

## Blackened Faces and a Veiled Woman: The Early Kor\_ula More\_ka

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Mock battles between Moors (or Turks) and Christians are one of the most popular features of the folk theatrical repertoire almost anywhere that Spanish culture was once dominant. Beginning, perhaps, in the late thirteenth century, and varying in form from small dances to massive street theater, they are still immensely popular along Spain's Mediterranean coast and throughout much of Latin America. Scholars have tended to pay most attention to the tradition's westward travels from Spain to the Americas, where the conquered peoples often insinuated a "hidden transcript" of indigenous resistance into the "public transcript" of European Catholic triumph.<sup>1</sup> But the tradition also traveled eastward to parts of Italy and Germany under Spanish rule and, further, to parts of eastern Europe not ruled by but engaged in trade and diplomatic relations with Spain. One such place in eastern Europe where the tradition still thrives is the medieval walled city of Kor\_ula on the Croatian island of the same name.

The island of Kor\_ula sits in the Adriatic Sea, close to the mainland and about equidistant between Split and Dubrovnik. Known to Greek antiquity, because of its thick woods, as Korkyra Melaina (Black Kor\_ula) and to the Romans as Corcyra Nigra, its strategic position on the Adriatic trade route between Europe and the East has meant that the island has been governed by external imperial powers for much of its history. Of

these, Venice has been the most frequent and longstanding, ruling the island for a brief period after 1000 and, again, 1125/29-1180, 1254-1358, and 1420-1797.<sup>2</sup> Kor\_ulan attitudes to Venetian rule were ambivalent at best. In the last and longest of these periods, the only realistic alternative to Christian rule by Venice was Muslim rule by the Ottoman Turks. Kor\_ulans, according to Vinko Foreti\_, grudgingly preferred the former, “with all its evils,” to the latter.<sup>3</sup> Testimony to an enduring Kor\_ulan resentment of Venetian rule can also be found in the still popular legend of the Crnomiri (Black Peace) brothers, reputed to have led an uprising against the first Venetian duke of Kor\_ula, Petar Orseolo, in 1000.<sup>4</sup>

The island has a rich heritage of traditional sword dances. Five villages boast *kumpanije* (companies) whose members perform a linked sword dance, varying slightly from one village to the next.<sup>5</sup> The city of Kor\_ula has two groups that perform a traditional *more\_ka*, a mock-combat sword dance in which two sides, variously identified as Whites and Blacks, Christians and Moors, or Turks and Moors, clash swords over the fate of a veiled young woman. The dramatic narrative of the *more\_ka* clearly locates the dance in the widespread tradition of mock battles among Muslims and Christians mentioned earlier.

The authors of this article have seen the *more\_ka* performed on several different occasions: at the opening ceremony of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival; at the opening of Kor\_ula’s annual Festival of Sword Dances, organized since 1997 by the island’s Tourist Board; and in its traditional setting on the July 29 feast day of Sveti Todor (Saint Theodore). The traditional *more\_ka* on the feast day of Sveti Todor used to last a full two hours. To cater to the recent influx of tourists, the dance is now performed some fifty

times a year in a shortened version, lasting only half an hour. The longer version, which involved more repetitions of the same dance figures, is no longer staged.<sup>6</sup>

Today's *more\_ka* begins with a scene in which the Black (Moorish) King drags the chained and veiled Bula (Muslim woman) into the playing area. He pleads his love. She protests her allegiance to the White King, whom she calls by the distinctively Turkish name Osman. The two “armies” follow, each consisting of an equal number of dancers, usually between eight and twelve apiece. After a vaunting exchange between the Black and White Kings, the two sides perform a series of seven figures, in which clashing swords cause frequent sparks to fly. After the fourth figure, the Bula pleads for peace between the two factions, but is rebuffed. After the seventh figure, in which the Black army is defeated, the White King and the Bula are reunited.<sup>7</sup>

A complete history of Kor\_ula's *more\_ka*—or even a full account of today's *more\_ka*—is beyond the scope of this article. Our purpose here is twofold: to develop a coherent (although necessarily speculative) account of the early history of the *more\_ka* in Kor\_ula and its possible antecedents elsewhere; and to show that in Kor\_ula, too, a hidden transcript of resistance to external rule was insinuated into the imported narrative of Turks, Moors, and Christians.

The first records of the *more\_ka* in Kor\_ula come from the late seventeenth century. They show that the dance, in those days, was ordinarily performed during Carnival, sometimes at the court of the Venetian duke of Kor\_ula. During Carnival 1666, three men from the city took offense at actions of the “company of *morescanti*.” When they complained to the duke, he encouraged them “to take into account the season of tumultous joy” and to forgive the perceived offense. Nineteen years later, wanting to

specify the exact time of an incident that occurred during Carnival 1685, a witness testified that it took place “after the moresca finished [*doppo finiva la moresca*].”<sup>8</sup> During Carnival 1689, according to a diary entry, “They fought a *more\_ka* at the duke’s court [*se tukla more\_ka u kne\_evu dvoru*].”<sup>9</sup> No details of the framing narrative are given in these instances.

A more or less contemporary Italian translation of the *more\_ka* dialogue, however, survives in the archives of the city’s Kapor family.<sup>10</sup> The translation is dedicated to Paulina Capello da Riva, wife of the Venetian duke of Kor\_ula, in whose honor, it is claimed, the *more\_ka* was then being “revived.” Since it is not clear whether her husband was Marco da Riva, who was duke in 1683, or Zuane da Riva, who ruled in 1743, the document can be dated only imprecisely, but the earlier date may be the more likely.<sup>11</sup>

The plot of the Italian translation differs notably from today’s version. The contested woman, named Amira, is the daughter of the king of Algiers. She is in love with Mehmet, the only son of the Moorish king. Mehmet’s enemy, the unnamed White King, finds Amira, defeats Mehmet’s army, and keeps Amira as a slave. A concluding Latin epigram omits the religious affiliations of the antagonists, summarizing the plot simply as a fight between “Black and White kings” (“*Dum Nigri et Nivei pugnant sine sanguine Reges*”), but it concludes, disturbingly to a modern audience, that the victory of the White army is “just” (“*just\_ cedit victoria caus\_*”).<sup>12</sup> The White army, in this instance, was presumably understood to be Christian.

Later variants of the *more\_ka*’s plot confirm that the ethnic and religious identities of the characters and the objects of their affection have shifted from one textual

version to another.<sup>13</sup> Such changes make little difference to the dancers. In a long conversation with one of the authors in July 2003, Darko Lozica, who has danced for many years with the older KUD *More\_ka* troupe in Kor\_ula, referred to the two sides simply as “Blacks” and “Whites.” Although he occasionally referred to the “Whites” as “Christians,” he never identified the Blacks as Muslims. While the White army, he said, wears red (rather than white) costumes for “aesthetic reasons,” black costumes and (traditionally) blackened faces draw attention to the “blackness” of the defeated army.<sup>14</sup> The structural core of the narrative is not the superimposed story of Moors, Turks, and Christians but the defeat of the Black King by the White King and the final possession of the contested woman by the victor.

