

International Conference Commemorating the 450<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the  
First Printed New Testament in the Croatian Language<sup>1</sup>

# The Reformation in the Croatian Historical Lands

Research Results, Challenges, Perspectives

## Abstracts

University of Zagreb  
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**Zrinka Blažević**

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## **Reformation Studies in the Croatian Context: Possibilities and Perspectives**

Starting from the assumption that the Reformation is one of the most representative trans-national and translational processes and practices within early modern European culture, this paper aims at scrutinizing the cognitive, interpretative and practical research possibilities of dominant theoretical paradigms within contemporary Reformation studies. Alongside established research paradigms such as confessional theory, analytical and interpretive possibilities and perspectives on current theoretical approaches such as theories of cultural transfer, mobility theory, historical network analysis, media and communication theories will be examined with special regard to their heuristic potential for discerning distinctive features of the Reformation movement in the Croatian lands.

**Peter Kuzmič**

Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, USA & Evangelical Theological Seminary, Osijek, Croatia

## **The Reformation and the Shaping of Modern Europe**

Croatia is at the doorstep of the European Union and we are fast approaching the 500th anniversary of the Protestant Reformation (2017). This symposium provides us with a good contextual occasion to review those dimensions of the Reformation which contributed to the emergence of liberal democracy and shaped the world in which we live. Some of the key questions this paper deals with are as follows.

What are the unintended political consequences of the Reformation and causal connections between Protestant ideas and the development of civil liberties, democratic policies and the affirmation of ethical values and human rights? How did the Protestant doctrines of “justification by faith” and “salvation by grace” lay the groundwork for the liberation of human consciences and the unleashing of individual reason, thereby paving the way to greater freedom and social progress? Can the breakup of medieval Western Christendom caused by the Reformation be legitimately interpreted as a religious revolution which created preconditions for the emergence of modern nation-states which constitute a free and plura-

listic Europe? To what extent has Protestant liberalism contributed to religious pluralism and the secularization of western societies, and what are the meaning and impact of recent calls for a re-evangelization of Europe? Is secularization an enemy of Christianity, or can it be considered a welcome ally in interrelated and overlapping processes of liberating human beings and purifying religion? What is the mission of the Croatian churches of Reformation heritage and congregations in this new European context?

**Stanko Jambrek**

Bible Institute, Zagreb, Croatia

### **The Reformation in the Croatian Historical Lands as Spiritual and Cultural Transfer**

By using recent research paradigms and the theoretical approach of cultural transfer, this paper aims to analyze processes and to provide a critical synthesis of the history of the Reformation in the Croatian historical lands. The focus of the research is on the modalities of reception and the practice of Reformation ideas in the different social classes of the Croatian historical region, from peasants to elite Protestants. The paper identifies specific areas, periods and key processes of promotion, proclamation and affirmation of the doctrine of Scripture, including preaching, teaching and interpreting the same in the family and community of believers. Also addressed are the impact of Reformation ideas on different types of services and worship, relationships in marriage and family, and the upbringing and education of children and adults. Special attention is given to the transfer of ideas in the form of printed books, brochures and drama.

**Fanika Krajnc-Vrečko**

Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

### **God and Human in the Croatian Crikveni ordinalic**

In the professional community, the Latin script of Crikveni ordinalic of 1564 held by the Seminary Library in Ljubljana has not been the subject of extensive research until now. Although the text should “only” present a translation of the Württemberg church order of 1559, we can speak of Croatian specialties in it and are able to find sufficient evidence to show a concern the authors and later

translators had to provide their constituents with a new genuine doctrine of God. Discussion arises from assumptions in the preface and in the light of theological anthropology searches for those elements in the paper that indicate a relationship between God and humanity in a particular historical and ethnic environment. Humans, for whom the Ordinalic is intended, live in illusions, misunderstanding, chaos and idolatry. They repeatedly succumb first to external appearances and ceremonies, and then to the content of the announced word. Croats have lost words from their language for the secret of sacred sacraments and ecclesiastical traditions, therefore the Ordinalic allows a simple Croatian person and believer to restore proper relationship with God. God communicated to this person by a genuine (Protestant) religion, and is a merciful God, not a God of chaos, but a God of peace. As everything in the world has its own agenda, God has a wish for everything that happens and is being carried out in the church to be done well and fairly, as he is not just an observer and listener of all that is said, sang and done before his face, but he is also the leader of all good thoughts, words and works of his believers. The establishment of a new (ecclesiastical) order will also realize the christological forecast of freedom for Croats.

