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Reviews

Zdenka Janeković-Römer, *Višegradski ugovor temelj Dubrovačke Republike [Visegrád Privilege: Foundations of the Republic of Dubrovnik].* Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2003. Pages 175.

Although focusing on the central theme of the Visegrád privilege and its significance for the consolidation of the Dubrovnik state, this volume actually consists of two sections, distinct both in nature and methodology.

The first part of the volume (pp. 10-48) was conceived as a diplomatic analysis of the charter issued in Visegrád on 27 May 1358. The text of the privilege and its draft are presented in the original and with a very good translation by Vlado Rezar, accompanied by the text of the transumpt from 1403 and information on other transcripts. This is the first documentary edition of the Visegrád privilege based on both extant originals from the State Archives of Dubrovnik, although the author's decision to choose document 89 for transcription instead of the better and more complete 89/1 original (the so-called 'Ragusan original') which had already been used in the production of the transumpt is somewhat puzzling. The edition is supplemented with excellent photographs by Božidar Gjukić (it is a pity that the illustration on page 10 has been cut off in print). The diplomatic analysis is exhaustive, but is equally accessible to the specialist and the general reader. In examining the charter elements, the author draws a welcome parallel with the carefully selected diplomatic material of King Louis I and his predecessors, thus providing a comprehensive interpretation of the privilege of Visegrád.

The second section of the book begins with the chapter "Prvi politički dodiri dubrovačke općine i ugarskog kraljevstva" (pp. 49-51) on the first political contacts between the Ragusan commune and the Hungarian Kingdom. After a historiographical overview of the early trade relations between Dubrovnik and Hungary, Janeković Römer points to two major links through which Dubrovnik established its political and diplomatic relations with the House of Anjou in the fourteenth century: the seaborne 'wheat route' with the Kingdom of Naples, and, after 1333, the Ston-Pelješac border and direct contacts with the Dalmatian area under King Louis I. The chapters "Dubrovačka vlastela i mletačka signoria prije Zadarskog mira" (pp. 52-60) and "Teške godine rata i primirja 1346-1356" (pp. 61-63) outline the evolution and oscillations in Veneto-Ragusan relations from the end of the thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century. The author traces numerous conflicts between the rector and the Ragusan commune, open rebellions, revolts and civil disobedience directed against the Venetian overlords, drawing a more distinct articulation of the political interests of the Ragusan commune and the rise of its self-consciousness in contacts with the Venetian official representatives. The war between Venice and Genoa in the mid-fourteenth century, along with Louis's siding with the latter, marked the beginning of the Ragusan diplomatic trials and the Ragusan's position on the edge of an abyss. Uncertain of the outcome, the Ragusans struggled on all fronts: they pacified the Venetians but also obstructed their rule and suzerainty. The chapter "Teške godine rata i primirja 1346-1356" (pp. 61-63) offers a convincing picture of the Dalmatian towns suffering the effects of wars, plague and poverty, a period burdened with instability and crisis. In "Trijumf Ludovika Anžuvinca" (pp. 64-68), Janeković Römer examines the way in which Louis's triumph led to the implementation of his formula of the 'claim over Dalmatia' and the reference to King Coloman's heritage, but within the domain of the Venetian lands (from Istria to Durrës), a formula which served as a foundation for the Treaty of Zadar in 1358. Attempting to achieve a more advantageous position in the new political framework, Dubrovnik may have relied on the fact that never in its history had it been under the Hungarian Crown, but its favourable position in the negotiations rested primarily on its vulnerable and significant geo-political position. The chapter "Početak dubrovačkih pregovora s kraljem" (pp. 69-79) highlights the preparations of the Ragusan ambassadors for the official negotiations with the king. The author sketches

the members of the diplomatic mission, describing the atmosphere of suspense preceding the news of their success. She then moves on to Louis's residence at Visegrád and unfolds the changing positions and concessions during the negotiations, which the reader may follow by comparing the draft and the final text of the Visegrád privilege. By highlighting similar administrative patterns elsewhere in Dalmatia, in the chapter "Spor oko izbora kneza" (pp. 80-85) Janeković Römer examines the election of the rector, which proved a most thorny issue on the mission's agenda. The fact that the Ragusan negotiators succeeded in winning this important concession—the choice of the head of state being entirely in the hands of the Ragusan nobility—actually implied that the king would not have a governor as his deputy in the Dubrovnik Republic, and gave the Ragusans all the more reason for satisfaction. It is interesting how political autonomy and the granting of free trade nudged Dubrovnik towards the lords of Hungary and Croatia. Though inconveniently titled, the chapter "Ugarska vlast u Dubrovniku i Dalmaciji" (pp. 86-116) comprises a lengthy description of the end of Venetian rule which, as far as Dubrovnik was concerned, proved more tactful and civilised than elsewhere in Dalmatia. The author finds an explanation for the problem of the continuity of Venetian domination over the Adriatic in Louis's powerless position at sea and the shift of his sovereign and dynastic interests from the Italian domains to those of central Europe. The new Anjou government bolstered the Ragusan policy towards the Serbian and Bosnian lords, but also opened the commercial doors to the western and eastern Mediterranean. In return, the Ragusans often intervened in diplomatic conflicts on his behalf, and their merchant venturers, scattered throughout the continent, proved most useful informers. The relations based on protection and loyalty were not immune from occasional border or territorial tensions, but allegiance to the Hungarian Crown was evident well after Louis's death. The author further reconstructs the circle of the king's men in Dubrovnik, showing the controversial attitude of Ragusan society towards them. They were respected but also suspected of having abused Ragusan trust for personal gain. In this respect, the interpretation of the well-known demand to prohibit the locals from holding the position of archbishop may seem curious. According to Janeković Römer, this may be viewed in the light of the struggle for the right to investiture, or the question of the king's power over the church. She again shifts her attention to the situation in Dalmatia, discontented as it was with the king, with the curtailment of old liberties and the onerous burdens which caused the towns to turn to King Ladislas of Naples. In the chapter entitled "Osjećaj dalmatinske pripadnosti u 14. stoljeću" (pp. 117-122), the author addresses the issue of Dalmatian identity, variously discussed in the previous chapters. She pinpoints the cohesive elements in the obscure reminiscence of antiquity, in the feeling of belonging to the Christian community, in economic and personal relations, and, occasionally, in the class solidarity of the urban nobility, though aware that identity with various political frameworks and the communal tradition under patrician rule tended to impede political unity. Even during the reign of King Louis I there were open border disputes, while the dynastic feuds and the struggle for power after his death redrew the political map of Dalmatia and the position of the towns. The author rightly argues that "it would be wrong to assert that no feeling of a broader, Dalmatian identity was known to exist, but for a citizen of medieval Dalmatia his 'homeland' did not stretch beyond the urban fringes of his local district. It was not until ... the tragic experience of the wars with the Ottomans and disappointment with Christian unity that the foundations for homogenisation were laid in an effort to unite not only Dalmatia but other Croatian and Slav lands under a new feeling of common identity. But many years were to pass before an intellectual concept first shared only by learned individuals and the political elite became a genuine feeling adopted by all...." (pp. 121-122). The question of historiography, already discussed in this chapter, is the main focus of the following chapter entitled "Mletački i ugarski suverenitet u Dubrovniku - činjenice i tumačenja" (pp. 123-131). Analysing

the picture of Venetian rule in fifteenth- to seventeenth-century Ragusan chronicles, Janeković Römer reveals the overly dark or rosy accounts of Dubrovnik's past, created principally with the intent to glorify the city and its freedom. The singling out of elements which emphasised Ragusan autonomy and the patriciate's virtues led to the construction of a powerful and resistant myth of Ragusan independence which was firmly lodged in the minds of the public, but also in earlier historiography. No doubt, the privilege of Visegrád earned an exclusive position in Ragusa's self-image, while the diplomatic manoeuvres preceding it were woven into legend. Commenting on the most established Croatian historians of the second half of the twentieth century (V. Foretić, B. Stulli, and J. Lučić), the author asserts that they have "depoliticised the interpretations of the Ragusan Middle Ages", but their writings still bear a recognisable bias. Croatian historiography shows a pronounced tendency to read the period after the Treaty of Zadar in the light of the consolidation of Dalmatian identity and the integration of the Croatian lands. By viewing the problem from the Ragusan perspective, the author strips the interpretations of certain layers, but also adds a more solid base to the others. In the chapter "Novi položaj Dubrovnika nakon Višegradskog ugovora" (pp. 132-141) she points to the generally strained political relations between the two Adriatic Republics, although all other aspects of their connections based on mutual interests and social and cultural analogies flourished over the centuries. In addition to the familiar aspects of Ragusan autonomy under the Hungarian Crown, in the minutes of the Ragusan councils Janeković Römer anticipates a 'feeling of hope' and awakened political activism. Unlimited by the Buda terms, the Ragusan patriciate no doubt entered a period marked by the most resourceful institutional and legislative achievements. The relationship towards the Hungarian Crown was unreservedly moulded into state symbolism and ceremonial elements, but with two essential meanings: that of allegiance to the king (even when there was no trace of the kingdom), and, above all, Dubrovnik's autonomy.

