

VALENTINA GULIN ZRNIĆ
Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb

A KALEIDOSCOPE OF FEMALE IMAGES IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURY DUBROVNIK

One of the Approaches to the Second Sex in Three Acts

Juxtaposing data from Dubrovnik studies based on archival material and Dubrovnik narrative sources, the paper points to the complexity of that urban community's cultural horizons during the 15th and 16th century with a special focus on women's history. The parallel existence of diverse frames of reference within which women's lives were conceptualised — legal, economic, social and cultural, ecclesiastic, humanistic — created a plurality of opinions, dialectics, ambivalence, non-consistency and conflict within the community. It shaped the complexity of the conceptual, value-judgmental and interpretative scope for research into various issues related to women such as understanding their role, conceptions within the community about the female character and body, and about femininity.

Keywords: Dubrovnik, Renaissance, women's history, cultural complexity

Prologue

In evaluations of the Renaissance period, judgements about women's position are significantly diverse. Glorifying the Italian Renaissance, Jacob Burckhardt argued that women of the upper social class were equally as well educated and respected as men, resulting in the equality of women and crystallisation of the individualism in which women strove — as did Renaissance men — for perfection of the personality in a harmonious integrity of the spiritual and the physical (Burckhardt 1953:219-221). However, in the reverberations from the scholarly turbulence of the last two decades, the perspective of women's history has envigoured scholarly criticism and undermined traditional historical cornerstones. This has

given rise to a questioning of the traditional periodisation of historical eras, categories, and models of social and historical analysis and theories of social change. The question has also been raised whether women really did enjoy a Renaissance at all, in the sense of participation in the positive values qualifying the new historic era (Kelly 1984).

An entire sequence of kaleidoscopic images appears in the range of vision between the mentioned stances and interpretations of the Dubrovnik material. Complexity, plurality of opinions, ambivalence, conflicting quality, and a network of meanings were the precepts on the cultural horizon which I regarded as worthy of research, the more so because the selected Dubrovnik sources showed at very first reading a conceptual disparity in the comprehension of woman, femininity, and women's role in the community. The material at issue in this paper relates primarily to women of patrician status and women from the rich plebeian stratum of the City's population. Analysis of the material includes approach orientations towards cultural anthropology, gender history, and historical anthropology, as well as towards postmodern lines of thought, within which diversity in and profusion of the sources, interpretations, contexts and meanings — polyvalence, heteroglossism — are legitimated. I have tried to illustrate the cultural complexity of the Dubrovnik urban community and the frameworks for creation of cultural meanings connected with women by juxtaposing data about women from existing studies based on Dubrovnik archival material, and data from narrative sources upon which the selected themes are argued. Moreover, the justification for use of the narrative material is also discussed in the text. The diverse frames of reference within which women were apprehended — legal, economic social and cultural, ecclesiastic, humanistic — were not mutually exclusive, and this parallel existence shaped the complexity of the conceptual, value-judgmental and interpretative scope for research into women, their status, position and role.

Act I

Following Braudel in acceptance of the civilisational characteristics of Mediterranean life divided into the public (male) and private (female) sphere, Zdenka Janeković Römer concludes that division to be the cause for the female voice being so very rarely heard in Dubrovnik's mediaeval sources (1994:128). Women were excluded from political life. Legal regulation of property rights and the structure of family life also meant that patrician women were excluded from the economic life of the community (while plebeian women had far more economic opportunities). The Dubrovnik Statute (1272) defined the position of a woman within marriage as subjugation to their husbands (*uxor subjecta est viri suo*), and in terms of her husband's authority over her (*in potestate viri*). These tenets of the law did not alter during the history of the Dubrovnik Republic. An interesting aspect of the Dubrovnik legal system was the

equality before the law of women from diverse social strata (Dinić-Knežević 1974:125-126).

We can extract female court testimonies and wills from the body of archive material as possible forms of female self-expression. Female court testimonies were regarded as being unreliable and of less veracity than those of males: the records referred to testimony given by women following formulae; their testimonies were written down by an official notary; women often gave their evidence through an intermediary; and for all those reasons female court testimony was subject to a degree of distortion or simplification (cf. Dinić-Knežević 1974:127; Janeković Römer 1993-1996:155, 1999:195-196). Women's wills were another female voice. They were often the only statement in which women used the first person singular form — "I" — and spoke in their own name, and they provide an insight into one dimension of the female world, for example, female sensibility and affection for particular persons demonstrated by their specifications for division of their property after death (Janeković Römer 1993-1996:141; 1999:196, 206). A 16th century solo voice is that of Marija Gundulić, who celebrated women in a Humanistic intonation in the foreword she wrote to a book written by her husband, Nikola Gučetić.

Male voices speaking out about women are much more frequent and found in various tracts, treatises and literary works of the time. They conceive women in various codes, in the codes of idealisation, stereotyping, or actualisation of female life in literary works. These are all cultural constructs which contain narrative sources such as the pragmatic discussions of Benedikt Kotruljević dating from the middle of the 15th century; the philosophical works by Nikola Gučetić from the end of the 16th century; or, the literary opus of Marin Držić. There is evident diversity in such sources among the conceptions and the frames of reference within which women, the female body, sexuality, beauty, honour and other codes are understood, representing a network of cultural meanings from which the role of women and their status in society is defined or polemised within the particular author's work.

The question of the legitimacy of narrative material (literature, discourses, tracts) as a historical source can be raised, particularly, on the one hand, because of the special feature which narrative sources are given by their individual character — the stamp of the author — and, on the other, the conventional — the attribute of the genre. In analysis of the work of Benedikt Kotruljević, his career as a merchant and diplomat should be borne in mind, along with his membership in a specific plebeian — though wealthy — merchant stratum in Mediterranean society. Moreover, the new merchant mentality, and the influence of ecclesiastical Christian Mediaeval as well as philosophical humanistic thought were the borders of mindset within which the author conceived his picture of the world and of Humankind, with a strong argumentative structure of the

experiential level of perception.¹ The life and literary opus of the plebeian Marin Držić has been widely researched by literary historians, providing a sound framework for utilising Držić's works as historical narrative sources. An essential element in analytically dealing with Držić's opus as an historical source is identification of the levels of factual, biographical, philosophical, Utopian and fictional dimensions in his writing, and of the creative treatment of conventional themes of drama structure by allusion to the Dubrovnik community.² By the style and poetic features of his work, Držić is regarded as a Mannerist writer (Čale 1979; Pavičić 1988). The Mannerist literary and visual art utterance is the expressive and aesthetic gesture of an individual and his reactions at a time of crisis for his various mainstays, caused by a shift in the political, religious, or cosmological order — it was an era which Gustav Renè Hocke calls "problematic", and it would show in its artistic expressive form "a heterodoxy of thought content" and "a heterodoxial worldview" (1984, 1991).³ The patrician Nikola Vitov Gučetić was a self-educated philosopher, and an official of the Dubrovnik Republic. In his works in which he dealt with the themes of natural philosophy, theology and metaphysics, written in the tone of Neo-Platonism and Averroesism, he tried to reconcile philosophical thought with his own Christian convictions and patrician worldview, which set the author's essential framework of interpretation and evaluation of the world and individuals, the conceptual context of his formation of meaning.⁴

¹ Kotruljević completed his work *O trgovini i savršenom trgovcu / Della mercatura et del mercante perfetto* [About Trade and the Perfect Merchant] in 1458. It was first published in 1573 in Venice. More on Kotruljević's life, work and significance can be found in Radičević and Mušjačić 1985; *Dubrovcianin Benedikt Kotruljević* 1996; Janeković Römer 1994, 1996; Schiffler 1996.

