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***Dubrovnik:
the historical and contemporary significance of the Old Town***

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Dubrovnik:
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Introduction: the aims of this report

This report sets out to achieve three related aims which are relevant to the case in question.

1. It identifies the Old Town of Dubrovnik, and places it within its geographical context.
2. It provides a brief review of the reasons why the town has come to be regarded as a place of exceptional historical interest and cultural value.
3. It explores the manner in which the historic core of Dubrovnik has come, in more recent times, to serve as the motor for social and economic development in its region, such that events which had an impact upon the Old Town itself should be regarded as having wider significance for that region, for the Republic of Croatia, and indeed more generally.

The Old Town of Dubrovnik

By the Old Town of Dubrovnik, which is the subject of this report, I have in mind that part of the municipality (*općina*) of Dubrovnik which is enclosed by the mediaeval city wall—an area of some 13.38 hectares. The Old Town occupied therefore only a small fraction of the 979 sq km of the area of the municipality in 1991, and was inhabited by only few thousand of the 71,419 population enumerated in the census of 1991. It is located on a small, rocky promontory, compressed between the mountain of Srdj (412 m.) and the Adriatic Sea. The larger municipality extends for approximately 120 km. along the coast of southern Dalmatia, reaching a maximum width of only about 15 km. similarly confined by the range of mountains inland, which rise to 1,234 m. at Ilijin Vrh. [See Map 1, p. 19.]

The *općina* of Dubrovnik incorporates several of the Dalmatian islands, the largest of those which fall within the municipality being Mljet. The dimensions of modern Dubrovnik correspond closely to those of the ancient Republic of Ragusa (or Ragusium), discussed below, and for that

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reason the boundaries of the modern local authority have come to constitute also the boundary between the Republic of Croatia and the neighbouring republics of Bosnia and Hercegovina and Montenegro. [See Map 2, p. 20.] Both the Old Town and the administrative unit over which it presides therefore are of considerable antiquity.

In many respects treatment of the Old Town as a separate entity is an artificial limitation, as its economic, social and cultural importance extends not only across the entire local government unit of Dubrovnik, but throughout the region of Dalmatia and even the Republic of Croatia. Nevertheless, it is the architectural, cultural and economic characteristics of this small area which in large measure account for the importance of Dubrovnik, and the significance of events in and around the Old Town in the autumn of 1991.

The foundation of the city and the Republic of Ragusa

The origins of urban settlement on this site are obscure, because of the lack of systematic and thorough archaeological investigation, but it is clear that the existence of Dubrovnik can be traced back into antiquity. The first secure knowledge of a city on this site is from the seventh century AD, when, following the migration of the Slavs into the area, a mixed Latin-Slav settlement developed on the present site. An ecclesiastical see was established in 990. In 1296 Dubrovnik was heavily damaged by fire, and the basic configuration of the city as it is seen today was established in the subsequent rebuilding.

The emergence of Dubrovnik's distinctive constitution as an aristocratic republic is similarly thinly documented, as are its early relations with surrounding powers, although there is some evidence that the principle features of its constitution were determined as early as the middle of the 11th century. Dubrovnik's development as a city-state (known then as "Ragusa" or "Ragusium") and one of the most important trading centres of the Mediterranean region, dates from the beginning of the 13th century, when it fell under Venetian patronage.¹ Key aspects of its organisation were modelled upon the constitution of Venice:

¹ The most thorough and systematic study of the history of Dubrovnik in English is Frank W. Carter, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa): a classic city-state*. London and New York, 1972. For the mediaeval period an important resource is Bariša Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries. A city between East and West*. Norman (OK): University of Oklahoma Press, 1972. See also for additional detail, John V.A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983; *The Late Medieval Balkans*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987.

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by the end of the thirteenth century the Dubrovnik constitution had assumed the form which, with certain alterations, it preserved until the downfall of the republic in the nineteenth century.²

At this time the Balkan Peninsula saw the rise of several increasingly significant Slav states, culminating in the Empire of Stefan Dušan Nemanjić (1331-1355), and although the city's relationships with both its Venetian overlords and the Slav states of its hinterland was always problematic, it flourished as an important trading gateway between the Adriatic Sea and the interior of the Balkan Peninsula. Great caravan routes extended from Dubrovnik, roughly following the modern road over the coastal mountain range to Trebinje, and thence radiating out towards Belgrade, through Niš into Bulgaria, and across Kosovo, through Skopje and down to Thessaloniki.³ The process of Slavicising the town was probably completed by the close of the 14th century.

Following the defeat of Venice by Hungary in 1358, Dubrovnik passed under Hungarian protection, but retained important liberties which provided the foundation of its subsequent development as an independent Republic. In 1333 Ragusa expanded to take in the important Pelješac Peninsula, to the north-west; in 1399 it acquired the adjacent Primorje area; and it reached the final limit of its territorial expansion in 1427 with the acquisition of the Konavle region, to the south-east. The territory of the Republic, by these measures, came to correspond roughly to the extent of the modern municipality of Dubrovnik. At the height of its influence, during the fifteenth century, the city even took under its control the islands of Brač, Hvar and Korčula. [See Map 2, p. 20.] Remarkably, in 1458 this small but dynamic state also secured a treaty with the Ottoman Empire (by then the dominant power in the city's Balkan hinterland) which secured Ottoman protection, at the cost of a regular tribute, and privileges for Ragusan merchants operating throughout the Empire.

The pragmatism of the city fathers, which enabled them to sustain their independence although surrounded by more powerful states, is illustrated by their policy with respect to religious observance. The constitution made obligatory the religious homogeneity of citizens, under the Roman Catholic faith. The Ragusans insisted, nevertheless, on the subordination of religious institutions to the city authorities—even in the appointment of bishops. Recognising the

² Carter, *Dubrovnik*, p. 113.

³ See map in Carter, *Dubrovnik*, p. 103.

