

ZRINKA PEŠORDA VARDIĆ  
Croatian Institute of History  
E-mail: zrinka.pesorda@gmail.com

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## FAMILY REMEMBRANCE AND THE FORMATION OF IDENTITY AMONG LATE MIEVEAL RAGUSAN CITIZENS

ZRINKA PEŠORDA VARDIĆ

*Abstract:* This paper examines the creation of family memories among the Ragusan citizenry by analysing the preserved genealogy collections, today stored in the State Archives in Dubrovnik. The focus is on the time frame and chronology of the collections, especially the most famous among them, the so-called "Vlajki genealogy" of the *Antunini* confraternity. The connections between the Dubrovnik chancery, the confraternity, and the shaping of the collective memory of the citizenry is explored, examining the reliability of genealogy and the motivation behind the creation of such collections.

*Keywords:* Dubrovnik, citizenry, family, genealogies, Middle Ages, eighteenth century, memory, memory culture

### Introduction

"The pen is such a noble and excellent tool, crucial not only for merchants but in all arts, liberal and mechanical. When you see a merchant whose pen is heavy or he is not used to it, you can tell that he is not a real merchant... we have resorted to writing down the contracted and executed transactions to preserve and keep them in memory, and thus we avoid many lawsuits,

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arguments, and disputes. Moreover, they enable the men of the pen to live on even after a thousand years, carrying on the memory of the famous name and great deeds again and again. This could not be done without this famous tool – the pen".<sup>1</sup>

In the sentences quoted above, Benedikt Kotrulj (Benedetto Cotrugli) from Dubrovnik, author of the famous book on the art of trade from 1458, succinctly emphasized the importance of the pen, of writing and memory. Benedikt addressed this advice to his colleagues by profession, merchants, to whom he also dedicated his book. To write, to remember, "to live on even after a thousand years" like the men of the pen, to pass on the memories of famous names and famous deeds was a virtue to distinguish Cotrugli's citizen-merchant, and not only him. Throughout the early modern era, societies were obsessed, as Roger Chartier vividly wrote, by the fear of oblivion.<sup>2</sup> From the fifteenth-century Tuscan *libri di famiglie* and *ricordanze*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benedikt Kotrulj, *Libro del arte dela mercatura / Knjiga o vještini trgovanja*, ed. and trans. Zdenka Janeković Römer, Dubrovnik – Zagreb: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku – Hrvatski računovođa, 2009, 389-390.

<sup>2</sup> Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007: VII; Paul M. Dover, *The Information Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021, 1; Isabella Lazzarini, "Records and Oblivion. Strategies and Events of Cancellation of the Documentary Memory (Some Example, Late Medieval Italy)", in: *Memories Lost in the Middle Ages: Collective Forgetting as an Alternative Procedure of Social Cohesion / L'oubli collectif au Moyen Âge: Un autre processus constitutif de la cohésion sociale*, ed. Noëlle-Laetitia Perret and Hans-Joachim Schmidt, Turnhout: Brepols, 2023, 187.

<sup>3</sup> Research into the genre of "family books" and family memories (*libri di famiglia* or *ricordanze*) from late medieval and Renaissance Tuscany has flourished since the 1980s, and the bibliography is abundant. I would like to draw attention to the following syntheses: Angelo Cicchetti and Raul Mordenti, *I libri di famiglia in Italia. Filologia e storiografica letteraria*, Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1985; Giovanni Ciappelli, "Libri e letture a Firenze nel XV secolo. Le 'ricordanze' e la ricostruzione delle biblioteche private", *Rinascimento* 29 (1989), 267-291; Raul Mordenti, "Scrittura della memoria e potere di scrittura (secoli xvi-xvii): (ipotesi sulla scomparsa dei 'libri di famiglia')", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 23/2 (1993), 741-758; Angelo Cicchetti, "La memoria familiare tra archivio privato e sistema letterario: Percorsi testuali", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 23/2 (1993), 701-740; James S. Grubb, "Memory and Identity: Why Venetians Didn't Keep Ricordanze", *Renaissance Studies* 8/4 (1994), 375, n. 1; James S. Grubb, "Introduction", in: *Family Memoirs from Verona and Vicenza (15th-16th Centuries)*, ed. James S. Grubb, Roma: Viella, 2002, V-XXXIX; *Family Memoirs from Venice (15th-17th Centuries)*, ed. James S. Grubb and Anna Bellavitis, Roma: Viella, 2009; Paolo Sordi, "I libri di famiglia in Italia: storia di una ricerca e della sua problematica conservazione attiva (ovvero: la soluzione digitale)", *Testo e Senso* 17 (2016), 1-10. In Croatian historiography, studies by Zdenka Janeković Römer stand out: "Obiteljska knjiga Andrije Antojeva de Pozza (1569-1603)", in: *Med Srednjo Evropo in Sredozemljem: Vojetov zbornik*, ed. Sašo Jerše, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2006, 485-497; "The Family Records of Andreas de Pozza from 1569-1603", *Dubrovnik Annals* 13 (2009), 37-54. Also worth mentioning are the studies on individual trade books of Ragusan medieval merchants, with the primary focus on economic history: Toma Popović, "Poslovna knjiga Nikole Mioše – dubrovačkog trgovca u Mlecima (1581-1591)", *Istorijski časopis* 38 (1991), 265-273; Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, *Trgovačke knjige braće Kabužić (Caboga) 1426-1433*, Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1999; Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, "Poslovne knjige dubrovačkih trgovaca (XV vijek)", in: *Med Srednjo Evropo in Sredozemljem: Vojetov zbornik*, ed. Sašo Jerše, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2006, 451-461.

sixteenth-century Spanish *librillos de memoria*<sup>4</sup> to the flourishing of genealogy and biography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the aim of the written word was to avoid oblivion and to establish or confirm a particular status, privileges, or legitimacy. In the context of the humanist and Renaissance revival of the past, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were able to provide a literary basis for this status identity, especially to the leading social strata, by turning to antiquity and discussing the *ars historica*. Various chronicles, annals, family books, and genealogy collections circulated, creating, as Isabella Lazzarini writes, "a collective background of echoing memories around which the personal experience of the author could gather more precise and documented information".<sup>5</sup> All these writings could be conveniently and functionally used as symbolic markers based on emphasizing tradition and age.

The modern era, especially the eighteenth century, was marked by the end of the old and the announcement of new times, with an even stronger literary memorialization and a real boom of various compilations and biographical anthologies across Europe. All this could not bypass Dubrovnik, where the eighteenth-century literary trend of biography and memoir writing found fertile ground. A number of names stand out, including Ignjat Đurđević (Ignazio Bernardo Giorgi, 1675-1737), Serafin Marija Crijević (Serafino Cerva, 1696-1759), and Sebastijan Slade (Sebastiano Dolci, 1699-1777), to

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<sup>4</sup> On the *libros de memoria*, see: R. Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure*, 13-27.

<sup>5</sup> Isabella Lazzarini, "A 'New' Narrative: Historical Writings, Chancellors and Public Records in Renaissance Italy (Milan, Ferrara and Mantua, 1450-1520)", in: *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy, 1300-1600*, ed. Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Jeffrey Maxon, Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015, 199. Cf. Isabella Lazzarini, "Power Beyond the Rules: Formalism and Experimentation in the Italian Chanceries (1380-1500)", in: *The Roles of Medieval Chanceries: Negotiating Rules of Political Communication*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2021, 123-136; I. Lazzarini, "Records and Oblivion", 185-204. Bibliography on the evolution of archive and managing information in the function of building authority, identity, status, and power is also becoming increasingly vast, so I will single out only some titles: Filippo De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Filippo De Vivo, "Heart of the State, Site of Tension: The Archival Turn Viewed from Venice, ca. 1400-1700", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 68/3 (2013), 699-728; *Archivi e archivisti in Italia tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Filippo de Vivo, Andrea Guidi and Alessandro Silvestri, Roma: Viella, 2015; R. Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure*; Paul M. Dover, *Secretaries and Statecraft in the Early Modern World*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016; P. M. Dover, *The Information Revolution*. Memory as a historical concept is yet another important topic, cf. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München: Beck, 1982; Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011; Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996; *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*, ed. Elisabeth Van Houts, London - New York: Routledge, 2001; *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002; Elisabeth Van Houts, "Medieval Memory in Theory and Practice: Some Exploratory Thoughts in the Guise of a Conclusion", *Gesta* 48/2 (2009), 185-191; Johannes Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung. Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik*, München: C.H. Beck, 2014.

mention only the most significant ones.<sup>6</sup> Some of them, like Slade, explicitly cited the need to "preserve the memory (*conservare memoriam*) of famous persons" as a motivation behind compiling their biographical collection of Ragusan writers, in accordance with the biblical words from the Book of Sirach (Sir 39:2) stating that one should "preserve the stories of famous people".<sup>7</sup>

Dubrovnik, as vividly expressed by Mihovil Kombol, and aptly cited by Stjepan Krsaić, transformed from a city of original literary creativity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into "a city of memories" in the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Serafin Crijević described how, in writing his extensive biographical work *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, he "searched again through the public archives and all the old manuscripts that I could find. Then I carefully examined the authors who had written about Ragusan matters, all the obituaries, parchment documents, notes, and all the old written monuments, and I especially diligently scrutinized the works of the writers themselves, hidden and buried in the libraries. In a word: I did not miss anything that I could use to find out something pertaining to my subject".<sup>9</sup>

It was also a time of great momentum in organizing the archives and systematizing the sources. This was a multileveled process, including the aforementioned desire to "preserve the memory," the development of international law, and the need to formulate written argumentation in legal acts, along with the general development of archival methods in an institutional sense. Various registers, transcripts, indexes, and aids were created, and the French consul in Dubrovnik, André-Alexandre Le Maire, wrote as early as 1766 that the Dubrovnik archive was one of the oldest and best organized in Europe.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Serafin Marija Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina in qua Ragusini scriptores eorumque gesta et scripta recensentur*, vol. I-IV, ed. Stjepan Krsaić, Zagreb: JAZU, 1975-1980; Petar Kolendić, *Biografska dela Ignjata Đurđevića*, Beograd: SKA, 1935; Sebastijan Slade, *Fasti Litterario-Ragusini – Dubrovačka književna kronika*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001; Stjepan Krsaić, "Uvod", in: S. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, I, Zagreb: JAZU, 1975, VII-XII; Slobodan Prosperov Novak, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti. Od Gundulićeva "poroda od tmine" do Kačićeva "Razgovora ugodnog naroda slovinskoga" iz 1756.*, Zagreb: Antibarbarus, 1997, 815-817, 820-827.

<sup>7</sup> *Recte nam etiam Eccles. C. 39 edocemur, virorum nominatorum conservare memoriam; quandoquidem illustria eorum exempla calcar ad virtutem sunt.* S. Slade, *Fasti*, X, 79; Tamara Tvrković, "Fasti Sebastijana Slade – 'Liber facierum', 18. st.", in: *Zbornik o Sebastijanu Sladi*, ed. Tamara Tvrković and Marinko Šišak, Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2016, 27. Cf. Sir 39:1-2, "They will seek out the wisdom of all the ancestors, and they will be occupied with prophecies. They will preserve the stories of famous people, and they will penetrate the subtle turns of parables".

<sup>8</sup> S. Krsaić, "Uvod", IX.

<sup>9</sup> S. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, I, 10.