The book is supplemented with a longer summary in Croatian (pp. 142-146) and in English (pp. 147-152), an appendix comprising the most important documentation on the recognition of the Hungarian Crown and excerpts from the Ragusan chronicles depicting the Visegrád negotiations (pp. 153-159), a list of illustrations, sources and literature (pp. 161-167), an author index (pp. 169-173), and notes on the author (p. 175).

The bearings and depth of *Višegradski ugovor temelj Dubrovačke Republike* surpass the contents suggested in the title. The charter has become the focus of a myriad of analyses which not only concern the history of Dubrovnik, but a much broader area of Dalmatia, Venice, Croatia and Hungary, leaning towards the issues of political identity and historiographic interpretation. The author boldly follows all the themes which arise almost naturally from the study, keeping a steady course and leaving no gaps in the coverage. Within the basic twofold structure of the book, the material is well organised in shorter chapters. A more experienced and expert editorial eye could have been of greater help to the author in a final polishing of certain peripheral elements (from the obscure titles of the initial chapters to the question of the presentation of appendixes and the general concept of the summary in Croatian) which frame this outstanding text. Quibbles aside, the rich contents supported by extensive documentary evidence and literature, an accurate feeling for the essential and a talent for pinpointing the problem, a well-devised construction of the whole (especially of the second part) and flowing passages, along with a distinctive and elaborate style, place this book among the most excellent writings of the most recent Croatian historiography.

Nella Lonza

Robin Harris, *Dubrovnik: A History*. London: SAQI, 2003. Pages 503.

Robin Harris studied at Oxford University, where he was awarded a D.Phil. in modern history. He has worked in various political and governmental capacities, including adviser to the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Now a journalist, he focuses mainly on foreign affairs and politics, writing extensively on south-east Europe and on Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular. His publications include *Valois Guyenne: A Study of Politics, Government and Society in Late Medieval France* (1994), an interesting study on the political and social changes in Gascony following the Hundred Years' War between France and England in the latter half of the fifteenth century. His book on Dubrovnik is the result of almost a decade's worth of continuous research into local and national archives and libraries. In order to master such a vast body of material mainly in Croatian, Harris applied himself to studying the language. The fruit of his labour is now published in the book under review.

The fact that *Dubrovnik: A History* represents the first comprehensive account of Ragusan history in English and, what is more, authored by a British historian, deserves our full attention.[1] This extensive synthesis intended for the general yet learned audience encapsulates virtually all aspects of the long history of the Dubrovnik Republic. The book's 500 pages offer a modern and interesting interpretation of the Ragusan political, social, cultural and economic history, distinguished by an impressive range of referencing to both primary and secondary materials.

Following in the footsteps of the 'traditional' historiographic narration, Harris drew on Foretić's *Povijest Dubrovnika*, by far the most comprehensive and most excellent historical synthesis in Croatian. Similar to Foretić, Harris focuses his attention on the political events, essential for the development and well-being of the Ragusan commune, later Republic. The author is fascinated by Dubrovnik as a historical phenomenon, a city-state which, despite its hostile neighbourhood, developed into a unique political, financial and cultural centre of this part of Europe. However, unlike Foretić's book in which the political events are arranged chronologically and are seldom interspersed by passages on other aspects of social life (class relations, trade, crafts, shipping, religious life, etc.), the structure of Harris's synthesis is modern in its approach. It is organised into 15 chapters, and further subdivided, which may equally function as separate units. In Harris's concept of Ragusan history, a natural catastrophe, the Great Earthquake of 1667, and not a political event, is the landmark in periodisation—and with justification. Thus he distinguishes a pre- and post-earthquake era.

In viewing Dubrovnik within the broader political perspective, the first six chapters examine the rise of Dubrovnik within the context of the power struggle in the eastern Adriatic and in south-east Europe: from Byzantine protection (c. 800-1205), Venetian rule (1205-1358), autonomy under the Hungaro-Croatian rulers (1356-1526), to the specific relations with the Ottoman Empire from the end of the fifteenth century, and a series of diplomatic and political conflicts between the Habsburgs, Venice and the Porte during the seventeenth century. By embracing available scholarship, markedly the results published over the last twenty years, but from the position of a foreign historian, in this part of the book Harris has produced very valuable material for the historiography of Dubrovnik.

[1] Curiously, considerable international scholarly interest in the study of Dubrovnik's past has resulted in only one synthesis of Dubrovnik history, F. W. Carter's *Dubrovnik (Ragusa): a Classic City State* (1972). It focuses on the economic significance of the city and the roots of its economic development as a Republic. Among the best scholarship published in English, one should mention a series of medievalist studies by Bariša Krekić. More recent research articles, mainly authored by Croatian historians are published in *Dubrovnik Annals*.

Following the initial chapters on the main political processes is the chapter devoted to the class structure, the development of governmental institutions, law and the codification of Dubrovnik's laws, as well as the functioning of these institutions in everyday life. Chapter 8 consists of three subdivisions which discuss different aspects of Ragusan overland trade (privileges, various types of merchandise, merchant colonies, etc.), maritime trade (shipping, maritime finance and insurance, the consular service, major trade routes and goods, rivalry with other commercial centres, etc.), and the Ragusan urban economy and finance (the mint, financial business, crafts, confraternities, shipbuilding, export, etc.). Devoted to the social structure, the first part of Chapter 9 analyses the relations between the ruling nobility and commoners, particularly the richest citizens, members of the confraternities of St Anthony and St Lazarus. Here, Harris also illuminates the Jewish community and its role in the Ragusan mercantile life. The second subchapter highlights the family and household structure of the urban population (patricians and citizens), social conditions (health and welfare, etc.), and the condition of the rural population. Ecclesiastical organisation and religious life are the topics of Chapter 10, in which the author provides a survey of the Dubrovnik archbishopric, religious orders (the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits), popular religion, particularly the Feast of St Blaise, the patron saint of the city. Cultural life and the achievements in literature, scholarship, painting and music are covered in Chapter 11. In addition to biobibliographic data on the most prominent Ragusan writers in Croatian and in Latin, the main focus of attention is placed on the development of the Croatian language in Dubrovnik and the place of Ragusan literature within the broader Croatian context. The author also traces musical and artistic achievements, with special emphasis on the works of the Ragusan painting school. Chapter 12 examines the urban development of Dubrovnik, that is, urban planning and the construction of private (houses and palaces) as well as public buildings (the Rector's Palace, Sponza, etc.), and ecclesiastical and military constructions in and outside the city. Harris offers an insightful survey of the most recent discoveries on the city development and the significance of the harbour for its urban life, underlining the continuous process of fortification, artillery development and defence. He also examines the fortifications in the outlying areas (Ston, Cavtat, Tumba, Molunat) and the architectural phenomenon of the country villas.

Chapter 13 introduces the second epoch of Ragusan history, bearing a symbolic title—*Death and Resurrection*. The event described here is the Great Earthquake and the disastrous economic, political and demographic effects that this catastrophe had upon Ragusan society. In describing the event, Harris resorts to a methodologically interesting device. The earthquake and its aftermath are reflected through the accounts of contemporary observers of different social positions: a visiting foreigner, the clergy, the poorest classes and the patriciate. He has analysed all the relevant data on the losses and destruction, as well as the patrician and civic heroic struggle to restore order and to reconstruct the city. Politically, the city's restoration was closely connected with the successful diplomatic activities of the Republic and its relations with the Porte (Nikolica Bona and Marojica Caboga) and Rome (Stjepan Gradić).

Chapter 14 explores the political, economic, social and cultural life in the period 1669-1792, erroneously designated as the 'sunset years'. Namely, the latter could only apply to the last third of the seventeenth century, as the beginning of the next century saw a revival of the Ragusan shipping and political reaffirmation of Dubrovnik. The diplomatic manoeuvres of the 1670s and 1680s marked much of Dubrovnik's political history of the period. The ability to maintain independence under the threats of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa, and balance between Vienna, Istanbul and Venice during the 'Long War' (1683-1699) and the Turkish War (1715-1718) is rightly interpreted as the Republic's greatest diplomatic achievement. On establishing more friendly terms with the Ottoman Empire and Venice, powers in decline, the eighteenth

century witnessed Dubrovnik's redefined position in relation to Austria, France and Russia. The changes in the European political scene reverberated in Dubrovnik, tending to define its economic, political and cultural life. The rise of shipping was characterised by a gradual decay of the social structure and factions among the patricians, growing discontent of the rural population, but also by the prominent 'French' influence upon the citizen class. In addition to the Franco-Ragusan influence in literature and the theatre (*frančezarije*), Harris sheds special light on the works of the Ragusan Latinists, poets and polyhistors of the eighteenth century.

