

# Ragusan Families Marriage Networks

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## Abstract

In the paper marriage networks of Ragusan noble families in 16th century, and 18th and 19th century are analyzed using centrality indices and generalized blockmodeling.

## 1 Introduction

In June 1994 I was a participant of MATH/CHEM/COMP'94 in Dubrovnik, Croatia. In a book-store I came across with a book (Krivošić, 1990) which contains a lot of interesting data about the population of Dubrovnik republic in its history. Among other data there are two matrices describing marriage networks (man  $\times$  woman) of Ragusan noble families in 16th century (Table 3) and 18th and at beginning of 19th century (Table 4). These data parallel the well known Padgett's marriage network for Florentine families (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 61-2, 743-4).

Dubrovnik / Ragusa was settled in 7th century, as reported by Constantine Porphyrogenite, by fugitives from Epidaurum after its destruction. Dubrovnik was for a time under a Byzantine protection, but became a free commune as early as 12th century. This free commune quickly grew into a free city-state. They prospered unhindered thanks primarily to their clever diplomacy and great skill in balancing among the great powers, formally recognizing and paying tribute alternately to one then another.

Napoleon, who in 1797 destroyed the Venetian Republic, put an end to the Republic of Dubrovnik in 1806, which subsequently came under Austrian control until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918 (Raos, 1969).

## 2 Data about Ragusan noble families

The Ragusan nobility evolved in 12th–14th centuries and was finally formally formed by statute in 1332.

Tables 1 and 2 represent the dynamics of Ragusan noble families from 14th to 20th century in the years (columns) when their lists (accounts) were made. The

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Table 1: Ragusan noble families (part 1)

|                 | 13<br>36 | 13<br>66 | 13<br>99 | 14<br>23 | 14<br>42 | 15<br>88 | 16<br>67 | 17<br>00 | 18<br>08 | 19<br>26 |           |
|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Baballo         | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          | BOBALI    |
| Balacia         | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Baraba          | -        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Basilio         | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          | BASEGLI   |
| Batalo          | -        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Benessa         | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |           |
| Berissina       | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Binzola         | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | ?        | -        |          |          |          | BINCIOLA  |
| Bissiga         | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Bozignolo       | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -a       |          |          |          |          | BUZIGNOLA |
| Bodaza, Bodacia | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Bona            | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | BONA      |
| Bonda           | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -b       |          | BONDA     |
| Bucchia         | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          | BUCCHIA   |
| Caboga          | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | CABOGA    |
| Callich         | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |           |
| Cassica         | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Catena          | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Ceria           | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Crieva, Zreva   | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | CERVA     |
| Cherpa          | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Crossio         | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          | CROCEO    |
| Dersa           | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Gallo           | -        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Galozo          | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Gambe           | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Ganguli         | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Georgio         | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | GIORGI    |
| Getaldi         | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | GHETALDI  |
| Gleia, Gleya    | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Gondola         | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          | GONDOLA   |
| Goliebo, Galebo | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Goze            | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | GOZZE     |
| Gradi, Grade    | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | GRADI     |
| Luca            | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |           |
| Lucari          | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | ?        | -        |          | LUCARI    |
| Macedauro       | -        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Martinussio     | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -a       |          |          |          |          | MARTINUS  |
| Mathessa        | -        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |

Table 2: Ragusan noble families (part 2)

|                  | 13<br>36 | 13<br>66 | 13<br>99 | 14<br>23 | 14<br>42 | 15<br>88 | 16<br>67 | 17<br>00 | 18<br>08 | 19<br>26 |           |
|------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Menze            | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | MENZE     |
| Miscagna         | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |           |
| Pabora           | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Palmota          | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          | PALMOTA   |
| Pecorario        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Petragna         | -        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Poza             | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | POZZA     |
| Presliza         | -        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Proculo          | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          | PROCULO   |
| Prodanello       | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -d       |          | PRODANELI |
| Ragnina          | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | RAGNINA   |
| Resti            | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | RESTI     |
| Ribiza           | -        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Saraca           | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | SARACA    |
| Saruba           | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Scochilza        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Slavze, Slavi    | -        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Sorgo            | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | SORGO     |
| Stillo           | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Sumagna          | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Trepagna         | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Tudisio          | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          | TUDISI    |
| Vitagna          | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Volcasso         | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Volzo            | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |           |
| Zamagna          | -        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 1        | -        | GIAMAGNO  |
| Zavernico        | -        | 1        | -        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |
| Bosdari          |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1        | 1        |          |           |
| Classich, Clasci |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1        | 1        | -        |           |
| Natali Luccari   |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1        | 1        |          |           |
| Slatarich        |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1        | 1        |          |           |
| Giorgi-Bernardo  |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1b       | -        |          |           |
| Paoli, Pauli     |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1b       | 1        | -        |           |
| Primi            |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1b       | ?        | -        |           |
| Serratura        |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1b       | -        |          |           |
| Vodopich         |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1c       | -        |          |           |
| Sorgo-Bobali     |          |          |          |          |          |          |          | -        | 1        | -        |           |

