

Iz opsežnog sadržaja može se spoznati da je knjiga nastala višegodišnjim sustavnim izučavanjem povijesti ekonomske misli, tom iznimno zanemarenom području. Pri obradi su autori u korpus starovjekovne i srednjovjekovne povijesti ekonomske misli uključili opsežno razlaganje navedenih osoba, koje su razvijale ekonomsku misao, neovisno o tome kojoj su disciplini osnovno pripadali.

Iako ova knjiga naglašava kontinuitet i konsenzus u evoluciji ekonomske teorije, ipak je dan prostor alternativnim gledištima budući da se korisne pouke mogu naći ne samo u uspjesima nego i u pogreškama iz prošlosti. Stoga je bitno naglasiti da je povijest ekonomske misli staroga i srednjega vijeka neophodna svakom hrvatskom ekonomisti, ali i povjesničaru. Istodobno je i temelj svima koji se bave gospodarstvom, jer bez uvida u to kakve su odgovore davali ekonomski mislioci prošlosti na tadašnje probleme teško se može razumjeti tekući obrazac ideja i rješenja. Time je ovo djelo iskorak u ekonomsko – povijesnoj analizi i analizi ekonomske misli. Obradom navedene teme zauzima istaknuto mjesto u hrvatskoj ekonomskoj znanosti po širokom obuhvatu i mjerodavnom pronicanju u dubinu ekonomskih spoznaja gotovo zaboravljene, ali ne i manje aktualne staroistočne, antičke i srednjovjekovne misli. Knjiga svojim sažetim i sveobuhvatnim prikazom i razumijevanjem povijesti ekonomske misli otvara perspektivu »putovima duha« (J. Schumpeter), i to interpretacijom i kritičkim propitivanjem autora. Time je knjiga dobila svoj temeljni smisao. Ovim iznimno vrijednim znanstvenim djelom popunjena je dosadašnja praznina u hrvatskoj ekonomskoj literaturi. Knjiga je rezultat spoja tradicionalnog i modernog pristupa obradi ove zahtjevne i kompleksne problematike. Kao znanstvena monografija svojim jednostavnim stilom pisanja i pristupom prihvatljivo je štivo široj čitalačkoj publici; nije pisana kao udžbenik, a ipak se može primjenjivati u nastavi i u predmetima iz povijesti ekonomske misli

Držim da će ova knjiga kao sinteza ekonomske misli u starom i srednjem vijeku izazvati i potaći nastavak istraživanja i za potonja povijesna razdoblja; otvoriti raspravu o nekim novim pogledima.

Zlata ŽIVAKOVIĆ-KERŽE

ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE LITTLE ICE AGE

PHILIPP BLOM: NATURE'S MUTINY. HOW THE LITTLE ICE AGE OF THE LONG SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TRANSFORMED THE WEST AND SHAPED THE PRESENT. LIVERIGHT PUBLISHING CORPORATION, NEW YORK, 2019. 352.

Philipp Blom published an exciting environmental history book in 2019 with the title *Nature's Mutiny*. A slightly longer, explanatory subtitle finetunes its topic: *How the Little Ice Age of the Long Seventeenth Century Transformed the West and Shaped the Present*. The book is not without antecedents as it is a revised version of the German original, published in 2017, which Blom himself translated into English and the American Liveright Publishing Corporation published. Liveright has been publishing literature since the 1920s, for example, works by William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and T. S. Eliot, however, its editors have also been interested in scientific topics since the very beginnings. Liveright published works by Sigmund Freud and Bertrand Russell in the English-speaking world. Authors dealing with ecological problems aroused the interest of the publisher's editors in the 2000s. For example, Liveright published the biologist Edward O. Wilson's book, *The Social Conquest of Earth*, inducing wide-ranging professional debates. Publishing *Nature's Mutiny* was an ideal choice as for the publisher's market strategy, since Blom's scientific writing with its literary value presents an important green topic for the educated reader.