The final chapter explores the fall of the Republic. By analysing the complex power conflict during the Napoleonic campaigns at the turn of the eighteenth century, Harris highlights all the essential events on the foreign and domestic political scene which were to determine the fate of the Ragusan Republic. Due to the French occupation and the Russo-Montenegrin attack and siege, Dubrovnik suffered heavy life and material losses. The abolishment of the Republic in 1808 represented the inevitable political consequence of these events.

Postscript, a separate section comprising four subdivisions, outlines the main processes which characterised Ragusan history of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Within a short survey of the period under French rule and the power struggle in the eastern Adriatic, Harris focuses attention on the position of a group of nobles and citizens who advocated the restoration of the Republic. Like most historians, Harris describes the period under Austrian rule, from the Vienna Congress in 1815 to 1918, as a period of stagnation and economic decline of the city which found itself amidst a completely altered geopolitical constellation, at the margins of the great empire. Harris further emphasises the unique and distinctive role of Dubrovnik and its historical heritage in the shaping of the Croatian national identity during the integration processes of the nineteenth century. A specific phenomenon of the 'Serb-Catholic' ideology also caught his attention, whose roots he traces in the limited linguistically-based national identity, a thesis rejected by Frano Supilo at the end of the nineteenth century. The closing part of *Postscript* affords an objective picture of the most recent attack on Dubrovnik, the atrocities of the JNA (Yugoslav National Army) and the members of the paramilitary forces from Serbia, Montenegro and east Herzegovina, as well as the defence of the city in 1991/2. As a historian, Harris locates the origins of the aggression in the long-established historicistic understanding of the 'Serbian-ness' (*Srpstvo*) of Dubrovnik' or its Serb identity. It is in the historiographically induced 'Serbian-ness' that one should seek the roots of the greater Serbian expansionism and its policy towards Dubrovnik. Namely, the Croatian identity of Dubrovnik was a fact, while a cultural programme which stressed the 'Serbian-ness' of Dubrovnik was sponsored from Belgrade. Unfortunately, this ideological programme was espoused by some historians as well. As an illustration, Harris points to the 'quasi-academic' character of certain contributions, as well as to the misinterpretation of the 'conflict' within the international public.

The book contains 52 illustrations of the city, monuments, artefacts and archival documents of various dates, in addition to two appendixes. The first contains a note on Dubrovnik's independence, contributing to a clearer understanding of the concepts of 'independence' or 'sovereignty' of the state of Dubrovnik. Harris points to different views on the Republic's status, from Inalcik's notion of the 'Ottoman Commonwealth' to current modern criteria for 'independence' as an effective category. A note on money, weights and measures is in Appendix Two. The text is supplemented with endnotes, a chronology, a list of primary and secondary sources, and an index.

The two-volume *Povijest Dubrovnika* by Vinko Foretić was published in 1980, while *Povijest Dubrovačke Republike*, a short synthesis authored by Bernard Stulli, in 1989. An impressive number of publications which contribute to the historiography of Dubrovnik has seen the light since. Harris's synthesis, however, embraces almost

all of the recent findings on the subject, making it an invaluable addition to Croatian historical scholarship. Thanks to this carefully researched, firmly grounded and well-written work, we now have an insightful account of the history of Dubrovnik, particularly its republic period, but also of its more recent history, including an objective presentation of Dubrovnik's trials during the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro in 1991/2.

Stjepan Ćosić

Bernard Stulli, *Studije iz povijesti Dubrovnika [The Studies from Dubrovnik's History]*. Zagreb: Konzor, 2001. Pages 407.

Bernard Stulli (1915-1985), a passionate researcher of Dubrovnik and its history, published many works and addressed an array of diverse topics in a meticulous, authoritative and firmly grounded manner. His contributions stand out as milestones in the writings on Dubrovnik's past. Thus, this volume of collected studies, some of which unpublished to date or dispersed among various journals, should be welcomed warmly by the historians of Dubrovnik, and particularly by those specialised in the history of the Republic of Dubrovnik.

The collection is arranged in two sections. The first contains two longer essays, "Dubrovačka Republika u XV. i XVI. stoljeću" and "Dubrovačka Republika u XVI, XVII. i XVIII. stoljeću", which offer a historical survey of the Dubrovnik Republic from the fifteenth century until its fall. Providing a general insight into the events and processes of the period, the essays feature a dazzling display of detail, quotations and illustrations from source materials which animate the past and allow the reader to make an independent judgement on the respective issues. Stulli's sense of balance between fine-grained archival material and his leaning towards synthesis has led to unique quality, involving both a myriad of facts and comprehensive appraisals of particular historical periods or phenomena.

Both essays focus on the currently understudied and neglected issues in the economic history of Dubrovnik. Stulli tended to view this problem from a broader Balkan and Mediterranean perspective, placing it within the political framework of economic processes. He stressed the significance of certain economic activities for the society of the day and especially for the Ragusan population, irrespective of rank or trade. He traced individual histories, his attention being captured by efforts to cope with the economic changes and efforts to influence them, and by attempts to survive and climb in the Mediterranean conjuncture of the Middle Ages and in the complex conditions of early modern mercantilism. Individual careers and venture travels are laid before us, helping us to reconstruct the picture of Ragusan shipping and commerce of the time. He underlines the importance of the economy as a permanent basis of communication in a period marked by deteriorating political relations, particularly with the Ragusan hinterland under Ottoman rule. Trade in salt and ore, the textile industry, money lending, and concessions on customs duties on ore and shipping were to become, in Stulli's view, a powerful instrument of the economic prosperity of not only the Republic of Dubrovnik, but also of the neighbouring areas, primarily Herzegovina and Bosnia. In addition, Stulli places the development of the Ragusan trade and shipping squarely within the larger geographical and social context: the Adriatic, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean. His studies illuminate the broad Mediterranean region, the patterns of economic and legal organisation on its shores, customs and lifestyles, and most of all the centuries-old links between the nations which were economically interdependent despite considerable differences. It seems that the Ragusans participated in such a unity of differences in that they adopted much from the Mediterranean sources, but at the same time remained faithful to their own tradition, legal and other. In his explanation of the economic and social development, Bernard Stulli was known to link a series of factors, refreshing some of the former historiographic theses, such as, for

example, in the case of the decline of the Ragusan overland trade in the early modern period. He applied a similar approach in order to integrate certain cultural issues into his interpretation. They were not understood as mere tags or separate compartments, but contributed to the overall interpretation of the historical phenomenon. It was not rare that Stulli resorted to literary works as historical sources, which helped him complete the social and cultural picture of a historical moment or period.

These two syntheses of the history of the Republic of Dubrovnik clearly demonstrate Stulli's interest in demographic and social issues, and social differentiation, including that of the nobility, the aristocratic political system, agricultural relations, labourers, seamen, and relations between the Church and state. A separate chapter is devoted to the Jewish community, prosperous and integrated, religiously tolerated, yet socially isolated. One of the problems that received Stulli's exclusive attention was the long-lasting social consensus among the nobles and non-nobles. He was puzzled by the way in which the Ragusan patricians, by means of minimum repression, managed to maintain the same order and harmony over the centuries. Stulli's enthusiasm for the topic of continuity did not distract him from appreciating voices, even if isolated and rare, which mouthed words that the government's ears did not want to hear. He thus discussed the protests of Marin Držić, Mario Caboga and the attitudes of the Ragusan men of letters towards equality among men, but also the peasants' insurrections in Konavle and on the Island of Lastovo. He gave undivided attention to Dubrovnik's independence and autonomy, but also to the *universitas* of Lastovo and the strivings of this small island community to maintain its land and self-government in view of Ragusan political aspirations. The essay on the 'Golden age', the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, rounds off with his assessment of the actual 'novelties' that emerged in the sixteenth century. In his view, they found expression in the extent, technology, attainments and prosperity of the Republic's economy, in the urban development and the city's new image, as well as in the culture of living and artistic achievements.

The essay entitled "Dubrovačka Republika u XVI, XVII. i XVIII. stoljeću" is an offshoot of an all-embracing history of Croatia, an ambitious, yet never completed project directed by the *Institute for Croatian History* of the University of Zagreb. This brief synthesis of the early modern history of the Republic of Dubrovnik begins with the stirring sixteenth century, the period of economic prosperity that gave way to decline and consequential social changes. New spirituality and Catholic devotion gained in significance in everyday life, in that the distinction between religious life and state domination over the Church had become more rigid than ever. The Catholic Republic adopted the new ecclesiastical spirit and the principles of the Catholic reform, but not that of the Council of Trent on state-Church relations and the authority of the pope. On these issues, the government remained reserved. This period was to witness a variety of contrasts. While the Ragusan vessels sailed throughout the world and contributed to individual as well as common wealth, the position of the peasantry and contract labourers worsened due to an increase in prices. Stulli attached equal importance to the magnificent chapters of the Ragusan 'Golden age' and early modern period, its shipping, freedom, and outstanding scholarly and cultural achievements, but also to the less appealing parts of the narrative. He addresses, for example, the inability of the Ragusan government to adapt to the mercantilist strategy of the turn of the sixteenth century, rigid and inefficient state protectionism, the contraband of forged money from Italy to Turkey, and other forms of abuse of office that were known to occur despite the guiding motto *Obliti privatorum publica curate*.

