



UDC: 929.52 (497.5) “14”

“PRO ANIMA MEA ET PREDECESSORUM MEORUM”.

Death and the Family in Fifteenth-Century Dubrovnik

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The religiosity of the Middle Ages obliged people to prepare for death during their whole life, especially when the moment of the great passage to eternal life was near. The ritual of *Artes moriendi* clearly shows that medieval people were concerned with their own death.¹ A person had to settle his debts with everybody to clear the soul before the judgement. The main purpose of the testament was to make the best preparations for the end of temporal life. Debts of all kinds had to be returned to relieve the conscience and to prepare for Christian death. Bad consciences were often pushed aside during life, so the testament gave a last opportunity to make peace with everyone.² Charity and gifts to the churches, monasteries and priests, intended for masses, pilgrimage and prayers, were meant to secure the soul and to purchase, if not Paradise, than at least a shortened

stay in Purgatory. Good deeds and donations for the soul were regarded as exculpatory circumstances before the celestial court. The testaments reveal the feelings of fear, guilt, piety and hope before making a step into the unknown. Some people regret their youth or feel sorry for themselves for not being able to experience life as they wanted. Others sound more repentant, because of an unclear conscience. Their penitence does not derive from their love for other people, but from fear for themselves. Even the poems reveal how people were frightened of dying in spite of “the awareness of their virtues”.³ Nevertheless, in spite of this concentration on the proper death encouraged by the Church, the daily experience of death was death of other people. Emotional and other effects of death were especially strong and important within the family. The memory of the dead is

¹ Ph. Ariés, *L'homme devant la mort*, Editions du Seuil, 1977.

² Historical Archives in Dubrovnik (HAD), Testamenta notariac, (Test. not.) X.1, Vol. IX, 4', 49; Vol. X, 1'; Vol. XI, 65, 157, 220', 234'-235'; Vol. XII, 102-103', 176-176', 189-191'; Vol. XIII, 29-31', 5'a-6a, 113-113', 147'-148', 164'-166, 202; Vol. XIV, 2'-3', 48'-50, 60-61, 68'-69, 80'-81, 113-113', 175'-176'. This part of the testament is sometimes called *Conscientiae*. Vol. XI, 207'; Vol. XII, 66-66'.

³ *Hor ch' io sento l'interna mia virtute//che contra il grave duol si poco vige..* Cerva, Bibliotheca Ragusina, 298.



among the strongest emotions within the family and it is of the utmost importance for its tradition and social status, especially for the nobility. The differences in the attitudes and feelings about death arise from the social circumstances, gender and individual choices. Social aims and personal feelings were two basic points in forming the attitude on death in the family. The funerals, the mass for the dead, orations and grave monuments expressed the social aspect of death in the family, ritualised and used it for the prestige of one's lineage, while personal suffering was limited to tears or crying, testimonial statements, poems, prayers and remembrances.

Ilija de Crieua, a humanistic poet and nobleman of Dubrovnik, says in a sermon for his friend that a Christian shouldn't be sorry for deceased who make a step which leads to a final purpose and fulfilment of life. He considered understandable only the self-pity of the living overwhelmed with the pain of loss. But there is a cure for this pain, too: hope and patience in waiting for a reunion in eternal happiness.⁴ This is the attitude of the Church in humanistic ornamentation. But personal feelings couldn't absolutely obey religious or social rules. The solemn funeral orations give the ideal picture of the deceased and his family. The reality, often very different, can be partly reconstructed from the testaments. Being official documents, they, in certain extent, also tend to give an idealised picture of the personal relations within the family. But at the same time, they trace each individual's feelings, from the top to the bottom of society. Early fifteenth-century testaments were short and standardised, mostly so impersonal that they hardly give any information on individual feelings. On the contrary, eloquent later wills from the fifteenth century reveal, directly or indirectly, what people really felt. Humanistic concentration on individuality influenced the thoughts of the common people very much, so the testaments

from the beginning of the fifteenth century show considerable psychological change. The lifetime got its autonomous earthly value. The rites of "good dying" elaborated in *Artes moriendi* governed people's behavior in preparations for the moment of transition, supporting the medieval concept which concentrated on one's own death. At the same time, humanistic ideas opened people's minds to a different, less pious experience of death: losing other people. While these "humanistic" testaments indicate strengthened sensibilities toward relations with other people, the influence of the Counter-Reformation changed them into an expression of severe introspection and the examination of one's conscience. The humanistic engagement with death of other people was put aside and the old obsession with the proper death got a new revival.⁵

What person felt about the death of a family member could be individual and unique, but the series of data shows that there were some patterns. Sorrow is almost automatically connected with death in the family, but it was not the only feeling and its intensity differed. The survivors didn't all have the same sentiments toward the dying person, nor he towards them. The diversity of feelings and the strength of affection in different familial relations are striking. People suffer for losing a relative, a friend, a neighbour, or a priest-confessor, but the inevitable and eternal separation which death imposes, causes the most intense pain to devoted marital couples. Many enamoured husbands and wives write down their emotions in the testaments, in painful feeling of loss. Love is expressed not only with words but with gifts and provision for the future life.⁶ In some cases emotionally inspired husbands provide their wives with more property and competence than was accustomed. Others, driven by sexual jealousy, condition their bequest with the demand for the widow to "guard their conjugal bed".⁷ There are also opposite examples,

⁴ D. Nevenić Grabovac, *Oratio funebris humaniste Ilije Crijevića dubrovačkom pesniku Ivanu (Đivu) Gučetić u, živa antika*, 24, 1974, 1-2, 333-364.