Two other contemporary texts confirm the prestige of the *more\_ka* in the court of the Venetian dukes of Kor\_ula at the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of these also confirms our sense that color is more important than religious affiliation as a marker of identity in the *more\_ka*. A Croatian eulogy of the period praises each of the “Kor\_ulan knights [*vitezova Korçulanschih*]” who fights the *more\_ka* as “a soldier worthy of glory [*vojnika dostojni ste slave*].”<sup>15</sup> A companion Latin eulogy, addressed to Duke Carlo Zane in either 1700 or 1721, mentions a “sword dance [*in gladiatoriam saltationem*],” in which “two bands of swordsmen” fight, “one with masked faces, the other [with] clear [faces], both carrying swords before them [*altera larvatas facies, altera candidas, ambe gladios pr\_se ferentes*].”<sup>16</sup> The Latin eulogy, with its reference to “*larvatas facies*” is particularly interesting. *Larva* was “the common late-medieval term for a mask,”<sup>17</sup> but it often bore traces of its earlier connotations of a malevolent spirit of the dead with a black and terrifying face and, hence, in folk customs, of a face blackened with soot.<sup>18</sup> Although the

practice has waned with the increasing number of performances, the Black “soldiers” in Kor\_ula still occasionally blacken their faces with soot.<sup>19</sup> It may be, therefore, that the “*larvatas facies*” of the epigram were faces masked with soot. Almost certainly, the “masks,” of whatever material they were made, were black and were worn by the Black army. Once again, it is the color of the defeated army that is important.

The blackness of the defeated army and the role of the vieded woman in the drama are, we believe, the keys to understanding the hidden transcript of Kor\_ula’s *more\_ka*. Before we pursue this idea further, however, it will be helpful to trace—as best we can—the history of the various parts of the *more\_ka* before they reached Kor\_ula. It will be important, as we do so, to bear two cautions firmly in mind: first, the *more\_ka* need not have arrived directly from Spain or even under Spanish influence; and, second, it need not have arrived intact.

Ivan Ivan\_an assumes that the *more\_ka* reached Kor\_ula from Dubrovnik and that it arrived in Dubrovnik in the sixteenth century, either directly from Spain or via southern Italy.<sup>20</sup> Aside from a brief Napoleonic interregnum (1806-1815), the Kingdom of Sicily—with its capital in Naples—was ruled first by Aragon and later by the united Spanish crown from 1442 to 1860. During the late-sixteenth century, in particular, Dubrovnik enjoyed close cultural and political ties with Spain and its Italian possessions. Foreti\_ grants the inherent plausibility of Ivan\_an’s hypothesis, but he has been unable to find any documentary evidence of the *more\_ka* in Dubrovnik before it first appeared in Kor\_ula.<sup>21</sup> Other scholars have suggested implausibly that the *more\_ka* is a survival of ancient Greek pyrrhic dances, introduced from the mainland, or that it was learned from Genoese sailors. The lack of supporting historical evidence may not be the only problem

with these theories of origin. Another fundamental mistake may be the common assumption that the *more\_ka* arrived in Kor\_ula intact.<sup>22</sup>

Mock battles between Moors (or Turks) and Christians have never constituted a unified formal genre. On the contrary, the dramatic theme of Christian-Muslim warfare has been attached to a wide range of theatrical and choreographic forms, ranging from elegant courtly dances to elaborate pyrotechnic mock sieges staged for royal entries and large-scale popular street theater. Moreover, contrary to earlier assumptions about the history of the tradition, the dances appear to have been a late development, borrowing a theme from the tournament and mock siege to add drama to a pre-existing form of courtly, processional, or popular mock-combat dance.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, neither Max Harris's recent history of *fiestas* and *danzas de moros y cristianos* in Spain and Mexico nor Stephen Corrsin's history of sword dancing in Europe mentions a single definitive instance of a Spanish sword dance to which the narrative of conflict between Muslims and Christians had been attached until long after the fusion had taken place in Kor\_ula.<sup>24</sup> We may, therefore, not be looking for a single source for Kor\_ula's *more\_ka*, but for quite distinct sources for the choreography of the sword dance, on the one hand, and its dramatic narrative, on the other hand.

We will look, first, at the matter of choreographic sources. Foreti\_ and Ivan Lozica both argue that sword dances were known in Croatia as early as the thirteenth century. They cite the minutes of a court case from the city of Trogir, dated April 30, 1272, in which a young man was accused of bloodying another "with his sword [*cum suo ense*]." The defendant's lawyer "said that it was a custom in Trogir for men to elect kings and leaders among themselves and to play with weapons among themselves at Easter and

for several days after the festival [*et dixit quod consuetudo est in Tragurio, quod homines faciunt reges et dominos inter se et ludunt cum armis inter (se in) Pascate et post festum per plures dies*].” The wound, he argued, had been inflicted accidentally and without malice during such a game.<sup>25</sup> If parallels with later “choosing the king” customs mentioned by Lozica hold true, the thirteenth-century custom seems to have been a seasonal rite of inversion akin to the election of a boy bishop elsewhere in Europe.<sup>26</sup> While the accompanying swordplay may have been danced, the ambiguity of the verb *ludo*—whose broad definition of “play” includes but is not restricted to “dance”—and the absence of any mention of music in the minutes must leave the matter in doubt. In any case, even if it were a sword dance, neither Foreti\_ nor Lozica claim that the chronologically distant Trogir game was a predecessor of the Kor\_ula *more\_ka*.

Closer in time is a staged “battle [*boj*]” among three shepherds and then between the shepherds and three satyrs that occurs toward the end of Marin Dr\_i\_'s play *Tirena*, which was written and performed in Dubrovnik in 1548. The battle is over the nymph (*vila*) Tirena, who successfully pleads with the combatants to stop fighting and, as the play closes, gives herself to Ljubmir, one of the shepherds.<sup>27</sup> Although the text itself does not identify the battle as a dance nor the dance, if it was one, as a *more\_ka*, one of the variant early editions of the play adds the sub-title, “A comedy authored by Marin Dr\_i\_ in Dubrovnik, performed in front of the Duke’s palace in 1548, in which is included a battle in the manner of a *more\_ka* and a dance in the manner of shepherds [*bojni na\_in od more\_ke i tanac na na\_in pastijerski*].”<sup>28</sup> Dr\_i\_'s most recent editor Frano\_ale, following the lead of Leo Ko\_uta, comments, “It is not known what Dr\_i\_'s *more\_ka* was like, but



one can assume . . . that Dr\_i\_ used the *more\_ka* known today in Kor\_ula, where it is performed as an armed fight over a slave girl.”<sup>29</sup>

Contemporary Italian *morescas*, however, are a far more likely source of Dr\_i\_'s *more\_ka*, particularly those of Siena, where Dr\_i\_ lived from 1538 to 1545.<sup>30</sup> References to *morescas* first appeared in Italy around the middle of the fifteenth century, diminishing again—with a few local exceptions—after 1530. During this period, the Italian *moresca* was a mimed, costumed ballet that often served as an interlude in a courtly play or other entertainment.<sup>31</sup> Such entertainments frequently took place during Carnival: eight *morescanti* from Siena, for example, performed an elaborate *moresca* in Rome before the Pope and other distinguished guests during Carnival 1521.<sup>32</sup> Although the Italian *moresca* sometimes took the form of a mock battle, neither then nor later, as far as we know, did it attract a dramatic narrative of Moors and Christians. The generic name derived not from the subject matter but, in all likelihood, from a supposed similarity to Moorish dances: *alla moresca*, after the Moorish fashion.