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importance of neighbouring Orthodox states, however, ecclesiastical dignitaries of other faiths were given appropriate respect by treating them as having a certain *political* rank.⁴

The Republic of Ragusa developed a distinctive government by a landowning and mercantile oligarchy, under its own elected Rector. The Rector's term of office lasted only one month, and effective power was exercised through the Major and Minor Councils. Bariša Krekić has estimated that "toward the middle of the fifteenth century, there were thirty-three patrician families in Dubrovnik", although "there were always about ten families which represented the real core of patrician power".⁵ Even after the Turkish conquest of the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula, Ragusa retained a large measure of independence through fortunate political coincidence and skilful diplomacy. The prosperity and security of the republic, and high sense of civic responsibility of its leaders, facilitated the early emergence of medical services which were very advanced for their time, supporting a pharmacy, founding hospital and provision for the quarantine of travellers. A public water supply was completed in 1444. The abolition of the slave trade as early as 1416 (considered to be "ugly, nefarious and abominable and against all humanity") testifies to the liberal culture of the city, despite its aristocratic foundations.⁶

A vigorous vernacular literature was created from the middle of the 16th century, and writers such as the dramatist Marin Držić (1508-67) and the epic poet Ivan Gundulić (1589-1638) are now recognised as important contributors to the formation of Croatian (and indeed, South Slav) literature, breaking away from earlier Latin and Italian models. The sciences also flourished, with the work of Marin Getaldić (1568-1626, known for his work on the specific weights of metals) and the astronomer Rudjer Bošković (1717-87) achieving European renown. (The latter became a member of both the *Académie française* and the Royal Society.)

The decline of independent Ragusa began in the early 18th century, but was brought to a definitive conclusion by the Napoleonic conquest of 1806.⁷ With the defeat of Napoleon, in 1815, Dubrovnik passed under Austrian rule. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, particularly following the political crisis of 1903, the future constitutional position of the Austro-

⁴ See on this issue the essay on "Intellectual life and culture", in Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries*,

⁵ Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, pp. 33-4.

⁶ Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, p. 37.

⁷ In an anticipation of later events, General Marmont is said to have bombarded the city with 3,000 canon balls.

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Hungarian Empire came to be called into question. Political culture in southern Dalmatia at this time is probably best represented by the figure of Frane Supilo (1870-1917, a journalist from Dubrovnik) who together with Ante Trumbić from Split (1864-1938) attempted to steer political discourse away from a conservative and narrow nationalism towards cooperation with other South Slav peoples.⁸ With the disintegration of the Empire at the end of the First World War, along with the rest of Dalmatia, Dubrovnik was indeed assimilated into the new unified South Slav state, initially known as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and after 1929 as Yugoslavia.

The architectural heritage of Dubrovnik

The currently visible architectural treasures of the Old Town of Dubrovnik date largely from the four and a half centuries of the independent Republic of Ragusa.⁹ Although commenced during the 12th century (probably on even older foundations), the immense fortifications of its curtain wall and towers largely acquired their present form during the fifteenth century, reaching completion in the second half of the 17th century. They are among the most complete, and are widely regarded as one of the finest, systems of city fortification in Europe. Within that protected area, the wealth and Europe-wide prestige of the city was reflected in the building of palaces (such as the Rector's Palace in the mid-15th century and the Sponza Palace early 16th century); churches (the Old Town contains Franciscan, Dominican and Jesuit monasteries) and public buildings such as the pharmacy (1317), the bell tower (1463), and the municipal granary (1542-1590). The physical appearance of the Old Town is also marked strongly by its public spaces, and especially the great central street known as the Stradun (or Placa), which extends roughly east-west for 292 m. along almost the entire length of the town.

A massive earthquake caused widespread destruction in 1667, and the subsequent reconstruction provided the opportunity for the elaboration and embellishment of much of the city, going beyond simple replacement.¹⁰ Typical of the period of reconstruction are the baroque cathedral (1672-1713) and Jesuit church of St. Ignatius (completed 1725). A detailed critical appraisal of the architectural and historical importance of these buildings is beyond the special competence of this

⁸ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984, pp. esp. pp. 96-7.

⁹ This report treats rather briefly this major aspect of the importance of the city, as I understand that other witnesses will testify specifically on this point.

¹⁰ Some authorities are of the opinion that Dubrovnik never regained the splendour of its pre-earthquake days.

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writer. Nevertheless, it is uncontroversial to state that the architectural endowment of Dubrovnik is exceptional in terms of its diversity and quality.¹¹

No appreciation of the impact of Dubrovnik's architectural heritage would be complete which rested with a listing of individual buildings. Perhaps of even greater importance is the impression conveyed by their concentration and juxtaposition within such a small area. In particular, visitors to the city before 1991 were invariably captivated by the roofscape of ancient terra cotta tiles, remarkable for the subtle diversity of their forms, angles and colours. Although a substantial degree of reconstruction of buildings has been possible following the military action of 1991, damage to Dubrovnik's roofs, which bore the brunt of the shelling, is definitively beyond restoration. With its destruction the world has lost a treasure which can never be replaced.

Dubrovnik in the nineteenth century

The condition of relative obscurity into which Dubrovnik fell during the greater part of the nineteenth century had the unintended consequence of sparing the Old Town from modernisation, until its rediscovery as a tourist destination. With hindsight it can be seen that its short-term economic misfortune was perhaps a major factor contributing to the preservation of this remarkable repository of the European architectural heritage.

The rise of steam shipping during the 19th century completed the work of Napoleon in marginalising Dubrovnik. Following the suppression of the independent Ragusan Republic by Napoleon the city failed to fulfil its economic potential, for a variety of reasons.

The city's merchants were slow to make the transition from sail to steam power, and the Austria-Lloyd line, rather than local ship-owners, was responsible for the development of the port of Gruž, to the north-west, servicing its route between Trieste and Patras after 1836. Although possibly of equal antiquity, Gruž remained before this time overshadowed by the more prestigious Old Town, which it overtook in commercial significance during the nineteenth century. Dubrovnik now has two ports—the historic old port under the city walls and the newer port at Gruž, on the north side of the Lapad Peninsula. The former was too shallow and too

¹¹ To the inventory of its architecture, of course, should be added the city's legacy in terms of public statuary, works of art, church furnishings and historical documentation, which are of considerable value and interest.

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confined to handle modern shipping. While Gruž emerged as the fourth-largest port of the eastern Adriatic coast, Dubrovnik itself sank into genteel obscurity.

The Austrian Empire showed little interest in the city's development, refusing to support the construction of a railway to replace the old caravan routes. The railway line reached the Neretva valley at Metković in 1885, and a line was subsequently extended to the naval base at Cattaro (Kotor). This was intended primarily to serve military interests, however, and it was only in 1901 that a spur was constructed (via Hum and Uskoplje) to the port at Gruž. This narrow-gauge construction was ill-suited to modern commercial needs, was abandoned after the Second World War, and never replaced.¹² In the absence of good roads in the region (until the 1960s) the lack of rail transport placed serious obstacles in the way of any economic revival.