⁵ Compare: M. Vovelle, *La morte nella mentalità nella pratica religiosa*, u: *Società, chiesa e vita religiosa nell' "Ancien Regime"* ed. C. Russo, Guido - Napoli 1976, 234.

⁶ Test. not. Vol. IX, 97-98, 130'-132', 152'; Vol. X, 110-111', 112'-113'; Vol. XI, 160'-161, 226-226'; Vol. XII, 62'-63, 89'-90, 150-151'; Vol. XIII, 4'-5'; 29-31', 43'-44'; Vol. XIV, 21-22, 32'-33, 96-96', 131'-134. Vol. XX, 86'-87.

⁷ Test. not. Vol. XI, 63, 100, 160'-161; Vol. XII, 35'-36', 39'-40, 71', 194'; Vol. XIII, 122'-126'; Vol. XIV, 13'-14, 95, 114-115.



when husbands entrust their souls and estate completely into their wife's hands, without giving any written orders about it. It seems that it doesn't depend on social status and the question of power over property, because such cases can be found both among peasants and nobles.⁸ These all are different manifestations of strong conjugal bonds, regardless of whether the reaction was magnanimous or not. In the fifteenth century it was also customary to write poems written on the death of the beloved spouse. Men remember the beauty and gentleness of the deceased and tell about the pain that whips the heart, the solitude and trials without her. The only comfort they find is the hope for “eternal spring” which awaits faithful couples at the end of the journey. Beginning from the sixteenth century, the figure of the deceased woman appears on tombstones among commoners, but not among nobles, who were much more obliged with familial demands and were not allowed to express their personal feelings in this way.⁹

When it comes to children, parents, brothers, and sisters, the emotions must also have been very strong, but the words are rarely so intense and passionate as among spouses. Fraternal love is often mentioned in the context of maintaining the *fraterna* and taking care of testator's wife and children.¹⁰ Sometimes we can find gentle farewells given by the parents, especially mothers. Most of

them felt the need to make a proper farewell with their children and give them a last blessing. Every now and then, reading the testaments, we come across an affectionate mother who prefers one of the children who was especially good to her. Mothers are willing to forgive and show affection even to those children who gave them trouble, because they value love higher than obedience. They even fought in court for the rights of children disinherited by their father.¹¹ On the contrary, fathers prefer to talk about obedience, the duty and the family traditions and not about love. They worry about family unity, concordance, status, continuity, and, above all, about the estate. They plead with their sons to stay together and preserve the patrimony. In order to ensure the patrimony, husband usually transmitted property rights on his wife, counting that she will execute his will to the last detail. Sons were obliged to stay together in a *fraterna* at least until their mother's death. In that way testator insured the unity, on condition that his widow didn't remarry.¹³ In care for the future of the lineage and estate, fathers didn't hesitate to express resentment towards their sons and even disinherit disobedient ones. Rare were the words of forgiveness, regrets, apology or blessing.¹⁴ More often they talk about anger with sons who set apart from the joint family, those who wanted to move out of Dubrovnik, and particularly those who were careless with money. They

⁸ Test. not. Vol. XIII, 14'a-15'a; Vol. XIV, 8-8'. K. Jireček, Beiträge zur ragusanischer Literaturgeschichte, Archiv für slavische Philologie 21, 1899, 530.

⁹ Seraphinus Maria Cerva, Bibliotheca Ragusina in qua Ragusini scriptores eorumque gesta et scripta recensentur. Editionem principem curavit et prooemium conscripsit Stephanus Krasic. Zagrabiae, Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium 1975, 297-298. I. Crijević, Ecce immaturo, in: V. Gortan, V. Vratović, Hrvatski latinisti, Zagreb 1969, 428-431. C. Fisković, Splitska renesansna sredina, Mogućnosti 3-4, Split 1976, 346.

¹⁰ Test. not. Vol. XI, 50, 233-234; Vol. XII, 79-80, 87'-88'.

¹¹ Test. not. Vol. IX, 212-212'; X, 124'. Vol. XIV, 129-129'; Vol. XII, 94'-95, 138'-139; “*Et non sia alguno che piglia admiratione de quello che lasso al dicto Nicolo mio figlio, per che benche io habia zenerato cussi li altri figlioli como el dicto Nicolo. Tamen verso me alguno de li altri non ha ufato honor et reverentia figliale, saluo esso Nicolo, el qual sempre me fo obediente et studioso da farne ogni piacere et contentamento.*” Vol. XXIV, 121. Andriola de Caboga hired an attorney fighting for her son's inheritance “*ne puer ille qui ita carissimus erat dicto suo genitori remaneat tam inhumane sine juridica et Deo et mundo indebita privatione bonorum quondam patris sui.*” HAD, Procurae notariae XXX, Vol. I, 91. Z. Janeković-Römer, Rod i grad, Dubrovnik 1994, 114.

