

Reviews

Nicolaus Viti Gozzius, *In primum librum Artis Rhetoricorum Aristotelis commentaria. Uses of Aristotle's Rhetoric in the Late Renaissance*, ed. Gorana Stepanić and Pavel Gregorić. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2024. Pages xv+464.

Volume thirty of the series *Texts and Sources in Intellectual History* of the leading Dutch publisher Brill, which, since the end of the seventeenth century, has promoted the humanities and social sciences by publishing selected academic titles through a close-knit network of international collaboration, is devoted to the commentaries of the Ragusan nobleman, philosopher, jurist and humanist Nikola Vitov Gozze (c. 1549-1610) on the first part of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. This critical edition has been prepared by Gorana Stepanić, classical philologist and assistant professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, Juraj Dobrila University in Pula, and philosopher Pavel Gregorić, tenured senior research fellow at the Institute of Philosophy in Zagreb.

As author of the critical apparatus, Stepanić is to be credited with the bulk of philological research, for she has examined the manuscripts and the voluminous library of the quoted ancient titles, and has written a major part of the introduction. This achievement Stepanić owes mainly to the rich experience she gained over a decade of dedicated research into this work, upon which she had embarked as a collaborator on the project "Croatian Philosophy in European Perspective (16th to 19th century)", conducted at the time by Ljerka Schiffler at the Institute of Philosophy in Zagreb. Gregorić's major contribution reflects in the study of the relationship between Aristotle's message in the *Rhetoric* and Gozze's intention to choose his text, as well as in the analysis of Gozze's argumentation and style, and lastly, in the recognition of Greek sources in the bibliography. The material for a study of such scope most certainly abounded, thanks to the extensive original with approximately 110,000 words, divided in 49 chapters (in Gozze's redaction only 46, since he merged chapters 19, 20 and 21 into one, and did the same with chapters 22 and 23), accompanied by Gozze's more than 1,700 marginal notes.

The very choice of the theme may lead us to believe that Nikola Vitov Gozze, who was considered a true adherent of Plato's philosophy, and especially that of Neoplatonism, could also fall among the followers of Aristotle's thought, because in the theory of rhetoric art (which Plato condemned as a manipulative device) he recognised concrete, pragmatic use. All the arguments submitted during a political or judicial debate were susceptible to subjective interpretation, and the debate could develop in a desired direction thanks to good knowledge of rhetorical principles. Recalling to mind his own office as the judge of the Civil Court in Dubrovnik, Gozze emphasised that he rarely referred to the sentences of his predecessors, as the judges "had difficulty in grasping legal cases or the emotions could easily blind them" (*...in sententiis a me latis in caussis*

civilibus dum fui iudex in nostra civitate Ragusina, parum aut nihil sententiis civilibus a praedecessoris nostris iudicibus prolatis suffragatus sum [...] iudices vel parum capiunt causas vel certe possunt perturbationibus occaecari, p. 68). The editors, on their part, have supported a pragmatic approach as an explanation to Gozze's choice through a concise, yet in-depth overview of the author's life. This versatile figure of an influential politician, engaged jurist and gifted writer of the original philosophical orientation had already succeeded in imposing himself to his contemporaries. Not only did his word as a rector, member of the Minor Council, judge and thinker have special weight in Dubrovnik of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, but it also attracted prominent names from the other coast of the Adriatic, amazed by the achievements of this self-made scholar whose formal education ended in the gymnasium benches of his native city. He was lauded in private letters, like those of the humanist Aldo Manuzio, or received the highest acknowledgments for his theological work in the form of honorary diploma of the Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Theology from the hands of Pope Clement VIII, upon the prompting of cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, to whom he dedicated the commentaries on the Psalms, published in Venice in 1600 and 1601. Gozze's achievements have been lasting inspiration to scholars since the time of the Dubrovnik Republic to the present day, encouragement for a succession of studies, reviews and critical editions, notably among biographers, philosophers and philologists.