The rise of tourism

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century international tourism began to flourish around the Mediterranean coastline, and the city of Dubrovnik was "discovered" as an outstanding attraction.¹³ By the outbreak of the Second World War several luxurious hotels had been built outside the ancient walls, accommodating the flow of wealthy visitors from the economically developed areas of Europe. (Some of these, such as the old "Imperial" Hotel, which opened in 1897, and was badly damaged in the action of October 1991, were themselves buildings of historical and architectural interest.) The historic port area became more important as an anchorage for luxury yachts than commercial shipping. Although tourism went into abeyance during the early years of Communist development after 1945, following the economic reforms of the 1960s and the opening of the Yugoslav economy, Dubrovnik rapidly re-emerged as the jewel in the crown of Croatian—and indeed of Yugoslav—tourism. The area experienced higher than

¹² An important resource for Dubrovnik's modern maritime history is Antun Ničetić, *Povijest dubrovačke luke*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za Povijesne Znanosti Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Dubrovniku i Pomorski Fakultet, 1995. See also, Naval Intelligence Division, *Jugoslavia*. London: HMSO, Geographical Handbook Series, B.R 493B, 1945. Volume III, *Economic Geography, Ports and Communications*.

¹³ On the development and significance of tourism see, Ivo Perić, *Razvitak turizma u Dubrovniku i okolice, od pojave parobrodstva do 1941g.* Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti istraživačkog centra Jugoslovenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Dubrovniku, 1983. See also, John B. Allcock, "The historical development of tourism in Yugoslavia to 1945", in John B. Allcock and Joan Counihan, *Two Studies in the History of Tourism in Yugoslavia*. University of Bradford, Bradford Studies on Yugoslavia, no. 14, 1989.

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average rates of demographic and economic growth, and the impact of its economic success was diffused over an extensive surrounding area.¹⁴

**Table 1: Growth of population, 1981-1991:
 Yugoslavia, Croatia and Dubrovnik**

	Population		Growth	Percentage growth
Yugoslavia	1981	22,424,711	1,103,519	+ 4.29
	1991	23,528,230		
Croatia	1981	4,601,469	182,796	+ 3.97
	1991	4,784,265		
Dubrovnik	1981	43,990	27,429	+ 62.35
	1991	71,419		

Sources: *Concise Atlas of Croatia; Prethodni rezultati: popis stanovništva SFRJ 1991g.* Belgrade: SZS, 1992.

Tourism was consistently one of the most buoyant sectors of the Yugoslav economy after the economic reforms of the 1960s. The country relied regularly upon earnings from "invisibles" throughout this period in order to redress its adverse balance of trade, and three items contributed more than anything else to that endeavour—remittances from Yugoslav workers living abroad, transit services, and tourism. By 1987 earnings from tourism had reached the equivalent of around 15% of the country's import bill, and regularly made a very significant contribution to supporting Yugoslavia's economic viability.¹⁵

Largely because of its long Adriatic coastline, Croatia enjoyed the lion's share of the federation's tourist trade. In 1989 Croatia possessed about 66% of Yugoslavia's registered accommodation (although the effective percentage was certainly greater than that, if unregistered accommodation in private houses is taken into account). Taking a different measure of Croatia's share, the republic's resorts hosted around 62 million of Yugoslavia's total of 100 million overnight stays in that year.

¹⁴ I have reviewed this process in some detail in: John B. Allcock, "Tourism and social change in Dalmatia". *Journal of Development Studies*, 20(1) 1983:34-55. Between 1961 and 1981 Dubrovnik rose from being 24th in rank order of Croatia's municipalities, by national income *per capita*, to 15th in 1991.

¹⁵ See *Jugoslavija, 1918-1988: Statistički godišnjak*. Belgrade: Savezni Zavod za Statistiku, 1989, p. 145. The term "invisibles" (otherwise "invisible earnings") refers to the export of services, as opposed to material goods, together with income from sources such as property earnings abroad.

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Table 2: The role of tourism in Yugoslavia's balance of payments, 1965-86 (figures in millions of US\$)

Year	Trade balance			Services and transfers (net)						
	Exports (fob) (1)	Imports (cif) (2)	Balance (3)	All services (4)	Foreign travel (5)	Workers' remittances (6)	Transport (7)	(5) as % of (4) (8)*	(6) as % of (4) (9)*	(7) as % of (4) (10)*
1965	1,094	1,289	-195	235	63	59	118	27	25	50
1968	1,265	1,797	-532	415	136	149	144	33	36	35
1971	1,814	3,253	-1,439	1,110	175	695	244	16	63	22
1974	3,805	7,520	-3,715	2,532	644	1,379	396	25	54	16
1977	5,254	9,634	-4,380	2,798	750	1,427	568	27	51	20
1980	8,978	15,064	-6,086	3,795	1,515	1,539	832	40	41	22
1983	9,914	12,154	-2,240	2,514	862	1,167	795	34	46	32
1986	11,084	13,096	-2,012	3,112	1,105	1,636	1,749	36	53	56

Sources: OECD, 1972 (p. 68), 1985 (p. 74) and 1987/8 (p. 110)

* The figures in these columns total more than 100% because they are percentages of the net balance of services and transfers, not income only throughout this period there was a recurring substantial loss on the investment account

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There is no doubt that by any measure Dubrovnik ranked among the most important of these resorts.¹⁶ The city offered in this period around 6% of the registered tourist accommodation, and hosted around 8% of overnight stays by tourists in the entire republic. Measured in terms of the number of visitors *per annum*, Dubrovnik ranked first among Croatia's resorts, and second in terms of overnight stays by foreign tourists.¹⁷

A similar picture emerges if one examines the monetary impact of tourism. Tourism and catering in Croatia created, in 1988, 49.7% of the social product for the entire federation in this sector.¹⁸ The tourism and catering sector, in turn, made up 6.6% of the social product for Croatia in that year. It should be noted that these calculations are based upon official statistics, which regularly underestimate the role of the private sector and the "informal economy". A more realistic estimate would probably be that around 10% of the social product of the republic came from this sector.

Two additional measures of the importance of Dubrovnik as a tourist resort might be mentioned. Occupancy rates in its hotel accommodation were exceptionally high, with an annual average of 171 days of full occupancy between 1980 and 1988. Furthermore, the standard of accommodation in the area was relatively high, with 9.6% of hotel rooms provided in the "Luxury" category, and only 1.5% in establishments of "C" category.¹⁹

The local economic significance of tourism in the Dubrovnik municipality itself was far higher than these figures suggest. Between 1985 and 1990 the annual average proportion of the social product for the municipality coming from tourism and catering was 36.2%, and the contribution of this sector to employment regularly stood at around 35%. In other words, official figures

¹⁶ Figures refer to the municipality of Dubrovnik, which encompassed a rather wider area than the city itself.