<sup>10</sup> The most authoritative study on the development, organization, and structure of the chancery and archive of the Dubrovnik Republic is that of Stjepan Čosić, "Prinos poznavanju tajništva i arhiva Dubrovačke Republike", *Arhivski vjesnik* 37 (1994), 125-127 and 133.

In this flourishing of memoirs and biographies, with the growing importance of documentation, including the classification and archiving of documents,<sup>11</sup> a collection with almost 400 sheets emerged, today stored in the State Archives in Dubrovnik. It originates from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and was written by two scribes until 1726, with additional entries until 1854 written by other scribes.<sup>12</sup> Its title is taken from the introduction and reconstructed as: *Descrizione delle Origini e [genealogia dei] Cittadini [Ragusei che furono in Offitio de]ll[la Confraternita di San Antonio] nei tre secoli, e p[ri]u da che comincio la medema] che fu l'anno [1343 e seguite poscia] la sua real fondazione con consentimento del Eccellentissimo Maggior Consiglio della Repubblica di Ragusa, che fu l'anno 1348 insino a tutto l'anno 1667 anno in vero per sempre memorabile, et insieme deplorabile per la estintione di tanti Cittadini e loro famiglie nel finestissimo terremoto seguito il giorno di 6 Aprile.*<sup>13</sup>

This telling title reveals that the collection provides a description of the origin and genealogy of Ragusan citizens who were in the service of the confraternity of St Anthony (the *Antunini*) over the course of three centuries, from its foundation in the mid-fourteenth century until the devastating earthquake that struck Dubrovnik in 1667. And indeed, its pages tell a centuries-old history of Ragusan citizens (*cittadini*) and their families, all enrolled in that elite city confraternity, not only until the great earthquake, but extending all the way to the end of the Republic. Some surnames are still well known today, largely from the literary and historical context, such as Držić, Nalješković, Vetranović, Monaldi, Zlatarić, Cotrugli, and others. However, there is also a whole series of other names that someone, with a lot of effort, eternalized on the pages of that collection. They are not that renowned anymore, but from the fourteenth century onwards, they were part of the most brilliant moments of Dubrovnik's entrepreneurship, trade, shipping, culture, and art. Who and what stood behind that leather-bound memory of these men? After all, as this paper will demonstrate, this substantial book was not only a register of the

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<sup>11</sup> On the evolution of chanceries and archives in Italy, see: Isabella Lazzarini, "Records, Politics and Diplomacy: Secretaries and Chanceries in Renaissance Italy (1350 – c. 1520)", in: *Secretaries and Statecraft in the Early Modern World*, ed. Paul M. Dover, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016, 26.

<sup>12</sup> According to the analytical list of the Čingrija archive, more recent entries, written by other scribes, are the following: Dimitri family until 1800 /ff. 7v-8/; Facenda family until 1826 /f. 131v/; Stay family until 1810 /f. 191/; Zuzzori family until 1769, with some undated entries /ff. 342 v, 344/; Vljaki family until 1854 /ff. 348-348v/; Sorgo-Bobali family, undated /ff. 357, 359/, while sheet 394v contains an entry from 1750. State Archives in Dubrovnik, Analytical List of the Čingrija Family Archive, 7-8.

<sup>13</sup> State Archives in Dubrovnik, ser. *Vlastelinski, obiteljski i osobni arhivski fondovi*, 257 *Obitelj Čingrija*, box 2, No. 2 A (Vljaki's genealogy of the *Antunini*) (hereafter: VGA), first unpaginated sheet. The introduction is outside the foliation system, followed by the original foliation 1-372, while the rest was without foliation and recently marked as 372-395. A transcript is also in: State Archives in Dubrovnik, ser. *Vlastelinski, obiteljski i osobni arhivski fondovi*, 276 *Osobni fond dr. Ernest Katić*, O 27, box 49, Katić's genealogy of the *Antunini*, vol. 2, "Famiglie cittadine riconosciute dall ex Republica di Ragusa", 1-3 (hereafter: KGA).

129 named families, but also, along with the matricula of the confraternity,<sup>14</sup> the most important identity mark of the Ragusan citizenry "for eternal memory".

### *Descrizione delle Origini e genealogia dei Cittadini Ragusei: a historical overview*

To begin with, it should be pointed out that the term "Ragusan citizens," which appears in the collection's title, had a much more complex meaning than a mere legal definition of persons who possessed Ragusan citizenship.<sup>15</sup> The very title, in which this phrase is used in a socially defining sense, as well as various other archival sources, clearly show that at the end of the Middle Ages, this term had a very clear social, even class-based connotation.<sup>16</sup> The majority of members of the social stratum that, during the late medieval and early modern periods, came to be identified by the term *cittadini*, asserted themselves in the city during the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. Prosopographic analysis shows that, at that time, the term primarily referred to social status, while its original legal connotation was not that precise. The term "citizen" referred to established merchants and public administration officials, commoners, or some illegitimate descendants of nobles, who appeared in the city mainly after the process of the closing of the Ragusan nobility and councils had been completed.<sup>17</sup> These individuals achieved successful business and officials' careers, branching out their activities in the city, throughout the Dubrovnik hinterland, and across the Adriatic. They could not participate in the exercise of power, yet with the exception of political activities, they belonged to the social elite of Dubrovnik by status and by all other characteristics.<sup>18</sup> In terms of status, they were very similar to Venetian *cittadini*

<sup>14</sup> State Archives in Dubrovnik, *Confraternitates, Matriculae*, ser. 48.1, vol. 21, Matrikula Antunina (hereafter: Matrikula antunina).

<sup>15</sup> Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku: između prihvaćenosti i odbačenosti", *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 26 (1993), 27-38; Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Građani, stanovnici, podanici, stranci, inovjerci u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku", in: *Raukarov zbornik: zbornik u čast Tomislava Raukara*, ed. Neven Budak, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2005, 317-345.

<sup>16</sup> For more details on the terminology of Ragusan citizenry in: Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, "Cittadini Ragusei: Građanska elita kasnosrednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika", in: *Mestne elite v srednjem in zgodnjem novem veku med Alpami, Jadranom in Panonsko nižino*, ed. Janez Mlinar and Bojan Balkovec, Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2011, 187-207; Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku – Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012, 77-96; Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, "Orders of Society in Ragusan Narrative Sources: The Case of Cittadini Ragusei", in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources: Reality and/or Fiction*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017, 291-311.

<sup>17</sup> For more details on the closing of Dubrovnik's councils and the exclusivity of Dubrovnik's patriciate in political decision-making in: Zdenka Janeković Römer, "The Closing of the Nobility and Council of Dubrovnik in the Political and Social Context of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century", *Dubrovnik Annals* 23 (2019), 7-36.

<sup>18</sup> More in: Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, passim.

*originari*,<sup>19</sup> who appear in the sources at a similar time, after the closure of the patrician councils: in Venice at the end of the thirteenth century, and in Dubrovnik during the 1330s.

In Dubrovnik, these were the families that emerged in the public, social, and economic life of the city after the governing political elite had been formed and closed. The members of this new civic stratum are mostly identified in the sources by the term *cittadini Ragusei*, as they are also mentioned in the title of the genealogy collection. Institutionally, from the second half of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, they gathered in the confraternity of St Anthony, which the sources occasionally refer to as the confraternity of merchants.<sup>20</sup> The aforementioned collection of genealogies likewise emphasizes the connection between the confraternity and the citizenry. This is already evident in the title, which contains the second name of the *Antunini* genealogy (*Descrizione delle Origini e [genealogia dei] Cittadini [Ragusei che furono in Offitio de]ll[la Confraternita di San Antonio]*), and the compilers also mentioned the time when the progenitor of the family was enrolled in the confraternity, if known, apparently consulting the confraternity's matricula, preserved today in the State Archives in Dubrovnik. At the end of the collection, there is a list of the confraternity's administrators,<sup>21</sup> which again indicates this organization as the "institutional heart" of the citizenry. The compiler of the collection also emphasized that of all the listed and presented families, only three did not have any position in the confraternity: Baršica (Barsizza), Brajki (Braichi), and Glođe (Gloghie), but since they were aggregated into the confraternity's chapter with all the honours like other citizens, their genealogies were included.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Syntheses on the Venetian *cittadini originari* include: Mary Neff, "A Citizen in the Service of the Patrician State: The Career of Zaccaria De' Freschi", *Studi veneziani* 5 (1981), 33-61; Andrea Zannini, *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: i cittadini originari (sec. XVI-XVIII)*, Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze lettere ed arti, 1993; Anna Bellavitis, "'Per cittadini metterete'. La stratificazione della società veneziana cinquecentesca tra norma giuridica e riconoscimento sociale", *Quaderni storici* 30, 89/2 (1995), 359-383; James S. Grubb, "Elite Citizens", in: *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State 1297-1797*, ed. John Martin and Dennis Romano, Baltimore – London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000, 339-364; Anna Bellavitis, *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale: citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle*, Roma: École française de Rome, 2001; Monika Schmitter, "'Virtuous Riches': The Bricolage of Cittadini Identities in Early-Sixteenth-Century Venice", *Renaissance Quarterly* 57/3 (2004), 908-969; Andrea Zannini, "'La seconda corona della nobiltà'. I cittadini originari veneziani nel XVII e XVIII secolo", in: *Le aristocrazie cittadine. Evoluzione dei ceti dirigenti urbani nei secoli XV-XVIII*, ed. Marino Zorzi, Marcello Fracanzani and Italo Quadrio, Venice: La Musa Talia, 2009, 31-51.

<sup>20</sup> State Archives in Dubrovnik, *Testamenta Notariae* (hereafter: *Test. Not.*), vol. 11, f. 58; *Test. Not.*, vol. 15, f. 130; Matrikula antunina, f. II.

<sup>21</sup> VGA, ff. 370-380v.

<sup>22</sup> VGA, second unpaginated sheet. Aggregation of new families into the *Antunini* chapter took place on several occasions. In 1668 (shortly after the great earthquake of 1667) and 1726, the chapter decided on this matter, while at the end of the eighteenth century, due to the increasing state control over the leading confraternities, it was the Senate that granted membership to five new members in the *Antunini* and five captains in the *Lazarini* confraternity. Matrikula antunina, ff. 81v, 89v; Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, 70; Štefica Curić Lenert and Nella Lonza, "Bratovština Sv. Lazara u Dubrovniku (1531-1808): osnutak, ustroj, članstvo", *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 54/1 (2016), 67. Cf. KGA f. 26r; MS III d 164, f. 39r; Lovro Kunčević, "Zavjera Ivana Luke Antice protiv Dubrovačke Republike 1635. godine", *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 61 (2023), 82.

Geographically, the progenitors of most of the families listed in the collection were immigrants, originally from the Dubrovnik area or the regions of Bosnia, Hum, Boka, Dalmatia, or from the Apennine peninsula.<sup>23</sup> These individuals emerged as the second elite of the city during Dubrovnik's economic rise and the accelerated development of the municipal administration. In terms of esteem and wealth, they were almost equal to the Ragusan nobles but were excluded from political decision-making.<sup>24</sup> Political power remained entirely in the hands of Dubrovnik's merchant aristocracy after the closure of the city councils.