On his website, Philipp Blom defines himself primarily as a historian, but he has also written several novels, journal articles, political pieces, and philosophical works, and he works as a translator. Apart from all these, Blom works as a radio presenter, a documentary filmmaker, and has written an opera libretto. Blom was born in Hamburg in 1970 and grew up in Germany; having a Dutch mother, he is bilingual since birth. He studied history and philosophy in Vienna and Oxford, received his Ph.D. degree in the Modern History Doctoral Program at the University of Oxford. His list of publications suggests

that he has two favourite historical research areas; the first one is the history of the Enlightenment, which he has been engaged with for longer, and the other one is the social and cultural history of Europe between the two world wars. The topic of *Nature's Mutiny* is related to the history of the Enlightenment.

It is the author's conviction that there were several changes and transformations in Europe in the long 17th century that determined the evolution of modern history. The first and probably most crucial development was that the monopoly for the biblical-theological explanation of the world was abolished at the end of the 16th century. Several early modern processes played a role in this change, such as the Renaissance and rediscovery of antique cultures and sciences, or the empirical experiences of the great geographical discoveries; finally, it was the public discussions of Reformation and Counter-Reformation that strengthened rational-analytical thinking. Apart from this, however, Blom claims it to be necessary to consider the effect of the global climatic-environmental crisis caused by the Little Ice Age starting at the turn of the 14th and lasting until the end of the 19th century. Moreover, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, the doyen of European climate history research, named the long 17th century a *Super Little Ice Age*; this period was the European nadir of climate decay. Philipp Blom is primarily concerned with understanding the effects of this critical period on human thinking, reality perception, and the competition of problem-solving algorithms. Blom's opinion is that in the late 16th century, in a changing world laden with crises, there were three world explanations, or cognition and problem-solving strategies, that competed with each other: the traditional biblical-theological, the magical, stepping forward from marginality, and the rational-experiential cognition strategy supported by both the Reformation and geographical discoveries. This debate was settled in a mere four generations, and by the time of the Enlightenment, only one legitimate world explanation was accepted universally.

Winter weather turned so cold in the 1560s in the Netherlands that a new genre of painting, the winter landscape appeared, and gained considerable popularity. The best-known examples for this are *Hunters in the Snow* (1565), a painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525-1569) and *Winter Landscape with Skaters* (1608), a painting by Hendrick Avercamp (1585-1634). In the Early Modern Times, snow became so general in the Netherlands that even in paintings with biblical themes snowy landscapes would appear. In Pieter Bruegel the Younger's (1564-1638) *Massacre of the Innocents* (1586-1590), the characters are surrounded by deep snow in a Middle-Eastern landscape. It was no accident that at the time of the Dutch War of Independence (1568-1648), the Spanish expeditionary troops had ice-skates as part of their winter equipment to be able to move on the ice-covered channels. During the Little Ice Age, the great Western European rivers would also freeze up from time to time. Between 1400 and 1550, the Thames froze up only five times altogether (1408, 1435, 1506, 1514 and 1537), however, between 1551 and 1700, no less than twelve times (1565, 1595, 1608, 1621, 1635, 1649, 1655, 1663, 1666, 1677, 1684 and 1695). Londoners started to use the safe ice-cover as a temporarily appearing free estate and organized special winter-fairs, where crafts and liquor shops, takeaway restaurants and even brothels would do business.

The vegetation period became shorter and cooler for the whole of Europe, and the quality and the quantity of wheat and wine harvests turned worse in the Early Modern Times. This crisis unfolded in the rigid medieval agriculture, long before the introduction of New World plants: corn and potato. In this world, flour and bread prices were an accurate seismograph of accumulating tension in local societies. As long as subsistence crises proved to be lasting, local rebellions and insurrections multiplied. Records show that there were altogether twenty insurrections caused by food supply disturbance on the British Isles between 1347 and 1550. However, between 1585 and 1660, more than seventy insurrections were motivated by supply problems. In France, between 1600 and 1715, there are data about 450 armed insurrections, two-thirds of which were associated with some kind of local subsistence crisis.

