

THE RHYTHM OF CRIME: ANNUAL AND MONTHLY DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME IN THE DUBROVNIK REPUBLIC IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT: The criminality trends in the Republic of Dubrovnik in the eighteenth century show a strong correlation between crime and social situation. The period of crisis (the first quarter of the century) saw an increase in major crimes (homicide, theft), which tended to drop in the periods of positive expectation. By contrast, during crisis petty crimes were rarely prosecuted but once the crisis ended, they found an easier way to court. This gave way to a paradoxical picture: in the period of positive expectation the overall crime rate increased, but the number of victims killed as a result of crime declined. The way of life, however, had a direct impact on the short-term oscillation of crime. The crimes committed in the 'heat of passion' (physical assault, defamation, slander) dominate in terms of seasonality, since they directly depended on the frequency of contact which varied according to the seasons of intensive farming and idle seasons.

Keywords: Dubrovnik, 18th century, criminality, Criminal Court, homicide, seasonal distribution of crime

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This article has already been published in Croatian under the following title: »Ritam zločina: godišnja i mjesečna distribucija kaznenih djela u Dubrovačkoj Republici u 18. stoljeću«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 50/1 (2013): pp. 273-316. Translated by Vesna Baće.

Introduction

Criminality trend fluctuates in the long-term and short-term periods: in long-term intervals the general social conditions of a community influence the general crime rate and the frequency of specific criminal offences; in short-term intervals, however, the crime rates reflect the conditions of social life in the rural communities on seasonal basis. This research aims to establish the changes in the frequency of crimes in the Republic of Dubrovnik during the eighteenth century in the light of both long-term and short-term variables.

The data sample

The present study is based on a sample of 9,349 proceedings before the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik¹ covering a period of three decades: early (1711/20), middle (1751/60) and late eighteenth century (1791/1800).² The cases have been classified by type of crime and by groups of crimes according to the criteria used in modern literature.³

In addition to the mentioned data, the study will also include the research results of Nella Lonza, and the data sample she employed some fifteen years ago by examining the criminal proceedings for each decade of the eighteenth century (from 1710 to 1800). Lonza's data sample includes 2,852 criminal proceedings.⁴

¹ *Lamenta del Criminale* (hereafter: *Lam. Crim.*), ser. 50.3, State Archives in Dubrovnik. Here we put aside the questions relating to the court jurisdiction. Namely, the authority of the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik regarded all crimes committed in the city and its surroundings (Astarea), but on the rest of the Republic territory it had jurisdiction over major crimes only, petty crimes being tried by the local magistrates. Considering that the jurisdiction issue had not been subject to change in the period under review, it was irrelevant for our research. The Criminal Court also heard cases involving damage on crops or village property, which were punished by fines and involved the civil responsibility *ex delicto*, too. For more details on this see: Nella Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1997: pp. 39-40. In sum, our research was based consequently on the entries of the Criminal Court records.

² This study has been carried out by the students of the *History of Population* doctoral programme of the University of Dubrovnik, within the research project *Criminality in Dubrovnik in the eighteenth century*, conducted by Nenad Vekarić and Nella Lonza.

³ Our classification is quite similar to the one applied, for example, in Trevor Dean, *Crime in Medieval Europe*. Harlow etc.: Longman, 2001 and Michael R. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment in Early Medieval Europe*. Hassocks: The Harvester Press, 1979.

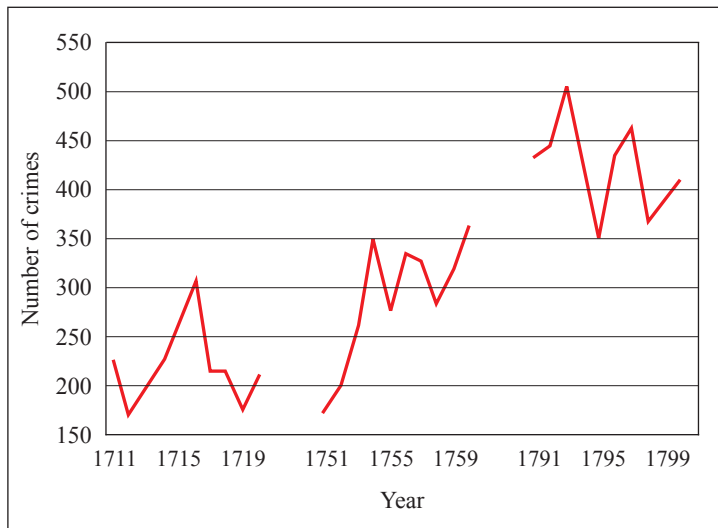
⁴ N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: p. 103.

Annual criminality rate

In the period 1711-1720, the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik prosecuted 2,220 cases,⁵ in the period 1751-1760, 2,892 cases⁶ or 30.27% more than in the second decade of the eighteenth century, while in the period 1791-1800, 4,237 cases,⁷ an increase of 46.50% if compared to the mid-eighteenth-century decade and an increase of 90.85% if compared to the decade at the start of the century (Table 1, Figure 1).

From the beginning to the end of the eighteenth century the general annual crime rate⁸ increased from 965 to 1,412 criminal offences per 100,000 inhabitants (Table 2).

Figure 1. Annual distribution of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800



⁵ *Lam. Crim*, vol. 57-72.

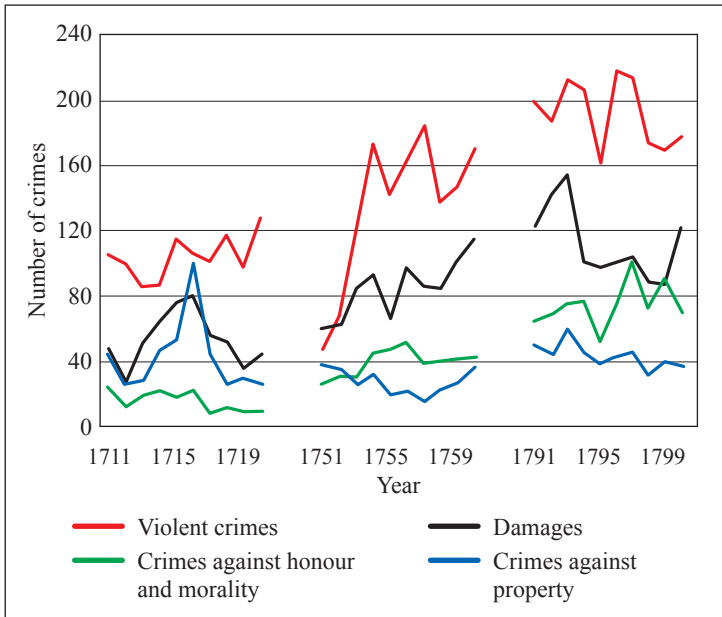
⁶ *Lam. Crim*, vol. 115-135.

⁷ *Lam. Crim*, vol. 195-215.

⁸ In the present study the term “crime rate” includes only the cases that were brought to the Criminal Court. As to what extent it actually deviates from the real crime rate can be merely speculated, since it depends on a number of factors, e.g. the nature of the offence and the possible concealing of evidence, the trust placed in the court of law by the victim, customs within groups and communities, etc.

