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## A HISTORY OF ZLARIN

### Summary

The first chapter entitled »The Geographic Position of Zlarin« (pp. 11—15) describes the island's main geographic characteristics. It is first described as part of the long chain of islands extending along the eastern Adriatic coast and forming the safest and most important sea routes towards the northernmost tip of the Adriatic. Next it is described as an island that guards the entry to the maritime and continental region of Šibenik and Skradin, which has a considerable economic, communications, strategic and political significance. An organic link between the island of Zlarin and the neighbouring Croatian mainland and the town of Šibenik is particularly stressed in this connection. The interactive relations between the island and the mainland have throughout history served to strengthen this organic link, making the island open to influences coming from the Croatian mainland and affecting all aspects of life on Zlarin. Important characteristics of Zlarin's maritime position are also highlighted, as well as the qualities of the sea routes around the island, of the inlet, and of the port round which the village of Zlarin has developed. The general survey is completed with an indication of distances between Zlarin and the neighbouring islands in the Šibenik Archipelago, the town of Šibenik, and several other places on the mainland.

The second chapter discusses »Zlarin's Land and Sea« (pp. 15—20). It analyzes the suitability of the soil for farming and gives a historical survey of agriculture on the island. It is noted that olives and wine are traditional products, which were the mainstay of livelihood throughout history. Centuries of experience have helped to develop skills needed to produce olive oil and wine of highest quality. The problem of water supply is given particular prominence in this chapter, as it had long been a major problem which was getting worse as the population of the island increased and which was only finally resolved in 1978 when water was brought to Zlarin from the mainland near Šibenik. Another section deals with the quality of soil on islets around Zlarin and concludes that its unsuitability for farming (except for some pasture land suitable for grazing) was mainly responsible for the gradual movement of Zlarinians to settle in the region of Zablaće on the mainland near Šibenik between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. The resources of the sea around Zlarin, and in the Šibenik Archipelago as a whole, are examined next and the main fishing regions are defined. The sea in the area is comparatively rich in smaller varieties of fish, which was caught and salted and shipped to other markets in considerable quantities. Fishing thus proved one of the important supplementary economic activities, in addition to olive and wine growing. The same region also had good coral grounds, and coral diving was well developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Zlarinians had a high reputation as coral divers throughout Dalmatia.

The third chapter, »Political and Administrative History« (pp. 20—52) gives a synthetic account of Zlarin's political history. Noting that Zlarin was throughout its history an integral part of the commune of Šibenik and thus shared the destiny of the town, the author analyzes in detail how the solution of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Šibenik area affected the island of Zlarin. In the mediaeval times, the municipal authorities of Šibenik gave a large part of Zlarin to the bishopric, which in turn gave this land to the Šibenik Chapter as prebends for its canons. The next section outlines Zlarin's history during the Venetian rule (1412—1797), then during the so-called First Austrian Rule (1797—1806) and the French rule (1806—1813). The period of the Second Austrian Rule (1813—1918) is analyzed in considerable detail, with particular attention being paid to the Dalmatian Autonomy Movement, which enjoyed the support of Austrian authorities in their efforts to prevent the unification of all Croatian provinces (Dalmatia, Central Croatia, and Slavonija). A group of well-to-do Zlarinians took this policy of the Austrian government as their own. Thanks to the benevolence of the authorities and to their own strong economic base, these people managed to remain in power in the Commune of Zlarin until 1912, when the continued predominance of anti-Croatian