Reading the introductory text of the collection, the origins of the family trees of Ragusan citizens can be traced back to the turn of the fifteenth century. *Ser Marino* (!) *Dersa* (*Darsa*, *Držić*) is mentioned as their first compiler, who described some of the families that emerged "in his time".<sup>25</sup> The genealogical analysis carried out by Nenad Vekarić has shown that the first compiler was, apparently, Mato Klementov *Darsa* (*Držić*) (ca. 1355-1398), who presented the oldest citizen families that appeared and lived in the city until 1400, approximately in his time. The name *Marin*, given in the introduction to the collection, seems to be an error. *Držić* was obviously a skilled antiquarian, since the same introduction states that he also described the origin of noble families.<sup>26</sup> The Franciscan *Sebastijan Slade*, a Dubrovnik biographer from the eighteenth century, stated in his collection of biographies of old Dubrovnik writers, under the name of *Mato Držić*, that this author "created the genealogies of *Antunini* citizens from 1500 to 1570".<sup>27</sup> *Slade* mentioned in the same note that *Držić* "investigated the origins of noble families," apparently referring to the same source as in the collection of genealogies, but there is no other information about that.<sup>28</sup> Following these data, Nenad Vekarić assumed that *Mato Držić* probably also created genealogies of noble families, but this collection is not preserved.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, 37-53.

<sup>24</sup> Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, passim; Z. Pešorda Vardić, "Orders of Society", 291-311.

<sup>25</sup> VGA, second unpaginated sheet. Nenad Vekarić noted that this attribution of *Držić*'s lost genealogy is not indisputable, because in the introductory text of the VGA someone corrected the name *Mato* (*Matteo*) to *Marin*, which prompted some authors to arbitrarily attribute the lost genealogy to *Marin Nikolin Dersa* (*Marin Držić*'s father). However, the name *Mato* is not corrected anywhere else in the text, so it is probably an error. Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Svezak 1: Korijeni, struktura i razvoj dubrovačkog plemstva*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2011, 76, n. 243.

<sup>26</sup> VGA, second unpaginated sheet.

<sup>27</sup> *Matheus Darsius. Civium Antonianorum genealogiam ab anno 1500 usque ad annum 1570 profequetus est, ut ex Libri Praefatione constat*. S. Slade, *Fasti*, 126, No. 180.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibi etiam recitatur, quod insuper egerit de Nobilium familiarium origine*. S. Slade, *Fasti*, 126, No. 180.

<sup>29</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika 1*, 76, n. 243.



The introductory text of the book of genealogies, now stored in the Dubrovnik archive, mentions other earlier compilers of genealogies in addition to Mato Držić. These data are difficult to verify, because apart from the statements in the collection, transmitted by later authors, there are no other data that would confirm them. According to these mentions, after Mato Držić, it was the members of the Vangelisti family, whose earlier family name was Tributinić (i.e., Tiburtinić), who made a great contribution to the compilation of the citizens' genealogies.<sup>30</sup> It can almost be said that compiling genealogies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was their "family business". As many as four individuals from this family are mentioned as compilers of genealogies, as can be inferred from Serafino Crijević in the eighteenth century, who wrote that *Ioannes Tiburtinus* continued the work done by his father and his ancestors, compiling the genealogies of citizens gathered around the confraternity of St Anthony, a class close to the patricians (*proximum a patritiis ordinem constituunt*). He pointed out that it was a magnificent work that required a lot of erudition, and he also provided its title, which mentions the merits of several members of the Tiburtinić family: *Origine e genealogia di tutte le famiglie dei cittadini della città di Ragusa, quali successivamente sono uscite di tempo in tempo, cominciando da circa l'anno 1300 fin'all'anno 1500, cominciate a descriversi da Bieloslavo di Gradoje Tiburtini fin'all'anno 1400, e seguitate da Evangelista di Braylo Tributini nipote del detto Bieloslavo fin'all'anno 1450, e poi da Evangelista di Gabriele Tiburtini, nipote di detto Evangelista fin'all'anno 1500 e ampliato per me Giovanni d' Evangelista*.<sup>31</sup> In his biographical lexicon, Šime Ljubić mentions the surname Tiburtini with Ivan Evangelista and provides the same transcription of the title of the collection that Crijević had mentioned earlier, in which he also included the chronology of compilation. He added that the work reveals the participation of Mato Danić, the Dominican Ambrosio Gozze, and Lujo Bičić.<sup>32</sup> Since neither Crijević nor Ljubić mention Krsto Vljaki, it is possible that they referred to an older manuscript, before Vljaki's compilation. Vljaki is mentioned in the introductory text as the last in the line of compilers.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The surname of this family occurs in numerous forms: Tributinić, Tiburtinić, Terbutinić, Tributtino, Tiburtino, Trbotinić, Tarbutinić. According to one interpretation, it was derived from the family members who were collectors of the *mogoriš* tribute, which was given to the Bosnian kings for the use of vineyards in their lands, and according to another, the surname was derived from the personal name Tiburtin, borne by the son of Miljen Janosalić, who appeared in Dubrovnik around 1280 with his wife Ana. More details in: Ruža Ćuk, "Dubrovačka porodica Tributinić u srednjem veku", *Istraživanja* 16 (2005), 242-243; Marijan Sivrić, "Rod Tributinić-Evangelisti (Vangelisti) – starinom iz Jajca u središnjoj Bosni i njegov uspon u Dubrovniku od sredine 15. do početka 17. stoljeća", in: *Ascendere historiam. Zbornik u čast Milana Kruheka*, ed. Marija Karbić, Hrvoje Kekez, Ana Novak, and Zorislav Horvat, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014, 316. Cf. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, I, 191 and 296-297.

<sup>31</sup> S. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina in qua Ragusini scriptores eorumque gesta et scripta recensentur*, II-III, Zagreb: JAZU, 1977, 272-273.

<sup>32</sup> Šime Ljubić, *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia*, Vienna: Rod. Lechner and Battara e Abelich, 1856, 296.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. VGA, f. 1. Vljaki's genealogy was slightly supplemented by Branimir Truhelka.

According to the genealogy, Bjeloslav Gradojev Tiburtinić was born during the second half of the fourteenth century and became an agile and successful merchant, with extensive businesses in Benevento. He consolidated his achieved status by marrying Angela, a girl from the prominent Beneventan family della Morra, which is said in the genealogy to have "given a pope and a cardinal".<sup>34</sup> Perhaps these biographical sketches, prestigious connections, and contacts with the literary trends of the time motivated him to embark on the compilation of genealogies, which then remained a tradition in his family and spread to other citizen families as one of the class symbols and markers of identity. Bjeloslav was succeeded as a genealogist by his grandson Evangelista Brajlov Tiburtinić,<sup>35</sup> born around the second half of the fifteenth century, who compiled genealogies up to 1450, and then by Evangelista's grandson and namesake Evangelista Gabrijelov Tiburtinić (born around 1500), who compiled genealogies up to 1500. As can be inferred from the title of the collection transmitted by Crijević and Ljubić, the final entry around 1570 was made by Giovanni (ca. 1550 – ca. 1620), son of Evangelista, now surnamed Vangelisti (*ampliate per me Giovanni d'Evangelista*),<sup>36</sup> when the surname was established in the first half of the sixteenth century after Evangelista Brajlov. According to the introductory text, he was assisted in the compilation by Dubrovnik's chancellor and secretary Aurelio Amalteo (d. 1571) from Udine<sup>37</sup> and the secretary Marin Stajj (c. 1576-1638).<sup>38</sup> Lujo Bičić<sup>39</sup> (1703) participated in the compilation at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and finally Kristo (Kristofor) Vlajki (Cristoforo Vlaichi, ca. 1653-1728), Dubrovnik's chancellor, edited and completed the genealogies until 1667,<sup>40</sup> and then supplemented them until his death in 1728. As a result, Nenad Vekarić rightly suggested

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<sup>34</sup> VGA, f. 240; M. Sivrić, "Rod Tributinić", 318. Indeed, Pope Gregory VIII (Alberto di Morra) stemmed from that family, whose pontificate began in 1187 and lasted very briefly, only two months. He was appointed cardinal in 1157 by Pope Hadrian IV, which indicates the credibility of the genealogy of the Tiburtinić/Vangelisti family. Cf. <https://www.vatican.va/content/vatican/en/holy-father/gregorio-viii.html>; <https://cardinals.fiu.edu/bios1155.htm#Morra> (last accessed on June 3, 2024).

<sup>35</sup> His father Brajlo was entered in the *Antunini* matricula in 1460. *Matrikula antunina*, f. 33.

<sup>36</sup> S. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina* II-III, 273; Š. Ljubić, *Dizionario*, 296.

<sup>37</sup> On the brothers Giovanni Battista Amalteo, secretary of the Republic in the mid-sixteenth century, and his brother Aurelio, likewise Dubrovnik's secretary and chancellor at the time, see Relja Seferović, "Razočarani notar: iz kasnog dubrovačkog prijepisa djela *Historia Ragusii Giovannija Conversinija*", *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 55/1 (2017), 58-62. Cf. Konstantin Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II", *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 26 (1904), 200; S. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina* IV, 68. For the last will of Aurelio Amalteo, see: *Test. Not.*, vol. 43, f. 90v-91.

<sup>38</sup> VGA, first unpaginated sheet.

<sup>39</sup> VGA, second unpaginated sheet.

<sup>40</sup> VGA, second unpaginated sheet. On the Vlajki family, see also: Vinicije B. Lupis, "Novi podaci o malo poznatim Baranima u Dubrovniku", *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. III, 48 (2021): 488-491.

that the compilation stored in the archive should be called "Vlajki's genealogy of the *Antunini*" after its compiler, and this name has indeed recently become established.<sup>41</sup>

The collection includes several other lists, which complete the "blood count" of the Ragusan citizenry. Along with the genealogies of 129 families, there is a list of marriages (*Matrimonii fatti dai Cittadini Ragusei delle retroscritte fameglie con personaggi Forestieri e persone Nobili tanto in Ragusa come fuor di Ragusa*) between citizens and foreigners or nobles.<sup>42</sup> The emphasis of these marriages was obviously intended to add prestige. However, it should be added that among these marriages, there are none with the tightly sealed class of Ragusan nobility, which, along with the political closure, legally enforced endogamy in its ranks in 1463, and the violation of this regulation led to the loss of noble status.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, in this list of marriages, noble names were mostly those from other places, Kotor or from Italian cities. At the forefront are the numerous marriages of the chancellor family Sfondrati, originally from Cremona, which left a deep mark on the development of the Dubrovnik chancery and will be discussed later in this text.<sup>44</sup>

At the end of the collection, there is also a list of 36 *Antunini* who died in the 1667 earthquake,<sup>45</sup> as well as a list of citizen marriages concluded after that devastating disaster.<sup>46</sup> There is also a list of members of the confraternity admitted to the chapter after the confraternity was *de facto* closed in 1603, introducing a principle of heredity according to which the descendants of senior officials automatically entered the chapter, the main body of the confraternity, upon reaching the age of 22, while the rest, if applying for membership, had to go through the voting process.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to the most complete genealogy of the *Antunini*, compiled by Vlajki and described above, there are several other preserved collections of citizen genealogies created between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. The model or template for all of them was Vlajki's collection. The State Archives in Dubrovnik preserves the so-called "Katić's genealogy" of the *Antunini* and *Lazarini*, named after the Dubrovnik

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<sup>41</sup> Nenad Vekarić, "Dubrovački rod Kotrulj", in: *Dubrovačanin Benedikt Kotruljević: hrvatski i svjetski ekonomist XV. stoljeća*, ed. Vladimir Stipetić, Zagreb: HAZU and Hrvatski računovođa, 1996, 39. During the twentieth century, the name "Čingrija's genealogy of the *Antunini*" was used more often in historiography, since the collection was part of the manuscript legacy of the Čingrija family.

