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THE MEDITERRANEAN FROM A MEDITERRANEAN ANGLE: RENAISSANCE DUBROVNIK¹

The article focuses on two issues relevant for the Mediterranean anthropology. The first issue is unity and diversity, and the second issue concerns rural/urban, coast/hinterland relationship. Both issues are discussed on the example of the Dubrovnik Republic in the 15th and 16th century and on the basis of literary material from that period. The aim is to illuminate relevant complexity, ambiguity, contradictions and the dialectic of the community and time under research.

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Discussing the Mediterranean distinctiveness that has to be taken into consideration when doing Mediterranean anthropology, Thomas Crump stresses three critical sociocultural issues. Firstly, the Mediterranean regions have been more important in the past than they are today; secondly, the Mediterranean societies have been structured on cities; and thirdly, they have had the use of written language (1979:86). Following these comments, one can argue that contemporary Mediterranean anthropology has to be more historical, more urban and more literary. That also concerns the Mediterranean ethnological research in Croatia. It was mostly conducted by collecting data on rural culture in the 19th and 20th century (annual customs and material elements of culture) thus generally neglecting the urban and historical aspects of Mediterranean culture.²

I have chosen the Republic of Dubrovnik during the Renaissance period as the focus of discussion. It was the most prosperous period of the Republic's history. From the 11th century onward the Republic steadily

¹ I would like to thank Jasna Čapo Žmegač, Drago Roksandić and Jonas Frykman for useful advice and comments while I was preparing the paper.

² For a more detailed discussion on the Croatian ethnological research in/of the Mediterranean see Jasna Čapo Žmegač's paper in this volume.

increased its autonomy and from the middle of the 14th century it became a virtually independent city-republic. In that period patricians closed ranks and gained exclusive political power. In the 15th century the Republic finished its territorial expansion. The external policy of the Republic during the course of history was directed to balancing between various world powers and states: the Ottoman Empire, the Vatican State, the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom, Spain, France, the Kingdom of Naples and the Venetian Republic. In the 15th and 16th century the Republic developed significant continental trade in its hinterland and had a number of trade colonies in the Ottoman Empire. Despite Venetian rivalry, the Republic also developed a booming maritime trade in the Mediterranean Sea and set up its consulates from England to the Levant.

The sources I am using date from the middle of the 15th century and throughout the 16th century. The richest source I refer to is the literary opus by *Marin Držić* (1508-1567), a Renaissance Dubrovnik writer of comedies, pastorals and farces. He studied in Sienna and there he encountered the Italian Renaissance theatre that would have a significant impact on his work. He wrote in Croatian and some of his plays were performed in public in the *piazza* during the Carnival period while others were performed in private houses on the occasions of patrician marriage festivities. His works are written in the manner of Renaissance realism, thus combining some conventional themes and characters with "everyday dramaturgy". Some realistic and documentary fragments of Dubrovnik's life and social ambience, allusions to current political and social situations, customs, spirit, and the language of local people are interpolated in his opus.³ What can also be read off from his plays are mechanisms of communication between different social strata, the relations between different social or ethnic groups, intercultural dynamics, changes in mental and imaginative spheres of life, as well as in everyday life and practices.

Another source was written in the middle of 15th century by *Beno Kotruljević* (died in 1468), a merchant from Dubrovnik who developed broad commercial and trade business all over the Mediterranean world. Most of his life he lived in the Kingdom of Naples, where he obtained a high administrative position. He wrote a treatise *Della mercatura et del mercante perfetto* (On Trade and on the Perfect Merchant) describing the art of trade and an ideal merchant of his time, and discussing economic

³ I am using the majority of Držić's opus which includes pastorals *Tirena*, *Venere i Adon*, *Plakir (Grižula)*, farce *Novela od Stanca*, comedies *Dundo Maroje*, *Džuho Kerpeta*, *Pjerin*, *Tripče de Utolče (Manda)* and *Arkulin*. Some of this works are preserved only in fragments. What is not included in the analysis are Držić's poetry, tragedy *Hekuba* and Držić's conspiracy letters against the Dubrovnik's government. There is a bulk of literature on Marin Držić, his life, his work, theatre and philosophy mostly written by literary historians and critics, see Batistić 1955; Košuta 1968; Fisković 1971; Čale 1979; Slamnig 1965; Bogišić 1968; Švelec 1968, Ravlić 1969; Novak 1977, 1984; Fališevac 1989; Čale Feldman 1997. Some of his plays have been performed until the present day.

thought and activities of the 16th century. He also introduced a number of references on contemporary life in Dubrovnik and in other Mediterranean communities.⁴

Another source also dates from the middle of the 15th century. It is *Opis Dubrovnika* (Description of Dubrovnik) written by *Filip (Philippus) de Diversis*, an Italian who lived in Dubrovnik and worked there as a teacher for some time. He described the geographic and political position of the Dubrovnik Republic, its constitution, buildings and the "praiseworthy" customs of Dubrovnik, and he dedicated his work to the Senate of Dubrovnik.⁵

Several historical and anthropological fields are important as theoretical and methodological background for this study. *Literary anthropology* is an interdisciplinary field "based on the anthropologically-oriented use of the narrative literatures (...) as they constitute the richest source of documentation for both synchronic and diachronic analyses of people's ideas and behaviours" (Poyatos 1988:xii). In that respect, many scholars appreciate literature as a valuable source with specific authenticity. The anthropologist Nigel Rapport defines the field of literary anthropology as "a social science which deliberately maintains a conversation with whatever ideas and texts appear provocatively to elucidate the subject under review" (1997:9). He considers literature and anthropology as "corresponding ways of writing social reality" (1993:22).⁶ Such literary material must be interpreted by passing it through an interpretative grate, having in mind the principles and genres of writing in the particular period, defining the context of the writer's intentions, attitudes and life in general and the modes of transposing the perceived reality into a narrative.