'autonomism' was broken. The next important event was the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, after which Zlarin gave its support to the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Zagreb as the supreme body of authority in the country and advocated the creation of a new South Slav (Yugoslav) state. The period of Italian occupation lasted in Zlarin from 6 November 1918 to 12 June 1921. The author then follows political developments in Zlarin in prewar Yugoslavia until 1941. He notes that the new state proclaimed itself, in 1918—1919, as a »state of labourers and peasants«, but in actual fact it remained until its end in 1941 disrupted by social contradictions — both those which other countries had resolved through bourgeois-democratic revolutions and those brought about by modern capitalism. Besides, it was a state in which existence and recognition was denied to various nations and national groups. Having traced the activities of progressive social forces in the Sibenik area in the period immediately preceding World War II, the author then describes the participation of Zlarinians in the People's Liberation War of Yugoslavia from 1941 to 1944 (Zlarin was liberated in early November 1944). The suffering of the local population at the hands of Italian and German occupying troops and domestic Quisling forces is described in this chapter, as well as the Zlarinians' participation in the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army and in the resistance movement behind enemy lines. The chapter ends with the following statement: »By taking part in the war of national liberation, the peasants, fishermen and seamen of Zlarin made their allegiances and those of their island unmistakably clear; through their victory over foreign invaders, domestic Quislings and the former ruling class, they created the conditions for their national and social emancipation and took the first step towards history of their own making«.

The fourth chapter (pp. 52—70) deals with »Agricultural Production«. The first part is an analysis of olive-growing on Zlarin until the end of the eighteenth century. Not many data are available from that period, but there is ample historical evidence about the olive oil trade. Venetian regulations and practical policies in oil trade are analyzed, and it is shown that oil was an important source of revenue for the Zlarinians, who resented having to deliver all marketable quantities of oil to Venice. A lively illegal traffic in oil could not be effectively stopped by Venice, particularly not in the eighteenth century when the Venetian authority was already on the decline. More exact data on the areas of Zlarin devoted to olive-growing, as against areas under other crops, are available from the 1830's, because it was then that the first land register for Zlarin was established. Details of the register are given in the text, and they show that at least 90 per cent of all arable land on Zlarin was covered by olives and vineyards. The register records it in no uncertain terms: »The whole of the island of Zlarin is covered by olives and vineyards; consequently, wine and oil are the main produce of Zlarin«. The Zlarin oil enjoyed a high reputation for quality and was bought on the spot by merchants from Sibenik and Trieste.

Wine growing was the second mainstay of agricultural production in Zlarin. The author quotes the viticultural rules contained in the Code of Sibenik of the fourteenth century (*Volumen statutorum, legum et reformationum civitatis Sibenici*), which applied also on Zlarin as part of the district of Sibenik. The main subject regulated by these rules was the time and manner of vineyard cultivation and the protection of local wines against competition from imported wines coming from regions outside the Commune of Sibenik. The mechanism of wine selling and buying operated by Venice between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries is also described.

Other relevant data concerning agricultural production on Zlarin are also given on the basis of the land register from the 1830's. They include data about grain crops, livestock, farming utensils, difficulties experienced by farmers, nutritional habits, and housing. The land register data are supplemented by a full statistical survey of the Commune of Zlarin for the years 1831—1833.

For the remaining part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, a detailed analysis of olive and wine growing is given in the text. In olive growing the emphasis is on the production of oil, for which ample and reliable statistical evidence is available from the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth century, the number of olive trees and the quantity of



oil produced began to decline rapidly. The causes of this trend listed by the author are varied: a drop in the use of olive oil for lighting and lubrication with a consequent fall in price; damage caused to olive groves by the olive beetle (against whose attacks measures were taken too late and without sufficient coordination); wine boom in the second half of the nineteenth century, which resulted in the spread of vineyards, often at the expense of olive groves; last but not least, the shortage of labour caused by emigration stimulated by the general economic crisis in the country.

The trend in wine growing was quite different. Not only did it not decline but it actually prospered, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, reaching a peak in 1870—1890. The boom was spurred by a disease (smut) which affected northern Italian vineyards in the 1850's, making for increased exports of Dalmatian wines to Venice and an expansion of vineyards in Dalmatia; a further impetus came from the appearance of phyloxera in France in the 1860's, causing a prolonged decline in its viticulture and opening up prospects for long-term exports of Dalmatian wines to France; finally, exports of Dalmatian wine started to Hungary in the early 1890's, when domestic production in that country was threatened by an attack of phyloxera.