In this light bold appears the assertion of the editors that the introductory study published in the book before us under the title "Nikola Vitov Gučetić (1549-1610): The Author and His Works" (pp. 1-41) is the longest text written about this Ragusan in a foreign language. Competition, however, does seem modest, because apart from the local biographers such as Ignjat Giorgi, Serafin Marija Cerva, Sebastijan Slade Dolci and Francesco Marija Appendini who wrote about Gozze in Latin and Italian from the early eighteenth to the start of the nineteenth century, only the German Slavacist Wilfried Potthoff, having prepared an edition of the same text with Gozze's commentaries on the first part of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (Nikola Gučetić, *In primum librum Artis rhetoricorum Aristotelis commentaria. Editio princeps*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006), dedicated to our fellow citizen an extensive introduction titled "On the History of Old Croatian Rhetoric" (*Zur Geschichte der älteren kroatischen Rhetorik*). However, as already concluded by the Oxford scholar Jonathan Barnes in a review on Potthoff's edition shortly after its publishing (*International Journal of the Classical Tradition* / December 2008: 688-692), the editor "is primarily concerned to place Gučetić's work in the context of Dalmatian rhetoric and literature", while "outsiders—and perhaps some insiders too—will wish that Potthoff had said rather more about his author and about the text which he has edited" (p. 689).

Barnes' critique has become the starting point for the preparation of the new edition whose editors have offered a departure in terms of both analysis and content. They have

decided to return Gozze's text to the centre of the research interest, avoiding an overly comparative approach that had lured their predecessor and making no assessment of the "Dalmatian rhetoric and literature" based solely on Gozze's work, despite the fact that "alongside Frano Petrić and Ivan Luccari he made a major contribution to the history of Croatian and European Renaissance and Baroque rhetoric and theory of the art of oratory" (Ljerka Schiffler, "Nikola Vitov Gučetić (1549-1610)", in: *Hrvatska filozofija. Studije i odabrani tekstovi*, vol. 1, ed. Marinko Šišak. Zagreb: Scopus, 2001, p. 172). In so doing, they succeeded in eliminating a series of unintentional flaws in Potthoff's critical edition, from random insertion of punctuation symbols to misinterpretation of abbreviations and misreading of numerous words.

The list of the errors in Potthoff's edition is dauntingly long, for example: *parum* instead of *parvum* (p. 48), *propter veritatem* instead of *propter brevitatem* (p. 62), *habens* instead of *homines* (p. 63), *intencionem* instead of *internicionem* (p. 114), *quantum* instead of *quoniam* (p. 114, p. 341), *politicas* instead of *politias* (p. 117), *Parthos* instead of *piratas* (p. 187). This even led to subsequent misformulation of the titles of some works (*Definitio Topicorum* instead of *De differentiis topicis* (p. 50), *Eloquentia theologica* instead of *Elementa theologiae* (p. 163), *Philosophia Platonica* instead of *Philebum Platonis* (p. 228)) and the names of their authors (*in Pulchro* instead of *in Plutarcho* (p. 180), *Hircio Prodicio* instead of *Herculi Prodicio* (p. 187), *Philippus* instead of *Philosophus* (p. 368), *Marcus Ficinus* instead of *Marsilius Ficinus* (p. 212), *Anaxagorae et Lazomeni* instead of *Anaxagorae Clazomenii* (p. 277)). For the reasons mentioned, the previous edition not only failed "to fulfill the minimum philological standards" ("The Author and His Works", p. 4), but cast doubt on Gozze's knowledge of Latin and his literary culture in general. Therefore, the preparation of the new edition had become necessary not only as an apology for Gozze's commentaries on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (announced in the introduction with a modest statement that this collaboration aims to emend the text by offering an improved version and a possible interpretation of Gozze's single treatise on rhetoric, p. 4), but as an important contribution to the philological criticism of the text, given that the dilemmas surrounding its origin have been resolved.

