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THEFTS BEHIND THE RESTORATION OF DUBROVNIK AFTER THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE OF 1667

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ABSTRACT: Analysis of the court proceedings involving thefts of salvaged construction material in the Dubrovnik Republic between 21 June 1667 and end of 1676 allows an insight into the course of restoration on the Republic territory hit by the disastrous earthquake, providing useful data on the state of particular buildings, their location, owners and builders engaged in the reconstruction process. The article examines the impact of the government's emergency measures on the reconstruction carried out in the urban area and on the postponed restoration of the villas in the countryside, as well as the shifts in the social perception of theft prevailing in the mentioned period. Analysis of the type of stolen construction material contributes to our knowledge of the distribution of earthquake damage on the entire Republic territory.

Keywords: Dubrovnik Republic, 17th century, thefts, 1667 earthquake, damage, reconstruction, villas, construction material

Introduction

Dramatic events such as earthquakes, fires, epidemics and wars represent a specific challenge for every society. In the catastrophic earthquake that hit the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic in 1667, almost one half of the city

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population was killed, many buildings were destroyed, accompanied by the collapse of the state apparatus.¹ Accounts of eyewitnesses testify to a terrifying atmosphere in the devastated city, countless casualties and ravaged houses, looting and robberies, critical situation regarding foreign issues and general insecurity.² Long-term consequences of this breakdown, just as serious, continued well into the decades to come. As in the period before the quake Dubrovnik Republic was already struggling with economic and international political crisis, the restoration and renovation proceeded with even more difficulties.

Shifts of moral attitude towards property crimes, demographic, economic and many other changes that the restoration introduced may be felt, yet cannot be reconstructed in full scope. Some of these phenomena have been detected in the series of the State Archives in Dubrovnik while studying the thefts that had taken place in the nine-year period following the Great Earthquake. Out of all claims filed between 21 June 1667, when judicial authority was reinstated, and the end of 1676, three-hundred and fifty cases which may be related to the earthquake have been traced. Some thirty per cent of them are related to the general post-disaster disorder, restoration of political authority and decay of moral norms. These cases mainly involve thefts of valuables, money, household items and other valuable property reclaimed from the rubble immediately after the earthquake.³

This article aims to examine the remaining seventy per cent of cases that concern the process of restoration during the analysed period and further, though at a somewhat different pace. The research is based on quantitative and

¹ Nenad Vekarić has come forward with an estimate of the number of killed citizens according to an extant list of the killed nobles (Nenad Vekarić, *The Nobility of Dubrovnik: Roots, Structure and Development*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2019: pp. 340-344).

² From the voluminous literature on the 1667 earthquake, I draw attention to the following: Antonije Vučetić, »Sitnice iz dubrovačke prošlosti.« *Srđ* 3/12 (1904): pp. 550-560; Lujo Vojnović, »Prva smrt Dubrovnika (6 aprila 1667).« *Letopis Matice srpske* 87/288 (1912): pp. 52-69; Radovan Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak posle velikog zemljotresa 1667. g.* [Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, series 3, book 19]. Beograd: SAN, 1960; Nella Lonza, »Ma niti je suda ni pravde. Kriminalitet i pravni poredak Dubrovačke Republike nakon 'Velike trešnje'.« *Dubrovnik* 4/2 (1993): pp. 257-261; Emanuela Garofalo, »Terremoto e ricostruzione a Ragusa (Dubrovnik) nel 1520.« *Città e storia* 4/2 (2009): pp. 497-515; Paola Albini, *The Great 1667 Dalmatia Earthquake. An In-Depth Case Study. Electronic Supplementary Material*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015.

³ Petrica Balija, »Sve se razgrabi ko je bolje mogo: Krađe iz ruševina nakon dubrovačkog potresa iz 1667. godine.« *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 53/1 (2015): pp. 149-193.

qualitative analysis of theft claims of the salvaged construction material from the debris, unused material, illegal tree felling, and the processes involving *klačine* (kilns),⁴ with an attempt to come forward with an estimate on the scale and distribution of damage in the Republic, as well as the restoration dynamics. The cases from the Criminal Court records reveal the specific targets of theft in terms of the type of construction material, damaged buildings, along with the names of foreign and local builders who took part in the restoration. Litigations involving theft of construction material tend to prevail in the outlying areas as compared to the walled-in city area, and they follow a steady pattern throughout this period. Information drawn from these cases will help map the rough location of patrician country residences and their owners, establish the condition of the buildings involved in the litigation, and thus add to our knowledge on the scale of damage in the surrounds of Dubrovnik, data of which are very scarce in contemporary sources. Situation in the urban nucleus is specific considering that far less theft claims have been evidenced. Hence, they cast light on the attitude of the government and society towards property crimes rather than contribute to the analysis of long-term trends. For the reasons stated, the research first focused on the outlying area as a system, followed by the city, through which deviations detected in the extramural area are being analysed.

Restoration period

Although a series of quakes struck Dubrovnik soil before and after 1667, it was the Great Earthquake which, in but a few minutes, destroyed what human hand had been creating for centuries.⁵ Much of the city collapsed, virtually all buildings were damaged, followed by a fire which lasted twenty days, giving a final blow to many of the city's structures.⁶ Being already damaged by the earlier quakes, notably those of 1520 and 1639, many buildings were reduced to debris.⁷

⁴ *Klačina*, kiln, a facility built for the purpose of producing lime from limestone.

⁵ Eyewitnesses testify that the earthquake lasted "as long as it took to say one Hail Mary" (Fra Vido Andrijašević in a letter to Diodon Bosdari in Ancona, according to R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 47).

⁶ Radovan Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*. Beograd: Prosveta, 1983: p. 223.

⁷ According to Lukša Beritić, destruction of this scale owes largely to the damage induced by previous earthquakes and poor properties of the adhesive prepared by using brackish and sea water, which was the usual building practice before the construction of the aqueduct in the fifteenth century (Lukša Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*. Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958: p. 28).

The cathedral collapsed, as well as the bishop's palace. Not a single nunnery was habitable. Rector's Palace, Major Council Hall and Sponza witnessed severe damage. All buildings lining the Placa were destroyed, and the main street was blocked with rubble. It took two months for the Placa to resume its original function as thoroughfare.⁸ The consequences of this tragic event are visible on the architectural heritage to this very day.⁹ As for the extramural area, far less data are available, yet eyewitness accounts mention structural damage at Pile and Ploče suburbs, in Konavle, Cavtat, Župa, Ombla and Gruž, Kalamota, Lopud and Šipan, Zaton, Orašac, Trsteno, Brsečine, Osojnik and Ston.¹⁰

Reconstruction of the destroyed city was preceded by a series of measures aimed at securing temporary shelter and food for the survivors, basic health and sanitary conditions, burial of the killed and clearing of the debris.¹¹ Apart from focusing on the repair of less damaged buildings,¹² these were among the main priorities of the Dubrovnik government until the end of 1667. The government's imperative was to keep the residents in the city's vicinity, since they were a warrant of defence and restoration of the devastated area. The first half of 1668 saw preparations for large-scale construction projects. That year the city was visited by the Venetian ambassador to Constantinople. Shocked by what he saw, he wrote that "the sight of this city floods the eyes with tears, only three or four buildings being intact, whilst all the other houses, churches even, are destroyed". He observed that the city was inhabited by only a few dwellers, most of whom lived in modest wooden huts.¹³ His report leaves no room for optimism likely to be expected in the restoration stage. Reconstruction of the city cannot be anticipated in his account, merely melancholic traces of its long gone beauty and harmony.

⁸ J[elanko] Mihajlović, *Seizmički karakter i trusne katastrofe našeg južnog primorja od Stona do Ulcinja* [Posebna izdanja, book 140]. Beograd: SAN, 1947: pp. 22-33.

⁹ Some buildings, city quarters even, have remained unrestored to this day, such as the archaeological site at Pustijerna, complex of the former monastery of St. Andrew, ruins of the church of St. Stephen, monastery of St. Simon and others.

¹⁰ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: pp. 49, 54-55, 86; J. Mihajlović, *Seizmički karakter i trusne katastrofe našeg južnog primorja*: pp. 33-34.

¹¹ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: pp. 39-40, 55-57, 119-121.

¹² In September 1667 it was decided to repair a house in the Placa which was not totally destroyed, and in November to restore the church of St. Blaise (L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*: p. 31).

¹³ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 258.

The construction of communal houses in the *Placa* (Stradun) may be considered the beginning of systematic city restoration. Although the first design proposals were already submitted by engineer Giulio Cerutti in the late summer of 1667,¹⁴ it was not until the first half of 1668 that the *proveditori* came forward with a concept of the renovation and financing which the Senate accepted in part. The approved decisions did not concern the communal houses only, but were to regulate the supply of construction material for the public and private construction works, the price of labour wages, and issued a series of privileges to private builders in order to encourage and enhance the city restoration.¹⁵

Apart from the works involving the building of the first communal house, the middle of 1668 saw the beginning of renovation of St. Clare's Convent, Rector's Palace and the Major Council Hall. However, from 1669 on, the construction works were in full swing, when, in addition to a series of city projects, permits for the construction of private houses were required.¹⁶

Theft claims filed before the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in the period after the earthquake shed light on the restoration process through the prism of everyday life of Dubrovnik's inhabitants. Prevailing in the year of the earthquake are mainly the cases involving theft of items and valuables from the collapsed city houses and the debris committed in the immediate aftermath. There are only a few cases that could point to construction works and the repair of damaged houses. By the beginning of 1668 the situation took on a somewhat different course, as the claims involving theft of construction material throughout the Republic territory tend to increase, becoming dominant by the end of the year. Construction material was being stolen continuously through the entire period under study, but the number of the reported thefts peaked between 1669 and

¹⁴ On 30 July 1667 the pope appointed military engineer Giulio Cerutti to visit Dubrovnik. Although he was expected to stay four months, he returned to Rome after one month. On 5 September the government accepted his proposal to build a communal house in the *Placa*, but apparently changed its decision later on. See: Stjepan Krsić, *Stjepan Gradić (1613-1683). Život i djelo*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1987: pp. 119-122; L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*: pp. 29, 31-32.

¹⁵ The government ordered the building of new kilns, set an official daily wage for carpenters and masons, and also prohibited any construction outside the city on pain of monetary fine and forced public labour. Peasants from the whole territory of the Republic had to bring quicklime and sand to the city without compensation or take part in the public works. The state supplied the restorers with roof tiles from Kupari (L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*: pp. 30-33).

¹⁶ L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*: p. 31.

1674. If the theft of construction material presumes its reuse, we may rightly conclude that this was a period of most intensive restoration.

Thefts of construction material outside the city

Restoration of city houses after the earthquake was a priority to both private owners and Ragusan government. The state channelled the bulk of the construction material and builders towards the restoration of the city area, and organised temporary shelter for the surviving dwellers. Meanwhile, restoration of the extramural area was set aside, and its inhabitants had to rely on their own resourcefulness. All the houses in the quake-hit areas collapsed¹⁷ without exception and called for prompt restoration so as to provide basic shelter during winter season. Unable to obtain any new construction material, the inhabitants of the Republic villages were forced to recycle building materials from the quake-damaged homes in their vicinity. Theft of building material was a logistically complex, time-consuming and noisy undertaking, and its transport highly demanding. Hence, uninhabited houses most often fell prey to thefts, while the culprits usually came from the immediate neighbourhood.¹⁸

In these conditions the villas remained neglected. The fact that they were located at a fair distance from the city, the permanent seat of their owners and the authorities, made them especially vulnerable and an easy theft target. Damaged and in ruins, the villas awaited a more favourable moment to be restored, and the walls once protecting the estates, also at the verge of crumble, could no longer deter intruders. The looters were attracted by the high quality building material, to which they helped themselves and incorporated into their own small cottages nearby.¹⁹ To prevent looting, from the reusable building material (stone, roof tiles, wooden beams and boards) found on the quake-ravaged site the villa owners built *stranjevi*.²⁰ In this way they tried to prevent further devastation and

¹⁷ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: pp. 49, 54-55, 62, 86.

¹⁸ Thefts committed in rural houses were very rarely reported to the court. To a minor extent, this could be explained by the remoteness of the villages from the court. However, the main reason of a lower number of committed thefts was probably that the houses were inhabited throughout the year.