² In analysing Držić's opus I largely used his works written between 1548 and 1559: *Tirena, Novela od Stanca, Venere i Adon, Dundo Maroje, Džuho Kerpeta, Skup, Grižula, Tripče de Utolče (Mande), Arkulin, Pjerin*. I cite part of the extensive bibliography on Držić: Slamnig 1965; Bogišić 1968; Švelec 1968; Košuta 1968, 1982; Ravlić 1969; Čale 1978, 1979; Novak 1977, 1984; Pavičić 1988; Fališevac 1989. (In the paper Držić's plays are cited by name, act and scene.) Držić's opus, marked by the "dramaturgy of the everyday life" and the actuality of life in Dubrovnik, is the most complex literary source of the time, although the features referred to are also characteristic to other Dubrovnik authors of the 15th and 16th centuries, for example, to the writing of Držić's forerunner, the playwright Nikola Nalješković.

³ In the sense in which Pavičić (1988) speaks of the "metatextuality" of Mannerism, as an examination and confrontation with existing literary tradition and conventions, we could perhaps speak of the "metareality" of a text such as Držić's, in which, while expressing the world through Mannerist literary poetics, social, cultural and value judgement conventions are examined and questioned. Therefore, Držić has certain weight as an historical source precisely for the apprehension his work gives of the complexity of past reality.

⁴ In analysis of Gučetić's ideas, I used the following works: *Dijalog o ljepoti / Dialogo della bellezza* [Dialogue about Beauty] (1581/1995B), *Dijalog o ljubavi / Dialogo d' amore* [Dialogue about Love] (1581/1995A), *Upravljanje obitelji / Governo della famiglia* [Management of Family] (1589/1998), and the introduction to the work *Discorsi sopra le meteore d' Aristotile* [A Discourse on Aristotle's Meteorology] (1584)

All the authors mentioned, despite the general nature of their writing, adopting the concepts of others or basing their argumentation upon them (e.g. the heritage of Antiquity's philosophical thought), tried to localise their utterance, referring to the concrete Dubrovnik situation. Whether discussing Mediterranean trade, the family, or practice in dress, Kotruljević commented on each theme in the framework of the specific Dubrovnik locality. In his discourse which had pronounced Humanistic and eclectic character, Gučetić also introduced images of Dubrovnik life. Držić structured his works on the basis of the conventional canons of comedy creation, by which the introduction of various forms of everyday life is the premise of literary work. He localised the setting of his comedies in Dubrovnik, and introduced the linguistic and character features of the people from his own city and its surroundings.⁵

In referring to the selected narrative sources, I did not look exclusively for those parts which would confirm the existing information from archive research. I regard the key premise to be that those works represent a particular reaction to the life in which the authors participated, to the reality of the everyday life which they commented upon or justified, or examined in the light of the social and cultural bases of the community, establishing certain new relations, by criticising and radicalising practice. The ideas, concepts values, and thought models contained in such works are a integral part of the Dubrovnik cultural aura. Narrative sources are interesting in those very parts in which they broaden the horizon to different ways of thinking, and examine conventional practice. In that way they become markers of particular historical resonances outside of archives and they bear other types of authenticity than archive material.⁶ Representations of reality in narrative sources are mimetic: they decant the reality of life through particular author or genre filters and transpose it to another level, the level of "textual reality". They often contain dimensions of the aesthetic, poetic, evaluative, interpretative, and the ideological. The

which was written by his wife, Marija Gundulić. About Gučetić's life, work, and philosophy cf. Schiffler 1995; Šišak 1998; Janeković Römer 1999.

⁵ Frane Čale's comments on Držić's works (1979) identify the existing localities, character of the people and situations which are taken from everyday Dubrovnik life and built into Držić's opus. Some historical research points to the fact that Držić could have found inspiration for his characters, action and plots among real people and their destinies, or, in other words, among his own actual contemporaries (Stojan 1999).

⁶ Historians, anthropologists and literary critics accept narrative materials as possible sources, as a specific form of "the textual construction of reality", as "a metaexperience" of a specific reality which consciously creates meaning. Past reality can be cocooned in various sources which follow variously structured source criticism. Individual historians legitimise narrative sources as material which supplements other sources or which presents aspects of history which it is difficult to become cognisant of from other sources. Le Goff argues that in the research of particular dimensions of history, "the dimension of the imaginary", both literary and artistic works provide "privileged testimony" of a past reality (1993:8-12). On narrative sources and on literary anthropology, cf. Poyatos 1988; Eagleton 1987:233-241; Burke 1989:19-24; Rapport 1993.

ideas, concepts, apprehensions and thought of the world interwoven in such sources do not necessarily require confirmation in archive data, because they represent a fact from another order of reality: to that extent they become legitimate historical sources for a completely different knowledge of past reality.

Act II

IMAGE I Research into matrimonial policy among Dubrovnik's patricians indicates that the most frequent reasons for contracting marriages were political or economic in nature; that marriages were concluded under parental supervision; and that the key motives were collective interest, preservation of the power and property of the patricians, an interest which led to endogamic social practice in conclusion of marriages (Dinić-Knežević 1974:61-74; Janeković Römer 1994:55-71, 1993-1996:143-146).

Dubrovnik narrative sources give an entire scope to various marriage concepts. Some thinking was in line with the above-mentioned, in which the objective of marriage was to ensure the existence and continuity of the patrician name, family and family property (Držić 1979: *Skup I/10*). Other conceptions examine social practice on the dividing line between the collective and the individual, and the social and personal, and introduce the consideration of feelings of love and personal choice, which do not recognise social conventions, for example, those on parental authority in choice of a partner, or the convention on the need for a dowry (Držić 1979: *Pjerin*). Kotruljević, following Christian ideology, explained marriage primarily with its procreative, biological function, and as a social and moral correlative of social life (bearing of children and prevention of fornication) (1989:428-433), while Gučetić wrapped marriage in the human being's need for company which compels him to seek out (family) association, and in the natural yearning for maintenance of the species (1998:74-75, 94-95, 106-111). In one image of the social order, marriage becomes the point of reconciliation between male and female nature, as the principles which are "at war" — the male principle of erotic "desire" and pleasure, and the female principle of restraint and "purity" — through marriage, order is established in the world which is threatened by the disparity of the gender characteristics (Držić 1979: *Grižula*, Prologue).