Although Gozze himself failed to cite which edition of *Rhetoric* he used, it appears that it was the Latin translation with commentaries published in Venice in 1591 by the Milan humanist Marcantonio Maioragio. In Maioragio's bilingual edition Aristotle's source is divided into identical parts as in Gozze's commentaries, quotations of the Greek classics in Latin translation are identical to those in Gozze's work, whereby the Ragusan author also adopted Maioragio's Latin terms for the original Greek rhetorical expressions. Maioragio's edition also helped establish a more precise dating of Gozze's commentaries: it was generally believed that the text was written in 1600, yet now we know that it was written between 1592 (a year after the publishing of Maioragio's edition of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in Venice) and June 1607, when a package with Gozze's

work was sent to Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere in Urbino, with whom Nikola Vitov Gozze kept correspondence in an attempt to win support for the return of the political refugee Marin Bobali to Dubrovnik, and after his early death in 1605, to ensure Duke's protection for himself.

The manuscript sent to ducal court in Urbino, which was later housed at the Vatican Apostolic Library in Rome under *Urb. lat.* no. 1219, was used for the preparation of both editions, that of Potthoff and the new one. However, only now has it been established that it is not an autograph, as claimed by Potthoff and adopted by other scholars. The text itself produced proof for the solution of this important problem, by revealing typical errors of the scribe and identification of Gozze's own hand beyond any doubt (p. 12). The critical apparatus below the text lists all the errors in Potthoff's edition (designated with letter P), together with other possible readings of the Vatican manuscript (under letter V, correcting thus the scribe's errors), while the standard edition of Aristotle's works edited by Immanuel Bekker (*Aristotelis opera*, vol. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1831) was used for the comparison with the Greek original.

Although Aristotle's *Rhetoric* originally consists of three parts, Gozze is concerned with part one only, in which the Philosopher defined the subject matter of his work and offered the classical division of rhetoric into judicial, epideictic and deliberative. This topic was the closest to the already observed pragmatic purpose with which Gozze approached the work, yet owing to the thorough survey of the interpretations of a multitude of other authors, one may rightly state that he virtually compiled a specific manual on this work of Aristotle. The Milan humanist Maioragio was doubtlessly drawn by this approach, but Gozze departed from his source text and embarked on his own path: while Maioragio interpreted Aristotle's theses with the help of classical examples borrowed from Cicero's speeches as well as countless episodes from the history of ancient Rome, Gozze introduced episodes from his own career (such as the earlier-mentioned, not very commendable assessment of the work of Ragusan judges), while the list of his selected authorities was substantially broader in scope and chronology. Not only did he draw on the ancient and contemporary authors, but also found examples in the philosophical and literary works, in addition to those of theological and legal content.

The mentioned list comprises almost 170 names and more than 1,500 quotations of various works. The list is headed by the most prominent orator of ancient Rome, Cicero, whose works Gozze quoted 647 times, followed by Aristotle with 247 quotations, whereas jurists constitute more than one third of the authorities: the appendix at the end of the book contains a detailed list of 60 lawyers and 16 theologians whose works have been cited. Despite Gozze's giftedness and zeal with which he collected books (in the introduction the reader is rightly warned about his personal library, and the new costly acquisitions of recently printed books), it is quite clear that he alone could not have compiled such extensive literature but used the achievements of others.

Therefore, besides Maioragio, who deserves greatest credit for the creation of this work, a lesser known Venetian patrician and humanist, Giovanni Battista Bernardi, should be mentioned, with his three-volume collection of philosophical quotations under the title *Seminarium totius philosophiae* (1582-1585), whose compilation Gozze consulted while writing his *Family Governance* and *On the Structure of States*.