¹³ Test. not. Vol. IX, 82-82', 118-119, 121'-123, 202'-203; Vol. X, 77-81'; Vol. XI, 27'-28, 112'-113, 131; Vol. XII, 139'-140, 192-192'; Vol. XIII, 14'a-15'a, 101'-103'; Vol. XIV, 8-8'. Janeković Römer, Rod i grad, 32-33, 135-136, 202-202'.

¹⁴ Test. not. Vol. XIII, 31'-37; 179-180.



could get nothing but words of resentment, even curses, from their fathers.¹⁵ It seems that, even facing death, the *pater familias* was, in general, led by a wish to secure, perpetuate and celebrate *patri-linea*, while others took more liberty to behave according to their feelings. The lack of words doesn't necessarily mean the lack of feelings, but it certainly testifies about the restraints and tensions of these relationships.¹⁶ Loyal sons and daughters express their love for the deceased parents by building them a decent grave monument or giving donations for their souls. Children show equal respect to both parents, but the expressions of love are almost always reserved for mothers.¹⁷ Grown up sons were often divided between the devotion for the late father and eagerness for the long-expected power over the estate. Those who died young, under the *patria potestas*, had to beg their father to pay the modest legacies for the salvation of their soul. They felt insecure, because they had no proper means and were left completely at the mercy and conscience of the father. It was not only the matter of salvation but also of their wife and children's future lives. This lack of independence, caused by laws on property and social customs, aggravated relations between fathers and sons in life and in death.¹⁸ Sometimes people, mostly nobles, express much more love for their friends than for the family members. Due to imposed marriages without real love and long periods of absence from town, some men were so alienated from their families that, in the best case, they fulfilled their duty to it, but could give no love. The family was a frame of the individual's life, but not an absolutel one.¹⁹

When it comes to more distant relatives, emotions are not so strong. The sense of unity and person-

al gratitude moved people to help one another in life and in death. In general, women show their feelings much more than men do, remembering not only their children, parents, siblings and spouses, but also remote relatives and friends. If they are allowed they tend to give away their clothes and jewelry "*per amore*". If they were poor, they would still remember their beloved with pieces of bed-clothes, furniture or pottery.²⁰ It's obvious how the testators, regardless of gender, count on relatives to take care of their earthly affairs and to help their soul on the journey of salvation. In the businesses of this life they relied on male relatives, but in the matters of eternity they confided in female devotion. They usually leave little gifts to these women as a sign of gratitude and memory. Some testators silently expect gratitude, but others explicitly say that gifts are payment for the prayers. Daughters, sisters and aunts in eight female monasteries of Dubrovnik, perhaps hardly remembered during their lifetimes, became more interesting as death was approaching, as suitable intermediaries between God and the dying sinner. Male relatives in the Church, especially those who were high in ecclesiastic hierarchy, were not so popular, because they were not so keen to pray devotedly for the souls of their lay relatives as the nuns were. Furthermore, there was often a conflict going on over property matters or power. Only if there were no relatives to rely upon, people sought this kind of help outside the familial circle. It became accustomed to pay a poor and pious elderly woman, preferably a widow, who could be trusted that she would keep her promise and say her prayers as ordered. One nobleman wrote that he had confidence in his mother's prayers for his soul, but after her death, some oth-

¹⁵ Test. not. Vol. IX, 116, 165, 202; Vol. X, 13'-14'; Vol. XI, 75', 192, 220'-221'; Vol. XII, 6-6', 37-37', 83-83', 89'-90, 104-104', 146-147; Vol. XIII, 134-134', 164'-166; Vol. XIV, 16-17, 175'-176'. Jireček, Beiträge, 529.

¹⁶ Test. not. Vol. IX, 72'-73; Vol. XII, 199'-200'.

¹⁷ Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Sclavoniae et Dalmatiae, Vol. XII, 295. Test. not. Vol. XXIV, 37'.

¹⁸ Test. not. Vol. X, 123-123'; Vol. XI, 84, 197-198; Vol. XII, 27, 120'; Vol. XIII, 29-21', 19'a-21a, 94'-95', 97-97'.

¹⁹ The noble Vukša de Babalio spend most of his life in diplomatic mission, avoiding his family. But, in his testament he expresses regrets only for the troubles he gave to his best friend and companion Nicola de Resti. He praises his friend's loyalty and help and hopes that he will forgive him, because otherwise his soul could never rest in peace. Test. not. Vol. XVI, 139-140'.