¹⁹ Frano Bobali wrote to Marko Bassegli in Venice that he was helpless, his roof tiles were being stolen, beams and floor tiles, in addition to the already stolen goods (R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 97).

²⁰ *Stranj* was an auxiliary building near the villa or house, used as a warehouse or shed for keeping tools, oil or wine, and sometimes also as a space in which wine was sold and consumed.

deconstruction of their country homes, by securing at the same time a space suitable for storage but also provisional accommodation during farming season. Judging by the claims filed before the Criminal Court, the material from the villas was looted throughout the period under study, some of the buildings being prey of repeated thefts. Forced entry and pillage of a nobleman's villa annulled the centuries—old lord—tenant relationship, and once that relationship based on deference was compromised, further devastations ensued. They developed in several phases: from the theft of different materials found in the debris that could be reused, to the gradual deconstruction of walls into separate components by means of chisel and hammer.

In the letters to his cousin Marko Bassegli in Venice, Frano Bobali recurrently complained of being helpless in preventing repeated thefts on his country estates and houses in Gruž, Župa and on Šipan, which were an easy target for thieves.²¹ From the letter it is clear that there was a shortage of building labour in the city, and even if found, there were no means to pay them.²² The theft of construction material from his villas prompted him to file action before the Criminal Court.

At the start of 1668, he filed a claim against the *kaznačina*²³ of Čelopeci for a theft of 250 roof tiles, of which approximately 100 were broken. Both gables on his house collapsed as result of earthquake.²⁴ He sued them again in October of the same year for the theft of *inferi*²⁵ from the large window.²⁶ On 1 July 1669 he filed a claim against Ilija Miloš and others from Zaton, for having stolen the roof tiles from the garden of the house near the church of St. Stephen.²⁷ On 24 October 1670, Frano Bobali sued the *kaznačina* of Bulet in Zaton for the theft

²¹ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 89.

²² The issue of construction labour shortage the government tried to solve by introducing fines for all builders, Ragusan subjects, who did not have at least one apprentice, on pain of unpaid labour on communal projects. They were prohibited to work outside the city. The provisions were passed in 1668 (L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*: p. 31).

²³ *Kaznačina*, a rural community headed by *kaznac*. It was known to encompass a single village or several of them, or merely a part of the village. On this topic see Ana Prohaska, Ida Gamulin and Irena Ipšić, »Odgovornost bližike - institut kolektivne odgovornosti pred dubrovačkim Kaznenim sudom u 18. stoljeću.« *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 54/1 (2016): pp. 195-226.

²⁴ *Lamenta del Criminale*, series 50.3, vol. 7, f. 84, State Archives in Dubrovnik (hereafter as: SAD), also R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 263.

²⁵ *Inferi*, metal bars in the window opening for the purpose of theft protection. We find them on the ground floor openings of the city and country houses.

²⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, series 53, vol. 67, f. 38v, SAD.

²⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 246.

of two new cauldrons from the destroyed house,²⁸ while for the theft of some pergola parts of the same house he filed a claim against unknown culprit on 6 July 1674.²⁹

Roof tiles were stolen from his house at Montovjerna, while about the thefts in his houses on the island of Šipán, in Kobaš and in Rijeka dubrovačka we learn from Bobali's letters³⁰ and not from the records of the Criminal Court.³¹

From the city house valuables and household items were stolen immediately upon the earthquake,³² while in 1674 stone corbels were removed and taken away.³³

Continuous devastation of Bobali's properties are indicative of his impotence to defend them, but equally so of the weakness of state institutions.³⁴ Vulnerable as they were, his houses were reduced to ruins from which the construction material was taken to be reused elsewhere, and the only thing he could do was to file actions before the Criminal Court. Although Frano Bobali was by far the most frequent plaintiff before court, other noblemen shared a similar fate.

Luka Junijev Sorgo filed several claims for the theft of various valuables from his destroyed house in the city.³⁵ His house in Knežica, which was stripped of the floor tiles and *inferi*,³⁶ had to be pulled down, too. However, his house in Komolac was probably in a good structural condition, considering that the claim does not mention the theft of construction material. The thieves broke in through the garden gates, and took valuable silver items, kitchen accessories and various tools.³⁷

²⁸ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 68, f. 127v.

²⁹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 9, f. 70.

³⁰ The letters of Frano Bobali to Marko Bassegli were published by R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: pp. 85, 97, 111-112.

³¹ It appears likely that Frano Bobali, though exhausted by the family and material losses and disheartened by the social circumstances and his own fate, still had strength to file claims for the theft of at least some of his devastated property. Theft claims regarding the houses at the remote estates such as Šipán and Kobaš proved futile, considering that it took quite a while for the Dubrovnik government to restore order in these areas.

³² *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 69v, 70, 85.

³³ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 72, f. 223.

³⁴ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 97.

³⁵ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 41, 63; *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 9, f. 44, 285.

³⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 72, f. 63v.

³⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 10.

From Sorgo's villa in Gruž the thieves stole several types of fishing nets, a boat cover and sails, along with other valuable items such as candlesticks, cauldrons, carpets, bedcovers and guns.³⁸

By the end of September 1667, during harvest season, Archdeacon Bernard Giorgi, like many other Ragusan nobles, visited his country estates. He established the state of damage from the earthquake and from the thefts that followed, and upon return to the city reported them to the Criminal Court. On 22 September he filed a claim for the theft of locks and items from the devastated house in the *kaznačina* of St. George in Gruž, and the theft of movable property from his villa in Mokošica. Missing from the Mokošica residence was a brass lamp *alla venetiana*, plates and other household items. On 26 February 1672 he again filed a claim against the *kaznačina* of Mokošica, as various goods were stolen from his house by the sea.³⁹

Vladislav Cerva filed a claim on 1 October 1668 against unknown culprit for a theft of valuable items from his devastated houses in the city and in Lapad.⁴⁰ Almost a year later, for the same offence, Vladislav's brother Miho accused Jakov Ivanov from Mrčevo and other accomplices, who were identified when trying to sell the stolen goods. Some witnesses testified that they did not want to buy the mentioned goods as they knew they were stolen.⁴¹ These thefts had taken place immediately after the earthquake, yet further devastation of the damaged house in Lapad followed as an unavoidable fate of unrestored buildings. The theft of *inferi* from the windows and the carved stone, on account of which Miho Cerva filed a claim on 14 January 1672, proves that the house had not yet been repaired nor inhabited.⁴² The damage witnessed in the long post-earthquake

³⁸ For the theft from his house in Gruž, on 7 December 1667 Luka Sorgo accused Nikola Denotta from Gruž (*Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 47). On 5 January 1668 Mara, wife of Nikola Denotta, filed a new claim on behalf of her husband, in which she managed to prove that her husband had stolen only a part of the mentioned items, pointing to other accomplices in this theft (*Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 55).

³⁹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 54. This might concern the Giorgi villa next to the shipyard in Mokošica.

⁴⁰ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 18; R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 265. This case probably concerns the Benessa estate located between the church of St. Michael and St. Blaise of Gorica, which, at the time of the earthquake, was in possession of the Cerva family.

⁴¹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 8v.

⁴² *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 1v.

period in many cases exceeds that resulting from the quake itself.⁴³ Namely, minor or even major damage on the house may be instantly repaired from the salvaged material on the site, according to the original design or with certain adaptations. The sooner the reconstruction starts, the better are the building's chances of reclaiming its original state, and not falling prey to looters and dilapidation. The owner of the looted house was often discouraged by reconstruction, considering that the commission of stone components, provision of roof tiles, wooden elements and windows were the most expensive part of the investment.

Serial thefts of the villas have been traced in all the quake-hit places of the Republic. Orsat Zamagna had a house in the Zračće *kaznačina* in Mlini, Župa dubrovačka, which was burgled after the earthquake, various goods being stolen from it.⁴⁴ In January 1668, he reported a theft of 150 roof tiles from the same house. He accused Tonko Radin from Župa, who moved to Cavtat, where, under his bed, he hid the stolen roof tiles.⁴⁵

On 6 March 1672, Marin Cvjetkov Stay filed a claim against the *kaznačina* of St. George in Gruž, for certain window parts made of carved stone, a piece of stone *kono* (gutter) and *inferi* from the windows were stolen from his house.⁴⁶ That was only the beginning, because the claim had little effect on the thieves. On 28 September 1674 Stay filed another claim against the same *kaznačina*, this time because from the wall of his house eighteen stone *konalj* (gutters) were stolen, two *inferi* and a section of the stone window frame.⁴⁷ In the meanwhile, he filed a claim against Benedikt Stay for the theft of wood and roof tiles from the house, along with the doors and windows of the *stranj* in Gruž.⁴⁸ It is not clear, though, whether the mentioned *stranj* was part of the same estate as the house, since no details on its location have been cited.

⁴³ Throughout the past, the villas shared all the upheavals and disasters that hit the City of Dubrovnik, with emphasis on the consequences of numerous earthquakes, notably those from 1667 and 1979, Russian and Montenegrin pillage and sack of the Dubrovnik territory in 1806, as well as a similar scenario during the Serb-Montenegrin aggression of 1991-92. The reconstruction of the outlying area always lagged behind that of the city, which led to inevitable devastation and further dilapidation of the countryside estates. Sadly, even today we may witness thefts of the construction material from the ruined villas, listed as protected culture monuments.

⁴⁴ The claim was launched on 4 November 1667 (*Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 10v).

⁴⁵ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 57v.

⁴⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 69v.

⁴⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 73, f. 63v.

⁴⁸ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 224v.

Luka Bona along with other tutors of the girls Anica and Marija, daughters of the late Stijepo Darsa, filed a claim on 7 May 1668 against Vicko Palikuća for the theft of major items of their garden in Župa, and for taking them to Cavtat. There are no details specifying the exact nature of these elements. The plaintiffs merely quote that the locks and other metal parts he sold to Đore Palmotić in Cavtat.⁴⁹ The theft of the elements from the garden in Plat continued. Four years after the mentioned case, Deša, widow of Stijepo Darsa, filed a claim against the *kaznačina* of Plat for the missing columns and other carved stone features from the garden.⁵⁰

As a rule, richly decorated gardens of the patrician villas were looted before the houses. Garden features could be easily dismantled, gardens were more exposed and could be accessed more easily, and in a state of ruin and neglect they attracted the attention of those in search of effortless prey prior to the house itself. Among the stolen items were the wooden pergola components, columns, slabs and other stone features. Illustrative is the claim filed by Nikola Markov Resti on 28 July 1669, from which we learn of certain atypical elements and the arrangement of a utilitarian garden of his house in Obod. He accused the local villagers of a theft of 14 large stone *konali* (irrigation gutters), which were used to water *četruni* (type of citrus fruit) and convey water to the kiln.⁵¹ The theft of the garden irrigation system components was merely the beginning of the devastation of the entire villa complex. The house, apparently in a state of total ruin, remained so for the next five years, during which, by culprit unknown, it became deprived of the following carved stone elements: two large sections of the window surrounds, two thresholds and a *perestata* (stone fence of the balcony or staircase).⁵²

On 20 April 1670, Martol Facenda sued the inhabitants of Donje Čelo for the theft of five columns, floor tiles and other carved stone features from his garden.⁵³ In this case, too, the theft in the garden preceded that in the house, so he sued them again on 20 June 1674 for the missing carved stone from the warehouse door.⁵⁴ The devastated and abandoned house was slowly deconstructed stone by stone. However, Martol Facenda refused to surrender his country

⁴⁹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 148.

⁵⁰ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 231.

⁵¹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 242-242v.

⁵² *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 73, f. 16 (6 July 1674).

⁵³ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 190.

⁵⁴ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 72, f. 229v.

house to ruin. Two years later, this house was under reconstruction, as evidenced by a claim against unknown culprit for the theft of steel which was to be used in the construction, and which Martol's son loaded on a boat to Kalamota.⁵⁵

Collective responsibility

In the majority of the reported thefts the defendants knew the plaintiff. They were either from his neighbourhood or his servants even, that is, tenants from his estate.⁵⁶ Considering that the construction material cannot be dismantled without being noticed, nor transported at a longer distance from the debris site, accountable for the thefts examined by this article should always be sought among the persons from the immediate neighbourhood, while the stolen material could be seen incorporated into the houses nearby. The neighbourhood which in peaceful times may have been viewed as a warrant of security, in the post-earthquake period breded most dangerous characters as far as the safety of Ragusan property was concerned.