Although creating "during a period of most fierce theological, political and religious conflicts in Europe", as argued by Ljerka Schiffler, in addition to the interior clan tensions that destabilized the Dubrovnik Republic in which he himself had participated (according to the meticulous analysis by Nenad Vekarić), Nikola Vitov Gozze sought concrete solutions for the current political problems, but also legal challenges in Aristotle's understanding of rhetoric, with the efforts of a multitude of his successors. The editors of Gozze's commentaries to the first part of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* have shown this clearly and argumentatively, having corrected an array of errors overseen by the previous editor. Based on this experience, we look forward to the forthcoming edition of Gozze's Latin commentaries on Aristotle's work *On the Soul* (*De anima Aristotelis*), which, under the auspices of the prestigious Belgian publishing house Brepols, is being prepared by Pavel Gregorić and classical philologist Šime Demo of the Faculty of Philosophy, University in Zagreb.

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Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* [The History of Urban Development of Dubrovnik] [2nd edition]. Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 2023. Pages LXX+76.

Though modest in volume, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* by Lukša Beritić, this insightfully written and beautifully furnished book has acquired a cult status soon after its publishing in 1958. For generations of scholars, it has served as an indispensable introduction to the historical urban landscape of medieval Dubrovnik. It offers valuable information on the original street layout and the buildings that once stood in them. Although some of Beritić's insights have been revised and emended by subsequent researchers of Dubrovnik's past, to this day we have not witnessed a better concise guide to the topography of the city that spans centuries.

What makes Beritić's theses so convincing? Beritić mastered the urban development of Dubrovnik from archival documents, but also from the countless in-depth field investigations and systematic observations during his long and devoted custodianship of the local heritage. This unique combination of skills and knowledge finally resulted in crystal-clear conclusions so effortlessly presented in this little book—with such an adeptness thanks to which many of Beritić's insights have become embedded in the overall experience of the city, as if they had always been there.

In this book Beritić's views and presentations of Dubrovnik's urban past are truly three-dimensional: he observes buildings, streets, city walls, fortifications, yet at the same time he zooms in on the ditches, water supply system, rainwater drainage, cesspits and sewerage in the lower urban section. Beritić was the first to couple the topography of Dubrovnik and its stately buildings with the admirable infrastructure of the medieval city, parts of which still serve their original purpose. This important little book is an eloquent testimony to the fact that succinctness is a quality of the greatest scholars, for it is far more difficult to cover such a broad and complex topic on 40 pages than 200. The secret of Beritić's success lies in the ability to distillate his knowledge to the quintessence.

The value of Beritić's book is that it will equally appeal to a random reader, either a local interested in the heritage of his own city, or a professional in search of an admirable read. In terms of preparation and editorial support, this little book has been very fortunate, both then and today. Sixty-five years ago, the text was foreworded by Josip Seissel, an eminent architect, to whom we also probably owe the book's beautiful graphic design as well as the commission of the cover page, the work of yet another renowned visual artist—Josip Vaništa.

The new, recent anastatic reprint has been edited by two experts. The foreword by Maja Nodari outlines the world of Lukša Beritić, sheds light on his important role for the heritage of Dubrovnik and the activity of the Society of the Friends of Dubrovnik

Antiquities, but also portrays him as a man. She rightly emphasises that Beritić pioneered the study of many topics, boldly entered the space in which the professionals had not yet trodden, in that his thoughts and approaches truly paved the way for those who followed. Despite the fact that some of Beritić's views have not stood the test of time—insights based on more recent archival and archaeological research have simply made headway—in our considerations about the history of urban development of Dubrovnik Beritić has provided a matrix, the first framework, the first *forma mentis*. In her portrayal of Beritić, Maja Nodari draws attention to a character trait so rarely encountered today, and that is determination to master new skills regardless of one's age and the accomplished professional path. Today, when history students may well find it futile to embark on Latin or palaeography at the age of 22, and thus prefer to take up a historical period the study of which requires neither of the two, Beritić's example is certainly noteworthy as he pursued these skills in his fifties, aware that without them he could not make any progress as he did not wish to depend on the research and translations of others.