Barbara Sparti is almost certainly correct, therefore, when she suggests that *Tirena*'s “mimed ‘ballet’ or small sword-play (not referred to as a *more\_ka* in the play) reflected Dr\_i\_'s years in Siena.” By the mid-sixteenth century, she writes, Siena's “artisan” plays, on which *Tirena* was modeled, were a working-class imitation of an earlier courtly tradition. Built around pastoral themes, they often included *morescas* in which rivals fought “with sticks—‘*alla moresca*’—for the same nymph.” The name *moresca* in Siena simply distinguished “pantomime ‘ballets’” from “specific country and sung round dances also included in the plays.” The same distinction seems to be made, in the variant Dr\_i\_ subtitle, between *more\_ka* and *tanac* (dance). Moreover, despite

Sparti's tactful reference—in a paper delivered in Kor\_ula—to “sword-play,” there is no specific evidence for the use of swords rather than sticks (or any other weapon) in Dr\_i\_'s *more\_ka*.<sup>33</sup>

Similar Italian influences are evident in the two *more\_kas* that appear in plays by the later Dubrovnik playwright Junije Palmoti\_ (1607-1657). One, involving Argonauts and Amazons, was performed with swords (“*Ovdi \_inu medju njima more\_ku s ma\_ima*”),<sup>34</sup> another, involving shepherds and knights, was performed with bows and arrows (“*Odi se \_ini more\_ka s lucim i strijelami*”).<sup>35</sup>

While Dr\_i\_ and Palmoti\_'s interludes testify to the occasional use of danced battles known as *more\_kas* on the Dubrovnik stage, none is more than a short intermezzo in a much longer play and none involves Moors, Turks, or Christians. In both respects, therefore, they differ radically from Kor\_ula's *more\_ka*. Dubrovnik's theatrical *more\_kas* may have provided a regional precedent for linking dance and dramatic narrative, but—with one possible exception—there is no reason to believe that they had any direct influence on either the choreography or the dramatic narrative of the Kor\_ulan *more\_ka*.

The possible exception is the young woman or “nymph” whose contested possession triggers not only Dr\_i\_'s *more\_ka* and many of its Sieneese antecedents, but also Kor\_ula's *more\_ka*. Since most of the larger-scale *fiestas de moros y cristianos* in Spain and its former empire are fought over an inanimate object of strategic or religious significance, such as a castle, a cross, or an image of a local saint or virgin,<sup>36</sup> the distinctive presence of the young woman in the Italian and Dalmatian *morescas* may indicate a regional continuity of influences from Siena through Dubrovnik to Kor\_ula. Even here, however, we cannot be certain, for mock battles based on the legend of

Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers of France often incorporate—on both sides of the Atlantic—a love triangle involving the Christian Oliveros, the Muslim Fierabras, and the “beautiful Moorish princess” Floripes.<sup>37</sup> Many Mexican *danzas de moros y cristianos* are also fought over a young girl, usually named La Malinche or Maringuilla (Little Mary). So are similar dances in Guatemala, New Mexico, and Peru.<sup>38</sup>

A more likely source of the choreography of the *Kor\_ula more\_ka* can be found in Venice, as one might well expect from the long Venetian dominance of the island from 1420 to 1797. A popular variation of the *moresca* survived in Venice at least until the late eighteenth century as part of the longstanding rivalry between the working-class Castellani and Nicoletti factions. Massed battles between members of the two factions wielding sharpened sticks are recorded as early as the ninth century. By the fifteenth century, the battles had moved from open fields to strategic bridges over canals dividing the factions’ areas of control. By the end of the sixteenth century, fists had replaced sticks. The last “battle of the fists” was fought in 1705. Other forms of factional competition survived: gondola races (sometimes in costume), the construction of human pyramids, and *morescas*.<sup>39</sup> The *morescas* were part of the rivalry between the factions from at least 1574 to 1847.<sup>40</sup>

In two valuable articles, Sparti has reconstructed both the social context and the movements of the Venetian *moresca*.<sup>41</sup> While the *Kor\_ula more\_ka*, even if we imagine it without its dramatic narrative, is far from a precise replica of the Venetian *moresca*, the similarities between the two are striking. The Venetian *moresca* “was never a combat between *opposing* factions. . . . It was instead always a performance of skilled swordsmanship among members of the same faction.” The Nicoletti faction wore black

sashes and hats, the Castellani wore red. The swordsmen formed two circles of eight to twelve apiece, alternating between concentric circles and a single circle. The two circles faced in opposite directions, each moving clockwise, so that the swordsmen faced constantly changing opponents, just as the Kor\_ula *more\_kanti* do. The Venetian *moresca* had seven distinct “parts” or “figures,” separated from one another, as are the seven Kor\_ula figures, by a “*presa* [reprise]” or rest. Finally, there is some suggestion that the *moresca*, although it lacked a formal dramatic narrative, may have been understood to represent a Venetian victory over the papal league and other Italian states that opposed Venice.<sup>42</sup>

The formal differences between the Venetian *moresca* and its counterpart in Kor\_ula are more apparent than real. When shown the seven colored pen-and-ink drawings (1815) of the *moresca* that Sparti reproduces, Darko Lozica immediately noted the use of a single short sword by each of the protagonists in the drawings. Two swords, he reminded the interviewer, are used in Kor\_ula. He also noted that one circle of protagonists held the sword in the left hand and the other in the right hand.<sup>43</sup> But the use of a single sword is due to the drawings’ late date: before the middle of the seventeenth century, most Italian fencing manuals depicted men armed with two swords or with a sword and dagger.<sup>44</sup> Arriving in Kor\_ula before the change to a single sword took place in the late seventeenth century, the Kor\_ula *more\_ka* preserved the older practice. The left-handed swordsmen, like the tilted stage in the drawings, may be nothing more than an artistic device to ensure that all the swords (and, in the case of the stage, the swordsmen) are visible.

Another apparent difference has to do with music: unlike its Kor\_ulan relative, the Venetian *moresca* probably lacked musical accompaniment. Not only was it always referred to as a “game,” which was “*battuta* [beaten or fought],” rather than as a dance,<sup>45</sup> but there is no mention of music in the written accounts, nor are there any musicians visible in the pen-and-ink drawings. Probably the clash of swords and stamping of feet on the wooden stage provided all the rhythm necessary. Although the Kor\_ula *more\_ka* is called a “dance” by those who study it, the performers themselves refer to it as a “game” that is “beaten.”<sup>46</sup> Moreover, as Grozdana Maro\_evi\_ writes, “Rhythm is far more important than the melodic part in the music[al] component [of the *more\_ka*] . . . . The dancers create it themselves by stamping their feet on the floor (earlier in Kor\_ula, the floor was of wood), but even more by the clashing of the swords.”<sup>47</sup> A wooden stage, almost identical to that in the Venetian drawings, is still used for many performances.

Maro\_evi\_ suggests that music may have been added for the “revival” in honor of Paulina Capello da Riva. Although the musical accompaniment to the *more\_ka* has gone through many subsequent permutations, “it is unquestionable,” she writes, that the earliest surviving notations include “music of evident Italian provenance that arrived in Kor\_ula, probably during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, or perhaps in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup>.”<sup>48</sup> While Maro\_evi\_'s conclusions do not confirm the mid-to-late-17<sup>th</sup>-century Venetian origins of the *more\_ka*'s rhythmic swordplay, they are certainly consistent with it.

The similarities between the Venetian *moresca* and the Kor\_ulan *more\_ka*, in our opinion, outweigh the differences. In the absence of any persuasive evidence pointing to an alternative hypothesis, therefore, we follow Sparti's lead in supposing the Venetian *moresca* to be the most likely precedent for the formal structure of the Kor\_ula *more\_ka*.