For the thefts that had taken place on the remote country estates, by culprit unknown, the owners usually filed a claim against the *kaznačina* to which the estate belonged. Apart from the assumption that the culprit was probably a member of the rural community concerned, its responsibility is implied by the fact that rural communities know a high level of social control, and that nothing can take place without being noticed. This responsibility was institutionalised by the Ragusan laws. The accused *kaznačine* were given a deadline by which they had to produce the offender or compensate damages. In this way the central authority prevented the shielding of the culprit, secured social control within rural communities and loyalty to the government in Dubrovnik.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The claim was launched on 20 November 1676 (*Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 241v).

⁵⁶ Generally accountable for the thefts of money and valuables from the city debris were the servants and labourers engaged in the excavations, who arrived in the quake-hit city shortly after the earthquake. They came mainly from the surrounding areas less hit by the earthquake—Primorje, Šipan, Mljet and Cavtat (P. Balića, »Sve se razgrabi ko je bolje mogo«: pp. 149-193). By contrast, culprits for the thefts of construction material were usually among those residing in the vicinity of the devastated buildings, that is, from the areas hit by the quake.

⁵⁷ For more details on this, see Nella Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde. Kaznenopravni sustav Dubrovačke Republike u XVIII. stoljeću*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1997: pp. 128-132; A. Prohaska, I. Gamulin and I. Ipšić, »Odgovornost bližike«: pp. 195-226.

Numerous claims were launched against *kaznačine* in the post-earthquake period, some of which were ruled in favour of damage compensation by the rural communities, no doubt a heavy blow for *kaznačine*. In order to evade similar consequences, not only did *kaznačine* organise their own control so as to prevent thefts, but the *kaznaci* themselves filed claims before the court against the real culprits.

The abovementioned claim filed by Frano Bobali for the theft of roof tiles and *inferi* from the house in Čelopeci⁵⁸ resulted in the sentence of 31 October 1671, by which the *kaznačina* was to repay for the caused damages. Under pressure, the real culprit was soon found, so that in February 1672 Cvjetko Tonkoy, *kaznac* of Čelopeci, in the name of all *kazalini* sued Ivan Crljenović from Čelopeci for the theft of *inferi* and 200 roof tiles from Bobali's house.⁵⁹

The largest number of claims by the *kaznaci* was filed in 1670. Some claims were prompted by previous sentences, by which the *kaznačina* had to compensate the owner for the losses, whereas others seem to have been launched upon self-initiative.

On 11 May 1668, Šimun Gleđević sued the *kaznačina* of Petrača for the theft of wine and other goods from his *stranj*.⁶⁰ Together with Benedikt Stay, he sued the *kaznačina* again on 20 March 1669, because someone broke a window on his house, forced entry and stole various items from the house.⁶¹ *Kaznačina* found the culprits, so that Vlahuša Paskojev, *kaznac* of Petrača, with *kazalini* filed a claim in early 1670 against Andrija Martinov and Miloje Papučić from Petrača for robbing the house of Šimun Gleđević and Benedikt Stay, for which the *kaznačina* was initially accused.⁶²

Cvjetko Marinov, *kaznac* of Čelopeci, on 17 March 1670 accused Vicenco Čavalo of stealing from the house ruins of don Vicenco.⁶³ In order to evade collective responsibility, the *kazalini* found and accused the real culprit. The same steps were taken by the *kazalini* of Čibača the following day, headed by

⁵⁸ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 84; *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 38v; R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 263.

⁵⁹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 39v.

⁶⁰ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 161v.

⁶¹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 166.

⁶² *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 94v.

⁶³ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 156v.

kaznac Tonko Trojanov, as they filed a claim against unknown culprit for the theft of roof tiles from the *stranj* of Guido Marini from Župa.⁶⁴

Frano Tonkov, *kaznac* of Brgat, on behalf of all the villagers, on 5 July 1670 filed a claim against Vicenco Nikolin from Šumet and others for having stolen roof tiles and other goods from the house of Jakov Natali on Brgat, for which the *kaznačina* was sentenced on 30 December 1669.⁶⁵

On 23 December 1670, Marko Krtica from Gruž accused the villagers of Mokošica of having cut his forest⁶⁶ which he had purchased earlier from Marko Bassegli, and the theft of logs.⁶⁷ As the *kaznačina* was sentenced to a fine of 40 ducats, it soon produced the culprit, and on 14 February 1672 filed a claim against Ivan Markov and others from the nearby village of Petrovo Selo.⁶⁸

On 13 November 1676, in the name of the *kaznačina*, Marin Ivanov, *kaznac* of Rožat, accused Deša, wife of Mateo Lupi, of illegal cutting of trees in the forest of Frano Flori in Ombla, near the Mills.⁶⁹

Despite government's pressure on the *kaznačine* and quite effective social control within the rural communities, the practice of stealing construction material in the villages of the Dubrovnik Republic continued.

Thefts of construction material in the city

While the construction material theft claims outside the city followed a steady pattern, the changes in trends being detected merely through the type of stolen material, with regard to the walled-in city area the situation with the claims exhibited a specific dynamics. Namely, along with intensive diplomatic activity, the Republic's priority after the disaster was the restoration of the city nucleus and return of its dwellers to their homes. On the first post-earthquake meetings of the noble survivors an interim government was formed. Designed

⁶⁴ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 172.

⁶⁵ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 68, f. 43.

⁶⁶ Timber was essential for the reconstruction of houses, but also for the building of wine cellars (*stranjevi*) as provisional dwellings. Therefore, illegal tree felling and thefts of timber were very frequent during the restoration.

⁶⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 68, f. 226v.

⁶⁸ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 33v.

⁶⁹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 231v.

to keep the population on their hearths, new regulations were introduced regarding the restoration of the city and preparation for defence.⁷⁰ In order to encourage prompt renovation within the city walls, decisions concerning the prohibition of building outside the city bounds were passed, while from 1668 all those who wished to restore the houses in the city were stimulated to do so through tax exemption regulations and permission to use freely all the construction material they could find on the site. First provisions regarded the houses planned in the Placa, which were the state priority, yet the wording of later provisions stimulated all builders within the city walls. Apart from tax exemption, the provisions also encouraged the construction on another's plot.⁷¹ In so doing, the government bluntly violated the property rights, making it quite clear that restoration was its top priority. As a result of this, it became socially and morally acceptable not to restrain oneself from taking construction material from an abandoned ravaged site. Some of these ruins are still awaiting much-needed reconstruction. Those who survived used the salvaged material to restore their own dwelling space. In this way they salvaged their own lives as well as that of the Republic. This explains why there were almost no construction material theft claims within the city nucleus in this period.⁷² The first claims date from 1669. By then, the restoration was well under way, and according to the claims, we may conclude that the emergency measures introduced by the government after the earthquake by which private property right was dwarfed by the imperative of the city restoration were no longer valid.

⁷⁰ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: pp. 39-40.

⁷¹ L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*: pp. 30-31. The pressure upon the citizens to repair their city houses persisted for years. Thus, in a letter of 23 March 1675 Stjepan Gradić supplicates the Ragusan government to extend the dead line for the reconstruction of his quake-damaged property which housed the wine cellar, with an explanation that he was unable to proceed with renovation due to his absence in Rome. See: *Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića Dubrovčanina Senatu Republike Dubrovačke od godine 1667. do 1683*, ed. Đuro Körbler [Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, vol. 37]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1915: p. 61.

⁷² A single claim for the theft of construction material in the city nucleus prior to 1669 was filed on 5 December 1667 by Šiško Gondola against Giovanni Baretta from Venice, for stealing a half of the roof tiles during the reconstruction of his house (*Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 45v). In the first period after the earthquake theft claims of construction material from unrestored buildings were not processed, yet this claim was well grounded, since the injured party was in the process of reconstructing the mentioned house.

On 1 March 1669, Lucijan Pozza accused Mihajlo Lučin from Smokovljani and his accomplices of stealing stone window surrounds from his quake-ravaged house, two of which included *inferi*.⁷³

In November 1669, Đivo Gozze and Šiško Gondola, procurators of the convent of St. Andrew,⁷⁴ accused Vicenco Šklopeta from Mljet and his accomplices of the theft of stone from the house owned by these nuns, located in Petilovrijenci street and ruined in the earthquake, which they hid in a warehouse with an intent to transport it all to Mljet.⁷⁵

Vlaho Bosdari and his brothers, accused in 1669 of a theft of construction material, used it to rebuild their own devastated house in the city. They helped themselves to the carved stone elements from the adjacent house owned by Petar and Marin Sorgo.⁷⁶

The year 1673 strikes as intriguing, for it started with a massive series of construction material theft claims within the city nucleus, which testifies to the most intensive restoration in this period.

On 4 January 1673, Ivan Ghetaldi accused Nikola Popjevalo and his son Niko of stealing stone and roof tiles from his house at Pustijerna the previous summer.⁷⁷

Petar Grankošić⁷⁸ and the masons' confraternity filed a claim on 5 January 1673⁷⁹ against Savo the carrier for a theft of bricks and marl from his quake-devastated house near the church of St. Domino.⁸⁰ This probably involved the theft of construction material from the building site.

⁷³ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 150v; R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 412.

⁷⁴ The convent of St. Andrew was destroyed in earthquake and never restored. Much of the complex is still in ruins, while in some of its parts, above the ruins, private houses have been built.

⁷⁵ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 71v.

⁷⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 66, f. 253.

⁷⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 116v.

⁷⁸ Petar Grankošić was known as a skilled mason even before the earthquake. Vlaho Squadri, chaplain of the archbishop of Dubrovnik, in a letter describing the situation in Dubrovnik after the earthquake, quotes that he found shelter in the house of Petar Grankošić, *capo maestro de muratori*, at Kono (R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 41). Grankošić may be traced in other cases which testify to his building activity, either as witness or plaintiff (*Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 172v; *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 72, f. 233v; *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 211v).

⁷⁹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 119v.

⁸⁰ *Tupina*, marl, crumbly, loose, monomineral rock. The Ragusans used it in the preparation of vault fillings. It was quarried at a location known as Lazinja, near Trebinje.

On 29 July 1673, Sekondo Gozze accused Pero Damjanov, who served as admiral at the time, of having taken, without his prior knowledge and magistrate's order, a square-shaped carved stone with the name of Jesus inscribed which stood in front of the plaintiff's house, and removed it to the construction site of his house, which he was building in the vicinity of the Franciscan church in the Placa. The aforementioned incident had apparently taken place while Gozze was in Bosnia on a diplomatic mission. The stone element described in the claim was a masterly carved piece traditionally embedded in the wall above the entrance to the main house or garden. Given the stonework and specific craftsmanship, each stone was unique, and therefore the nobleman could easily recognise his property. In addition, it appears far more likely that the carved stone was merely stored in the house at Pustijerna, as it could not be extracted from the wall surface unless the whole building collapsed. Apparently, Gozze testified that he resided in the mentioned house at the time, and demanded that the culprit recover the stone to the place he removed it from.⁸¹

That same year similar claims for the thefts committed in the city nucleus were filed by Giovanni Benevoli, given that from the construction site of his house in the Placa carved stones and stone gutters were stolen,⁸² as well as by stone mason Giovanni di Piligrino for the theft of roof tiles from the construction site of his house at Peline,⁸³ by Stjepan Mafatur for the theft of seven or eight stone corbels,⁸⁴ by Marija, wife of *soldat* Ivan Batista, for the theft of roof tiles,⁸⁵ and Nikola Saraka for the theft of seven carved stone elements from the devastated house in the street of St. Stephen at Pustijerna.⁸⁶

For the theft of construction material, the judges of the Criminal Court rarely launched action *ex officio*.

They launched proceedings against Angiolo Pacascio, stonemason hired in the restoration of the Rector's Palace, for a theft of thick rope from the mentioned construction site, along with a necklace and frame from the Church of Our Lady of Mercy in Gruž.⁸⁷ Several stonemasons, probably also commissioned for the

⁸¹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 71, f. 115v.