Apart from that, despite the unquestionable Roman Catholic orientation of the commune, the Church's concept of marriage was disputable. Foreseeing the individual nature of the decision to marry and the equality of the sexes and social groups in contracting marriage, as well as the need for some affection between the parties, the Roman Catholic Church's concept of marriage threatened the key points of the profane model: that is, parental authority, the secular interests of the marital alliance, male social supremacy, and the principle of social endogamy.

Ecclesiastically valid marriages which were based on the exchange of consent by the partners, or on sexual consummation, but concluded without either church or public ceremony, were regarded by the temporal authorities as clandestine marriages, which the legislature tried to eradicate by strict penalties.⁷ The ecclesiastical and secular models of marriage were in many ways conflicting in concept: until the time of their full integration in the second half of the 16th century, they figured as alternative forms of social behaviour.

The practice of concluding marriages which had its strict meaning nested in patrician social and political needs, had more than one meaning and was polysemic in the distribution of meanings in narrative sources. Conclusion of marriage could be justified in a series of concepts from the philosophical (moral and ethic) to the sociological (human sociability), while some of those concepts reflected the tensions within the community (the profane and ecclesiastical concept of marriage, individual interests and social conventions, emotions and material interests).

IMAGE II In order for them to be able to marry, both ecclesiastic and statutory law required that young women had a dowry. The purpose of the dowry was to provide for the material security of the woman and her children, and it also figured as a form of transmission of property, capital investment, and as the initial stake for the future property of the newly married couple. With the hypertrophy of the dowry system, the increase in the size of dowries during the 14th century and up until the middle of the 15th, many mainly patrician young women were unable to provide an adequate dowry and marry, so they spent their lives in convents (Dinić-Knežević 1974:81-87; Janeković Römer 1994:78-88; 1993-1996:150-152, 156-160).

Although the dowry amounts were specified by statute (1272), they grew up until the middle of the 15th century, and the legislators continually tried to limit their size.⁸ There was frequent statutory intervention in that aspect of the dowry system, while certain other tenets of the legal system were permanent and almost unchanged during the course of the social, economic and cultural changes throughout the centuries, such as, for example, the precept of the relation of a woman towards her property (the right to ownership without the right to disposal). Dowry amounts were a point of conflict between law (limitation of the dowry amounts) and consensual practice (which did not respect the dowry

⁷ On models of contracting marriage cf. Janeković Römer 1994:57-67; Goody 1984:151-153. From the 14th century, steps were taken in Dubrovnik to prevent socially mixed marriages by the imposition of strict penalties (excommunication, loss of patrician status, cash fines, and the like) in keeping with laws which were often re-enacted (Dinić-Knežević 1974:65-66, 72-73; Janeković Römer 1994:67, 70-71).

⁸ For the rate of growth in dowries, the reasons therefor, and the statutory initiatives cf. Dinić-Knežević 1974:81-91; Mosher Stuard 1981; Janeković Römer 1994:79-81.

amounts foreseen in the law). Another conflicting element within the dowry system derived precisely from the consensually accepted practice of the size of dowries for young patrician women, who were unable to marry without a large dowry which corresponded to the (patrician) social status of her family. Such young women retired to convents (usually in accordance with their parents' wishes, not their own), this practice having been known in all the Mediterranean communities of that time. However, although socially justified, the practice was morally and ethically questionable. The law itself criticised the inflation of dowries, stating that the consequent retirement of girls to convents was against all humane principles (Janeković Römer 1994:66-67). Basilio Gradich, a priest from a patrician family, also criticised this practice in his *Libarze* (1567): he denounced Dubrovnik families which, against their daughters' wishes, shut them up in convents because appropriate dowries could not be secured for them.

Držić's comedy *Skup* deals on a number of levels with this issue of the dowry system, sifting through various viewpoints from the conservative to those which were radical and Utopian. The character Zlatikum in mentioned comedy (Držić 1979: *Skup* III/10) proposes marriages between wealthy grooms and impoverished brides, and he questions the consensual marriage and dowry system on four levels: the level of "God Law", the "natural law" level, the "human utility" level, and the "community benefit" level. Through these levels, he actualised the issue of socially endogamic marriages, and the relations between wealth and poverty in the community, proposing socially mixed marriages aimed at a more just distribution of goods within the community. He also raised the issue of the mindset of the community, in which the emphasis was placed on accumulation of property, and its accompanying forms, greed and miserliness.

IMAGE III Dubrovnik's patrician community of the late Middle Ages was organised in such a way that it gave priority to the man in public, political, economic and social life, while women lived under the patronage of men, and were limited to the household, family sphere of activity (Janeković Römer 1994:93-106, 126-137).

As described by Kotruljević, conjugal relations were based on obligation, fear and respect: the husband was the master of the family who did not dare to allow his wife freedom, while his stance towards his wife was expressed metaphorically as "taming and training a sparrow-hawk" (1989:412-419). For his part, Gučetić regarded husband and wife as the founders of the family who were connected by mutual love and respect, while their roles were complementary and had the purpose of ensuring the welfare of the family: the writer saw the woman not as a servant in marriage nor as a foreigner, but as "a well-loved domestic comrade" (1998:74-75, 98-99, 102-107, 146-151). In a series of images, Držić illustrated the problematic level of the conjugal relationship, as well as

changes in the relationship. In one of his plays (Držić 1979: *Skup* III/10), Držić dramatised a relationship in which a wife brings a large dowry into her marriage. If the letter of the law is to be observed, the wife's property should be managed by her husband,⁹ but in the comedy she asks him to allow her to use it to satisfy her own personal needs. In this way, the dowry could be regarded as one of the parameters of female status in marriage: this would be an informal form of power, not legitimised by law nor defined by it.¹⁰ In the sphere of the cultural notions of the community — in organisation of the household and the relationship between the spouses — as represented by the literary source, this is conceived as being dubious and problematic, largely because it does not coincide with the presentation of woman in the dominant gender ideology, nor in the context of women's rights in the legislative system.