What of the *more\_ka*'s dramatic narrative? Foreti\_ cites as a possible antecedent a mock battle that took place in Split on 27 September 1571. The Ottoman Turks then controlled all of the Balkan peninsula almost as far north as Zagreb, with the exception of the independent Republic of Dubrovnik and—from Kor\_ula northward—a thin strip of the Adriatic coast (including Split) and its adjacent islands ruled by Venice.<sup>49</sup> Venice, the Papal States, and Spain were together at war with Turkey in the Second War of the Holy League (1570-1573). From the Catholic point of view, the highpoint of the war was the Battle of Lepanto, on October 7, 1571, which itself became the subject of festive mock battles throughout the Catholic world.<sup>50</sup>

The entertainment in Split celebrated a much smaller victory. On 26 September, 1571, a small contingent of Turkish cavalry threatened the city of Split. Helped by a sudden storm, a group of peasants armed with pitchforks and clubs overcame the Turks outside the city walls. The next day, after a joyous victory procession and mass, the citizens of Split staged a series of festive entertainments marked by “wonderful spectacle and high spirits.” A contemporary diary entry reads, “Among the other [entertainments] was a horse race; and the Turks fought against the Moors; then, the dance of the young women, beneath the palace of the rector [of the university] and the palaces of the nobles; and then, too, the fist battle of the longshoremen, in which one [man] was badly bruised and carried to his house as if dead; but, in fact, he didn't die, and he recovered [*Fra gli altri, si fece la corsa delli barbari; e combatterono li Turchi con li Mori; poi, il ballo delle donzelle sotto il palazzo del rettore e li palagi delli nobili; e poi anche il combattimento a pugni delli bastasi, in cui uno fu malconcio, e portato alla sua casa per morto; ma già non moritte, e si ricuperò*].”<sup>51</sup>

Four distinct entertainments are mentioned. At first sight, “*la corsa delli barbari*” might seem to mean “the running of the barbarians” and to refer to the mock-battle between Turks and Christians that follows. But a semi-colon separates the two. Moreover, Nerida Newbiggin points to the similarity between “*barbari*” and the contemporary Italian “*barbero*” or “*barberesco*”—derived from the Italian for Berber horse (*barbero*)—meaning a race horse. She cites numerous contemporary references in which *barberi* or *barbareschi* competed (as they still do in Siena) for the *palio*, a banner or length of richly embroidered brocade awarded to the winner of a horse race.<sup>52</sup> The “*corsa delli barbari*” in Split, therefore, was almost certainly a horse race. It was followed by a mock battle between Turks and Moors; a dance performed by young women (or, possibly, cross-dressed men); and a battle with fists, staged by the city’s longshoremen or porters (*bastasi*) and presumably modeled on Venetian precedents.

None of this tells us what form the mock battle took. Since about 1530, the most popular form of mock battle between Moors and Christians throughout Spain and large parts of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries had been the large-scale pyrotechnic mock siege.<sup>53</sup> But the citizens of Split could hardly have organized such a complex piece of theatrical artifice in a single day. An elaborate dramatic framework, with extensive dialogue, is unlikely for the same reason. Nor, despite Grga Novak’s assumption that the mock battle was a version of the *more\_ka* “still preserved in Kor\_ula,”<sup>54</sup> is there any textual evidence that the mock battle involved dancing. It may have done, but if it did, it was the first of its kind to combine dancing with a narrative of Moors, Turks, or Christians. More likely, perhaps, given its proximity to the horse race, is that it was some kind of horseback competition in which one side dressed as Turks and the other as

Moors. A similar competition, based on the Spanish (and originally Moorish) *juego de cañas*, took place in Naples in 1543.<sup>55</sup>

In any case, the only demonstrable similarity between the mock battle in Split and the *more\_ka* in Kor\_ula is their shared reference to Turks and Moors. But, as we saw earlier, this unusual pairing was a late development in the Kor\_ula narrative, the earlier plot more conventionally pitting Christians against Moors. A much later reference (1822) to a danced *moresca* in Split describes the two sides as “*Ottomani* [Ottoman Turks]” and “*Affricani* [North African Moors]” who were engaged for their mutual amusement in a friendly test of skills,<sup>56</sup> and this—rather than the 1571 *more\_ka*—may have been the more immediate source of Kor\_ula’s conjunction of Turk and Moor. Of interest in Novak’s account, however, is his translation of the sixteenth-century diary’s distinctively ethnic distinction, “*e combatteroni li Turchi con li Mori* [and the Turks fought against the Moors]” as “*borbu Turaka sa crncima* [the Turks fought against the Blacks].”<sup>57</sup> The linguistic slippage between Moors and Blacks may also have been at work, as we shall see, in the development of the Kor\_ula *more\_ka*.

We know of no other mock battles among Moors, Turks, and Christians on the Dalmatian coast before the first reference to the Kor\_ula *more\_ka*. Nor do we know of any definitive records of earlier performances, anywhere in Europe, that combined a sword dance with a dramatic narrative of Moors, Turks, and Christians.<sup>58</sup> We suggest, therefore, that the Kor\_ula *more\_ka* was not imported to the island intact but was developed as an original creation by the citizens of Kor\_ula. Diverse precedents existed: the choreography and swordsmanship of the Venetian *moresca*; the combination of danced battle and dramatic narrative in the Dubrovnik *more\_kas* of Dr\_i\_ and Palmoti\_;



the struggle for possession of a young woman in Dr\_i\_'s *Tirena* and its Sieneſe precursors; the broad Italian association of elegant *morescas* with Carnival; and the well-established European tradition of mock battles between Moors, Turks, and Christians, already evident in Split in 1571. But these elements do not seem to have come together anywhere else quite as they did in Kor\_ula. Rather than diminish the prestige of the Kor\_ula *more\_ka* by implying that its particular roots are not as old as some had thought, we believe the dance's prestige is enhanced by the possibility that it is unique to Kor\_ula.

In order to ask why the various elements of the dance came together as they did and why they should have done so at that particular time and place, we now return to the first recorded performances of the *more\_ka* in Kor\_ula in the second half of the seventeenth century. Staged during Carnival for the entertainment of the Venetian duke and his court, the *more\_ka* allowed the city's craftsmen to masquerade as "knights" and to demonstrate their skill with swords.<sup>59</sup> By at least the time of the Latin eulogy dedicated to Carlo Zane and the Italian translation dedicated to Paulina Capello da Riva—if not before—the swordplay of the *more\_ka* was framed by a dramatic narrative in which Blacks fought Whites for the possession of a dark-skinned (Algerian) young woman. The former wore black masks—perhaps applied with soot—and the latter had "clear faces." The Whites won, thereby gaining—according to a Latin epigram appended to the Italian translation—a "just" victory. We suspect, however, that this public transcript of White victory masks a hidden transcript of sympathy for the defeated Blacks, and that the uneasy relationship between the two transcripts goes a long way to explaining the form taken by the *more\_ka*.

Any reconstruction of a performance's hidden transcript at this distance in time is fraught with uncertainty. Under the best of circumstances, the condition of the hidden transcript's public expression "is that it be sufficiently indirect and garbled that it is capable of two readings, one of which is innocuous."<sup>60</sup> We are handicapped further when we are unable to read for ourselves the signs of the hidden transcript legible in performance and must instead glean what we can from fragmentary eye-witness reports and from official scripts and dedications that necessarily privilege the public transcript. Nevertheless, we believe that, in this instance, enough clues remain to point us in the right direction.