⁸² *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 218v.

⁸³ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 118v.

⁸⁴ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 129v.

⁸⁵ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 149.

⁸⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 118v.

⁸⁷ The frame was from another chapel, yet stood at the altar of the mentioned church.

restoration of the Rector's Palace, testified to this: Paulo, a local, Girolamo Scarpa, Dominko, and Nicolo of Naples.⁸⁸

In March 1674 Anica Lučina was accused of stealing stones from the ruins of the monastery of St. Simon. Soldiers caught her red-handed, with a chisel in her hands, and she was taken to custody.⁸⁹ The fact that Anica needed a tool in order to extract the remaining carved stones means that she arrived at the scene well after the bulk of the debris had already been looted. This being a time-consuming and noisy task, it is hardly likely that Anica could have taken a considerable pile of stone unobserved. Carved stone components were very valuable, especially in this period of intensive restoration. In their decision to launch action against Anica the judges might have been guided by the fact that, by that time, the monastery had been abandoned for seven years, and there was virtually no one to protect its property from further devastation.

In the period after the earthquake, thefts of construction material had become a common aspect of Ragusan everyday life. The need to secure prompt shelter, coupled with a tolerant attitude on behalf of the authorities led inevitably to the social acceptance of this act. Even with a lapse of a few years, when the judicial authorities decided to reconsider the processing of such thefts, Ragusan citizens remained entirely indifferent regarding the protection of their fellow-citizens' property. This may be illustrated with a case of theft that took place in the city nucleus eight years after the earthquake. Apparently, Stjepan Proculo reported a theft from his house in *Ulica velike crevljare*,⁹⁰ involving more than 4 *miljari*⁹¹ of carved stone elements, three stone window frames, a threshold from the door and *inferi* from the window. Noisy and messy deconstruction of much of the house must have been observed by the neighbours or passers-by, yet no one reacted. The defendants, Savo the carrier, Đuro, his brother-in-law, and Petar Vlahov, in all likelihood, used the stolen material to build another house in the vicinity.⁹²

⁸⁸ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 71, f. 49v (2 June 1673).

⁸⁹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 72, f. 76, 82.

⁹⁰ Present-day street of Cvijeta Zuzorić. See: Ivana Lazarević, *Vlasteoske kuće u gradu Dubrovniku 1817. godine*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2014: pp. 39-43.

⁹¹ *Miljar* stood for 1,000 units of a certain measure, most commonly used for litres. See: Milan Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika. I (historički) dio* [Srpska kraljevska akademija nauka i umetnosti. Posebna izdanja, book 48]. Sremski Karlovci: Srpska manastirska štamparija, 1924: p. 85.

⁹² *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 10, f. 70 (28 July 1675).

Thefts from the buildings under reconstruction

On the damage and reconstruction of the houses much can be gleaned from the information cited in the theft claims. Various master builders appeared before the court either as plaintiffs, witnesses or defendants. The grounds for claim varied, and sometimes involved the theft of tools used by *maranguni* (carpenters) or by masons from the construction sites, or quicklime. For example, the mention of quicklime in the house is a clear sign that it is being restored. Namely, this material could not have been taken from the ravaged site in order to be reused. Once it is mixed with water and sand and left to dry, quicklime turns into solid material and cannot be restored to its original state.⁹³ Some claims explicitly mention that the house was under reconstruction at the time, as in the claim filed by Šiško Gondola of 5 December 1667, which makes the first reference to the restoration in general. Gondola accused Giovanni Baretta from Venice of having stolen a half of the roof tiles while repairing the roof of his house.⁹⁴

Mason Petar Grankošić agreed with Junije Sorgo to repair a small chapel in the garden of Paula Giganti. Having completed the renovation, Petar instructed his assistant and two maids to deliver eight bricks and some quicklime to him as leftovers from the renovation. While carrying it, they were attacked by Luko Petrov known as Češlje from Kono, who insulted them by saying that they and Grankošić were thieves. Being a distinguished master builder and citizen,⁹⁵ Petar launched a defamation action on 31 October 1676.⁹⁶ A day earlier, Paula, widow of Vlaho Giganti, accused Petar's manservant and two maids of stealing the bricks and other material from the doorway of her house at Kono.

Ivan Vicenzov Palikučić from Plat was commissioned for the repair of the water tank of Frano Vlahutin from Pile. The crown of the tank split into two, one of the parts being missing. It is likely that the whole house was being

⁹³ Lime is a non-hydraulic adhesive, obtained by heating limestone (CaCO₃), which, combined with water, turns into fine powder. In building it is used for the preparation of mortar, in paint production and neutralisation of soil (*Leksikon građevinarstva*, ed. Veselin Simović. Zagreb: Masmedia, 2002).

⁹⁴ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 45v.

⁹⁵ Petar Grankošić was member of the masons' confraternity (*Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 119v).

⁹⁶ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 10, f. 211v.

restored at the time by Gašpar Matijašev, Petar Facino and Mitar, Vlach masons commissioned for the works, all of whom appeared before the court as witnesses.⁹⁷

In mid-1676, Marin Zamagna was reconstructing his house in the street of St. Nicholas. He commissioned a number of Vlach masons for this project: Luka Jalovičić from Hum, his brother Vukašin, Vojin Vučerin from the same place, Jovan Vukojev and Pavo Lučin Đakon. Next to this building stood another house in which Marin lived. During one of his Sunday visits to the city, he established that several pieces of silver cutlery and two gold rings were missing from his house.⁹⁸

During the restoration of the lazaretto in 1670, several Vlachs who worked on the site were arrested for theft.⁹⁹

All the mentioned cases are related to the restoration of the city houses or those in the immediate vicinity of the city nucleus. These were the spaces where, after the earthquake, new houses were built and old ones restored for permanent dwelling. Restoration of the villas or the construction of new country houses lagged behind for decades, and thus rare were the cases in which they were mentioned.¹⁰⁰ Among these were the claims filed by Martol Facenda for the theft of iron which he sent to Kalamota by boat,¹⁰¹ and the claim of Trojan Caboga for the theft of six large beams which were to be used in the restoration of his house in Klokurići in Kupari.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 73, f. 86v. Frano Vlahutin filed a claim against Ivan Palikučić from Plat on 5 November 1674.

⁹⁸ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 175.

⁹⁹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 68, f. 110. Florio Giorgi filed a claim on behalf of Ilija Veselić on 18 September 1670.

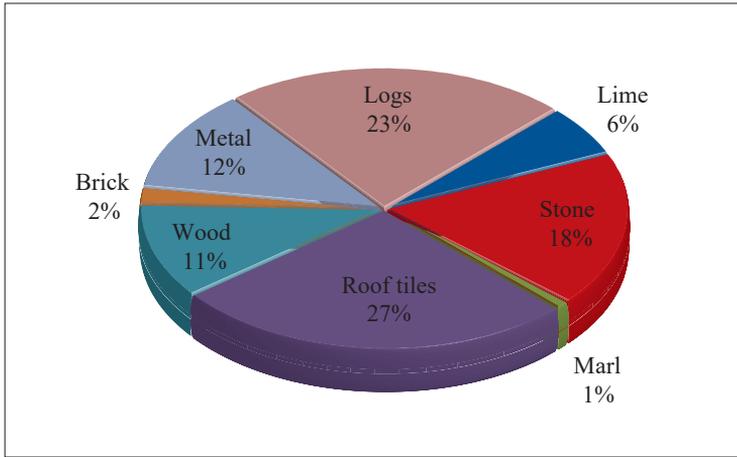
¹⁰⁰ Due to time lapse, also evident is the departure in terms of style in the building of Dubrovnik city palaces after the earthquake under the influence of the engineers from Rome, Genoa, Palermo and Naples, as opposed to the villas from the early eighteenth century, built under Venetian influence. See: Katarina Horvat Levaj, »Između ljetnikovaca i palača - reprezentativna stambena arhitektura dubrovačkog predgrađa Pile u 18. stoljeću.« *Zbornik dana Cvita Fiskovića. Kultura ladanja*, ed. Nada Grujić. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti i Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2006: pp. 203-218.

¹⁰¹ Earlier mentioned is the renovation of the house of Martol Facenda on Koločep. See: *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 241v (20 November 1676).

¹⁰² *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 57. (29 October 1669).

Types of stolen construction material

Post-earthquake period was marked by a shortage of all types of construction material, while the houses needed prompt repair and restoration. Therefore, roof tiles and bricks, different elements of iron, stone and wood were removed from the ravaged houses to be reused during the reconstruction of other buildings. The elements that did not require much deconstruction effort were the first to fall prey of theft. Among these were smaller metal parts, wooden window coverings and roof tiles, apparently the most popular item among the looters. During the first couple of years, the quake-ravaged and abandoned houses were stripped of all the easily accessible materials. Even if something did remain, the metal and wooden elements soon decayed due to the atmospherilia. In the later phase, thefts of stone elements are more frequently mentioned, as they had to be deconstructed from the ruins. In the last few years, thefts of raw construction material prevail—illegal tree felling for timber and the actions involving kilns and quicklime.



Graph 1. Thefts by type of construction material

Roof tile

Besides everyday necessities, roof tile was the most demanded item in the aftermath. Repair of the roof was a primary task, as it prevented further devastation of the structure and enabled the use of the interior space. House roofs in the areas hit by the quake were either damaged or completely destroyed, while the firing of clay required substantial amounts of raw material and time for preparation.¹⁰³ Dubrovnik had a developed manufacture of roof tiles well before the earthquake, an industry which was encouraged and supervised by the government. The price and sale of roof tiles was strictly scrutinised so as to be able to meet at least the Republic's own demands. After the earthquake this problem became acute, and thus on two occasions in 1667 the Senate passed decisions by which Božo Božidarević, who lived in Ancona, was to commission a craftsman skilled in firing bricks and roof tiles.¹⁰⁴ Upon the prompting of the pope, a contract was signed with the builder and architect Tommaso d'Ancona, who evidently took over the production in Kupari, for at court we find him as both plaintiff and defendant.¹⁰⁵ As early as 1668 he sued Ivan Cinjić from Kupari for the theft of roof tiles, whilst Tommaso was sued by *soldat* Vuko Dragojlović, who claimed that in 1669 he bought 1,000 roof tiles from the builder and left them temporarily in Kupari, in the house in which Tommaso lived at the time.¹⁰⁶ Before he came to fetch them, 400 new roof tiles were stolen.¹⁰⁷

Theft of used roof tiles from the destroyed houses was far more common. A considerable number of tiles must have been broken, yet the looters selected those that could be reused. With minor house damage, the roof elements fall to the ground individually, and are thus broken and unusable. Climbing up the shattered roofs and removal of the tiles was a dangerous task, and could not be performed without causing further damage. Therefore, the best sources of used tiles were the roofs of completely devastated houses whose entire roof structure

¹⁰³ Dragan Roller, *Dubrovački zanati u XV. i XVI. stoljeću*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1951: pp. 124-125.

¹⁰⁴ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 119.

¹⁰⁵ According to the data provided by S. Krsić, on 15 October 1668 Nikola Gučetić signed a contract with Tommaso d'Ancona in Rome, by which the latter agreed to enter the service of the Dubrovnik Republic (S. Krsić, *Stjepan Gradić*: 122). However, the master builder could not have been in Rome at the mentioned time, for on 16 October he filed a claim against Ivan Cinjić before the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik.

¹⁰⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 35v.

¹⁰⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 153v.

had fallen flat on the ground. Some of the elements remained undamaged and could have been easily salvaged and recovered.

Shortly after the earthquake, Luka Krtica from Gruž had 2,500 roof tiles stolen from two of his destroyed houses in Gruž. According to his testimony, he had certain knowledge about his tiles being used for the roofs of some other houses in Gruž.¹⁰⁸ Three years later roof tiles from his house in Rožat, in Ombla, were also stolen.¹⁰⁹

Stolen from Miho Cerva and his brothers immediately after the earthquake were the goods and roof tiles from the house at the Ombla seafront, and also from the house which stood on the location known as *Na Jolovu*, for which they accused the *kazalini* of Obuljeno.¹¹⁰

Timber wood

In Dubrovnik timber was used for the construction of horizontal floor levels made of crossbeams and boards, and for window sections. After the earthquake, wooden dwellings were designed to offer provisional shelter for much of the homeless population in a fastest and most economic way. In addition, boards were used as first aid in the repair of the habitable, less damaged houses. Not a single theft claim of timber in the city nucleus has been traced in the court records, although in the period immediately after the quake the Senate imposed very high fines for all those taking wooden elements from the damaged houses out of the city.¹¹¹ Reusable timber wood from the debris was salvaged soon after the earthquake, while it was still allowed to help oneself freely to the construction material from the ruins for the purpose of restoration. In the later period, however, when the claims for the theft of construction material came to court, the timber from the ruins had already been either salvaged or decayed.