**Tomislav Vidaković**

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Croatia

### **Understanding Islam According to the Flacius' *Magdeburg Centuries***

The Reformation of the sixteenth century put a question mark on many religious teachings and practices that had been unquestionable and untouchable until then. New geographic discoveries opened new horizons in knowledge and understanding of others and the different, even in religious aspects. Ottoman penetrations deep into European territory stirred up never fully neglected questions about religious identity of odious enemies and conquerors. In that context, it is interesting to research the understanding of Islam (its history, and especially its theology) from the perspective of the Protestant Reformation, giving special consideration to Islam's answers to questions of extremely high value for the Protestant Reformation as they are questions regarding eternal salvation, the importance of good deeds in soteriological terms, one's attitude toward Jesus Christ, the Bible and the religious tradition, etc. Starting from a general Christian understanding of Islam through history and through the writings of the most prominent representative of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther, the author focuses on the understanding of Islam as it is presented in a special chapter devoted to non-Christian

religions in the first comprehensive Protestant Church History, the Magdeburg Centuries, whose spiritual rector was Croat Matthias Flacius Illyricus.

**Gabriella Erdélyi**

Institute of History, Research Center for Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

**Letters to the Antichrist: Papal Pardon and the Reformation**

By the fifteenth century, the office of the Apostolic Penitentiary became the chief and the cheapest monger of both the salvation of souls and justice on earth in Renaissance Rome. On the one hand, the office issued special licenses concerning religious practice such as permission to have a private confessor or a portable altar, and licenses of pilgrimage to oversee areas or exemptions from Lent. In my paper, though, I will focus not on the practices of religious devotion, per se, but rather on the Penitentiary's management of either heinous crimes which involved breaking the moral code (homicide, perjury); or the transgressions of positive law such as the making of canonically irregular marriages and clerical ordinations.

The petitioners, many of them ordinary men and women (the middle and lower sorts with only the poorest excluded from both urban and rural populations) were the unquestionable authors of their narratives which were, however, transcribed by professional proctors who respected a fixed protocol. Thus, similar to letters of royal remission in 16th century France and England, both the procedure of issuing a pardon and the law itself to which it had to conform constrained their stories. While their stories were intended to be efficacious, they also had to be authentic and truthful since their content was subsequently checked by witnesses during the ratification procedures. It is also important to add that they had to be very humble and respectful, capable of soliciting the benevolence of the pope. Just as the posture implied in the discourse of royal clemency requests calculated to impose respect for monarchic sovereignty, as argued both by Natalie Zemon Davis and Claude Gauvard, the scenario of papal remission strengthened the authority of the pope. By the gesture of pardoning, he not only subjugated competing authorities, but also imposed his will on his subjects who got entangled in the process of domination while making efficacious stories that were designed to meet official expectations. During this process, they internalized its language, concepts and rules. Even if people learned to manipulate the regulations, as in some instances which I will pinpoint, by asking for pardon from their transgressions, they also became - albeit unconsciously - agents of the construction of sin and of the authority of the church.

While it is important to stress that domination and agency were both inherent in the scenario of pardoning, I will focus on the latter, pinpointing the tactics of appropriation of ordinary men with regard to three different issues. The first will be the manipulation of the sacrament of marriage as defined by canon law and synod decrees. Second, I will briefly discuss the use of religious orders for non-official ends. Third, the petitions about priest-killings will lead me to reflect upon the nature of lay-clerical conflicts and relations. My aim is to show that 16<sup>th</sup> century transformations in all these areas - marriage, religious orders and the clergy - cannot be explained simply by Lutheran ideas, but rather, with a reversed logic, the late medieval social practices of ordinary men had a vital role in the reshaping of existing norms. Consequently, Catholic and Protestant treatments of the most pressing issues such as marriage and clerical status diverged only at face value, in principles and rhetoric, but implied very similar practices. This runs against those interpretations of the Protestant Reformation which stress its “revolutionary” character in various aspects of the social and cultural realms which followed, as traditionally argued, from the theological ideas of Luther.