One such clue concerns the textual identity of the Blacks as "*Mauri* [Moors]," despite the very strong suggestion that they are, in fact, Turks. Not only is Mehmet a Turkish name, but the armies of Mehmet's father, "the Moorish king [*il Rè Mauro*]," are said to provide a sure defense "against the strong, proud Hungarian [*contra il forte Ungaro orgoglio*]" rather than against the Spaniards. Moreover, the "Moors" are twice identified with Thrace ("*Tracio*"), the Ottoman Empire's first foothold in Europe.<sup>61</sup> "Thracians," as Foreti\_ points out, was a common synonym for European Turks.<sup>62</sup>

On the face of it, Turks were the most likely antagonists. Parts of the Balkan peninsula had been occupied by Ottoman Turks since 1354. At its height, under Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), the Ottoman Empire ruled all of what is now Greece, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Romania, as well as large portions of Croatia and Hungary. Suleyman famously defeated the Hungarian army at Mohacs in 1526. As late as 1683, under Mehmet IV, Ottoman forces besieged Vienna. Kor\_ula itself came under attack by the Turkish navy in August 1571.<sup>63</sup>

Why, then, are the Blacks called “*Mauri*” rather than the more historically immediate “Turks”? In some Spanish *fiestas de moros y cristianos*, “Turks” and “Moors” are simply interchangeable designations for an undifferentiated Muslim enemy. But a more intriguing possibility, in the case of the Kor\_ula *more\_ka*, is that “*Mauro*” recalled the Greek word *mauros* meaning “black,” and that the Kor\_ulans substituted “*Mauri*” for “Turks” to emphasize once again the black identity of the young woman’s legitimate betrothed. (In several Dalmatian dialects, *mori*—like the Italian *moro*—means both “Moors” and “black.”) The opening line of the Latin epigram that accompanies the translation lends credence to this view, for it, too, frames the battle in terms of color rather than religion: “While Blacks and Whites fight . . . [*Dum Nigri et Nivei pugnant . . .*].”<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, the imagery of the young woman’s opening speech pointedly undermines the ethical values with which “black” and “white” have traditionally been imbued in Europe. On first seeing the darkness that embellished her betrothed’s face, she says, she was reminded of the new dawn and of the sun that brings the day: “*Al veder quel bruno che abella/ Suo brillante viso adorno/ Vidi, oimè, l’Alba novella, Anzi il sol che porta il giorno.*” The White King later endorses this inversion of traditional values when he compares the young woman’s north African beauty to the new light of daybreak: “*E più bella sembri ancora/ Che lassù novella Aurora.*” The language of the dramatic frame, in short, declares the dark skin of the Black King and his soldiers—blackened not only verbally by ethnic referent but visually by a black mask, perhaps of soot—to be a positive value. The same is true of the young woman. The “clear faces” of the Whites are implicitly devalued.

The reason for this positive evaluation of blackness in the *more\_ka* becomes apparent when we consider the title of the Latin epigram, which openly appropriates the ancient and longstanding self-identity of the island as Black Kor\_ula.: “Epigram to the most generous Paulina da Riva, wife of the duke of Black Kor\_ula [*Paulina à Ripa/Comiti Nigrocorcyrensi donatissime/ Epigramma*]”).<sup>65</sup> Coming immediately before the epigram’s opening line (“While Blacks and Whites fight . . .”), the identification of Blacks and Kor\_ulans could hardly be more explicit and still remain part of the “hidden” transcript.

The necessary ambiguity of the performance is immediately protected, however, by the epigram’s insistence that the victory of the Whites is “just.” This verdict puzzled Foreti\_, who rightly felt that the White King’s forced abduction of the Black King’s fiancée was highly immoral.<sup>66</sup> As the Black King insists in the scripted dialogue, the “rape” was an act of sexual violence: “*A voi fieri, che rapiste/ L’Idol mio, che solo adoro . . .* [You proud men, who carried off by force my idol, whom alone I adore . . .].”

The confusion can be easily explained, however, if we maintain a critical distinction between the public and hidden transcripts. According to the public transcript, White Christians defeated Black Muslims. Although the religious affiliation of the Whites is never mentioned explicitly by the text, the designation of the Blacks as both Turks and Moors left only a Christian identity for the Whites.<sup>67</sup> From a Christian perspective—and both Venice and Kor\_ula were Christian—any victory of Christian forces over the invasive (or, after 1683, retreating) armies of the Ottoman Empire was just. This was the “innocuous” reading, the protective public transcript, the declaration of

a “just victory” that both the Venetian duchess and the Kor\_ulan swordsmen could safely acknowledge.

According to the hidden transcript, however, the Blacks were not Muslims but Kor\_ulans, representatives of Black Kor\_ula. The poetic imagery of the script established their positive value. In an act of manifest injustice, the arrogant Whites took by force the Black’s most precious possession. The young woman’s role in the hidden transcript should now be obvious. Land is almost everywhere imagined in female terms. Rape is a common metaphor for its seizure by force. We believe that the abducted young woman of the hidden transcript represented the island of Kor\_ula itself, repeatedly captured by external forces. The Whites represented Venice. Wisely, of course, the text avoided any overt reference to Venice, implicitly flattering the republic with a public transcript of Christian victory over traditional Turkish enemies. But, if we are correct, the hidden transcript enacted a poignant narrative of Kor\_ula’s rape and long captivity by Venice, the islanders’ continued devotion to their land, and their yearning to be free. Perhaps the poetic imagery of “new dawn,” “daybreak,” and “sunrise” not only valorized the Blacks and the woman (and the land) to which it was applied, but also invoked dreams of a new day of freedom for Kor\_ula.

Support for this reading of the *more\_ka* comes not only from the historical record, well documented by Foreti\_, of late-seventeenth century Kor\_ulan resentment toward Venetian control and its economic exploitation of the island,<sup>68</sup> but also from another important item of local folklore, to which we referred earlier: the legend of Crnomiri (Black Peace) brothers. Petar Crnomiri and his six brothers, from the village of \_ara, are reputed to have led an uprising against the first Venetian duke of Kor\_ula in 1000.

The origins of the legend are uncertain. Marinko Gjivoje has argued for its historical authenticity on the basis of later, verifiable clashes between the islanders and their Venetian governors in the thirteenth century, but he also acknowledges another view, which places the origin of the legend in the early seventeenth century, closer to the time of the first report of the *more\_ka* on the island.<sup>69</sup> The first extant version of the legend was collected in 1858 by Nikola Ostoji\_, who claimed to be drawing on a now lost poem by the Kor\_ulan poet Ivan Kapor (1776-1849). Kapor himself, according to Ostoji\_, had adapted much older oral versions of the poem.<sup>70</sup>

Whatever the origins of the legend, there does seem to be presumptive evidence of its existence in oral form at the time of the *more\_ka*'s first appearance in Kor\_ula in the late seventeenth century. Significantly, the legend not only bears witness to contemporary, popular Kor\_ulan resentment of Venetian power, but does so in terms that identify the island's heroes—whose successors, it is understood, will eventually bring peace to the island—with the color black. The brothers are named Crnomiri, pointedly combining the Croatian words for black (*crn*) and peace (*mir*).