In the "dramaturgy of the everyday life" in the Dubrovnik community of his time, Držić often showed the changing relations between spouses in the family, and, particularly, a completely new form of behaviour among young women in the family. Shyness in front of her husband and modesty were replaced by new, closer and more intimate relations with their spouses (Držić 1979: *Grižula* V/2); diligence in the house was replaced by concern for their own appearance and a carefree attitude towards the interests of the household (Držić 1979: *Skup* III/1, *Grižula* III/7). Concentration on their appearance and grooming represented a new pattern in the life of young women, which would lead to a conflict situation in relation to social and conventional norms and presentation of gender roles, while in Držić's idiom these conflicts were developed into conflict between the generations.¹¹ For example, dressing practice and grooming of the body is a generation gap point of contention in the relations between Držić's old and young characters, and such

⁹ Dowry property was formally owned by the woman, but the right to manage that property was the husband's (Dubrovnik law also foresaw certain institutions for protection of dowries, such as the woman's right on mortgage of her husband's property). Strict legal protection of the dowry is argued to be an expression of social gender inequality. Dowry property in the 13th and 14th centuries made it possible for the woman to be economically active, but legal limitations, as a consequence of new economic circumstances in the 15th century, reduced her rights (Dinić-Knežević 1974:1-60; Janeković Römer 1994:87-89, 132; 1999:205).

¹⁰ In her research of the status of women in 20th century rural Greece, Ernestine Friedl shows that the ratio between the wife's property brought into the marriage and the husband's property was an important contributing factor to the woman's status in the marriage and in the family: a larger amount of property brought into the marriage by the woman gave her greater influence in family decision-making and in organisation of the household. Friedl calls this influence "the latent power of women" (1986). Confirmation of a similar role played by the dowry can be found in dowry system research into the Florence community of the late Middle Ages, in which the dowry often served just for the needs of married women (Klapisch-Zuber 1987:222).

¹¹ The old — young antithesis is an important style feature of Držić's work and a poetic characteristic in his Mannerist writing (Čale 1979). This, too, can be regarded as a dramaturgical convention written with concrete Dubrovnik allusiveness.

practice communicates and denotes the conflict of values and conceptions of life (acquisition of wealth, frugality, sacrifice, as against consumption, profligacy, and personal gratification) (cf. Čale 1979). According to Pierre Bourdieu (1977), conflict between the generations is not a matter of conflict between age groups in society *per se*, but rather a conflict of *habitus*, of "structured principles" which create a specific life practice. Therefore, the conflict of "habitus" derives from changes in the principles which create the "habitus", while change in principles, on its part, derives from the different conditions in which the age groups live. This causes one group to feel and evaluate as natural and reasonable, practices which the other group regards as unthinkable and scandalous (as in the Dubrovnik example, the carefree attitude and flamboyance of women or the luxuriant costume of the young generation). According to Držić's images, the changes which can be discerned in female behaviour are, to an extent, part of the entirety of change in the way of life, which could have been caused by the different economic structure of the community or the new philosophical and ethical aura of the time. This created changes in the values and conceptual setting of worldview and life, and was necessarily followed by a conflict in opinions: in this way, extravagance and luxury in dress were accompanied by a range of criticism. Humanistic criticism was presented in a moral tone of insincerity and virtues (Gučetić 1998:162-163, 222-223, 236-237; 1995B:114-117), while criticism from the pragmatic merchant related to the shifts in the social order (Kotruljević 1989:394-401). Dressing practice became a competitive point of apprehensions of order, morals, ethics, gender roles and the relationship between spouses, and the extent to which it was presented as a problem in the selected sources is a sign of the emergence of the new form of relations and values which were not self-explanatory during the course of the economic and social changes. Costume, luxury and fanciness, and the frames within which these issues can be understood, also provide a setting for the possible interpretation of the changes in women's behaviour. In addition, researchers of the so-called "emotional approach" in studying family history regard just these conceptual changes, changes in the meaning and comprehension of the family ("the family as an idea"), as being the most important. Alteration and changes in the comprehension of the purpose and function of marriage along with the nature of conjugal relationships, are the key points for any structural changes in family and household organisation (Anderson 1994:53). Narrative sources in the parts which examine the concepts of contracting marriage, the conventions of the dowry system, and the relationship between the spouses, become the stage for the creation of new cultural meanings related to women, their position, and their role and status in the family and in the community.

IMAGE IV An element in Mediterranean life which is often emphasised as essential is the polysemic code of "honour and shame". In Dubrovnik society, the ties of patrician women to their lives at home and

their non-participation in the public and social life of the community, is also explained by the code of honour and shame, which, according to some interpretations, was largely defined by sexual categories. Female sensuality and sexuality were considered as temptations to the honour of women themselves and to their families, so that strict models of behaviour were established by which this aspect of female nature was controlled (Janeković Römer 1994:125-130; 1999:193-194).

Shyness, virtue, beauty and chastity were the four merits of women listed by Gučetić: shyness and virtue are characteristics of the soul and character, physically expressed in female chastity and maidenhood (1995A:136-139). A sense of shame (shyness) was a sign of the honesty and virtue of the soul, and all a woman's riches were worth nothing if she lived dishonestly and without virtue (1995A:138-141). A sense of shame was that feature of the character which held shameful things at bay, far away from a woman's honour, and it was more necessary for women than for men, because women were more capable of awakening lust, which a sense of shame obviated (1998:132-135). According to Gučetić line of thought which was wrapped in Humanism, a sense of shame was a sexually determined characteristic of women, functional due to female nature, positively evaluated in the context of female virtues.

The themes of honour and shame are also integrated in Držić's dramaturgy. The chastity of women is represented as a factor in the honour of men and the family, and as a competitive mainstay of the local and territorial groups of the Dubrovnik population, for example, between inhabitants of the City and inhabitants of the island of Lopud (Držić 1979: *Dundo Maroje, Arkulin*). One of the interesting comedies by Držić with a "bisexual" title is variously known as *Tripče de Utolče* and *Mande*. The comedy is organised according to Boccaccio's tales (Čale 1979:123-127) — this is a play in which women triumph over men. The idea of the basic plot is presented in a comment about how women will play with and mock men (Držić 1979: *Mande* IV/2), giving an indication that the plot will threaten the normative and customary frames of behaviour. The comedy is about three women who manage successfully to attain their objectives and implement their interests by applying cunning, which primarily relates to the skilful posing of a threat to the norms about female purity within the code of honour and the sense of shame.

The topos "the power of women" was not unknown in mediaeval literature and art: it appeared during the era of changes (economic expansion, demographic growth, the process of urbanisation, new political and religious strivings), which occurred in Europe in the late Middle Ages (Smith 1995:12). That topos served as a way of expressing the various shared attitudes in the community towards women and the power of women over men; in this way the topos served in proving that the "normative hierarchy of the sexes" is subject to inversion (ibid.:3). What did Držić's inversion consist of? Primarily in that women behave as active factors in their specific situations, women who, particularly in