Following a description of Austrian fiscal policies and the situation on the wine markets, the author shows how elements of a crisis in Dalmatian, including Zlarin, wine industry began to appear at the turn of the century. The first shock came with the so-called «wine clause» in the trade agreement between Austria-Hungary and Italy, which made possible the imports of huge quantities of Italian wines on Austro-Hungarian markets between 1893 and 1903 to the detriment of domestic, including Dalmatian, production. On top of this came an attack of phyloxera causing the destruction of many vineyards in Dalmatia. The crisis culminated in 1905: devastation of vineyards, disappearance of large sailing ships, and continued decline in olive growing combined to produce a crisis of such proportions and with such far-reaching consequences that no aspect of life remained unaffected and that agricultural production has not recovered until the present day. The author stresses in particular the powerful negative influence of usury on agricultural production in Zlarin. Usury was a widespread phenomenon in the economic life of Dalmatia. Its traditions were long and its effects began to be particularly felt in the seventeenth century, to become a general system and a powerful economic and social force in the eighteenth century. One of the forms in which usury (with exorbitant interest rates) appeared was the contract of land sale. Emerging from the complex set of economic conditions and relations, usury became an independent force whose influence was decisive not only economically but also politically (since the chief loan-sharks were also leaders of the 'Autonomist' Movement).

From the end of the nineteenth century on, the trend in agriculture and in the economy as a whole was such as to stimulate accelerated and massive emigration. Apart from some other effects, one effect of this development was the shortage of labour and a decline in agricultural production. This was not just a temporary phenomenon, because the world labour market on its part, especially in North and South America, continued to demand fresh labour and thus stimulated processes of emigration. There was no consistent agrarian or general economic policy worthy of the name, either during the Austro-Hungarian rule until 1918 or during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1941, to check this trend. Thus, in the twentieth century, more and more of the Zlarin fields became neglected. The situation is illustrated by the author, particularly with respect to olive and wine growing, with statistical data for selected years in the first half of the twentieth century, ending with the year 1949.

The fifth chapter (pp. 70—103) is entitled «Concerning the Settlement Fees, Fifths, Other Levies and Taxes, and Bondage Labour» and it presents an exhaustive analysis of all levies and taxes that the Zlarinians had to pay for centuries. The different levies are explained and illustrated with examples from archival sources, most of them unknown so far and previously unused. The most important relationship discussed here is that of «colonism», in which a landowner gives his land to a settler to till for a given period of time and the settler receives a share of the produce in return. This was the type of relationship which prevailed on much

of the land in Zlarin. The author analyzes in detail the provisions of the fourteenth-century *Volumen statutorum*, of the town of Sibenik, in which there are numerous references to »colonism« in the cultivation of vineyards. No fixed provisions regulated the share of produce that the »colon« received, but one fifth was gradually established as the prevalent practice in the Sibenik area, including the island of Zlarin. The contracts found in archives were not so clearly formulated by the notaries to make the relationships clear in every detail (it is not clear, for instance, when the sale of land was forced on the farmer because he was in default with repayments on his loan); the terminology is not consistent and different relationships are covered by the same terms; in some cases, legal imprecision served to enable the owner of the land to extend his »rights«. Living practice often produced new solutions, not covered by written law or traditional custom. Similarly to the situation elsewhere, the burdens on land tillers grew progressively worse in Zlarin, too. An important feature of the situation were the disputes between the Zlarin peasants (particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and the Sibenik Cathedral chapter, which owned the greater part of arable land on the island. Gradually, however, the peasants managed to bring under cultivation some newly reclaimed land, not owned by the chapter or any other owners. But they were not allowed to keep even this new land as their own. The ecclesiastical authorities claimed that the whole of the island of Zlarin had been given to the Bishopric by the Sibenik Municipality in 1298 and that therefore all land, including newly reclaimed land, belonged to the Bishopric. The peasants who took the matter to the courts regularly lost their cases and they defended their interests as best they could — refusing or delaying deliveries of produce to landowners. For this they were prosecuted by the state — both the Venetian state in the eighteenth century and the Austrian state after 1797.