The cool-cold weather of the Little Ice Age was devastating for European vineyards. While in the Medieval Warm Period (between the 9th and 13th century), grapes were grown even in Norway and Sweden, as the ceremonies of Christian religious life made wine production indispensable, and in England, medieval wine culture was blooming. The city of Krems in Austria was the centre of a famous medieval wine-growing region. Under the city, there was an extensive network of cellars, supplying

wine not only to local monasteries and the region but even Vienna. Because of the declining quality, the vine-dressers of Krems switched to producing mustard and paint instead, as the fundamental component of both products was vinegar. In the longer run, the environmental degradation of marginal vineyards invigorated the long-distance European wine trade and opened the gates to the spread of brewing.

Abundant harvests were lacking in the grimmer decades of the Little Ice Age. As a result, leaders of local communities came under harder and harder pressure to name who or what is responsible for the dire living conditions. In the Early Modern Times, it was a widely held view that witches were to be blamed for meteorological-environmental blows, who operated with the active support of Satan and his allies. Based on archival research, historians estimate the number of witchcraft trials in Northwestern Europe to be more than one hundred thousand, with around fifty thousand falling victim to witchcraft charges as a result of torture interrogation or being convicted and suffered death at the stake. However, there was a positive interpretation of witchcraft at the same time in contemporary magical thinking. In the Early Modern Times, there was a well-known myth in the Alps, that of the 'benandanti', i.e. male protector witches, who could transform into an animal to protect the crops from evil female witches. In the age of the great geographical discoveries, crises revealed the fault lines between the civilizations in the freshly colonized areas. Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala (1535-1616) was the eyewitness of the volcano eruption of the Huaynaputina on 19th February 1600 in Peru. De Ayala reported that volcanic ashes thickly covered the streets and houses and destroyed most of the crops. Following the eruption, one could not see either the Sun or the Moon for one month. In this apocalyptic situation, the Spanish Catholic priests directed penitent processions and kept exorcisms while the Indian communities of the Andes resorted to performing human sacrifices again after a long time.

The army and wars provided a vital ground for scientific experimentation. The continuous improvement of the gunpowder recipe, portable muskets and movable canons launched a military revolution in Europe in the Early Modern Times. These developments changed the nature of war, while successful adaptation offered an opportunity to alter global power relations. Military tactics and the role of logistics were highly appreciated in modern armies. Strategists tried to avoid open battles, which would constitute a considerably higher risk; contemporary military statistics reveal that there were twenty sieges for one single battle.

One of the most significant military and strategic innovators of the Early Modern Times was Prince Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625), whose openness and pragmatism, so typical of the Dutch Protestant elite, urged him to employ René Descartes (1596-1650) in his Protestant Dutch army, even though Descartes studied at the famous French Jesuit College of La Flèche. Descartes also pursued university studies in Leiden, one of a few European universities where, at the time of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, he did not have to take a loyalty oath with his hand on the Bible. For Descartes, from a scientific viewpoint, the Dutch soldier years were beneficial. In Breda, he met the physicist Isaac Beeckman (1588-1637), which significantly affected his methodological development. Descartes, as a liberal thinker, considered military service as a form of fellowship. As Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) and Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) lived in the Catholic part of Europe, Descartes went into Bavaria and joined the army of the Bavarian elector officer, Maximilian I (1573-1651), where he could apply his knowledge of mathematics, geometry and logistics, obtained mostly in the Netherlands.

Modern wars, however, did not only become more scientific but their dimension and scale also changed. In 1588, the fleet of the Spanish Invincible Armada, which was later destroyed in a never experienced Arctic storm of the Little Ice Age, consisted of 22 warships and 108 transformed merchant ships. The Dutch navy consisted of 114 excellently armed big warships already in 1628. Continental armies were no different either: in Prussia, Europe's model military state, the elector George William's (1595-1640) army consisted of nine thousand soldiers, but his son and heir, Frederick William I (1620-1688) already led an army of eighty thousand.