Mediterranean societies, were credited with inactivity, non-effectiveness in public life, being subordinate to men, and, finally, pure in reference to sexual activity. All three women in comedy *Mande* do, in fact, consciously endanger their chastity. Držić can be placed at the dividing line between the Renaissance and the Mannerist style of writing to which Hocke (1984, 1991) added the hallmark of writing about "problematic issues" at times of instability and change. In Držić's opus one can detect the tensions and instability of the social and cultural order, norms and roles. The idea of the Humanistic individual — versatile, active, enterprising — with ideas about happiness and time as changeable categories which have to be taken advantage of when brought along by a "favourable wind", ideas like those embodied in the Pomet character in the comedy *Dundo Maroje* (Držić 1979) were added to the female character, Manda, in the comedy of the same name. Manda wants to utilise "the advantageous times", to take advantage of the presented opportunity just for her own entertainment, to cheat her husband, an act which would be a sufficient reason for a valid dissolution of their marriage (the only possible form being a legal separation from bed and board). All this was written at a time when it was claimed that a woman's place — from the economic, status, social, and honour aspects — was exclusively within the family. Extramarital affairs were common among Dubrovnik men, while the City's archives do not note infidelity on the part of Dubrovnik women (Janeković Römer 1994:72), although this behaviour was given a place in the literary works of the era. It is interesting to note that Gučetić in his examination of morals, marriage and sexuality, expressed the opinion that having a mistress was the greatest injustice that a man could inflict upon his wife, that the practice was prohibited and, finally, "then the wife, too, can find cause to have relations with other men" (1998:146-147). The cultural universe of the Mediterranean community is defined by the code of strict female virtue: apart from being an assumed code of behaviour, which is challenged in the "metareality" of the literary text, Friedl considers female sexuality to be a form of the "non-material power" of a wife over her husband, because her behaviour could threaten the reputation and status of a man in the community (1986).

IMAGE V The attitude towards the female body is also a part of the cultural history of the human body and corporeality. The Mediaeval European West underwent a major "cultural revolution" connected with the apprehension of the body, which was the result of the ascent of Christian doctrine and its institutionalisation from the 4th century onwards. With its definitions, bans and sanctions it formed an attitude of contempt towards the this world and the human body (Le Goff 1993:131-153). It was an era which formed "a negation of the biological man" with an established system of fasts, restraints, deprivation of pleasures; this was a "diabolisation of the flesh and the body", induced by the establishment of a new set of ethics concerning sexuality and corporeality, closely linked to the

comprehension of sinfulness. Le Goff concludes that the "peak of repulsiveness towards the body and sex" lay precisely in the female body (1993:132). This mediaeval horizon had considerable repercussions on the way women were regarded in the community, and the views held on their nature, role and position in the family and in society.

Humanism and the Renaissance brought new ethics and new aesthetics. Gučetić's description of the female body, defining form, order and measurements of the body, meticulously citing size and form, as well as the proportions between the parts of the body, has many points in common with other descriptions in philosophic and literary works dating from the end of the Middle Ages, in which efforts were made to establish beauty dogmatically.¹² In his detailed descriptions of the physiognomy of the female body, Gučetić glorified a cult of sorts of pleasing balance and order in quantitative motifs of measure and proportion, concepts in harmony with those in the architecture, painting and poetry of the time. The structure of creative order was an imitation of Nature in its laws of precision, geometry and mathematics.¹³ Therefore, man's corporeality in the harmony between its parts and the whole was noted down as a reflection of the harmony in Nature. The corporeality of the Humanistic period was inseparable from the relation with the spirit, in which all corporeality has its beginning and cause: the beauty of the body was a reflection of the beauty and virtues of the soul, and beauty was a theme in Humanistic thought which most clearly expressed the Platonic vision of the world as "a mirror" of things in unity with the idea of beauty (cf. Garin

¹² Gučetić mentions that "the eyes must be equidistant from the nose, and the ears from the eyes", and then, "the size of the nose must correspond to a third of the length of the face; the ears are like half-circles, while one ear connected with the other must create the same curve as the open mouth; the eyebrows must also be such, while the size of the area around the eyes must correspond to the length of the lips; the body should be seven times the length of the feet on the body in question (...); the umbilicus as the centre should be equidistant from the extremities of the body, while the length of the face should be as much as from the top of the head to the edge of the hair towards the forehead, or towards the nape of the neck, or, according to some, the length of the palm; in addition the body must not be too fat nor too thin, but of medium corpulence." A woman's face should be "rather round than elongated, and have a broad forehead, a nose which is more small than big, and more than anything it must be straight, and start from the roots of the eyebrows; lips that are of medium thickness, a chest that is broad and full, so that no bones are visible; arms slightly plump, straight fingers, nails slightly rounded, breasts which are not too large nor too small, but primarily round in shape, like peaches." The author also specifies the colour of the body: "the colour of a beautiful body must not be too white, nor too dark, but 'slightly pink', (...), while "the eyes may be between pale and black, so long as they are lively" (Gučetić 1995B:108-113). There is a well-known Italian text dating from the 16th century (*Della bellezza delle donne*), written by the Humanist Firenzuola, in which the code of female beauty is described in even greater detail and more meticulously than in Gučetić's quoted text (Burckhardt 1953:192-193).

¹³ As Leon Battista Alberti stated "beauty is a correspondence and harmony of individual parts of the body with the whole, in relation to a specific number, proportionality and order just as the absolute and primary law of Nature requires (Blunt 1956:15).

1988:139-159). Beauty, together with love, was a gift given more generously by Nature to female creatures than to males (Gučetić 1995B:12-13).

Gučetić also spoke out on the practical conventions of Humanistic ethics in the relations between the sexes, writing about courting, the things a lover had to do in order for the woman to requite his love: he had to praise the woman, glorify her body and soul, and induce her to "merciful" behaviour, move her with his "tears and sighs" (Gučetić 1995A:246-249). The dramaturgy of Držić's everyday life is crammed with quite different images: lascivious songs, girls being pinched, prostitution, vulgarity — the life of the street far from the courtly behaviour foreseen by Gučetić. He criticised "the deluded and ignorant common man" who regarded love as being something by which only "shameful effects" and sinful states were achieved: "honest and chaste love" also existed to the eternal glory of women if they were loved by honest persons, while the love of indecent men who foisted themselves upon women brought women offence and shame (1995A:176-177, 264-267, 276-277, 312-315). Honour, shame, and love are themes in the selected sources which reveal the duality with regard to codes of popular and elite culture. This duality is perhaps most pronounced in the apprehension of the body. Gučetić's philosophical and Humanistic understanding of the body as a reflection of the soul is opposed to the ethics and aesthetics of the body in the "grotesque realism" of popular culture, created through a semantic complex of the Carnival worldview (Bahtin 1978), represented in a series of plebeian characters in Držić's opus (Držić 1979: *Dundo Maroje, Pjerin*). The body which is "open" and "deformed", ruled by the senses, particularly the sense of smell and taste, which by eating and drinking "samples the taste of the world and takes it into itself" (Bahtin 1978:295-300; cf. Hraste 1991; Gulin 1996), is far removed from the way the body was treated in Humanistic ethics and aesthetics. The bicultural nature of the Dubrovnik community is part of the complexity of past reality.