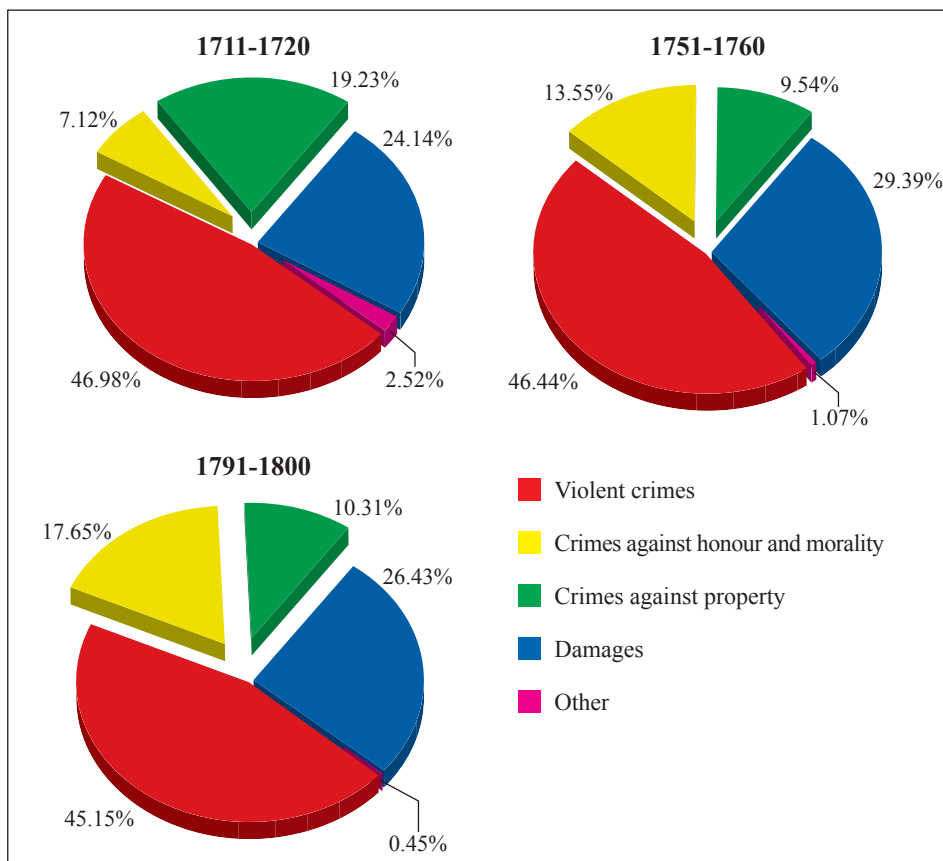
The annual rate of crimes against honour and morality increased by four times in the course of the eighteenth century, while the rate of crimes against property dropped significantly. The most frequent crimes—violent acts and damages—increased in correlation with the general crime rate, so that their proportion in the overall crime rate remained on the same level (Table 3, Figures 2 and 3). Homicides witnessed a rapid fall in annual rate—from 25 at the start of the century to only 4 cases per 100,000 inhabitants at the close of the century (Figure 4). The number of infanticides also declined as well as the number of rapes, the number of these two offences being generally slim. By the end of the eighteenth century the annual rape rate was only 1 case per 100,000 inhabitants.⁹ The annual

Figure 2. Annual distribution by groups of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800



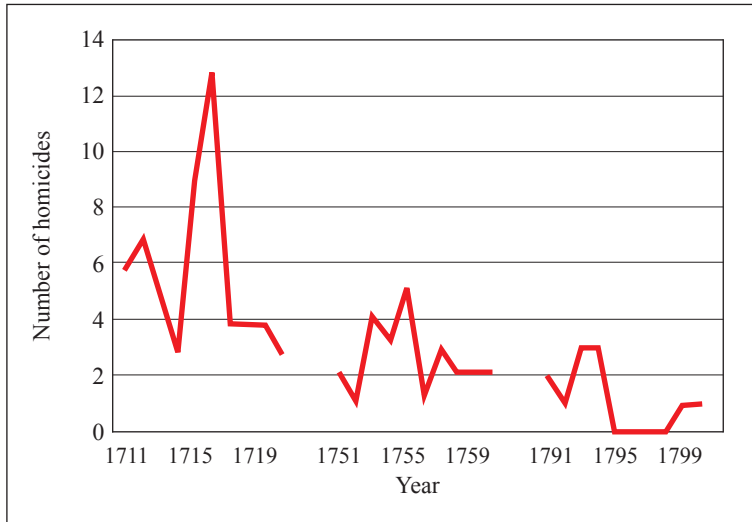
⁹ With rape, however, one may expect a considerable percentage of unreported crimes. Modern criminologists argue that only 5% of rapes are being prosecuted, because the rape victims fail to report the crime either by reason of fear or the feeling of shame (Julius R. Ruff. *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001: p. 140). One should also bear in mind that in the records of the Criminal Court there is not a single case of rape in which the offender was of noble blood, because the cases of this kind were prosecuted before the Senate. The number of these cases in the earlier periods was not negligible, and the victims were most often young house maids. See, for instance, the cases referred to in literature: Bariša Krekić, »Prostitution and

Figure 3. Distribution of groups of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800



Sexual Violence in Dubrovnik at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century». *Istraživanja* 16 (2005) [=Spomenica Dušanke Dinić-Knežević]: p. 132; Constantin Jireček, »Der ragusanische Dichter Šiško Menčetić (geb. 1457, +1527)«. *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 19 (1896): pp. 38-39; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. II. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012: pp. 119, 256; Radovan Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak posle velikog zemljotresa 1667 g.* [Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, vol. III, 19]. Beograd: SAN, 1960: pp. 538-539; Slavica Stojan, *Vjerenice i nevjernice*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU i Prometej, 2003: pp. 33-34, 271. Among the examined samples from the eighteenth century, two victims of the reported rapes were domestics, but the rapist was not to be sought among their masters but fellow-villagers. Contrarily, in the period 1650-1815, 60% of the rape victims in Geneva were domestics (J. R. Ruff. *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*: pp. 141-142).

Figure 4. Annual distribution of homicides reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800



Source (Figures 1-4): *Lam. Crim*, vol. 57-72, 115-135, 195-215.

rate of thefts also decreased radically.¹⁰ Unlike major crimes, the frequency of minor injuries, defamation and slander increased significantly (Table 4).

The most critical year of the second decade of the eighteenth century was 1716 (in the midst of the Second Morean War), when, due to a large number of thefts (almost one-third of all the crimes), the number of the reported offences reached its maximum (Tables 5 and 6). In the sixth decade of the eighteenth century the oscillations in crime rate largely depended on the reported damages and minor offences, the number of which suddenly increased from 1753 onwards. The maximum was reached in the last year of the decade (Tables 7 and 8). By the end of the century, the number of crimes peaked in 1793, accounted mostly by a large number of the reported damages (Tables 9 and 10).

¹⁰ Lonza's research on the successive decade sample has shown similar trends to those analysed here, with the exception of thefts. On that sample, the proportion of thefts remained at a stable level between 7 to 10% (N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: p. 107).

Monthly distribution of criminal proceedings 1711-1720

Through the period 1711-1720 the largest number of crimes was reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in July (9.37%), and the least in September (6.26%).

The frequency of violent crimes saw a sudden decline in August and was far lower in the second half of the year (46.88%). Murders peaked in April (9), and were at a minimum in June (1). Minor violent offences were relatively evenly distributed throughout the year, with a peak in June (98 cases). Two (out of 4) rapes were committed in November.

Most offences against honour and morality, among which defamation and slander dominated, were reported in July (19), their minimum being in February (6).

Crimes against property were more often committed in winter (33.25%) than in summer (18.97%). The three months with the highest rate of thefts were January, February and March (more than 40 cases per month), with a minimum in August and September (less than 20 cases per month).