The situation in the environs was somewhat different. Claims for the theft of wooden elements from the houses and patrician estates were apparently filed throughout the ten-year period. These elements were recycled, mainly in the houses in the neighbourhood. In order to prevent theft or dilapidation, the

¹⁰⁸ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 65, f. 194v. Luka Krtica filed a claim against unknown culprit on 18 July 1667 (R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 137).

¹⁰⁹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 227.

¹¹⁰ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 138.

¹¹¹ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: pp. 119-120.

owners used this material for the construction of auxiliary objects on their country estates.¹¹²

Frano Mihov and Frano Lovrijenčev from Čajkovići stole after the earthquake the timber and roof tiles from the pavilion and parts of the house of Antun Junije Resti in Rožat (Konalić). They reused the material for building their own houses and the house of Marija Simatova in Čajkovići.¹¹³

On 12 October 1673, Ora, widow of Jere Gozze, filed a claim against the *kaznačina* of Postranje in Župa because from her quake-devastated house various stone elements were stolen, along with boards and other timber wood.¹¹⁴ Apart from boards and crossbeams, the thieves often stole the *tavole* from the windows, probably used as shutters against the sun. Most commonly they dismantled them from the windows together with the *inferi*, as from the house of Luka Sorgo in Knežica in 1674,¹¹⁵ and two years later from the house of Miho Petrov Zamagna in Župa.¹¹⁶

Logs

In the post-earthquake period the government strictly supervised the use of timber wood so as to facilitate the restoration of the city. Apart from the fines prescribed for illegal transport of timber wood from the city, the use of timber for shipbuilding was also forbidden.¹¹⁷ This implied the exploitation of forest timber. However, illegal tree felling and thefts of other construction material could not be prevented by legal provisions and high fines, because housing restoration was a priority to both the Republic and individuals. Logging provided timber for beams, floor boards, window elements, while the wood of lesser quality was used as fire wood in the households or in the kilns. Most frequently mentioned in the claims are the logs of pine, cedar and cypress. Mentioned in places is the term *legname*, meaning timber wood. *Fasciame* or wood of lesser quality, or branches, were used as firewood, but claims involving *fasciame* were not considered in this analysis, because a clear link between this material

¹¹² R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 143.

¹¹³ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 70, f. 2v.

¹¹⁴ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 71, f. 168v.

¹¹⁵ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 72, f. 63v (27 February 1674).

¹¹⁶ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 135v (20 June 1676).

¹¹⁷ R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: p. 120.

and restoration cannot be established. Timber theft claims have been traced throughout the Republic, most often on Mljet, Šipán, Jakljan and Pelješac, which were covered with opulent forests, as well as in Primorje and Konavle. The nobles and the Church are most commonly encountered as forest owners, less so wealthy citizens.

By the end of 1674, Paolo Lazzari filed a claim against the peasants of Ponikve for persistent cutting of his large pines in Prapratno since the earthquake.¹¹⁸

The claim of Savin Zamagna of 26 April 1676 testifies to most intensive restoration even nine years after the earthquake. He claimed that Stjepan Prvjenić with accomplices continuously cut his trees on Jakljan and shipped the logs to Gruž, Šipán and Lopud.¹¹⁹

The timber necessary for the building of houses and ships the Ragusans procured from the forests on Croatian, Bosnian and Albanian territories.¹²⁰ The Republic's meagre resources could not suffice in peace time, let alone in the extreme circumstances such as these after the earthquake. Forests were maintained and cultivated. Thus, for example, Marko Bassegli had forests on several locations in the Republic. Timber theft was the cause of his claim against the *kaznačina* of Sustjepan¹²¹ as well as the village of Nakovana in Trstenica,¹²² the village of Gornja Vručica and other neighbouring villages which were sued for the theft of some fifty seedlings of domestic pine he had planted.¹²³ The forest in Mokošica he sold to the shipbuilder Marko Krtica from Gruž.¹²⁴

Metal

The records of the Criminal Court testify to theft claims involving various metal elements such as locks, door knobs, even door knockers, yet thefts of the metal window bars were most common, because they were massive and expensive, and were an essential safety element on all the easily accessible

¹¹⁸ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 73, f. 73.

¹¹⁹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 42v.

¹²⁰ D. Roller, *Dubrovački zanati u XV. i XVI. stoljeću*: p. 116.

¹²¹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 70v.

¹²² *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 170.

¹²³ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 2v (19 March 1676).

¹²⁴ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 68, f. 226v. Marko Krtica sued the *kazalini* of Mokošica on 23 December 1670, as the forest he had bought from Marko Bassegli was cut, and the logs taken away.

windows of the villas and city houses. *Inferi* are metal bars inserted into grooved holes on the stone window surrounds, and then cast in lead. The process of installing the metal bars and the stone window frames was performed simultaneously. In order to dismantle the *inferi* from the stone frame, they had to be cut, which was a noisy and very demanding task. This explains why they were usually stolen from the ravaged houses whose window frame was either shattered or dislocated from the wall surface. In many cases *inferi* were stolen together with the entire stone window surrounds. Being easier to dismantle, locks, knobs and other metal items were probably a more frequent target, but the thefts of these elements were less often reported to the court than *inferi*. The reason might be sought in lesser metal weight, that is, lesser value of these elements in general.¹²⁵

Inferi and locks were stolen from the house of Jakov Natali at Brgat,¹²⁶ from the house in the garden of Frano Gradi at Ploče,¹²⁷ from the devastated house with garden in the *kaznačina* of St. George in Gruž owned by Anica, wife of the late Jakov Buonfiliolo,¹²⁸ from the house of Mada, widow of Frano Paulov Pozza in Komolac,¹²⁹ from the house of Andrija Pauli in Sumratin in Gruž¹³⁰ and many other buildings.

From the house of Stjepan Procuro, near Mlinovi at Kono, servant Nikola Franov from Banići in Primorje took all the metal he could find: from the window *inferi*, door knocker to cauldrons and ladles,¹³¹ while Nika Đurova, known as Trumbaričina, looted from the Kono house of Marija, wife of Mihajlo the *soldat*, roof tiles, locks, boards for the *solar* (balcony) and a part of the garden entrance which she hid in the water tank.¹³²

Similar claims may equally be found in the most remote parts of the Republic. Marin Antunov Sabaci had *inferi* and the metal from the garden door stolen in the *kaznačina* of St. Martin in Konavle,¹³³ while Marija, widow of Vladislav

¹²⁵ In his letters Frano Bobali mentions the stolen locks from his house in Rijeka, yet he filed no claim, although he often appeared as plaintiff before the Criminal Court (R. Samardžić, *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*: pp. 85, 97, 112).

¹²⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 178 (15 April 1669).

¹²⁷ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 9, f. 477 (24 August 1671).

¹²⁸ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 73, f. 40, leaf inserted at the end of volume (18 April 1674).

¹²⁹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 37 (19 April 1676).

¹³⁰ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 73, f. 72 (22 October 1674).

¹³¹ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 11, f. 42v (26 April 1676).

¹³² *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 73, f. 200 (22 February 1675).

¹³³ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 156v (17 March 1670).

Menze, had all the metal from doors and windows stolen, together with the window *inferi* from her devastated house in the *kaznačina* of Gecići in Zaton.¹³⁴

Ivan Urijanić from St. Martin in Konavle caught the attention of the judges in early 1674. He extracted the *fibije*¹³⁵ from the stone elements of the Count's Palace in Konavle, on the grounds of which he was imprisoned, yet he managed to find asylum in the monastery in Pridvorje.¹³⁶

Stone and brick

Claims involving the theft of stone components and bricks imply most severe structural damage, as they could be removed from the houses which were either partly or totally destroyed. Such buildings could not have been restored by means of a simple intervention, as the large scale of their structural damage usually called for demolition and building anew. The theft of stone elements from the building meant its irreversible deconstruction, knowing that stone represented the most expensive part of the investment. The cases reported to the Criminal Court mention various construction elements made of stone: corbels and gutters, columns, portals, door and window frames, thresholds and slabs, even complete *perestata* (staircase or balcony fence). Besides finely shaped elements, carved and uncarved stone pieces were stolen along with marl. The theft of bricks is mentioned in only five claims.

On 20 March 1669 Vlaho Freski filed a claim against the *kaznačina* of St. George in Gruž because from his *orsan* (boat house) 1,000 roof tiles were stolen, some bricks, a piece of carved stone and other goods.¹³⁷ Judging by the amount of material stolen, this building evidently suffered major damage. Apparently, the mentioned roof tiles, stone elements and bricks in the boat house came from the demolished master house, which the owner stored there for safekeeping. However, the boat house itself was also severely damaged, for otherwise the thieves could not have broken its massive walls.

¹³⁴ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 71, f. 74 (23 June 1673).

¹³⁵ *Fibije* were construction metal elements used to fasten the stone walls.

¹³⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 72, f. 14.

¹³⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 159.

Marin Lupi stole carved stone from the devastated house of his cousin Mato Lupi in Gruž, along with stone corbels, wooden elements and other construction material.¹³⁸

Andrija Pauli instructed his master builders Nikola Denotta,¹³⁹ stone mason Giovanni Doneghallo and mason Ivan to remove various stone elements from the house of the late Nikola Petrov at the Gruž shipyard, including the large portal. Andrija assumed that no claim would be launched against him considering that the owner was dead, the house being in a state of ruin and abandoned for years. However, on 9 November 1671 Frano Bosdari sued him on behalf of his wife, an heir of Nikola Petrov by the maternal side, demanding that the construction elements be returned to the original site.¹⁴⁰

On 18 March 1669 Nikola Franov Bona sued Petar Pavlov and many others from Primorje who broke into his house in Gruž, from which they stole stone elements “to the benefit of Đuro Tudisi.”¹⁴¹ Most probably the defendants were engaged in the restoration of Tudisi’s house.

First thefts of stone were reported to the court in the middle of 1668, when only two claims were filed, massive claims being filed from 1669 on. Stone thefts continued until the end of the period under analysis, and we can also trace them decades after the earthquake.¹⁴²

Lime

In order to meet the growing needs for adhesive material in the restoration of houses, in 1668 Ragusan government decided to build 34 new kilns from Konavle to Ston, primarily guided by the idea to provide sufficient quantities

¹³⁸ On behalf of Mato Lupi, the claim was filed by his wife on 8 November 1673 (*Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 71, f. 188v).

¹³⁹ The court was already familiar with Nikola Denotta, because on 7 December 1667 he was accused of stealing various goods from the ravaged house of Luka Junije Sorgo in Gruž (*Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 7, f. 47).

¹⁴⁰ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 9, f. 227, 236-236v.

¹⁴¹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 157.