Of interest, too, is the fact that the sword dance *kumpanija* of \_ara, just sixteen miles across the island from the city of Kor\_ula, still begins its annual performance of the village's linked sword dance with an early morning ceremony at the grave of the Crnomiri brothers. The dancers lay flowers on the grave.<sup>71</sup> The link between the \_ara sword dance and the legendary resistance of the Crnomiri brothers was documented more than a century ago by Petar Kuni\_i\_, who wrote in 1897, "The people of \_ara play the *kumpanija* at Carnival and on St. Peter's Day, in memory of their compatriot Petar Crnomirovic, who was killed during the reign of the first Venetian duke of Kor\_ula.

Together with his six brothers, he refused to surrender the ‘dukedom’ of \_ara to Venetian rule.”<sup>72</sup> While neither the legend itself nor the \_ara sword dancers’ identification with it confirms our hypothesis about the hidden transcript of the *more\_ka*, they do together demonstrate the consistency of our hypothesis with other aspects of Kor\_ulan folklore.

With this narrative hypothesis in mind, therefore, we can now also hazard a tentative explanation of the formal choices of the first Kor\_ulan *more\_kanti*. The adoption of traditional Italian dance forms, with their roots in both the elegant courtly *moresca* and the rougher but more enduring Venetian *moresca*, strengthened the public transcript’s flattery of Italian and, in particular, Venetian culture. But it also allowed the craftsmen of Kor\_ula to display their skill with swords, thereby posing as worthy adversaries of Venetian rule, and to do so during Carnival, when a measure of bravura posturing could be overlooked by the duke as seasonal high spirits. The eminently flexible dramatic narrative of Turks and Christians permitted both a “safe” reading, according to which Ottoman forces were justly defeated, and a “native” reading, according to which Black Kor\_ulans protested their enforced subordination to Venice. The black faces and costumes of the “Moors,” dominating the performance, could be read either way, as signs of the infidels’ moral darkness or as glorious markers of the Blacks’ Kor\_ulan identity.

Careful study of the subsequent records of Kor\_ula’s *more\_ka* will, we believe, discover similar traces of a hidden transcript grounded in the blackness of the defeated army and in the never fully resolved contest for the woman in the veil. The particular interaction of the hidden transcript both with contemporary politics and with the shifting public transcript of Moors, Turks, and Christians will vary. Folk performance traditions are rarely fixed, and adaptation to changing political and social circumstances is often

necessary to their continued vitality (and, hence, survival). The triumphant waving of the “White” army’s red flag over the bodies of the defeated Blacks at the close of the *more\_ka*, for example—still performed in Kor\_ula by the older of the two *more\_ka* troupes—carried particular resonance during the communist era. But we are persuaded that, despite these necessary accommodations to the changing political scenery, Kor\_ula’s *more\_ka* has been, for more than three hundred years, a place where a hidden transcript of anxiety over the fate of the island could be insinuated into a public transcript of compliance. The detailed history of that hidden transcript remains to be written.

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent study of the tradition, which pays close attention to the “public” and “hidden transcripts” of the performances (and questions the legend of the tradition’s twelfth-century origins), see Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000). The terms “public” and “hidden transcript” are borrowed from James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> For regional histories in English, see Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); Ivo Goldstein, *Croatia: A History* (London: Hurst, 1999); and, for the period after 1700, Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>3</sup> Vinko Foreti\_, “Kor\_ula u doba Petra Kanavelica,” in *Zbornik otoka Kor\_ule*, ed. Marinko Gjivoje, 3 vols. (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: n.p., 1970-1973), 3:15-40, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> For the Crnomiri legend, see Davor Duki\_, “Lokalna povijesna predaja i narodna epska pjesma o bra\_i Crnomirima,” in *Zbornik\_are*, ed. Stanko Lasic et al. (ara: \_upni ured\_ara, 1999), 319-346.

<sup>5</sup> For the linked sword dances, see Ivan Ivan\_an, *Narodni obi\_aji Kor\_ulanskih kampanija* (Zagreb: Institut za Narodnu Umjetnost, 1967); Ivan Lozica, *Poganska ba\_tina* (Zagreb: Goldenmarketing, 2002), 143-169.

<sup>6</sup> For reflections on the impact of tourism—and the Sword Dance Festival, in particular—on the island’s sword dances, see Goran Oreb and Milan Oreb, “Role of Kor\_ula’s ‘Festival for Knightly Dances’ in the Preservation of Traditional Values,” in *Proceedings, 21<sup>st</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, 2000, Kor\_ula*, eds. Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Tvrtko Zebec, pp. 91-92 (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2001); and Mihajlo Grgi\_, “The Sword Dance Festival in Kor\_ula,” in *Proceedings, Symposium, More\_ka: Past and Present, 2001, Kor\_ula*, ed. Elsie Ivancich Dunin, pp. 126-131 (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> For the Croatian text of the dance’s dialogue, see Vinko Foreti\_, “Povijesni prikaz kor\_ulanske more\_ke,” in *More\_ka: Kor\_ulanska vite\_ka igra*, ed. Ante Le\_aja et al., pp. 5-70 (Kor\_ula: Radni\_ko kulturno-umjetni\_ko dru\_tvo More\_ka Kor\_ula, 1974), 31-37; or Marinko Gjivoje, *Otok Kor\_ula* (Zagreb: Vlastita Naklada, 1968), 241-243. For an English translation, see Zoran Pal\_ok, ed., *More\_ka: The War-Dance from Kor\_ula* (Ljubljana: Tiskarna Slovenija, 1974), 43-46. For an Italian translation, see Bianca Maria Galanti, *La danza della spada in Italia* (Roma: Edizione Italiana, 1942), 103-110. For a discussion of the dance figures, see Ivan Ivan\_an, “Ples I plesni obi\_aji vezani uz more\_ku,” in *More\_ka: Kor\_ulanska*



*vite\_ka igra*, ed. Ante Le\_aja et al., pp. 93-159 (Kor\_ula: Radni\_ko kulturno-umjetni\_ko dru\_tvo More\_ka Kor\_ula, 1974), 104-117; or, more briefly, Pal\_ok, ed., *More\_ka*, 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> Zlata Bojovic, *Barokni pesnik Petar Kanavelovi\_* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1980), 40.

<sup>9</sup> Elsie Ivancich Dunin, "Markers in Time: Costume and Scenic Characteristics of Mock Combat Sword Dance Performances," in *Proceedings, Symposium, More\_ka: Past and Present, 2001, Kor\_ula*, ed. Elsie Ivancich Dunin, pp. 95-104 (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2002), 100.

<sup>10</sup> Vinko Foreti\_, "Prilozi o kor\_ulanskoj more\_ki," *Gra\_a za povijest knji\_evnosti hrvatske* 25 (1955): 239-263, pp. 257-260; Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 25.

<sup>11</sup> Foreti\_, "Prilozi o kor\_ulanskoj," 256; Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 24; Pal\_ok, ed., *More\_ka*, 9. Grozdana Maro\_evi\_, "The 19<sup>th</sup> Century Music of the Kor\_ula More\_ka," in *Proceedings, Symposium, More\_ka: Past and Present, 2001, Kor\_ula*, ed. Elsie Ivancich Dunin, pp. 78-94 (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2002), 91, favors the earlier date. The dukes of Kor\_ula, elected by the Venetian Senate from among the Venetian nobility, served terms that generally lasted no more than two years. See *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, ed. Anto Babi\_et. al, 2 vols., (Zagreb: Skolska knjiga, 1953-59), 2:262.

<sup>12</sup> For the Latin, see Foreti\_, "Prilozi o kor\_ulanskoj," 260. For a Croatian translation, see Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 26.