The field of *historical anthropology* refers to a distinctive approach to history. It focuses on small communities and on specific cases, introducing research of everyday life, symbolism, collective representations, shared images and shared discursive practices. Moreover, it is aimed at apprehending the logic and cognitive framework of understanding and interpreting the inner functioning of a specific

⁴ Kotruljević wrote his work in 1458, but it was first published in 1573 in Venice. His treatise is used in historical science and economics for analyzing social life as well as for studying economic philosophy and activity described in it. See Radičević & Muljačić 1985: 64-116.

⁵ The data on Diversis's life are scant and fragmented. He spent 7 years in Dubrovnik (1434-1441) as a teacher. He is known only by the works he wrote in that period. Besides the above mentioned *Description of Dubrovnik* (1440), he wrote several speeches dedicated to Hungarian kings which were performed in public.

⁶ Rapport also discusses the epistemological basis of anthropological knowledge and knowledge read off from literary sources. Both fields entail representing life in specific categories, using selection of data and conventions characteristic to genre and period of writing. He also follows Geertz's claim that reality privileges no particular idiom in which it demands to be described. It may also entail the literary idiom (1993:3-45; 1997:ch. 6).

community in the insider's (participant's) own socio-cultural terms (Burke 1989:3-4; *Focaal* 1996). The *microhistorical approach* entails a dialectical relationship between local histories and macrohistory, together with the dynamization and interpretation of analytical concepts in a specific time and place. This approach refers to a qualitatively different notion of history and historical writing implemented with anthropological thought (Levy 1995). Ludwig Petry argued that although local history is spatially limited, it actually has no limits regarding the richness of historical processes, appearances, flows and data it contains (cf. Bertoša 1985:83).

Set against the backdrop of a historical Mediterranean community certain anthropological issues are discussed on the basis of literary sources. The first part of the paper deals with the issue of diversity and unity, referring to the existence of micro-cultures and sub-cultures within the Dubrovnik Republic. The heterogeneity of the Republic was overcome through some key transversals within which differences — political, economic, and social — were reconciled. Furthermore, I shall raise the issue of honour and shame as one of the features of Mediterranean cultural and social life. The second part focuses on the dichotomies of urban-rural and coast-hinterland, trying to illuminate the quandaries of that dualism at different levels in the Renaissance Dubrovnik Republic, and introducing some of its aspects that require more research. I propose commuting back and forth between historical literary sources and accounts and some modern theoretical considerations, in order to gain a more comprehensive interpretation.

1. An issue of diversity and unity: the example of the Dubrovnik Republic

The basic political structure of the Dubrovnik Republic was that of *nobiles*, patricians who had exclusive political power and *ignobiles*, commoners who did not participate in official political affairs. The basic social structure was that of *cives*, citizens who lived within the City, and *districtuales*, population outside the City. This basic stratification was further ramified, subdividing commoners into the well-off and those of very modest means, the urban poor, rural immigrants, foreigners, servants and slaves. Explaining the fundamental differentiation within Dubrovnik's society, Diversis notes that "there are incompatibilities between character, way of life, understanding of honour and shame and the like between people who are low-born and high-born" (1973:67). Kotruljević (1985) also mentions differences in behaviour and character among the bulk of the City inhabitants. Držić's opus is rich in portraying different social types within the City, ranging from nobles to servants, from urban to rural types, from people of Dubrovnik to foreigners, revealing not only the social conditions of their lives, but also nuances in their perception of the world, and in their behaviour, character, temperament and mentality in general.

To illustrate the issue of diversity within the Dubrovnik Republic, I shall describe in more detail the relationship between the citizens of Dubrovnik and the inhabitants of Lopud island, using the material from Držić's opus. Lopud island is situated off-shore from Dubrovnik and it was part of the Dubrovnik Republic from the 9th century onwards. The Lopud characters that appear in Držić's plays⁷ combine into a specific type of person within the Dubrovnik community. A man from Lopud is a seafarer, and life on board-ship on the open sea builds him up physically and gives him a distinctive spirit. He sings a hymn to the sailors life, he is "a child of wind and air" brought up on board and he pledges his oaths to the sea, the sun and the fishes. His destiny is mostly defined by maritime experiences and these seamen of Lopud are the only characters in Držić's plays who invoke saints not typical of the Republic, but those who are more international and Mediterranean (St. Anthony of Padua, St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Jacob of Galicia). Another characteristic of the Lopudian sailor is his belligerence and heroism; he is "a man of combat". Confronted with the perils of the sea, battles with pirates and enemy sailors, he often provokes brawls and exaggerates in stories about his own heroic deeds. Furthermore, the people from Lopud stress that they are *izulans*, people from the island. In the perception of Lopudians, the City of Dubrovnik suffers from enclosure, both physically and metaphorically, expressed in the differentiation between the City "hobbled by its ramparts", and the "island which has no doors". The inhabitants of Lopud consider themselves

⁷ The most expressive Lopudian characters are Dživulin in *Dundo Maroje* and Viculin in *Arkulin*.

as "children of the sea and the wind", while they label those from Dubrovnik as "earth-bound serpents who licked the ground." When in the City, the Lopudians feel physically constricted, they are "tied between city walls" even more so by the city's ordinances, which required peasants and foreigners to be relieved of their arms when they entered the City. Lopudians designate the people from the City as cheats, time-wasters and layabouts (*placari, predigiornate, mangiaguadagni*). There is particular stress on the potential danger that the women of Lopud may be corrupted in the City. A woman from Lopud who married someone from the City brought disgrace to her family. Further, the men from Lopud were commoners and ship-captains but it was mandatory that the cruise be accompanied by a scribe (*škrivan*), chosen from among the nobles (Batistić 1955). This caused conflict at several levels: in the sense of social conflict (subordination of commoners to nobles); and in the aspect of everyday life (the sea-faring expertise of the captains-commoners in relation to the lack of experience of the patrician scribes, who were state employees).

