



Miscellanea

Смесь

ББК 63.3(0)4; УДК 94(497.5)

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PREPARATION FOR A GOOD DEATH IN THE LAST WILLS OF DUBROVNIK CITIZENS FROM THE LATE 13TH AND MID-14TH CENTURY AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE BLACK DEATH TO THE PERCEPTION OF AFTERLIFE

Life expectations and prospects of medieval people were highly determined by their social status which was by the same token often set by their birth. In a way, a higher social stratum was assurance for a secure life, better nutrition, very often better education, and by these facts also better chances to be remembered and consequently recorded in the preserved archival sources. Therefore, preserved medieval sources that tell us something more about ordinary «small» people are extremely rare. On the other hand, these «invisible» individuals were predominant majority of the most medieval communities, so any preserved trace about them represent quite a valuable evidence regarding daily life of common people from the past times.

Considering this, preserved medieval testaments (last wills) represent an important source for reconstruction of contemporary social and family relations, spirituality, devotion and mentality in the medieval world. Although medieval testaments were rather highly formalized documents

shaped according to the rules of contemporary notaries' chancelleries, they still contain much information about devotion, preferences and individuality of testators¹. Moreover, sometimes researcher in them can find traces of testators' business activities².

Development of testamentary bequest and last will, as a written form of distribution of goods in a case of death, on the eastern Adriatic coast can be traced already in the 12th century³. This entire development of testamentary right was tightly connected with the contemporary social and economic processes, and it was predominantly an expression of social public need within communities that experienced intense economic and social growth from the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Consequently, this increased social need for recording of daily / business / legal activities reflected on the emergence and development of civil / communal chancellery offices and in medieval Dubrovnik this process can be traced in the 70s of the 13th century⁴.

In medieval Dubrovnik institute of testamentary bequest basically replaced process of inheritance proceedings⁵, while all the questions regarding the inheritance law and rights were regulated by the city Statutes⁶. Consequently, Statutes' regulations prescribe manners in which testament had to be written in order to be fully legal. From these regulations it is obvious that dominant form of testaments in medieval Dubrovnik was oral statement in presence of at least two witnesses, which later had to be written down in front of the notary and members/judges of

¹ In Croatian and western historiographies there are many studies about medieval notaries. E. g.: Šufflay M. Dalmatinsko-hrvatska srednjovjekovna listina. Povijest hrvatskoga notarijata od XI. do XV. stoljeća. Zagreb, 2000. S. 127–128; Lorein M.-Th. Testament // Encyclopedia of Middle Ages. Vol. 2 / Ed. by A. Vauchez, R. B. Dobson, A. Walford and M. Lapidge. Cambridge; Chicago, 2000. P. 1418–1419; Ravančić G. Oporuka // Leksikon Marina Držića / Ur. S. P. Novak, M. Tatarin, M. Matajija, L. Rafolt. Zagreb, 2008. S. 559–561; Ladić Z. 1) Oporučni legati pro anima i ad pias causas u europskoj historiografiji. Usporedba s oporukama dalmatinskih komuna // Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU. 1999. Sv. 17. S. 17; 2) Legati kasnosrednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih oporučitelja kao izvor za proučavanje nekih oblika svakodnevnog života i materijalne kulture // Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU. 2003. Sv. 21. S. 1–28; Janeković Römer Z. Na razmeđu ovog i onog svijeta. Prožimanje pojavnog i transcendentnog u dubrovačkim porukama kasnoga srednjeg vijeka // Otium. 1994. Vol. 2. S. 3–15; «For the Salvation of my Soul»: Women and Wills in Medieval and Early Modern France / Ed. by J. Rollo-Koster and K. L. Reyerson. St. Andrews, 2012.

² Regarding this see e. g.: Galassi F. L. Buying a Passport to Heaven: Usury, Restitution, and the Merchants of Medieval Genoa // Religion. 1992. Vol. 22. P. 313–326; Cohn, Jr. S. K. Renaissance attachment to things: material culture in last wills and testaments // Economic History Review. 2011. Vol. 65/3. P. 984–1004; Schöfer H.-B.; Wulf A. J. Jurists, Clerics and Merchants. The rise of Learned Law in Medieval Europe and its Impact on Economic Growth // Journal of Empirical Legal Studies. 2014. Vol. 11. No. 2. P. 266–300.

³ Although there are several preserved testaments from Zadar from the earlier times. See: Šufflay M. Dalmatinsko-hrvatska srednjovjekovna listina... S. 125–127; Sivrić M. Oporuke kancelarije stonskoga kneza. Od sredine 15. stoljeća do 1808. godine. Dubrovnik, 2002. S. 46–48.

⁴ About the development of chancelleries in medieval Dubrovnik see e. g.: Чremoшник Г. [= Čremošnik G.] 1) Историски споменици дубровачког архива. 1. Канцелариски и нотариски списи 1278–1301 (Зборник за историју, језик и књижевност српског народа. Књ. XXXI). Београд, 1932; 2) Dubrovačka kancelarija do godine 1300. i najstarije knjige Dubrovačkog arhiva // Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini. 1927. Knj. XXXIX. Br. 2. S. 231–253; Sivrić M. Oporuke kancelarije stonskoga kneza... S. 26–31. Regarding situation in Europe see for example new ingenious work of Hans-Bernd Schdfer and Alexander J. Wulf: Schöfer H.-B.; Wulf A. J. Jurists, Clerics and Merchants... passim.

⁵ Sivrić M. Oporuke kancelarije stonskoga kneza... S. 49.

⁶ Many chapters of Dubrovnik's medieval statutes deal with inheritance rights. See e. g.: Statut grada Dubrovnika / Ur. A. Šoljić, Z. Šundrica, I. Veselić. Dubrovnik, 2003. Lib. III. Cap. 41, 42; Lib. IV. Cap. 17, 19, 21, 25, 28, 30–33, 47, 49, 59, 70, 72, 74–80; Lib. V. Cap. 39; Lib. VIII. Cap. 29, 33, 43, 94, 95.

civil court⁷. The entire process of recording and registering the last will, that had to be handed over to the testamentary executors (*epitropos*), had to be concluded within thirty days from the testator's death⁸. Yet, though Dubrovnik statutory law had prescribed inheritance rights in detail, there was a possibility that executors and heirs could not agree, and probably because of this possibility Dubrovnik Statutes had so many regulations regarding inheritance rights⁹.

On the other hand, even though legal regulations enforced many legal formulas that were included in testamentary bequests, preserved testaments were expression of testator's will and consequently expression his or her personality¹⁰. Most of the preserved testaments, presently kept in State Archives in Dubrovnik, although relatively often used for various historical investigations, still are not transcribed and published, even though they represent first class material for deep research of Dubrovnik's past regarding daily life, economy, mentality, spirituality, devotion etc.¹¹ Thus, comprehensive study about this historically rich primary sources still wait for its author, and this small study tempts to be a contribution to research and small preview regarding the information kept in these preserved medieval Dubrovnik's testaments.

In this paper I will try to indicate social structure of testators in medieval Dubrovnik, with accent to the changes in some of their testamentary bequests distribution, as a reflection of broader social and economic changes and trends in medieval Dubrovnik. Consequently, I believe that information included in these last wills from late 13th and first half of the 14th century can reveal changes not only in social life but also in spirituality and piety of inhabitants of contemporary Dubrovnik. Regarding this one should bear in mind that even slight changes in testamentary bequests distribution could indicate certain changes in social and economic structure of contemporary community(ies)¹².

⁷ Statut grada Dubrovnika. Lib. III. Cap. 41. Still, as it is clear from some preserved testaments, some testators wrote their last wills by themselves though later these documents had to be corroborated in presence of witnesses and judges of civil court. See e. g.: last will of cleric Rosin Balislave from 2nd December 1295 (in: Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije — Zapisi notara Andrije Beneše 1295–1305. Sv. 4 / Ur. J. Lučić. Zagreb, 1993. S. 267–269); last will of cleric Nikoferij from Frej from 15th March 1328. (in: State archives in Dubrovnik. Testamenta de notaria. S. 10–1. Vol. 3. Fol. 34).

⁸ This procedure was strictly regulated by the Statutes (Lib. III. Cap. 41), and some preserved testaments explicitly witness that regulation was obeyed. E. g. C. Anno Domini millesimo CCLXXXV, indicione VIII, die XXVII^{mo} intrante mense madii. Coram nobili viro domino Marino Mauroceno comite Ragusii et juratis iudicibus Andrea Benisse, Vitale Binçole, Martolo Cereue, Laurencio de Mence et Iohinno Deudati, parentes dompni Rosini Balislaue presentaverunt testamentum dicti dompni Rosini infra terminum triginta dierum mortis sue secundum formam Statuti, petentes dictum testamentum roborari eo quod esset scriptum manu sua propria. Quod dominus comes et iudices supradicti cernentes eo iustam ordinaverunt dictum testamentum roborari per juratum notarium civitatis volentesesse dictum testamentum firmum et ratum cuius tenor talis est (see: Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije... Sv. 4. S. 267–269).

⁹ Besides above mentioned regulations (footnote 6) see also: *Sivrić M.* Oporuke kancelarije stonskoga kneza... S. 49–51.

¹⁰ *Ariés Ph.* Western Attitudes toward Death. From the Middle Ages to the Present. Baltimore; London, 1974. P. 63; *Janeković Römer Z.* Na razmeđu ovog i onog svijeta... S. 3; *Ladić Z.* Oporučni legati... S. 17; *Daniell C.* Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066–1550. London; New York, 2005. P. 29–30.