<sup>42</sup> VGA, ff. 381-384

<sup>43</sup> Zdenka Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom: The Nobility of Dubrovnik Between the Middle Ages and Humanism*, Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2015, 111-112.

<sup>44</sup> Jeroen De Keyser, "Dalmatia and Dalmatian Connections in the Epistolarium of Francesco Filelfo", *Colloquia Maruliana* 27 (2018): 87-88; S. Čosić, "Prinos poznavanju tajništva", 126; S. Slade, *Fasti*, 7, 92-93, n. 175-181; Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, 168-169.

<sup>45</sup> VGA, ff. 385-385v.

<sup>46</sup> VGA, ff. 386-386v.

<sup>47</sup> VGA, ff. 387-394v; Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, 68-69.

writer, lawyer, and collector Dr Ernest Katić Jr. (1883-1955),<sup>48</sup> who compiled it in the 1930s.<sup>49</sup> At its beginning, there is an interesting entry that gives some possible clues about the historiography of the oldest, Vlajki's collection. Katić's collection states that it contains data about old families "whose genealogies are described in an old manuscript preserved with the Stay family".<sup>50</sup> This suggests that Vlajki's collection was most likely kept in the secretarial house of Stay. As mentioned above, the secretary Marin Stay worked on the compilation during the sixteenth century, and it is possible that the collection was in that family for many years, at some stage of its creation. Katić's collection also provides genealogies of the citizen families that were slightly younger than those in Vlajki's collection, as they appeared in the city from the sixteenth century onwards. Their members joined another elite confraternity, which was founded in 1531, dedicated to St Lazarus and gathering merchants focused on trade with the Levant.<sup>51</sup> Another genealogy (*Genealogia delli cittadini Ragusei*) is preserved in the Archive of the Dubrovnik Diocese, which is the shortest of all.<sup>52</sup> There is also a collection of genealogies of Dubrovnik citizens in the HAZU Archive in Zagreb,<sup>53</sup> and there are several other genealogies focusing on the Držić family.<sup>54</sup>

## Memory keepers in the Dubrovnik chancery

If the data on the compilation of the first genealogies are taken as reliable, it is noticeable that the trend of compiling genealogies in Dubrovnik coincides with the trend of compiling different forms of family memorials, including genealogies, in the Italian

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<sup>48</sup> Ernest Katić was a distinguished lawyer, playwright, and active participant in the cultural life of bourgeois Dubrovnik in the first half of the twentieth century, one of the administrators of the Collegiate Church of St Blasius, member of the administration of the "Blago Djelo" foundation, the Decoration Committee, the "Anica Bošković" Society, and the PEN club, as well as the president of the Dubrovnik Committee of Matica hrvatska. He is credited with organizing the historic 11th PEN Congress, which took place in Dubrovnik in 1933, when many famous international writers visited the city. See: Ivan Viđen, "Ernest Katić – Biografska bilješka", in: *Kazalište Marina Držića, Dubrovnik, sezona 2010./2011. Lukša s Orsana (Ernest Katić ml.). Dva komada s pjevanjem iz dubrovačkog života. Imbarak i Ljubav na Prijekomu (programska knjižica)*, Dubrovnik: Kazalište Marina Držića, 2010, 6-7.

<sup>49</sup> KGA. It consists of three manuscript volumes with genealogies of Ragusan citizenry: 1. "Famiglie cittadine riconosciute dall ex Republica di Ragusa," fol. 197; 2. "Famiglie cittadine riconosciute dall ex Republica di Ragusa," 579; 3. "Genealogija dubrovačkih gragjana," trans. Dr Ernest Katić.

<sup>50</sup> "Nota delle Famiglie Antiche le Genealogie de quali si trovano descritte in un antico manoscritto esistente in Casa Stay," KGA, "Famiglie cittadine riconosciute dall ex Republica di Ragusa," vol. 1, f. 1.

<sup>51</sup> On the confraternity of St Lazarus, see S. Curić Lenert and N. Lonza, "Bratovština Sv. Lazara", 39-113.

<sup>52</sup> V. B. Lupis, "Novi podaci", 493.

<sup>53</sup> HR-AHAZU, *Rhagusine delle famiglie genealogie (saec. 19)*, Iva58.

<sup>54</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 517.

Quattrocento.<sup>55</sup> It was a widespread phenomenon, and the examples from Dubrovnik fit into the trend. The creation and preservation of memories, and the desire to highlight the importance of lineage and origin, all for the purpose of legitimizing status and prestige, was characteristic of the upper social strata and resulted in a multitude of family trees and genealogical collections from the Renaissance onwards. Thus, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, all Ragusan chroniclers provided lists of Dubrovnik's noble families.<sup>56</sup> These lists mainly consisted of family names, in some cases their place of origin, traditions pertaining to their roots, and often the year when one or the other family died out. In his analysis of these records, Nenad Vekarić noticed that all chroniclers' lists were based on one common model, but it remains unclear whether it was Držić's lost collection.<sup>57</sup>

However, while traditions and memories about the origin of noble families are scattered among different narrative sources, and only sporadic genealogical trees of individual families have been preserved, the citizenry has produced and preserved a complete collection, even several, as written monuments to their status and class. A certain imbalance is noticeable in the ratio of preserved written traces of family memory when comparing citizens and patricians. In the case of Venice, James Grubb even asked in the title of his article "why Venetians didn't keep *ricordanze*".<sup>58</sup> Indeed, the amount of preserved and known genealogies, genealogical collections, and family books in Venice is significantly smaller compared to some other Italian cities, especially Florence, where more than 500 family books have been preserved from the period before 1500 alone.<sup>59</sup> Even those Venetian family books that have been preserved come predominantly from the circle of citizens, not patricians. For example, Anna Bellavitis provides a comprehensive review of the chronicle of the Venetian family Ziliol, one of the more prominent families in the Scuola Grande de San Marco. The chronicle was

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<sup>55</sup> J. S. Grubb, "Memory and Identity", 75; J. S. Grubb, "Introduction", V-XXXIX; Dorit Raines, "The Private Political Archives of the Venetian Patriciate: Storing, Retrieving and Recordkeeping in the Fifteenth-Eighteenth Centuries", *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32/1 (2011), 135-146; Dorit Raines, "Les généalogies vénitienes (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle): Instrument politique, outil juridique", in: *L'entreprise généalogique. Pratiques sociales et imaginaires en Europe (XVe-XXe siècle) / The Genealogical Enterprise. Social Practices and Collective Imagination in Europe (15th-20th Centuries)*, Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2016, 89-112; Z. Janeković Römer, "Obiteljska knjiga", 495; Z. Janeković-Römer, "The Family Records", 52-52; Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 516.

<sup>56</sup> For an exhaustive analysis of Dubrovnik's chroniclers as mediators of oral tradition about the origins of Ragusan nobility, see: Nenad Vekarić, "Vjerodostojnost legendi o podrijetlu dubrovačkih vlateoskih rodova", in: *Raukarov zbornik: zbornik u čast Tomislava Raukara*, ed. Neven Budak, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, FF Press, 2005, 311-316; N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika 1*, 53-70.

<sup>57</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika 1*, 56.

<sup>58</sup> J. S. Grubb, "Memory and Identity", *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> J. S. Grubb, "Memory and identity", 375.

compiled from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, and it is significant also because one of the authors, Alessandro Ziliol, writes about the concept of the "two crowns of Venetian nobility" in the early seventeenth century, where the "second crown" would be borne by the Venetian *cittadini*.<sup>60</sup>

Noble genealogies were also compiled in Dubrovnik, as mentioned above, and a few are still preserved today, but there are no family chronicles of the Florentine type either in Dubrovnik or in Venice. Some personal information is occasionally found in family books,<sup>61</sup> but mainly these are business or trade books rather than typical family chronicles. Admittedly, the Ragusans and the Venetians—unlike, for example, the Florentines—did not write family books at the turn of the early modern period, or at least not a substantial number of them has been preserved. On the other hand, the genre of compiling genealogies was obviously present in both Adriatic aristocratic republics. Some authors, including Grubb, find an explanation in the system of aristocratic republicanism that characterized both Venice and Dubrovnik, which gave primacy to a collective patrician identity, without pressure to prove that one had reached the age of majority to enter political life, since the hereditary membership in the main governance body, the Major Council, took care of it.<sup>62</sup>

The reasons for this tendency in the preservation of family genealogies and this type of family memory among the citizenry, in Venice like in Dubrovnik, can be summarized in two factors—one related to the circle from which the preserved genealogies originate, that is, to the professional and social characteristics of that circle, and the other to the system of governance, that is, to the connection of family memorialization with political and social structure.

The previously described chronology of citizen genealogies suggests that the compilation and collection of data was done by experts of letters and archives, individuals who were obviously skilled in handling data, that is, members of certain families that we find engaged in the Dubrovnik chancery and secretariat. These "memory keepers" from the Dubrovnik chancery can be credited with formulating the memorial of the social stratum to which they belonged. The institution of chancery and secretariat in Dubrovnik was firmly connected with the social stratum of the *cittadini*, presented on the pages of Vljaki's collection and the directory of their confraternity. The first lists of members from the fourteenth century, preserved in the matricula of the confraternity, contain the names of Dubrovnik's notaries and chancellors of the time, who at that time

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<sup>60</sup> A. Bellavitis, *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale*, 279-310, especially 308-310 and note 82.

<sup>61</sup> Vedran Stojanović and Nella Lonza, "Godparenthood in Eighteenth-Century Dubrovnik: Children, Parents and Godparents as Knots of Social Networks", *Dubrovnik Annals* 19 (2015), 75-78.