¹⁷ John B. Allcock, "Yugoslavia's tourist trade: pot of gold or pig in a poke?" *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 13, 1986, 565-588. See esp. Table 2, p. 572.

¹⁸ The British term "catering" is used here as the translation of *ugostiteljstvo*. In American English the term "hospitality" would be used. Marxist economists (responsible for Yugoslav economic statistics in this period) have chosen to use "social product" as a measure of economic activity, rather than the more familiar measures of GNP or GDP. The reasons for this and the significance of the distinction are not relevant here, as in this context the figures relate only to *internal* comparisons.

¹⁹ I am indebted to the Librarian of the Faculty for Tourism and Foreign Trade in Dubrovnik, Mira Rechner, and to Prof. Antun Kobašić, for data utilised in the preparation of this section of the report. See, Mario Kovačević and Željka Tvrdeić, *Analiza turističkog prometa na području općine Dubrovnik u 1990g.* Dubrovnik: Turistički Savez Općine Dubrovnik, 1991; Antun Kobašić, "Turizam u razvoju dubrovačkog gospodarstva tijekom XX stoljeća", *Ekonomski misao praksa Dubrovnik*, II, 1993: 97-115.

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indicate that more than a third of economic activity in the area was created *directly* from tourism and catering. When we take into account the fact that tourism created considerable *indirect* revenues, its importance was much higher. Studies conducted locally at this time show that 10-15% of tourist expenditure took place in retail establishments.²⁰ Around a quarter of the income of the public transport system was generated by tourism, and a similar proportion of the income of the local postal and telephone services. For this reason, a study conducted in 1987 at the Faculty for Tourism and Foreign Trade in Dubrovnik estimated that the real value of tourism in the locality should be 40.4% of social product, and perhaps even higher than that.²¹

The cultural importance of the Old Town was both recognised and enhanced by tourism. The rich literary heritage of the area as well as its architectural endowment was exploited in the annual international Dubrovnik Festival. In that respect Dubrovnik, and in particular its Old Town, came to act as a kind of cultural flagship for Croatia in general. Recognition of its significance came in the form of the award to the city of the status of a World Heritage Site, by UNESCO in 1979, which raised further its profile as an international tourist destination.

Tourism and the impact of war

The tourism sector of Yugoslavia's economy was devastated by the outbreak of war, and since Croatia both provided the lion's share of tourism facilities and derived the greatest benefit from this sector, the republic bore the brunt of that impact. From a peak in 1988, the number of tourist beds available in Croatia fell from 926,349, to 534,548 in 1992.²² The number of tourists fell from a peak of 10.5 million in 1987, to a mere 2 million in 1992. [See Figures 1 and 2, pp. 17 and 18.] The coastal resorts, which had been favoured particularly by foreign tourists, were especially hard-hit.

Even allowing for a certain amount of post-war reconstruction and renovation, the general extent of this is evident in the statistics. Whereas 20,513 tourist beds were registered as available in Dubrovnik in 1990, this figure had fallen to 12,277 in 1994.²³ The 892,579 visitors to the city in

²⁰ i.e. Other than for accommodation and catering. This is a high proportion by international standards.

²¹ Prof. Kobašić, in the study cited above, estimates that tourism generated at least 50% of GNP.

²² Figures in this paragraph from, *Statistički ljetopis, 1995*. Zagreb: Republika Hrvatska Državni Zavod za Statistiku, 1995, pp. 350 and 354.

²³ Figures in this paragraph compare Kovačević and Tvrdčić, *Analiza*, with *Statistički ljetopis 1995*, p. 544.

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1987 had declined to 33,489 in 1990, and the number of their overnight stays from around 5.5 million to a mere 116,824.

The reasons for this are to be found not only in the general sensitivity to political insecurity to which the tourism industry is notoriously prone, but in the physical destruction of tourist accommodation in Dubrovnik. Because of considerations of conservation only one small hotel was located within the walls of the Old Town itself. Hotels in the vicinity of the town, however, shared in the damage caused by the military action of the autumn of 1991.²⁴ A considerable amount of deterioration of tourist accommodation also resulted from the fact that these facilities were taken over as temporary housing for refugees, including the prestigious "Babin Kuk" complex. It is appropriate to mention in this context also the destruction of both the Inter-University Centre and the Headquarters of the Dubrovnik Festival, on 6 December.

Cultural identity

One of the most vital of the ingredients which contributed to this acknowledgement of the cultural importance of old Dubrovnik was the fact that it remained an *inhabited* city, and was never reduced to the status of an empty museum. In establishing the importance of the Old Town, therefore, it is appropriate to consider further the strength and character of local culture.

There was a keen sense, before 1991, of distinctiveness on the part of those who regarded themselves as "really" belonging to Dubrovnik (*pravi dubrovčani*) in relation to more recent arrivals—often brought into the region by the recent growth of tourism. In that respect, more conventionally-noted marks of difference, such as ethnicity, were perhaps less important in Dubrovnik than the boundary between those who belonged "primordially" and those who could not support that claim.²⁵ The city's inhabitants had a vigorous civic pride, and a sense of their own cultural identity, which was based upon several foundations. Dubrovnik has, for example, not only idiosyncrasies of dialect and distinctive local forms of folk costume, but also standards of courtesy in behaviour.

²⁴ Detailed information relating to damage inflicted upon Dubrovnik's hotels can be obtained from Milenko Foretić ed. *Dubrovnik in War*. Dubrovnik: Matica Hrvatska, 2000, pp. 95-103.

²⁵ This generally-occurring phenomenon is the subject of an important sociological study by Norbert Elias and John Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders* (London: Frank Cass, 1965).