¹¹ Regarding possibilities of usage of testaments in historical research see e. g.: *Ladić Z.* Oporučni legati... passim; *Cohn, Jr. S. K.* Renaissance attachment to things... passim.

¹² Such changes in testamentary bequests distribution were thoroughly investigated by Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr.: *Cohn, Jr. S. K.* 1) Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800. Strategies for the Afterlife, Baltimore; London, 1988; 2) The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death — Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy. Baltimore; London, 1997. — It is also worthy of including into focus an article of *Galassi F. L.* Buying a Passport to Heaven: Usury, Restitution, and the Merchants of Medieval Genoa // Religion. 1992. Vol. 22. P. 313–326.

The number of preserved testaments in State Archives in Dubrovnik for the period between the late 13th and the first half of the 14th century is relatively large, especially if one considers that other Dalmatian cities do not have much preserved notarial documents for the period before the mid-14th century¹³. Namely, for this period there are 909 preserved testaments from Dubrovnik, out of which 214 testaments are from late 13th century and 695 testaments are from first half of the 14th century¹⁴. At the same time, the number of preserved testaments from contemporary Zadar is about 350, and only about 130 of them are transcribed and published¹⁵. By the same token, the number of preserved testaments for medieval Trogir is even smaller and only part of them is transcribed and published¹⁶. In this analysis I have used sample series of testaments from late 13th century (from years 1295 and 1296) and first half of the 14th century (from years 1325, 1326 and 1348), combining them with preserved testaments from 1348¹⁷.

This relatively high number of preserved Dubrovnik testaments allows researcher to reveal parts of daily life and spiritual strivings of contemporary Dubrovnik inhabitants. Testaments that already in the 15th century will be structured to prescribe a kind of *ars moriendi*¹⁸, in 13th and 14th century could reveal only some parts of testators' spirituality — primarily through variety of the distribution of testamentary bequests. As it is explained before, context of recording and validating testament were prescribed by the city Statutes¹⁹, but only the efficiency of their distribution can tell more about competence and good organization of Dubrovnik's medieval authorities (i. e. chancellery). As it is clear from Graph 1, more than half of preserved testaments were regularly executed and bequests distributes within statutory deadline²⁰ (Graph. 1).

Although previous investigations have shown that men were predominant testators in medieval Dalmatian cities²¹, analyzed material from Dubrovnik reveals slight difference. Namely, as it is clear from Graph 2 and Graph 3 in medieval Dubrovnik most of the testators were

¹³ Regarding the number of preserved (published and unpublished) testaments in medieval Dalmatian cities see e. g.: *Ladić Z.* 1) Oporučni legati... passim; 2) Legati kasnosrednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih oporučitelja... passim.

¹⁴ Regarding these numbers one has to note that 302 testaments are from 1348 — the year when deadly Black Death had struck Dubrovnik.

¹⁵ Spisi zadarskih bilježnika / Ur. M. Zjačić, J. Stipišić. Zagreb, 1959. Sv. 1; 1969. Sv. 2; 1977. Sv. 3.

¹⁶ Trogirski spomenici / Priredio M. Barada. Zagreb, 1948. Sv. 1; 1951. Sv. 2.

¹⁷ The exact number of the analyzed testaments is 434 (i. e. 41 from 1295, 26 from 1296, 38 from 1325, 27 from 1326 and 302 from 1348).

¹⁸ More about *ars moriendi* in medieval Dubrovnik see e. g.: *Janeković Römer Z.* Na rezmeđi ovog i onog svijeta... passim; *Daniell C.* Death and Burial... P. 32–35.

¹⁹ Statut grada Dubrovnika. Lib. III. Cap. 41, 42; Lib. IV. Cap. 74, 75, 76; Lib. V. Cap. 39; Lib. VIII. Cap. 29, 33.

²⁰ All graphs are made according to the data from the testaments kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik in archival fond Dubrovačka Republika [Republic of Dubrovnik], Testamenta de notaria, s. 10-1, vols. 2, 3 and 5. Volume 2 is partly published by Josip Lučić in: Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije... Sv. 4. S. 255–351. Exact numbers for Graph 1 are: 1295. (40/24), 1296. (26/21), 1325. (38/31), 1326. (27/23). This graph and all the others that follow in this article should not be interpreted as exact reflections of social and economic processes but only reflections of trends within historical processes. Data for 1348 is not included since in this year many people had died suddenly and execution of these testaments was in some cases prolonged even in late 1350s. About this see: *Ravančić G.* Vrijeme umiranja. Crna smrt u Dubrovniku 1348.–1349. Zagreb, 2010. S. 50, 55, 75–78.

²¹ More about this see: *Ladić Z.* 1) Oporučni legati... S. 18; 2) Urban last wills from late medieval Dalmatia with special attention to the legacies pro remedio animae. Doctoral dissertation, Central European University. Budapest, 2002; 3) Last Will: Passport to Heaven. Urban Last Wills from Late Medieval Dalmatia with special Attention to the Legacies pro remedio animae and ad pias causas. Zagreb, 2012.

females²². It is not easy to explain such distribution and difference comparing to other Dalmatian cities, so I can offer just a speculation. Namely, according to Dubrovnik laws husband or any other elder member of husband's family had all rights over woman's dowry²³. By the same token, women in medieval societies mostly were pushed away from most of public life spheres and their life was tightly connected with private space and family. Therefore testamentary bequest was a kind of written proof of woman's existence and a rare possibility through which dowry was at woman's disposal²⁴ (Graph. 2, Graph. 3).

However, it is interesting to note that among analyzed testaments only 21.33 % were written by noblewomen. This could be explained by the fact that non-noble women did not have to obey relatively strict rules regarding public life, which were applied to noble strata²⁵. On the other hand, one still may expect a greater portion of «noble» testaments because this through such testamentary bequest noblewomen could directly express their will²⁶. Moreover, comparative investigations in other Dalmatian communes have revealed that share of noblewomen testaments was at least twice bigger²⁷.

By the same token, total share of noble testators in this period was between 35 % and 45 %, although noble families at this time were economic backbone of medieval Dubrovnik²⁸. Comparative investigations for other Dalmatian and Istrian cities reveal that the share of noble testators in these cities was approximately quite similar²⁹ (Graph. 4, Graph. 5)

Yet, it is interesting to note that during the plague epidemics in 1348 the share of noblemen testaments in medieval Dubrovnik increased again³⁰; probably because many of them had to balance their accounts and debts rather quickly before the possible sudden death. Since a great part of these «plague testaments» are rather short, regulating only coverage of debts and some unfinished business transactions, with significantly less testamentary bequests for «salvation of soul» (*ad pias causas* or *pro anima*)³¹ (Graph 6).

Even if it is not of much relevance for this discussion, it is interesting to note that — according to the recent research about Dubrovnik's nobility — in this period share of noblemen in the entire Dubrovnik population was approximately the same as share of noblemen testators in the

²² Exact numbers for Graph 2 are: 1295 19m/22f, 1296 11m/15f, 1325 11m/21f, 1326 10m/17f. Exact numbers for Graph 3 are: 124m/178f.

²³ Statut grada Dubrovnika. Lib. IV. Cap. 1.

²⁴ Women and gender in medieval Europe: an Encyclopedia / Ed. by M. Schaus. New York, 2006. P. 838.

²⁵ See e. g.: *Nikolić Z. Zaruke i vjenčanja u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku // Otium. 1996. Vol. 4/1–2. S. 77–79; Janeković Römer Z. Rod i grad. Dubrovačka obitelj od XIII do XV stoljeća. Dubrovnik, 1994. S. 119; About females' participation in medieval Dubrovnik's economy see more in: *Дунућ-Кнежевић Д. Положај жена у Дубровнику у XIII и XIV веку. Београд, 1974. С. 2–60.**

²⁶ *Janeković Römer Z. Rod i grad... S. 91; Grbavac B. Testamentary Bequests of Urban Noblewomen on the Eastern Adriatic Coast in the Fourteenth Century. The Case of Zadar // Across the Religious Divide. Women, Property, and Law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300–1800) / Ed. by J. G. Sperling and Sh. K. Wray. New York; London, 2010. P. 67–80.*

²⁷ *Ladić Z. Oporučni legati... S. 18. — Regarding position of women in medieval societies and their last wills see e. g.: Kuehn Th. Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy. Chicago, 1991.*

²⁸ Exact numbers for Graph 4: 30 (noble) / 37 (other); for Graph 5: 23 (noble) / 42 (other).

²⁹ See e. g.: *Ladić Z. 1) Oporučni legati... S. 18; 2) Neki aspekti kasnosrednjovjekovne društvene i religiozne povijesti Poreča u zrcalu oporuka i kodčila // Humanitas et litterae ad honorem Franjo Šanjek / Ur. L. Čoralčić, S. Slišković. Zagreb, 2009. S. 349–350.*

³⁰ Exact numbers for Graph 6: 142 (noble) / 160 (other)

³¹ *Ravančić G. Vrijeme umiranja... S. 94–95. — There will be more word about distribution of testamentary bequest for pious causes and charity little bit later.*

preserved testaments³². Moreover, exactly in this period (first half of the 14th century) noble families and clans in Dalmatian cities managed to install themselves as permanent holders of all administrative and legislative power for many centuries to come³³. On the other hand, it is important to stress that in this period on the eastern Adriatic coast local chancelleries and notaries did not have any uniform way of registering any identifiers of a testator³⁴. Therefore in the analyzed testaments surnames of noble clans and *casata* can be found in many various forms, without any special remark that this was/is nobleman's last will. Probable reason for such inconsistency was the fact that these testaments are coming from the period before so called «closure of Great Council», i. e. before nobility managed to formalize and legally prescribe their administrative power³⁵.