IMAGE VI The tone in which mediaeval ecclesiastic theorists speak of women is a misogynist one, according to which women are weak creatures, dangerous, depraved, and requiring supervision (Janeković Römer 1994:126-127). This concept, in part, justified the view that women were less worthy and needed to be controlled and subjugated.

In a dialogical form of discourse and confrontation of opinions, Baldesar Castiglione in the third volume of the book *Dvorjanin* [The Courtier] (1528), shaped the image of the ideal "court lady" who was important factor in Castiglione's overall conception of sociability. The author presented a whole series of opinions about women, from the misogynist one, by which a woman was an imperfect man and a mistake of Nature, to a series of historical and legendary examples of influential women worthy of praise. Participants in the discourse honed their opinions

and views on issues such as inversion of conventional gender roles (women who manage things and do battle, men who cook and spin); the perfection of the male and female creature; the relationship between the physical and spiritual assets of the sexes; the vision of male domination over women in relation to freedom of the person and the virtues; and the question of the relationship between sexuality, sin, shame and abstinence. These are all themes which at the moment when they become explicit forms of confrontation between opinions, point to the allocation of a place to women in the complex structure on the spiritual horizon of the period. Similar framework of the issue and presentation of the complex opinions about women in the natural, cultural, social, and philosophical sense within the Dubrovnik material is presented by Gučetić's works.

Gučetić's *Dialogue about Love* and *Dialogue about Beauty* are important for the very reason that they are conducted between two women, Marija Gundulić and Cvijeta Zuzorić. Gučetić gave his readers an insight into two polemic themes: the worth of women, and the relations between men and women. In the first, the opinions of those who regarded women as being worthless are confronted with the view that women do indeed have worth, an opinion supported by invocation of philosophical authorities, reason and, finally, the medical opinion of the time. From such argumentation the conclusion arrived at was that the female mind was more perfect than the male. The second dealt with the issue of the asymmetrical nature of the relationship between the genders, in terms of superiority and "servitude", explaining that cultural fact on biological foundations: the physical strength of men assured them power over women (1995B:12-13). Vern Bullough's research indicates that the dominant concepts of "femininity" and "masculinity" were shaped on the basis of argumentation of anatomical and physiological elements (Galen, Aristotel), and religious and ideological ones (the Bible, mediaeval scholastics), in such a way that they formed the natural, biological, intellectual and moral argumentation for the superiority of men over women (1994). Gučetić polemises with the heritage of Antiquity and Christian thought on the line of radicalism.

Gučetić's understanding is carried through on the Humanistic basis of discussion of the virtues, the soul, beauty and love. On another level, that of the literary fixation of Dubrovnik everyday life, Držić presented a similar comprehension in the speech of his female character Miona (Držić 1979: *Grižula* IV/4): she tells the story of women who had rejected men as being unnecessary. In the monologue itself she criticises certain traditional attitudes to women, which by their tone declare the low worth of women. However, Držić also presents nuances of women's awareness of their own worth. On the open stage, he polemises about the position of women and speaks out in the voice of social radicalism: the "slavery" which women reject has the same meaning as the "servitude" in Gučetić's writing. Thus, two sources which are quite different in character — a philosophical text and a drama — raise similar issues.

A special voice in the 16th century sources belonged to Marija Gundulić, Nikola Gučetić's wife, who wrote the Prologue to his book *A Discourse on Aristotle's Meteorology*, an introduction dedicated to her "beautiful and virtuous" friend Cvijeta Zuzorić, whom she wanted to defend from the City's gossip-mongers. She defined male domination in society in the same way as Gučetić did in the *Dialogues*, by the biological fact of the physical strength of men, and, invoking Humanistic tenets, she discussed the female gender, the female body, spirit and mind, female nature and intellectual potential, courage and self-sacrifice, the "perfection of the female sex", and she framed her themes on the example of both women from ancient times and from the present. Nikola Gučetić and Marija Gundulić expressed similar conceptual frames for the apprehension of women: uttered in a male voice, they represented philosophical speculation; uttered in a female voice they represented a threat to the social order — the second edition of the book, published a year later, no longer contained the Prologue written by Marija Gundulić.

IMAGE VII The images of women in the narrative sources range from stereotypes to idealisation. They are both cultural constructs of the time, and fit into the web of cultural meanings of the Dubrovnik universe.

Idealisation of women is most pronounced in the poetic Petrarchism of the time. Dubrovnik authors also wrote sonnets in which woman were elevated through love onto a pedestal of desire and unattained happiness, with all the conventional corpus of Petrarchian metaphors and picturesqueness. The best-known Dubrovnik woman who inspired this 16th century poetry of love was Cvijeta Zuzorić.

The selected Dubrovnik sources provide interesting data revealing the stereotypes of women. Držić mentions the stereotype of three typical female characters of his time: quarrelsome, miserly and excessively pious (Držić 1979: *Džuh Kerpet*). A more developed list of the "typology" of women is given by Kotruljević in the form of a listing of female natures: briefly, there are woman who are decent, fearful, "vain and stupid", some are "short on sense", others have "dull brains and slow wit" (1989:414-421). Characterisations of Dubrovnik women almost always stereotypically describe their talkativeness: in one of the documentary images of his City, Gučetić describes women who "chat like crickets" in the street, in church, with their neighbours; women must avoid this in order to reinforce their virtues, since talkativeness deserves reproof as "rudeness" and "shamelessness" (1998:132-139, 159-159). Both Kotruljević and Gučetić thought that women were "graced" by the habit of silence, which was a sign of good sense — in the social history of speech and silence, the silent woman was the ideal during the period of Humanism.

Gučetić inclined to the view that, at creation, women were made the same as men (1998:108-109), and that fundamental premise influenced his discourse on women. However, Kotruljević claimed that Nature always

tried to make a man, but sometimes created a woman "in error" (1989:416-417). Thus, to him, a woman was "an imperfect man", stamped with the fault of impermanence, although he did place before her a list of characteristics which she was supposed to possess: "A woman must be reasonable, constant, serious, kind, diligent, gentle, chaste, merciful, pious, religious, magnanimous, reserved, open-handed, hard-working, moderate in food and drink, sober, witty and always busy..." (1989:408-411).

Perhaps it is just this quotation from Kotruljević which most clearly demonstrates the ambivalence in the view of women, women as "a mistake of Nature", and women as an ideal. Such conceptual ambivalence did not show inconsistency in the author's line of thinking. It derives much more from elements deeply rooted in mediaeval Christian thought which built up misogynist attitudes towards woman while insisting, at the same time, on the equality of women in the contracting of marriages, and developed the Cult of Mary from the 11th century onwards, with the associated patterns of motherhood, virginity and saintliness (cf. Wade Labarge 1986). Woman became the semantic symbol of the dichotomy of society: the ideal of motherhood and the sin of sexuality; the ideal of saintliness and the example of the sins of the flesh. Necessary for the biological reproduction of society, woman was also a threat to the social order by her very nature. Gučetić discerned the contradictory nature of the attributes given to women: citing Seneca, he quoted as commonplaces the inconstancy and fickleness of women, which seemed "naturally to derive from the weakness and evil of her body, while on the other hand her constancy and steadfastness were always praised" (1998:136-139). On the level of Humanistic thought, woman becomes a symbol of a harmonious whole which embraces her talent, beauty, upbringing, morality and piety.