In 1841, the Austrian authorities took over all the estates of the Sibenik Cathedral chapter on Zlarin and their produce was given over to the Religious Foundation (*Religionsfond, Fondo di religione*). The shift from ecclesiastical to state ownership of land was a major one from a formal point of view, but for the peasant who worked on land nothing much has changed. The weakened church administration was replaced by the well-organized and quite strict Austrian bureaucracy, which was ruthless in collecting taxes and levies in material goods and labour. The Austrian administration leased the former Bishopric estates to the highest bidder, and from 1868 onwards the lease went invariably to the Commune of Zlarin. In the 1880's the municipality wanted to buy the land from the state but did not succeed. In the new Yugoslav state, after 1918, the estates remained in state ownership and were leased to those who worked on them. The Land Reform Act provided for the distribution of land to peasants for a certain amount of compensatory payment. The process began but was interrupted in 1940, when the Ministry of Justice of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia decided that the estates should be returned to the Sibenik Bishopric. After centuries of bondage, the Zlarin peasants continued to live under the system of »colonism« well into the twentieth century, their basic rights and freedoms grossly violated. It was only the Land Reform of 1945, in socialist Yugoslavia, that brought an end to the remnants of mediaeval relationships of colonism on the island of Zlarin. In the rest of this chapter, the author describes other taxes and levies imposed on the peasants in Zlarin: one tenth of the produce to be given to the church, contributions to the local priest, the parish church, the religious fraternity, etc.

The fiscal levies included the thirtieth part of the produce and the so-called »new tax«. The tax collection was also leased, and lessees had their sub-lessees, who were ruthless in extracting the taxes from the peasants. Another difficult burden was the duty of every peasant to contribute labour, with his own implements and transportation equipment, for »state needs«. Such obligations to contribute labour (*fazioni*) were often imposed by local officials, who soon learned to exploit the system to get free labour for their private projects. Thus, there were no limits to the exploitation of the peasants.

In addition to these obligations, there was also the duty to serve in constabulary (*pandour*) units and on guard duty (*ronde*), both of which were designed to keep law and order. The obligation to supply crews for galley ships was a particularly



heavy burden, as the sufferings of »galley-slaves« are well-known. This obligation remained in force until the early eighteenth century, when sails began to replace oarsmen. But from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, as the Venetian Navy was increasingly involved in maritime conflicts, the demands for galley crews increased steadily. Throughout Dalmatia, including the Šibenik area, serious disputes raged among the different classes as to who should bear the costs of the galleys that each municipality was supposed to supply. The problem was not just to equip the galleys but more importantly to provide the crews, especially the oarsmen. The main burden always fell on the plebeian population in cities and, particularly, on peasants outside the cities, and the Zlarinians were no exception. Patricians and well-to-do citizens often managed to avoid their obligations, including labour duty, but that only meant that the burden on peasants was more severe. Thus, the position of peasants became progressively worse. It was only very slowly that some of these burdens were lifted in later centuries, and the last remaining ones survived well into the twentieth century. In some cases, the release was genuine, while in others old levies were merely replaced by new fiscal levies and taxes. It may be said that some relief did indeed come, but with such delays and in such economic conditions in the country and the world that this could not even stop the general economic decline of the island, let alone stimulate its economic (primarily agricultural) growth.

The sixth chapter (pp. 103—130). »The Fruits of the Sea«, gives a historical analysis of fishing and coral diving in Zlarin.