Similarly, interesting fact that analysis has revealed is that among preserved testaments there is very few written by clerics or ecclesiastical/spiritual persons. As it is clear from the Graph 7 share of clerics' testaments at the end of the 13th century was ca. 12 % and in the first half of the 14th century it decreased to 2 %³⁶. Moreover, even during the Black Death epidemics this percentage did not increase. It seems that Dubrovnik clerics did not write many testaments since among more than 300 preserved testaments from 1348 only seven of them were written by ecclesiastical persons i. e. ca. 2,25 %³⁷. Still, such distribution should not surprise because entrance in ecclesiastical service meant, at least for the most of clerics, renunciation of earthly goods, and thus they did not have much to bequest at the end of their days. By the same token, regarding these clerics' testaments it is interesting to note their significant decrease in the analyzed period. The cause of such distribution might be connected with the number / share of ecclesiastical personnel within the entire Dubrovnik population of that time but one has to admit that there is not enough preserved data, nor elaborated research, for such a speculation (Graph. 7).

As it is clear from Graph 8 predominant reason for writing testaments for the most of Dubrovnik's inhabitants during the analyzed period was «weakness of body» (*infirmetas corporis*)³⁸. Contrary to the preserved material from the later centuries³⁹, medieval testators from Dubrovnik during the analyzed period did not specify reasons (illness or any other cause) that put them into bed. Still, this should not surprise since common medieval people mostly did not have appropriate medical knowledge and at most occasions did not care about medical causes of

³² About Dubrovnik's nobility around year 1300 see: *Vekarić N.* Vlastela grada Dubrovnika, 1. Korijeni, struktura u razvoj dubrovačkog plemstva. Zagreb; Dubrovnik, 2011.

³³ Regarding nobility in medieval Dalmatian cities see e. g.: *Dokoza S.* Problematika proučavanja dalmatinskoga plemstva u srednjem vijeku // PP. 2008. Sv. 35. S. 25–42. Regarding Dubrovnik's nobility see e. g.: *Janeković Römer Z.* Okvir slobode. Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma. Zagreb; Dubrovnik, 1999; *Vekarić N.* Nevidljive pukotine. Dubrovački vlasteoski klanovi. Zagreb; Dubrovnik, 2009. Still, it is important to stress that even though for such early periods there is no any precise demographic investigation, some approximations regarding the number of inhabitants in medieval Dalmatian cities can be found in present-day Croatian historiography. See e. g.: *Raukar T.* Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću // HZ. 1980–1981. Knj. 33–34. S. 154–159.

³⁴ *Ladić Z.* Neki aspekti kasnosrednjovjekovne društvene i religiozne povijesti Poreča... S. 349.

³⁵ Regarding the «closure of Great Council» in Dubrovnik see e. g.: *Janeković Römer Z.* Okvir slobode... S. 61–68; *Vekarić N.* Nevidljive pukotine... passim.

³⁶ Exact numbers for Graph 7: 8/58 (1295–1296); 1/64 (1325–1326).

³⁷ *Ravančić G.* Svećenstvo i Crkva u dubrovačkim oporukama iz 1348. godine // Humanitas et litterae... S. 201.

³⁸ Exact numbers for Graph 8 are indicated within the graph. Data for 1348 is not included since this was «year of plague» and majority (if not all) of the preserved testaments were written because testators were facing sudden and unexpected death.

³⁹ See e. g.: *Ladić Z.* Neki aspekti kasnosrednjovjekovne društvene i religiozne povijesti Poreča... S. 358–359.

their «weakness». Other causes of writing down the last will could be rather various: departure to a faint-hearted voyage, joining to a monastery order or admission to a risky office. Whatever it was, medieval Dubrovnik testators in the most cases did not explain what urged them to record their (let's suppose) last will⁴⁰ (Graph. 8).

However, such explicit statement about reasons / causes that urged someone to record his/her last will can help us to track down development of used formulas and formal outline in notarial testaments in medieval Dubrovnik. Namely, since the only explicit reason in the late 13th century testaments in Dubrovnik was *infirmetas corporis*, it is interesting to note that at the turn of the centuries another formula — *iacens in lecto* — occurs. As it is visible from Graph 8, formula «as lying in the bed» was quite a rare at the end of the 13th century, but during the 14th century it became integral part of testament, together with older formula *infirmetas corporis*. Therefore, I guess that such occurrence of these formulas do not just describe reasons of composing testament but also indicate patterns of development of testamentary notarial formulas, in the period when testament becomes dominant form of testamentary bequest.

In any case, with these medieval testaments people wanted to «balance» their accounts with this world. Moreover, in this period testament became almost an obligatory part of the «ritual» for *good death*⁴¹. Within such leveling of accounts coverage of debts was an important part of «making peace» with this world. As it is clear from Graph 9 at the end of 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries almost one quarter of preserved testaments contain regulations about debts coverage, since their authors were could not balance their finances before the death⁴². Such distribution should not surprise because in this period Dubrovnik experiences one of its economic peaks, especially regarding trade with its immediate Slavic hinterland (Graph. 9, 10).

By the same token, as it is clear from Graph 10⁴³, this share of unfinished business that had to be balanced through the testaments could rise by 10 % or more during social and economic destabilizations, such was the Black Death. Still, such increase is not high and it shows that majority of medieval inhabitants of Dubrovnik were quite responsible and took care of their business and debts before the last days, i.e. they were well prepared for a *good death*, even in the moments of human disaster such as plague epidemics. By the same token, investigations of comparative material from Genoa shows similar attitude of Genoese merchants towards outstanding debts in their last wills⁴⁴.

However, more important than balancing «earthly» accounts was preparation for afterlife and ensuring safe passage to the «other side». Medieval men were deeply impregnated with the Christian worldview and their perspective of living and dying was burdened with concern where his / her soul will rest until the ultimate resurrection. Medieval «invention» of the Purgatory certainly had relieved a bit of the burden regarding the medieval men objective to gain an eternal life close to their Creator. Still, on this path to the Last Judgment there were many obstacles, and therefore medieval inhabitants of Dubrovnik did not save money and other bequests to the institutions and persons who could make their transfer to the «other side» easier and more comfortable. Yet, such generous bequests to the Church at some point became a serious problem for the entire community and Dubrovnik authorities had to limit these gifts to a reasonable

⁴⁰ See: *Ladić Z.* O razlozima sastavljanja kasnosrednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih oporuka // *Raukarov zbornik — Zbornik u čast Tomislava Raukara / Ur. N. Budak.* Zagreb, 2005. S. 618–620.

⁴¹ See: *Janeković Römer Z.* Na razmedu ovog i onog svijeta... *passim*; *Daniell C.* *Death and Burial...* P. 29–30.

⁴² Exact numbers for Graph 9: 30 (with) / 102 (without).

⁴³ Exact numbers for Graph 10: 109 (with) / 194 (without).

⁴⁴ See: *Galassi F. L.* *Buying a Passport to Heaven...* P. 319–320.

measure. Thus, these bequests to ecclesiastical institutions and clerics were limited to a quarter of the entire value of testator's belongings⁴⁵.

As it is visible from Graph 11, more than half of the analyzed testaments from late 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century contain bequests for holy masses⁴⁶. It is interesting to note that this proportion remained the same even during the time of the Black Death, even though the number of preserved testaments is bigger⁴⁷. Such a result suggests that the Black Death — at least its first big struck in the 14th century — did not have a significant influence on testamentary bequests distribution regarding salvation of testators' souls. However, for definite answer regarding this issue one should analyze all the preserved testaments in order to approve or disapprove this supposition. On the other hand, beneficiary effect of holy mass and chantry to the chances for the salvation of testators' souls for medieval men were unquestionable and this also might be reason for the unchanged share of testamentary bequest share⁴⁸ (Graph. 11).

Still, in spite of afore mentioned statutory limitations testamentary bequests to the Church were high. For example, some people gave quite high amounts of money for holy masses to save their souls, and the number of the paid masses could rise from several hundred to more than thousand. Still, in the analyzed material from the late 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries only 23 testaments included such huge bequests regarding holy masses for salvation of testator's soul⁴⁹. Similarly, during the time of the Black Death the number of testaments with such a high bequests regarding holy masses did not rise above 15 %, although some of the testaments contained bequests for several thousand holy masses⁵⁰. Such result implies that this epidemic did not influence all the population equally: while the overall share of the testamentary bequests for holy masses did not change some of the testators expressed exceptional devotion (or fear) rising the number of the paid holy masses for salvation of their souls. Such expensive bequests were affordable only to the wealthy testators and therefore one should not be surprised that the most of testators, who prescribed such bequests, were noble. Yet, it is interesting to note that majority of these wealthy testators were women (ca. 74 %), and this result suggests that female population was more pious and devotional.

Although slight majority of medieval Dubrovnik population donated money and other goods for holy masses, there were also other important bequests for which their testators thought that will help their souls on the way to the «other side». Namely, even bequests for holy masses were a part of larger group of testamentary legacies called bequests *pro anima*⁵¹. Generally speaking, majority of investigations regarding this issue indicate that these *pro anima* legacies reflected

⁴⁵ See: Statut grada Dubrovnika. Lib. 4. Cap. 17, 59, 80.