These examples give some indication of the relationship between the Lopudians and people from the City of Dubrovnik. Firstly, Držić's image of the people from Lopud demonstrates a specific sailor *sub-culture* within the culture of Dubrovnik. Secondly, the Lopudians emphasise *local identity differentiation*, even in such a small community such as the Dubrovnik Republic was. It consists both of real and subjective experience of difference: the City is enclosed by ramparts and considered an area of debasement. Thirdly, there are several levels of conflict between the Lopudians and the inhabitants of Dubrovnik connected with women, maritime organization and practical life experience.

All this indicates the existence of micro-local cultures and identities within the Republic. Furthermore, it implies an issue on the relations between the homogeneity and the heterogeneity of the inner functioning and composition of the Republic. One instructive concept which helps interpret this issue is offered by Marianne Gullestad. She brings to light the notion of *overarching categories*, which are defined as "cultural ideas and values (that) may be simultaneously both shared and stable as well as negotiated and emerging" (1991:88).⁸

The concept of honour and shame may be defined as such an overarching category. It is generally recognized that the honour and shame code in Mediterranean communities was a perennial feature which functioned primarily to regulate the relations between the sexes and families, to distribute prestige and status, and to govern social and gender relations. The honour and shame code is further connected with the

⁸ Gullestad analyzed some overarching categories in the study of Norwegian contemporary culture (1991). The author argues that by spelling out such overarching categories, analyzing their meaning and interpreting them one can get access into central concepts of a particular culture.

judgement that Mediterranean women were subjugated. A recent historical study on Dubrovnik's life in the 13th and 14th century which is based on ample archival material, also confirms these ideas (Janeković-Römer 1994). With regard to the position and role of women, the author argues that the law (*Statut*) restricted women's public and economic activity and women mostly spent their lives within the home, a position which is connected with the code of honour (1994:126-137).

It seems that women's voices in legal and archival material are rare. On the contrary, literary material abounds with women's voices. One could argue that literary sources may give some refined insights into and nuances of both the image of life contained in archival material, and the basic notions of Mediterranean social life. Many references in Držić's plays recognize the value of honour and of the lower position of women in the society. Nevertheless, his opus also reveals how these categories were negotiable and transformed. Some Držić's characters explicitly refer to their honour when talking about women, money and arms. In different scenes, each of these three references is accentuated as honour. To lose money means to lose honour. To defeat an enemy means to gain honour *ad posterus*. Marriage between an island girl and a City man — whether patrician or plebeian — is not met with approval. The woman's family loses its honour in such cases. Here, the social differentiation on the vertical level (patricians-commoners) is subordinated to differentiation on a horizontal level, that of the micro-communities. As presented by Držić, the overall atmosphere in Dubrovnik is very dissolute. Young men seduce and pinch young women, their talk abounds in lascivious references, old men visit prostitutes, married women commit adultery. Several female characters triumph over males, other females live their lives in a way that consciously and openly threatens their honour. Držić's characters reveal certain aspects of the inner functioning of marriage and relationships between husband and wife. Although the law barely gave women any rights to dispose with their own dowries, those women who brought large dowries into their marriages were assured a better position in their households as wives and as women. Such women would be more demanding of their husbands, and would become informal masters of their own homes, contrary to the formal provisions of the law. There is also reference to the new relations in marriage: that of confidence and equality between a wife and a husband. Generally, in many lines of dialogue and comment, Držić refers to changing attitudes towards women and to women's changing comprehension of their life and position.

The honour and shame concept is an overarching category that defines interpersonal relationships. On another level, the notion of republicanism was also an overarching category. Internal antagonisms, local identities, various cultural practices and political division were superseded by a sense of belonging to the Republic. The Držić's Lopudians show some local antagonism towards the City. Nevertheless, archival material reveals the loyalty of the Lopud population to the well-

-being of the Republic and its overall benefit. The greatest fortunes left to the Republic for humanitarian purposes — hospitals, helping the poor etc. — were bequeathed by Miho Pracat, Marin Piccetti and Nikola Radulović who were all from the Lopud island (Mitić 1986). Diversis wrote that although sailors and villagers from the surrounding areas were of limited intelligence and narrow outlook, they were prepared to give their lives in defence of the Republic (1973:29). The ideal of dying for one's country is also declared as a value in contemporary (Machiavellian) thought. Moreover, subordinating one's own interests to those of the state was the highest objective an individual could have, according to the philosophy of the time (see Kotruljević 1985 and Držić 1979).

The notion of the Republic's independence and liberty, which maintained its neutrality in the whirlpool of world powers, was the integral discourse that prevailed over its internal segmentation, be it economic, cultural, political. Actually, the political power of the Republic was exclusively in the hands of patricians. In their political discourse, their power was equated with the stability of the Republic. Discussing issues of ideology and hegemony, Comaroff argued that ideology is a worldview of one, dominating social group, while hegemony is a part of a dominant ideology, which is naturalized, taken for granted, natural, uncontested and true (1992:29-30). In its hegemonic dimensions, every culture presents itself as "coherent, systematic, concensual, authoritative", and its forms as eternal and universal (ibid.). This can be seen most obviously in the Republic's political rituals. The main annual political ritual was the feast day of Saint Blaise. The whole community was united in celebrating the commune's patron: patricians, plebeians of all kinds, foreigners, peasants, all performed their loyalty to the Republic (Diversis 1973:49). Allegiance to the patricians would have meant the recognition of their exclusive political power, with a significant possibility of rebellion against them as the politically dominant group. The loyalty was transposed to the state as such, and therefore certain tensions between the politically dominating and the dominated groups could be reconciled.