²⁰ Test. not. Vol. IX, 33-34', 40', 85-86, 89-89', 95-95', 142'-143, 189'-190'; Vol. XI, 72-73'; Vol. XII, 34-34', 196'-197; Vol. XIII, 137-137', 153-153'; Vol. XIV, 30-30', 35-35', 90'-91.



er good women should be found and brought to live in his house in order to pray for him.²¹ On the other side, there is evidence of negligence about the orders written in the will. The pleas and threats to the trustees show that the living were inclined to forget the fears of the dying. The latter plead for their family member's loyalty and reminded them that by helping other people's souls, they will contribute to their own redemption when the time comes. Some don't stick to pleading but add the threat of disinheritance if the testament is not to be executed in the ordered time.²² But, as the living usually live like they have all the time in the world, those pleas were in many cases easily forgotten. Distribution of the testament was often delayed through years and decades.²³ In the villages it was understood that those who inherited the house and the land were obliged to the soul of the testator.²⁴ In spite of everything, very often it happened that the execution of relatives' last wills took part only when the person in charge faced death himself. Even in that moment some people lacked generosity, calculating to a last *grossus* how much are they obliged to give for the distribution of neglected testaments.²⁵ Numerous law suits concerning the distribution of the testamentary legates testify about this problem. Fight over the property sometimes even surpassed legal means, and turned to threats, quarrels and physical assaults. Sometimes the government intervened, forcing the family to execute the testament.²⁶ Testators turned to different ways to avoid depen-

dency on negligent relatives. In the 13th and even in the 14th century, the wealthy nobles used to build churches and monasteries and endowed them with land and other necessities. In return, monks were obliged to pray and say masses for their souls. Other, less wealthy, people would give a vineyard or a "solt-pan" with the same purpose. All the obligations of the monastery were written in a necrology, so that prayers and masses would be given as ordered.²⁷ These arrangements functioned very well, until the law forbade giving real estate to the Church.²⁸ After that, it was permissible to give the income from land, but the responsibility for it was in the hands of the testator's family. There were attempts to avoid relatives and put the monasteries in charge of the money, but the state discouraged that.²⁹ So, the change of political relations between the State and the Church jeopardised the best interests of dying people, frightened for their souls' fate in Purgatory. The solution was found in the treasury of the Republic. State treasurers were nominated as trustees of testaments of people who had no relatives. But, during the fifteenth century, more and more people wanted them to execute their testamentary legacies or at least to control their relatives. As the aristocratic regime strengthened, the familial foundations were losing their previous significance. Finally, the noble councils ordered that all these bequests must be entrusted with the treasurers.³⁰ From then on, obligations towards the souls of deceased people were registered in

²¹ Test. not. Vol. IX, 4'-9, 40, 189'; Vol. X, 12'-13; XI, 65-67; Vol. XII, 138'-139, 196; Vol. XIII, 19'a. HAD, Distributiones testamentorum (Dis. test.) X.2, Vol. VII, 118-119', 160'-162', 230; Vol. IX, 35. Jireček, Beitrage, 524-528.

²² Test. not. Vol. IX, 3, 48', 72'-73, 142; Vol. X, 51, 91-91', 95-95'; Vol. XI, 26', 228-231'; Vol. XII, 58, 63, 77'-78', 87'-88', 103; Vol. XIII, 142'-143; Vol. XIV, 101'-102.

²³ Dis. test. Vol. VI, 130, 146', 148'; Vol. VII, 24-24', 60-60'; Vol. VIII, 102, 266'.

²⁴ Test. not. Vol. IX, 15-15'; Vol. XIII, 50'a-51'a. Jireček, Beitrage, 521, 523, 528, 529.

²⁵ Test. not. Vol. IX, 4'-9, 49-49', 72', 218'; Vol. X, 12', 14', 28'; Vol. XI, 41, 130', 170'; Vol. XII, 57'-58; Vol. XIII, 31'-37, 122'; Vol. XIV, 50'-51', 70-71, 88', 175'.

²⁶ Test. not. Vol. XI, 169-169'. Acta Consilii Rogatorum III, Vol. III, 127-127', 136. Z. Janeković-Römer, Rodbinski odnosi, u dalmatinskom društvu XIII. i XIV. stoljeća, Historijski zbornik 1992???, 190-191.

²⁷ See: V. Novak, Necrologium Ragusinum, Zbornik radova FF-a u Beogradu XI-1, 1970, 149-173.

²⁸ Dis. test. Vol. VII, 58'-59', 74', 91-91', 97'-99'.

²⁹ Test. not. Vol. XI, 228-231'.