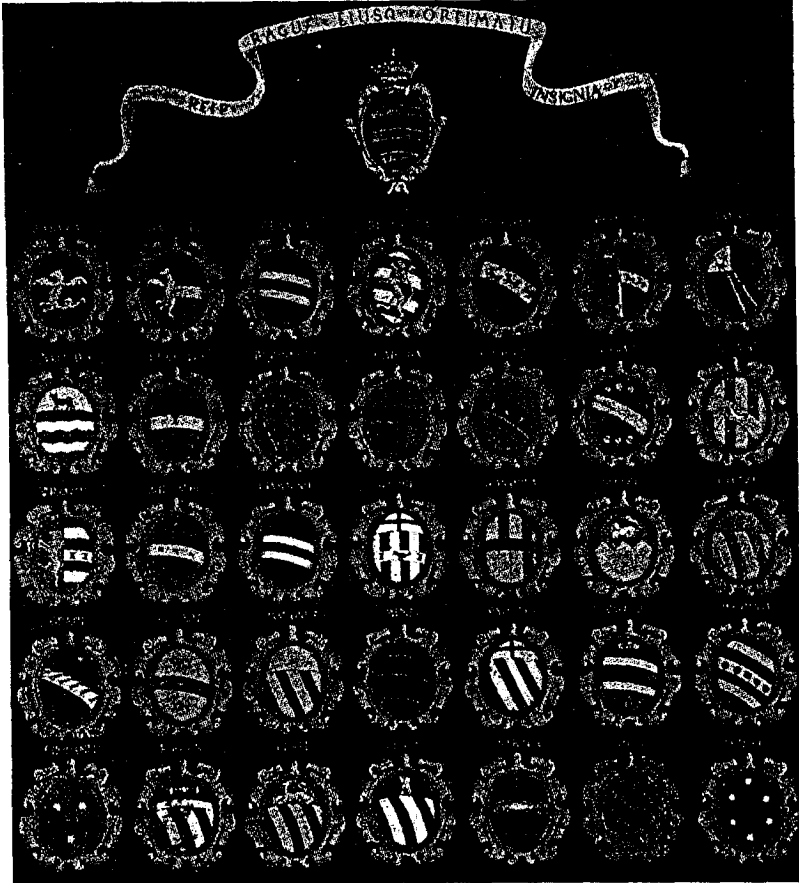


Figure 1: Coats of arms of Ragusan noble families before 1667:

|            |           |            |           |          |         |          |
|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|---------|----------|
| Basegli,   | Basegli,  | Benesa,    | Binciola, | Bobali,  | Bobali, | Bona,    |
| Bonda,     | Bucchia,  | Buzignola, | Caboga,   | Caboga,  | Cerva,  | Cerva,   |
| Croceo,    | Ghetaldi, | Giamagno,  | Giorgi,   | Gondola, | Gozze,  | Gozze,   |
| Gradi,     | Lucari,   | Martinus,  | Menze,    | Palmota, | Pozza,  | Proculo, |
| Prodaneli, | Ragnina,  | Resti,     | Resti,    | Saraca,  | Sorgo,  | Tudisi   |





meanings of notes in these two tables are: *a* – missing in 1604; *b* – accepted in 1670; *c* – accepted in 1678; *d* – missing in 1735. One of the problems with Ragusan families are different writings of their names (see tables). The last column contains the names from the Figure 1 which displays coats of arms of Ragusan noble families before 1667.

From the year 1332 no new family was accepted until the big earthquake in 1667.

In Dubrovnik all political power was in the hands of male nobles older than 18 years. They were members of the Great Council (*Consilium majus*) which had the legislative function. Every year 11 members of the Small Council (*Consilium minus*) were elected. It had together with a duke, which was elected for a period of one month, the executive and representative function. The main power was in the hands of the Senat (*Consilium rogatorum*) which had 45 members elected for one year.