¹⁴² *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 33, f. 59, 64. On 2 May 1693 the judges were informed that *soldat* Nikola Pistola had stolen some stones from the church of SS. Peter, Andrew and Lawrence in the city. Master builder Girolamo Scarpa saw him in Široka street carrying a stone from the mentioned site. Later, he saw that a couple of other stones were missing from the said church, which led him to conclude that Pistola stole them.

of lime for the city restorers. All fishing boat owners had to transport the produced material to the city without compensation.¹⁴³ Besides state-owned kilns managed by the noblemen appointed to this post, the so-called *officiali di calcina* or *officiali sopra la calcina*,¹⁴⁴ many kilns were in private hands of the commoners, nobility or clergy. Lime, or quicklime, was a material traditionally used as adhesive in Ragusan architecture and building.¹⁴⁵ Numerous cases before the Criminal Court involving the construction of kilns on another's land, theft of lime and illegal tree felling for firewood purposes bear witness to the most intensive production of this material during restoration. The mentioned cases date from 1669, when the works were well under way. Most frequently mentioned are the kilns in Konavle and Župa, but also at Montovjerna, Brgat, Lapad, Ploče even. They were built on the sites that abounded in firewood resources, less quality wood and branches. The following case is a telling testimony of their multitude after the earthquake: in May 1669 Nikola Chirico, major-domo of Archbishop De Torres, filed a claim against Nikola Vlahušin from Đurinići in Konavle, for having built six kilns on archbishop's land without permission and for cutting the branches.¹⁴⁶

Pavao Gondola accused on two occasions Jerko Đivanov and others from Postranje of having built a kiln on his estate, on the Gradac locality at Brgat, and of having cut the trees to fuel the kiln.¹⁴⁷ In the meantime, the accused delivered lime for the public works at Ploče, where they were intercepted by Orsat Gondola, Pavao's brother. He drew out the sword, saying: "You bloody he-goats, who gave you permission to tackle this lime?" They ran off, while Orsat took twenty *spudi*¹⁴⁸ of lime, and stored it in his garden at Ploče. That same day, the mentioned villeins from Postranje filed two actions before the

¹⁴³ L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*: p. 30.

¹⁴⁴ They are mentioned in the archival series no. 7, *Fabrice*, vol. 122, *Libro delli officiali sopra la calcina* from 1671, and in the other volumes of the same series in the State Archives in Dubrovnik.

¹⁴⁵ Even in the period of great hardship, as witnessed in the aftermath, the Ragusans remained loyal to their traditional building practice. Although Stjepan Gradić sent them boats laden with pozzolana, a new and better adhesive than lime, Ragusans refused to use it (*Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića*: pp. 37, 463).

¹⁴⁶ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 192.

¹⁴⁷ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 91, 218.

¹⁴⁸ *Spud* is a Ragusan weight measure used for salt, grain and lime. Interestingly, this weight unit varied with regard to the material measured. One *spud* used for lime was equivalent to 66.600 litres, whilst, for example, one *spud* used for grain was equivalent to 49.950 litres (M. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika*: pp. 93-94).

Criminal Court for this crime, claiming that the lime in question came from the kilns they had built on the land of Nikola Bona in Župa, at a location described as *Među gracim na njivam*.¹⁴⁹

Kristo Taljeran from Mlinovi in Ombla built a kiln and cut the trees on Kozarino brdo, on the land of Bernard and Miho Giorgi.¹⁵⁰ Nikola Radić fell both small and large trees on the hill at a location known as *Sabiranje na rupi* in Okorić (Konavle), and made a kiln on the land of Ivan Mihov the goldsmith.¹⁵¹ Petar Đeljić built a kiln of stone taken from the land of Luka Sorgo in Konavle,¹⁵² while Ilija Šetić from Brgat and others cut the branches, took the stone and built a kiln on the land of Paulo Lazzari at Ploče.¹⁵³ Šiško Gondola built a kiln in Konavle together with Šiško Gradić after the earthquake, but in 1674 it was taken over by the Šabačić family in Radovčići.¹⁵⁴

From the records of the Criminal Court we learn that the kiln owners were also Marin Sorgo in the *kaznačina* of St. Michael in Gruž,¹⁵⁵ Don Nikola Tomov at Montovjerna,¹⁵⁶ Jakov Natali at Brgat¹⁵⁷ and Martol Facenda.¹⁵⁸

The scale of damage on the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic

Contemporary accounts of the earthquake provide valuable information on the destroyed buildings, mainly within the city nucleus.¹⁵⁹ Some sources offer evidence on the damage in the broader Republic territory, yet they are sporadic and incomplete. However, the analysis of specific data derived from the construction

¹⁴⁹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 215v, 216.

¹⁵⁰ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 67, f. 244.

¹⁵¹ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 69, f. 189.

¹⁵² *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 10, f. 96v.

¹⁵³ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 10, f. 104v.

¹⁵⁴ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 73, f. 82v.

¹⁵⁵ *Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 68, f. 28v, 41v.

¹⁵⁶ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 157v.

¹⁵⁷ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 123.

¹⁵⁸ *Lamenta del Criminale*, vol. 8, f. 76-77v.

¹⁵⁹ A host of letters describing the scale of damage caused by the earthquake has been presented by Radovan Samardžić in his book *Borba Dubrovnika za opstanak*. On these sources, Jelenko Mihajlović based his mapping of the earthquake-devastated parts of the walled-in city area discussed in his book *Seizmički karakter i trusne katastrofe našeg južnog primorja od Stona do Ulcinja*. His map clearly shows that the major devastation took place in the central, earth-filled part, whilst the parts of the city built on hard rock proved more immune to seismic activity.

material theft claims may lead to certain assumptions regarding the state of the looted houses, i.e. their minimal damage. Besides the type of goods stolen, the analysis should also consider the time of theft. Apparently, the thefts of wood, stone, roof tiles and other basic elements of the construction committed through the several years after the quake lead to a conclusion that the building remained unrestored for a considerable period of time and was permanently devastated, while the presence of lime in the house, builders and tools testifies to the ongoing restoration process.

The damage state of buildings subjected to earthquake may be classified according to the following scale:¹⁶⁰ minor damage, structural damage and totally destroyed buildings.

Minor damage implies shattered walls and minor cracks on the construction, stable roof construction, though with loosened roof tiles due to seismic activity. In order to make such a building habitable, minor repairs are required.

The second category includes houses with structural damage, such as serious cracks on the wall surface, dislocation of wall surfaces, dislocation of the bearing wooden elements of roof and horizontal floor structures, or collapsed floor or roof in its entirety. Restoration of the damage of this scale is a time-consuming and demanding process, though it is still possible to stabilise and restore the structure to its original purpose.

The third category of damage includes totally destroyed buildings in which all bearing structures have collapsed, and their original state is beyond recognition. In this case, the restoration includes clearing of the debris and construction of a new building on the same site.

While analysing the damage of the looted buildings and its scale, a distinction ought to be made between the term “destroyed house” in the post-earthquake

¹⁶⁰ Within the restoration project of Dubrovnik after the 1979 earthquake a report (*Elaborat za procjenu šteta na dubrovačkom području*), which included damage mapping of the area, was submitted. Three damage categories were distinguished: buildings with minor damage, buildings with structural damage, and buildings with severe structural damage. Two last categories are designated as uninhabitable. See: *Obnova Dubrovnika. Katalog radova u spomeničkoj cjelini Dubrovnika od 1979. do 2009.*, ed. Ivanka Jemo and Nada Brigović. Dubrovnik: Zavod za obnovu Dubrovnika, 2009: p. 78. Considering that the 1667 earthquake was 10 degrees Mercalli scale, therefore far more destructive for Dubrovnik than the one in 1979, measured at 7 degrees Mercalli scale, in this classification the category of objects with severe structural damage has been replaced by the category of the totally destroyed construction.

period and its meaning in this research. In the theft claims here analysed the owners often refer to their houses as being *diroccata* (ruined), *cascata* (fallen) or *caduta* (fallen, collapsed). All these descriptions refer to a destroyed house, but given that this classification is not official and is a product of the injured party's free evaluation, the scale of damage cannot be determined with exactitude. In his usually biased approach to the problem, under "destroyed house" the owner may have implied the collapsed roof, collapsed floor structures, partial collapse and cracks on the house that called for repair of the collapsed walls or the whole building, which presupposed an irreversible state, that is, construction of a completely new house. Such a building may be classified under the second or third category of damage.

From the claims not explicitly stating the damage state of the looted house, it is possible to assume (based on the date of theft and type of stolen goods) whether the house was destroyed. Insignificant is the number of thieves who dared steal the construction material from intact and inhabited houses. Some types of material, such as large amounts of roof tiles, beams or carved stone, could not have been removed from a building unless it was seriously damaged or totally collapsed. With this in mind, charted on the map of the Dubrovnik Republic are the destroyed houses according to the data derived from the theft claims (which imply different degrees of damage, from roof collapse to total destruction of the building) and the looted houses for which there are no data on their damage status.

Here attention should be drawn to certain methodological issues. The main problem in this respect concerns the jurisdiction of the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in relation to district courts of the Ragusan counties and captaincies.¹⁶¹ Although the cases from all parts of the Republic, from Pelješac to Konavle, were reported to the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik, the claims regarding petty crimes were resolved in the local administrative units,¹⁶² which have not been included in this research due to incomplete sources.¹⁶³ There is reason to assume, however, that the research results have not been significantly affected by this data gap.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: pp. 58-59.

¹⁶² Criminal Court in Dubrovnik presided over all types of offences committed on the territory of the city and Astartea, as well as all serious crimes committed on the entire Republic territory (N. Lonza, *Pod plaštem pravde*: pp. 39-40).

¹⁶³ For instance, the records of the criminal proceedings from Šipan between 1589 and 1681 have not been preserved. See: *Građa za generalni katalog*, DAD.

¹⁶⁴ Thanks to the data provided by Nenad Vekarić, a crosscheck was made using the records of the Ston chancery for the periods 29 August 1667 to 30 October 1667, and 14 September 1671

Further, remote location and considerable distance from the court played an important role regarding the number of the reported offences, as the remoteness no doubt discouraged the injured parties from legal pursuit.¹⁶⁵

Post-earthquake damage mapping

Based on the data derived from post-earthquake theft claims, mapped on the Dubrovnik Republic chart are the houses which were destroyed and looted, as well as a list of owners of the robbed houses by region (Appendix 1 and 2).¹⁶⁶ Visible is the concentration of reported thefts in the city area, Astarea and the islands—territories under exclusive jurisdiction of the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik. With regard to the value of stolen goods and concentration of claims, thefts from the city nucleus are in majority, and in eighty per cent of the reported cases we are certain that the looting took place from a destroyed house. The central part of the city built on the earth-filled sea inlet witnessed most serious damage, and as such was beyond recognition, while the parts built on rock experienced less damage.

For the same reason, the extramural areas next to the city nucleus—Ploče, Pile and Kono—suffered less damage. This explains why many city dwellers moved to these areas after the earthquake, where they built provisional shelters, which in many cases turned to permanent. The citizens adapted to the life in less crowded contact zones, which proved a much safer place during the Great Earthquake, and which, as it appears, they reluctantly abandoned later.¹⁶⁷

On the territory of Astarea the majority of claims involves destroyed villas of the wealthy citizens and nobles. Their distribution in space speaks much of

to 7 August 1674 (*Lamenta de Stagno*, series 68.8, vol. 99, 101-102, SAD). In the period mentioned, somewhat longer than three years, a total of five cases may be related to the post-earthquake restoration, involving three theft claims of construction material and two of illegal tree felling, which is a fairly small number in comparison to the analysed sample of the claims at the Criminal Court in Dubrovnik in the same period, and for this reason have not been included in this research.

¹⁶⁵ On this see Nenad Vekarić, »Sud Janjinske kapetanije.« *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 27 (1989): pp. 133-147.

¹⁶⁶ The mapping includes all theft-related research results (thefts of valuables from the debris in the immediate aftermath and thefts of construction material in the period of restoration), pertaining to earthquake consequences in the period from 21 June 1667 to the end of 1676.

¹⁶⁷ In July 1668 the Senate declared that the nobles, citizens and commoners had adapted to the life in the suburb and neglected the restoration of their houses within the city walls (L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*: p. 31).

the importance of certain locations in which they were built. In this respect, except for Gruž, the places in Ombla, Šumet and Zaton prevail.

While from eyewitness accounts we gather that Lopud was devastated to the ground by the quake, whereas Koločep saw minor damage, from the theft claims we learn that there were devastated houses on Koločep, and on Lopud some houses were usable, that is, were not destroyed.¹⁶⁸ The two islands evidence the same number of theft claims of construction material from the devastated houses.

On the island of Šipan a couple of roof tile thefts were reported, which fit within the pattern of property crimes regardless of earthquake. Contemporary sources confirm that Šipan practically experienced no damage.

No evidence on the destroyed houses on Lastovo, Mljet, Pelješac and almost entire Primorje has been traced. Their remote position from Dubrovnik might account for the lack of theft claims from these areas, and thus no conclusion on earthquake damage can be offered. A certain number of claims are related to the area close to Astartea, that is, from Brsečine, Ljubač and Orašac.