<sup>62</sup> J. S. Grubb, "Memory and Identity", *passim*; J. S. Grubb, "Introduction", 4-9. For a Ragusan example of a family book, see: Z. Janeković Römer, "The Family Records", 37-54.

all originated from the Apennine peninsula. Among the most famous from the fifteenth century, the name of Bartolomeo Sfondrati, a nobleman from Cremona, stands out. In the late sixteenth century, the Italian branch of that family gave Pope Gregory XIV, Niccolò Sfondrati by his secular name, a connection to which the Ragusans liked to refer.<sup>63</sup>

Bartolomeo's example vividly shows the growing importance of chancery officials during the fifteenth century, nicely illustrating the pattern by which the officials from Italian areas were incorporated into the fabric of Dubrovnik's citizenry. It is also an illustrative example of the link between the secretarial office, the citizenry, and the *Antunini* confraternity. Upon his arrival in 1460, Bartolomeo was accepted into the confraternity,<sup>64</sup> or, as Serafin Crijević wrote in the eighteenth century, "Bartolomeo was first enrolled among the citizens and accepted into the confraternity of St Anthony. He was a man of the highest integrity, he provided many examples of honesty, wisdom, and learning, winning over the Dubrovnik senate, which elected him secretary, the highest office to which a citizen of demonstrable trust, knowledge, and skills could rise and in which he served the republic brilliantly".<sup>65</sup> Bartolomeo had come to Dubrovnik in the mid-fifteenth century together with his brother, notary Giovanni, and rose to the secretarial office, becoming and remaining until his death the most trusted person of the Dubrovnik patricians.<sup>66</sup> He was actively involved in the humanist circle of Dubrovnik and exchanged letters with the famous humanist Francesco Filelfo, informing him about

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<sup>63</sup> In 1591, Nikola Vitov Gučetić dedicated his work "On the Structure of the States" (*Dello stato delle repubbliche*) to Pope Gregory XIV (1590-1591) with the words: "The ancestors of Your Holiness have always been in such friendship with the Republic of Dubrovnik that they were always considered as its esteemed citizens, and therefore many of them, moving from their native Cremona to our city and preferring it as their home, they spent their lives here and here they were laid to rest. To this day, the name and lineage of the glorious Sfondrati family have been preserved among us through its numerous descendants; and you can see here many buildings that the Sfondrati erected, many estates that they held, and many tombs where their bones rest, including those of Ser Girolamo, Ser Giovanni, Bartolomeo, and Marino Sfondrati, noblemen of Dubrovnik and Cremona. ... Your most illustrious father very graciously kept (our Republic) under his protection until his death, and while you were a cardinal and when you received a visit from a few of our nobles in Cremona, you did not consider it below your honour to be counted as one of us due to your excessive affection, as you used the expression 'we, the people of Dubrovnik' during your speech. Therefore, as a sign of long-term service and eternal reverence between us and the most illustrious Sfondrati family, to whom could I, or rather had to, dedicate this booklet about the states but to you as the father, shepherd, and protector of our Republic?" Nikola Vitov Gučetić, *O ustroju država*, trans. Snježana Husić and Natka Badurina, Zagreb: Golden marketing - Narodne novine, 2000, 77-78. Cf. S. Slade, *Fasti*, 93, 165, n. 177; Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, 169. Serafin Crijević also wrote an extensive note on Sfondrati in his *Bibliotheca Ragusina I*, 146-147.

<sup>64</sup> Matrikula antunina, f. 33.

<sup>65</sup> *At Bartholomaeus primum et ipse tabellio in civium ordinem relatus et sodalitis divi Antonii adscriptus, vir integerrimus, crum probitatis, prudentiae ac doctrinae multa praebuisse specimina, Ragusinum senatum ita sibi conciliavit, ut eum a secretis delegerit, summum nempe munus, quod civi probatae fidei, probitatis ac peritiae demandari solet, quo in officio egregiam reipublicae navavit operam.* S. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina I*, 147. Cf. S. Slade, *Fasti*, 92, 165, n. 175.

<sup>66</sup> Konstantin Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner I," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 25 (1903), 517; K. Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II", 194-197; S. Ćosić, "Prinos poznavanju tajništva", 126.

his son Senofonte, who spent the last decade of his life in Dubrovnik, married to a girl from the *Antunini* circle.<sup>67</sup> In a decision of the Senate from 1494, it was mentioned that Secretary Bartolomeo could already look back on the 46 years of "faithful service" (*fidelis serucii*).<sup>68</sup> His status in the city is also evidenced by the fact that his funeral in 1504 was described for a long time in various sources.<sup>69</sup>

Filippo Diversi from Lucca, a teacher in Dubrovnik in the mid-fifteenth century, in his description of the structure of Dubrovnik's government and public services, pointed out that in his time, the four scribes working in the city "were not and could not be from Dubrovnik," i.e., they "had to be" from Italy.<sup>70</sup> However, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the chancery underwent noticeable change. Along with the increasingly developed and branching system of public administration, the strengthening of state institutions, and the development of diplomacy, present throughout Europe, the institution of the chancery and secretariat additionally gained in importance.<sup>71</sup> During that century, the transformation of the chancery from a medieval institution with notaries and chancellors from Italy into one that relied on locals was largely completed. Ragusans were increasingly present in it, so in addition to the previously established Italian chancellor dynasties, such as the Sfondrati family in the fifteenth century,<sup>72</sup> local chancellor families emerged, such as the Primojević (Primo, originally Dobreljević),<sup>73</sup> or later the Stay,<sup>74</sup> although this hereditary succession, a *de facto* feature of the secretarial office, was never formalized.<sup>75</sup> Jakov Lukarević (1551-1615), nobleman and author of the Dubrovnik annals compiled in 1605, in his description of the notarial office (for which he also used the term "secretarial"), stated that the notaries were chosen *dal popolo*,<sup>76</sup> contrary to the previous practice of engaging Italians. It should be added that

<sup>67</sup> J. De Keyser, "Dalmatia and Dalmatian Connections", 82-89.

<sup>68</sup> K. Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II", 196.

<sup>69</sup> Nella Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti: ceremonijal i državni blagdani Dubrovačke Republike u 17. i 18. stoljeću*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2009, 98, n. 314.

<sup>70</sup> Filippo Diversi, *Opis slavnog grada Dubrovnika*, trans. Zdenka Janeković Römer, Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004, 76-77, 164-165.

<sup>71</sup> More in: P. M. Dover, *Secretaries and Statecraft*.

<sup>72</sup> Along with Bartolomeo, his brother, notary Giovanni, and his son Jeronimo, likewise secretary and chancellor, worked in the administration during the fifteenth century, while in the sixteenth century, it was Bartolomeo's grandson Marin and his son chancellor Nikola. *Matricula antunina*, f. 22v; K. Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II", 198, 200.

<sup>73</sup> *Matrikula antunina*, ff. 10v, 28, 35v, 37v; VGA, f. 174-174v; K. Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner I", 517; K. Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II", 174-175.

<sup>74</sup> K. Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner II", 200.

<sup>75</sup> S. Ćosić, "Prinos poznavanju tajništva", 126.

<sup>76</sup> Jacopo di Pietro Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa*, Venice: Antonio Leonardi, 1605, 172.



this *dal popolo* was, in fact, another term for the citizenry.<sup>77</sup> In other words, chancellors and secretaries, from the sixteenth century onward, came from the same circle of people who constituted the *Antunini* confraternity, whom the sources often refer to as *cives de populo* or *cittadini Ragusei*, the circle whose names were inscribed over the centuries into the records of the *Antunini* confraternity and on almost 400 pages of the collection of citizen genealogies. The Dubrovnik citizenry merged with the institution of the chancery in a similar way as in Venice.<sup>78</sup> Describing this symbiosis between the citizenry and the chancery, Andrea Zannini used an appropriate expression about the origin of the *ordine cancelleresco*.<sup>79</sup>

The importance of the chancery and chancellor in Dubrovnik, in a process similar to Venice, undoubtedly grew from the mid-fifteenth century. The Ragusans regulated the activities of the notarial office, chancery, and secretariat through legal acts from 1428 and 1493, and the decisions emphasized that the secretaries were to keep all important and confidential documents, council minutes books, letters and instructions, as well as other documents in their hands and under lock and key.<sup>80</sup> A decision from 1493 decreed that the secretary was to keep all files in a closet and only he could have the key to it, and no one else was allowed access.<sup>81</sup> It should be stressed that the terms and the scope of work of the notary, the chancellor, and the secretary were quite intertwined until the mid-sixteenth century, when a decision from 1557 divided the work of the notary and the chancellor, which remained in force until the fall of the Republic. The influence of the secretary grew from the early seventeenth century and suppressed the concepts of notary and chancellor.<sup>82</sup> Diversi also emphasized the significance of persons who worked in the secretariat and the chancery when he referred to the scribes as "the most necessary persons" in his description of the structure of the Ragusan government and public services, "because there must be some custodians of the books of contracts, verdicts of the civil and criminal courts, orders of the Senate and city statutes, as well as the accounts of all municipal revenues and expenditures, from which the memory of past events and the financial power of the municipality can be clearly discerned".<sup>83</sup>

<sup>77</sup> More extensively in: Z. Pešorda Vardić, "Orders of Society".

<sup>78</sup> The seminal study on this process in Venice is still A. Zannini, *Burocrazia*. See also: Giuseppe Trebbi, "La cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII", *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi* 14 (1980), 65-126; Giuseppe Trebbi, "Il segretario veneziano", *Archivio storico italiano* 144/1 (1986), 35-73; A. Zannini, "La seconda corona della nobiltà", *passim*. For a broader Italian context, see: *Archivi e archivisti*, ed. F. de Vivo, A. Guidi, and A. Silvestri.

<sup>79</sup> A. Zannini, *Burocrazia*, 163-181; F. de Vivo, "Heart of the State", 480; Fiona Lejosne, "Un secrétaire vénitien entre archives et livres imprimés: Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557)", *Laboratoire italien. Politique et société* 23 (2019), 1.

<sup>80</sup> *Liber viridis*, ed. Branislav M. Nedeljković, Beograd: SANU, 1984, cap. 223 (hereafter: *Liber viridis*); S. Ćosić, "Prinos poznavanju tajništva", 125; N. Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti*, 99.

<sup>81</sup> S. Ćosić, "Prinos poznavanju tajništva", 127.

<sup>82</sup> S. Ćosić, "Prinos poznavanju tajništva", 129.

<sup>83</sup> F. Diversi, *Opis*, 76, 164.

In accordance with this increase in role and importance, from the end of the fifteenth century and during the sixteenth century, formal, normative frameworks within which the chancery operated, as well as the prerequisites that the chancellors had to fulfil, were established, for example, in Venice.<sup>84</sup> In 1478, its Council of Ten formalized the decision according to which only a *civis originarius Venetiarum* could become a chancellor, and in 1484 this decision was further strengthened by the provision according to which all candidates had to provide evidence that they were *fioli legitimi e de vero matrimonio, de boni cittadini nostri venetiani originarii*.<sup>85</sup> Towards the end of the sixteenth century, as the circle of these "original citizens" was increasingly closed, claimants to the recognition of that status in Venice had to prove that their family, at least in three generations, did not engage in any crafts (*arti meccaniche*) since it was not considered appropriate to the status and compatible with "living a citizen's life".<sup>86</sup> This request was finally formalized by a regulation from 1641.<sup>87</sup> Filippo de Vivo has convincingly explained that this process of elitization of the chancery and its officials in Venice was instigated by the ruling elite who, in order to separate that social group and ensure their necessary loyalty, provided it with a series of privileges. Apparently, the same process can be observed in Dubrovnik.<sup>88</sup> This decision certainly reminds of the previous undesirability of engaging in any craft or technical work in elite patrician circles, which in previous centuries was an elimination criterion in defining the status of nobility in aristocratic republics such as Dubrovnik or Venice.<sup>89</sup>

In that administrative, chancery milieu, the connection between professional notarial work and historiographical writing was particularly close, as was the connection between governance, collective political identity, and the written word.<sup>90</sup> Secretaries and chancellors, either from the circle of Venetian "original citizens" or Ragusan *cittadini*, de facto participated in the legislative and judicial activities of the city, albeit without a formalized share in active political power.<sup>91</sup> The chancery and its professionals became centres of power, the "heart of the state" (*cor status nostri*), as the Venetian Council of Ten described the importance of the chancery in 1456.<sup>92</sup> They formulated, collected, and preserved key public and political documents, and were at the centre of political events. The situation was similar in Dubrovnik, where the regulation on the chancery from 1428 authorized notaries-secretaries to attend the sessions of the Minor Council

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<sup>84</sup> F. Lejosne, "Un secrétaire vénitien", 2.