This essay offers an excellent insight into the vicissitudes of the Ragusan economy, the climb in the fifteenth century, the climax in the sixteenth, bare survival in the seventeenth and the signs of upturn in the eighteenth century. The period of growing prosperity based on

commerce, independent status and brilliant achievements in artistic and literary culture was brought to an end in the seventeenth century by a great economic recession, the patriciate's decline in size, political aggression from the outside, and the final straw - the disastrous earthquake. Unexpectedly, the eighteenth century witnessed an upturn in the economy and social relations. Severe blows in the seventeenth century gave way to a period of vigorous economic expansion and a rapid growth in commerce which generated significant social changes. But relative external peace was accompanied by intensive political ferment at home and growing tensions among the patricians. In such circumstances the business-minded commoners found themselves in the leading position of economic development. The patricians still dominated in money lending and land ownership, but three quarters of the entire maritime commerce and shipping lay in the hands of the wealthy citizens. By the end of the century, Dubrovnik was to face yet another challenge: the conditions of the international mercantile world required greater freedom in economic dealings, adequate protectionist measures and no limitations in terms of entrepreneurship. The traditional aristocratic system was unable to adapt to the economic innovations, since the increasing influence of politics upon the economy further deepened the crisis of the economic system and society as a whole, making the Ragusan economy uncompetitive. The tensions between the old and new nobility, the disproportion between the citizens' participation in the economy and political power, the popular discontent of the peasantry and workers, as well as the mounting tensions on the international scene between Russia, the Kingdom of Naples and France marked the last years of the free Republic. Speaking about these processes, Stulli scrutinises Ragusan relations with Venice and the Ottoman Empire, the declining relations with Spain, problems with the papacy, new diplomatic ties with Austria, intensive diplomatic activity in winning international support and protection following the fall of the independent Hungarian Kingdom, Ragusan diplomacy as a whole, and the fate of Ragusan shipping, trade, charter transport and economic depression. He showed particular sensitivity to social issues, and his studies often address the position of those who had nothing to offer but their labour and who were the greatest victims of the depression.

The second section of the book, subdivided into three chapters, covers the topics from the history of law, a miscellany of themes pertaining to the outlying Ragusan estates and cultural and political history.

The essay "O knjizi statuta grada Dubrovnika iz godine 1272" (from: *Arhivski vjesnik* 15 (1972): pp. 7-15) marked the 700th anniversary of the Ragusan statute, among the first in the Adriatic region. Stulli places the Ragusan legislation within a broader perspective or within what he himself considered to have been of 'vital importance', his examination going further than one of a mere interpretation of the law. The evolution of the statutory norms of the Dalmatian towns tended to follow a similar pattern: without any intent to legally embrace all the possibilities. It did not develop from above, but emerged from life itself, from real economic and social situations. The fact that Dubrovnik was under Venetian domination at the time of the codification had no direct impact on the framing of the statute, with the exception of certain provisions concerning the jurisdiction of the Venetian count and the function of the city councils. That is why the Statute Book, with some minor alterations, remained the fundamental law well after 1358, until the very last days of the Republic and even after its fall, until 1816, irrespective of the emergence of additional collections of law.

The essay which follows, "Prilozi pitanju o redakcijama knjige statuta grada Dubrovnika", also addresses issues related to the statute. Stulli's principal interest here is in its different versions, from the oldest one preserved from 1342 to the draft consulted by Ivan Lucius (from: *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 3 (1954): pp. 85-118). The analysis of the preserved manuscripts confirms that the Statute Book represented a widely used manual and existed in various versions. Namely, changes to the text were not entered according to an established

rule but according to the whims, needs and the judgement of the codex owner. In an approach so Stulli-like, the actual scope of the essay is much wider than the title suggests, for he addresses the great legal reforms of the second half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, along with the law collections posterior to the Statute. Stulli's practice of giving a modest title to what may subsequently prove a broad subject matter reminds me of the advice given to me by my colleague Nella Lonza in the early days of my research into the Dubrovnik themes: "Pay no attention to Stulli's titles. You should read each article throughout, for you never know what may lie hidden in it."

Selected for this volume is yet another essay, the contents of which are striking both for their erudition and breadth, first published in *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* in 1952 under the title "Ordines artis nauticae secundum consuetudinem civitatis Ragusii". The article traces the maritime legislation of the Republic of Dubrovnik from 1557, but also examines the overall development of Ragusan maritime legislation, including all the preceding and succeeding collections of law and separate provisions. Stulli places it in the context of Ragusan shipping and its oscillation over the centuries, and even in the wider context of the economic and social conditions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Further, the analysis of maritime legislation tends to shift to an enquiry of the Ragusan legal system in which the author examines the meaning of the statutory regulations, contracts and common law, the reception of foreign law and the problem of judicial jurisdiction in maritime commerce, but in other segments as well. While on the topic, Ragusan maritime prosperity was one of Stulli's much-researched themes, since it was the city's leading economic branch and the generator of other activities that largely determined the lives of all the social strata.

The article "Iz historije pomorskog sudstva u starom Dubrovniku", published in 1952 in *Dubrovačko pomorstvo*, represents a specific supplement to the earlier mentioned study as it highlights the problem of maritime legal actions outside Dubrovnik, that is, the conflict of different laws and customs of certain towns and states and diverse municipal regulations that had to be observed abroad. By the twelfth century, the Mediterranean had witnessed the establishment of the maritime courts of law which, through their considerable practice, were to construct certain common norms of maritime law. It was not until the sixteenth century that such a court was established in Dubrovnik. It was soon abolished since the institution of specialised courts did not comply with the state policy of the centralisation of the judiciary. Although sea-oriented, Dubrovnik accepted the implementation of foreign laws with considerable reservations.

A series of essays devoted to the history of law rounds off with "Pregled državnopravne historije Dubrovačke Republike" (from: *Dubrovnik* 2/2-3 (1956): pp. 1-12) in which the author discusses the legal features of the communal period and those of the aristocratic republic, the interrelatedness of the legal and the political branches, economic and class processes, legal relations between the secular government and the church, along with day-to-day legal practice and provisions, and the legal education of the patricians and commoners. This essay thus provides a most excellent comprehensive survey of the development of the Ragusan legal system.

The following three articles examine issues related to some of Dubrovnik's outlying estates: "Dubrovačke odredbe o Konavlima (I)" (from: *Konavoski zbornik* 1 (1982): pp. 29-43); "Zbirka dubrovačkih propisa za otok Mljet iz godine 1791" (from: *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje* 45 (1971): pp. 663-678); "Jedan plan o privrednoj eksploataciji otoka Lastova iz godine 1808" (from: *Beritićev zbornik*, ed. Vjekoslav Cvitanović. Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1960: pp. 257-269). In all of them, particularly the last two, Stulli examines the social structure of the Republic of Dubrovnik, the lives of its subject farmers marked by hard labour and the struggle for survival, and discontent with the Ragusan government, especially evident on the Island of Lastovo. The last article clears up one

of the episodes in a series of tensions and conflicts between Dubrovnik and Lastovo, here caused by a plan of exploitation of the island, proposed to General Marmont in 1808 by one of the distinguished citizens of Dubrovnik. The plan was based on the idea of 'return to the land' and the agricultural development of uncultivated portions of land, the opening of factories and the revival of traditional activities such as fishing and the sale of salted fish. Such a project relied primarily on the workforce of the Lastovo peasantry and in-migrating labour. A likely cause for yet another rebellion, this plan was rejected, but remained as a document of a particular time and social relations in the decayed Republic.

In the final section "O kulturnoj i političkoj povijesti Dubrovnika", Stulli's attention is drawn by another vain attempt, this time the failure of Marin Držić's plan to reform social relations in the Republic at its peak, dealt with in the article "Oko političkih planova Marina Držića - Vidre" (from: *Mogućnosti* 6 (1959): pp. 498-113). Držić's letters to Cosimo de Medici, Duke of Tuscany, continue to puzzle historians and literary experts. Stulli elaborates a variety of different perspectives as well as his own, pointing to the profound effect of the Ragusan reality upon Držić's literary work, his social sensibility and engagement. In Stulli's view, the reasoning of Marin Držić was far from unsound and unrealistic. He was a visionary ahead of his time, with ideas that anticipated the era to come. It is within this context that his analysis of the nature of the curious long-term consensus among the nobles and non-nobles, the hallmark of the Dubrovnik Republic, continues to draw historians' attention.