Field damages peaked in July (31), as opposed to the minimum in September (8; Tables 11 and 12).

Monthly distribution of criminal proceedings 1751-1760

Through the period 1751-1760 the largest number of crimes was reported in July (11.69%), and the least in September (5.22%), similar to the pattern in the second decade of the eighteenth century.

Almost one quarter (22.93%) of all violent crimes were committed during the summer months of June and July. July, for instance, saw 2.5 times more violent crimes as compared to September. But the most serious crime, murder, peaked in May (5), while no cases of murder were reported in June. All cases of rape (7) were committed in the period between April and September, and none in the autumn-winter season from October to March.

Offences against honour and morality also peaked in July, and dropped by half in September.

Crimes against property were mainly committed in June, and were at a minimum in August and September. However, the specific crime of theft peaked in February, following the pattern of the previous decade.

Field damages peaked in July (57), and declined by five times in October (12; Tables 13 and 14).

Monthly distribution of criminal proceedings 1791-1800

Similar to the pattern observed in the two previously analysed decades, the period 1791-1800 saw a July maximum (11.61%) of the cases prosecuted by the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik, and a September minimum (6.30%). Property crimes were the only group of crimes which tended to have winter peaks, usually in January.

The number of major crimes declined. There were 11 homicides (an average of 1.1 a year) and only 2 rapes (0.2 a year). However, minor assaults increased to an average of 180.4 a year, almost doubled in comparison with the beginning of the eighteenth century. They peaked in July (210), with a minimum in December (120) and January (123).

Defamation had its summer peaks from June to August (nearly 70 cases a month), twice as many as in the ensuing three months (some 30 cases a month).

Field damages were 6 times higher in July (62) than in October (10; Tables 15 and 16).

Result analysis

The analysis of the overall criminality trend and the monthly and seasonal distribution of crime in the three decades of the eighteenth century under study shows a number of patterns:

- 1) The number of criminal proceedings tends to grow with each decade;
- 2) All three decades witness a July peak in crime and a minimum in September;
- 3) The number of homicides saw a continuous decline in the eighteenth century, as opposed to other violent crimes;
- 4) In all the three decades the highest number of violent crimes was reported in July, and the lowest in September;
- 5) With regard to the structure of crime, the eighteenth century saw an increase in crimes against honour and morality;
- 6) The proportion of the criminal proceedings dealing with crimes against property dropped radically after the first decade and tended to maintain this low level throughout the century;

7) Unlike other groups of crimes, in all the three decades the crimes against property witnessed a winter maximum;

8) In all the three decades the highest number of field damages was reported in July, and the lowest in September/October.

Long-term changes in criminality

The great economic and demographic crisis started in the Republic of Dubrovnik in the late sixteenth century, and lasted more than a century and a half, until the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century. In the course of these one hundred and fifty years Dubrovnik probably experienced its worst moments ever: Lastovo rebellion (1602/3), the great factional rift within the nobility and the so-called 'Great Conspiracy' (1612/3), disastrous earthquake (1667), coupled with incessant territorial pretensions of Venice and the Ottoman Empire and the menacing wars along the Republic's borders (Candian and Morean War in the seventeenth century, the Second Morean War in the second quarter of the eighteenth century), which contributed to great recession and a complete exhaustion of population. By the end of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the Republic experienced its demographic minimum—around 23,000 inhabitants on the whole territory. In the 1730s, however, the economic and demographic trends were being reversed with the revival of shipping and trade. Given the existing power balance, the Republic profited considerably from its neutral international position, most of all in the expansion of maritime trade.¹¹ By the end of the eighteenth century, the Republic re-established some eighty consulates in the Mediterranean basin.¹² The population increased, death rates dropped, the positive development effects gave way to the start of the process of demographic transition, of which, at the time, there were no signs anywhere in Croatia. In 1800, the Republic of Dubrovnik had around 30,000 inhabitants.¹³

¹¹ Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I. *Korijeni, struktura i razvoj dubrovačkog plemstva*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2011: pp. 257-258, 263-265, 267-273, 279, 283-284, 287-288.

¹² Vinko Ivančević, »Diplomatsko-konzularna predstavništva Dubrovačke republike u XVIII i XIX st.«. *Pomorski zbornik* 3 (1965): pp. 829-869; Ilija Mitić, *Konzulati i konzularna služba starog Dubrovnika*. Dubrovnik: Historijski institut JAZU, 1973: pp. 204, 206.

¹³ N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 288-290.

The correlation between social situation and crime has already been established by the research in this field in Europe,¹⁴ as well as by the study of murders in the Dubrovnik Republic.¹⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century, during the worst crisis, the number of murders reached an average of nine a year (1681/90) or around 35 murders per 100,000 inhabitants. The number of murders dropped suddenly below 15 per 100,000 inhabitants in the third decade of the eighteenth century, and below 5 in the eighth decade.¹⁶ For the sake of comparison: in England, an annual murder average per 100,000 inhabitants in the thirteenth century was around 20,¹⁷ at the close of the Middle Ages it dropped to 15, around 1600 to 7, around 1700 between 4 and 5, around 1800 around 2, and at the dawn of the twentieth century to one murder.¹⁸ In Sweden, the homicide rate saw a marked fall in the period 1630- 1760.¹⁹ Two three-year samples from fourteenth-century Florence point to an accentuated homicide rate—152 and 68 per 100,000 inhabitants,²⁰ and the data for the Netherlands and Belgium (47), Germany and Switzerland (37) confirm that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the homicide rate was considerably higher on the continent than on the British Isles,²¹

¹⁴ A correlation pattern between war and crime has been established by the English pioneers in the history of crime. Douglas Hay and J. M. Beattie revealed that violent crimes increased most dramatically in the aftermath of a series of conflicts at the end of the eighteenth century, whereas the number of thefts in some of these periods rose by more than 50% (J. R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*: p. 223).

¹⁵ Nenad Vekarić, »Homicides Among Relatives in the Republic of Dubrovnik (1667-1806)«. *Dubrovnik Annals* 13 (2009): pp. 55-95.

¹⁶ N. Vekarić, »Homicides Among Relatives«: p. 58.

¹⁷ Though with great fluctuations, between 4 and 110 per 100,000 inhabitants a year (J. S. Cockburn, »Patterns of Violence in English Society: Homicide in Kent 1560-1985«. *Past and Present* 130 (1991): p. 72).

¹⁸ Pieter Spierenburg, »Faces of Violences: Homicide Trends and Cultural Meanings: Amsterdam 1431-1816«. *Journal of Social History* 27 (1994): p. 702. J. S. Cockburn, »Patterns of Violence in English Society«: p. 78, calculated the homicide rate in Kent over a long span from 1571 to 1981. It was never higher than 6 (the last decade of the sixteenth century).

¹⁹ P. Spierenburg, »Faces of Violences«: p. 702. According to *The Civilization of Crime. Violence in Town and Country since the Middle Ages*, ed. Eric A. Johnson and Eric H. Monkkonen. Urbana - Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996: p. 9, the annual homicide rate in Sweden in the fifteenth century was 33 per 100,000 inhabitants, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century 30, in the eighteenth century 16.5, and in the nineteenth century 0.15.

²⁰ P. Spierenburg, »Faces of Violences«: p. 713, note 12.