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In keeping with its situation at the interface of different civilisations, and because of its role as a trading and diplomatic centre, the Old Town contains monuments not only to Croatia's predominant Roman Catholic faith, but also to the Serbian Orthodox tradition, and one of the oldest synagogues in south-eastern Europe. The annual patronal festival of Sv. Vlaho (St. Blaise) on 3 February, however, although a traditionally Catholic celebration, was observed generally as an important occasion for *the city* rather than for any particular confessional group.²⁶

The specificity of culture in Dubrovnik is indicated very clearly by the results of the first multi-party elections, in 1990, when the municipality was the only electoral district in the entire republic to return an independent candidate to the "Socio-Political Chamber" of the *Sabor* (National Assembly) with a clear victory in the first round of voting.²⁷

The cultural distinctiveness of Dubrovnik cannot be accounted for in terms of the pattern of ethnicity among its population—with 82% of its inhabitants declaring their ethnic identity as "Croat" in the census of 1991, as opposed to the average of 78% for the republic as a whole, the municipality was not ethnically more diverse than other municipalities.²⁸ Rather, its specific character appears to be rooted (at least in part) in the impact of tourism. An unusually interesting sociological investigation undertaken in 1981 analysed the attitudes and "ideological orientations" of the population of southern Dalmatia.²⁹ The authors discovered significant differences between the profiles of people living in large coastal urban centres influenced by

²⁶ This was underlined in a startling manner on the occasion of my own observation of the festival. Although marked by a Roman Catholic religious procession, the day ended with a humorous dramatic performance, in which (in the manner of the traditional "Feast of Fools") all manner of prominent figures in the locality were lampooned. The event took the form of a mock trial—of "Tourism". Sentence having been passed, an effigy representing "Tourism" was burned at the stake. It is hard to imagine a more remarkable symbolisation of the hostility between the "established and the outsiders". The rooted importance of this sense of contrast between locals and non-locals (rather than between one "ethnic group" and another) continues in the post-war city. The large influx of ethnic Croats from parts of Hercegovina, displaced by the war—or attracted to the city opportunistically by the prospect of income from tourism— attracts a far more vigorous response than the Croat-Serb division ever did before the war. These "incomers" are invariably ridiculed for what the locals regard as their lack of civilised manners.

²⁷ Ivan Grdešić, Mirjana Kasapović, Ivan Šiber and Nenad Zakošek, *Hrvatska u izborima '90*. Zagreb: Naprijed, 1991, esp. table pp. 211-2, "Rezultati izbora za Društveno-političko vijeće, Prvi krug"; also Mirjana Kasapović, *Izborni i stranački sustav Republike Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Alinea, 1993. The ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) did not offer a candidate in the election to this chamber, although it took the seat in the contest for the "Chamber of Municipalities". Unusually, in both elections, the Social Democrats took second place.

²⁸ Neither, does it seem, was there a more developed sense of "Yugoslav" identity in Dubrovnik, with only 1.7% of the population claiming "Yugoslav" nationality, as opposed to 2.2% in Croatia as a whole. Concise Atlas of the Republic of Croatia. Zagreb: Miroslav Krleža Lexicographical Institute, 1993: 124-6.

²⁹ Simo Elaković and Vlaho Brangjolica, *Efekt i posljedice ekonomskih, socijalnih i drugih promijena pod utjecajem turizma na Jadranskom području*. Dubrovnik: Fakultet za Turizam i Vanjsku Trgovinu, 1985.

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tourism, such as Dubrovnik, and the economically less-developed inland areas, which were relatively untouched by tourism. The former were appreciably more likely than the latter to be characterised by "middle-class" life-styles, and configurations of attitudes which could be described as "modern" and "secular".³⁰ It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that although there are certainly traditional and historically-based elements which contribute to the sense of identity of people from Dubrovnik, other important factors need to be considered. Significant among these is a cosmopolitanism and sense of "modernity" which does not depend upon their abandoning a feeling of "Croatian" identity, but nevertheless reinforces the historical sense of their particularity in relation to surrounding country areas.

Dubrovnik and its region

The role of the Old Town as a powerful stimulus to the growth of tourism has had some additional important effects upon the development of the municipality as an economic and cultural centre.

Located astride the "Adriatic Highway", and at the terminus of trans-Adriatic ferry routes, the city has acquired some importance as a regional hub of transport and communication. Situated at the end of one of the few modern roads to penetrate the coastal mountain range (the road to Trebinje) Dubrovnik has also appreciable importance in relation to the communication and transport needs of a substantial area of eastern Hercegovina, as well as Dalmatia.

This part of Croatia has never featured as a major region of agricultural production, sandwiched as it is between the sea and the bare limestone ridge (rising at its highest to more than 1200 metres) which at every point overshadows the narrow strip of coastal land. [See Map. 1, p 19.] Nevertheless, as large areas of abandoned terraced fields bear witness, it has been much more important as an area of cultivation in the past, and in recent years several enclaves have been developed which have concentrated on specialist commercial crops, often supporting the needs of tourism. Although tourism has displaced agriculture as the dominant sector of the region's economy since 1945, there are possibilities for expanding its role in food production, particularly if it is possible to expand the practice of irrigation.

Because of the geology of the area, the best agricultural land is dispersed in small valleys. The most significant of these is the area to the south-east of Dubrovnik itself, known as Konavle.

³⁰ Elaković and Brangjolica, esp. Part IV, Chap. 5, and Part VI.

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This is actually the valley of the river Kopačica, running parallel to the coast, and roughly 12 km. long by up to 3 km. wide. A substantial part of it is used for vineyards, especially towards its south-eastern end. Orchards are also important, particularly on south-western facing slopes. Several other small valleys, and favourable stretches of the coast, are also cultivated, as are the islands of Šipan and Mljet.

The Pelješac peninsula, to the north-west of Dubrovnik, is internationally known as a wine-producing region, especially in its central valley. Some of Croatia's best-known brand-names are produced here, such as *Dingač* and *Postup*.

An important recent development, stimulated largely by the growth of tourism, has been the expansion of fish farming, in several of the sheltered inlets of the sea. Ston is a particularly important centre for this activity, as well as being, since ancient times, a valuable source of salt production.³¹

The attractiveness of the city as a centre of development has also meant that several cultural institutions have come to be located there. In addition to its Faculty for Tourism and Foreign Trade (a branch of the University of Split), the city is home to a Musical Academy. The widely-respected Inter-University Centre (supervised by an international panel of scholars, and attracting a large international clientele each year to its courses and conferences) is located just outside the city walls, in premises which formerly housed a Pedagogical Academy.

Although Dubrovnik before the secession of Croatia from Yugoslavia was located within a regional unit administered from Split, it carried an economic and cultural weight which raised it above the level of other settlements in the region. This has been recognised in the post-independence reform of local government in Croatia, which has elevated Dubrovnik to the seat of a county (*županija*) administration.

³¹ An interesting recent demographic study has shown that, such is the stimulative effect of economic activity in Dubrovnik that even in some neighbouring rural areas such as Pelješac and Ston, even if population decline has not been reversed (as in the big urban centres) it has been retarded. See Nenad Vekarić, *Stanovništvo poluotoka Pelješca*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za Povijesna Znanosti Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Dubrovniku, 1991 (2 vols.)