The volume concludes with an essay on the early days of the Croatian politician Frano Supilo (*Dubrovnik* 13/4 (1970)). By highlighting the hardship of the youthful Supilo and his family, Stulli shifts the focus to one of his much-liked themes—the life of the common people of Dubrovnik—here presented in the depression years of the late nineteenth century. In Stulli's view this economic crisis had a major effect on the reception of new ideas and movements, primarily those of the national revival. Stulli concludes that Supilo's political views stemmed from his life experience, the economic, social and political circumstances of an era that formed a whole generation of young men who were nurtured by the spirit of national revival, and who, instead of striving for the traditional, outdated idea of Dalmatian autonomy, sought union with Croatia and Slavonia.

Comprehensive and well-grounded in both contents and style, these studies reveal Stulli as an established historian, both erudite and inquisitive, who approaches problems free of bias and with an open mind, and who recognises only one frame - that of historical sources and historical research methods. Insightfulness, clarity and a well-argued position in the choice of topics, documents, and final assessments are but some of the defining features of his work. Stulli's research is firmly grounded in primary materials, but is also well-balanced in terms of abundance of data. Archival work stirs the historian's creativity, tends to re-open new possibilities, fresh perspectives of life in the past, particularly in the archives which abound in documentation and continuity, such as those of Dubrovnik. However, work in the archives can be a challenge, especially to those who approach the sources with no questions of their own. They may get lost in a maze of minutiae, unable to reach a synthesis and clearly summarise a particular problem. Stulli's approach was quite the reverse. His work should be valued for its excellent sense of balance between the micro- and macro-perspective. Though marshalling a myriad of facts and concentrating on the smallest of details, his studies never lose sight of the big picture. On the other hand, he goes beyond the descriptive layer, and interrogates his data from diverse and wide-ranging perspectives. His work is characterised by lively curiosity for a broad range of topics, from the economy, maritime issues, social and cultural history, even political history which he neither ignores nor emphasises but tends to understand as part of the historical fabric. Stulli immersed himself in the materials guided by his own interests and questions, put his assumptions and

theses to the test against historical documents and vice versa, with the result that his contributions are thus useful, especially to those who decide to follow his path. The subject matter is always incorporated in the wider social as well as legal context. This Stulli does most skilfully because he does not confine himself to the legal framework of the documents but collates them with the documentary evidence on all domains of city life. Contrary to the positivistic approach, the sources are not referred to in succession but are used in a creative and purposeful manner, placed within a comprehensive structure.

Many of the points raised by Stulli are still frequently raised in current research, such as his thesis on the existence of an oligarchy among the Ragusan patriciate from the fifteenth century onward, on the interaction between culture and other spheres of the Republic's social life, on Turco- and Veneto-Ragusan relations, on the role of the Jesuits in the cultural and political life of Dubrovnik, on the significance of Latin in the seventeenth century, etc. Not only is such discussion needed, but it is inherent in historiography which, by its very nature, is an interpretative discipline. No doubt, many historians will criticise Bernard Stulli's assessments and theses, but no one will be able to dispute that they are well supported and seriously argued. In other words, his works, the ones selected in this book and others, will continue to live their own historiographic lives, and that is a great compliment for any historian. Stulli's own words are the best illustration of his approach to the history of Dubrovnik in that "one should dispose of the ballast of idyllic misrepresentation of Ragusan history which had stirred petty minds to lead a crusade for the protection of Ragusan history and tradition from those who write against the Republic", in other words, those, like Stulli himself, who refuse to surrender to myths, but paddle through the past, *sine ira et studio*, and bring conclusions in the same manner. Lastly, the principal value of Stulli's work on the whole resides in his profound feeling for man, for the people of the past and their lives. The themes that weave through his works are never separated from the people themselves and that, among other things, is one of the essential qualities of his research that adds to the historiographic vividness of his life work.

Zdenka Janeković Römer

Josip Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike [The Gleanings from Dubrovnik]*. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska, 2002. Pages 309.

Matica hrvatska of Dubrovnik has published the second edition of the legendary historical and literary work of Josip Bersa *Dubrovačke slike i prilike*. Apart from rendering nostalgic and profound affection for the ancient Dubrovnik, the author (1862-1932) has produced a valuable cultural insight into the life of the City and its people. The first edition was published in Zagreb in 1941, ten years after the author's death. The readership's equally keen interest in the work over the years has encouraged the publisher to launch a new edition.

The first edition was produced by Tias Mortigjija, a Dubrovnik-born writer and newspaper editor. To the advice of notable reviewers, literary historian Vinko Lozovina and Mate Tentor, a linguist, the editor decided to shorten the work by omitting certain citations, repetitions and superfluous meditations, and to change some of Bersa's lexical solutions which were considered non-standard and described as 'provincialisms', 'localisms' and 'Balkanic'. However, Mortigjija pointed to the edition's faithfulness in terms of the memoir-anecdotal fabric of the account where no abridgements had been made.

In view of the narrative, the new edition makes no departure from its predecessor since the original has not yet been located. Stjepan Ćosić, editor of this edition, has made no attempt to amend or expand Bersa's citations for, in his opinion, the literary aspect of the text would lose in fluency and animation. Instead, the editor has provided a more detailed preface containing

Bersa's portrayal, reconstruction of the literature and historical sources the author had consulted, as well as the editor's aim to locate Bersa in the framework of Dubrovnik historiography. Despite a lack of documentary references, the editor does not harbour any doubts about Bersa's scientific credibility. Moreover, he confirms it through the reconstruction of author's sources and literature.

The illustrations contained in the first edition have been replaced by old photographs of Dubrovnik from the collection of the Dubrovnik Museum, State Archives of Dubrovnik and a number of the local private collections. Lacking in the first edition, author index is a most welcome addition to the book.

Slavica Stojan

Tomislav Kuljiš, *'Mleci' na Lapadu. Ljetnikovac Paska Frana Sorkočevića ['Mleci' in Lapad. The Summer Residence of Pasko Franov Sorkočević]*. Dubrovnik, Matica hrvatska, 2002. Pages 91.

Tomas Kuljiš's monograph on *'Mleci' na Lapadu* highlights one of the patrician summer residences of Dubrovnik, dating from the close of the sixteenth century, its construction, later additions and rebuilding, environmental endowments, the distribution of space, proportions, as well as its owners and their life stories. The time frame of the study covers a period of four centuries in which the author chronologically traces its alterations.

The monograph is based upon documentary sources from the State Archives of Dubrovnik, available mainly in the series containing chancellery and notary records. The author points to a somewhat lesser value of the records he has been able to find mainly relating to diverse business pursuits of its founder Pasko Franov Sorkočević. Despite most meticulous research, no information has been obtained on the architect, constructors, commissions or the expenditures of this magnificent building. Indirectly, the author was able to reconstruct the course of the construction (*fabrica*), the golden period of the summer residence (*domus magna*), the period of decay, along with the changes of ownership.

In the first chapter Kuljiš explains the villa's name, which tended to vary over the centuries (Mnezi, Mlezi, Mletki, etc.) but always in the meaning of Little Venice as it is also commonly referred to today. He offers a detailed description of its unique position (the villa was originally surrounded by the sea). The book is illustrated throughout by old graphic representations and drawings, nineteenth-century photographs, plans, and numerous sketches and drawings done by Kuljiš himself. Thus one may experience the residence in its full perspective, together with all of its facilities and topography. In addition to architecture, Kuljiš also focusses on the stonework, while the general picture is supplemented with a series of graphs and illustrations, genealogical tables of the owners, their photographs, perspectives of Gruž, drawings of the door and window consoles and bifores. In order to provide a better insight into the actual size of the building and its proportions, the author brings a comparative table of the old anthropomorphic and modern measures.

Having analysed all the architectural and environmental aspects, the author strongly argues for the restitution of this outstanding building. In this respect, he differentiates seven principal elements: the residential islet with the villa and the chapel, marina, garden walls, stairways and the bridge over the marina, the communal street and the arch above it, storehouses and the garden. Unfortunately, no trace of some of the mentioned features of this extravagant historic building remains.

Slavica Stojan

Ivan Lozica, *Poganska baština* [*The Pagan Heritage*]. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2002. Pages 221.

The title of Lozica's new book somewhat resembles the famous portrait of *Turica*, which is probably why it is being displayed on the covers. Similar to the reaction likely to be caused by the sight of this Ragusan mask, the title *Poganska baština* may at first intimidate but then again arouse ridicule. It is intimidating because the reader is led to believe that between the covers of the book lies a passionate quest for the reconstruction of the ancient—the sceptics will say 'the genuine'— meaning of the folklore performances and phenomena. It is ridicule at the same time because Lozica argues that an activity in which, striving towards the reconstruction of "some long-lost marshland pantheon, we draw on our present-day prejudiced views on the European Mediterranean, Slav or Croatian self, and then from the general human (pre-Indo-European, pre-Slav and pre-national, that is, natural and non-historic) basis, as the foundation of all similarities, build a historical narrative, create a new myth, draw new maps in the historical atlas" is the pagan heritage itself, which again "diverges little from the lore, according to which ancient customs and rites have for centuries been locally interpreted as a memory of the struggle against the Turks and Moors, or as a reminiscence of the beggarly cavalry of King Matthias." Continuously reminding of this aspect of the research of the historically and geographically scattered, but morphologically and genealogically seemingly close-related phenomena, such as weapon dances and the processions of *koledari* (carol singers), in this book Lozica focuses his attention on the interpretation of their continuity within the historical process.