²¹ Manuel Eisner, »Long-Term Historical Trends in Violent Crime«. *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 30 (2003): p. 99. See also: Martin K. Schussler. »German Crime in the Later Middle Ages: A Statistical Analysis of the Nuremberg Outlawry Books, 1285-1400«. *Criminal justice history. An international annual* 13 (1992): p. 5 (Augsburg: 50 to 70 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in the period 1352-1368).

although there were urban environments with a relatively low homicide rate (e.g. Paris with only 8 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants at the end of the fourteenth century, Bologna 18 homicides in the period 1281-1290, Venice 9 homicides in the period 1360-1369).²² Homicide rate in Amsterdam in the first half of the sixteenth century was around 28, and in the latter half between 21 and 24. By the end of the seventeenth century it dropped to around 10, and in the second half of the eighteenth century it decreased rapidly to somewhat less than 3, similar to Dubrovnik.²³ The data for the European countries mentioned indicate that, once the short-term fluctuations in the crisis periods are set aside, the fall of homicides below the level of 5 (per 100,000 inhabitants) was first witnessed in Great Britain in the second half of the seventeenth century, with a lag in continental Europe some 50-100 years later, i.e. during the eighteenth century. In the Dubrovnik Republic this level was reached in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.²⁴ Having pinpointed this decline, Nella Lonza argues that “it might be accounted by the profound changes in human behaviour observable through the prism of crime over a span of one hundred years”.²⁵

Apart from homicide, the number of crimes against property (thefts primarily) saw a rapid decline until the mid-eighteenth century. The end of crisis, social change and the growing living standard no doubt narrowed the space for this type of criminal offence. During crisis (1711/20), every fifth reported crime fell within this group, while 40 years later (1751/60) merely every tenth.

However, it should be emphasised that although the number of the most serious crimes (homicide, rape, theft) dropped dramatically, the total number of the reported offences increased. The structure of the reported crimes changed. Minor violent crimes increased, particularly the number of crimes against honour and morality. Or as Nella Lonza articulated it, “in an attack of one person on another as if the act translates into words and symbolic actions”.²⁶ Lonza seeks the explanation along two main routes: in the theses of Norbert

²² M. K. Schussler, »German Crime in the Later Middle Ages«: pp. 4-5.

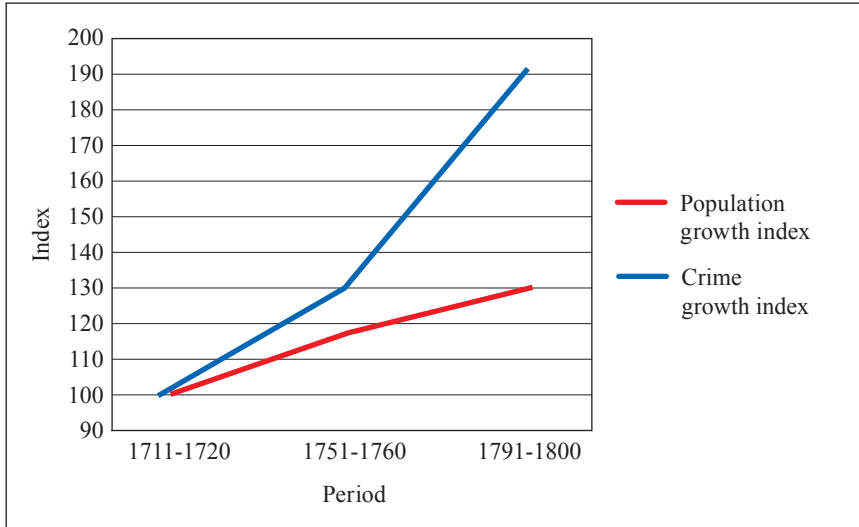
²³ P. Spierenburg, »Faces of Violence«: pp. 706-707. According to *Uniform Crime Reports* for the year 1965, the towns with 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants in the USA had an average of two homicides a year. The highest homicide rate of all the American towns has been recorded in Miami (15). By comparison, homicide rate in Uganda was 12, in Sri Lanka 7, and in Great Britain 0.5 (Barbara A. Hanawalt, »Violent Death in Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century England«. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18 (1976): pp. 301-302).

²⁴ N. Vekarić, »Homicides Among Relatives in the Republic of Dubrovnik (1667-1806)«: p. 60.

²⁵ N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: p. 107.

²⁶ N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: p. 109.

Figure 5. Population growth index and index of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800



Source: *Lam. Crim*, vol. 57-72, 115-135, 195-215; for population size: N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 284, 290.

Elias “on the historical narrowing of the crime space and the ‘economy of instinct’ in human relations, and on the other side in the institutionalisation of one criminality zone which in the earlier period was either resolved by out-of-court settlement,²⁷ or was hushed up”.²⁸ Indeed, an increase in the number of the reported crimes in the eighteenth century was not the result of the growing prosecution *ex officio*, but quite contrarily, of a significant rise in the number of private charges. But other factors should also be borne in mind. The period of crisis may relativise the crime in that minor offences tend to become an inherent component of the everyday chaos, and alongside frequent serious crimes do not provide a strong enough motive for prosecution. The period of positive expectation, however, is marked by moralistic displays, the result of which is the growing prosecution of persons by reason of their “scandalous practice” or breach of betrothal, as well as the search of responsibility in the

²⁷ N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: p. 109.

²⁸ “One may assume that at the time there was either a rise in criminality or in the number of claims before the court, which contributed to the decline of the ‘dark figure’” (N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: p. 258).

pettiest of defamations and slander. Lastly, a part of the increase should also be assigned to the population growth. In the first decade under study (1711/20), the Republic of Dubrovnik had around 23,000, in the second (1751/60) around 27,000, and at the close of the century (1791/1800) around 30,000 inhabitants.²⁹ With the same crime rate, in the second decade there should be around 15%, and in the third around 30% more crimes than in the first (Figure 5).

Short-term (monthly and seasonal) rhythms in criminality

The monthly and seasonal crime rhythm and the monthly and seasonal conception rhythm, as already observed by Nella Lonza,³⁰ tend to overlap: they both follow the dynamics of life and behaviour closely dictated by the population's economic orientation and environmental conditions. The division of the year into 'season of labour' and 'season of idleness', clearly manifested in the rural zones and to a somewhat lesser extent in the urban areas, is characterised by a decrease in sexual activity in late summer and early autumn (September, harvest time) and a rise in sexual activity during winter and early 'spring awakening'.³¹ According to the study of Jacques Voranger, there is a negative correlation between summer temperatures and birth rates in the spring next following.³² In Slovenia, however, whose conception patterns differed from those of Dubrovnik, conception seasonality even found expression in folk tradition: "Junij, julij, avgust, vino pij pa babe pust. Septembra, oktobra, ženka je spet dobra. November in december, babo za kolender" (In June, July and August drink wine and care not for women. In September, October the woman is good again. In November and December keep the woman aloof).³³

In Dubrovnik, the line of criminality had a similar pattern to that of conception (Figure 6), that is, the more intensive seasonal work, the sharper drop in sexual

²⁹ N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 284, 290.