<sup>13</sup> Another variation on the plot is found in a late eighteenth-century manuscript, now in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik. In this version, a lost girl of royal blood but veiled ethnicity is mourning her absent fiancé. An army of White soldiers vows to defend her against capture by an army of Tartar (Black) soldiers. The latter claim she is an escaped slave of their emperor. The text lacks any concluding dialogue, but it is probably fair to assume a White victory. Although the manuscript does not state so explicitly, it is probable that it refers to the Kor\_ula *more\_ka*. The Croatian text now in use was first published in 1869. See Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 26-29; Pal\_ok, ed., *More\_ka*, 9-10.

<sup>14</sup> Darko Lozica, conversation with Max Harris, July 4, 2003. The costumes presently in use identify both sides as Muslim by an identical small (and hardly noticeable) crescent moon and star on the crowns worn by each of the two kings. The other dancers' costumes bear no such identifying mark. The distinguishing colors of red and black are what visibly separate the two sides. Of the red costumes, Lozica added, "If they wore white, they'd look like they were in hospital." C.f. the exclusive reference to Black and White Kings on [www.moreska.hr/moreska.htm/](http://www.moreska.hr/moreska.htm/).

<sup>15</sup> Foreti\_, "Prilozi o kor\_ulanski," 255; Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 24.

<sup>16</sup> For the Latin, see Foreti\_, "Prilozi o kor\_ulanski," 255. For a Croatian translation, see Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 24; Pal\_ok, ed., *More\_ka*, 9, translates "*larvatas facies*" as "painted" rather than "masked" faces.

<sup>17</sup> Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 336-344.

<sup>19</sup> Darko Lozica told Max Harris (July 4, 2003) that the Blacks no longer darken their faces because it is impractical to wash soot stains from the costumes after each performance and because of the potential health danger of soot in an accidental sword cut. Elsie Ivancich Dunin, however, reported that for the performances on the feast day of Sveti Todor, July 29, 2003, "both groups. . . decided to resurrect the 'black makeup' for the Black army. This is the first time that I have seen the black face version in my recent years of observation" (personal correspondence with Max Harris, August 3, 2003).

<sup>20</sup> Ivan Ivan\_an, *Narodni plesovi Dalmacije* (Zagreb: Institut za narodnu umjetnost, 1973-1982), 1:293-296.

<sup>21</sup> Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 41.

<sup>22</sup> For a summary of these theories in English, see Nadine M. Dougan, "*More\_ka*: A Search for Its Beginnings in Kor\_ula," *UCLA Journal of Dance Ethnology* 9 (1985):13-22. Dougan herself prefers Ivan\_an's theory, but adds, p. 20, "I question whether one can completely ignore the Venetian rule in Dalmatia from 1420 to 1798 and the possibility of the *More\_ka* as having been introduced as a result of Venetian cultural and political influence."

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed account of the development of the tradition, see Harris, *Aztecs*. For the almost certainly false assumption that the first *danza de moros y cristianos* took place in Lleida in 1150, see *ibid.*, 31-36. The earliest verifiable record of a Spanish dance on this theme was the mock battle between eight Christian hobbyhorses and twenty-four Turkish infantry that formed part of the pageant of the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* in the Barcelona Corpus Christi procession from 1424 on (*ibid.*, 43-47). Although this was

performed without the accompanying pageant in Naples in 1442 (ibid., 47-48), the presence of the hobbyhorses, whose riders carried both lances and swords, renders it an unlikely precedent for the *Kor\_ula more\_ka*.

<sup>24</sup> Harris, *Aztecs*, 199-201, mentions a courtly sword dance in Spanish-ruled Binche (Belgium) in 1549, in which a German eye-witness mistakenly identified the “wild men” of one side as being “dressed like Moors”; and, 211, a “shuffling sword dance” of Moors and Christians in modern Trevelez (Granada). According to Stephen D. Corrsin, *Sword Dancing in Europe: A History* (London: Hisarlik Press, 1997), 71, the first reference to a Spanish *danza de espadas* (sword dance) comes from Ourense in 1451, but there is no reason to believe that this was a *danza de moros y cristianos*. Subsequent records of Spanish sword dances suggest a dominant tradition of non-dramatic dances to which representational costumes and narratives were sometimes and belatedly added (e.g., ibid., 76, “a group of twenty maskers . . . , dressed like Indians” in Toledo in 1555). Corrsin mentions no definitive early record of a Spanish sword dance with a narrative of Moors and Christians.

<sup>25</sup> Foreti\_, “Povijesni,” 21; Pal\_ok, ed., *More\_ka*, 8; Ivan Lozica, “Sword Dances on the Island of Kor\_ula, and Choosing the King Custom,” in *Proceedings, 21<sup>st</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, 2000, Kor\_ula*, eds. Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Tvrtko Zebec, pp. 72-76 (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2001), 73-74. The original Latin citation can be found in Miho Barada, “O na\_em obi\_aju biranja kralja,” *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, n.s. 1, nos. 3-4 (1927):197-209, pp. 208-209, and in Lozica, *Poganska*, 100.

<sup>26</sup> Lozica, “Sword Dances,” 74. For the boy bishop, see E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1903), 1:336-371; Simonette Cochis, “The Bishop of Fools,” in *Fools and Jesters in Literature, Art, and History*, ed. Vicki K. Janik (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 96-105; Max Harris, *Carnival and Other Christian Festivals* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 8-9, 139-143.

<sup>27</sup> Marin Dr\_i\_, *Tirena*, Act 5, scene 5; Marin Dr\_i\_, *Djela*, ed. Frano\_ale (Zagreb: Liber, 1979), 287.

<sup>28</sup> Marina Dr\_i\_a, *Djela*, ed. Milan Re\_etar, vol. 7 of *Stari pisci hrvatski* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti I Umjetnosti, 1930), 63. The editor provides no information on whether the undated source of this subtitle is a manuscript or a printed edition.

<sup>29</sup> Frano\_ale, in Dr\_i\_, *Djela*, 287n. Leo Ko\_uta, “Siena nella vita e nell’opera di Marino Darsa (Marin Dr\_i\_),” *Ricerche Slavistiche* 9 (1961):67-121, pp. 96-97. See also Vinko Foreti\_, “Prilozi o more\_ki u dalmatinskim gradovima,” *Zbornik za narodni\_ivok I obi\_aje ju\_nih slavena* 42 (1964):155-182, pp. 155-156.

<sup>30</sup> Ko\_uta, “Siena,” offers a detailed discussion of Dr\_i\_’s time in Siena and of the Sienese influence on his plays.

<sup>31</sup> Barbara Sparti, “The Moresca and Mattaccino in Italy, circa 1450-1630,” in *Proceedings, Symposium, More\_ka: Past and Present, 2001, Kor\_ula*, ed. Elsie Ivancich Dunin, pp. 1-11 (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2002).

<sup>32</sup> Fabrizio Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento, Roma 1450-1550* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1983), 491-492.

<sup>33</sup> Sparti, “Moresca,” 6. For a discussion of the Sienese popular theater and its influence on *Tirena*, see Ko\_uta, “Siena,” 84-98.

<sup>34</sup> Junije Palmoti\_, *Ipsipile* (ca. 1630), Act 3, scene 3; Junije Palmoti\_, *Djela Gjona Palmotica*, ed. Armin Pavic, vol. 13 of *Stari pisci hrvatski* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti I Umjetnosti, 1883), 402. For the early date of *Ipsipile*, see Wilfried Pothoff, *Die Drama des Junije Palmoti\_: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Theaters in Dubrovnik im 17. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), 45. Palmoti\_’s most recent editor, however, suggests that the play was written in the year of its first known performance, 1653. See Junije Palmoti\_, *Izabrana djela*, ed. Rafo Bogi\_ic (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 40.