³⁰ J. Gelcich, Monumenta Ragusina, Libri reformationum, MSHSM, vol. XIII, tom II, Zagreb 1882, 50. Test. not. Vol. XIII, 65-65', 179-180. Liber omnium reformationum (LOR), ed. A. Solovjev, SANU, Zbornik za IJK, III od., knjiga VI, Beograd 1936, 51-52. Compare: Kent, Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence, The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginari and Rucellai, Princeton University Press, 1977, 99-108.



new obituaries, kept in the treasury of the cathedral.³¹ In the 16th century there were 107 foundations. That was the beginning of the big foundation governed by the state, *Opera pia*. It was functioning so well that the money from them was regularly given as the testators wanted until the French occupation in 1807.³²

On the social level, the emotional stroke of death in the family was eased by ritual. Social differences influenced the behaviour and the attitudes regarding death considerably. In upper classes death of a family member was used for a ritualised social statement, because of the permanent need to emphasise the social hierarchy. It might be said that the noble families "used" the death of family members as a way of underlining their origin, traditions, and social importance. Their solemn funerals and magnificent family vaults were meant to raise the consciousness of their privileged position in the eyes of the community and to refresh the sense of unity within the family. In a strict aristocratic society such as Dubrovnik, wealth was not the principal sign of status, but on the level of everyday life, it was still very important. That's why the funerals and mourning were so pompous and excessively luxurious. In the second half of the 14th, and especially in the fifteenth century, when the process of aristocratization of the society was at its peak, it became customary that the whole community was obliged to escort the defunct noblemen and noblewomen to their graves. The funeral procession was the living picture of social hierarchy, led by a rector, after whom marched councillors and magistrates, other noblemen and finally citizens, all lined up according to their rank. The deceased was honoured with a death mass and solemn oration.³³ As the coffin was carried open, according to Mediterranean customs, the clothes of the deceased were an important sign of family

welfare to the living who were walking in the procession. In most of the cases noble corpses were dressed in festive clothes and decorated with jewelry. Very rarely pious nobles, mostly women, ordered that they should be buried in nuns' or monks' dresses, as a symbol of humility. This was a sign of an authentic piety and inner faith. In the fifteenth century such cases are rare, while in the following one this custom was much more widespread, because of the new kind of devotion influenced by the strong Counter-Reformation movement in the city. But before that, the obsequies and funerals were used mostly with profane aims in mind.³⁴ What counted mostly in the fifteenth century was the political ritual of the procession, the luxury and humanistic oration which praised the deceased and his lineage. Other customs, like the old and widespread Mediterranean custom of kissing the dead and keening over him, as well as growing a beard as a sign of grief, dirges, beating one's breast and tearing one's hair were considered inappropriate for those of noble rank. But this mixture of pompous social ritual, popular customs, and loud grief was not eradicated during the fifteenth century.³⁵ Only the new piety of the 16th century changed that. Giving a funeral sermon for his uncle, Renaissance poet Ilija de Crieua expresses the attitude that, since the deceased was a man of virtue and received all the needed sacraments before he died, the black clothes, the lamentation, and other "unchristian" customs are not needed. At the same time funeral rites and expenses were regulated by sumptuary laws.³⁶ Solemn funerals were important as an occasion for the demonstration of status and prestige, but the tombs kept remembrances for posterity, showing a family's significance and tradition. For nobles, family tombs were among the most important signs of their condition and rank. They were built in the

³¹ Test. not. Vol. XII, 189'.

³² K. Vojnović, Državni rizničari Dubrovačke Republike, Rad 46, Zagreb 1896, 16-21, 62-63.

³³ Philippi de Diversis Situs aedificorum politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclytiae civitatis Ragusii, Zadar 1882. IV, XVIII.

³⁴ S. Razzi, La storia di Raugia. Scritta nuovamente in tre libri. Lucca, Busdraghi 1595, 122.

³⁵ Diversis, Situs aedificorum, IV, XVIII.

³⁶ D. Nevenić Grabovac, Ilija Lamprice Crijević, Posmrtni govor svojem ujaku Juniju Sorkočeviću, Živa antika, XXVII, 1977, 1, 231-262. Statut grada Splita, Split 1985, IV, 65. HAD, Acta Consilii Rogatorum, III, Vol. XXXIII, 173'-178'. HAD, Liber croceus, XXI, vol. XII, ca. 107. Acta Consilii Maioris, VIII, Vol. XVI, 104'-105. Compare: S. Strocchia, Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence, Baltimore-London, 1992, 67.



memory of the deceased, but had more meaning for the living. The monuments and the inscriptions on their gravestones express mundane glory more than anything else. They marked their tombs with familial coats of arms, while commoners put signs with religious or professional meanings on theirs, following the instructions from the *Artes moriendi*.³⁷ Nobles could also be preoccupied with the religious notion of death, but their representative vaults served primarily secular purposes. Chapels, altars, sculptures, often gold-plated, and, above all, coats of arms, told a story about the glory of the lineage. There was a contest going on between noble families, because very often they ordered the monument or the ornaments identical to those they saw on some other vault. It need not be mentioned that the replica always tended to surpass the original. Thus, the ritual of death had its cohesive value, but at the same time it was a field open for competition.³⁸ Most of these monumental vaults were built in the fifteenth century, when the aristocratic regime came to its peak. In the second half of the century the building of new graves abated because all the noble families already had them. Many nobles ordered in their last wills that the remains of their ancestors should be buried in the new grave, wanting to emphasise the symbolic meaning.³⁹ The family vaults and chapels were inherited from generation to generation and were among the most important symbols of unity and power of the lineage. In addition, they donated money for altars, paintings, and other things for