The collective adherence to the Dubrovnik's Republicanism can be seen as being embodied in the symbols on Dubrovnik's flag. There were two flags: one flag bore the inscription *Libertas* (liberty) considered the dominant feature of the Republic. The other flag featured another image of Republicanism — Saint Blaise — who figured as the guardian of the Republic's destiny. Saint Blaise also figures as the symbol of the Republic's Roman Catholic orientation. Historical treatises, poetic verses and documents reveal the notion of God's mercy by which the Republic was sustained free and neutral from outside pressures, and by which it developed its fortune.⁹ There are several verses by Držić which illustrate

⁹ Here are some examples from the 15th century archival documents: "Our city, more by the grace of almighty God than through our efforts and merits, has grown and multiplied as much in temporal goods and possessions, as it has in people and inhabitants."; "By

this notion of the Republic: heaven's grace fulfills it with presents of peace and good fortune, and with justice and good reason; here, all are safe, there are no thieves and executioners, there is no any kind of evil, only beautiful youth and clever old-men; through all the world, through the East and the West, the Republic maintained a good name by Lord's mercy (Držić 1979:*Tirena*, verses 15-50, free translation and abbreviation).

Dubrovnik's independence and liberty was glorified at that time, and remains symbolic up to this day. Diversis's work abounds with descriptions of the glory and wealth of the Republic, he praises its customs and government, together with the honour, courage, cordiality and modesty of its nobles. He also praises the safety of the City which is free from injustice and aggression. However, a French traveller in the middle of the 17th century proposed: "let us remove the mask from this Republic". This is how he described life in the Republic: there is a general feeling of unrest and distrust within the Republic, all based on fear; the regents are being changed, preachers are being put in jail, it is forbidden to carry arms during the day, Turks and foreigners are locked up at night, "there can be no subjugation to a ruler which would not be better than the imagined liberty of these ostensibly free citizens"; (...) "a miniature state which arrogantly defends its imagined freedom, while being a slave to itself and others" (Pouillet 1658, cf. Tadić 1939:273-77). This quotation testifies to the fact that the proclaimed politics and values need to be questioned.

Another look at the Držić's plays also offers a similar indication: the law of God is only declared, while nobody lives in accordance with God's rules. The prosperous Republic pays its debts, the power of money destroys basic human relationships and leaves people with a general feeling of distrust and fear both for their money and even for their life (Držić 1979:*Skup*). The wealth of the Republic may well be questioned when reading the following testimonies: poverty corrodes the Republic and the City (Držić 1979:*Skup* act III, scene 10), the majority of people live in great poverty (Diversis 1973:35).

I have wanted to initiate discussion on several issues in this part of the paper. I argue that literary sources may well be employed in the study of Mediterranean communities. Since developed literacy in the Mediterranean area produced a significant amount of literary material, it can be researched and put together with other (archival) material. In this particular case, literary material reveals certain levels of micro-cultures and micro-identities within the Dubrovnik Republic, and levels of antagonisms among its population. Literary material also sheds light on the basic notion of honour and shame, as well as on the life of women, offering vivid accounts of the cultural and social life of a community in the past. It also reveals different images of the Republic as a place facing spiritual and moral crisis, as a place of ceremonial symbolism, as a place of a cohesive

God's grace the land has grown and is multiplying from good to better" (cf. Krekić 1997:197, 200).

whole, and fragmented society. There are two worlds: the-world-as-represented and the-world-as-experienced (Comaroff 1992:30). The first world is ideological and discursive, and the other world is the world of everyday life in which basic notions and representations are contested, balanced and negotiated. Therefore, there are several levels one has to commute between: between general notions and particular situations, between levels of homogeneity and heterogeneity, between the level of discursive practices and images and everyday life in order to reach a more comprehensive interpretation.

2. Issues of urban-rural and coast-hinterland relationships

The state border of the Dubrovnik Republic on the mainland changed a number of times between the 13th and 15th century; it stretched longitudinally along the coast but never penetrated deep inland. The territory was composed of the City — an urban structure and the most dominant point within the territory of the Republic- and of a coastal areas of rural character.¹⁰ From the Braudelian Mediterranean study onward, the analytical model was established of the City that co-exists with its rural surroundings. The City needs agrarian production from its surroundings and it functions as a market for rural goods. People from rural areas were important for the City's development. Braudel argues that up until the 19th century, the cities were marked with higher mortality rates than fertility rates and therefore the city could not grow of its own volition (1992:536). A significant number of the City's population were of rural origins. The requirement of economic and demographic trends in the City were regulators of rural life. How much the City of Dubrovnik needed its newcomers is also shown by the fact that it did not only try to attract them, but kept them there by measures of compulsion (Roller 1951:163). It was precisely those newcomers who represented the fundamental human and cultural bonding elements between the City and its rural surroundings.

The relationship between the Republic and its broad hinterland is one of the perennial issues in historical research. In historical studies it is mostly studied as an issue of migrations, paying tribute to the hinterland authorities, trade contracts, and territorial conflicts. Nevertheless, cultural aspects of that relationship still need profound research.

The material derived from Držić's opus provides information at several levels on the relations between the City and its rural hinterland. Firstly, the relation between value systems; secondly, the Renaissance

¹⁰ Braudel argued that in a historical perspective there are no cities without villages and annexed pieces of rural life, and that a City's existential need is to dominate over "empire", no matter how small the "empire" is (1992:526). The "empire" of the Dubrovnik Republic was very small: in the 16th century, when its territorial spreading finished, the Republic covered 1030 sq. km (Foretić 1980, II:434).

attitude towards the village and peasants; and thirdly, specifically, Dubrovnik's attitude towards its rural surroundings and broader hinterland.