⁴⁶ Exact numbers for Graph 11: 76 (with) / 56 (without).

⁴⁷ Number of testaments from 1348 that contain bequest for holy masses is 186.

⁴⁸ More about this: *Daniell C. Death and Burial...* P. 17–18.

⁴⁹ *Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije...* Sv. 4. S. 256–257 (Nicoleta filia Pasque de Volcasii), 257–258 (Maria uxor condam Andree de Gayslao), 258–259 (Sauinus de Bonda), 262–263 (Desaca uxor Sersi), 263–264 (Tisa uxor Domagne de Stepi), 266 (Rade uxor Marini Rubei), 267–269 (clericus Rosinus Balislaue), 274–275 (Pasqua de Cereua), 275–276 (Anna uxoe Junii de Sorgo), 280–281 (Junius de Crossio), 287 (Triphon de Georgio), 289–290 (Stanisla uxor quondam petri de Scarico), 291 (Gayslaua filia Vitalis de Baraba), 293–294 (Theodorata filia Theodori Triphonis), 295–296 (Slava quondam Marini de Bincole); *Testamenta de notaria. Vol. 3. Fol. 7. (Obrada de Lutica)*, 9^o (Helena vxor Marini de Zrieua), 12–12^o (Mile de Sancto Angelo), 12^o–13 (Mencius condam Mathie de Mencio), 16^o (Maria vxor Marini Iunii de Sorgo), 19^o (Bella uxor condam Nale de Sorento), 20^o–21 (Schimosa uxor condam Bincole). About such bequest see also: *Ladić Z. Oporučni legati...* S. 24–25.

⁵⁰ *Ravančić G. Vrijeme umiranja...* S. 101–102 (especially footnote 439).

⁵¹ Issue of *pro anima* legacies is rather well elaborated in the Croatian historiography. See e. g.: *Ladić Z. 1) Oporučni legati... passim; 2) Urban last wills from late medieval Dalmatia...* P. 213–229, 264–270.

piety and devotion of testators. Researchers investigated various questions regarding *pro anima* bequest and some of these questions were related to sexual distribution of testators, qualitative and quantitative variety of their bequest etc. Within these analyses emerged issue of variety of items donated *pro anima* which included various objects used in daily life such as textile, clothing, food but also valuable liturgical objects⁵². Percentage of ca. 70 % *pro anima* bequests among analyzed material suggest rather high devotional and pious character of medieval Dubrovnik testators⁵³. On the other hand, data from the «year of plague» might suggest decrease regarding piety and devotion of medieval Dubrovnik testators⁵⁴. Namely, one should expect that during the period of disaster and uncertainty number of pious and devotional bequest rises and data from Dubrovnik's 1348 do not reflect such a trend. Still, this also could be result of graduate decrease of such bequest during the 14th century, which is indicated also in Graph 12, but for definite answer one should investigate all the preserved testaments up to the 15th century. Thus, this speculation, for time being, has to stay open without any definite answer (Graph. 12, 13).

Beneficiaries of the *pro anima* bequests were mostly various ecclesiastical institutions, and as it is clear from Graph 14 and Graph 15 the most common were monasteries⁵⁵. Such distribution might surprise but if one takes into account that monasteries' communities included more persons that could pray for the soul of testator then the above result becomes more obvious (Graph. 14, 15).

Testaments from the time of the Black Death, as it is visible in the Graph 16 and Graph 17, reveal rather opposite distribution and monasteries did not remain more «attractive» for medieval testators from Dubrovnik. Namely, while testamentary bequest to churches remained almost the same, bequest to monastery communities significantly decreased, although one should expect that donations *pro anima* in the period of the plague epidemics would be more concentrated towards monastery communities that could effectively pray for the salvation of testators' souls (Graph. 16, 17).

Reasons for such inversion cannot be explained easily without looking into broader social context of medieval Dubrovnik. Namely, if one takes a look on the distribution of these donations among monastery communities reasons of testators' could become more clear, as well as the change that happened in the mid-14th century. As it is clear from Graph 18 at the end of the 13th and in the first half of the 14th centuries the greatest share of testamentary bequest went to Dominican and Franciscan monasteries but other monasteries also received some donations⁵⁶. Besides the fact that the analyzed sample for the late 13th and the beginning of 14th century is quite smaller than the number of analyzed testaments from 1348, possible explanation of the aforementioned inversion regarding testamentary donations to monasteries and churches might be the fact that during the late 13th and the entire 14th centuries Dubrovnik was a big construction site where many buildings were renovated and rebuilt in stone. In fact exactly at that time monastery houses of Dominican and Franciscan order were in the final phases of construction. Thus, many of these bequests aimed to help finishing the work on the monasteries' construction, hoping that such donations would incite friars to pray for testators' souls. By the same token, one has to remember

⁵² *Ladić Z.* 1) Oporučni legati... passim; 2) Legati kasnosrednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih oporučitelja... S. 10, 15–17, 22–23.

⁵³ Exact numbers for Graph 12: 11/30 (1295); 8/18 (1296); 10/28 (1325); 9/16 (1326).

⁵⁴ Exact numbers for Graph 13: 188/115.

⁵⁵ Exact numbers for Graph 14: 68 (with) / 64 (without). Exact numbers for Graph 15: 38 (with) / 94 (without).

⁵⁶ Exact numbers for Graph 18 are included in the graph.

in this period mendicant orders were quite popular throughout the entire Europe and frequently included in *pro anima* bequests⁵⁷ (Graph. 18).

Although the percentage of testaments with bequests for monasteries significantly decreased in the year of the Black Death I believe that even more striking is change in distribution of such bequest among most prominent Dubrovnik monasteries. Namely, as it is clear from Graph 19⁵⁸, during the year of plague the predominant part of testamentary bequest for monasteries went to the Dominican order, while other monasteries kept more-or-less the same share of donations as in the previous period, except the Franciscan monastery whose share significantly decreased. Yet, such distribution should not surprise if we just recall the Latin name of Dominicans — *fratres praedicatores*. Accordingly to their name Dominicans received the greatest part of testamentary bequests because people in the fear of sudden death hoped that prayers of preaching friars will have the most effect in the year when everyone thought that the world was coming to its end (Graph. 19).

I believe that this shift within the distribution of testamentary bequest to monasteries indicates in which way plague affected mentality of medieval people, their piety and devotion. By the same token, significant decrease of these bequests during the year of plague does not necessarily reflect loss of faith because «whip of God» had fell down upon humanity. On the contrary, I believe that such decrease was a result of haste in which most of the people wanted to write down their last will, and in this hurry they simply did not have time to elaborate their wishes regarding their soul and path to the «other side»; most of them just wanted to complete their unfinished «earthly» business and say goodbye to their loved ones⁵⁹. Therefore, in spite of the fact that analysis of the preserved testaments suggest decrease of the bequest to the monasteries' communities, overall increase of testamentary bequests to the Dominican order suggest intensification of testators' concern regarding their souls which was for certain provoked by the Black Death.

Other testamentary bequests that could help testators to safely cross over to the «other side» were donations to the poor. In medieval societies poor had its passive function to receive charity in order that other social layers could express their Christian compassion. Beside this, in the Middle Ages the poor were often related to the image of Christ (*pauperes Christi*)⁶⁰ since medieval people strongly believed that the poor are Christ's favorites promised to enter Heavenly Kingdom. Consequently, donations to the poor was considered as kind of redemption for the sins done during the lifetime, since giving to the poor was in fact giving to Christ himself⁶¹. Still, as it is clear from Graph 20⁶², such testamentary charity bequests for poor started to decrease

⁵⁷ Ladić Z. Oporučni legati... S. 27.

⁵⁸ Exact numbers for Graph 19 are included in the graph.

⁵⁹ More about this see: Ravančić G. Vrijeme umiranja... S. 56, 93–94. Moreover, above statement can be corroborated with the fact that in 1348 only 6 % of preserved testaments did not contain bequests to any ecclesiastical institution (Ibid. S. 100).

⁶⁰ More about role of the poor in the medieval societies see e. g.: Swanson R. N. Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515. Cambridge; New York, 1995. P. 209–212; McCall A. I reietti del Medio Evo. Milano, 1987. S. 101–102; Janeković Römer Z. Na margini ili u središtu društva? Razmišljanja o marginalnosti u srednjem vijeku u nekoliko primjera // Gradske marginalne skupine u Hrvatskoj kroz srednji vijek i ranomoderno doba / Ur. T. Popić. Zagreb, 2004. S. 25–32; Ladić Z. Briga za pojedince i grupe na rubu društva u kasnosrednjovjekovnom Zadru // Gradske marginalne skupine u Hrvatskoj kroz srednji vijek i ranomoderno doba / Ur. T. Popić. Zagreb, 2004. S. 47–48; Wandel L. P. Poverty of Christ // The Reformation of Charity. Secular and Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief / Ed. by Th. M. Safley. Boston; Leiden, 2003. P. 15–29.

⁶¹ Janeković Römer Z. Na razmeđu ovog i onog svijeta... S. 8–9.