**Stanko Andrić**

Croatian Institute of History, Unit for the History of Slavonia, Srijem & Baranja, Slavonski Brod, Croatia

### **A Protestant's Letter and its Catholic Interpreters (Michael Starinus's Pastoral Report from 1551 and its Echo in Croatian Historiography)**

The early rise and progression of the Reformation around the Middle Danube, in the central part of the former Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, is a well-known phenomenon, primarily in Hungarian historiography. This phenomenon included parts of present-day Croatia, namely Eastern Slavonia and Baranja, at that time territories of the Ottoman Empire. Despite this fact, the sixteenth and seventeenth century Reformation in this area has received little attention among Croatian historians who mostly consider it (without foundation and anachronistically) as a fleeting episode of little importance. The primary sources for the study of this subject include, above all: letters and reports written by Protestant preachers and ministers as well as those by Catholic clergy and missionaries, early historiographical works of the Hungarian Protestant Church, and Ottoman and Hapsburg tax registers and household censuses. A special place among the earliest sources belongs to Michael Starinus (Michael of Sztára/Staré, d. 1575), a Franciscan friar and Paduan student who turned into an ardent Protestant preacher, leader and author of a varied body of writings. In a letter from 1551, written in Laskó (today

Lug) in Baranja, Starinus describes in a humorous literary fashion how he and his assistants prevailed against Catholic priests in their fight for the loyalty of the Christian people around Valpovo and Vukovar (in Eastern Slavonia). The details contained in this short report later became, among Croatian Catholic Church historians, the starting point of a peculiar interpretation of the events referred to by Starinus. This series of historians, among whom we find Euzebijie Fermentžin, Matija Pavić, Emerik Gašić, Paškal Cvekan and others, have (mis)interpreted Starinus' lines as being proofs of the violence and torture allegedly used by the Protestants against Catholic clergy. While it is clear (and sufficiently corroborated by extant sources) that Protestant-Catholic relations of this period and in this area were indeed violent at times, it is also quite demonstrable that these nineteenth and twentieth century historians read their own preconceptions and biases into Starinus' text. In this paper, I will provide a review of these biased readings and re-tellings of Starinus' original passage against the backdrop of a historical and philological analysis of its actual contents.

**Marina Miladinov**

Theological Faculty "Matthias Flacius Illyricus", Zagreb, Croatia

### **As Christianity Goes Blind: Echoes of the Terrible History of Franciscus Spiera in the Hungarian and Slavic Lands**

The story of Francesco Spiera, a Paduan lawyer who converted from Roman Catholicism to Lutheranism and then abjured his "errors" under the pressure of the Inquisition, in consequence of which he died damned and deranged, became so popular throughout the Protestant world that at least a dozen leading men from various strands of the Reformation depicted his fall as an admonishment to those who might feel tempted to apostasy, fearing for their personal safety. The lesser known echoes of this "terrible history" can be found in authors active in the Hungarian and Slavic lands, and this paper will focus on versions written by Stanisław Murzynowski (*Historyja żałosna a straszliwa o Franciszku Spierze, który się dla bojaźni ludzkiej prawdy Pańskiej zaprzął*, 1550), Ferenc Töke (*Az Istennek röttenetes haragjáról*, 1553), and Zsigmond Tordai (*Historia Francisci Spierae*, 1550), possibly including a Czech version called *Frantisska Spjry Cytadulanského hrozný a strassliwý Pád* (unidentified year or author). These works will be compared to those of the more central versions with the aim of identifying their local specificities and possibly establishing the chains/clusters of reception.

**Vincenc Rajšp**

Slowenisches Wissenschaftsinstitut SZI, Dunaj/Wien, Slovenia/Austria

### **Connections between the Reformation Movement in Croatian and Slovenian Lands**

Presentation will focus to connections and collaboration of main Reformation protagonists in the Slovenian, Croatian and Istrian (Venetian) early modern area. It will analyse how Primus Truber, Peter Paul Vergerius and Carniolan nobility approached the Reformation movement in Croatia. It will present their teamwork on the publication and distribution of Protestant books amongst Croatian population as well as their cooperation with particular Croatian early modern provinces. The latter were in various ways politically related to the Holy Roman Empire and Habsburg hereditary lands, especially the Habsburg Istria and the Military Border. Special emphasis will be put on diverse legal and constitutional frameworks and possibilities of identification of geographical space of Slovene and Croatian Reformation based on the Atlas of Abraham Ortelius „Theatrum Orbis Terrarum“.