The number of educational institutions multiplied in the Early Modern Europe; literacy was on the increase, and the demand for intellectual activity was growing palpably. But there were severe risks of free thought at the same time. The history of the trial and execution of Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) is

well-known. It may be less common knowledge, though, that his debated theses did not only include scientific items; the chief inquisitor, Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621) accused Bruno of declaring magical practices to be helpful, reliable and exemplary. Lucilio Vanini (1585-1619), one of the most distinguished philosophers of his age, who interpreted the world as a system guided by universal laws, shared a similar fate. In his adventurous life, he started his career as a White Friar but moved to England and converted to Anglicanism in Canterbury. Then he travelled to France where he re-Catholicized. Finally, in Toulouse, the Inquisition charged him with atheism and sentenced him to death. The urban hangman performed a cruel execution: first, he tore out Vanini's tongue, then strangled him, and finally, burned his body. Uriel da Costa (1685-1640), a freethinker Jewish philosopher, applied source criticism to the Old Testament. After consulting the Venitian rabbis for their expert opinion, the Hamburg Jewish religious community's rabbinic court sentenced da Costa to 39 whip lashes and then compelled him to lie down at the synagogue's doorstep so that all the members of the religious community could walk over him. Da Costa survived the trials but committed suicide a year later. The European literary and academic intelligentsia seemed to be learning some lessons from these cases, first of all, that it was better to be cautious. Voltaire (1694-1778), for example, a wealthy man, who provided loans to aristocrats and invested in overseas trade, could have settled down anywhere. However, since he had personal experiences from the Bastille, he bought the Ferney land and castle close to the French, Swiss, and German borders. From Ferney, he had leeway from the authorities of any of the countries, in case of any unsolicited interest in him. At the same time, European intellectuals concluded from these conflicts that it was a zero-sum game going on between world explanations and cognition strategies.

Blom poses the fundamental question of his book in the closing chapter again: what role did the Little Ice Age play in the successes of early capitalism and the Enlightenment? According to the German author's inference, the subsistence crisis generated by climate deterioration speeded up the transformation of the European civilization. As for its direction, it became apparent that, whether it was explorer cruises, intercontinental commercial networks, the procession of wars, or the regional problems of food supply, algorithms based on the accumulation of experiences and rational decision-making yielded much better results than rivalry. In the long 17th century, the intellectual fights between Reformation and Counter-Reformation contributed to the development of the European school system and reduced the social entry-level to higher education. Many of the prominent thinkers of the Early Modern Times socialized in society's lower and middle segment. Marin Mersenne's (1588-1648), Athanasius Kircher's (1602-1680) and Pierre Gassendi's (1592-1655) parents were wealthy farmers, Lucilio Vanini and Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) came from families of merchants, and Descartes's father was a jurist. For them, prerogatives by birth that would legitimize social status or the feudal frameworks of state functioning were not evident. However, it would be misleading to view the history of the Enlightenment as a philosophical revolution. It was more of a wide-ranging discourse and struggle between believers and faithless, liberals and etatists, cynics and social innovators, materialists and anarchists, and utopists and pragmatists.