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The demilitarised status of the town

The small city-state of Ragusa never possessed great military potential, relying for its security on a combination of diplomacy and the great defensive strength of the walls. Its later incorporation into Austria and then Yugoslavia saw no further militarization of the town—although the neighbouring port of Gruž served for a time as a very minor naval facility for Yugoslavia. Both Austria and Yugoslavia concentrated their military resources in the southern Adriatic on the Bay of Kotor, to the south-east, and Split, to the north-west.

Ever since its construction in 1936 the airport at Čilipi has served predominantly the function of supporting tourism. Demilitarisation was a condition of the grant of the status of a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, in 1979.

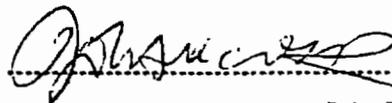
Conclusion

The Old Town of Dubrovnik, the heart of ancient Ragusa, is undoubtedly a place of considerable historic and cultural value on a world scale. This has been recognised by its inclusion in the UNESCO register of World Heritage sites. It preserves in a remarkably complete form the architectural heritage of a Mediterranean city state, together with its wider cultural legacy.

In recent times this has become the focus for the development of a tourism industry which has come to play an extremely significant role in the wider economic and social development not only of the Dalmatian region but of Croatia, and neighbouring parts of the Balkan hinterland.

The symbolic attractiveness of the Old Town, together with the economic dynamism which this has generated through tourism, has served to make the municipality of Dubrovnik an important cultural and administrative centre for its region.

The distinctiveness of this historical heritage, and its associated sense of tradition, have worked together with the level of prosperity which the area has experienced, to create a specific local culture among citizens of Dubrovnik. This is characterised by a strong feeling of independence, the most vivid symbol and focus of which is ancient Ragusa, and the Old Town which stood at its heart.



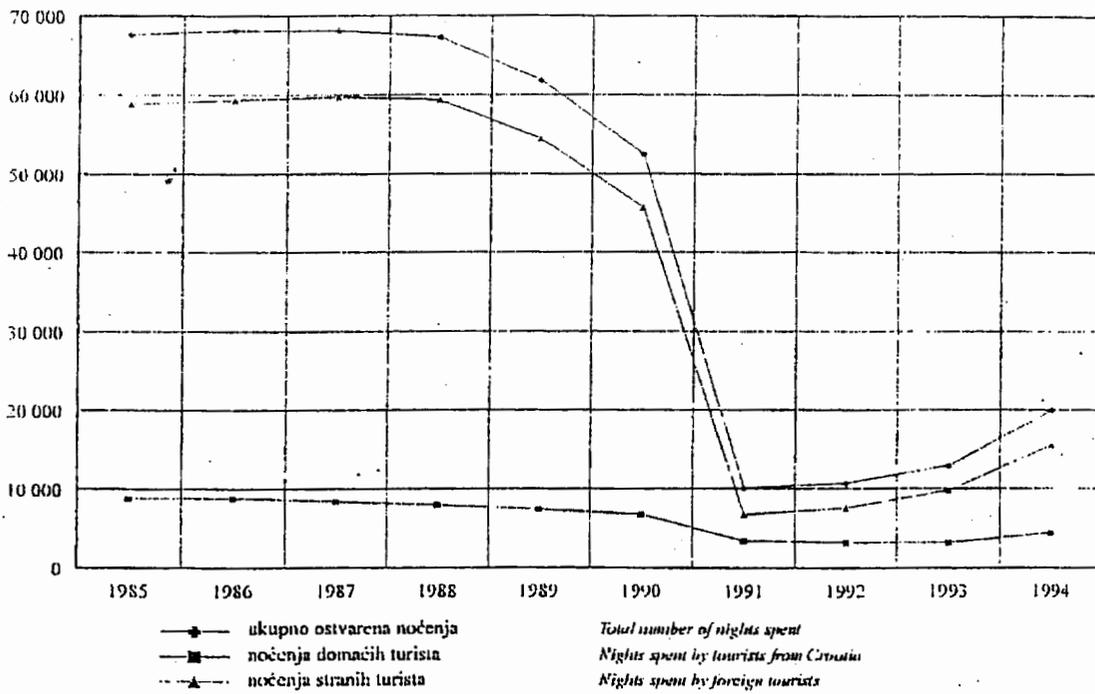
John B. Allcock

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Figure 1: Croatia: Number of Nights Spent by Tourists

G 22-1. NOĆENJA TURISTA
G 22-1. NUMBER OF NIGHTS SPENT BY TOURISTS

Noćenja, tis.
Number of nights spent, '000

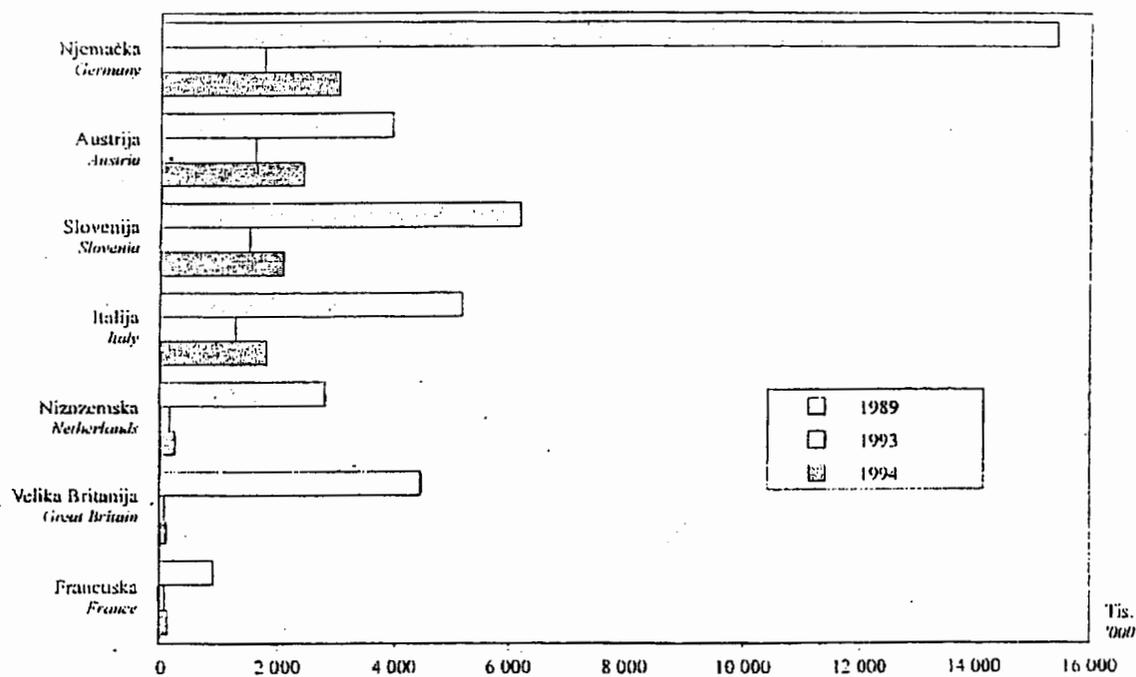


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Figure 2: Croatia: Number of Nights Spent by Tourists, grouped according to country of origin, 1989, 1993 and 1994