**Szabolcs Varga**

College of Divinity of Pécs, Hungary

### **The Process of the Reformation in the Area beyond the Drava of the Diocese of Pécs in the 16th Century**

The Diocese of Pécs was one of the richest bishopric sees of the Kingdom of Hungary in the late Middle Ages. It had several monasteries, parishes and churches of which many were counted as national or regional pilgrimage destinations. However, the widespread Ottoman devastation weakened the institutional network of the Catholic Church. Parallel to the conquest, the Reformation also appeared in the area, and by the early 1550s, almost the whole population of the diocese had accepted the Lutheran doctrines. A few years later, Calvin's tenets won more and more popularity and even the Unitarian denomination appeared in the area in the middle of the 1570s. However, some Catholic islands also survived despite the lack of priests. During the 16th century, the Reformation took a different direction south of the Drava River. The reason behind this was probably the different migration rates in the two parts of the Diocese of Pécs. Due to fierce fighting, the overwhelming majority of the population left Pozega, and the people who took their place arrived from the Balkans and were not familiar with western intellectual thought. The western border became more closed and constant fighting restricted educati-



onal opportunities. North of the Drava, the Ottoman conquest did not cause such dramatic changes as the majority of the population remained in the area and they continued to attend Protestant universities. Wine and cattle trade produced enough income, and local communities could employ educated priests and maintain excellent schools. This state of affairs, however, changed during the Long War, but by that time considerable differences had arisen in the two areas of the diocese.

**Gene S. Whiting**

Theological Biblical Academy, Krapina, Croatia

### **The Reformation in Međimurje, Southeastern Slovenia and Western Hungary in Light of Aristocratic Connections**

During the 16th and 17th centuries, throughout Europe, aristocrats were invaluable in the spreading of the biblical message of salvation through Jesus Christ. Croatia was a kingdom of three lands united with the Kingdom of Hungary, both under the Hapsburg emperor. The present Northern Croatian county of Međimurje was a part of Southwestern Hungary, bordered by the Drava River on the south and the Mura on the north, and contingent on the west with Southeastern Slovenia, now called Prekmurje. This biblical message arrived in Međimurje by way of Prekmurje and Western Hungary. From the 1530s onward, Western Hungary, now Austrian Burgenland, was receiving Croatians from the heartland of Croatia who were being threatened by the Ottomans, a phenomena which added to the regional connections. The Zrinskis and other aristocratic families were pivotal promoters of the Reformation movement in this entire region. In the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century, the Zrinski family was the second-largest landowner of Croatian lands and was abounding in connections, including marriages with other aristocratic families.

**Andrej Hozjan**

Department of History, University of Maribor, Slovenia

### **Districtus Transmuranus: Its Connections to the Croatian Lands during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation Period**

The territory known as Districtus Transmuranus in Croatian late medieval sources, which is today the Slovenian region of Prekmurje, was in the past four