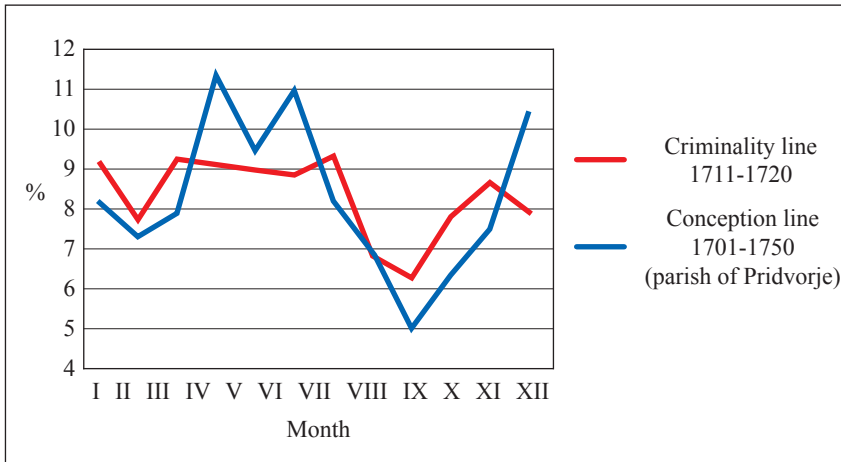
³⁰ N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: 261.

³¹ Nenad Vekarić et al. *Vrijeme ženidbe i ritam poroda. Dubrovnik i njegova okolica od 17. do 19. stoljeća*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2000: pp. 84, 87. See also: Niko Kapetanić and Nenad Vekarić. *Stanovništvo Konavala*, vol. I. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1998: pp. 250-259.

³² Jacques Voranger, »Influence de la météorologie et de la mortalité sur les naissances«. *Population* 8/1 (1953): p. 102. On this see: Jasna Čapo, »Sezonske varijacije demografskih pokazatelja u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj u 18. i 19. stoljeću«, in: *Zbornik Slavonija, Srijem, Baranja i Bačka*, ed. Ante Sekulić. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1993: p. 125.

³³ Jože Hudales, *Od zibeli do groba*. Ljubljana-Velenje: Društvo za preučevanje zgodovine, literature in antropologije - Kulturni center Ivana Napotnika, 1997: pp. 77-80

Figure 6. Monthly rhythm of conception and criminality in the Dubrovnik Republic in the first half of the eighteenth century



Source: *Lam. Crim.* vol. 57-72; for conception line: N. Kapetanić i N. Vekarić, *Stanovništvo Konavala*, vol. I: 252-253.

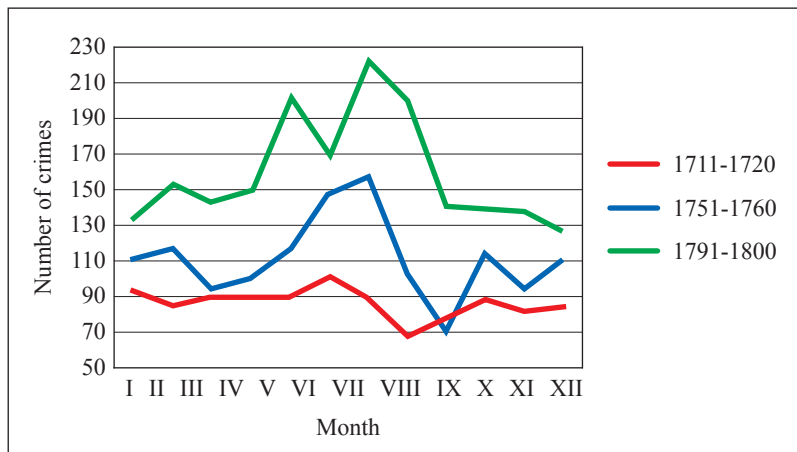
and criminal activity.³⁴ In all the three decades under study the majority of crimes were committed in July, and the least in September. This rhythm of crime remains a constant.³⁵ The most frequent groups of violent offences (Figure 7)—i. e. crimes against honour and morality (Figure 8) and field damages (Figure 9)—make up 4/5 of the overall criminality and follow that pattern. July is the hottest month in Dubrovnik. People tend to spend their time outdoors, communication between people being intensified and with it the possibility of conflict. Defamation and physical assault thus peaked in this month. In September, however, people attended to harvest, leaving no room for either sex or crime.

The general trends also harbour some exceptions. The most brutal crime in the Republic of Dubrovnik, when a man in a state of mental disorder killed his wife

³⁴ Seasonal patterns in crime and farming calendar were also placed in correlation by Barbara A. Hanawalt in late medieval Northamptonshire. Homicides peaked from March to August, with 59% of the registered murders. In Oxford, however, homicide rate was low in summer, but fairly high from December to June (B. A. Hanawalt, »Violent Death in Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century England«: p. 304).

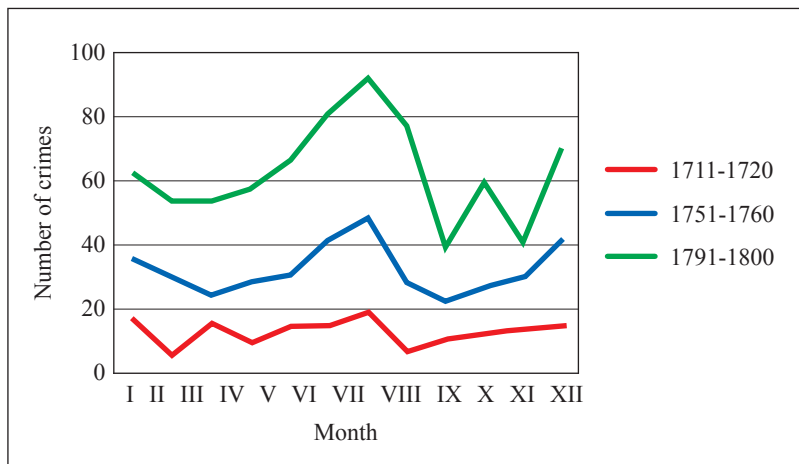
³⁵ The September minimum was also established by Nella Lonza, while the maximum on the decennial sample (May) deviates from the peak established by this research (July). See: N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: p. 260, note 1624.

Figure 7. Monthly distribution of violent crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800



Source (Figures 7-10): *Lam. Crim.* vol. 57-72, 115-135, 195-215.

Figure 8. Monthly distribution of crimes against honour and morality reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800



and two children, was committed in February.³⁶ Winter shows a rise in thefts, possibly because during this time of the year, when the nights are long and people tend to spend more time indoors, thefts could be committed unobserved (Figure 10).

³⁶ N. Vekarić, »Homicides Among Relatives«: p. 81.

Figure 9. Monthly distribution of damages reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800

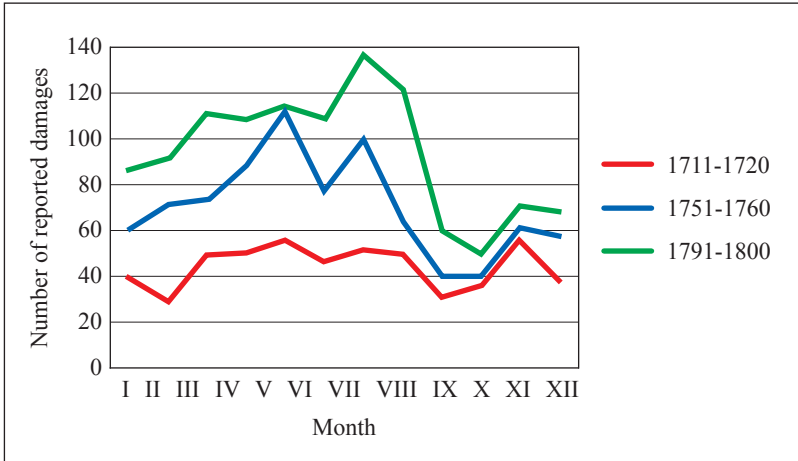
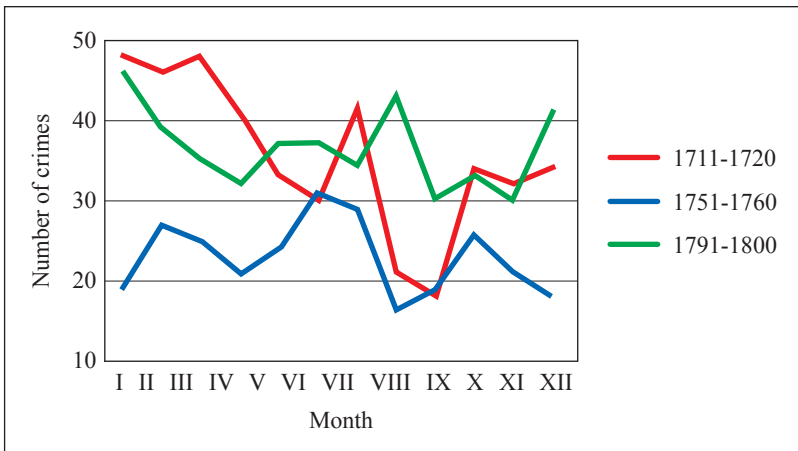