Finally, it is hard to look past some mistakes in this otherwise distinguished book. On page 77, in the Chapter »Great Transformation«, the author writes the following in a sentence in line 2: *the Austro-Hungarian economic historian Karl Polanyi*. I read about how people chose Yugoslavian as their identity from the list of nationalities offered in the census in Yugoslavia in the 1980s, but I have no information about a similar Austro-Hungarian identity or about Károly Polányi ever identifying himself as that. Károly Polányi (1886-1964), or Karl Polanyi (without accents) in the international literature, was born in Vienna and died in Canada, but lived, socialized and pursued his studies in Budapest in the declining decades of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Philipp Blom studied in Vienna and presumably knows the regional and historical peculiarities of Central Europe, so it is but a slight excuse for him that German encyclopaedias frequently refer to Karl Polanyi as an *ungarisch-österreichischer Wirtschaftshistoriker*. There is another Hungarian reference which – though Hungarian patriots may find it rather flattering – is unfortunately mistaken. Blom writes appreciatively about Jan Amos Komenský, naming himself Comenius (1592-1670) in Latin, the lingua franca of Europe and Hungary's official language until 1844. Blom analyzes Comenius's revolutionary educational works and in the description on page 85, he writes:

Arguably, Comenius, the provincial Hungarian theologian, influenced more European children over the longer period than any other educator. I agree with each statement of the author, except for the nationality, as Comenius was Czech. Philipp Blom's book is an excellent intellectual performance. I hope it will be translated into Croatian, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Serbian, Slovakian, Slovenian and any other Central European language, however, without the mentioned mistakes.

Lajos RÁCZ

THOMAS FLEISCHMAN: COMMUNIST PIGS: AN ANIMAL HISTORY OF EAST GERMANY'S RISE AND FALL, WEYERHAEUSER ENVIRONMENTAL BOOKS-UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS, 2020., 296 STR.

Redovitim pratiteljima gospodarskih vijesti kao i neredovitim čitateljima internetskih portala u Hrvatskoj u zadnjih nekoliko godina su mogle »zapeti za oko« vijesti vezane za svinje: od kretanja uvoznih i izvoznih cijena na tržištu mesa, obnove i unaprjeđenja svinjogojstva u tradicionalnom ili industrijskom sustavu, pojave i širenja svinjske kuge, rasprave oko tradicije svinjokolja/kolinja, sve do zbrajanja štete na poljoprivrednim zemljištima nastale od divljih svinja kao i (neuspješne) regulacije njihovog broja. Takve vijesti upućuju na važnost svinje, odnosno svinjogojstva kao ekonomskog i ekološkog faktora u ljudskom društvu. Tu važnost je prepoznao i njezinu problematiku kroz primjer povijesne analize jednog specifičnog ekonomskog i političkog sustava, kakva je bila Njemačka Demokratska Republika (DDR), prikazao Thomas Fleischman, docent na Odsjeku za povijest Sveučilišta u Rochesteru, u svojoj knjizi »Communist Pigs: An Animal History of East Germany's Rise and Fall«.