On the other hand, the text written by Danko Zelić places Beritić in the long series of scholars and the spirit of the time: Beritić's seminal contribution, and his reception and influence over the past 65 years. By referring to him as "the father of the history of urban development of Dubrovnik", Zelić writes about Beritić attentively and moderately, in awe of the original work, unassumingly and with caution not to eclipse or unsettle the otherwise perfectly balanced opusculum. Zelić sees Beritić's contribution in all of its aspects, brilliantly synthesised in an expression "practical patriotism": Beritić was fearless in promoting and forwarding his ideas, and that proved to be the tradition that also characterised the activity of the Society of the Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities at its most illustrious moments. Zelić also outlines the 1950s, marked by the unique synergy of the "founding fathers" of the modern study of Dubrovnik and the representation of its heritage: Cvito Fisković, Lukša Beritić, Vinko Foretić, Božo Glavić. He sheds light on the situation that preceded the emergence of this group of renowned historians and art historians, traces the subsequent dissemination of Beritić's arguments and highlights his greatest contributions, and then writes about the test of time—the time that inevitably places our results in a position they deserve.

In conclusion, both authors, Nodari and Zelić, have come to realise that Beritić's work "lasts longer than brass", and I would add, paraphrasing a quote by Horace, that it is as timeless as the stone city about which he wrote with such erudition and passion.

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Radoslav Tomić, *Znakovi identiteta: sveci zaštitnici u umjetnosti 17. i 18. stoljeća u Dalmaciji, Boki kotorskoj i Dubrovačkoj Republici* [Signs of Identity: Patron Saints in the Art of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century in Dalmatia, Boka kotorska and Dubrovnik Republic]. Split – Zagreb: Književni krug Split, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2021. Pages 494.

The problematic theme of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art on the territory of Dalmatia, Boka kotorska and Dubrovnik Republic raises a series of research questions which, despite a considerable number of monographs and individual studies, still leaves a host of possibilities for new insights and interpretations to be uncovered. The book by Academician Radoslav Tomić, eminent authority in early-modern visual arts of the Croatian coastal belt, focuses on the saints protectors, that is, their expression in sculpture and painting in the last two centuries of the early modern period on the vast territory from Kvarner in the north to Boka kotorska and Budva in the south.

The book opens with introductory remarks (pp. 5-14), in which the author provides a brief outline of the historical circumstances prevailing on the territory under consideration. Venetian rule in the coastal regions and on the islands, Ottoman rule in the hinterland, as well as the fact that the Dubrovnik Republic represented an independent political entity, largely determined the social, political and just as equally important cultural everyday life of these communities. Vivid reality, unavoidable in research, was the Church, an institution of long-established tradition across the entire province, whereby the numerous (often small) dioceses and parish communities, confraternity centres, votive churches and shrines mirrored the historically multilayered Dalmatia.

The first section of the book is titled "Sveti Jeronim u dalmatinskom zavičaju" (Saint Jerome in Dalmatian Homeland) (pp. 15-52) and addresses the saint who, in terms of significance, by far surpassed the local community and became the protector of entire Dalmatia. As the author himself observes, the veneration of Saint Jerome is visible in the works of Croatian humanist writers, yet in visual art, whose expression interprets the saint's image and his Dalmatian (Croatian) context, "what strikes is the absence of representative works that would confirm thus formulated consciousness of the saint's Dalmatian origin and his role of the province patron" (p. 22). Exception is the altar and the painting representation of St. Jerome in the church of St. Simeon in Zadar, along with concrete examples from other Dalmatian centres (churches, private collections).

The chapters that follow trace the iconographic depictions of patron saints from Krk to Venetian Albania. The chapter "Sjevernojadranski otoci" (Islands of the North Adriatic) (pp. 53-102) is primarily concerned with the veneration of the Sisak martyr St. Quirinus in Krk (cathedral), and in some other places on the same island (Omišalj). Also discussed is the veneration of St. Gaudentius in the old Dalmatian diocese and commune of Osor, accompanied by a survey of the art works related to Mali and Veli Lošinj (St. Romulus, St. Gregory of Spoleto, St. Anthony the Abbot). This is followed, due to the geographic logic of the book's exposition, with an overview of the veneration of the patron saints of Rab—St. Christopher and St. Martin—alongside St. Valentine in Pag.