This organization prevented that a single family, like Medici in Florence, would prevail. Nevertheless the historians agree that the Sorgo family was all the time among the most influential. For example:

- in 17th century 50 % of dukes and senators were from families: Bona, Gondola, Goze, Menze, Sorgo;
- in 18th century 56 % of senators were from families: Sorgo, Goze, Zamagna, Caboga, Georgi;
- in the last 8 years of Republic 50 % of dukes were from families: Sorgo, Goze, Gradis, Bona, Ragnina.

A big problem of Ragusan noble families was also that by decrease of their number and lack of noble families in the neighbourhood (the surroundings of Dubrovnik was under Turks) they were becoming more and more closely related (1566 – "*quasi tutti siamo congiunti in terzo et in quarto grado di consanguinita et affinita*") – the marriages between relatives of the 3rd and 4th degree were frequent.

### 3 Analyses

For analyzing both marriage networks we first computed standard sets of indices (influence, support, centrality, betweenness, closeness, Bonacich; see Batagelj, 1993a). Afterward we also applied the generalized blockmodeling Batagelj (1993b) and Dor-

Table 5: Characterizations of types of blocks

|              |     |   |
|--------------|-----|---|
| null         | nul | all 0 (except may be diagonal)                  |
| complete     | com | all 1 (except may be diagonal)                  |
| row-dominant | rdo | $\exists$ all 1 row (except may be diagonal)    |
| col-dominant | cdo | $\exists$ all 1 column (except may be diagonal) |
| regular      | reg | 1-covered rows and 1-covered columns            |

ean, Batagelj and Ferligoj (1994) on them. We were searching for models with

types of blocks given in Table 5 with dominant blocks containing at least two units. All computations were done by programs from program package STRAN (Batagelj, 1991) which are available at address <http://vlado.mat.uni-lj.si/pub/networks/>.

### 3.1 16th century marriage network

Indices indicate that the most influential families in this century were: Bona, Goze, Sorgo and also Gradi and Menze.

Blockmodeling produced the following series of single optimal solutions  $C_n^{16}$  for  $n = 2, 3, 4$  and 5, where  $P(C_n^{16})$  denotes the error of the model.

$$P(C_2^{16}) = 13$$

$\{\{1, 2, 4, 6, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23\}, \{3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24\}\}$

$$P(C_3^{16}) = 10$$

$\{\{1, 2, 4, 6, 15, 18, 21\}, \{17, 23\}, \{3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24\}\}$

$$P(C_4^{16}) = 8$$

$\{\{1, 2, 4, 6, 15, 18, 21\}, \{17, 23\}, \{3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 24\}, \{11, 22\}\}$

$$P(C_5^{16}) = 6$$

$\{\{1, 18\}, \{2, 4, 6, 15, 21\}, \{17, 23\}, \{3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 24\}, \{11, 22\}\}$

Note that these clusterings are nested. For  $n = 6$  we get  $P(C_6^{16}) = 6$  and several different optimal solutions.

The basic two clusters are:

|            |              |             |            |            |
|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| 1 Babalio  | 2 Basilio    | 4 Bocignolo | 6 Bucchia  | 15 Palmota |
| 17 Proculo | 18 Prodanelo | 21 Saraca   | 23 Tudisio |            |
| 3 Benessa  | 5 Bona       | 7 Caboga    | 8 Crieva   | 9 Georgio  |
| 10 Gondola | 11 Goze      | 12 Gradi    | 13 Lucari  | 14 Menze   |
| 16 Poza    | 19 Ragnina   | 20 Resti    | 22 Sorgo   | 24 Zamagna |

with the corresponding model matrix and error matrix:

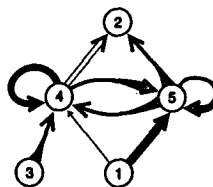
|   |   |     |   |   |   |
|---|---|-----|---|---|---|
|   | 1 | 2   |   | 1 | 2 |
| 1 | - | -   | 1 | . | 6 |
| 2 | - | reg | 2 | 7 | . |

Most marriages are among the families of the second cluster, there is no marriage among families of the first cluster, and there are only few marriages between the two clusters.