⁶² Exact numbers for Graph 20: 10/31 (1295), 9/17 (1296), 6/32 (1325), 5/22 (1326).

in the 14th century, and the reasons for this decline were connected with the change in attitude towards the poor. Namely, during the 14th century view on the poor has significantly changed, communities started to see in them as damaged and root of illness. Consequently, sometimes during the outbreaks of epidemics there were cases of persecution and abuse of the poor⁶³. Such an attitude towards the poor was a European phenomenon as it is indicated in the investigation of testamentary bequest to poor in some Italian cities in the second half of the 14th century⁶⁴. Yet, as it is clear from Graph 21⁶⁵, it seems the Black Death provoked «revival» of charity donations to the poor since — at least for a while — such testamentary bequest became part of testators' legacies in more than one third of the preserved testaments. Such rise could suggest fear of testators for their souls and their attempts to secure (or buy) themselves safe passage to the «other world» (Graph. 20, 21).

Although viewpoint regarding the poor was in the process of transformation, and this obviously had implications regarding distribution of testamentary bequests, testators' needs to secure crossing over and emancipate their souls from possible misdeeds, which had been done willingly or unwillingly, such a need was stronger. Namely, distribution of testamentary bequests *male ablatis* (or *pro maltoletto*) suggests that this type of donations substituted bequest for the poor in the time of change of attitude towards the poor. As Graph 22 clearly shows number of such bequest significantly increased during the first half of the 14th century⁶⁶. Connotation of such testamentary bequest *pro maltoletto* often was connected with business activities of testators. To be precise, many tradesmen and businessmen thought that they might be unfair to some of people they had interacted during the long years of their activities, and therefore through such testamentary bequest they wanted to make right such possible unfairness⁶⁷. Therefore, if we remember data from Graph 20, it seems that this bequest substituted testamentary donations for poor, because now testators gave money for charity or salvation of souls of the people whom they might offend; and form of expressing the Christian compassion still was satisfied⁶⁸. Yet, analysis of preserved testaments from 1348 reveals slight decrease of this type of testamentary bequest, though it shows that this type of donation remained much higher than it was at the end of the 13th century⁶⁹. This decline might be caused by the haste in which many testators had to write their last wills, and in such a hurry they did not have time to think about wrongs they

⁶³ See e. g.: Swanson R. N. Religion and Devotion... P. 210; Le Goff J. Civilizacija srednjovjekovnog Zapada. Zagreb, 1998. S. 414–415; Chon Jr., S. K. The Cult of Remembrance... P. 67.

⁶⁴ Chon Jr., S. K. The Cult of Remembrance... P. 68–69.

⁶⁵ Exact numbers for Graph 21: 186/120.

⁶⁶ Exact numbers for Graph 22: 3/38 (1295), 1/25 (1296), 14/24 (1325), 8/19 (1326).

⁶⁷ Janeković Römer Z. Na razmeđu ovog i onog svijeta... S. 7.

⁶⁸ E. g.: Testamenta de notaria, s. 10-1, vol. 3 (State Archives in Dubrovnik), fol. 8 (Item pro male ablatis yperperos XXV quos teneantur et debeant dare supradicti pitropi mei pro missis per animabus alliorum quorum fuerunt...), fol. 15' (Item dimito pro male ablatis yperperi X de quibus si debebant prandia pro animabus illorum quorum dicti yperperi fuerunt.), fol. 17 (...ex ipso debito quod dentur yperperi C pro male ablatis, que inferius ordinabo. Inprimis yperperi X pro decima et grossum vnum pro primicia, pro missis fratribus minoribus yperperos XXV, fratribus predicatoribus pro missis yperperos X, sacerdotibus ecclesie sancte Marie yperperos X et Bisle sorori mee yperperos X, monasterio pucellarum yperperos V, septem monasteriis ciuitatis yperperos VII, monasteriis extra ciuitatem yperperos III, reclusis yperperos II, presbitero Margarito de Stillo yperperos III.), fol. 23 (Et totum residuum de predictis yperperis L detur pro male ablato pro missis.), 24 (...et residuum istorum debitorum uolo quod pitropi mei distribuatur pro male ablato), 27 (...de quibus uolo quod dentur pro male ablatis yperperi V sacerdotibus pauperibus {pro} missis cantandis...), 27' (Item uolo quod dentur pro male ablatis yperperos XXX ubi pitropis meis melius uisum fuerunt.).

⁶⁹ Exact numbers for Graph 23: 243/63.

might had done. Alternatively, the cause of this result might also be connected with the fact that in the same year testamentary bequest for poor increased. Namely, maybe testators thought that through endowments to the poor they will have «better chances» for a save crossover than with the bequests in which they indirectly admit that they might had done some misdeeds. Especially, since the entire world believed that God that year was angry enough to strike upon the entire humanity with such a pestilence⁷⁰ (Graph. 22, 23).

Besides care for the soul and its safe crossover to the «other side» medieval testators in Dubrovnik also expressed their preferences regarding the prospects of the body they were about to leave behind⁷¹. It is interesting to note that within the analyzed material there are no many testaments containing bequests and regulations regarding the burial of testator. Yet, those that have such regulations reveal some interesting information that can be related with the results of previous analysis. Namely, as it is clear from Graph 24⁷², in the analyzed period one can notice decrease of testamentary regulations about testator's burial. It seems that at the beginning of the 14th century people paid less attention to the prospects of their corps after death; or one could offer another explanation, but I will return to this question little bit latter. At the same time it is interesting to note that some testators in their testaments expressed their wishes regarding the burial place, and according to this data the most popular burial place in the late 13th century was Dominican monastery; maybe because they believed that the prayers of the preaching friars and the closeness to the Dominican house will be more effective way to achieve corporal and spiritual preservation until the Last Judgment⁷³. On the other hand, similarly to the case of testamentary bequest for the poor — as Graph 25 shows — percentage of regulations about burial increased in the year of the plague⁷⁴. This «improvement» regarding concern of the body prospects can be explained by the fact that during the year of the plague Dubrovnik authorities had many problems regarding burial of constantly rising number of the dead. Namely, as sources witness already in March of 1348 there were no more free burial spaces in Dubrovnik and therefore many testators were concerned whether they will be properly buried and departed to the «other side»⁷⁵. Similar worries about inadequate preparations for the «other side» were common in other parts of Europe, and sometimes deceased were not buried at all⁷⁶. By the same token similar investigations for medieval England showed that at the beginning of the 14th century share of those who explicitly mention burial in the last will was quite comparable with the data extracted from Dubrovnik's testaments⁷⁷ (Graph. 24, 25).

⁷⁰ About contemporary popular and other explanations of pestilence that invaded Europe in the mid fourteenth century see e. g.: *Ziegler Ph.* The Black Death. London, 1998. P. 38, 68–73; *Marks G.* Medieval Medicine's Response to the Black Death // *The Black Death / Ed. by D. Nardo.* San Diego, 1999. P. 57–64; *Blažina-Tomić Z.* Uloga javnih zdravstvenih službenika kacamorata, vijeća i medicinske profesije u sprečavanju kuge u Dubrovniku u prvoj polovici 16. stoljeća. Doctoral dissertation. Zagreb: University of Zagreb, 2001. S. 30.

⁷¹ More about medieval perception of death and views on the proper preparations for the afterlife, especially burial see: *Aries Ph.* Eseji o istoriji smrti na zapadu — od srednjeg veka do naših dana Beograd, 1989. S. 36–50.

⁷² Exact numbers for Graph 24: 13/18 (1295), 9/17 (1296), 6/32 (1325), 3/24 (1326).

⁷³ More about see: *Ravančić G.* Oporuke, oporučitelji i primatelji oporučnih legata u Dubrovniku s kraja trinaestoga i u prvoj polovici četrnaestoga stoljeća // *PP.* 2011. Sv. 40. S. 113.

⁷⁴ Exact numbers for Graph 25: 64/242.

⁷⁵ More about see: *Ravančić G.* Vrijeme umiranja... S. 96–98.

⁷⁶ See e. g.: *Bergdolt K.* La peste nera e la fine del medioevo. Monferrato, 2002. P. 66; *Benedictow O. J.* The Black Death 1346–1353: The Complete History. Woodbridge, 2004. S. 91; *The Black Death / Ed. by R. Horrox.* Manchester; New York, 1994. P. 31–33, 43, 61, 64.

⁷⁷ *Daniell C.* Death and Burial... P. 29.

These testators' worries regarding funeral could be reduced if testator was a member of fraternity. Namely, although fraternities as aid (charity) organizations were quite common expression of social solidarity and popular piety even in earlier centuries, in the 14th century their number and activities increased, especially regarding care about burial and family of a deceased brother⁷⁸. As it is clear from Graph 26 and Graph 27, number of testamentary bequests for fraternities rises in the 14th century⁷⁹. Therefore it is quite interesting to note — comparing to the data from Graph 24 — that at the same time when testamentary donations regarding burial started to decrease, testamentary donations for fraternities started to rise. Such distribution of testamentary bequest clearly reflects better social organization of contemporary Dubrovnik's inhabitants: while in the 13th century testators had to rely on their families (in greater part) or regulate all the issues related to the funeral by themselves through their testaments, in the 14th century these activities were appointed to fraternities. The fact that the reflection of this aiding role of fraternities regarding burial remained almost the same during the year of the Black Death corroborates thesis that fraternities had their stabile role in medieval Dubrovnik. This percentage might also be connected with the aforementioned fact that already in March of 1348 there were no more available burial spaces in Dubrovnik, and proper funeral was a part of preparation for a *good death*⁸⁰. By the same token, investigated testaments from some Italian cities from 1348 reveal similar comparable percentage of testamentary bequests for fraternities (14 %), which indicate that Dubrovnik did not differ much from the rest of the Christian Mediterranean⁸¹ (Graph. 26, 27).