"Dalmacija od Zadra do Dubrovnika" (Dalmatia from Zadar to Dubrovnik) is the title of the third section (pp. 103-280). It is evident that Zadar, capital of Dalmatia at the time and central Venetian city in the east Adriatic, possessed the largest number of holy relics, housed in many of its churches and monasteries, while as many as five saints were venerated in the churches, chapels and at the altars. The origin of these relics varies, and their arrival in Zadar may be ascribed to specific historical circumstances, communal power and the city's strategy in the complex relations with the states directly connected with it from the early medieval period. Three of the saints venerated in Zadar are the martyrs from the era of Emperor Diocletian (St. Anastasia/Stošija, St. Chrysogonus/Krševan, St. Zoilus), joined by St. Simeon the God-Receiver and St. Donatus. The author provides concrete art works as illustration to the veneration of these saints, not only in Zadar but in its hinterland and the adjacent islands as well.

An overview of the works of art depicting the saints of the diocese and commune of Nin follows (St. Anselm, St. Ambrose and St. Marcella), along with the veneration of St. Nicholas Tavelić in Šibenik. Building on this chapter is an overview of the saints venerated in Trogir and the territory of the diocese of Trogir (Blessed John of Trogir, St. Lawrence), followed by an analysis of the central saint of Split—St. Dujam (St. Domnius). Besides him, specially honoured on the territory of Split and the Split diocese was St. Staš (St. Anastasius). Here it should be noted that as a metropolitan centre, the archdiocese of Split (successor of the Salonitan archdiocese) is the only among the Dalmatian church communities which prided in the veneration of early-Christian saints, witnesses and martyrs who lived, worked and were tortured on its territory. The book continues with the works of art depicting the patron saints of Omiš and Poljica (St. John of Nepomuk and St. George), Makarska and Podgora (St. Clement, St. Vincent), along with the central Dalmatian islands of Hvar, Brač and Šolta (St. Prosper, St. Helen, St. Cross). The diocese of Korčula was no exception in the possession of holy relics in which, besides St. Theodore (sv. Todor), St. Vincentia was also venerated.

The next section deals with the territory of the city of Dubrovnik and the diocese of Dubrovnik (pp. 281-334). The city of Dubrovnik has dedicated a unique church to its patron, built in the most distinctive urban location where the Placa, main street, merges with the campus (Poljana) in front of the City Hall and the Rector's Palace. The patron in question is St. Blaise, who was venerated throughout the Republic's territory and who most certainly remains one of the key identity signs of the city at the foot of Mount Srđ. Apart from the church of St. Blaise, in the part of the city north of the Placa (Stradun), the Ragusans, using communal funds, built a church dedicated to the three martyrs of Kotor in the mid-fourteenth century, brothers Sts. Peter, Lawrence and Andrew (the so-called Petilovrijenci), whose veneration is of early date in Dubrovnik. The section highlighting Dubrovnik saints thus develops further to the problematics related to the saints of Boka kotorska, where the early-Christian martyr St. Tryphon (sv. Tripun) is

the central figure that marked the tangled and often dramatic history of Kotor and its bay in general. Alongside St. Tryphon, an important place in the devotional practice on the territory of Boka kotorska belongs to Blessed Osanna of Kotor, whereas the assessment of other places in the Bay brings to the fore the veneration of a fragment of Lord's cross in Budva.