Value systems. According to Držić's presentation, the hinterland of Dubrovnik developed a specific physical and mental type of people: they were healthy, strong and robust in contrast to the urban type of people, who were sickly, thin and weak (Držić 1979:*Dundo Maroje* act I, scene 1; *Grižula* act III, scene 4). Diversis also noted that people from the surrounding areas were strongly built but of limited intelligence and narrow outlook (1973:29). Passing through the Držić's opus, one can spot the character of the peasants: they are rough, quarrelsome, aggressive and short-tempered. Mutual mocking and derisive attributes in communication between themselves are characteristic. On the other hand, there are many references to their pronounced sociability and closeness, idyllic entertainment, customs, songs, dances, games and wooing (Držić 1979:*Venera; Tirena*).

The village feels the rhythm of the Renaissance City, but it does not understand it: they live diverse cultural patterns. Weber argued that primacy of commercial concerns in the late Medieval Ages nurtured the growth of new cultural attitudes which the countryside did not share (Weber, cf. Herlihy 1995:297). Rural values are often expressed in forms of lament about events and time which bring changes (Držić 1979:*Tirena*, verses 685-690; *Džuho Kerpeta; Grižula* act III, scene 7). They consider the City-dwellers to be a crowd of crazy people, shameless and arrogant (*Grižula* act III, scene 7; *Venera*). The relationship between the village and the City is presented in dimensions of materialism (wealth of the citizens/poverty of the peasants), morality (corruption of the City) and culture (different value systems). Moreover, the City's language and customs are incomprehensible to the peasants; the City's menu — they eat frogs and snails — is foreign to them (Držić 1979:*Dundo Maroje* act IV, scene 9). In some literary references the clear-cut line between the maritime consciousness and character and continental mentality was depicted (Držić 1979:*Novela od Stanca*).

Rural immigrants to the City were the fundamental bonding elements between urban and rural areas. They formed a sub-cultural group within the City: they entered into new social relationships, attained different experience and, necessarily, altered their psychology, character traits and life orientations although they retained the stamp of their origins and world. Such persons belonged neither to the City, nor to the village; they were not respected by either side (Držić 1979:*Venera; Grižula; Džuho Kerpeta*). The City influenced the lives of immigrants in two ways: some became refined and urbanized, others were corrupted (Držić 1979:*Grižula; Dundo Maroje*).

Renaissance attitudes. The second aspect concerns Renaissance attitudes towards rural areas and peasants. The City's "colonization" of surrounding rural areas was carried out for two reasons. Firstly, it was a

transfer of accumulated wealth from the City to the village.¹¹ Secondly, it was a fashion of the time, coupled with the Arcadian philosophical ideal of one's life and spirit. This duality is also expressed in Kotruljević's work. He suggests to his contemporaries that they should own two castles in the surroundings. One should serve for profit from rents, and for exile from the City in time of epidemics. The other should serve for entertainment and spiritual refreshment (1985:211-2). From the end of the 13th century, Italian cities became encircled by country-side palaces and gardens. The culture of country-side houses, in its practical, ideological and cultural dimensions, flourished in the 15th century (Grujić 1994). Summer houses with parks, terraces, fish-ponds, porches and chapels were built in Dubrovnik's surrounding areas as early as in the 15th century (Fisković 1969:38). The aristocrats followed the new Renaissance comprehension of landscape, space and form. The summer houses were meeting-points for writers and educated people: rural motifs, language and expressions found their way into Dubrovnik's literature. The opus of Držić abounds with classical Renaissance topics moulded by expressions, customs, superstitions and beliefs and overall inspiration from the Slavic rural hinterland of Dubrovnik (Švelec 1968; Košuta 1982).

The "return" to the land in Renaissance thought also means the return to Nature. Urban space cannot improve the human spirit: a man has to enter harmonious and idyllic Nature which is the true source of every inspiration. The revitalized relationship between Man and Nature in the Renaissance led to an idealisation of those who have always lived close to it. The life of the villagers and their links with Nature thus acquired a character of the idyllic and harmonious life (Držić 1979:*Grižula*). In this atmosphere, birds sing, peasants allegedly dance, games are played and hunting traps are set. Several characters from Držić's opus (*uzmožni pastiri*) are urban and educated people who are dressed up as peasants, but they express ideas typical of Renaissance philosophy and attitude. Burckhard argued that the pastoral life became the external ideal costume for the emotions which derive from a completely different kind of life and education (1953:195).

Dubrovnik's attitude. Despite the above mentioned Renaissance attitudes, Dubrovnik, as an urban centre, speaks out with mild irony in relation to the peasants. Držić sketched that urban superiority in a number of scenes: the City amuses itself at the expense of a naive peasant, ironic references are made to the bagpipes and *gusle* (a single-stringed chordophone) as peasant instruments opposed to the urban lute, the City fellows mocked at the appearance of rural women (Držić 1979:*Novela od Stanca, Dundo Maroje*). In his plays, ridicule and mockery of peasants

¹¹ The "return" to the land is characteristic of the European West in that time and it also has its economic reasons, especially in the 17th century with regard to economic conjunctures (decline of continental and maritime trade and investment in the agrarian production) (Braudel 1990; 1992:298-9).

from the rural hinterland do exist but they are far from any hostility and scorn. Držić did not make buffoons of his rural characters, as was usual in Italian Renaissance pastorals. On the contrary, he makes them philosophical and critical characters who discuss some basic notions of his time, and human relationships (Bogišić 1968).