Figure 10. Monthly distribution of crimes against property reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800



Conclusion

The crime trends in eighteenth-century Republic of Dubrovnik show a strong correlation between crime and social situation. During crisis (the first quarter of the century), the number of major crimes (homicide, theft) increased, and declined during the period of positive expectation. By contrast, minor forms of violent crimes were practically ignored during crisis, but once it was over, they found an easier way to court. This gave way to a paradoxical picture: during the period of positive expectation the overall crime rate increased, but the number of victims with fatal consequences declined.

Climate conditions and economic orientation of the population, coupled with the system of customs and behaviour patterns rooted in the family as a nuclear unit of social organisation, shortly defined as the 'way of life', had a direct impact on the rhythm of crime. The seasonality of some intentional criminal offences was conditioned by the favourable opportunities (e.g. higher theft rate in winter), whereas the crimes committed in a fit of passion (e.g. physical assault, defamation, slander) depended on the frequency of contact as an occasion for conflict. Therefore these crimes declined in the season marked by intensive farming (September), and increased during the idle season (July).

Tables

Table 1. Distribution of criminality by groups of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800

Groups of crimes	Number of criminal proceedings							
	<i>Total</i>		1711-1720		1751-1760		1791-1800	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<i>Total</i>	9,349	100	2,220	100	2,892	100	4,237	100
Violent crimes	4,299	45.98	1,043	46.98	1,343	46.44	1,913	45.15
Crimes against honour and morality	1,298	13.88	158	7.12	392	13.55	748	17.65
Crimes against authority and legal order	17	0.18	5	0.23	9	0.31	3	0.07
Crimes against property	1,140	12.19	427	19.23	276	9.54	437	10.31
Crimes relating to land holding	30	0.32	22	0.99	3	0.10	5	0.12
Damages	2,506	26.81	536	24.14	850	29.39	1,120	26.43
Proceedings not terminated due to legal reasons (no violation established, negative production burden)	59	0.63	29	1.31	19	0.66	11	0.26

Source: *Lam. Crim.* vol. 57-72, 115-135, 195-215.

Table 2. Annual rate of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800

Period	Number of crimes	Population size	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants
1711-1720	2,220	23,000	965
1751-1760	2,892	27,000	1071
1791-1800	4,237	30,000	1412

Sources (Tables 2-4): *Lam. Crim.*, vol. 57-72, 115-135, 195-215; for population size: N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I: pp. 284, 290.

Table 3. Annual criminality rates by groups of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800

Period	Population size	Violent crimes		Crimes against honour and morality		Crimes against property		Damages		Other
		<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants	<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants	<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants	<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants	
1711-1720	23,000	1,043	453	158	69	427	186	536	233	27
1751-1760	27,000	1,343	497	392	145	276	102	850	315	12
1791-1800	30,000	1,913	638	748	249	437	146	1,120	373	8

Table 4. Annual criminality rates by specific crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/20, 1751/60, 1791/1800

Period	Population size	Homicide		Physical assault		Rape		Defamation		Theft	
		<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants	<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants	<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants	<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants	<i>Total</i>	Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants
1711-1720	23,000	58	25	927	403	4	2	119	52	401	174
1751-1760	27,000	25	9	1,246	461	7	3	294	109	243	90
1791-1800	30,000	11	4	1,804	601	2	1	544	181	399	133

Type of crime	Total	Year									
		1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720
<i>Total</i>	2,220	229	171	193	226	263	314	214	217	178	215
Violation of the banishment sentence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Document counterfeiting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY	427	45	27	29	47	52	100	43	26	30	28
Theft	401	42	26	28	47	46	93	38	26	28	27
Fraud	19	2	1	1	0	6	5	3	0	1	0
Robbery	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Deprivation of movables	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Deprivation of animals	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
CRIMES RELATING TO LAND HOLDING	22	4	2	4	2	0	1	2	3	3	1
Flight of tenant	15	2	2	3	1	0	1	1	2	2	1
Violation of tenancy obligations	7	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
Unlawful holding of tenant (contrary to verdict)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DAMAGES	536	48	27	51	65	76	80	56	52	36	45
Damage on movables	32	4	2	7	2	6	2	1	2	2	4
Damage on property	141	18	4	13	13	19	24	16	12	13	9
Damage on crops due to animal trespass	233	14	15	16	30	38	33	23	25	14	25
Subsequent presentation of culprit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trespassing	7	3	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Evasion of rent payment	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful obstruction of activity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligence of obligation	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Unlawful refusal of service	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refusal of maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligent custody	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usurpation of land or movable	72	4	2	5	13	7	14	12	7	5	3
Animal slaughter	34	4	4	4	4	4	3	2	4	1	4
Death of hired animal	5	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0

Type of crime	Total	Year									
		1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720
<i>Total</i>	2,220	229	171	193	226	263	314	214	217	178	215
Seizure of an animal trespassing, or given in pasture	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attack on animals	8	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
PROCEEDINGS NOT TERMINATED DUE TO LEGAL REASONS (NO VIOLATION ESTABLISHED, INCONCLUSIVE PROOF)	29	4	2	4	3	1	4	0	5	2	4
Accidental injury	8	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Accidental death	13	0	2	2	1	0	3	0	4	0	1
Self-injury	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disappearance of person	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unproven murder	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Suicide	5	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0

Table 7. Annual criminality distribution by groups of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1751/1760

Groups of crimes	Total	Year									
		1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760
<i>Total</i>	2,892	174	198	263	348	276	336	330	285	318	364
Violent crimes	1,343	48	67	117	174	140	161	185	136	146	169
Crimes against honour and morality	392	27	31	31	45	47	51	38	39	41	42
Crimes against authority and legal order	9	0	1	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	0
Crimes against property	276	37	35	26	32	20	23	17	23	27	36
Crimes relating to land holding	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Damages	850	61	62	85	93	66	98	86	84	101	114
Proceedings not terminated due to legal reasons (no violation established, negative production burden)	19	0	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	1	3

Source (Tables 7 and 8): *Lam. Crim*, vol. 115-135.