This volume contains seven essays originally published in journals and collected papers, here presented with some minor alterations and mainly in the chronological order of their production. Therefore their arrangement in the book tends to reflect the shifts of Lozica's interests and approaches during the 1990s: the book starts with the study of folklore performances as cultural practices with specific implications upon the social order, and proceeds with the research of the connections between these performances and often poorly evidenced ancient practices, to be rounded off with a questioning of the validity of scientific interpretation itself.

In this respect, an insightful and humorous title of the first chapter *Gesunkenes getrunkenes kulturgut: vinski štatuti pod starimi krovovi* does not imply Lozica's interest for the eventual pre-Christian origins of the wine associations. Lozica views wine statutes and wine associations primarily as historical phenomena which prove that popular culture and the culture of the nobility did not become closely interwoven only on the "broad horizon of the Renaissance Dubrovnik or of even smaller communities (like the commune of Hvar) on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic", but also in the continental parts of Croatia, its north-west region in particular. On the basis of wine statutes and literary texts, the author questions the achievements of the theoretical conceptions of the 'gesunkenes Kulturgut' and the 'invention of tradition', and problematises exclusively class-determined conceptions of traditional culture.

In the second chapter, *Dva demona: orko i macić*, Lozica shifts the focus of his attention from the worldly and imbibing—or as the historians would put it—micro-historical topic towards two imaginary beings from the oral tradition, frequently 'seen' along the eastern Adriatic: *orko* and *macić*. Lozica examines their ancient origin, as well as the problems related to the classification of these and similar imaginary beings. He looks for them in the manuscripts and published materials, showing equal interest for *macić's* close relative, the benignant *tintilin* from the Dubrovnik region.

The third chapter (*Izum džudijate*) traces yet another imaginary being of the Dubrovnik area, but this time it is the fruit of unconscientious scholarly writing. It concerns the festive figure of Jew the martyr which, as recurrently asserted by Slobodan Prosperov Novak, paraded the streets of medieval Dubrovnik mounted on the

oxen-drawn cart. Having analysed the literature and the sources, Lozica shows that *džudijata* had been introduced into the literary history some thirty years ago by Miroslav Pantić who associated the Jew whom the multitude of Rome tortured during the carnival season as he passed on the oxen cart with the Jew, or more likely the Jews-masks worn by the Ragusans on Easter Eve and on Easter Sunday. The Jew whom Pantić had transferred from the festive Rome to Easter Dubrovnik of the fourteenth century was adopted and further antedated by Novak. In this chapter Lozica not only unfolds these scientific mispresentations, but also offers a reinterpretation of the available sources, primarily Ragusan government decisions that regulated the practice of Easter masking into Jews during the fourteenth century. Since these decrees concerned the period before the mass departure of Jews from the Pyrenean Peninsula and their settlement in Dubrovnik, along with the fact that some of the provisions mention guise into armed *Jews* and *karbonosi* equipped with wooden and stone bats, Lozica opts for the interpretation in which the evidence on the guise into a Jew or Jews should not be associated with anti-Semitism but with the later transformations of the pagan New Year feast, customs of *koleda*, or even custom of the *electing of the king* into folklore performances of the themes from the New Testament. This interpretative road takes him as far as Metković and Vodice in Dalmatia, where even today people dressed up as armed Roman legionnaires who, during the Holy Week, guard the Holy grave are called *Žudije* (the Jews).

The fourth chapter, *Turičinim tragom,* also examines the Ragusan practice of masking outside the regular festive calendar. After an insight into the graphic representations of the *Turica* mask published in Appendini's book and the preserved water-colour drawings in the album of the Ragusan printer and miniature painter of the nineteenth century, Pietro F. Martecchini, Lozica gives a summary of masking into *tur. Turica* is then, together with *Vila* and *Čoroje* (the two masks which most often accompanied *Turica*) approached within the context of the widespread Mediterranean sword dances, assuming that these three masks may have taken part in some form of a weapon dance during the Republic. Lozica also adds that in no way does the participation of these three masks in the sword dance interfere with their ritual and mythological character, nor their remote origin. On the contrary, they could be recognised as a ritual core which, under the influence of various dance and literary forms over the centuries, served as a starting-point of the professional dance and drama theatre.

In the fifth chapter Lozica analyses *Čarska kumpanija* of Korčula. The notion of *kumpanija,* or better *kumpanjija* as commonly referred to by the locals of Čara, once denoted male societies which were to assume an important economic and military role. Today the notion primarily denotes the performance of a chain sword dance. Utilising the published studies, records of the Čara parish and ethnographic manuscript collections, Lozica provides the chronology of *kumpanija's* performances, along with a detailed description of the custom and dance. Given the fact that in the past *kumpanija* organised a mock government throughout the island of Korčula, Lozica concludes that this custom might be associated with the ancient practice of *electing the king* and the processions of *koledari.* Commenting on the scholarly speculations on diverse ritual roots of Korčula's *kumpanija,* he assumes that, although they may have been established as peasant military companies for the protection against the pirates, *kumpanija's* dance custom "retains much older, pre-Christian ritual roots".

The chapter *Došli smo vam kolendati* begins with a list of the lexical definitions of the word *koleda*, among which is the one given by Pero Budmani. According to him, *kolenda* is a song which groups of young Ragusans sing in the evening hours as they go about from house to house, but also a merry company gathered to occasion one's name day by singing a song under his window. By drawing parallels between *koleda* and *kolenda*, Lozica, unlike his predecessors, rejects the causal explanation of the

connection between these two phenomena and submits a thesis according to which the word *koleda* stems from the accounts of the Christian missionaries who, instead of employing the local idiom, identified the New Year processions with the notorious Roman calends. After a critical inquiry into the various mythologically driven interpretations of *koleda*, the author calls for the research in which practice would not function as a mere device for the reconstruction of the Slav or any other pantheon. In this respect, he discusses the influence of Christianization upon the dramatic aspect of *koleda*, and through numerous questions comes forward with an assumption that an inquiry into the relationship between weapon dances, masking and *kolede* could illuminate the starting positions of the Croatian theatre.

The final chapter, *Kraljice u akademiji*, addresses the origin of a custom known as *ljelje-kraljice* (*ljelje-queens*). The chapter does not open with the description of the custom as may have been expected, but with the problems related to its staging on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (today's Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). Lozica draws a clear parallel between the groups of young girls wearing men's hats, who go from house to house in the north-eastern rural regions of Croatia, dance and sing songs with similar customs in southern Dalmatia, eastern Serbia, northern Bulgaria, Slovakia and Romania. The comparison uncovers the residues, poor yet traceable, of the pre-Slav or even more ancient festive masking and the local customs within Christian feast days. Such a bold assumption leads him to re-examine the difficulties of reconstruction and interpretation mentioned earlier in relation to the staging of the custom. By drawing new paths but also by pointing to some of the obscure short cuts in more recent interpretations of *kraljice*, Lozica places his attention on the problem of scientific interpretation of the folklore phenomena. Interpretative impediments are being accounted by the difference between the historian's and folklorist's agenda. According to Lozica, a historian examines "a single event, he draws out a fragment in time and space in an aim to grasp the historic context by interpreting it from the present-day perspective", while "we [folklorists, ethno-theatrologists, ethnologists] deal with the long-lasting repetitive events in broader space, with a diachronic sequence of performances in which each tends to modify the meaning of the precedents". This distinction, which, in view of the more or less recent disciplinary trends, could be theorised at length, does not exclude, however, the interactions between the mentioned disciplines. This interaction is, after all, manifest throughout all seven chapters of the volume, for even when deeply concentrated on the interpretation of the ancient origins, it does not fail to ignore the local and historical specifics of the phenomena. Even in the chapter *Turičinim tragom*, despite emphasis on the mythological strata of the problem, or rather thanks to it, Lozica brings a new and for the understanding of the social relations of the old Dubrovnik a valuable interpretation of three famous old Dubrovnik masks, known from literature as *Turica, Bembelj, Čoroje* and *Vila*.

Marijana Hameršak

Marianna D. Birnbaum, *The Long Journey of Gracia Mendes*. Budapest - New York: Central European University Press, 2003. Pages 147.