<sup>85</sup> G. Trebbi, "La cancelleria veneta", 70; A. Zannini, *Burocrazia*, 40-41.

<sup>86</sup> G. Trebbi, "La cancelleria veneta", 72.

<sup>87</sup> G. Trebbi, "La cancelleria veneta", 72.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. F. de Vivo, "Heart of the State", 480.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. F. Diversi, *Opis*, 62, n. 69; Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 394-402.

<sup>90</sup> I. Lazzarini, "A 'New' Narrative", 207.

<sup>91</sup> I. Lazzarini, "Records, Politics and Diplomacy", passim; F. Lejosne, "Un secrétaire vénitien", 1.

<sup>92</sup> F. de Vivo, "Heart of the State", 459, 449-473; *Archivi e archivisti*, passim.

and the Senate in order to take minutes. They did it in strict confidence, in accordance with the conclusion from the provision according to which it was very important that "confidential matters and those of great importance should always be limited to a small number of people".<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, these were the people who, as Lukarević accurately states, "participated in all confidential events, were present in the Major and Minor Councils and the Senate. They recorded all decisions, letters, drafts, patents, contracts, and obligations (...), they drew up and preserved last wills, and in short, they were quite significant".<sup>94</sup> In doing so, they developed their strategies of memory (*stratégies de la mémoire*)<sup>95</sup> in order to preserve and consolidate different written materials, and their own understanding of history and political thought.<sup>96</sup> They were, both in Venice and in Dubrovnik, and across other Adriatic cities, as Diversi wrote, "custodians of contracts, verdicts, as well as accounts of revenues and expenditures," and, especially important, "custodians of their memory".<sup>97</sup> These words elegantly illustrate this fusion of the political and administrative aspects ("custodians of contracts, verdicts, and accounts") with *ars historiae* and *ars memoriae* ("custodians of memory") that characterized this *ordo cancelleresco*.

In addition, the citizenry was inclined to practical literacy, simply because of the work that permeated their existence. It was based on various business and private transactions, from trade across the Mediterranean and the hinterland to business related to family affairs (dowry and marriage contracts, last wills, leases, sales, etc.). As James Grubb has pointed out, "once the family had to come to occupy a major share of their attention, they moved into inscription of ancillary material relating to the family (genealogies, moral precepts, political careers, etc.)".<sup>98</sup> For all that to work, it was necessary to write it down. Various Florentines, in their treatises, encouraged the local merchants to write everything down,<sup>99</sup> and the most famous Ragusan manual on

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<sup>93</sup> *Liber viridis*, cap. 223; Vinko Foretić, "Dubrovački arhiv u srednjem vijeku", *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 6-7 (1959), 330; Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, 168.

<sup>94</sup> *Due sono li Notari li quali si domandano per altro nome Secretarj, cavati dal popolo, e sono partecipi di tutte l'azioni secrete, ambidue si trovano presenti nel Consiglio maggiore, di Pregati e nel Minore. Scrivono tutte le deliberazioni, lettere, brevi, patenti, contratti ed obblighi; cavano la fede nel Consiglio picciolo alli debitori del Civile fanno e custodiscono i testamenti, e in somma sono di considerazione; ed hanno uno sostituto, il quale d'ogni ora scrive le cose che appartengono alla Repubblica ed a' privati. Perchè i Padri per mantenere la riputazione e per tenere unito il popolo, non vogliono per legge che niuno Rauseo litighi nel paese altrui. Onde di necessità tuttavia da noi abbondano le liti, ed i Cancellieri ed i sostituti hanno occasione del guadagno. E s'ha d'avvertire, com'è detto detto di sopra, che tutte le condutture che la Signoria concede al popolo forniscono con la vita.* J. Luccari, *Copioso ristretto*, 172-173.

<sup>95</sup> I. Lazzarini, "Records, Politics and Diplomacy", 26-27.

<sup>96</sup> I. Lazzarini, "Records, Politics and Diplomacy", 21, 26.

<sup>97</sup> F. Diversi, *Opis*, 78, 165.

<sup>98</sup> J. S. Grubb, "Introduction", 6.

<sup>99</sup> J. S. Grubb, "Introduction", 6.

the art of trade by Benedikt Kotrulj, himself a citizen, also strongly advocated writing and recording with a pen, that "noble tool", as stated in this article's opening quote.

In addition to the social and professional background that implied skill in writing, archiving, and memorizing, there was another important reason behind the prominence of literary family memorialization among the Ragusan citizenry: the social and political structure. Ragusan nobility, having fixed their position in the 1330s and closed their circle, prioritized the formalization of identity of the collective ruling elite. Of course, family memory was still cultivated through various elements—genealogies, lists of noble families, or chroniclers' records—but it was part of the identity and self-portrait of the rank as a whole.<sup>100</sup> In this respect, Ragusan nobility once again resembled that of Venice, whose management models and social distinctions they were eager to adopt. The Venetian nobles did not compile individual family chronicles either, believing that the political heritage of a family was better reflected through various other forms, such as centuries-old lists of the ruling officials. The careers of some distinguished aristocratic ancestors were incorporated into numerous political chronicles, creating an image of Venice as a joint work of the city's noblemen. James Grubb has described it very illustratively: "In turn, that aggregate memorialization reflects a fundamental self-perception of the Venetian patriciate: individual patricians held status and identity only insofar as they participated in a collected aristocracy. Indeed, the noble family scarcely existed apart from the charmed circle of the nobility, and certainly could claim no public standing outside it".<sup>101</sup>

Like their Venetian counterparts, Ragusan patricians primarily incorporated all the aspirations of individual families for prestige into the glory of the aristocratic class as a

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<sup>100</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 516-525. For Venetian examples, see: J. S. Grubb "Memory and Identity"; Dorit Raines, "'Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriziato: la cronaca 'di consultazione' veneziana nei secoli XIV-XV'", *Archivio Veneto* 150 (1998): 5-57; J. S. Grubb, "Introduction", 8-9; Dorit Raines, "Self-Image and Governing Elites in Early-Modern Era a Methodological Approach", in: *Der Blick auf sich und die anderen. Selbst- und Fremdbild von Frauen und Männern in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Festschrift für Klaus Arnold*, ed. Sünje Prühlen, Lucie Kuhse and Jürgen Sarnowsky, Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2007, 289-314; Dorit Raines, "Social Debate and Harmful Publication: The Family Chronicles of the Venetian Patriciate (Eleventh-Eighteenth Centuries)", in: *Scripta volant, verba manent. Schriftkulturen in Europa zwischen 1500 und 1900. Les cultures de l'écrit en Europe entre 1500 et 1900*, ed. Alfred Messerli and Roger Chartier, Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2007, 283-313; J. S. Grubb and A. Bellavitis, *Family Memoirs from Venice*; D. Raines, "The Private Political Archives of the Venetian Patriciate"; Dorit Raines, "Public or Private Records? The Family Archives of the Venetian Ruling Elite in Fifteenth-Eighteenth Centuries", in: *Arquivos de Família, séculos XIII-XX: que presente, que futuro?*, ed. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, Centro de História de Além-Mar e Editora Caminhos Romanos, 2012, 535-548; Monique O'Connell, "Memorializing Conspiracy and Unrest: Venetian Historical Writing at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century", in: *Popular Politics in an Aristocratic Republic. Political Conflict and Social Contestation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Venice*, ed. Maartje van Gelder and Claire Judde de Larivière, Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2020, 45-68.

<sup>101</sup> J. S. Grubb, "Introduction", 10. Cf. J. S. Grubb, "Memory and Identity"; D. Raines, "Social Debate and Harmful Publication".

whole, which, of course, was narratively "equipped" with everything that legitimized its ruling position.<sup>102</sup> In this context, there was no need for volumes of family books with precise biographical data, dates of birth, and the like, which, for example, abounded in the Florentine family books.<sup>103</sup> The aristocratic republicanism that characterized both Venice and Dubrovnik gave primacy to collective patrician identity,<sup>104</sup> and the established hereditary system of membership in the main body of governance, the Major Council, took care of the entry of new members upon reaching adulthood.<sup>105</sup> Although some family books do contain information of private nature, such as records on godparents,<sup>106</sup> mostly they were business or trade books, and not typical family chronicles.<sup>107</sup> The family book of Ser Andrija de Pozza stands out as a special case, as it is on the trail of a family *ricordanza*. Like James Grubb in the Venetian example, Zdenka Janeković Römer has reached the same conclusion about Dubrovnik in terms of the absence of more *ricordanze*—they would have placed too strong an emphasis on genus and family in relation to class cohesion.<sup>108</sup> Genealogies were compiled to confirm noble origins, and any further family prestige was proven through the history of the city, like in Venice. The histories of noble families were tightly intertwined with it, as in the famous Mirror of the Major Council, on whose pages the names testified for themselves about the glory and importance of the noble families.

### Genealogies: Between inventing tradition and constructing memory

The citizen elite, younger than the ruling one and still not so closed, and—most importantly— without the prerogative of political participation, took advantage of the possibilities of self-definition, status positioning, and identification through the written memorialization of family histories collected in one compendium. While the

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<sup>102</sup> On the narrative interconnectedness between the history of the city and the history of the ruling elite, its collective self-image, and identity, see: Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 21-79; Lovro Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku: Diskursi o identitetu renesansnoga grada*, Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2015, 9-60. For a methodological review of creating a self-image among the Venetian ruling elite, see: D. Raines, "Self-Image and Governing Elites", 289-314.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. J. S. Grubb, "Introduction", 4-9.

<sup>104</sup> For an excellent analysis of collectivism as the fundamental value of Dubrovnik's political culture, see: Lovro Kunčević, *Vrijeme harmonije: O razlozima društvene i političke stabilnosti Dubrovačke Republike*, Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2020, 105-118.

<sup>105</sup> Not knowing the precise dates of birth could lead to difficulties when a young nobleman aspired to enter the Major Council of Dubrovnik. On that solemn occasion, one of the relatives (father, mother, or older brother) was to guarantee that the young man had come of age, but there were situations when they were not sure, and even some names that were already entered in the Mirror of the Major Council were crossed out and re-entered a year or two later. Cf. Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 523.

<sup>106</sup> V. Stojanović and N. Lonza, "Godparenthood in Eighteenth-Century Dubrovnik", 75-78.

<sup>107</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, "The Family Records", 40.

<sup>108</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 524-525.

Dubrovnik nobles emphasized their ancient origins in their genealogies and tried to give additional legitimacy to their status, strengthening the collective memory of their families, the citizens could not refer to some ancient, venerable ancestor who had saved the city from a disaster or had come from Roman or some other glorious time. The nobles, however, relied on such stories as a very important part of their identity.<sup>109</sup> While the nobility during the fifteenth century shaped the political-ideological basis of their privileged social position by referring to the continuity and ancient descent of their families, the citizenry could not find a foothold in anything similar in shaping their genealogies. Nevertheless, centuries of history and diligent genealogical work, from Mato Darsa, through the numerous Tiburtinić, and other chancellors, up to Krsto Vljaki, gradually constructed that antiquity. The past preserved between the covers of genealogical collections created a class-based tradition, and in the sum of individual families, formed a new collective monument under which the citizens of Dubrovnik could gather.