The richest fishing grounds were in the vicinity of the island of Zirje, where fishermen from Šibenik and from the islands of Prvić, Zlarin and Zirje caught deep-sea fish which was then salted and sent to markets outside the Šibenik region. For Zlarin, too, salted fish was the main marketable commodity. It is no wonder, therefore, that the dramatic history of salt fish marketing and various levies connected with it should have affected Zlarin as well. Venice introduced a veritable arsenal of legislation between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries designed to ensure that all available quantities of salted fish from Dalmatia are delivered to Venice. The fishermen, on the other hand, sought ways to avoid having to sell their fish to Venice, preferring to sell it illegally at more favourable prices to other Adriatic cities outside Venice, especially to the Kingdom of Naples in southern Italy, to the Papal State, and to Trieste, which was then under Austria. However, the Venetian state had at its disposal a very powerful repressive weapon against the fishermen: it was the salt monopoly. The fishermen needed salt for fish salting, and again they often found illegal ways of obtaining salt from Naples and from the Papal State, particularly in the eighteenth century. In earlier centuries, there had been local salt-works at Zblaće-Morinj, near Šibenik, and on the mainland shore opposite to Zlarin, but these were abandoned in the eighteenth century.

The analysis of fishing and fish trade is supplemented by the description of marketing methods for fresh fish and the statistics of fishing boats in Zlarin and the surrounding area in the late eighteenth century. The author also discusses the disputes between the Zlarinians and the fishermen from Sali (in the Korinati archipelago) concerning fishing rights in disputed border areas. There were also disputes with the fishermen from the island of Zirje in the mid-nineteenth century, when they tried to ban the Zlarinians and fishermen from the island of Prvić from what had until then been common fishing grounds.

Before the mid-nineteenth century Zlarin was the leading fishing centre in the Šibenik archipelago. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century it lost its leading position to Murter, Rogoznica and Zirje. With the boom in wine-growing there came a decrease in fishing and related activities. When wine-growing suffered a setback in the early twentieth century, attempts were made to revive the fishing economy on the island, but by that time the general economic situation in Zlarin had deteriorated and the island had lost its vitality. The combined economy (farming-fishing-shiping), always the mainstay of livelihood on Zlarin, was unable to adjust to the new situation and to shift the emphasis from agriculture to fishing. The forces to achieve this shift were simply not there. The continued demographic regression during that period was both the consequence and a spur to the general weakening of economic forces. The capitalist mechanism drained

Zlarin's labour force, taking it far from the island. Those who had emigrated from Zlarin went to live in different parts of the world, but they were not in a position to provide an impetus for the economic revival of the island as a whole or of a particular branch of its economy. Finally, on top of all the other difficulties, Zlarin suffered from the competition of Italian fishermen from Chioggia, who began to extend their fishing grounds to the eastern Adriatic waters. In the period 1918—1941, the main fishing centres in the Sibenik archipelago were Tisno and Sibenik, while Zlarin had less than one third of the fishing capacity that Tisno had.

Coral diving was the second major branch of maritime economy on Zlarin. Its traditions date back far into history, but detailed data about it are available only from the seventeenth century onwards. Venice regarded corals as a resource belonging to the state and therefore it issued licences for coral diving, obliging the divers to pay one-tenth of their catch into the state treasury. Diving licences were issued for the whole of the Dalmatian coast and were available also to foreigners, first from Genoa and then from southern Italy, who made the bulk of the licensees (and the bulk of coral divers before the mid-eighteenth century). One of the licensee's main obligations was to bring all corals to the market in Venice. The author analyzes licencing documents and contracts between licensees and divers to give a detailed account of this branch of the Zlarin economy. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Zlarinians began to specialize in coral diving. The Austrian authorities continued the Venetian practice of licence issuing, and it was in the nineteenth century that some Zlarinians also became licensees. In 1868 coral diving was made free of government control, but despite this it continued to decline. On a number of occasions in the first half of the twentieth century, Zlarinians tried to revive it, but without any marked success.