The fascinating and eventful life story of Gracia Mendes (c. 1510-1568), also known as Beatrix de Luna, has drawn much scholarly attention over the years. There exist a number of studies illuminating Gracia's personality, career and her place within the historical context of the time. With this monograph, Marianna Birnbaum makes a welcome and valuable contribution to a better understanding not only of Gracia herself, but of the wealthy, distinguished and powerful Mendes family. Having amassed impressive bibliographical materials, the author offers a detailed description of her life and work, but at the same time manages to synthesise voluminous data on the life of Jews and *conversos* of sixteenth-century Europe.

The book comprises seven chapters and a conclusion, two appendices, bibliography and indexes. The first chapter contains a brief history of de Luna family in Portugal and their subsequent renaming into Mendes. The second chapter is devoted to the history of the *conversos*, the institution of the Inquisition in Spain and in Portugal, and the effects this event had upon the Jews and the converts from Judaism. One of the results was the migration of the wealthy Mendes family from Portugal to Antwerp, a leading European commercial and financial centre of the day, where they resumed their lucrative business activities. The author describes the life and contribution of Jews and *conversos* to the prosperity of sixteenth-century Antwerp, with special focus on the Mendes family. It was here that Francisco Mendes, banker and Gracia's husband, died, leaving the young widow to take his place and manage the business of the large and powerful Mendes house.

However, Antwerp soon proved an unsafe place for the Christianised Mendes. When the family's wealth gave rise to Emperor Charles V's suspicions and even extortion, Gracia decided to move to Venice with her daughter Reyna and sister Brianda, also a widow, and the latter's daughter Gracia Junior. In 1546 she settled in Serenissima which harboured a less hostile attitude towards Jews and converts, although under the influence of the Inquisition they were still occasionally persecuted, especially in the period after 1550. Venice became the scene of a serious conflict between Gracia and Brianda, who accused her sister of secret Jewish observances and of plans to leave for Turkey. Gracia was imprisoned, but thanks to her immense wealth and numerous connections with high-positioned officials throughout Europe and Turkey, she was soon released.

By the end of 1549 Gracia and her daughter left for Ferrara, which enjoyed the reputation of being the most liberal place in Europe (in Italy most certainly) as far as Jews and converts were concerned. There is ground to believe that in Ferrara Gracia was already known under the surname Nasi which became famous thanks to her nephew and later son-in-law (husband of her daughter Reyna) Joseph Nasi and his role in the public affairs of the Ottoman Empire. In Ferrara Gracia proved to be not only a successful business-woman, but also a patron of the arts, literature in particular. However, the Inquisition was to reach the walls of Ferrara in 1553. Having foreseen the menace, Gracia decided to accept the invitation of the Ottoman government and in 1552 she moved to Istanbul.

On her way from Ferrara to Istanbul, Gracia made a stopover in Dubrovnik where she received a warm welcome. The Mendes family had long-standing business relations with Dubrovnik, their agents being stationed in this Adriatic Republic. Marianna Birnabum examines the position and activity of Jews and converts in Dubrovnik and points to the importance of Gracia's visit to the city, her role in the relations between Ragusa and the Ottoman Empire, as well as to the mutually beneficial trade privileges which Gracia managed to acquire from Dubrovnik in 1554.

In the seventh chapter the author casts light on some of the interesting moments in the life of the Jews and converts in the Ottoman Empire, Gracia's arrival in Istanbul in 1553, and her role in the conflict between the Jews and the local government of Ancona. She became a resident

of the splendid villa Belvedere overlooking the Bosporus. Holding an influential position in the circles close to the court of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, Gracia continued to control her financial realm which spread from the western shores of Europe, across the Mediterranean to the powerful Ottoman Empire. Her nephew and son-in-law Joseph Nasi was highly positioned in the Turkish administration, but after the death of the sultans Süleyman (1566) and Selim II (1574), he no longer played an active role in public affairs. Gracia died in 1568 in her villa in Istanbul. Birnbaum offers an extensive survey of her business activities in Istanbul, alongside her engagement in the literary and educational work among the Jewish population of the Ottoman capital, in which Joseph Nasi played a prominent role as well.

In her conclusion, among other things, the author refers to very flattering appraisals of Gracia written by the Jewish rabbis and intellectuals on the occasion of her death, rightly underlining that Gracia's case was far from typical for the Jews or converts of the time. Gracia was a unique figure for her excellent abilities as well as for the size of her accumulated wealth which offered her security throughout life. Despite all, Gracia's power and role in the eventual improvement of the position of Jews and converts in Europe was limited.

Two appendices, one on the money and prices, and the other on the journey from Dubrovnik to Istanbul in the sixteenth century contribute to a better comprehension of the text.

Birnbaum's book is not without flaws. However, many typographical and some other errors should not detract from a positive appreciation of this valuable book. By placing Gracia Mendes in the focus of her attention, Marianna Birnbaum has produced an insightful and vivid picture not only of Gracia's life, but of the lives, sufferings, hardships and success of the Jews and *conversos* of sixteenth-century Europe. Overall, then, this book certainly deserves to sit on the shelves of any research library and anyone interested in this subject matter will benefit from reading it.

Bariša Krekić

Guilio Fenicia, *Il Regno di Napoli e la difesa del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II (1556-1598): Organizzazione e finanziamento* [The Kingdom of Naples and the Defence of the Mediterranean During the Reign of King Philip II (1556-1598): Organisation and Financing]. Bari: Cacucci Editore, 2003. Pages 326.

The latest book by Professor Giulio Fenicia of the Department of European Studies, University of Bari, examines the economic and military history of the Kingdom of Naples over a short period of half a century, when an effort to restore social peace, centralised economy and sovereignty in the Italo-Spanish Mediterranean constantly menaced by the Ottomans placed Naples in the spotlight of international politics. Through Philip's policy of militarisation Naples played a leading role in the coordinated action of government centralisation and tax increases for the purpose of organising and maintaining a well-structured army and the navy. The inclusion of Naples into the military defence project and consolidation of the Spanish monarchy in the Mediterranean triggered off a process of the industrial and social change which awakened the continental south from a fifty-year lethargy under the Spanish domination.

An introductory essay provides ideological and institutional bases of the new defence strategy elaborated by Giulio Cesare Caracciolo and Alfonso Piscicelli in the mid-sixteenth century. In *Discorso sopra il Regno di Napoli* [Discussion on the Kingdom of Naples] Caracciolo discusses the problem of defence and advocates the restoration of the noble privileges revoked by King Charles V, while Piscicelli in his *Discorso intorno alla Milizia che si potrebbe introdurre nel Regno di Napoli* [Discussion on the possibilities of introducing militia in the Kingdom of Naples] anticipates the defence policy of King Philip II.

The first chapter, *La difesa del territorio* [Territorial defence], casts light on the construction of fortifications and an elaborate network of watchtowers, but also on the organisation of the national army for the purpose of territorial

defence, prepared to intervene in international conflicts as well. The maintenance of the national army and *tercio*, Spanish infantry regiments, together with the construction of the fortifications and more than 300 watchtowers were financed from the taxes, the maintenance of the constructions representing an extra budget expenditure. A substantial annual budget of several hundred ducats was distributed for military purposes.

The second chapter, *La realizzazione di una nuova flotta* [The making of a new fleet], affords a systematic overview of all the aspects of organising a new fleet, shipbuilding expenditures and those of the construction of a new arsenal. The process of the naval organisation could in no way compare to that of the army. In a short period from 1560 to 1573, the Naples fleet increased from the initial six galleys to fifty. A new arsenal was constructed for the repair and reconstruction of the Spanish galleys but also Turkish vessels seized at sea, resulting in an additional rise in the expenditures for the procurement of wood, weapons, cannon and gun powder. Bearing in mind that 164 oarsmen, about 50 officers, sailors and other members of the crew manned the vessel in addition to just as many soldiers, the expenditures for food rations and clothing must have been considerable.

Apart from the important financial aspect when food supply was concerned, there also existed a problem of organisation, because the administration of food resources required controlled and channelled production. Huge amounts of wheat, wine, meat, salted fish, vegetables etc. were to be transformed into capital, and as their export was forbidden for a longer period, the Kingdom suffered substantial income losses.

In the third chapter entitled *L'amministrazione delle galere* Fenicia explores two distinct approaches to galley administration, maintenance expenditures, and embezzlement. As for the administration of the fleet, direct management was replaced by the so-called *asiento* administration of lesser cost. In the former case the authority was bureaucratically delegated to the captain of each galley, whereas in the *asiento* administration a contract was signed with the general captain of the escadrille, who received a fixed annual budget expected to meet all the expenditures. Although direct administration left room for abuse, the *asientas,* however, tended to neglect the royal galleys, and in 1590 Philip II called for the restoration of direct fleet administration.