Among the contemporary Dubrovnik fraternities some certainly were more popular than others. As Graph 28 indicates the most popular were fraternity of St. Blaise and shoemakers' (later St. Crispin's) fraternity⁸². Such distribution should not surprise since St. Blaise was (and still is) the patron of Dubrovnik and shoemakers' fraternity was one of the oldest Dubrovnik confraternities; such were also fraternities of St. Mark (or as is often referred as goldsmiths' confraternity) and Flagellants confraternity which were also rather popular⁸³. These fraternities were rather frequently mentioned also during the year of the Black Death when emerges blacksmiths' fraternity which was dedicated to St. John. Besides popularity of fraternities and devotion towards their patron saints, this analysis also reflects growth of the number of confraternities in medieval Dubrovnik. Namely, while testaments from late 13th century mention

⁷⁸ *Foretić V.* Dubrovačke bratovštine // Časopis za hrvatsku povjest. 1943. Br. 1–2. S. 16–33; *Vojnović K.* Bratovštine i obrtne korporacije u Republici Dubrovačkoj. Zagreb, 1899; *Ladić Z.* Oporučni legati... S. 26; *Henderson J.* The Flagellant Movement and Flagellant Confraternities in Central Italy, 1260–1400 // Studies in Church History. 1978. Vol. 15. P. 158; *Brown A. D.* Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. Oxford, 1995. P. 132.

⁷⁹ Exact numbers for Graph 26: 3/38 (1295), 4/22 (1296), 5/33 (1325), 10/17 (1326). Exact numbers for Graph 27: 59/247.

⁸⁰ *Janeković Römer Z.* 1) Na razmeđu ovog i onog svijeta... passim; 2) Death // Learning Medieval Realms (URL: <http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/medieval/death/medievaldeath.html>) (last visited — 11. 08. 2013)).

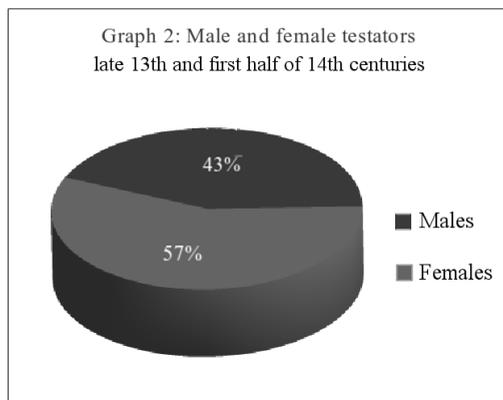
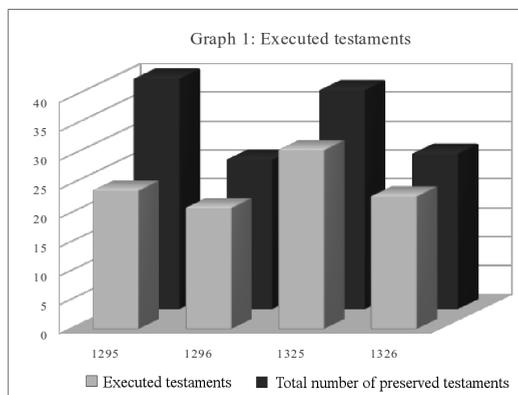
⁸¹ *Cohn Jr., S. K.* The cult of remembrance... P. 34–37, 64.

⁸² In the period 1295–1296 there were testamentary bequests for: fraternity of St. Stephen (3), fraternity of St. Blaise (1), shoemakers' fraternity (1), and no named fraternity/ies (2). In the period 1325–1326 there were testamentary bequest for: fraternity of St. Blaise (11), fraternity of St. Andrew (4), Flagellant fraternity (4), shoemakers' fraternity (3), and fraternity of St. Mark (2). In 1348 there were testamentary bequests for: fraternity of St. Blaise (22), shoemakers' fraternity (22), fraternity of St. Mark (13), Flagellant fraternity (12), fraternity of St. John (9), fraternity of St. Andrew (5), fraternity of St. Vito (4), and fraternity of Holy Savior (1).

⁸³ *Foretić V.* Dubrovačke bratovštine... passim.

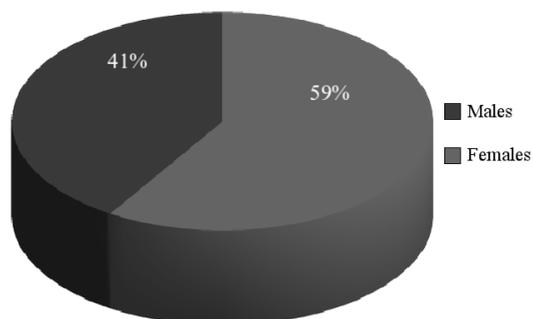
only three fraternities, in mid-14th century there were eight of them, and some of them gathered distinct professions, such as shoemakers, goldsmiths and blacksmiths⁸⁴ (Graph. 28).

Quantitative analysis of the samples from the preserved Dubrovnik testaments from late 13th, beginning of 14th and mid-14th centuries showed that these testaments can reveal various interesting facts about private and public life of their testators. Moreover, quantitative analysis can also indicate some changes in social life, as well as transformation(s) within mentality and popular piety of people, especially regarding their preparations for a *good death* and afterlife. As it was demonstrated this period on the turn of centuries was time when medieval Dubrovnik experienced many economic and social changes, and these processes had reflection in contemporary testaments, their composition and distribution of testamentary bequests. At the same time, as this research suggest, the Black Death — at least its first strike from the mid 14th century — did not have any graver influence to the distribution of testamentary bequests, except the fact that the number of people who wanted to write down their last will was at least twice larger than it was median for other years from this period.

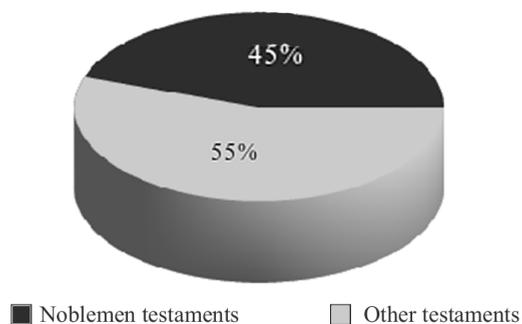


⁸⁴ Although this is not tightly connected to the topic of this article, it is interesting to note that in some way this fraternity gathering reflected social and political differentiation of medieval Dubrovnik which will be more evident in the fifteenth century, especially through work of fraternity of St. Anthony. More about see: *Pešorda Vardić Z. U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački Antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku.* Zagreb; Dubrovnik, 2012.

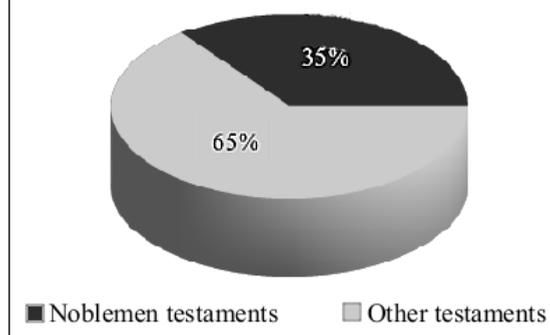
Graph 3: Male and female testators
testaments from 1348

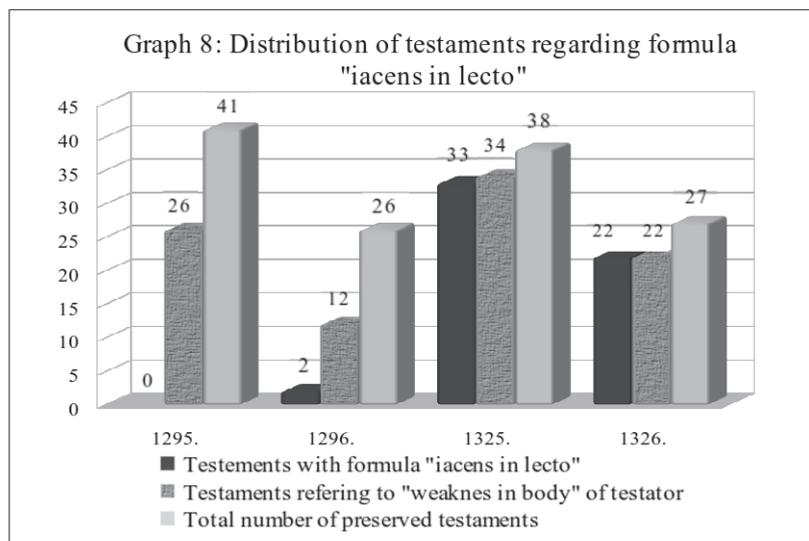
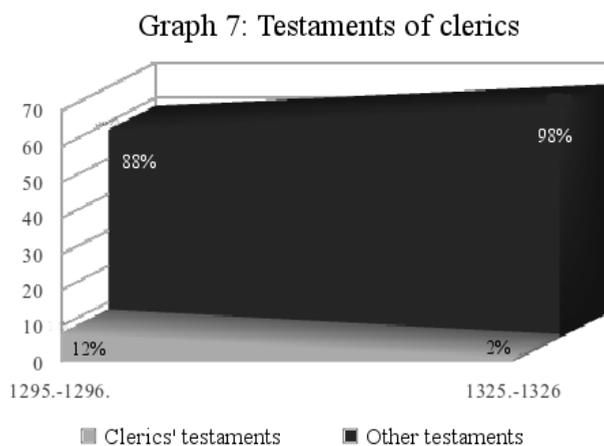
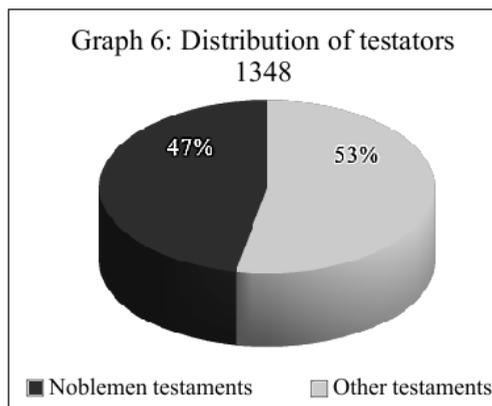