Considering the notarial and archival skills and knowledge, the creation of a literary marker of identity "in the chancery" was almost natural for Dubrovnik's citizens. Genealogies were created in the archivist circle, among individuals who had access to these documents, who were skilled in working with this type of sources, and who, finally, had enough time and motivation for such an extensive undertaking. Through the hands of Dubrovnik notaries, chancellors, and secretaries, all from the ranks of citizenry, passed not only every document from high politics or diplomacy, but also every record, transaction, last will, or dowry and marriage contract that had been preserved in Dubrovnik in serial form since the establishment of the notarial office in the late thirteenth century.

However, although the compilers were the persons skilled with the pen, one must raise the question of the credibility of these collections. How much of the family memory that emerges from them is close to reality, and how much is a construct? Looking through the collection that has been preserved until today, one may say that memorialization includes both. Vljaki's entire collection, and consequently those that were later based on it, contains very precise genealogies with data grounded in actual notarial documents. The genealogists drew most of their information from notarial records of the last wills, dowry and marriage contracts. Along with the references to foliation from a certain series, they included exact dates when the dowry or marriage contracts were concluded or the registered last wills drafted, if these were preserved. The compilers indeed worked with notarial sources, systematically reviewing them and recording detailed biographical information. Both Krsto Vljaki and his predecessors, like

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<sup>109</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 516.

Serafin Crijević, "searched again through the public archives" and noted down all the key data for each person that can be verified today.

There is one more characteristic that makes the family memory of Dubrovnik's citizens, literarily "depicted" through genealogies, different from that formed in noble genealogies. The noblemen of Dubrovnik founded their family structure on patrimony and the male lineage of descendants, so the basic lineage was agnatic. Noble genealogies were part of the family patrimony, and there was no place in them for those who did not extend the lineage or hold power. In other words, they did not include women or male minors.<sup>110</sup> Contrary to that, all preserved collections of citizen genealogies reveal an otherwise hidden world of the past—that of Dubrovnik's *cittadini*, from the late Middle Ages onwards. All their names and all the crucial moments of their lives are recorded there—engagements, marriages, and deaths—and we know the names of their parents, spouses, and children. Numerous Magdalenas, Marušas, Katarinas, Nikoletas, Dekušas, Tomasinas, or Anuhlas, whether from the Nalješković, Cotrugli, Držić, or Vetranović families, got their place in the citizens' books of memories. Children also, if only in the form of a name and a note next to it: *muorsero putti*—"they died while still little". Therefore, neither women nor children are invisible in the collective memory of Dubrovnik's citizens. Their biographies, even if only brief notes behind the records on the male members of their families, were collected in one place and left a trace, sometimes the only information we know about them.

In the construction of memory, the introductory texts about the origins of the family are far more questionable than the biographical data of individual citizens. This is the sphere in which the "fixing" of the past is often evident.<sup>111</sup> After all, this was also the case with noble memory, especially with chronicler's accounts that served as the basis for the narrative about the origins of families and the city.<sup>112</sup> Nenad Vekarić aptly described it by saying that in the lists of Dubrovnik's noble families found in the chronicles, the authors included two elements that are not in the sources—"their own errors and speculations, and the oral tradition"<sup>113</sup>

In addition to "preserving memories," the time when the collection of genealogies was completed in the eighteenth century was also marked by what can be described as "inventing tradition". Eric Hobsbawn has defined the "invention of tradition" as a process of formalization and ritualization characterized by referring to the past, even if only by introducing repetition. He has emphasized that there has always been an "invention of tradition," but it happened more often when accelerated social change weakened

<sup>110</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 519.

<sup>111</sup> For an illustrative case study of "fixing the past" in the late medieval context, see: Mladen Ančić, "Kako 'popraviti' prošlost – Konstrukcija memorije na nadgrobnim spomenicima 15. stoljeća", *Povijesni prilozii* 27/ 34 (2008), 83-101.

<sup>112</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 534.

<sup>113</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika* 1, 56.

or destroyed social patterns, creating new ones to which the "old" traditions were no longer applicable, or when old traditions and their institutional bearers and advocates were no longer sufficiently adaptable, flexible, or were removed in some other way.<sup>114</sup> Using various strategies, the family past was beautified, removing, as Mladen Ančić has pointed out, "all unpleasant details and dubious situations, with the purpose of creating an acceptable memory that could be used for status and broader social purposes".<sup>115</sup> In doing so, two elements stand out as commonplaces in constructing family history of the social strata that worked on status building and aspired to rise on the hierarchical scale: a) inserting a tradition of noble origins and b) modifying the place of origin. For example, the Bisanti and Baška families claimed to descend from the Kotor nobility, the Risa family from the Risan nobility, the Menče, Nalis, Vlajki, and both Staj families from the Bar nobility, the Kranković, Radosaljić, Mišljenović, and Kladorubović from the Bosnian nobility, the Spani family from that of Scodra, the Tano family from that of Ulcinj, the Brugnoli family from that of Mantua, and the aforementioned chancellor dynasty Sfondrati from that of Cremona.<sup>116</sup>

The Ragusan nobility was incorporated in the memory and passed down in the genealogies of the Držić (Dersa) and Vetranović (Vetrano) families. In the Držić family, it was with a reminiscence of the long-ago arrival from Kotor,<sup>117</sup> while for the Vetranović family it was Otranto.<sup>118</sup> In fact, the Držić family is probably one of the most famous examples of how the loss of noble status was "embellished" in memorialization. Both in the "official" genealogies of the family and in the city chronicles, the "expulsion" of the family from the nobility in the mid-fourteenth century was explained by the disobedience of two Držić brothers, who did not return to the city in a moment of crisis due to a plague epidemic, despite the order of the Dubrovnik authorities summoning all citizens, so they were stripped of their noble status. However, an examination of the sources reveals a more prosaic reason for the loss of nobility: the noble branch of the family no longer had legitimate male heirs, while the commoner branch was continued

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<sup>114</sup> Cf. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in: *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 4-5. Cicchetti and Mordenti have also used this concept while contextualizing Tuscan family books. Cf. A. Cicchetti and R. Mordenti, *I libri di famiglia in Italia* 1, 110.

<sup>115</sup> M. Ančić, "Kako 'popraviti' prošlost", 96.

<sup>116</sup> VGA, ff. 19, 25, 64, 72, 156, 186, 202, 208, 215, 236, 285, 287, 289, 311, 345, 351.

<sup>117</sup> VGA, f. 57.

<sup>118</sup> VGA, f. 221. Data in the Dubrovnik chronicles differ from those in Vlajki's collection, as according to the former, the family was originally from Kotor. One of the chroniclers (Ragnina) states, however, that they were originally from the Basque Country, whence they came to Kotor. *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, ed. Speratus Nodilo [Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium 14]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1883: 162, 186; cf. Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Svezak 3: Vlasteoski rodovi (M-Z)*, Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012, 321-322.



by Živko (Đivko) (ca. 1345-1400), an illegitimate son of nobleman Marin Valijev Dersa.<sup>119</sup> Nenad Vekarić has assumed that in the case of the Vetrano family, the story of the loss of nobility (refusal to return to the city during the plague) was reshaped according to the same model as with the Držić—it was more appropriate to present disobedience as the reason than the fact that there were no legitimate descendants, all the more so because in the Vetranović case, there are no strong indications that apart from the first settler in the city, Pietro Vetrani, anyone had been a nobleman.<sup>120</sup>

Another thing that is striking in "inventing tradition" and "fixing the past" is the modification of the family's place of origin. Of course, this may be accounted for by error, but also as a reflection of political and social changes, that is, ideological trends at the time of creating and shaping collective memory. Only by detailed analysis and corroboration with other sources is it possible to get closer to any reliable information about the family origins, but this is not always feasible, especially if the beginnings of the family are older and thus more difficult to verify in other sources. Some citizen genealogies in Vlajki's collection reveal elements of a kind of "Bosnian tradition", which incorporates the tradition on the medieval Bosnian kingdom.<sup>121</sup> This is quite logical, since a large part of the citizen families indeed came from the Dubrovnik hinterland, Hum and Bosnia, which was a natural immigration route.<sup>122</sup> However, contrary to the largely accountable presence of Bosnian tradition in the shaping of family memory, there are several cases of the same imported tradition, the reasons for which remain vague.

A picturesque example is the Kladorubović family, analysed by Esad Kurtović, in which the modification of the place of origin and the incorporation of the noble origins are interwoven. According to their genealogy in Vlajki's and other collections, the family was originally from Srebrenica in the Bosnian Kingdom, and the first to come to Dubrovnik was Mirko Pribinjić, known as Kladorub, *persona nobile e della corte del re Stefano*.<sup>123</sup> However, Kurtović has shown through source analysis that Mirko Pribinjić was neither of noble origin nor did he come to Dubrovnik with his wife from Srebrenica, but from Cernica near Gacko in today's Herzegovina. Moreover, at the time when they arrived

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<sup>119</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika 1*, 125; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika. Svezak 2: Vlasteoski rodovi (A-L)*, Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012, 223-224, n. 1889; Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, 102-103; Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 518-519.

<sup>120</sup> N. Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika 3*, 321-322.

<sup>121</sup> Stjepan Čosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja: Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik iz 1595.*, Zagreb - Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2015, 117. Cf. Anto Babić, "Tradicija i istorijsko pravo u odnosima Bosne i Dubrovnika u srednjem vijeku", *Pristupni predavanja, prilozi i bibliografija na novite članovi na MANU* (1974), 11-17.

<sup>122</sup> Giuseppe Gelcich, *I conti di Tuhelj*, Dubrovnik: Tipografia di Carlo Pretner, 1890, 27-39; Ruža Čuk, "Dubrovačke građanske porodice poreklom iz srednjovekovne bosanske države", *Zbornik radova Istorijskog instituta SANU 12* (1995), 171-182; Z. Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti*, 37-53.

<sup>123</sup> VGA, 215; Esad Kurtović, "Prilog povijesti dubrovačkoga antuninskog roda Kladorubovići", *Povijesni prilozi* 38/57 (2019), 9.

in Dubrovnik, Srebrenica was not even part of the Bosnian Kingdom, but of Serbian Despotovina.<sup>124</sup> Another family that boasted of their nobility and originating "from the area of Kučajna in the Bosnian Kingdom" (*terra di Cucaina dal Regno di Bosna*), were the Kranković (later Crivaldi), whose progenitor, Kranko Toplechi, was allegedly a "baron and nobleman from Bosnia,"<sup>125</sup> a very wealthy man who arrived in Dubrovnik around 1350 and, according to tradition, brought with him large amounts of gold and silver.<sup>126</sup> In the narrative part of the genealogy, it is pointed out that one of Kranko's granddaughters was ordained "among the Dubrovnik noblewomen in the monastery of St Michael".<sup>127</sup> Of course, ordination of one of the girls together with noblewomen is not the most reliable confirmation of the former noble status, but rather indicates that the girl's father, Vlahota Kranković, rose to prominence in the first decades of the fifteenth century. In addition, Kranko's Bosnian noble origins are questionable because he came from Kučevo, which was not in Bosnia.<sup>128</sup> Nevertheless, such a story was obviously more suitable for a family history than some others and was very possibly part of the widespread Bosnian tradition. It should be mentioned that the Kranković family developed strong ties with the Slano region, where Vlahota Kranković owned lots of arable land and vineyards, as well as in the Ston area and other parts of Pelješac,<sup>129</sup> and in Konavle. It was by no means unusual that an obviously wealthy and ambitious entrepreneur expanded his property to areas that had been recently acquired by Dubrovnik. However, in the context of tradition and memory, and especially in the context of the use of the topos "Bosnia", there is a significant connection between the prominent *regno di Bosna* (although the town of Kučevo, where Kranko supposedly came from, was not part of that kingdom, but near today's Požarevac) and the tradition of this family. The Slano region played a significant role in the development and "broadcasting" of the tradition of the Bosnian kingdom in the early modern period. The use of this tradition was a very prominent part of the early medieval political ideology a hundred years after the fall of Bosnia, with the subjugated Bosnian Kingdom forming the core of the imagined "Illyria". Furthermore, this concept implied the liberation of *Illyria*, in which the Holy See was supposed to play a leading role. In the Dubrovnik context, this *translatio regni* of medieval Bosnia particularly took root in the circle of successful maritime families of the Slano region,

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<sup>124</sup> E. Kurtović, "Prilog povijesti", *passim*.