<sup>35</sup> Junije Palmoti\_, *Pavlimir* (1632), Act 2, scene 12; Palmoti\_, *Izabrana djela*, ed. Bogi\_ic, 119.

<sup>36</sup> An exception is the large-scale mock battle fought annually during Carnival in Huejotzingo (Puebla), Mexico, where one of the contested objects of possession is a young woman. See Max Harris, *The Dialogical Theatre* (London: Macmillan, 1993), 108-119.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Rodney Gallop, *Portugal: A Book of Folk-Ways* [1936], Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961, 176-179; Harris, *Aztecs*, 3-12.

<sup>38</sup> For La Malinche, see Max Harris, “Moctezuma’s Daughter: The Role of La Malinche in Mesoamerican Dance,” *Journal of American Folklore* 109 (1996):149-177; Max Harris, *Aztecs*, 237-250. For the role of

the Imilla in Andean mock battles, see Gisela Cánepa Koch, *Máscara: Transformación e identidad en los Andes* (Lima: Fondo Editorial, 1998), 216-219; Max Harris, *Carnivals and Other Christian Festivals* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 125.

<sup>39</sup> Robert C. Davis, *The War of the Fists: Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>40</sup> Barbara Sparti, "An 18<sup>th</sup> Century Venetian *Moresca*," in *Proceedings, 21<sup>st</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, 2000, Kor\_ula*, eds. Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Tvrtko Zebec, pp. 103-110 (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2001), 106, 108n8.

<sup>41</sup> Sparti, "An 18<sup>th</sup> Century"; Barbara Sparti, "An Analytical and Comparative Study of an 18<sup>th</sup> Century Venetian *Moresca*," in *Proceedings, Symposium, More\_ka: Past and Present, 2001, Kor\_ula*, ed. Elsie Ivancich Dunin (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2002), 50-66.

<sup>42</sup> Sparti, "Analytical."

<sup>43</sup> Darko Lozica, conversation with Max Harris, July 4, 2003. The pen-and-ink drawings are reproduced in Sparti, "Analytical," 51-58.

<sup>44</sup> Dunin, "Markers," 97-98.

<sup>45</sup> Sparti, "Analytical," 59.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>47</sup> Grozdana Maro\_evi\_, "Kor\_ulanska more\_ka, ruggiero i spagnoletta," *Narodna umjetnost (Croatian Journal of Ethnology and Folklore Research)* 39/2 (2002): 111-140, pp. 116-117; Maro\_evi\_, "19<sup>th</sup> Century," 79.

<sup>48</sup> Maro\_evi\_, "Kor\_ulanska," 134; Maro\_evi\_, "19<sup>th</sup> Century," 91.

<sup>49</sup> For maps, see Tanner, *Croatia*, 36, and Goldstein, *Croatia*, 35.

<sup>50</sup> See, for example, Harris, *Aztecs*, 3, 149-150, and 219.

<sup>51</sup> "Diario dell'anno 1571," in *Documenti storici sull'Istria e la Dalmazia*, ed. V. Solitro, vol. 1, pp. 131-173 (Venice: Gattei, 1844), 145-146; Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 21-22.

<sup>52</sup> Personal correspondence with Max Harris, October 8 and 9, 2003. Regarding the difference between "barberi" and "barbari," Newbiggin writes, "The atonic a and e are almost interchangeable." For examples of "barbaresco" meaning "race horse," see Ser Giusto Giusti d'Anghiari, *I Giornali (1437-1482)*, ed. Nerida Newbiggin, *Letteratura italiana antica* 3 (2002): 115, 120, 123, 149, 158, 164, 171, 185, 187, 194, 200, 207, 220. For the modern use of *bârbero* (race horse) in Siena, see Alan Dundes and Alessandro Falassi, *La Terra in Piazza: An Interpretation of the Palio of Siena* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 241.

<sup>53</sup> Harris, *Aztecs*, 179-220. For the British tradition, see Philip Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1998), 99-128.

<sup>54</sup> Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 3 vols. (Split: Matica hrvatska, 1957-1965), 2:75; Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 21-22.

<sup>55</sup> Geronimo de Spenis, "Breve cronica dai 2 giugno 1543 a 25 maggio 1547," ed. Bartolomeo Capasso, *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 2 (1877): 511-531, pp. 519-525; Harris, *Aztecs*, 182-183. For the Spanish *juego de cañas*, see Harris, *Aztecs*, 57-58.

<sup>56</sup> Foreti\_, "Prilozi o more\_ki," 161-162.

<sup>57</sup> Novak, *Povijest*, 2:75.

<sup>58</sup> If "sword dance" were defined loosely enough, an exception to this rule might be the Corpus Christi processional tradition of mock battles between Christian hobbyhorses and Turkish foot soldiers, first recorded in Barcelona in 1424 (see, above, note 23). Although the combatants wield "swords" and "lances," however, the 1424 dance and its surviving Catalan successors belong more to the hobbyhorse-than to the sword-dance tradition.

<sup>59</sup> By comparing the surnames of *more\_kanti* with occupations noted for the same surnames in baptismal and marriage records from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries in Kor\_ula, Elsie Ivancich Dunin has concluded that the *more\_kanti* were "carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and stonemasons" (personal correspondence with the authors, December 10, 2003).

<sup>60</sup> Scott, *Domination*, 157.

<sup>61</sup> All citations from the Italian play text are from Foreti\_, "Prilozi o kor\_ulanski," 257-259. For the Ottoman capture of Thrace in 1354, see Georges Castellán, *History of the Balkans: From Mohammed the Conqueror to Stalin*, trans. Nicholas Bradley (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1992), 43.

<sup>62</sup> Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 26.

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<sup>63</sup> For a history of the Ottoman presence in the Balkans, see Castellan, *History*, 33-184.

<sup>64</sup> Foreti\_, "Prilozi o kor\_ulanskoj," 260.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>66</sup> Foreti\_, "Povijesni," 26.

<sup>67</sup> Foreti\_, "Prilozi o kor\_ulanskoj," 261.

<sup>68</sup> Foreti\_, "Kor\_ula u doba Petra Kanavelica, 20-33.

<sup>69</sup> Marinko Gjivoje, "Legenda o Crnomirima," in *Zbornik otoka Kor\_ule*, ed. Marinko Gjivoje, 3 vols. (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: n.p., 1970-1973), 1:177-182.

<sup>70</sup> Nikola Ostoji\_, *Compendio storico dell'isola di Curzola, Anno 1858* (Zadar: n.p., 1878), 92-93, cited in Duki\_, "Lokalna," 319-321. For a nineteenth-century literary version of the legend, written by Stjepan Kastrapeli in 1880, and two contemporary poems, one "told by [kazivao] Bartul Krajan\_i\_" and the other written by Kuzma Toma\_i\_, see *Zbornik*, ed. Gjivoje, 1:183-212. Duki\_, "Lokalna," 334-349, includes the Krajan\_i\_ ; version, as well as two others by Baldo Glavi\_i\_ ; and Ante Bani\_evi\_.

<sup>71</sup> Lozica, *Poganska*, 153.

<sup>72</sup> Petar Kuni\_i\_, *Kumpanija ili ti dru\_ba: narodni bojni ples* (Zagreb: Tisak Antuna Scholza, 1897), cited in Lozica, *Poganska*, 146.