the church where their vaults were, emphasizing their power and wealth even more.⁴⁰ For commoners, the symbolic worth of family graves was not as important as for nobles, but they also understood its meaning for the sense of familial continuity. In the numerous lawsuits on the ownership of graves, they presented an argument in their favour, “*nomina antiquorum suorum*” who constructed the vault.⁴¹ Rich merchants who were imitating the life style of nobles sometimes built similar vaults. They didn’t have real power, so they could compensate their desire for prestige only by the symbols of privileged status. If they wanted to improve their social status, they could do it only by wealth, flamboyance, and luxury in life and in death, because they were politically powerless.⁴² Social differences had to be emphasized by luxurious graves for another reason. Churches were burial places open to all people, rich and poor, weak and powerful, so laying side-by-side with the poor, rich and powerful people could distinguish themselves only by the magnificence of their vaults.⁴³ Those who had the possibility tended to be buried together with other family members, to be joined in death as in life. Many testators mention their wish to lay next to their wife or husband, or their “*antichi*”. If that was impossible, the burial place of the previously deceased family members was given a special donation.⁴⁴ In spite of all the conflicts that could arise, the family tradition was very rarely put in question. Somebody explicitly ordered not to be buried with his family was a sign

³⁷ HAD, Acta Consilii Minoris V, Vol. VI, 228. C. Fisković, Srednjovjekovna skulptura u samostanu Male braće u Dubrovniku, Zagreb 1985, 476-479. Gelcich, Dello sviluppo civile di Ragusa considerato ne’ suoi monumenti storici ed artistici, Memorie e studi, Ragusa, Pretner, 1884, 25.

³⁸ HAD, Diversa cancellariae XXV, Vol. XVI, 121. HAD, Diversa notariae, XXVI, Vol. XXXIII, 136'-137; Vol. CIV, 2. C. Fisković, Naši graditelji i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku, Zagreb 1947, 131-132.

³⁹ HAD, Testamenta Opera Pia III, 326'. Test. not. Vol. XI, 2-2'. Petrović, Sepulkralni spomenici u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku, in: Likovna kultura Dubrovnika 15. i 16. stoljeća, Znanstveni skup uz izložbu Zlatno doba Dubrovnika, Zagreb 1991, 134.

⁴⁰ Test. not. Vol. IX, 114'-115'; Vol. XI, 134'-136; Vol. XII, 48'-49', 87'-88'.

⁴¹ The Small Council was entitled to decide who has the right to put his inscription on the grave in question. Acta Consilii Minoris, Vol. VI, 145, 252', 263.

⁴² Diversa Cancellariae, Vol. XXIV, 190; Vol. XXVI, 160; Vol. XXVII, 136; Vol. XXXIII, 136'; Vol. XXXV, 176', 177. Test. not. Vol. VI, 113, 130; Vol. VIII, 88-88'; Vol. XII, 36, 177', 192, 194'; Vol. XV, 101', 108.

⁴³ Later, this was changed, and the social hierarchy became apparent even beyond the death. That was especially clear in the surroundings of the town, where churches and chapels were meant for nobles, the graves along the church walls were also reserved to eminent people, while peasants were buried in the ordinary cemetery.

⁴⁴ Test. not. Vol. IX, 114'-115'; Vol. XI, 134'; Vol. XII, 115'; Vol. XIII, 4'; Vol. XXIV, 157-158. Jireček, Beiträge, 519.



of family disorder, or a very daring individual choice.⁴⁵

The strong sense of family unity began to show on the graves of the aristocracy, and afterwards it spread to the lower classes, firstly due to imitation and the desire for the social prestige, and then due to changed notions of the family in the whole of the society. But, in the Middle Ages, and even in the dawn of the modern period, in the lower social classes, the sense of death was primarily dictated by religious attitudes. When they were brought face to face with death, they were concerned with the evaluation of their life and the expectations of eternity. The tombs of the poor were often anonymous, until, in the fifteenth century, it became obligatory to engrave the names of the deceased on them. The inscription on these graves usually mention only the name of the first owner, with the added formula "*cum hereditibus suis*". Often a profession is also mentioned or symbolized with its characteristic tools or weapons.⁴⁶ Confraternities had common nameless graves, marked only with numbers, the names written elsewhere in the official documents. There was no pomp in it what-so-ever and religious aims surpassed social ones. Their aim was to die confessed, to give everyone what belonged to them and, if it was possible, to choose the place of their burial.⁴⁷ Of course, upper-class members of society could also be very pious and concerned with ultimate matters, but the importance of the familial traditions led them to different practices and customs. Their demanding social position didn't allow them to deal with death of the family member in private.