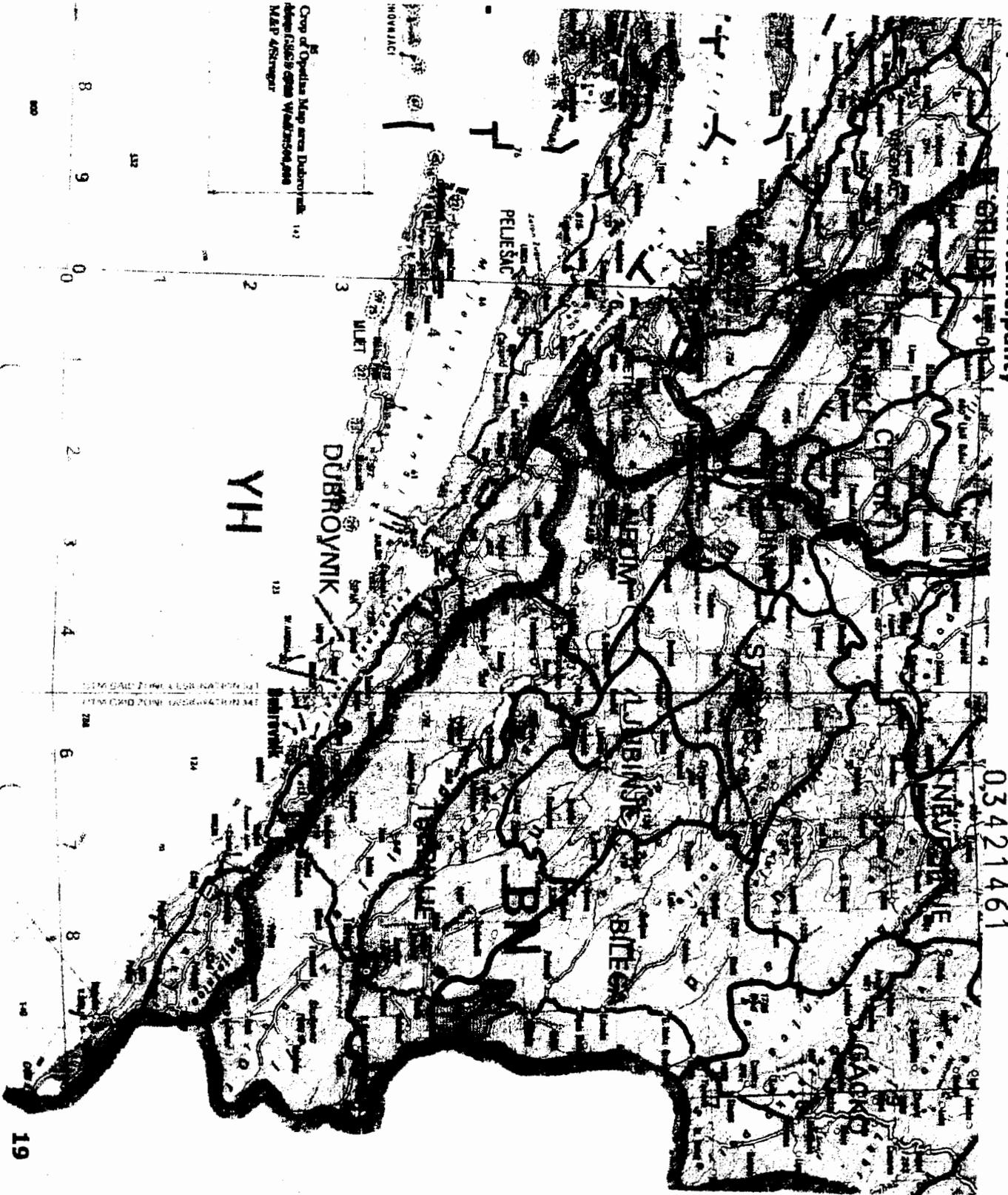
G 22-2. NOĆENJA STRANIH TURISTA PO ZEMLJAMA IZ KOJIH DOLAZE

G 22-2. NUMBER OF NIGHTS SPENT BY FOREIGN TOURISTS, GROUPED ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN



Map 1: Dubrovnik Municipality

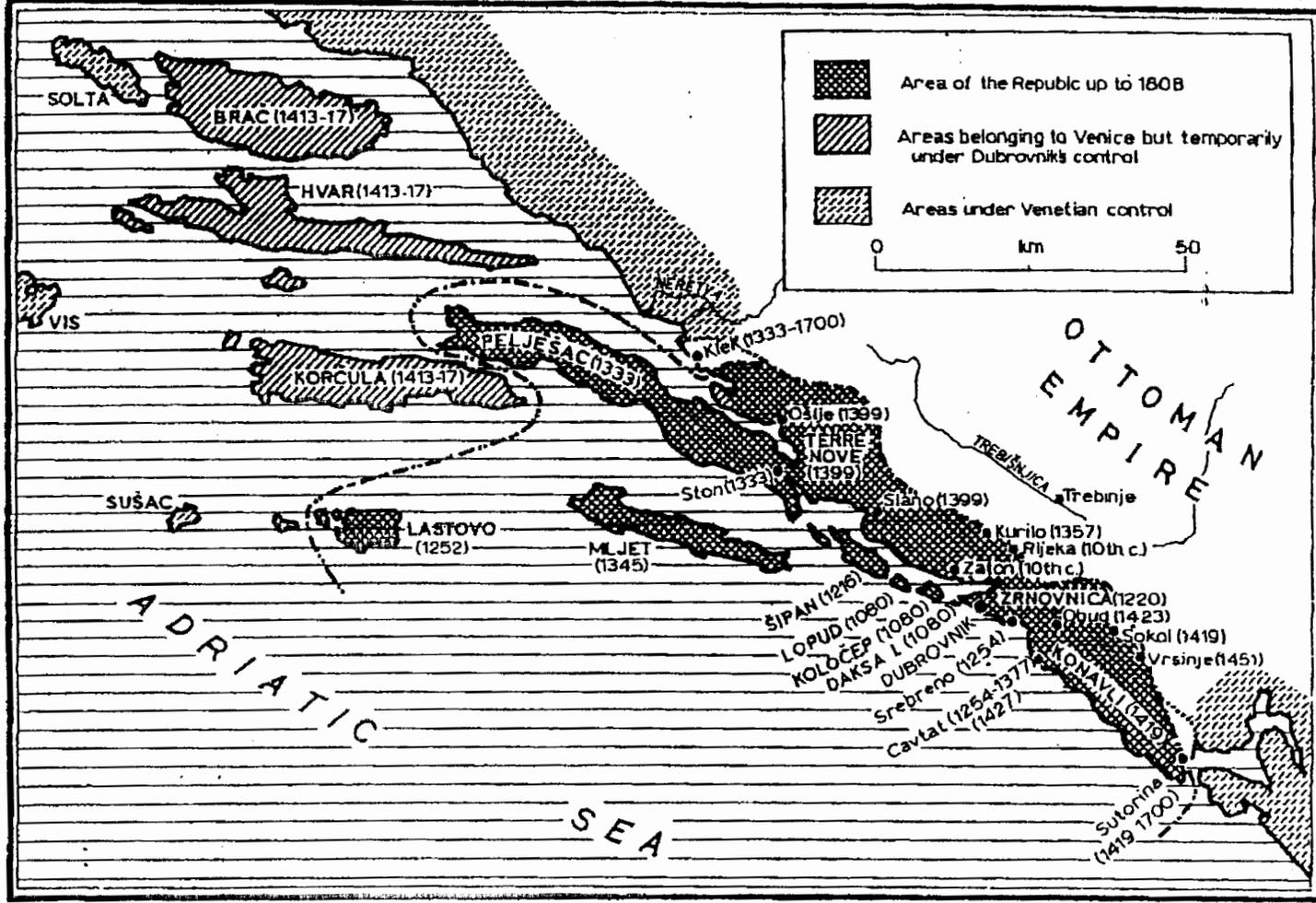
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Map 2: The Republic of Ragusa



Source: Carter, Dubrovnik, p. 125.

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Dr. John B. Allcock:
a brief curriculum vitae

Dr. John Allcock is Honorary Reader in Sociology at the University of Bradford, where he taught sociology between 1966 and 2000. He continues to head the Research Unit in South-East European Studies. His principal research area since 1968 has been the former Yugoslavia and its successor states.

Principal publications relating to the Yugoslav region

John B. Allcock, *Explaining Yugoslavia*. (London: Hurst, and New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.)

John B. Allcock, Marko Milivojević and John J. Horton eds. *Conflict in the former Yugoslavia: An Encyclopaedia*. (Denver, Santa Barbara and Oxford: ABC-Clio, 1998.)

John B. Allcock, John J. Horton and Marko Milivojević eds. *Yugoslavia in Transition: choices and constraints*. (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1992.)

John B. Allcock and Antonia Young eds. *Black Lambs and Grey Falcons: women travellers in the Balkans*. (Bradford: Bradford University Press, 1991. Rev. ed. 2000, New York and London: Berghahn Books.)

Marko Milivojević, John B. Allcock and Pierre Maurer eds. *Yugoslavia's Security Dilemmas: armed forces, national defence and foreign policy*. (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1988.)

In addition, he has contributed chapters to eight collected works, is the author of more than twenty articles in professional journals, and contributed material on Yugoslavia and its successor states to the *Annual Register of World Events*, between 1988 and 2001.

Work on the sociology of tourism

Of specific relevance to the case in hand is the work conducted by Dr. Allcock between 1981 and 1995, in the sociology of international tourism. The greater part of this series of investigations related to the development of tourism in Dalmatia, and involved a succession of study-visits to Croatia between 1981 and 1991, based primarily at the *Fakultet za turizam i vanjsku trgovinu* in Dubrovnik, supported primarily by a succession of grants administered through the British Council and the British Academy. During that period also he was actively involved in the formation of an international scholarly group devoted to the study of international tourism, which eventually became the Tourism Research Committee of the International Sociological Association.