Act III

When registering the multiple meanings of the apprehensions of women in relation to the diverse points of reference within which women are discussed, the issue arises of the creation of cultural meanings (cf. Hannerz 1992).¹⁴ There exist in all communities certain dominant models of thought on and evaluation of women. They are perhaps best shown in laws

¹⁴ There are other relevant topics with regard to women's history in Dubrovnik community. For example, the relationship between the Mediterranean model of family structure and notions of family comprised in narrative sources; the education of women; the social and cultural notion of women's biological cycle; the significance of bilateral concept of family etc. Furthermore, in doing research into women's life in Dubrovnik urban community the significant distinction has to be made concerning the social, cultural and economic conditions of life between patrician and plebeian women. Some of the mentioned themes are discussed and interpreted in Dubrovnik studies already referred to (Dinić-Knežević 1974; Janeković Römer 1994, 1999), and they are also an integral part of my MA thesis *Žena, obitelj, zajednica. Historijska antropologija renesansnog Dubrovnika* [Woman, Family, Community. The Historical Anthropology of the Renaissance Dubrovnik] (Zagreb 1999).

which define, although not completely, the position and role of women in society. In that sense one can speak of the patrilineal and agnatic system of patrician Dubrovnik as the dominant idiom in political, economic, social and cultural order, placing women in a subordinate position in relation to men as regards property rights, and also in regard to possibilities for economic and public activities. A certain concept and view of women is woven into the law, and its dominant meaning is implemented by the authority of power (through penalties).

Another framework within which the meaning of woman was created was her membership in a social group, which greatly determined the form her life would take, based both on material circumstances, and on a specific organisation of family life. In this sense, the life of women, and the conceptualisation of women's role and position, greatly differed between the plebeian and patrician social strata (cf. Janeković Römer 1994:126-137). The meanings which derive from the forms of life remain mainly stable as long as the material conditions upon which the form of life is based continue to exist (cf. Hannerz 1992).

The openness of the community to external influences, to ethic, aesthetic, and intellectual ideas, always creates new meanings. In this way, the new Humanistic ideas called into question the conventional framework of comprehension, what Pierre Bourdieu (1977) called "doxa" — — unquestionable, self-understood concepts of social relations and the world — and broadened the cultural horizon to include thought and confrontational discourse which examined the key social and cultural paradigms, metaphors and meanings. Post-modern rethinking of culture, among other things, also defines the necessary existence of such conceptual complexities and multiple meanings. Furthermore, that is a feature of the Mannerist writing style, under which Držić's opus is characterised. His works are exceptionally heteroglossal and he reacts to social reality in many voices, interpolating traditional, conservative, radical, philosophical, ironic, and Utopian voices.

Examinations of the cultural system and meanings — in this paper, in relation to women — became concretised expressions in various forms of texts, the narrative sources of the time. Polemising the dominant legal and ecclesiastical reference frames for apprehension of women became a public act through distribution of the published discourses (the works by Gučetić and Kotruljević), or by the publicly spoken word on the stage (Držić). Therefore, conceptual multiple meanings became publicly explicit. The critical literary paradigm of NeoHistoricism sets as the key in the analysis of literary works the aspect of the dialectics of the work and reality. In other words, representations of the world in written discourses participate in the construction of that world, and the meanings created in a literary work are constructed by the particular situations and identifiable by the audience (Montrose 1992; cf. Eagleton 1987). Discourses of the time, philosophical tracts, and literary stage works are "visions and versions of reality" which polemise the dominant conceptions, conventional

practice, and provide evidence of multiple meanings. Le Goff believes that it is necessary to confront the reality in normative documents with that in the documents of the imaginary: the latter sometimes uncover that "history which is silent elsewhere" (Le Goff 1993:246).

Perhaps it was post-modern anthropological literature which largely determined my approach to past reality as having multiple meaning and complexity, and my effort to enrich modelled and structural research by knowledge of the phenomenological and emic approach, in the sense of possible reading off of the participants' experience of the social and cultural world, to the extent to which it can be read in the selected sources, in a multiplicity of forms by which individuals react to the social and cultural reality in which they themselves take part. The assumption is the existence of a host of conceptual structures within which individuals orient themselves, interpreting and evaluating their own behaviour and the behaviour of others. Woman, the family, morals, sexuality, love, beauty, obligations, honour, faith, responsibility — are all forms of cultural life which are endowed with multiple meaning involving "a multiplicity, a diversity and heterogeneity of forms which intermediates human relations and practice" (Rapport 1993:256, cf. 255-259). Eugenio Garin would define the era of the Renaissance and Humanism as a culture which rejected the old security and the closed, well-ordered system of values by which the established uniformity was shattered and human interaction altered (1988:18-19). In a time which gives new form to the old order, recasting existing reality, processes occur on a scale from deformation to decomposition of old values, emphases are altered, and new cultural forms are created — in the context of everyday life, norms are accepted and transformed in different ways, while activity is framed by diverse orientations, interpretations and evaluations (cf. Goodman 1978, according to Rapport 1993:261-264; Hannerz 1992). Doing research into that complexity, where diversity in conceptual frames of evaluation and interpretation, as well as inconsistency, ambivalence and conflicting apprehensions are defined as significant parts of the cultural and social space, seems to me to be the greatest analytical challenge.

REFERENCES CITED

- Anderson, Michael. 1994. *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914*. London: Macmillan.
- Bahtin, Mihail. 1978. *Stvaralaštvo Fransoa Rablea i narodna kultura srednjeg veka i renesanse*. Beograd: Nolit.
- Blunt, Anthony. 1956. *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450.-1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bogišić Rafo. 1968. *O hrvatskim starim pjesnicima*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bullough, Vern L. 1994. "On Being a Male in the Middle Ages". In *Medieval Masculinities. Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*. C. A. Kees, ed. Minneapolis - London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Burckhardt, Jacob. 1953. *Kultura renesanse u Italiji*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Burke, Peter. 1989. *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Castiglione, Baldesar. 1986. *Dvoranin*. Zagreb: Cekade.
- Čale, Frano. 1978. *Tragom Držičeve poetike*. Zagreb: BiblioTEKA.
- Čale, Frano. 1979. "O životu i djelu Marina Držića". In M. Držić: *Djela*. Zagreb: SN Liber.
- Dinić-Knežević, Dušanka. 1974. *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*. Beograd: SANU.
- Držić, Marin. 1979. *Djela*. Zagreb: SN Liber.
- Dubrovčanin Benedikt Kotruljević. 1996. *Hrvatski i svjetski ekonomist 15. stoljeća. Međunarodni znanstveni skup 1*. Dubrovnik.
- Eagleton, Terry. 1987. *Književne teorije*. Zagreb: SN Liber.
- Fališevac, Dunja. 1989. *Stari pisci hrvatski i njihove poetike*. Zagreb: SN Liber.