The seventh chapter of this study, «The Shipping History» (pp. 130—147), gives a survey of shipping on Zlarin. Being islanders, Zlarinians were natural sailors: for them, not just fishing but also many other activities connected with agriculture and livestock raising involved sailing. Many of the tasks they were forced to perform for the state necessitated the use of boats. Thus, Zlarinians mastered various sailing skills and became increasingly successful seamen, until they gradually acquired larger boats and ships and began to engage in maritime transport activities. Documents are available from the fifteenth century to illustrate this development. Various produce and commodities were transported by sea (such as oil, cheese, figs, honey, etc.) — mainly to Split in the south, but also to Rab, and even Senj and Rijeka, in the north.

Still, shipping was a secondary activity in the overall pattern of the island's economy. Its importance was a little greater in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, prior to the continental blockade of 1806, when a shipping boom was recorded throughout Dalmatia. According to a report from 1803, Zlarin had 24 ships, whose owners were at the same time their skippers. In 1833 Zlarin had 110 «barques», and its shipping fleet continued to develop throughout the nineteenth century. In 1849, it had the highest number of vessels in the district. The main type of activity is local coastal shipping (cabotage, in the Adriatic) and to a lesser extent long-distance coastal shipping (in the Mediterranean). In 1859 Zlarin had 13 «pelig» vessels, 23 «bracera» cargo vessels, the same number of «leut» fishing boats, and about 80 smaller fishing and cargo boats. Shipbuilding never developed on Zlarin, though a 30-ton sailing ship («Zrinović Nikola») was built there in 1863. By the year 1880, Zlarin was the leading home-port for local coastal shipping vessels in the entire region of Zadar and Sibenik. However, the decline set in soon after that as a consequence of the fact that big sailing ships had to give way to steamers. A short-lived attempt to start steamer shipping business on Zlarin in 1897 did not succeed.

The economic crisis intensified towards the end of the nineteenth century and continued well into the twentieth century, driving the local population into emigration. Some seamen left the island too and found jobs on the Austrian Lloyd steamers in Trieste. The company exploited seamen's labour as much as it could, and this new, capitalist exploitation of Zlarin's seamen came at the time when, on the island itself, the semi-feudal «colonism» still prevailed.



Coastal sailing ships, owned by family operators, managed to preserve some of their economic advantages for quite a long time. Some of them even had engines installed on them later. But the general economic decline gradually eroded their position as well, so that in 1939, on the eve of the Second World War, Zlarin had only 5 such sailing ships left, with total of 155 HP and 188 GRT.

The eighth chapter entitled »The administration of the island« (pp. 147—179) is devoted to the history of administrative institutions on Zlarin. Two distinct periods can be recognized in this respect: the first, ending in the early nineteenth century, is characterized by traditional forms of administration, with elements of self-government; the second period is marked by the establishment of the municipality as a new type of administrative mechanism in the service of the modern bourgeois state. In the former period, the administrative unit was the island itself, while in the latter it extended over the entire Sibenik archipelago.

During the first period, the island was a self-contained administrative unit referred to as »universitas insulae Zlarin«. This is a well-known type of organization, with a rather long tradition on the Croatian Adriatic coast. The main officials were judges (*iudices*). All the inhabitants of the island, meeting in an assembly or *posoba*, together decided on matters of common interest. *Posoba* was an ancient Croatian institution, which was well-established in northern and partly also in central Dalmatia. The Venetian authorities took various steps to ensure that they had a measure of control over the work of these assemblies. The maintenance of law and order was the task of special bodies, known as *ronda*, headed by captains or *harambašas*. These bodies were the state's law enforcement agencies, and their captains directly implemented government decisions. Thus, *harambašas* gradually became second most important figures of authority on the island, immediately after the judges. A certain amount of influence in the administration, and much more so in social life, was exercised by the religious fraternity (*confraternitas*). Its »rules and regulations«, according to the text dating from 1456 and written in Croatian, are analyzed in considerable detail by the present author. The analysis shows that the fraternity was not just a religious and humanitarian institution, but also an important factor in the maintenance of law and order and of the state system. Relying on evidence from archive materials, the author analyzes the judiciary practice of Zlarin's judges, their scope of competence and jurisdiction in disputes involving smaller amounts. The analysis also focuses on the work of the Roman Catholic parish, the nucleus of church organization on Zlarin. The survey is complemented by a description of court practices involving Zlarinians before the Sibenik City Court and an evaluation of the Venetian administrative machinery in the eighteenth century (when it was both corrupt and ineffective).