Type of crime	Total	Year									
		1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760
<i>Total</i>	2,892	174	198	263	348	276	336	330	285	318	364
Irreverence towards the Church	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Defamation	294	19	26	24	34	29	37	27	31	33	34
Slander	71	3	5	2	5	14	12	10	8	7	5
CRIMES AGAINST AUTHORITY AND LEGAL ORDER	9	0	1	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	0
Office abuse	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Flight during arrest	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Resistance to authority	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disregard for the order of arrest	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Perjury	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Claim against authority	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Violation of the banishment sentence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Document counterfeiting	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY	276	37	35	26	32	20	23	17	23	27	36
Theft	243	35	34	25	29	19	22	4	19	26	30
Fraud	29	2	1	1	2	1	0	13	3	1	5
Robbery	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Deprivation of movables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deprivation of animals	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
CRIMES RELATING TO LAND HOLDING	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Flight of tenant	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Violation of tenancy obligations	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful holding of tenant (contrary to verdict)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DAMAGES	850	61	62	85	93	66	98	86	84	101	114
Damage on movables	22	0	4	2	2	2	3	1	4	4	0
Damage on property	294	31	10	26	31	21	43	23	24	39	46

Type of crime	Total	Year									
		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800
<i>Total</i>	4,237	435	445	507	433	353	436	465	366	388	409
Violation of the banishment sentence	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Document counterfeiting	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY	437	49	44	60	45	39	43	46	32	41	38
Theft	399	45	42	55	39	37	36	45	29	38	33
Fraud	22	3	0	3	4	2	2	1	3	1	3
Robbery	7	0	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
Deprivation of movables	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Deprivation of animals	5	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
CRIMES RELATING TO LAND HOLDING	5	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Flight of tenant	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violation of tenancy obligations	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Unlawful holding of tenant (contrary to verdict)	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DAMAGES	1,120	123	141	154	102	98	101	104	89	87	121
Damage on movables	37	3	3	4	3	3	4	6	0	5	6
Damage on property	420	43	76	54	36	49	44	35	3	36	44
Damage on crops due to animal trespass	416	57	36	73	43	33	30	42	34	21	47
Subsequent presentation of culprit	36	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	29	1	0
Trespassing	10	3	1	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
Evasion of rent payment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful obstruction of activity	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Negligence of obligation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful refusal of service	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Refusal of maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligent custody	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usurpation of land or movable	75	7	5	5	8	3	5	9	9	14	10
Animal slaughter	91	6	16	12	7	8	10	9	8	6	9
Death of hired animal	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Type of crime	Total	Year									
		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800
<i>Total</i>	4,237	435	445	507	433	353	436	465	366	388	409
Seizure of an animal trespassing, or given in pasture	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Attack on animals	26	3	4	1	1	1	5	0	4	2	5
PROCEEDINGS NOT TERMINATED DUE TO LEGAL REASONS (NO VIOLATION ESTABLISHED, INCONCLUSIVE PROOF)	11	1	2	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Accidental injury	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Accidental death	7	1	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Self-injury	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Disappearance of person	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unproven murder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Suicide	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 11. Monthly distribution of criminality by groups of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/1720

Groups of crimes	Total	Month											
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Total	2,220	205	171	206	201	198	197	208	151	139	175	193	176
%	100	9.23	7.70	9.28	9.05	8.92	8.87	9.37	6.80	6.26	7.88	8.69	7.93
Violent crimes	1,043	95	86	90	91	90	102	90	68	78	88	82	83
Crimes against honour and morality	158	17	6	16	10	15	15	19	7	11	13	14	15
Crimes against authority and legal order	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Crimes against property	427	48	46	48	41	33	30	42	21	18	34	32	34
Crimes relating to land holding	22	1	2	0	1	0	2	2	2	1	2	6	3
Damages	536	39	29	50	52	56	47	52	50	31	36	57	37
Proceedings not terminated due to legal reasons (no violation established, negative production burden)	29	4	2	2	5	4	1	3	2	0	2	1	3

Source (Tables 11 and 12): *Lam. Crim.*, vol. 57-72.

Table 12. Monthly distribution of criminality by specific crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1711/1720

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	2,220	205	171	206	201	198	197	208	151	139	175	193	176
%	100	9.23	7.70	9.28	9.05	8.92	8.87	9.37	6.80	6.26	7.88	8.69	7.93
VIOLENT CRIMES	1,043	95	86	90	91	90	102	90	68	78	88	82	83
Murder	58	3	6	7	9	3	1	2	4	6	5	5	7
Solicitation of murder (not committed)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Solicitation	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Infanticide	5	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Abuse	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poisoning	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physical assault (injury)	927	87	75	74	79	83	98	87	59	69	78	65	73
Duel	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Challenge to duel	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Threat (of death, of force, of arson)	35	5	4	4	0	3	1	1	4	2	4	5	2
Threat (on property)	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Rape	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Unlawful detainment	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Human trafficking	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Animal attack (dog bite)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CRIMES AGAINST HONOUR AND MORALITY	158	17	6	16	10	15	15	19	7	11	13	14	15
Bigamy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Incest	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Marriage promise	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Abduction of woman	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abduction of girl or child	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Scandalous practice	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	2,220	205	171	206	201	198	197	208	151	139	175	193	176
%	100	9.23	7.70	9.28	9.05	8.92	8.87	9.37	6.80	6.26	7.88	8.69	7.93
Deprivation of animals	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
CRIMES RELATING TO LAND HOLDING	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Flight of tenant	15	1	2	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	4	2
Violation of tenancy obligations	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	1
Unlawful holding of tenant (contrary to verdict)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DAMAGES	536	39	29	50	52	56	47	52	50	31	36	57	37
Damage on movables	32	4	3	2	2	5	3	0	1	2	2	6	2
Damage on property	141	9	9	9	12	14	16	8	21	11	11	10	11
Damage on crops due to animal trespass	233	12	14	24	25	29	22	31	16	8	19	18	15
Subsequent presentation of culprit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trespassing	7	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	0
Evasion of rent payment	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Unlawful obstruction of activity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligence of obligation	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Unlawful refusal of service	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refusal of maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligent custody	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usurpation of land or movable	72	5	2	4	7	8	2	8	8	4	4	14	6
Animal slaughter	34	7	1	8	3	0	3	1	2	1	0	6	2

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	2,220	205	171	206	201	198	197	208	151	139	175	193	176
%	100	9.23	7.70	9.28	9.05	8.92	8.87	9.37	6.80	6.26	7.88	8.69	7.93
Death of hired animal	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Seizure of an animal trespassing, or given in pasture	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Attack on animals	8	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	0
PROCEEDINGS NOT TERMINATED DUE TO LEGAL REASONS (NO VIOLATION ESTABLISHED, INCONCLUSIVE PROOF)	19	1	1	1	1	1	4	0	1	1	2	4	2
Accidental injury	8	1	0	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Accidental death	13	1	2	0	1	0	1	3	1	0	2	1	1
Self-injury	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disappearance of person	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unproven murder	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Suicide	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2

Table 13. Monthly distribution of criminality by groups of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1751/1760

Groups of crimes	Total	Month											
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
<i>Total</i>	2,892	233	249	222	240	286	303	338	211	151	213	211	235
%	100	8.06	8.61	7.68	8.30	9.89	10.48	11.69	7.30	5.22	7.37	7.30	8.13
Violent crimes	1,343	113	118	96	101	116	149	159	102	68	117	92	112
Crimes against honour and morality	392	36	30	25	29	31	42	49	28	23	27	30	42
Crimes against authority and legal order	9	3	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Crimes against property	276	19	27	25	21	24	31	29	16	19	26	21	18
Crimes relating to land holding	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Damages	850	61	72	74	88	113	76	101	64	40	40	62	59
Proceedings not terminated due to legal reasons (no violation established, negative production burden)	19	1	1	1	1	1	4	0	1	1	2	4	2

Source (Tables 13 and 14): *Lam. Crim.*, vol. 115-135.

