consumer practices. Moreover, they show some ambivalent ideas about consumer styles. By encouraging the purchase of domestic instead of foreign products, they did not exclusively promote thrift, but rather tried to replace one type of consumer imperative²² with another, which they described as aligned with the ideal of middle-class respectability and the demands of national identity.

Zorec's satire reflects these ideas. The narrator emphasises the changeability of fashion trends and presents the Illyrian dress style as an important factor for national differentiation ("Is it not enough, just to have blue silk / That has been called *Illyrique soie* for ages; / What else is necessary for our surka / To gradually upset French fashion?", 1842: 112). The name (Illyrian versus French) lies at the very heart of this national-identification construct. Emphasising its ancient history, an imagined national past is invoked, and national and historical continuity legitimised.²³

Disputes about fashion practices and the influence of an emerging consumer culture on bourgeois society feature prominently in the critical presentations of figures of coquettes and fops. These figures symbolise the threat that foreign fashion and prodigality posed to the stability of the national economy and social order. While describing these figures, the satire also draws attention to the issue of transgression of the imagined social ideals of femininity and masculinity.

City girls are described as vain, shallow personalities who deviate from the ideal of respectable femininity. The narrator therefore rebukes parents for inadequate upbringing and education of their children. He provides arguments for his views by juxtaposing female virtue and vice. Reproducing patriarchal discourse that ties women to the private sphere, he reduces them to the role of submissive daughters, housewives and potential mothers, and imposes masculine control of female corporality, sexuality and morality. He finds fault with parents who, in his view, have supported their daughters' idleness and prodigality, in contrast to the ideal of modesty, self-sacrifice and hard work in the household ("Each wants to wear her dress / As the fashion has it / (...) But

²² The concept of 'imperative to consume' has been taken over from Felski's book (1995: 78).

²³ Various theoreticians dealing with the nation have stressed the importance of the name in the formation of national identity. For example, Anthony D. Smith believes that the name is an important factor to highlight national peculiarities and to establish borders between nations (2003: 38). For a more detailed presentation of naming strategies in Romantic writings of the Revival period cf. Žužul (2015: 70–98).

God forbid / That any would sew her own dress / This would ruin her hands” (ibid.: 24). Using the technique of comic exaggeration,²⁴ enumerating many caricatural descriptions of beauty practices, such as the use of lipstick, rouge and diverse garments, the narrator accentuates that these practices contribute to making femininity artificial and neglecting national duties, in addition to producing aesthetic effects (“With a net over her head / To cover her face / As if she is going fishing.”, ibid.: 38). The criticism implies Romantic image of femininity as an embodiment of authentic emotionality and naturality, which stands in stark contrast to the alienating influences of modern social and technological development (cf. Felski, 1995: 38). From the narrator’s perspective, moving away from these values is perceived as opposition to the female nature, and therefore he ridicules blind submission to fashion trends. Still, this criticism does not manifest an emancipated vision of femininity that opposes unrealistic ideals of female beauty. Instead, it shows intentions to discipline and (re-)shape girls’ identity in line with patriarchal images of the desirable female virtues of modesty, demureness, voicelessness and obedience to ‘rational’ masculine authorities (“A reasonable man / Wants to find in her / Joy and serenity / Not a wardrobe displaying fashion pieces. / He desires somebody / Virtuous and good, / Quiet rather than covetous”, ibid.: 34).²⁵

On the one hand, the satire (re)produces clichés on female prodigality and women as obsessive consumers of foreign fashion trends. On the other hand, it levels sharp criticism at men as well –using, however, other arguments. Discourses in the Revival period promoted nationally-appropriate female and male clothing expressions. At the same time, fashion and consumer practices were understood as ‘typically’ female domain.²⁶ Therefore, male fashion consumerism is presented as a multiple threat to the attempts to nationalise culture (through fashion), to the stability of the family budget, and to the patriarchal gender order. For example, the subject in Vukotinović’s feuilleton *Zimske misli* instructs readers not to be slaves of fashion enumerating the influence of “pernicious *efeminatie*” on young men ([1841]: 140). In his poem *Polu-muž* [*Semi-Husband*] Mirko Bogović intertextually invokes male figures of fashion fans who belong to various literary

²⁴ Propp believes that exaggeration is comic “only when it reveals a flaw” (2009: 64), and is most often expressed by means of hyperbole, caricature and grotesque.

²⁵ This confirms Pateman’s thesis on different ways of including men and women in bourgeois society: “the patriarchal claim that there is a ‘foundation in nature’ for women’s subjection to men is a claim that women’s bodies must be governed by men’s reason. The separation of civil society from the familial sphere is also a division between men’s reason and women’s bodies” (1989: 45).

²⁶ In his *Zimske misli*, Vukotinović adds the following to his criticism of prodigality and blind following of fashion trends: “[*Luxury* (...) has, since long ago, been that poison that has **feminised and broken** the strongest of nations”] ([1841]: 155) (highlighted by D.B.).

and cultural traditions (“Stutzer, Dandy, Lyon.”, 1848: 17). The lyrical subject recognises similar figures in his local environment and accuses them of not being respectable. Not only do they take over foreign customs without critically questioning them, but they also overstep the assigned gender role (“They do not deserve to be called men, / Since they behave contrary to their nature.”, *ibid.*: 16).