In the section "Nove granice i nova svetišta" (New Borders and New Shrines) (pp. 359-386), the author focuses his attention on imported cults and their blending into local tradition, with special emphasis on the veneration of Our Lady of Karavaja in Tisno on the island of Murter. Further, specific resemblance with the cult of Our Lady of Karavaja has been detected in Our Lady of Zečevo in Nin, which concerns a representation of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary to pious Jelena, widow of Marin Grubišić, in the village of Jesenovo in Vrško polje near Nin in 1516. The closing part of the book discusses the pilgrimage topoi in Dalmatinska Zagora, notably the cult of Our Lady (Sinjska Gospa, Gospa Visovačka).

In conclusion (pp. 387-416), the author summarizes the research regarding the role and importance of patron saints and local saints in art from the Council of Trent (1545 – 1563) to the Second Austrian administration in Dalmatia (1815), with an aim to understand its historical, social, spiritual, religious and artistic features and particularities. Emphasis has been placed on the fact that only by understanding the unbreakable connection between Dalmatian communities and dioceses with their holy protectors is it possible to create a picture which helps elucidate the historical processes that developed in Dalmatia, as well as the art historical trends, and recognise the monuments and art works of local, regional, but also national significance.

The book is supplemented with an extensive summary in Italian (pp. 417-447) and appendixes (pp. 449-494), which include bibliography, index of personal names and names of saints, iconographic index, index of place names, acknowledgments, list of photographs and their provenance, and contents.

The monograph by Academician Radoslav Tomić is the result of his long-term study of the veneration of patron saints from the north-Adriatic islands to Boka kotorska and Budva. The volume offers an exhaustive analysis of patron saints of the Dalmatian cities, their importance for the city and its environs, richly illustrated concrete examples which testify as to what extent and in what manner the cult of particular saints impacted the communities, cities and their (arch)dioceses. In sum, the book is a valuable contribution not only to art historians, but also to church and social historians of the east-Adriatic coast as a whole.

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Savo Marković, *Nobilitet Bara u sto biografskih zapisa*. [The Nobility of Bar in One Hundred Biographical Accounts] Perast: Gospa od Škrpjela, 2023. Pages 924.

Following a series of essays devoted to Bar of the medieval and early modern period, along with several notable monographs, Savo Marković, zealous researcher into the past of the city of Bar, has published an extensive book titled *Nobilitet Bara u sto biografskih zapisa*. A collection of one hundred carefully chosen biographies of the men and women who lived in this city between the thirteenth and the twentieth century serves as a prism through which to view the centuries-long history of Bar. Biographies are arranged alphabetically, with a chronological subdivision within the same family, which adds to the dynamics and diversity of the text, because occasionally the protagonists of the "history from above" find themselves side by side with ordinary people from everyday life, who for some reason deserve the interest of historians. It is quite understandable that the biographies of the nobility prevail, for they are not only the ruling elite but also a group which has left most information about themselves thanks to their travels, distribution of property, trade and connection with the elites of other cities. Short biographies dominate, yet there are also those which provide a full account of one's life, such as the fifty-page biography of Marc'Antonio Borisi, (c. 1570-1620), who made a successful career as a Venetian Grand Dragoman but was eventually hanged in Constantinople.

The author has already published a voluminous monograph on the population of Bar which offered an overview of the important demographic, social and political processes and structures. While that book considered the common and general, this new one brings an individual to the fore by placing human fates in the foreground—the fates of those who constituted the urban elite and created the public life of the city, as well as of those who, forced to abandon their homeland, sought a new life abroad. Among them are merchants and clerics, nuns and poets, notaries and landowners, archbishops, administrators and spies, women and men, nobles and commoners. "Ordinary people" abound, side by side with distinguished figures such as the Humanist Antun Prokulijan. Marković notes that, while preparing his book, he dealt with "undetected traces" and the "unfathomable fates" (p. 14), and that feeling of frustration is certainly familiar to anyone who has ever tackled old biographical material—various details are either unrecorded or unpreserved, and despite the researchers' efforts particular biographies remain incomplete. However, arranged as a collection such as this, their individual imperfections fade as they develop into a kind of collective biography in which some common features and trends become visible over time. The fates of emigrants leave deep traces on this broad canvas, who built their lives in the new environment and integrated into its society, often relying on each other and maintaining strong ties with the old homeland. For example, Katarina Dalmas, born in Dubrovnik to a Boriš family of newcomers, in the will drafted on her deathbed recalls her "wretched Bar homeland",