The bequests for the souls of the ancestors manifest the sense of family and lineage. The masses for the deceased, as they were repeated through years and decades, became masses for all the ancestors. As time passed, the memory of the person who founded the trust fund weakened, but the memory of his lineage remained. Being aware of that, most of the testators order them "*pro anima mea et predecessorum meorum*".⁴⁸ The sense of lineage was so strong that even illegitimate descendants tended to leave their estate to the legitimate line. In his testament written 1477, Lampre de Sorgo ordered that his house should be inherited only by the nobles of the Sorgo family, expressing strong feelings of affiliation, although he, being an illegitimate son of a noble, had no rights to the noble status nor to the family's heritage.⁴⁹ Chroniclers emphasise that funeral speeches did not praise only the virtues of the defunct, but also of his entire family. They say that the grieving relatives, especially descendants, should find comfort in the excellence of their lineage, supported by the deceased deeds and virtues. Through the lineage, great ancestors remain living and they always set an example to the new generations.⁵⁰

In the fifteenth century Dubrovnik personal and social attitudes towards death within the family created two hierarchies: a hierarchy of feelings and a hierarchy of social importance. In both approaches secular purposes were fundamental, according to the humanistic philosophy of the time and the politics of the noble government. Religious attitude was a kind of amalgam between them. Piety and thoughts about sin and salvation

⁴⁵ Such was a demand made by Federic de Gondola who wanted to be buried with his illegitimate wife and sons and not with his noble family. Test. not. Vol. XXXIII, 2.

⁴⁶ Acta Consilii Minoris, Vol. VI, 145, 228; Vol. VII, 108. C. Fisković, Likovna baština Stona, Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti IC JAZU u Dubrovniku XXII-XXIII, 1985, 86, 89.

⁴⁷ ????. Petrović, Sepulkralni spomenici, 127. Jireček, Beiträge, 501-502. Test. not. Vol. VIII, 1'; Vol. XI, 86, 101.

⁴⁸ Test. not. Vol. IX, 72'-73, 114'-115'.

⁴⁹ Test. not. Vol. XVI, 77.

⁵⁰ Razzi, La storia di Raugia, 125. Cerva, Bibliotheca Ragusina, 463. Georgius Benignus, Oratio funebris habita pro magnifico et generoso senatore Junio Georgio patritio Rhagusino in aede Divi Francisci XIII. Cal. Martias MCCCCLXXXVIII, Bogišićeva biblioteka u Cavtatu, Ink. 5, a2r-a6r. Cerva, Aelius Lampridius, Aelius Lampridius Cervinus Poeta Laureatus Sigismondo Georgio philosophiae professori salutem, u: Georgius Benignus, Oratio funebris habita pro magnifico et generoso senatore Junio Georgio patritio Rhagusino in aede Divi Francisci XIII. Cal. Martias MCCCCLXXXVIII, Bogišićeva biblioteka u Cavtatu, Ink. 5, a1r-a1v. Nikola Nalješković, Djela, Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti, knj. 9, Zagreb 1965, 49.



overwhelmed some people confronted with their own death. But, when it came to other people, all kinds of feelings, interests and customs appeared in the minds of the dying person and the members

of his family. Finally, occupation with thoughts about life and the living on a person's death bed influenced attitudes on the proper death, involving more and more feelings about others in it.



“Za dušu svoju i svojih predaka”.

Smrt i obitelj u Dubrovniku u 15. stoljeću

Sažetak

Smrt nekog od članova imala je raznolike, jake implikacije na obitelj i zajednički život. U temelju tih različitosti su s jedne strane društveni čimbenici, a s druge osobni odnosi i osjećaji. Osobito u visokim društvenim slojevima, među plemstvom, primjetno je »korištenje« smrti nekog od članova kao prvorazrednog društvenog događaja i prilike za ritualno iskazivanje statusa obitelji i roda. Odatle svečane pogrebne povorke, zadušnice, raskošno žalovanje i veličanstvene obiteljske grobnice. Sva očitovanja prestiža imaju provenstveno svjetovnu i vremenitu svrhu, časteći kroz pokojnike kontinuitet roda. Uplitanje državnog rituala u vlasteoske pogrebne ceremonije ističe i veliča političke prednosti čitavog staleža. Bogati pučani oponašali su vlasteoski sjaj u životu i u smrti, nastojeći tim znakovima povlaštenog statusa nadoknaditi nedostatak prave moći. Siromašniji pučani, nemajući potrebu uspona u društvenoj hijerarhiji, pred smrću su zaokupljeni sudbinom duše na onom i obitelji na ovom svijetu.

Osjećaji koji se pojavljuju u slučaju smrti razlikuju ne samo po sasvim osobnim kriterijima, nego i po općenitoj prirodi pojedinih odnosa među bližnjima i rodacima. Iako ljudski osjećaji na kraju ipak nisu podložni znanstvenom raščlanjivanju, do jednog se stupnja uopćavanja može dospjeti. Serije oporuka pokazuju određene obrasce ponašanja koji uobličavaju odnose u obitelji na društvenoj razini, ulazeći tako u polje intime i diktirajući ga djelomično. Kada se ti osjećaji protegnu na širi plan preci - ego - potomci, oni prelaze s osobne na društvenu razinu i tu se zatvara krug koji povezuje osobno i javno istom svrhom, više vremenskom nego vječnom.