In the plays by Držić there are also references towards notions of space. On the one hand, he offers idealized pictures and scenarios of the imagined Renaissance notion of Nature which he places in the surroundings of Dubrovnik City: sweet spring blooms, honey rains from heaven, fields decorated with colourful flowers, a daily star leads into a day more beautiful than ever, and the sun shines unimaginably (Držić 1979:*Grižula*, Prologue I, free translation). On the other hand, the same surroundings can also be dangerous. There are real dangers connected with everyday pastoral life. Peasant share the fear of wild animals, wolves, oracles, snakes, and the like. Moreover, there are imaginative dangers: fairies and mountain monsters who can attack people and do them harm. They live in "dense mountains" and "green forests". Such beliefs are an integral part of the life of pastoral people and they share a distrust towards the places they live in. In Držić's plays there are also references to a desert, a term by which he sometimes used for places outside the City's ramparts. Držić placed in such a desert an hermit, and a woman-servant who escaped from the "bad" life in the City (Držić 1979:*Plakir*). In this respect, leaving the City means the abandonment of the organized, cultivated world, society and economics. In his treatise, Kotruljević suggests that people should live in their country-houses outside the City when their business careers are finished: the hermit life in the countryside liberates people from human intercourse and troubles, and leads to God's service and to a philosophy of happiness (1985:230-1).¹² Different levels of relationships toward space also bear relevance in interpreting and understanding the inner functioning of a particular community.

Another aspect of the coast — hinterland relationship comprises of the broader Slavic hinterland territory that nestles against the narrow coastal area of the Dubrovnik Republic. Here I would like to refer to a literary corpus of historical topics and considerations that flourished in the Renaissance and Humanistic period and to some political and ideological implications those works bring to light. One of the expression of that period was the interpretation of a community's past through links with the history and tradition of Antiquity (Burke 1970). In this respect, the authors from Dubrovnik (Ludovik Crijević, Mavro Orbini, Ivan Lučić), as well as other Dalmatian authors, tried to show its own full right to the

¹² One instructive concept with regard to the notion of space is given by J. Le Goff in his study of Medieval West. He argues that in the Medieval period the significant difference — that between the City and rural areas, *urbs* and *rus* — was not the same as in the Ancient period. The basic division became culture-nature. "Culture" included everything that was built, cultivated and populated, thus it referred both to the rural and urban areas. "Natural" referred to wilderness such as sea, forest or desert (Le Goff 1993:75-90).

inheritance of Antiquity, while the greatest problem lay in establishing continuity and legitimate links with the peak of Antiquity, that is to confirm the continuity both ethnically and linguistically (Kuntić-Makvić 1984:155-5). Efforts to attain the right to the heritage of former Illyrium oriented the authors to the large Slavic hinterland, for Slavs were those who inhabited the former Roman provinces in the 16th century. This concept became more comprehensive when related to the dominantly Romanse Mediterranean of that time (the dominant rule of Spain, France and Venice over the North Mediterranean shore). Braudel would say that the 16th century Adriatic had a predominantly "Italian flavour". Another dimension is also evident in all these texts: in the name of antiquarian past and of Christianity adopted early on, they try to prove their proper place in the European cultural circle. The recognition of such a position could lead to a greater political and military engagement on the part of the European states at times of threat from the Turks (see Kuntić-Makvić 1984). Since the danger of Venetian rule over the Republic was a constant possibility, it may have lead historians of the time to direct their treatises to explaining the identity of the Republic connected with its Slavic hinterland.

I would like to raise some broader issues that derive from the presented topics. Firstly, although the relationship between the coast and hinterland, between rural and urban areas, always speaks in general language of economic and social dialect, the stress has to be placed on the peculiarities of the time and place under consideration. Therefore, Braudel's basic construct of interrelations between urban areas on the coast and rural hinterland has to be applied to the Dubrovnik's situation in space and time. I have tried to present more vividly the complex, multi-leveled and ambiguous relationship between the City of Dubrovnik and its adjacent rural areas by differentiating the two value systems, the rural reaction to the City, the Renaissance and specific Dubrovnik attitude towards peasants; these are all different levels of urban/rural construct. Along with the dualism of urban/rural come the dual judgements of modern/backward, irrational/rational, collectivism/individualism.¹³ Renaissance Dubrovnik was often characterised by the terms urbanity, literacy, modernity, individualism and development. The broad Dubrovnik hinterland was marked by rurality, oral tradition, backwardness, collectivism and the lack of development. But these dualisms penetrated each other. The City and its rural surroundings are two historical orders, two social and cultural systems. What is happening between them is the "multi-leveled engagement", and the pulse of it can be discerned in

¹³ Comaroff argued that analytic dualisms are pseudohistory, because they "feed off one another, caricaturing the empirical realities they purport to reveal" (1992:4). Another problem with analytic categories and dualism is that they can be wrongly adopted in the study of historical communities. Le Goff noted that social analysis may be anachronistic if one applies contemporary sociological categories to historical societies. It can only result in "the mess between mental and conceptual notions of people from the past and those from the present" (1993:115).

everyday life (Comaroff 1992:39).¹⁴ For example, leafing through Držić's opus one finds that written texts are flavoured with orality (invocations, mocking verse, stories and the like), or that some people, namely rural immigrants, share both urban and rural codes of life and thinking. This leads to the aspect of intercultural connection where some anthropological theories may become instructive.