Under the title *Il finanziamento della spesa militare* [The financing of military expenses], chapter 4 traces the financing of the heavily increased military expenses. The problem was resolved through an increase in tax and public debt. Fenicia points to the most general element of such a policy—striving for rationality and flexibility. When, due to a cut in budget the number of galleys was reduced, the reconstruction of the wooden hulls and a more rational supply contributed to a greater efficiency of the remaining vessels. Functionality was always the priority. A decision to build an arsenal was not made only because of the expansion of the navy, but also to support the growing operative requirements of smaller fleet formations.

An increase in the military expenditures in the latter half of the sixteenth century seriously burdened the viceroy's budget. This resulted in a systematisation of the state income from extra taxes and a substantial increase in public debt. On the other hand, budget deficit and a search for new financial resources gave way to disorder characterised by corruption and abuse.

Lastly, the book is amply illustrated and supplemented with tables, graphs, indexes of the viceroys and galley captains, a chronological survey and a table of measures as well as a bibliography and index of names.

Mihaela Vekarić

Plurilingvizem v Evropi 18. stoletja, [Multilingualism in Eighteenth-Century Europe], ed. **Fedora Ferluga Petronio**. Maribor: Slavistično društvo, 2002. Pages 348.

This collection of 22 essays is an outgrowth of the conferences held at the Inter-University Centre of Dubrovnik in 1999 and 2000 on diverse aspects of multilingualism in eighteenth-century Europe, concentrating on the regions from the north-west border of Slovenia, Zagreb, Bosnia, Dubrovnik to Bulgaria. The volume contains contributions of a mixture of 18 historians, linguists, literary historians and sociologists from Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. Sixteen essays have been published in English, 5 in Italian, and one in German, each being accompanied by a summary in Slovene.

The first of the three Italian scholars to contribute to the topic is Vincenzo Orioles from the University of Udine in his opening essay entitled *Plurilinguismo: modelli interpretativi, terminologia e ricadute istituzionali,* in which he provides insight into multilinguistic patterns, particularly from U. Weinreich onward.

Fedora Ferluga Petronio, editor and author of a short introduction (in Slovenian and Italian), arrives from the same Italian University. Her essay *Le traduzioni in croato dei classici latini di Marko Bruerović Desrivaux* traces Croatian translations of the Latin classics by Marko Bruerović (1770-1823), son of a French consul to Dubrovnik, who, at the turn of the eighteenth century, proved a versed poet in several languages: Croatian, Latin, Italian, and French.

In *La lingua franca a Venezia nel Settecento* Guido Cifoletti, also from the University of Udine, examines the Maghrib documents which originate from eighteenth-century Venice and were written in a widely used Mediterranean idiom - *lingua franca*.

Vladimir Osolnik, Slovene scholar from Ljubljana, contributes two essays. The first addresses the multilingualism and bilingualism of the Slovene Enlightenment circle of Žiga Zois, while the other casts light upon some of the multilungual aspects in the works of the Slovene polyhistor, Valentin Vodnik, who wrote in Slovene, French and German.

Marko Jesenšek from Maribor also contributes two essays. In *Greek, Latin and German Syntatic Influence on Slovene Gospel Translations in the 18th Century* he analyses the use of the '-č' and '-ši' participle endings in eighteenth-century Slovene literary works and the influence of the Latin, German, Old Church Slavonic and Greek syntactic patterns upon participle constructions. Multilingualism of the Capuchin friar Bernard of Maribor is the subject of his other essay (*Mehrsprachigkeit bei Bernardus Marburgenis*), the focus of Jesenšek's attention being placed on the bi- and multilingualism of Bernard's German-Slovene dictionary.

The contribution of Irena Orel from Ljubljana (*Lexical Interference in German-Slovenian Textbooks in the Late 18th Century*) illuminates certain aspects of bi- and multilingualism in the history of the Slovenian language, focusing on the translations of three bilingual textbooks, 'Reading Exercises' by B. Kumerdej, 'The Great Catechism' by J. Japelj, and M. Zagajšek's grammar book, along with J. Edling's translation of the General School Order from 1774.

The essay of Đurđa Strsoglavec from Ljubljana (*Marko Pohlin, Slovene Revival Language* Novus) examines Pohlin's poetics elaborated in his *Kraynska Grammatika* (*Kraynska Grammatika oder die Kunst die crainerische Sprache regelrichtig zu reden und zu schreben*), written in German in 1768.

The remaining contributors are from Croatia. Ljiljana Marks from the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb in her essay entitled *Baltazar Adam Krčelić - Chronicler of Everday Life* discusses Krčelić's *Annuae* and the oral tradition of Croatia.

Sanja Vulić, member of the Linguistic Research Institute of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, contributes two papers. In *L'atteggiamento nei riguardi del plurilinguismo nelle opere di Stjepan Markovac Margitić, Tomo Babić, Jerolim Filipović, Filip Lastrić e Nikola Luković* she addresses the multilingualism in the works of several Bosnian Franciscans from the eighteenth century. The focus of her scholarly attention then shifts to

the Bulgarian writer, Krsto Pejkić, and the multilingualism in his literary-theological writings.

Testimonium Bilabium Written by the Friar Filip Lastrić (Philippus ab Ochevia), an essay by Pavao Knezović from the Croatian Studies in Zagreb, focuses on a collection of sermons written by one of the most prominent figures among the Bosnian Franciscans of the eighteenth century and the first historian of Bosnia, friar Filip Lastrić (1700-1783). *Testimonium bilabium* has earned its position in the history of the Croatian sermonic literature for the fact that it is bilingual, written in Croatian and Latin.

Antun Pavešković of the Department for the History of Croatian Literature of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, analyses the first and most extensive critical account of Alberto Fortis's travelogue *Viaggio in Dalmazia* in *Ivan Lovrić: The Review of Fortis or Croato-centrism in the Italian Language*. In 1776, in the early days of his career, Ivan Lovrić discussed Fortis's views from the standpoints of empiricism and rationalism.

Lelija Sočanac from the Linguistic Research Institute of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, contributes two papers. *Code-switching in 18th Century Ragusan Comedies* examines the sociolinguistic and syntactic interference between Croatian and Italian as displayed in eighteenth-century Ragusan comedies, while *Multilingualism in 18th Century Ragusan Plays* deals with the Ragusan idiom of the eighteenth century, characterised by an interplay between the Slavic (Croatian) linguistic elements and those of the Romance language, so typical of the Ragusan plays.

In *Zamanja's Translation of Hesiod's Epic 'Works and Days'* Marina Bricko of the Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb, provides an insightful analysis of Hesiod's epic *Opera et dies ac Scutum Herculis, carmina Hesiodi Ascraei Latinis versibus expressa a Bernardo Zamagna Ragusino*, translated into Latin and published in 1780 by Bernard Zamagna, a Ragusan poet.

In her article entitled *Natural-Historical Terminology in Joakim Stulli's Lexicon (1801)* Snježana Paušek-Baždar of the Institute for the History and the Philosophy of Science of the Croatian Academy, Zagreb, discusses the terminology related to natural history in Stulli's *Lexicon latino-italico-illyricum*, published in Budim in 1801.

Žarko Muljačić, the Emeritus Professor of the Freie Universität of Berlin and a renown Croatian Romanist, contributes an essay on Tomo Baseljić of Dubrovnik (*Tomo Baseljić - Bassegli, oratore e scrittore in sei lingue*), one of the greatest figures of the Croatian Enlightenment, who was equally versed in Latin, Italian, French, German and English, though most of his works were written in French.

In this volume, Slavica Stojan of the Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Dubrovnik affords a study on the abusive language and slander registered in the records of the Ragusan Criminal Court at the turn of the seventeenth century (*Verbal Attacks on Women's Honour in Bilingual Record-books of the Criminal Court of Dubrovnik in the 17th and 18th Century*).

Vesna Čučić of the State Archives of Dubrovnik contributes an essay entitled *Polyglot Damjan Bračević of Dubrovnik: Diplomat and Interpreter in the Service of the French*, in which she traces the life and career of the Ragusan diplomat Damjan Bračević who, among other interesting details, studied in Turkey and spoke several languages. The author also highlights his lively correspondence with the Ragusan Senate.

Lastly, in her essay *Miho Zarini—Dragoman (Interpreter for the Turkish Language) of the Republic of Dubrovnik,* Vesna Miović-Perić, member of the Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, illuminates an eventful career of Miho Zarini, who had acquired a reputation as one of the best Ragusan interpreters for Turkish.

All of the essays cited have worthwhile things to say and will certainly draw the attention of those specialised in the problems of bi- and multilingualism but also of the scholars who

approach the subject of multilingualism from a variety of perspectives, including the culturo-historical aspect of the studied regions in its broadest sense.

The editor, contributors, the publisher (The Slavic Society of Maribor) and many assistants are to be commended for having prepared this valuable collection and for having assembled such a distinguished team of international scholars at the conferences in Dubrovnik. The choice of topic deserves special compliment. One only hopes that similar conferences will continue to take place and produce welcome collections such as this.

Ivo Pranjković