Graph 4: Distribution of testators
1295 - 1296

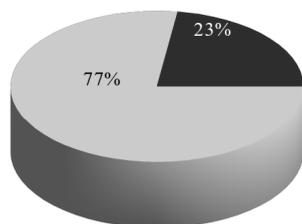


Graph 5 Distribution of testators
1325 - 1326





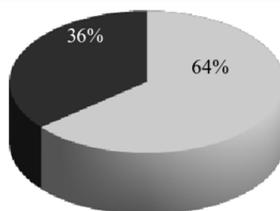
Graph 9: Distribution of testaments regarding regulations about debts
1295-1326



■ Testaments with regulations about debts
■ Testaments without regulations about debts

Graph 10: Distribution of testaments regarding regulations about debts

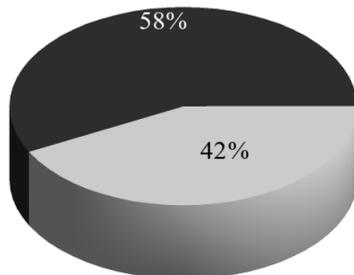
1348



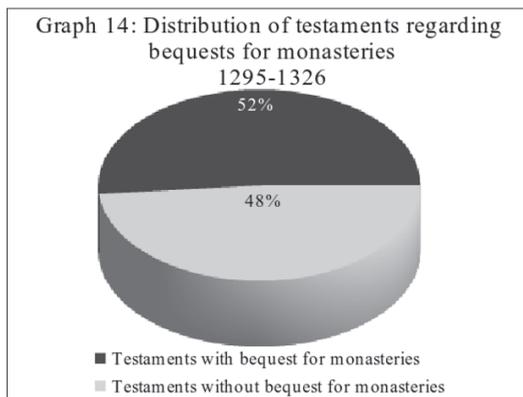
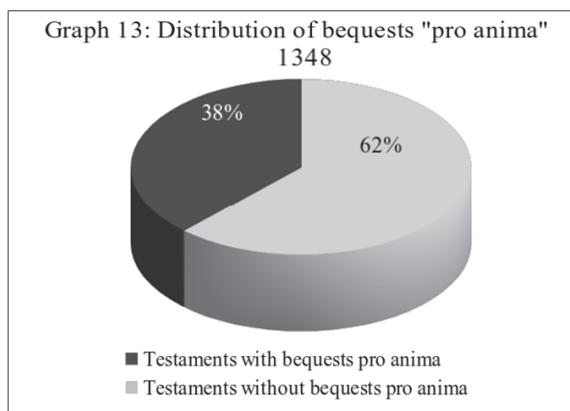
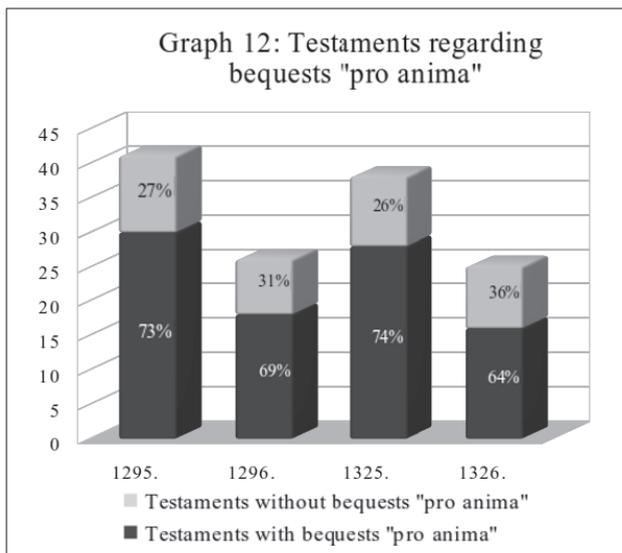
■ Testaments with regulations about debts
■ Testaments without regulations about debts

Graph 11: Distribution of testaments regarding bequests for holy masses

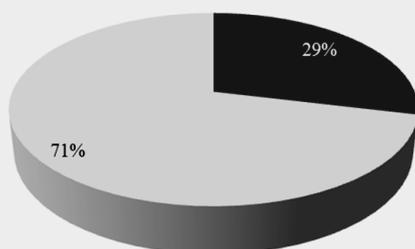
1295-1326



■ Testaments with bequests for holy masses
■ Testaments without bequests for holy masses



Graph 15: Testaments regarding bequests to churches 1295-1326



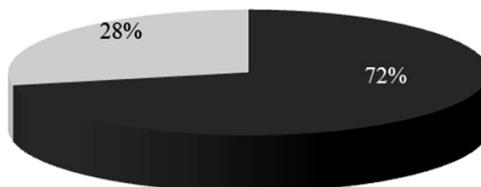
- Testaments with bequests to churches
- Testaments without bequests to churches

Graph 16: Testaments regarding bequests to monasteries 1348

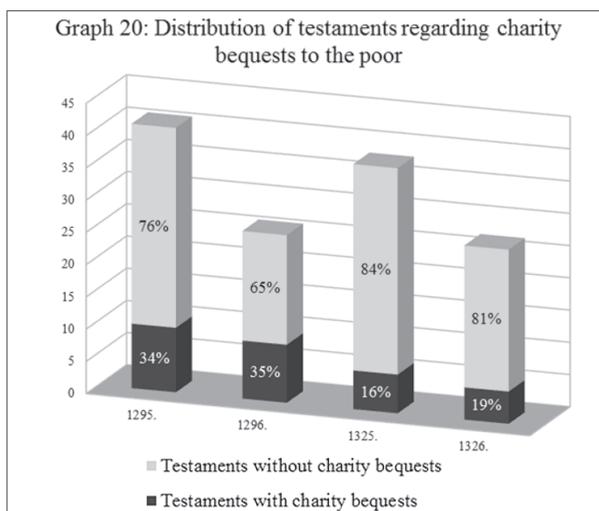
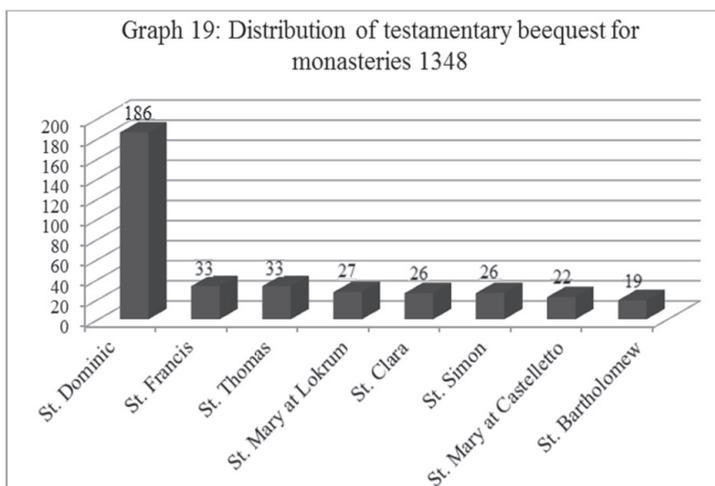
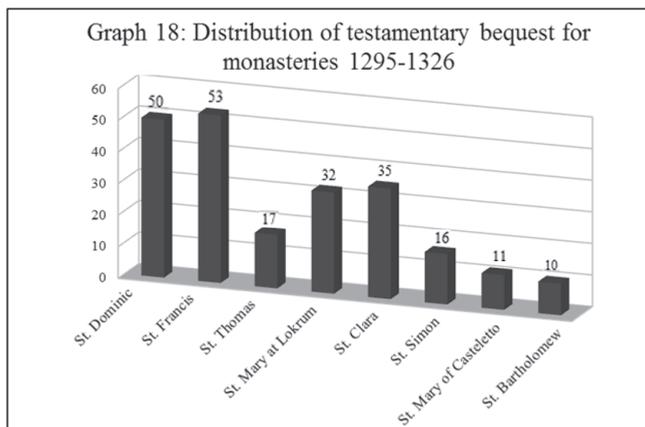


- Testaments with bequests to monasteries
- Testaments without bequests to monasteries

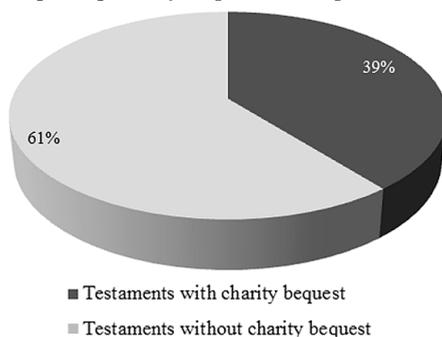
Graph 17: Testaments regarding bequests to churches 1348