<sup>125</sup> VGA, f. 72; Đuro Tošić, "Dubrovačka porodica Hranković", *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Dubrovniku* 26 (1988), 87.

<sup>126</sup> VGA, f. 72.

<sup>127</sup> VGA, f. 72. A monastery that accepted exclusively noblewomen was St Clare's, but that is not where Kranko's granddaughter was ordained. Cf. Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 292, 312-313; Ana Plosnić Škarić and Ana Marinković, "Urban Transformation after a Scandal: Preserving Social Values in Late Medieval Dubrovnik", *Land* 13/3 (2024), 1-17.

<sup>128</sup> Mihailo Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku. Istorijsko-geografske studije*, Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1978, 87, 89, 112; Đ. Tošić, "Dubrovačka porodica Hranković", 87, n. 4.

<sup>129</sup> Đ. Tošić, "Dubrovačka porodica Hranković", 90-91.

mainly through heraldic collections as another element of "inventing tradition".<sup>130</sup> There was an interweaving of genealogy and the ideology of Illyrianism, which, as Stjepan Ćosić has pointed out, "created a political myth that legitimized and invoked the *translatio regni* and the re-establishment of Christian rule in the Bosnian Kingdom". Of course, the topos of Bosnia was present much wider than that area, in the traditions and memory of some Ragusan noble families, and also in the legends about the origin of the city of Dubrovnik itself.<sup>131</sup> Connections with the Bosnian royal family and the Bosnian nobility were built into that tradition, but over time they started to fade away.<sup>132</sup>

A number of symbolic elements were part of that concept, from various genealogies, coats of arms, inscriptions, works of art, etc. The concept of Illyrianism, relying on the *translatio regni* of medieval Bosnia, present in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, faded away by the end of the sixteenth century. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, it had lost importance as a political concept, and only drawings of different armorials and Illyrian heraldry remained, in Ćosić's words, "a medium for new messages and contents that were increasingly difficult to connect with the original ideological construction".<sup>133</sup> It was replaced by a new, pan-Slavic/Illyrian ideology, most visibly shaped in the *Kingdom of the Slavs* by the Dubrovnik Benedictine Mavro Orbini (ca. 1550-1610).<sup>134</sup>

However, although other ideological currents took a leading role in shaping narrative structures in the "invention of tradition" during the eighteenth century, when, based

<sup>130</sup> S. Ćosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja*, 94-117.

<sup>131</sup> Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom*, 69-70, 74-75.

<sup>132</sup> Already half a century ago, in his work from 1973, Bogumil Hrabak raised the question as to "how is it that a flourishing trading republic like Dubrovnik in the sixteenth century, at the time of its supreme progress, nurtured a tradition about a neighbouring country that was an underdeveloped kingdom and ended quite sadly—falling with a whisper, as the greatest comedy writer of that same Dubrovnik, Marin Držić, put it?" Hrabak created the concept of Dubrovnik's political "Bosnianism", claiming that this tradition about medieval Bosnia was not only the result of engagement of Dubrovnik chroniclers, but also "a reflection of the historical thinking of the wider Dubrovnik masses. In other words, in addition to the elements of political modernity, 'Bosnianism' during the sixteenth century, and even a little earlier, was an expression of what existed in certain layers of the population, quite different from Illyrianism, which remained only at the level of the educated". He went even further, in accordance with the time and ideology in which his study was created, asserting that the tradition about Bosnia in Dubrovnik was "multi-class" (sic!), and due to that it had a chance to take on "the character of some rudimentary national consciousness that would be built on that ethnic basis". Bogumil Hrabak, "Tradicija o srednjovjekovnoj Bosni u Dubrovniku XV i XVI veka", in: *Radovi sa simpozijuma Srednjovjekovna Bosna i evropska kultura*, Zenica: Izdanja Muzeja grada Zenice, 1973, 346. In significant parts, Hrabak's article is marked by the time of its creation, especially in places where ideology is interpreted with "multi-class" elements and the like, but it also offers some initial attempts at interpreting the clarification of the tradition of the Bosnian kingdom in the Early Modern Ragusan context.

<sup>133</sup> Most relevant studies on these issues include Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2008; S. Ćosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja*; Stjepan Ćosić, "Apokrifni popis plemićkih rodova Bosanskoga kraljevstva", *Hercegovina: Časopis za kulturno i povijesno naslijeđe* 3 (2017), 167-178; Stjepan Ćosić, "Radulović Lineage of Dubrovnik and the Modena Armorial," *Dubrovnik Annals* 22 (2018), 143-182.

<sup>134</sup> S. Ćosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja*, 120-123.

on the diligent work of earlier genealogists, such as Držić, Tiburtinić, and others, Krsto Vljajki compiled today's most relevant collection of citizen genealogies as identity books of his social stratum, Illyrian heraldry and traditions of the *translatio regni Bosnae* had not entirely disappeared. Embedded in genealogies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they became and remained part of the citizens' memory. Reference to noble origins, even if fabricated, as well as to the roots from a former kingdom, certainly fulfilled its function both in the times when these traditions emerged and in the eighteenth century, embedded in the collection that has remained preserved until today. After all, it was only a decade earlier, as a result of a prolonged demographic crisis in the noble rank and the devastating effects of the great earthquake in 1667, that ten families from that circle managed to advance and be aggregated into the aristocratic circle that had been closed for three centuries. The process was slow and involved significant resistance from a part of the nobility, but during the 1660s, new families were accepted into the aristocracy, all from the *Antunini* circle of citizens. At the same time, the centuries-old strict endogamy regulations were liberalized, and the Major Council, albeit by a very narrow majority, allowed Dubrovnik nobles to marry girls from respectable citizen families.<sup>135</sup> In these processes, along with the development of the culture of memory, any package of traditional equipment and memory was certainly welcome and highlighted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when citizens entered the highest social circle. It was necessary to acquire the symbolic capital needed both in terms of legitimacy and to ensure esteem and honour for the successors.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, earlier heraldry was adapted, armorial insignia were appropriated, a new category of nobility was created,<sup>137</sup> and eventually, a "better past" was shaped.<sup>138</sup>

### Concluding remarks: Genealogies as identity markers

The collection of citizen genealogies, when compiled in the eighteenth century, served as the identification card of the citizens' *ordo* in Dubrovnik. Like a blood count, it revealed its collective fabric and textually painted the tree of an entire social stratum, from its late medieval roots to its broad modern branches, all the way to the eighteenth century. From the administrative heart of the Republic, a succession of chancellors, secretaries, and archivists recorded, compiled, and transcribed its growth and development for centuries, culminating in the entry of several families into the

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<sup>135</sup> Stjepan Ćosić and Nenad Vekarić, *Dubrovačka vlastela između roda i države: salamankezi i sorbonezi*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2005, 64-68.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. M. Ančić, "Kako 'popraviti' prošlost", 100.

<sup>137</sup> Stjepan Ćosić, "Plemstvo biskupskog grada Stona (Nobilitas Civitatis Episcopalis Stagnensis)", *Analiz Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 36 (1998), 249-276.

<sup>138</sup> S. Ćosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja*, 160-180.

Dubrovnik aristocracy. In addition to the motivation behind compiling a genealogy collection prompted by the impulses of a time in which documents were so fervently consulted, classified, copied, memorized, and archived, another presumed motivation was the desire to compensate for being excluded from the "real" noble lineages and all that belonging to them brought. This motivation could be sought among some agile compilers of genealogies, perhaps those who referred to their own noble ancestors, from Držić to Tiburtinić, considering their noble roots, either from Dubrovnik or further afield. However, it seems reductive to observe the emergence or predominance of these types of family memoirs among the citizenry exclusively through the prism of a certain compensation for being excluded from political decision-making. Such a view would assign the significance of political participation anachronistically by automatically linking the impossibility of sitting in the governing councils with smouldering dissatisfaction. For, in all other features (family structure, property, lifestyle, business and friendship ties), the *cittadini* were almost identical to the ruling patriciate, and it is difficult to say whether the criterion of political exclusion was sufficient for frustration. If there was such in the culture of memory of this "*ordo* first after the nobility," the sources are mostly silent. It can be assumed that there may have been such elements, but then we would have to raise the methodological issues of Dubrovnik's "stability history," about which Lovro Kunčević has written an excellent study, and it remains beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>139</sup>

Compiling such collections certainly had an identity and status significance, of course, in addition to the fact that they simply fitted into the literary trend at the time when they were created. After all, genealogies have always functioned primarily as a form of expressing collective family memory, a symbol that strongly, sometimes in a very graphic manner of painting elaborate family trees, sent a message about the strength of a family. Outside the political arena, status establishment was a key element in defining the younger layer of the city's mercantile elite. In this, Dubrovnik's *nouveaux riches* followed the trend according to which social status had to be confirmed by public recognition. That *publica fama* consisted of various factors, which were often, as pointed out by James Grubb, informal markers of prestige. Family houses, burial places, chapels, and garments were not only signs of wealth or opulence, but also necessary identity markers shaping social reputation and status.<sup>140</sup> It was necessary to add an element of historicity and tradition to this new social stratum, something that would give it an additional stamp in terms of status and identity. In this context, compiling a genealogy to strengthen family memory naturally imposed itself as a particularly suitable form of status indication. The collections in which these genealogies were

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<sup>139</sup> L. Kunčević, *Vrijeme harmonije*.

<sup>140</sup> J. S. Grubb, "Memory and Identity", 375.

gathered, therefore, were not merely simple registers. They were partly a recapitulation of the shaped oral tradition according to situational needs and interventions from later times, and accordingly, they contained both traditions and innovations regarding the genesis of Dubrovnik's citizenry.

Ultimately, collections of citizen genealogies, functioning as a collective biographical self-portrait from the pen of Dubrovnik's chancellors and secretaries, became important markers of their class identity. Paraphrasing Benedikt Kotrulj, himself one of the names from the pages of Vlajki's "book of memory", these collections, among other things, enabled the men of the pen, not only famous writers and poets, but also merchants, captains, diplomats, clergymen, the first researchers and scientists, all those Držićs, Nalješkovićs, Monaldis, Vetranovićs, Zlatarićs, Cotruglis, Boškovićs, and others whose names are woven in them in ink, to live on, gathered in one place, "even after a thousand years, carrying on the memory of the famous name and great deeds".