Fleischman analizira razvoj komunističkog planskog gospodarstva u DDR (1949.-1990.) na primjeru svinjogojstva, privredne grane koja je, iako dosad marginalizirana u ekonomskim, ekološkim i povijesnim analizama, bila iznimno važna za društvo, okoliš i ekonomiju DDR-a, budući da je DDR kao država na oko 108 tisuća kvadratnih kilometara s oko 17 milijuna stanovnika (procjena za 1970-te godine) uzgajala između 10-12 milijuna svinja (početkom 1980-ih) te imala veći izvoz svinja i svinjskog mesa nego Savezna Republika Njemačka (BDR) i Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo zajedno u istom periodu. Fenomen takvog intenzivnog, gotovo megalomanskog oblika svinjogojstva Fleischman je slikovito opisao i podijelio na tzv. »3 vrste komunističkih svinja«, odnosno na industrijske, domaće (vrtne) i divlje svinje. Knjiga je podijeljena na 7 poglavlja uz uvod i zaključak. U uvodu autor daje kratki osvrt na razvoj svinjogojstva u Njemačkoj, predstavlja spomenute 3 vrste svinja i usporedbu s »Životinjskom farmom« (George Orwell). U prvom poglavlju (*When pigs could fly*) analizira razvoj gospodarstva, poljoprivrede i svinjogojstva u DDR-u u razdoblju 1950.-1970., s naglaskom na procese kolektivizacije i industrijalizacije farma za uzgoj svinja, uz kratki osvrt na razvoj gospodarstva i poljoprivrede u SAD-u tijekom 20. stoljeća te usporedbu sličnosti i razlika kapitalističkog i komunističkog modela gospodarstva. Drugo poglavlje (*The Great Grain Robbery and the Rise of a Global Animal Farm*) se nastavlja na spomenutu usporedbu kapitalističkog i komunističkog modela analizom njihovih ekonomskih veza na globalnom tržištu 1970-ih godina, koje su dovele do pojave specifičnih fenomena, naročito nakon ukidanja Brettonwoodskog sustava 1973. godine i prestanka konvertibilnosti američkog dolara u zlato. Tu je autor prije svega stavio naglasak na fenomene poput slikovite »Velike krađe žitarice«, trgovinskog sporazuma između SAD-a i SSSR-a o kupnji 20 milijuna tona američkih i kanadskih žitarica i uljnog sjemena, što je dovelo do sve većeg ekonomskog otvaranja zemalja Istočnog Bloka prema Zapadu, fluktuacije novca i resursa (žitarice, nafta) te pada cijena. Otvaranje prema Zapadu je za period 1972.-1980. označio »zlatno doba« svinjogojstva u DDR, čije je vodstvo zajmovima i kreditima iz zapadnonjemačkih banki, uvozom kvalitetnih, a jeftinih žitarica i stočne hrane intenziviralo industrijski uzgoj svinja kroz državne i zadružne farme za uzgoj svinja, što je dovelo do povećanja izvoza svinja i svinjskog mesa te usporedno s tim, poboljšanja životnih uvjeta i smanjivanja životnih troškova u DDR. No autor već u sljedeća dva poglavlja predstavlja probleme koji su se javili za društvo, okoliš i ekonomiju

Ekonomska i ekohistorija
Economic- and Ecohistory

Časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša

Journal for Economic History and Environmental History

Tema broja / Topic

Izabrani primjeri poplava u srednjoj i
jugoistočnoj Europi (19. – 21. stoljeće)
Selected examples of floods in central and southeast Europe
(19th-21st century)

Volumen XVII. / Broj 17
Zagreb – Samobor 2021.
ISSN 1845-5867
UDK 33 + 9 + 504.3

Nakladnici / Publishers:

Društvo za hrvatsku ekonomsku povijest i ekohistoriju
Society for Croatian Economic History and Environmental History
Ivana Lučića 3, HR – 10000 Zagreb
sites.google.com/site/ekoekohist/

Izdavačka kuća Meridijani
p.p. 132, 10430 Samobor
tel.: 01/33-62-367, faks: 01/33-60-321
e-mail: meridijani@meridijani.com
www.meridijani.com

Sunakladnik / Co-publisher:

Ekohistorijski laboratorij Centra za komparativnohistorijske i interkulturalne studije
Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Ivana Lučića 3, 10000 Zagreb, Hrvatska
www.ffzg.unizg.hr; <http://ckhis.ffzg.unizg.hr/>

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UDK oznake članaka / Article's UDC markups:

Ivica Zvonar

Prijelom / Layout:

Saša Bogadi

Za nakladnike / Journal directors:

Petra Somek, Hrvoje Petrić, Domagoj Tončinić

ISSN 1849-0190 (Online)

ISSN 1845-5867 (Tisak)

Tisak / Print by:

Bogadigrafika, Koprivnica 2021.

Adresa uredništva / Mailing addresses:

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Tiskano uz potporu Ministarstva znanosti i obrazovanja RH

Print supported by Ministry of science and education of Republic of Croatia

Na naslovnici / Cover:

Poplavljeni Vukovar 1965. godine

Ekonomsku i ekohistoriju referiraju:

CAB Abstracts

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ekonomsku povijest
i ekohistoriju

Meridijani
IZDAVAČKA KUĆA

Tiskano u Hrvatskoj – prosinac, 2021.