The optimal solution for  $n = 5$  is represented in the reordered network matrix in Table 6. The corresponding model matrix and error matrix are:

|   |   |     |   |     |     |
|---|---|-----|---|-----|-----|
|   | 1 | 2   | 3 | 4   | 5   |
| 1 | - | -   | - | -   | reg |
| 2 | - | -   | - | -   | -   |
| 3 | - | -   | - | cdo | -   |
| 4 | - | -   | - | reg | rdo |
| 5 | - | cdo | - | cdo | rd  |

|   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | . | . | . | 1 | . |
| 2 | . | . | . | . | . |
| 3 | . | . | . | . | . |
| 4 | . | 5 | . | . | . |
| 5 | . | . | . | . | . |







If we would allow also row-regular and col-regular blocks

|             |     |                   |
|-------------|-----|-------------------|
| row-regular | rre | 1-covered rows    |
| col-regular | cre | 1-covered columns |

the clustering

$\{\{1, 18\}, \{2, 4, 6, 15, 21\}, \{17, 23\}, \{3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24\}\}$

gives a perfect model –  $P = 0$ .

### 3.2 18th and 19th century marriage network

Indices indicate that the most influential families in this period were: Sorgo, Bona, and also Zamagna, Cerva and Menze.

Blockmodeling produced the following series of single optimal solutions  $C_n^{18}$  for  $n = 2, 3, 4$  and 5.

$$P(C_2^{18}) = 13$$

$\{\{1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23\}, \{4, 5, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20\}\}$

$$P(C_3^{18}) = 6$$

$\{\{1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23\}, \{4, 15, 17\}, \{5, 14, 18, 20\}\}$

$$P(C_4^{18}) = 4$$

$\{\{1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23\}, \{4, 18\}, \{5, 14, 20\}, \{15, 17\}\}$

$$P(C_5^{18}) = 3$$

$\{\{1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 21, 22, 23\}, \{4, 18\}, \{5, 20\}, \{14, 19\}, \{15, 17\}\}$

Note that these clusterings are almost nested. For  $n = 6$  we get  $P(C_6^{18}) = 3$  and several different optimal solutions.

The basic two clusters are:

|    |         |    |          |    |         |    |        |    |        |
|----|---------|----|----------|----|---------|----|--------|----|--------|
| 1  | Basilio | 2  | Bona     | 3  | Bonda   | 6  | Caboga | 7  | Cerva  |
| 8  | Georgi  | 9  | Ghetaldi | 10 | Gondola | 11 | Goze   | 12 | Gradi  |
| 13 | Menze   | 16 | Poza     | 19 | Saraca  | 21 | Sorgo  | 22 | Tudisi |
| 23 | Zamagna |    |          |    |         |    |        |    |        |

|    |         |    |           |    |        |    |       |    |         |
|----|---------|----|-----------|----|--------|----|-------|----|---------|
| 4  | Bosdari | 5  | Bucchia   | 14 | Natali | 15 | Pauli | 17 | Ragnina |
| 18 | Resti   | 20 | Slatarich |    |        |    |       |    |         |

with the corresponding model matrix and error matrix:

|   |     |   |   |    |   |
|---|-----|---|---|----|---|
|   | 1   | 2 |   | 1  | 2 |
| 1 | reg | - | 1 | .  | 3 |
| 2 | -   | - | 2 | 10 | . |

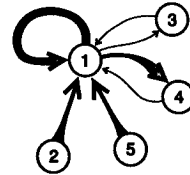
Most marriages are among the families of the first cluster, there is no marriage among families of the second cluster, and there are only few marriages between the two clusters.

The optimal solution for  $n = 5$  is represented in the reordered network matrix in Table 7. The corresponding model matrix and error matrix are:



|   | 1   | 2 | 3 | 4   | 5 |
|---|-----|---|---|-----|---|
| 1 | reg | - | - | rdo | - |
| 2 | cdo | - | - | -   | - |
| 3 | -   | - | - | -   | - |
| 4 | -   | - | - | -   | - |
| 5 | cdo | - | - | -   | - |

|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | . | . | 1 | . | . |
| 2 | . | . | . | . | . |
| 3 | 1 | . | . | . | . |
| 4 | 1 | . | . | . | . |
| 5 | . | . | . | . | . |



## 4 Conclusion

Comparing clusterings for both networks we can see that the main cluster contains almost the same families – a kernel: Bona, Caboga, Cerva, Gondola, Goze, Gradi, Menze, Poza, Sorgo and Zamagna. The families from the first cluster of  $C_2^{18}$ , except Saraca, ceased to exist till 1808. The new families, accepted after the earthquake, belong to the second cluster of  $C_2^{18}$ . For detailed interpretation additional data about Ragusan nobility should be collected.

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