- Friedl, Ernestine. 1986. "The Position of Women: Appearance and Reality". In *Gender and Power in Rural Greece*. J. Dubisch, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Garin (Garen), Eugenio. 1988. *Italijanski humanizam*. Novi Sad: Književna zajednica Novog Sada.
- Goody, Jack. 1984. *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gradich, Basilio. 1567. *Libarze od dievstva, i dievickoga bityja*. Venecija.
- Gučetić, Nikola Vitov. 1995A (1581). *Dijalog o ljubavi / Dialogo d' amore*. Zagreb: Društvo hrvatskih književnika (*Most* 8).
- Gučetić, Nikola Vitov. 1995B (1581). *Dijalog o ljepoti / Dialogo della bellezza*. Zagreb: Društvo hrvatskih književnika (*Most* 8).
- Gučetić, Nikola Vitov. 1998 (1589). *Upravljanje obitelji / Governo della famiglia*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu. Hrvatski studiji.
- Gundulić, Marija. 1584. "Alla non men bella che virtuosa, e gentil donna, Fiore Zuzori in Ragugia". In *Discorsi di m. Nicolo Vito di Gozze sopra le metheore d'Aristotile*. Venecija.
- Gulin, Valentina. 1996. "Antropološka vizura povijesti: Držičev Dubrovnik". *Etnološka tribina* 19:151-169.
- Hannerz, Ulf. 1992. *Cultural Complexity. Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hocke, Gustav Renè. 1984. *Manirizam u književnosti*. Zagreb: Cekade.
- Hocke, Gustav Renè. 1991. *Svijet kao labirint*. Zagreb: August Cesarec.
- Hraste, Katarina. 1991. "O dijakronijskom aspektu strukture 'Venere i Adona'". *Mogućnosti* 38/8-10:825-838.
- Janeković Römer, Zdenka. 1993-1996. "Noble Women in Fifteenth-Century Ragusa". *East Central Europe* 20-23/1:141-170.
- Janeković Römer, Zdenka. 1994. *Rod i grad. Dubrovačka obitelj od XIII do XV stoljeća*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku.
- Janeković Römer, Zdenka. 1996. "Obitelj u Dubrovniku u kasnom srednjem vijeku i njezin odraz u djelu Benedikta Kotruljevića". In *Dubrovčanin Benedikt Kotruljević: hrvatski i svjetski ekonomist 15. stoljeća. Međunarodni znanstveni skup* 1:123-134.
- Janeković Römer, Zdenka. 1999. *Okvir slobode*. Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku.
- Kelly, Joan. 1984. *Women, History and Theory. The Essays of Joan Kelly*. Chicago - London: University of Chicago Press.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. 1987. *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago - London: University of Chicago Press.
- Košuta, Leo. 1968. "Pravi i obrnuti svijet u Držičevu Dundu Maroju". *Mogućnosti* XV/11-12:1356-1376, 1479-1502.

- Košuta, Leo. 1982. "Siena u životu i djelu Marina Držića". *Prolog* 14/51-52:21-56.
- Kotruljević, Beno. 1989 (1573). *O trgovini i savršenu trgovcu / Della mercatura et del mercante perfetto*. Dubrovnik: Dubrovački trgovačko-turistički sistem.
- Le Goff, Jacques. 1993. *Srednjovjekovni imaginarij*. Zagreb: Antibarbarus.
- Montrose, Louis. 1992. "New Historicism". In *Redrawing the Boundaries: The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies*. S. Greenblatt & G. Gunn, eds. New York: MLA.
- Mosher Stuard, Susan. 1981. "Dowry Increase and Increments in Wealth in Medieval Ragusa". *Journal of Economic History* XLI/4:795-811.
- Novak, Slobodan P. 1977. *Teatar u Dubrovniku prije Marina Držića*. Split: Čakavski sabor.
- Novak, Slobodan P. 1984. *Planeta Držić*. Zagreb: Cekade.
- Pavličić, Pavao. 1988. *Poetika manirizma*. Zagreb: August Cesarec.
- Poyatos, Fernando, ed. 1988. *Literary anthropology*. Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Radičević, R. & Žarko Muljačić, eds. 1985. *O trgovini i savršenu trgovcu*. Zagreb: JAZU.
- Rapport, Nigel. 1993. *The Prose and the Passion. Anthropology, Literature and the Writing of E. M. Forster*. Manchester - New York: Manchester University Press.
- Ravlić, Ivan, ed. 1969. *Zbornik radova o Marinu Držiću*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Schiffler, Ljerka. 1995. "Nikola Vitov Gučetić, život i djelo". *Most* 8:337-359.
- Schiffler, Ljerka. 1996. "Praktično-etička dimenzija 'Savršena trgovca' B. Kotruljevića". In *Dubrovčanin Benedikt Kotruljević: hrvatski i svjetski ekonomist 15. stoljeća. Međunarodni znanstveni skup* 1:161-173.
- Slamnig, Ivan. 1965. *Disciplina mašte*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Smith, Susan L. 1995. "Introduction: The Power of Women and the Rhetoric of Example". In S. Smith: *The Power of Women. A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stojan, Slavica. 1999. "Držićevi Konavljani". *Konavle* 2:39-46.
- Šišak, Marinko. 1998. "'Upravljanje obitelji' Nikole Gučetića". In N. Gučetić: *Upravljanje obitelji*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu. Hrvatski studiji.
- Švelec, Franjo. 1968. *Komički teatar Marina Držića*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Wade Labarge, Margaret. 1986. "The Mould for Medieval Women". In M. Wade Labarge: *Women in Medieval Life. A Small Sound of Trumpet*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

KALEIDOSKOP ŽENSKIH SLIKA U DUBROVNIKU 15. I 16. STOLJEĆA

O jednom pristupu drugom spolu u tri čina

SAŽETAK

Jukstaponiranjem podataka o ženi iz dubrovačke građe i dubrovačkih narativnih izvora u radu se ukazuje na složenost kulturnog obzorja urbane zajednice 15. i 16. stoljeća. Supostojanje različitih referentnih okvira unutar kojih se poima žena (pravni, ekonomski, društveno-kulturni, crkveni, humanistički) stvara pluralitet mišljenja, dijalektiku, ambivalencije, nekonzistencije i konflikte unutar zajednice. Time se oblikuje složenost konceptualnog, vrijednosnog i interpretativnog prostora istraživanja žene, ženske uloge, statusa i položaja u zajednici.

Ključne riječi: Dubrovnik, renesansa, povijest žena, kulturna kompleksnost