hoping for its liberation from the Ottoman rule. Some people of Bar soon embraced the fate they encountered in the new communities and tried to make the most of the new opportunities. Already in the second generation they joined the wealthy and distinguished businesspeople, as was the case of Ivan Ferro in the sixteenth century, who expanded the business network from Venice, or some lineages of Bar who were soon not only granted citizenship in Dubrovnik but were also admitted to the *Antunini* confraternity, the secondary elite of the Republic. A member of the Zaguri patrician family of Bar left the city and first settled in Kotor, from where the whole family set out for Venice, where they were admitted to the nobility of senatorial rank and left a lasting mark on the city's toponymy. A long period of anxiety and ultimately the fall of Bar into Ottoman hands urged many of the city's inhabitants to emigrate.

Regarding methodology, the book is based on historical documents which are expertly and comprehensively interpreted. Astonishing is the author's determination to find the archival data throughout the Adriatic and the Apennine Peninsula, in old and rare editions, accompanied by the meticulous source citations and references to relevant literature. The potential of the epigraphic collection in Bar has been thoroughly exhausted. The challenge of different languages of the sources—many in Latin or Italian—the author has dealt with satisfactorily. Obstacles on this path were countless, starting from the standardisation of surnames considering that they alone changed over the centuries of their usage and are distorted by the hands of those who recorded them (e.g. Borisi become a curious form of Buonricci). The author's legal background should be credited for the correct interpretation of the most diverse documents and his ability to grasp their essence and the value of information they convey, while his familiarity with local history has facilitated the understanding of a myriad of details mentioned in them (toponyms, anthroponyms, etc.).

From the aspect of Dubrovnik historiography, this book is noteworthy for the impressive number of documents drawn from the State Archives in Dubrovnik, testifying to the fact that its collection also enables the research of the wider south-Adriatic region and the hinterland, where the bulk of the original documentation has not survived. One of the many examples is the last will of a woman from Bar, Mara Curiace, from 1377, preserved solely in the Dubrovnik copy from 1394. The connections between Bar and Dubrovnik were strong, especially in the medieval period, which explains the appearance of many Ragusans in this book, whereas Dubrovnik itself is mentioned so frequently that its entry has been justly omitted from the Geographical Index. Apart from the political and church relations between the communities and their official representatives, most lively relations developed between individuals and families. As to how common the marital ties between the people of these two cities is best illustrated by the case of Draga, daughter of Count Junije of Bar, married into the Bodača noble family of Dubrovnik, whose one daughter married a Ragusan nobleman, and the other

a nobleman of Bar. The links between medieval Bar and Dubrovnik did not end here: among the migrants were monks, priests and clerics, while the masons went to and fro. The book also casts light on the relations of Bar with other Croatian lands, such as the episode from 1654 involving the encounter of Marin Borisi from Bar with Petar Zrinski, Croatian magnate and future *ban*.

One may say that ancient Bar has suffered twice: not only are all its material remains destroyed, but also a host of valuable evidence about its former inhabitants. The fact that many of the original documents have not survived—wills, contracts, criminal records and an abundance of other material—has profoundly shaken the collective memory. The voices that we can hear today thanks to the book of Savo Marković largely echo from the city's more or less remote surroundings to which the people of Bar travelled or migrated, never cutting the umbilical cord to their homeland. However, these documents cannot act as a mirror for the entire ancient Bar, but as if in a kaleidoscope, they provide tiny mirrors, thus creating a vivid and colourful image of the city and its past, gathered and arranged by the expert hand and patience of the author. This rich past has found an ideal researcher in the author of this book, a knowledgeable interpreter and a skilled narrator.

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