In Konavle, claims of construction material concern larger settlements, such as Cavtat, Obod, Pridvorje and Lovorno.

Conclusion

Immediate restoration of the city after the powerful earthquake of 1667 was a prerequisite of the restoration of the Republic. By setting restoration as the priority of social and economic development, Ragusan government issued a number of measures founded on common sense, which bypassed legal norms and centuries-old cobweb of bureaucratic practice. Prompt restoration was given precedence over an individual, over taxes, even over the property right as one of the bases of a state ruled by law. The salvage of construction material from unrestored buildings was the only way to secure a roof over the heads of the city's residents in the shortest possible time, salvage the remaining property and prevent further devastation of unprotected property. Theft of property in the context of a disaster tended to bend the generally accepted attitude towards the morality of this act.

¹⁶⁸ Frano Bosdari ordered his servants to take the valuables from his devastated house in the city to his villas in Ombla and on Lopud (*Lamenta de intus et foris*, vol. 66, f. 252v-255v).

As the construction material was most commonly stolen to be reused, the cases of its theft in the records of the Criminal Court reveal the trends and details related to the restoration process which developed at a different pace inside and outside the city. In the first post-earthquake years, no thefts of construction material were reported within the city walls, because the salvage of construction material from ruins to be reused in the repair of another's home was socially acceptable. The changes of this attitude may be anticipated in 1669, when the first claims involving the theft of construction material in the city were filed, with peak in 1673. These data speak of the normalisation of order in the mature phase of city restoration.

While the government encouraged and conducted the restoration of the houses within the walls through legal norms and supply of construction material, the houses outside the city fell into disrepair, facing inevitable dilapidation. In the court records, this is evidenced through a large number of construction material theft claims relating to the quake-hit territory outside the city. Noble villas proved as most common theft targets. Built at remote locations, beyond the reach of the authorities and their owners, richly decorated and furnished, for years they remained a rich resource of quality construction material for others to reuse. Today the remains of their former magnificence can still be spotted incorporated into simple cottages in their neighbourhood. Devastation of noble country estates has been at work for years, leaving lasting scars on them. Some of them were recurrently robbed, and many of them never restored. By filing claims against the *kaznačina* to which the estates belonged, the injured party pressured the rural community to protect the villas more actively. The culprits were usually well-known among the community's members, as they could hardly have passed undetected while performing a noisy and time-consuming task of removing the construction material from the devastated house. The system of the community's self-control was consolidated after they had lost several property claims and had to pay for the caused damages. The succession of claims filed from 1670 onwards shows that the *kaznačine* eventually started to denounce all those stealing from the villas.

The majority of cases that we are able to link to restoration were reported in the period 1669-1674, when the rebuilding intensified. Apart from an increasing number of claims, specific information on the builders, stonemasons, and on the building of kilns also contributes to this find. After 1674, construction material theft claims tend to ebb in the records of the Criminal Court. This does not mean, however, that the restoration was developing at a slower pace, but rather that the

theft-provoking conditions had changed. Namely, by that time roof tiles, wooden and metal elements had already been salvaged from the devastated houses or decayed. Interestingly, the number of claims involving unused construction material saw a rapid increase: illegal tree felling, theft of lime or disputes over the construction of new kilns. The remaining construction elements on the devastated houses could be removed only by means of specialised tools, to be used on other construction sites. Later court proceedings usually mention restoration works, larger construction sites, foreign and local builders, mainly in the city or the suburbs. Similar cases also appear much later, though sporadically, beyond the time-frame of this research, while any information on the reconstruction of the villas is just as equally rare.

The mapping of destroyed and looted houses and a list of their owners facilitates a rough positioning of certain buildings in space. With regard to the city area, it allows the study of residential patterns of specific social groups which changed fundamentally after the earthquake, and provides a partial insight into the earthquake damage in the broader Republic territory, of which we have had most scarce data until now. Data on the owners of the villas, their position in space, and their damage state after the earthquake may prove useful to all those studying the historic villas of Dubrovnik and their architecture, one of most valuable phenomena of Croatian building heritage.

Translated by Vesna Baće

Appendix 1.

List of owners of the looted houses according to the Criminal Court records from 21 June 1667 to the end of 1676.

Location	Owner	Damage state
City (Nucleus)	Captain Battista Marinov	Destroyed
	Mato Matov, <i>botegar</i>	Destroyed house and three stores
	Stjepan Bošković	Destroyed
	Nika, widow of Andrija Fačica	Destroyed
	Antun Mateljić	Destroyed
	Jakov Natali	Destroyed
	Petar Markov Marini, heir of the late Pera, widow of Francesco Aligretti	Destroyed
	Frano Bosdari	Destroyed
	Marin Bartolomejev	Destroyed
	Late Marko Boškov from Kotor	Destroyed
	Nikola Battitore	Destroyed
	Kata, daughter of Ivan Selen	Destroyed
	Vlaho Miha Bosdari and brothers	Destroyed
	Marin Primi	Destroyed
	Vlaho Nikolin, <i>zđur</i>	
	Brothers Antun and Đivo Matteini	Destroyed
	Late Ivan Jerov Gozze	
	Miho Petrov Zamagna	Destroyed
	Gio. di Florio Bonanzo	Destroyed store at Pjaca
	Paula, widow of Nikola Gradi	
	Šiško Đivov Gondola	Destroyed
	Nikola Matov Resti	Destroyed
	Mato Šimunov Getaldi, canon	
	Frano Jakova Bobali	Destroyed
	Ora, widow of Orsat Brnje Giorgi, heiress of the late Agostino Tudisi	Destroyed
	Mara, widow of Rafo Jerov Gozze	Destroyed
	Marin Bošković	
	Frano Pavov Pozza	Destroyed
	Late Marko Lovrijenac Lovrov Sorgo	Destroyed

Location	Owner	Damage state
City (Nucleus)	Detia Leoni, shoemaker	Destroyed
	don Vicenco Brzica	Destroyed
	Božica Lučina	Destroyed
	Vladislav and Miho Martolice Cerva	Destroyed
	Daughters of the late Frano Radalja	Destroyed
	Junije Lukov Sorgo	Destroyed
	Junije Gabrijelov Cerva	Destroyed
	Marija, wife of Marin Brnje Caboga, sister of the late Đuro Ivanov Menze killed in the earthquake	Destroyed
	Marino Marini, heir of the late Paula, widow of Antun Zize, his nephew	Destroyed
	Sekondo Stijepov Nenki, heir of Vlaho Marinov Držić, his uncle	
	Lucijan Matov Pozza	Destroyed
	Šimun Sorgo	Destroyed
	Petar Andrija and Marin Lukov Sorgo	Destroyed
	Marin Bartolomeov, <i>barbijer</i>	
	Cleric Mato Filele	Destroyed house above Prijeko
	Martolica Kristov Zamagna	Destroyed
	Kata, wife of Tomaš the stonemason	
	Vlaho and Pavo Vladislava Gozze on behalf of the absent father Vladislav	Destroyed house near the cathedral
	Marin Bartolomeov known as Pistola	
	Cleric Marulino Calan	Destroyed
	Ivan Junijev Gradi	Destroyed
	Luka Junijev Sorgo	Destroyed
	Made Božova from Ljubač, sister and heir of Anica Đurova	Destroyed
	Ivan Đorić	
	Miho Agostina Bona	Destroyed house in front of the cathedral
	Katarina Petrova known as Košarićeva	Destroyed
	Margarita Ivanova known as Kunica	
	Đivo Ghetaldi	Destroyed house at Pustijerna
	Giovanni di Piligrino, stonecarver	Destroyed house at Peline
	Stjepan Mafatur	Destroyed
	Marija, wife of soldier Ivan Batista	
	Giovanni Benuoli	Destroyed house in the Placa
	Nikola Pavov Saraka	Destroyed house in the street of St. Stephen

Location	Owner	Damage state
City (Nucleus)	Secondo Jerov Gozze	Destroyed house
	Pero Damjanov	Destroyed house at Pustijerna
	Monastery of St. Simon	Destroyed
	Đuro Nikolin, husband of sister and heiress of part of the estate of the late Ivo Petrov Dragojlović and Katarina, daughter of Augustin Dragojlović, Bosnian from Sarajevo	Destroyed house in front of the Franciscan monastery
	Jakov Franov Bobali	Destroyed
	Marija, widow of Junije Lovrijenca Sorgo	Destroyed
	Stjepan Božov Proculo	Destroyed house in the street of <i>Velike crevljare</i>
	Luka Franov Bona and the late Marin Nikolin Binciola	Destroyed
	Stefano di Pietro Rizano, with current residence in the city	
	Marin Serafinov Zamagna	Destroyed house in St. Nicholas's Street
	Ora, wife of Martolica Orsat Cerva, widow of Orsat Bernardov Giorgi	
	Kono	Miho Andrijaši
Stijepo Božov Proculo		
Paula, widow of Vlaho Giganti		
Marija, wife of soldier Mihajlo		Destroyed
Ilijina glavica	Pera, widow of Marin Čakljić, aunt and heiress of the late Klara Sglavazati	
Pile	Frano Šimunov Gethaldi	Destroyed
	Mato and Frano Šimunov Ghetaldi	Destroyed (possibly refers to the same house)
Ploče	Frano Gradi	
	Paolo Lazzari	
	Confraternity of St. Lazarus	
	Ivan Karlo Marinov Sorgo	
Gruž	Luka Franov Bona	
	Nikola Rusković	
	Marino Stay	Destroyed
	Nikola Franov Bona	Destroyed
	Frano Bosdari on behalf of his wife, heiress of Nikola Petrov	Destroyed
	Luka Krtica	Destroyed
	Mato Lupi	Destroyed
	Luko Junijev Sorgo	Destroyed
Luko Mihov Zamagna	Destroyed	

Location	Owner	Damage state
Sv. Mihajlo	Serafin and Nikola Đivov Bona	
	Marin Serafinov Zamanja	
	Vladislav and Miho Martolice Cerva	Destroyed
	Marin Marinov Menze	Destroyed
	Antun Matov Pozza	
Montovjerna	Marin Lukov Sorgo	Destroyed
	Frano Jakova Bobali	Destroyed
Sumratin	Don Nikola Tomov	Destroyed
	Andrea di Pietro Pauli	Destroyed
Sv. Đurad	Miho Pozza	Destroyed
	Veće, widow of Benedikt Bona	Destroyed
	Marino Jera Bonda	Destroyed
	Anica of the late Jakov Buonfilio	Destroyed
	Brnja Nikole Giorgi, archdeacon	
	Paulo Nikole Gundulić and brothers	
	Pavo Popjevalo	Destroyed
	Andrija Sorgo	
	Marin Luka Sorgo	
	Marino Florijev Stay	Destroyed
	Stjepan Vlahov Tudisi and brothers	
	Santoli and Lupi on behalf of their wives, heiresses of the late Vicenco Ventura	
	Savin Serafina Zamagna	
	Confraternity of St. George	Destroyed
Vlaho Freski	Destroyed	
Ombla	Marko Toma Basegli	
	Marija Božina Vetova	
	Antun Junijev Resti	Destroyed pavillion, the house is not mentioned
Mokošica	Andrija Markov Basegli	
	Stijepo Cerva	
	Paula Giganti	Destroyed
	Brnja Giorgi, archdeacon	
	Vlaho Lamprica Sorgo	
Obuljeno	Miho Petra Zamagna	Destroyed
Rožat	Luka Krtica	Destroyed
	Jakov Vlahušin	Destroyed
Knežica	Matko Vicencov	
	Luko and Orsat Nikole Gozze	Destroyed
	Luko Junija Sorgo	Destroyed