In his satire, Zorec does not explicitly label male personalities because of their ‘feminine’ features. However, he construes the figure of a fop, an irrational follower of foreign fashion trends, which implied his ‘femininity’ and ‘artificiality’ in the constellation of cultural values of the Revival period. Satirical humour is based on some incongruities.²⁷ The satire mocks various male beauty practices by presenting young men as consumers of various cosmetic products. As in his criticism of women’s fashion practices, the narrator uses the technique of comic exaggeration to form the image of the superficial and frivolous fop (“One roguishly washes / his hands with soap, / (...) One puts fragrant grease / in his hair, / One puts boiling tincture / on his head and beard.”, (Zorec, 1842: 52). Since the ideal of respectability and the nation rested on the images of pure and clear gender roles, the figure of an artificial, ‘feminised’ fop, although described as a person of heterosexual orientation, still represented a contrast to the ideal of a virile protector of the nation who embodied “society’s need for order and progress, as well as middle-class virtues such as self-control and moderation” (Mosse, 1996: 9). While literary discourses of the time produced and promoted this ideal by presenting local people as strong, heroic figures with raised national consciousness and protectors of the homeland,²⁸ Zorec implicitly verified this ideal by condemning the fop as an unrespectable othering. These descriptions reflected society’s discomfort with fluidity in gender status, and the potential weakening of the nation as a consequence of inversion and destabilisation of gender roles through fashion practices. However, even though the narrator nominally presents (himself) as a person passing moral judgement, who wants to teach recipients and correct improper behaviour, his comments on the incongruities spotted are primarily disparaging and full of offensive qualifications. Satirical debasement is often realised by equating the figures of fops with animals (“Monkeys do not jump so, / Even before an Italian”, Zorec, 1842: 49), which does not necessarily give rise to laughter, but may potentially invoke the reader’s repulsion.²⁹ This

²⁷ Critchley writes: “In order for the incongruity of the joke to be seen as such, there has to be a congruence between joke structure and social structure – no social congruity, no comic incongruity” (2002: 4). This thesis is applicable to satirical humour, as well.

²⁸ For a broader presentation of this cf. Badurina (2009: 48–50).

²⁹ For a broader questioning of the border between the human and the beastly and various implications of such a type of humour cf. Propp (2009: 46–50) and Critchley (2002: 25–40).

suppresses the potential educational or corrective function of satirical discourse and reveals the narrator's bias and moral ambivalence.

The aforementioned examples demonstrate the ambivalence of satirical humour. Mocking social anomalies, such as lack of national consciousness, and human vice such as prodigality, pride and libertinism, satirical discourse receives "a *critical* function with respect to society" (Critchley, 2002: 10) and invites its intratextual addressees to individual and social transformations. On the other hand, the narrator's patriarchal world view and his misogynous comments reveal the limitation of the idea of social change and the reactionary character of this humour, which further reinforced patriarchal order by denigrating women.

VII

Observations in literary historiography thus far have assigned satires the status of a non-canonical, marginal segment of Croatian 19th-century literature. Due to this, a more comprehensive interpretation of their stylistic features, ideas and world views has been missing. Analysis of Vladovit Zorec's verse satire *Čudnovate diple* [*The Marvellous Flute*] shows co-existence of elements of sentimentalism, the Enlightenment and Romanticism as the dominant poetics of the Revival period in the work. This is evident, inter alia, through discourse strategies of shaping national identity. As part of these strategies, images of respectability played a major role. In the satire, the ideal of respectability was construed as a framework for the narrator's deliberations on the functioning of family life, female and male sexual behaviour, various aspects of conviviality and entertainment practices, and transgression of social and moral norms. Zorec's satire thus turns out to be an interesting example of intertwinement of ethical, gender and national-identity discourses and a work in which the ideal of respectability is presented as a mechanism for construing and disciplining an imagined national community.

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Dubravka BRUNČIĆ

**PREDODŽBE (NE)DOLIČNOSTI I ZAMIŠLJANJE
NACIJE U SATIRI ČUDNOVATE DIPLE
VLADOVITA ZORECA**

U radu se analizira diskurzivno konstruiranje predodžbi doličnosti i re-prezentiranje njihove uloge u tvorbi nacionalnoga identiteta u stihovanoj satiri *Čudnovate diple* hrvatskoga 19-stoljetnoga književnika Vladovita Zoreca. Riječ je o stilskoformacijski heterogenom djelu u kojem se, među ostalim, oblikuju i preporodno-romantičarske nacionalnointegracijske diskurzivne strategije te se u njemu artikuliraju ilirske političko-ideološke koncepcije. Nacionalna se zajednica u satiri diskurzivno oblikuje prikazima različitih vido-va društvenosti i praksi zabave, obitelji i bračnih odnosa, (ne)poželjnih žen-skih i muških uloga i seksualnoga ponašanja, a kazivačeve satiričke retoričke strategije imaju ulogu uspostavljanja i nadziranja granica između doličnoga, "normalnog" i nedoličnoga, "nenormalnog". Analiza pokazuje da se ideal do-ličnosti u satiri često oblikuje reprezentiranjem nedolične "Drugosti" te osu-đivanjem prekoračivanja društvenih i moralnih standarda, s ciljem potenci-jalnoga discipliniranja i nacionalnoga osvješćivanja različitih unutartekstno prizvanih transgresivnih figura (bračnih partnera, roditelja, mladeži).

Ključne riječi: *hrvatska književnost, Vladovit Zorec, satira, doličnost, nacionalni identitet, rodni identitet, preporodni romantizam*