The term *acculturation* is not popular in the contemporary academic anthropological community since it may imply the notion of ethnocentrism in relation to the communities being studied by anthropologists. Nevertheless, such criticism and objections can be reconciled in redefining the concept of acculturation. I found useful the approach to acculturation as "the appearances of mutual activity that emerge in connections and relations between all kinds of cultures." (Wachtel, cf. Bertoša 1985:89-90). Therefore, acculturation does not refer only to the encounter of two cultures (a dominant and a dominated culture), but also to the coexistence of different (sub-, part-, micro-) cultures in the same society. Wachtel further elaborates his discussion by referring to different types of acculturation. Imposed acculturation is an open pressure exerted by the dominant culture, while spontaneous acculturation includes mutual influence and the reciprocity of influence between cultures. The results of acculturation are integration (when elements of dominant culture enter the culture of the dominated); assimilation (which ends in radical changes and in the loss of the identity of the subordinated); and intermedial types of acculturation such as syncretism (when a new culture grows by merging elements of two or more cultures); or cultural dualism (when an individual or a group simultaneously share the code of their own culture as well as of the culture of the other) (cf. Bertoša 1985:92-4). Interpreted in such a way, acculturation may become a useful concept, having in mind the existence of different types of acculturation during the course of time, as well as the various levels and degrees the acculturation may take (ibid.:99).

Another concept on intercultural connections and relations is offered by *creolization* concept where the basic notions are the "distributional model of culture" and "cultural flow" (Hannerz 1992). The result of cultural flow and transformation is neither integration of differences nor pluralities of cultural distinctiveness. It ends in forming "creole" cultures which are intrinsically of mixed origins (the confluence of two or more historical currents which interact) and which come out of a multidimensional cultural encounter. The flow of culture results in a new diversity of culture and this is the "creolizing continuum" with no invariant properties or uniform rules (Hannerz 1992:264-66).

¹⁴ I paraphrased the interpretation of Comaroff's analysis of the relationship between the European imperialism and African colonialism (the Tswana's incorporation into the colonial world).

These two theoretical instances seem relevant interpretative frameworks for an anthropological research into historical Dubrovnik. They may bring to light some notions that would be otherwise left hidden. Intercultural connections and cultural flow took different forms and were of different intensity during the course of Dubrovnik history, which is revealed on a number of levels. Držić sketched the relationship between elite and popular culture which interacted, each working to transform the other. Furthermore, he referred to the relationship between rural immigrants and urban City-dwellers that could be traced in customs, clothes, vocabulary, wedding rules etc. Urban writers took some inspiration, rural motifs, vocabulary and themes of beliefs and superstitions from the rural hinterland. Urban architecture influenced rural ambience. Another example refers to the religious aspect: various heresies and pagan beliefs were disseminated in the hinterland of the City and these were offensive to the Roman Catholic Church, whose activities for conversion to the true faith emanated from Dubrovnik. For example, Diversis mentions Konavle as being home to schismatic and infidel people (1973:18). Kotruljević further testifies to the influence of the pagan hinterland on Catholic Dubrovnik: Dubrovnik has adopted many traits from the Bosnian ritual, which followed the Manichaeans (1985:196). Diversis testified to the Republic's specific criminal code penalties such as the loss of an eye, a nose, an ear, disfigurement of the face, all penalties of which he, as an Italian, had never heard (1973:34). In many branches of law, the Slavic hinterland left its mark.

Beside the relations between Dubrovnik and its Slavic hinterland, there are other that have to be taken into account: the relations between the Slavic East Adriatic and its Italian neighbours on the other shore. In the 14th century, Petrarca noted that "we have the sea in common, but the shores are opposite, the souls are diverse, the teachings are different, the language and customs are totally dissimilar. Just as the Alps (keep us separated) from the Germans and the French, and the tempestuous Mediterranean from the Africans, so the Adriatic Gulf keeps us separated from the Dalmatians and the Pannonians." (cf. Krekić 1997:XVIII, 332) Contrary to Petrarca, Krekić argued that the Eastern Adriatic coast in general, and Dubrovnik in particular, were open not only to the encounter of two cultures (Slavic and Latin) but to "a blending of the two cultures" and that cultural interpenetration and integration "became the epitome of a uniquely lasting and valuable symbiosis of the Western/Latin and Eastern/Slavic cultures on the Adriatic shore" (ibid.). The most prominent elucidation of such image and position of the Republic and an awareness of it is also recorded in verses by Dubrovnik poets and writers. Držić wrote that both the Ottomans and the Western European authorities appreciated the neutrality and good manners of the Republic, which has no disagreements with anybody, thus its ships navigate all over the world (Držić 1979:*Tirena*, verses 41-46). The notion of the Republic being on the cross-roads of civilizations, the Eastern and Western world, is

transmitted on the level of general Croatian culture and it figures in many studies as the most recognizable feature of Croatian culture among other Slavic cultures. Some authors argue that the participation in the Mediterranean world, culture, civilization and history, is what makes Croatian culture distinctive among the cultures of other (South) Slavic nations — it is a kind of the third component between the East and the West (Radica 1971; Matvejević 1987:72).

Another remark refers to coast/hinterland relationships in broader historical perspectives. The Republic of Dubrovnik was a part of a broader territory: Adriatic, Mediterranean, Balkan, Central European. Today, we may speak of a huge continental hinterland with which the former territory of the Republic merged into one (Croatian) state. The situation is the same with the other Mediterranean communities, and, therefore, we may speak today of French or Italian or Croatian Mediterraneanism. Mediterranean fragments — in a historical sense, as communes — are incorporated into the continental nation-state organisms, and through this dominant continental hinterland into Central European areas, thus diverging from the former Mediterranean centre and orientation (Radica 1971:31, 40). Several Croatian authors have discussed the notion of Mediterranean identity and Mediterraneanism as a supranational phenomenon, as an international category that is transposed in the present day to the specific, particular, and national idioms (Radica 1971; Matvejević 1987; Maroević 1995; Vratović 1995). On the one hand, there are references to the Mediterranean as a "culture area" that precedes political borders in the past and in the present. On the other hand, some argue that Mediterranean unity is lost by raising national individualities and by centripetal forces which drag from the Mediterranean centre towards what, in general terms, can be called the Central-European orientation (at least as far as the European Mediterranean is concerned).