Table 14. Monthly distribution of criminality by specific crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1751/1760

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	2,892	233	249	222	240	286	303	338	211	151	213	211	235
%	100	8.06	8.61	7.68	8.30	9.89	10.48	11.69	7.30	5.22	7.37	7.30	8.13
VIOLENT CRIMES	1,343	113	118	96	101	116	149	159	102	68	117	92	112
Murder	25	1	1	3	2	5	0	1	3	2	3	2	2
Solicitation of murder (not committed)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Solicitation	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Infanticide	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abuse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poisoning	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Physical assault (injury)	1,246	108	113	85	96	107	138	149	94	61	107	83	105
Duel	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Challenge to duel	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Threat (of death, of force, of arson)	56	4	2	8	2	3	7	7	2	3	6	7	5
Threat (on property)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rape	7	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0
Unlawful detainment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Human trafficking	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Animal attack (dog bite)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CRIMES AGAINST HONOUR AND MORALITY	392	36	30	25	29	31	42	49	28	23	27	30	42
Bigamy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Incest	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marriage promise	22	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	5	1	2	1	2
Abduction of woman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abduction of girl or child	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scandalous practice	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	2,892	233	249	222	240	286	303	338	211	151	213	211	235
%	100	8.06	8.61	7.68	8.30	9.89	10.48	11.69	7.30	5.22	7.37	7.30	8.13
Deprivation of animals	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
CRIMES RELATING TO LAND HOLDING	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Flight of tenant	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Violation of tenancy obligations	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful holding of tenant (contrary to verdict)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DAMAGES	850	61	72	74	88	113	76	101	64	40	40	62	59
Damage on movables	22	2	4	2	1	3	3	4	0	0	0	1	2
Damage on property	294	23	27	30	28	39	22	28	23	13	16	25	20
Damage on crops due to animal trespass	367	27	29	25	39	47	34	57	28	18	12	23	28
Subsequent presentation of culprit	6	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0
Trespassing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Evasion of rent payment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful obstruction of activity	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Negligence of obligation	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful refusal of service	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refusal of maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligent custody	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usurpation of land or movable	88	0	4	8	12	12	11	7	7	7	7	10	3

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	2,892	233	249	222	240	286	303	338	211	151	213	211	235
%	100	8.06	8.61	7.68	8.30	9.89	10.48	11.69	7.30	5.22	7.37	7.30	8.13
Animal slaughter	59	9	5	7	5	12	4	2	5	1	5	1	3
Death of hired animal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Seizure of an animal trespassing, or given in pasture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attack on animals	9	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3
PROCEEDINGS NOT TERMINATED DUE TO LEGAL REASONS (NO VIOLATION ESTABLISHED, INCONCLUSIVE PROOF)	19	1	1	1	1	1	4	0	1	1	2	4	2
Accidental injury	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Accidental death	13	1	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	4	2
Self-injury	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Disappearance of person	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unproven murder	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Suicide	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 15. Monthly distribution of criminality by groups of crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1791/1800

Groups of crimes	Total	Month											
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Total	4,237	329	338	343	348	419	395	492	442	267	281	278	305
%	100	7.76	7.98	8.10	8.21	9.89	9.32	11.61	10.43	6.30	6.63	6.56	7.20
Violent crimes	1,913	134	153	143	150	202	166	223	200	140	138	137	127
Crimes against honour and morality	748	62	53	53	57	66	81	92	77	38	59	40	70
Crimes against authority and legal order	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Crimes against property	437	46	39	35	32	37	37	34	43	30	33	30	41
Crimes relating to land holding	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Damages	1,120	86	91	111	108	114	108	136	122	58	49	70	67
Proceedings not terminated due to legal reasons (no violation established, negative production burden)	11	1	1	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	1	1	0

Source (Tables 15 and 16): *Lam. Crim.*, vol. 195-215.

Table 16. Monthly distribution of criminality by specific crimes reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in 1791/1800

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	4,237	329	338	343	348	419	395	492	442	267	281	278	305
%	100	7.76	7.98	8.10	8.21	9.89	9.32	11.61	10.43	6.30	6.63	6.56	7.20
VIOLENT CRIMES	1,913	134	153	143	150	202	166	223	200	140	138	137	127
Murder	11	1	0	2	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	2
Solicitation of murder (not committed)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Solicitation	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Infanticide	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abuse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poisoning	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physical assault (injury)	1,804	123	142	132	138	189	156	210	190	136	133	135	120
Duel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Challenge to duel	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Threat (of death, of force, of arson)	87	10	10	7	8	12	7	12	7	4	3	2	5
Threat (on property)	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rape	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Unlawful detainment	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Human trafficking	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Animal attack (dog bite)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
CRIMES AGAINST HONOUR AND MORALITY	748	62	53	53	57	66	81	92	77	38	59	40	70
Bigamy	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Incest	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Marriage promise	4	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Abduction of woman	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abduction of girl or child	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scandalous practice	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	4,237	329	338	343	348	419	395	492	442	267	281	278	305
%	100	7.76	7.98	8.10	8.21	9.89	9.32	11.61	10.43	6.30	6.63	6.56	7.20
Sexual assault	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Offensive language	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Card playing	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cheating in cards	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Conversion to Islam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Irreverence towards the Church	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligence	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Defamation	544	47	41	35	40	43	64	70	66	32	38	26	42
Slander	183	15	11	14	17	19	14	20	10	6	19	12	26
CRIMES AGAINST AUTHORITY AND LEGAL ORDER	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Office abuse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Flight during arrest	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Resistance to authority	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disregard for the order of arrest	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perjury	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Claim against authority	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violation of the banishment sentence	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Document counterfeiting	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY	437	46	39	35	32	37	37	34	43	30	33	30	41
Theft	399	42	35	30	30	31	32	31	42	29	31	30	36
Fraud	22	1	4	3	1	4	3	2	0	0	1	0	3
Robbery	7	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Deprivation of movables	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0

Type of crime	Total	Month											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Total</i>	4,237	329	338	343	348	419	395	492	442	267	281	278	305
%	100	7.76	7.98	8.10	8.21	9.89	9.32	11.61	10.43	6.30	6.63	6.56	7.20
Deprivation of animals	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
CRIMES RELATING TO LAND HOLDING	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Flight of tenant	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Violation of tenancy obligations	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Unlawful holding of tenant (contrary to verdict)	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DAMAGES	1,120	86	91	111	108	114	108	136	122	58	49	70	67
Damage on movables	37	5	5	2	3	5	4	2	3	0	1	3	4
Damage on property	420	38	30	43	39	31	43	56	47	22	28	24	19
Damage on crops due to animal trespass	416	23	32	46	44	46	34	62	45	18	10	29	27
Subsequent presentation of culprit	36	2	2	1	7	4	1	3	6	2	3	3	2
Trespassing	10	2	1	0	1	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
Evasion of rent payment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful obstruction of activity	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Negligence of obligation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful refusal of service	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Refusal of maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negligent custody	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usurpation of land or movable	75	3	7	10	6	17	8	4	6	4	4	3	3
Animal slaughter	91	9	10	7	8	6	10	7	9	8	1	6	10