centuries a borderland of the Hungarian kingdom. In the period of early Reformation in Hungary, almost all of the land was settled by the Slavic population, while the region near castle Dolnja/Lower Lendava/Alsó Lendva was settled by the Hungarians. In the middle of the 16th century, the new religion had been warmly received by the landowners – members of the Hungarian high nobility class. In the next several decades, the entire population started pursuing the new religion and the Roman Catholic Church weakened. The parishioners of four parishes in Lower Prekmurje (diocese of Zagreb, Archidiaconatus Bexin) turned to Protestantism by the will of their landowners, the noble family of Bánffy of Dolnja Lendava. The Bánffy were also landowners in Međimurje from the late Middle Ages until the Battle of Mohač/Mohács. Many social and other contacts between the members of all social classes here and in the neighboring Croatian lands were especially linked by the Reformation – even marriages between the noble families, such as d'Arco/Széchy, Zrinski, Bánffy of Dolnja Lendava and Rima-Széchy. Some examples of those contacts and connections will follow. However, at the peak of the Reformation in Prekmurje, a shock happened: in 1608 Baron Christoph Bánffy of Dolnja Lendava, son of Baron Nicholas and Ursula, born Zrinski, suddenly converted to Roman Catholicism. That signified the beginning of the Counter-Reformation movement in Lower Prekmurje which eventually started a few years after. Some Jesuits arrived from Graz. Therefore, the Protestant family of the Counts of Zrinski, which was at that time related to the Bánffys, broke the relationship and made connections with the still Protestant baronial family of Rima-Széchy who were the largest landowners in Upper Prekmurje. Both sons of Count George Zrinski IV, Nicholas and George V, married the Rima-Széchy daughters, and both well known sons of George V, Nicholas and Peter, belonged to the Rima-Széchy family on their mother's side. The family of Rima-Széchy converted to Roman Catholicism in 1637 while other strong landholders in Prekmurje had done so a few years prior – Count Adam Batthyány, and Ferencz III Nádasdy a few years later in 1643. The Reformation disappeared from Lower Prekmurje until the second half of the 17th century. The diocese of Zagreb, supported by Ferencz III Nádasdy, managed to reanimate Roman Catholicism with the priests who spoke a kajkavian dialect. Their role was enormous; they became the main supporters of the spoken and written indigenous Slavic culture. Some of the preserved texts are a good proof of that. With the years, more and more people from the Croatian lands settled there. The surname Horvat became the most widely spread name in the whole region in the 19th century. They brought their culture with them, so the differences between the sub dialects of Upper and Lower Prekmurje increased. Meanwhile, the Counter-Reformation in the upper parts of the region managed to limit the Protestant strength, but could not disable it completely; some lower

noble families continued to practice the religion of their ancestors. Intensive connections between the region and Zagreb were broken when the new diocese of Szombathely was organized in 1777. The influence of the kajkavian dialect gradually decreased, although by then it had already become a strong part of the indigenous Slavic dialect in Lower Prekmurje.

**Žiga Oman**

Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, Maribor, Slovenia

### **The Dravsko Polje District of the Augsburg Confession – A Styrian Border Area during the Reformation Period and its Connections with the Croatian Lands**

The Dravsko Polje area is still a border area today, and was for centuries a Styrian-Croatian border area. During the Reformation period, a religious community of the Augsburg Confession thrived in this area, made up of most of the local nobility and most of the townspeople of Maribor and Ptuj which, since the late 16th century, held the title of fortified border towns. Trading routes spanning the area from east to west and from northeast to southwest connected its population with the world beyond, bringing not only goods and people, but also new ideas. The area was thus lying on one of the routes that Protestant thought had taken on its way to the Croatian lands as well. The present article aims at presenting a new image of this border area during the Reformation period, by both putting it into the broader context of the historical development in the Land of Styria, as well as looking into its ties with neighboring Croatia.

**Franc Kuzmič**

Murska Sobota Regional Museum, Slovenia

### **The Evangelical Church in Surd as a Spiritual Center for Međimurje and Prekmurje in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

In the period of the Counter-Reformation in the second half of the 17th century, the Protestants in Međimurje and Prekmurje were deprived of their religious freedom, and their churches were seized and returned to the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant believers were left with the possibility of returning to the Catholic Church, to move into areas where they could live out their Protestant

faith, or to remain in their homes and occasionally attend the worship services in the Hungarian regions with existing churches.

In 1681, the parliament in Sopron legally guaranteed “religious freedom in particular regions.” One of those regions was Surd, as well as the Somogy district in Hungary, which extended to the regions of Međimurje and the lower part of Prekmurje.

The Evangelical (Lutheran) church community in Surd was established in the year of 1625. The first pastor there, Miklos Muraközi (1625-1638), was most probably born in Međimurje. During the Counter-Reformation, many believers from Međimurje moved to the Hungarian side, to the district of Somogy, or attended their church services. The pastors from Surd continued to visit Legrad and other regions in Međimurje even much later and cared for the believers. Some of the pastors serving there in that period were born in Prekmurje; the language in Prekmurje was very similar to the one in Međimurje.