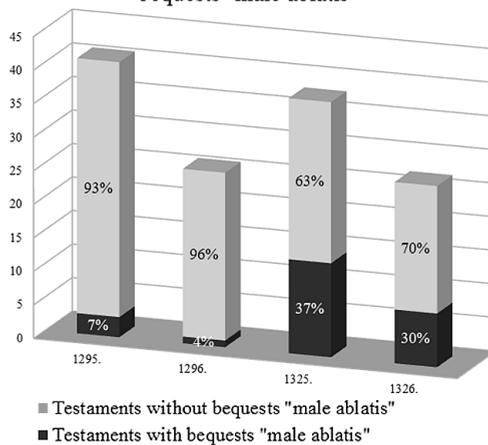
- Testaments with bequests to churches
- Testaments without bequest to churches



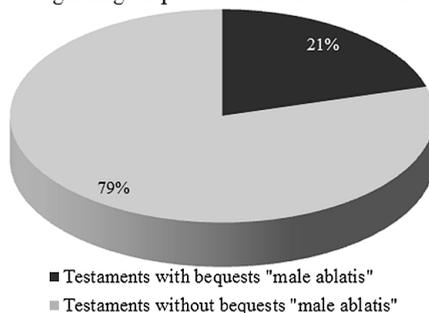
Graph 21: Distribution of testaments regarding charity bequests to the poor 1348

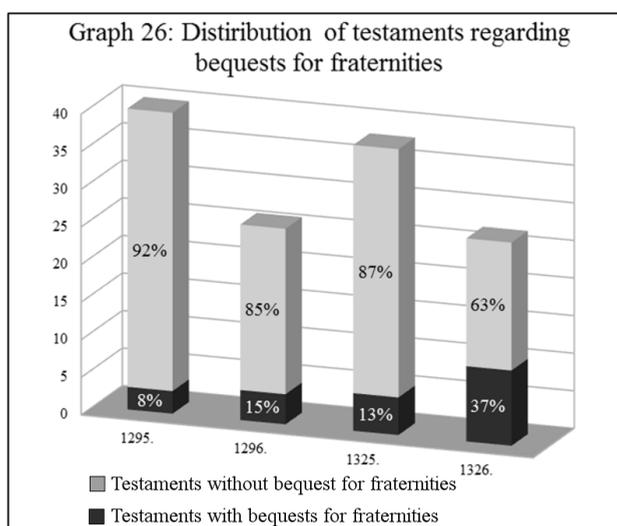
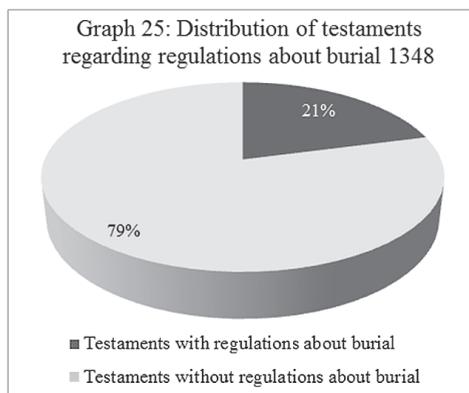
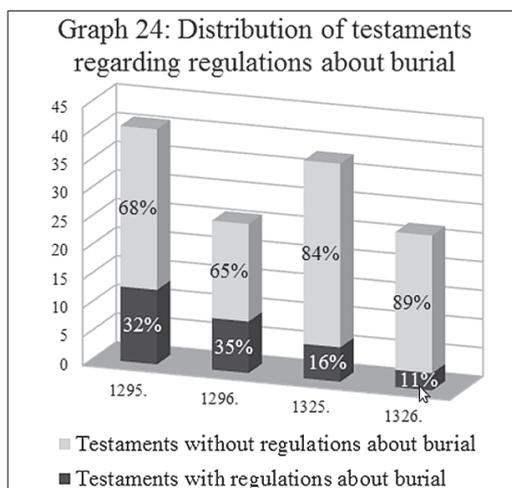


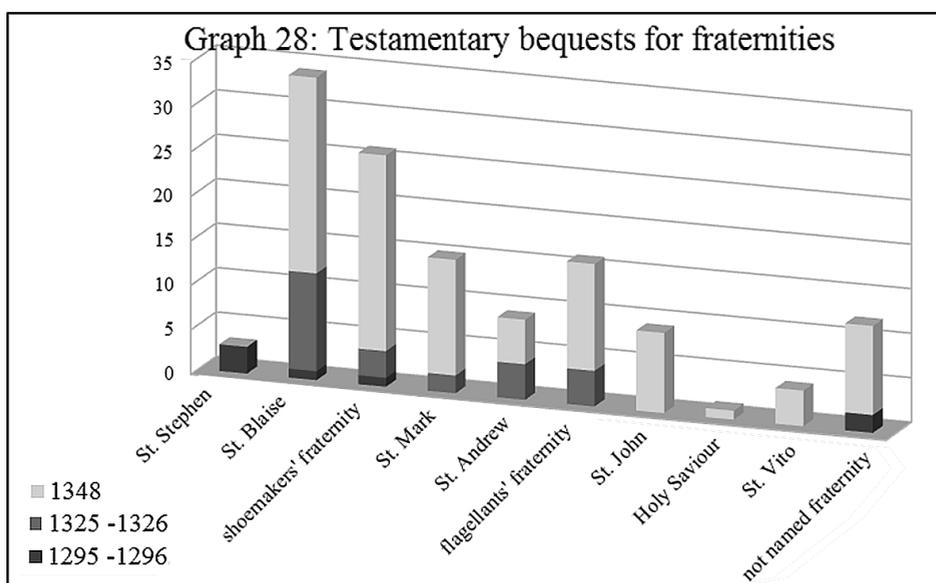
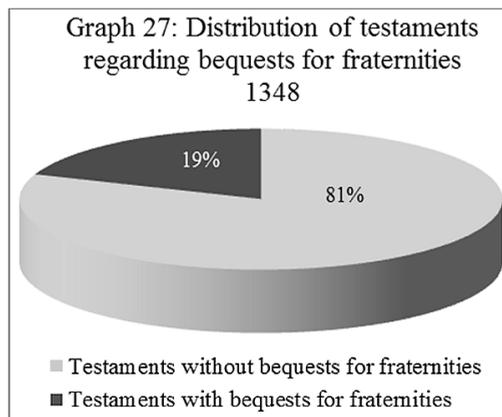
Graph 22: Distribution of testaments regarding bequests "male ablatis"



Graph 23: Distribution of testaments regarding bequests "male ablatis" 1348







Данные о статье

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Заголовок: Подготовка к «праведной смерти» в завещаниях граждан Дубровника конца XIII – середины XIV в. и влияние эпидемии «черной смерти» на восприятие загробной жизни

Резюме: Сравнительно большое количество завещаний конца XIII – первой половины XIV в., хранящихся в Государственном архиве в Дубровнике в составе архивных фондов Дубровницкой республики, являются неисчерпаемым кладом материалов для исторических исследований. Можно сказать, что завещания, являясь частноправовыми документами, принадлежат к числу источников, наиболее пригодных для изучения экономической, социальной, правовой, культурной и духовной жизни в средневековом обществе Дубровника. В данной статье демонстрируется то, как можно успешно использовать количественный подход к исследованию информации, содержащейся в завещаниях жителей средневекового Дубровника для того, чтобы раскрыть не только экономические и правовые факты, но и сдержание определенных социальных процессов.

Анализу подвергается относительно небольшая выборка завещаний рассматриваемого периода — 432 из общего числа, превышающего 900. Рассматриваемые завещания относятся к 1295, 1296, 1325, 1326 и 1348 гг. Притом, что данная выборка является относительно небольшой по отношению к общему числу завещаний, хранящихся в Дубровницком архиве, в ходе данного исследования все же удалось обнаружить определенные изменения в распределении завещаний в рамках рассматриваемого периода. Хотя данные результаты не должны рассматриваться как «абсолютные», они действительно отражают определенные социальные, экономические и организационные тренды в развитии коммунальной системы дубровницкого общества, а также тенденции, относящиеся к духовной жизни и ментальности горожан.

Ключевые слова: Дубровник, завещания, «черная смерть», средневековая духовность

Information about the article

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Title: Preparation for a good death in the last wills of Dubrovnik citizens from the late 13th and mid-14th century and the influence of the black death to the perception of afterlife

Summary: The comparatively large number of surviving testaments written in late 13th and early 14th century, kept at State Archives in Dubrovnik within the Republic of Dubrovnik archival holdings, is an inexhaustible source of research material for historians. It may be said that testaments as private legal documents are among the best sources for study of economic, social, legal, cultural and spiritual life in medieval Dalmatian communes. In this short article, I hope to demonstrate how a quantitative approach to the study of information contained in the testaments of contemporary Dubrovnik residents may be successfully used to elucidate not just economic and legal facts, but also certain social processes.

The analysis focuses on a relatively small sample of 432 testaments, of the total of over 900, from this period. The examined testaments are from the following years: 1295, 1296, 1325, 1326 and 1348. While it is obvious that the sample is relatively small when compared with the total number of testaments kept in the Dubrovnik archives, this study should reveal certain changes in the distribution of bequests over the examined time period. These results should not be regarded as 'absolute' but they do reflect certain social, economic and organizational trends in the contemporary Dubrovnik communal social system, as well as concerning their spiritual mentality.

Keywords: Dubrovnik, testaments, Black Death, medieval spirituality

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