Priprema za dobru smrt i vjerski osjećaji nipošto ne mogu biti zapostavljeni, no oni se odnose prije svega na osobni susret sa smrću. Ipak, i neposredno pred tim trenutkom smrtnici su zaokupljeni ljudima i svijetom koje ostavljaju. Živuci su u još većoj mjeri usmjereni vremenitim ciljevima i osjećajima, iskustveno doživljavajući smrt kao nestanak drugoga.

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM 35
(Krems 1996)



OTIVM 3/1-2
(1995.)

VORWORT

Alltagsgeschichte ist ein Forschungsbereich, der nicht nur in starkem Maße interdisziplinären Ansätzen und Methoden verbunden ist, sondern auch im besonderen von wissenschaftlicher Kooperation bestimmt wird. Aus diesem Grunde freut es uns umso mehr, daß wir Ihnen mit diesem Heft das Ergebnis einer solchen Zusammenarbeit präsentieren zu können, die sich im Rahmen der Lehrtätigkeit der Herausgeber an der *Central European University* in Budapest entwickelt hat. *Otium*, die kroatische Zeitschrift für Alltagsgeschichte, und *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, die in Österreich erscheinende internationale Zeitschrift für Alltagsgeschichte und Geschichte der Sachkultur des Mittelalters, bieten Ihnen hiermit eine gemeinsame Ausgabe, die vor allem Beiträge von Historikern aus dem mitteleuropäischen Raum - aus Deutschland, Kroatien, Österreich, Slowenien und Ungarn - enthält.

Das Generalthema des Heftes bezieht sich auf die Problemkreise "Familie und Alltag" mit besonderem Bezug auf "Familie und Tod". Es werden dabei Fragestellungen angesprochen, die für eine allgemeine Alltagsgeschichte ausgesprochene Relevanz besitzen. Dies trifft besonders auf verschiedene Verbindungen zwischen 'privatem' und 'öffentlichem' Raum zu. Dušan Kos (Ljubljana) setzt sich mit adeligen Begräbnisritualen in Kärnten, Zdenka Janekoviæ-Römer (Zagreb) mit denen des Adels von Dubrovnik auseinander. Erhard Chwoyka (Saarbrücken) behandelt das Motiv des "Ungleichen Paares" vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert. Michael Mitterauer (Wien) konzentriert sich auf das Problem der Schwagerehe. Elisabeth Vavra (Krems) untersucht die Reflexionen auf Todesfälle in autobiographischen Quellen des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, während sich Dušan Mlacoviæ (Ljubljana), Katalin Szende (Sopron) und Brigitte Pohl-Resl (Wien) Familienaspekten in der testamentarischen Überlieferung widmen.

Wir hoffen mit dieser Ausgabe Anstoß und Anregung zu weiterer und verstärkter wissenschaftlicher Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Alltagsgeschichtsforschung gegeben zu haben.

Neven Budak und Gerhard Jaritz

PREDGOVOR

Povijest je svakodnevice područje istraživanja koje ne zahtijeva samo u velikoj mjeri interdisciplinarnost, nego je napose određeno međusobnom suradnjom znanstvenika. Iz tog razloga posebno nas veseli da ovim sveskom možemo predstaviti plod takve suradnje, a koji je nastao kao rezultat nastavničke djelatnosti izdavača na Central European University u Budimpešti. Otium, hrvatski časopis za povijest svakodnevice, i Medium Aevum Quotidianum, međunarodni časopis za povijest svakodnevice i materijalne kulture srednjeg vijeka, koji izlazi u Austriji, odlučili su izdati zajednički broj koji sadrži priloge povjesničara/ki iz srednjoeuropskog prostora: Njemačke, Hrvatske, Austrije, Slovenije i Mađarske.

Središnja se tema broja odnosi na “Obitelj i svakodnevicu”, s posebnim osvrtom na “Obitelj i smrt”. Pri tom se obrađuju pitanja od izrazite važnosti za opću povijest svakodnevice. To se odnosi pogotovo na različite veze između “privatnih” i “javnih” sfera života.

Dušan Kos (Ljubljana) bavi se pogrebnim ritualima korušskog plemstva, a Zdenka Janeković (Zagreb) obrađuje istu problematiku u vezi s dubrovačkim patricijatom. Erhard Chvojka (Saarbrücken) obrađuje motiv “nejednakog para” od 15. do 17. stoljeća, a Michael Mitterauer (Beč) problem leviratskog braka. Elisabeth Vavra (Krems) proučava promišljanja smrtnih slučajeva u autobiografskim izvorima kasnog srednjeg i ranoga novog vijeka, dok se Dušan Mlacović (Ljubljana), Katalin G. Szende (Sopron) i Brigitte Pohl-Resl (Beč) posvećuju obiteljskoj problematici u oporukama.

Nadamo se da smo ovim izdanjem dali nov poticaj daljnjem intenziviranju znanstvene suradnje na polju historije svakodnevice.

Neven Budak i Gerhard Jaritz

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