### **Maja Ćutić Gorup**

History Department, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Rijeka, Croatia

### **Promoters of Protestant Thought in Pazin County**

On the basis of the analysis of relations between the bishops of Pićan, Poreč and Pula and the Holy See, correspondence between the employees and collaborators of the Urach printing house with a special emphasis on collaborators from Pazin County, testimonies of Pietro Manelfi, Grison and Valier's apostolic visitation and anti-Reformation documents by the Austrian government, the author establishes which noblemen and priests participated in the wave of Reformation that washed over the county and what types of activity they engaged in to promote Protestant thought. Although, according to the methods of Wolfgang Reinhard that were used by the confessional communities to strengthen their internal organization, one cannot speak of a Protestant movement in Pazin County, but of reverberations of the Reformation: the promoters of Protestant thought from the county played an important role in this turbulent episode of Istrian history thanks to their dedicated work on the translation and proof-reading of Protestant books and their unwavering persistence in circulating them.

**Hermann Ehmer**

Honorary Professor, Evangelical Theological Faculty of the University of Tübingen, Germany

**The Urach Printing Shop and its Significance for Croatian Literature: Production – Finance – Distribution**

In 1560, a printing shop was set up in Urach in the Duchy of Württemberg by the initiative of Primus Truber, former canon of the church of Ljubljana/Slovenia. Although Truber's interest was mainly in putting the Slovenian language into print, the main production of the Urach press was of religious books in the Croatian language which was believed to have been read everywhere in the Balkan lands and even in Constantinople. The presentation will give an overview of the production of books in the Croatian language, as well as the financing of the press by donations from all over the Empire and delivery to the Croatian-Slavonian region. It will consider theological questions intertwined with the printing of Protestant books. Although the Urach press was a short-lived enterprise, ending in 1564 when Hans Ungnad von Sonnegg the main financier died, its production was the most important for Protestant literature in the Croatian language.

**Alojz Jembrih**

Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb, Croatia

**Slavischer Buecherdruck. The Tübingen University Archives as a Source for the History of the Croatian Printing Shop in Urach (1561 - 1565)**

The presentation will discuss the content of manuscripts, letters, certificates and accounts preserved in the University Archives in Tübingen in the collection, "Slavischer Bucherdruck". It will systematize the notions on the function and activity of the printing shop in Urach – the so-called Bible Institute of Hans Ungnad. First, it will describe the organization of translated works led by Stipan Konzul, Antun Dalmatin and their collaborators in Croatia, summarizing information on how the books were delivered from Urach to Vienna, Vilach, Ljubljana and Rijeka. Secondly, it will analyze the linguistic solutions in printed books, the general language policy of the Bible Institute, contemporary discussions on the selection of proper dialects and languages, and the difficulties in finding proper translators and collaborators in the Croatian area.

**Nataša Štefanec**

History Department, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia

### **Sacral Buildings on Aristocratic Estates in the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom during the Reformation**

Aristocratic families in 16th century Croatia-Slavonia were not numerous. Next to the Zrinski and Frankopan families, baronial titles, large estates and prestigious political positions were the privilege of a few like Erdödy, Drašković, Tahy, Kaštelanović, Keglević, and Ungnad. In the 1570s, this handful of families, along with the Zagreb Bishopric and Chapter, possessed around 75% of the entire Croatian-Slavonian territory. By the 1560s, many of those aristocratic families converted to Protestantism (Zrinski, Ungnad, Tahy, Erdödy). Sometimes they were ascribed a positive role in the historiography and public memory – exemplary are the efforts of the Erdödy, Ungnad and Zrinski families in the translation and publication of works in the national language. Other times they were presented as villains - often repeated were Zrinski actions in persecuting the Paulines in Međimurje. It is still largely unknown how the conversion of the Croatian-Slavonian magnates to Protestantism affected Catholic religious orders and priests regarding their possessions. This presentation will address several questions, starting with the Zrinski family. How did Protestant magnates treat sacral buildings on their territories? Did they consider them church or personal property (like in Inner Austria)? Did they continue to rebuild and support religious houses, and to what extent did they intervene in their interior workings? Did they leave the inhabitants (priests, monks) intact or not? Did individual families have unique strategies for the sum of their estates, or did they adapt from one estate to another?