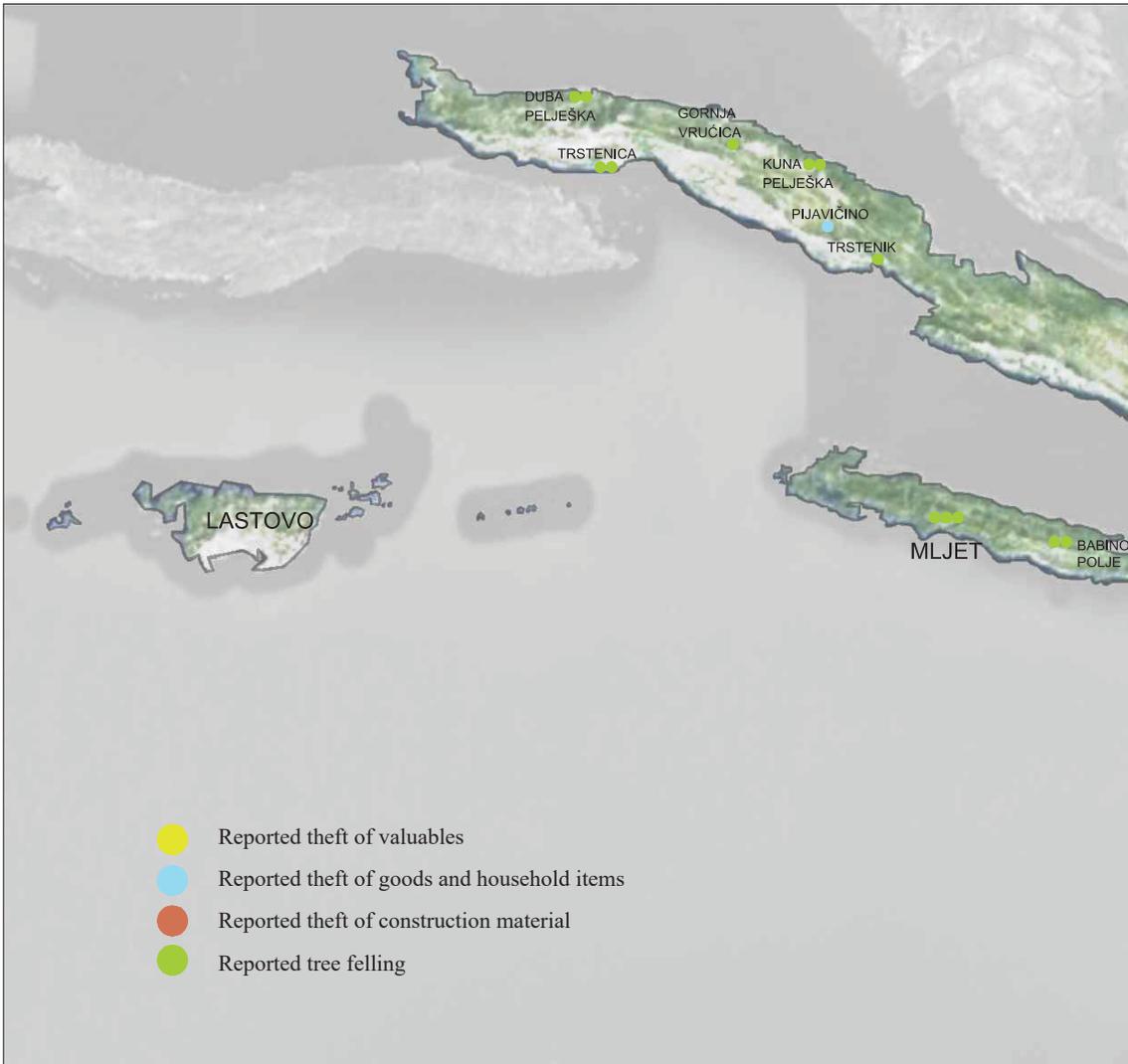
Location	Owner	Damage state
Šumet	Tonko Milošev	Destroyed
	Frana, widow of Petar Špičar	Destroyed
	Confraternity of St. Peter	Destroyed
Komolac	Luko Orsata Gozze	Destroyed
	Vicenco Franov	Destroyed
	Cleric Mateo Martini	Destroyed
	Mada, widow of Frano Paula Pozza	Destroyed
	Cleric Andrija Resti	Destroyed
	Antun Resti	Destroyed
	Luko Junija Sorgo	
	Monastery of St. Mary of <i>Kaštela</i>	Destroyed
Sustjepan	Marija, widow of Tomo Basegli, and son Marko Basegli	Destroyed
Čajkovići	Frano Bosdari	Destroyed
	Marin Brnje Caboga	Destroyed
	Antun Junijev Resti	Destroyed
	Late Marija, widow of Junije Lovrov Sorgo	Destroyed
Brgat	Frano and Orsat Savinov Ragnina	
	Jakov Natali	Destroyed
Bosanka	Paolo Lazzari	Destroyed house at Orsula
Župa	Junije Gabriela Cerva	Destroyed
	Marija Jakovljeva	Destroyed
	Miho Petrov Zamagna	
Čelopeci	Frano Jakova Bobali	Destroyed
	Paula, widow of Nikola Junijev Gradi	
	Mara Jakobova	
Postranje	Ora, widow of Jero Gozze	Destroyed
Petrača	Frana, widow of Jakov Draghi	Destroyed
	Šimun Gledević and Benedikt Stay	
	Marino Serafinov Zamanja	Destroyed
Čibača	Don Vicenco	
	Guido Marini	
Kupari	Miho Brugnoli	Destroyed
	Trojan Đivov Caboga	Destroyed
	Brnja Antunov Giorgi and brothers	Destroyed, two houses
	Jerolim and Klement Đivov Menze	Destroyed
Srebreno	Marija, widow of Frano Dimitri	Destroyed
Klokurići	Miho and Galiazzo Brugnoli	Destroyed

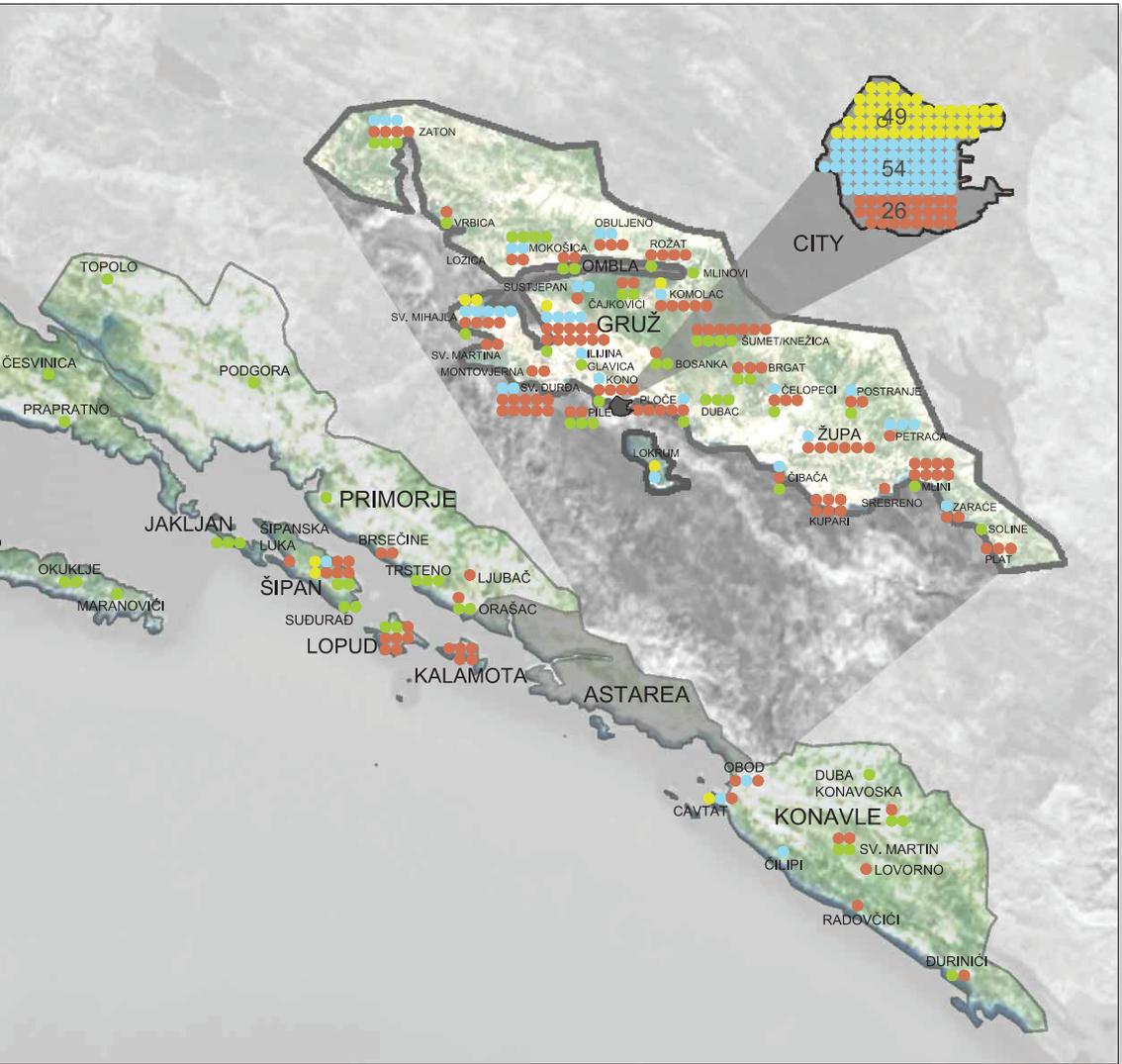
Location	Owner	Damage state
Mlini	Stjepan Božov Procuro	Destroyed, two houses
	Petar Vlahov Stella	Destroyed
	Marin Šumičić	Destroyed
	Stjepan and Frano Vlahov Tudisi	Two houses destroyed
	Deša, widow of Frano Vlaichi	Destroyed
	Miho Petrov Zamagna	Destroyed
Zaraće	Stjepan and Frano Vlahov Tudisi	Destroyed, located in Kostur
	Orsat Petra Zamagna	Destroyed
Plat	Daughters of Stijepo Darsa Deša, widow of Stijepo Darsa	
	Stijepo Vlahov Tudisi	Destroyed
Štikovica	Marija, widow of Vladislav Jerolimov Menze	Destroyed
Zaton	Damjan Franov Bobali	Destroyed house near the church of St. Stephen
	Jakov Franov Bobali	Destroyed
	Marija, widow of Damjan Serafinov Bona	
	Marija, widow of Vladislav Jerolimov Menze	Destroyed house in Gecići
	Cleric Andrija Resti	Destroyed
	Marin Franov Tudisi	Destroyed
Luka Šipanska, Island of Šipan	Vlaho Jakova Trubica	Destroyed
Biskupija, Island of Šipan	Savin Serafinov Zamagna	
Island of Lopud	Đuro Balachi	Destroyed
	Paula, widow of Vlaho Giganti	Destroyed
	Nikola Pavov Saraca	
	Marija Lučina Škopaljeva	Destroyed
	Stjepan Vicencov	Destroyed
Island of Kalamota	Marino Jera Bonda	Destroyed
	Martolo Facenda	Destroyed house in Donje Čelo
Podgora	Frana Božina and Anica Antunova	Destroyed
Ljubač	Marin Nikole Gozze	Destroyed
Brsečine	Mihajlo Zuzzori	Destroyed, two houses
Trsteno	Marija, widow of Ivan Vito Gozze	
	Ivan Junijev Resti	
Kobaš	Šiško Đivov Gundulić	
Konavle	Petar Bašica	
Obod	Nikola Matov Resti	Destroyed
	Rafo Lukov Gozze	Destroyed <i>stranj</i>
Kuna Konavoska	Marin Jerov Bonda	<i>Kučistina</i> is not destroyed

Location	Owner	Damage state
Močići	Luko Vladislava Gozze	<i>Stranj</i> is not destroyed. The house is not mentioned.
Čilipi	Lucijan Pozza	<i>Stranj</i> is not destroyed. The house is not mentioned.
	Jela, widow of Orsat Matov Gondola	Inn in Čilipi
Sv. Martin	Marin Antunov Sabaci	
Lovorno	Šiško Đivov Gundulić	
	Marin Jerov Bonda	
Cavtat	Ivan Petrov Giorgi	Destroyed

Appendix 2.

Map of the Republic. Thefts related to the earthquake and post-earthquake restoration in the Dubrovnik Republic, 1667-1677. Type of stolen goods.





Appendix 3.

Map of the Republic. Thefts related to the earthquake and post-earthquake restoration in the Dubrovnik Republic, 1667-1677. The state of looted buildings.