Furthermore, positive connotation of the Croatian state's Mediterranean orientation that emerges from tendencies to be separated from the Balkan hinterland, is opposite to the orientations of Adriatic communities a few hundred years ago. The current situation has an impact on the forms of organizing the past and presenting the present. The fear of Venetian authority engulfing the Republic may have led the 16th century Dubrovnik historians to prefer to interpret their history connected with the Slavic hinterland, rather than to the predominantly Romanse Mediterranean Sea. Actual political situations direct interpretation of past, tendencies of state orientation as well as our own research. I wonder if the Mediterraneanism would have been an attractive concept for Croatia in the era of open Italian irredentism?

Concluding remarks

By arguing that Mediterranean anthropological studies have to be more urban and historical, I chose the Republic of Dubrovnik in the 15th and 16th century to be the backdrop for a discussion on several issues relevant for the Mediterranean anthropology. Combining anthropological themes, literary sources and historical material one can gain fruitful insights into the culture and life of a period.

The first part of the paper is focused on the problem of diversity and unity as presented in the Dubrovnik Republic. I argue that literary sources can give us some plausible references for understanding the cultural situation within the Republic. On the one hand, the real diversity is ideologically united — internal political, social, and cultural diversity is confronted to the images and identity of the Republic as a coherent unit. On the other hand, the unity is diversified: an abundance of literary references contest the basic notions of Mediterranean social and cultural life as defined in Mediterranean anthropological studies, particularly with regard to the honour and shame code, and attitudes towards women. The problem still remains of how to research simultaneously cultural diversity and cultural sharing (both within the Dubrovnik Republic and within the Mediterranean area).

The second part deals with the dichotomies of urban/rural and coast/hinterland. There are several levels of that analytic dualism that have to be taken into consideration. Literary sources of the period uncover some of them: the physical and mental differences between people from rural and urban areas, peasant attitudes toward urban space, the Renaissance attitude towards peasants, rural surroundings and towards space and Nature. With regard to the relationship towards the broader Slavic hinterland, I propose to introduce some anthropological theoretical frameworks — the concepts of acculturation or creolization — to interpret cultural interconnectedness.

By moving between literary details and references and some anthropological concepts I wanted to illuminate certain issues that Croatian ethnological studies of the Mediterranean could elaborate further. A significant problem is how to relate fragments and parts to a meaningful "whole" and to make them connected and intelligible. Micro-cultures and the relationship between coast and hinterland are parts of the history of the Republic. The Republic's history is part of Croatian culture and also of the Mediterranean world. I argue that anthropological thought, historical material and literary sources are all compounds that can construe relevant complexity, ambiguity, contradictions and the dialectic of the community and time under research.

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MEDITERAN IZ MEDITERANSKOGA KUTA: RENASANSNI DUBROVNIK

SAŽETAK

U okviru teorijskih i metodoloških zasada književne antropologije, historijske antropologije i mikrohistorije u radu su naglašena dva problema relevantna za mediteransku antropologiju. Prvi je problem onaj jedinstva/različitosti, a drugi odnosa urbano/ruralno, obala/zaleđe. Osnovna je građa, na kojoj se temelji interpretacija, književnoga karaktera, nastala tijekom 15. i 16. stoljeća u Dubrovačkoj Republici.

Prvi dio studije obrađuje probleme jedinstva i različitosti unutar dubrovačke zajednice te u odnosu na poimanje cjelovitosti mediteranskoga kulturnog prostora. Književni materijal nudi uvide u organiziranost i kompleksnost dubrovačke zajednice, u postojanje mikrokultura i mikroidentiteta. Unutarnja je raslojenost Republike (politička i društvena stratifikacija, lokalni identiteti i antagonizmi, različiti kulturni kodovi) bila nadslojena poimanjem i političkim diskurzom identiteta, jedinstva i koherentnosti zajednice. Osim toga, mnoštvo književnih referenci omogućava da se koncepti mediteranskoga društvenoga i kulturnoga života definirani u mediteranskim antropološkim studijama propitaju u specifično dubrovačkoj renesansnoj situaciji.

U drugome dijelu teksta obrađene su dihotomije urbano/ruralno i obala/zaleđe. Književni izvori omogućavaju lomljenje tog analitičkog konstrukta na različitim razinama: fizičke i mentalne razlike između gradske i seoske populacije, seosko viđenje gradskoga života, renesansna viđenja seoske gradske okolice i prirode, specifičan dubrovački odnos prema seoskom zaleđu. Još je jedan važan aspekt navedene dihotomije i onaj odnosa dubrovačke zajednice i širokoga slavenskoga zaleđa. Predloženi su i neki antropološki teorijski koncepti (akulturacija, kreolizacija) kao okvir za interpretaciju međukulturnih odnosa.

Antropološki teorijski koncepti, povijesna arhivska građa i književni izvori međusobno se dopunjuju u istraživačkom nastojanju stvaranja cjelovitije slike o istraživanoj zajednici. Na taj način moguće je propitati i kontekstualizirati postojeće teorije i analitičke koncepte na raznim razinama, ideološkim, predodžbenim ili na razini svakidašnjega života, uključujući razotkrivanje kompleksnosti, mnogosljedivosti, kontradikcija i ambigviteta koji postoje u samoj zajednici.

Ključne riječi: historijska antropologija, književna antropologija, Dubrovnik, renesansa