The main characteristic of the second period, beginning in 1806, is the creation of the Commune or municipality as the cornerstone of administrative organization. The process began during the French rule in Dalmatia (1806—1813) and ended in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the mechanism of municipal organization was finally completed. The author concentrates in particular on rural communes, such as Zlarin. He also describes the trends in certain islands and villages to secede from Zlarin and to join some other municipalities. Such tendencies were motivated by economic and political considerations. Finally, the author discusses the municipal finances and the criteria used to determine the share of each part of the commune in the costs of the municipal administration. As the most developed part of the commune, Zlarin contributed the largest share. The author's concluding assessment of the municipal system developed in the nineteenth century can be summarized as follows: The new municipal system was still essentially defective in a number of major areas. This is seen in the fact that there was no general assembly of all members of the community; that the mayor was neither politically nor legally responsible to the municipal council; that the municipal council itself could remain in power even without any support from the community; that there was no representative community council but rather artificially created electoral bodies, which made sure that the commune was ruled by the »upper classes« and the state rather than the local population.

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The last, ninth, chapter is entitled »Demographic Developments« (pp. 179—194) and is intended to be a resultant of the preceding eight chapters. Demographic trends on Zlarin were determined by the natural characteristics of the island and the surrounding sea, by the state of agriculture and other economic activities (fishing, shipping, coral diving), and by the political situation and system of administration.

The first recorded figure of the population of Zlarin dates from 1585, when the island had 448 inhabitants. The first census was taken in 1765 and it lists 1,224 persons by name. A survey of all available population data until the end of the eighteenth century shows that, apart from natural increase and mortality rates, various factors affected the demographic situation: they included Turkish invasions in the hinterland of Sibenik (with many refugees fleeing to the coast and the islands) and frequent epidemics of pestilence, which decimated the population in the area. At the end of the French rule in 1813, Zlarin had a total of 1,359 inhabitants. Statistics for the nineteenth century show a steady increase of the population. The increase was most marked in the 1860's and 1870's during the boom in wine-growing and prosperity brought about by the development of coastal shipping. This trend continued until 1910. But from then on population trends were reversed as people began to leave Zlarin in large numbers. This was the period of economic decline, when Zlarin had no strength either to revive traditional activities nor to introduce new ones. From 1,846 inhabitants in 1910, the population dropped to 1,480 in 1931 and to only 635 in 1971. Many people emigrated overseas, mainly to North and South America. Noting that neither the Austro-Hungarian nor prewar Yugoslav authorities were able to find a solution for this situation, the author concludes:

The solution, of course, is not to be sought in mourning the »good old times« (which actually never existed) or in trying to revert the transformation produced in the old order of things by the capitalist era. The capitalist market produced a great deal of mobility in the labour force through domestic and external migrations. The main question is how to prevent the irrational market forces from destroying what generations have created on this soil and from blocking the most effective use, in modern conditions, of the available natural resources. Such irrational forces can only be opposed by a well-thought out concept of development which will respect the conditions that now prevail and make the best use of the resources that Zlarin's soil and sea can offer. Only then can we begin to answer the question: Where is the end of the demographic decline of Zlarin? The socialist society can be expected to offer such a concept of development.

(Translated by V. Ivir)