"Sociology of Tourism" and "Seasonality", in Stephen F. Witt and Luiz Moutinho eds. *Tourism Marketing and Management Handbook*. (New York and London: Prentice Hall, 1989, 73-81 and 86-92; 2nd ed. 1994; teaching ed. 1995.)

Marie-Françoise Lanfant, John B. Allcock and Edward M. Bruner, eds. *International Tourism, Identity and Change*. (London: Sage Publications, 1995. Including authorship of Chap. 5, "International tourism and the appropriation of history in the Balkans".)

"Economic development and institutional underdevelopment: tourism and the private sector in Yugoslavia" in John B. Allcock, John H. Horton and Marko Milivojević eds. *Yugoslavia in Transition: choices and constraints*. (Oxford: Berg, 1992: 387-413.)

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"Tourism as a sacred journey". *Loisir et Société*, 11 (1), 1988, 33-48.

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"Yugoslavia's tourist trade: pot of gold or pig in a poke?" *Annals of Tourism Research*, 13, 1986: 565-588.

"Tourism and social change in Dalmatia", *Journal of Development Studies*. 20 (1) 1983: 34-55.

"The development of tourism in Yugoslavia: some conceptual and empirical lessons", in Istvan Dobozi and Peter Mándi, eds. *Emerging Development Patterns: European Contributions*. (Budapest: EADI/Institute for World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1983.)

Studies in the Sociology of Tourism: with special reference to the role of tourism in the development of Yugoslav society. Unpublished Ph.D., University of Bradford, 1990.

Consultancy and related activities

Dr. Allcock acted as specialist advisor to the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Commons, during its hearings on Central and Eastern Europe, in 1992, and served as an expert witness at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague, in 1999-2000. He has also been consulted by the Foreign Office and the Department for International Development, in relation to Yugoslav affairs, and has undertaken several minor private consultancies relating to events in the region.

Dr Allcock has acted as a referee for research proposals submitted to the ESRC, the Leverhulme Trust, the British Academy, IREX and the Social Science Research Council of Canada, and as a reader for several publishing companies and professional journals. He has worked frequently with the media of communication, both in Britain and abroad, briefing journalists and appearing on radio and TV—most frequently with the World Service of the BBC.

General

Dr. Allcock was for many years a member of the British National Committee of the *Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen*. He is a member of the *comité scientifique* of the journal *Balkanologie*. He has travelled frequently and worked in all of the republics of the former Yugoslavia, and has a working knowledge of both Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and French.

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