

STATE FUNERALS IN DUBROVNIK IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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ABSTRACT: The author analyses the forms of state funerals organised for the rector, the secretary, and the archbishop of Dubrovnik, and the bishop of Ston in the 17th and 18th centuries. In doing so, she points to the transformation of these rituals through the separation in the ceremony of the "private" from the "official". Based on the introduction of the funeral effigy, she studies different layers of the ritual and the theatrical aspect of the ceremony. By comparing it to other European environments, the author establishes and interprets specific features of the funeral rituals of Dubrovnik and emphasises their value in conveying the image of authority and order.

The Republic of Dubrovnik held special ceremonial funeral rites for persons who were at the head of state institutions (the rector), the administrative apparatus (the state secretary) and the church (the archbishop, and the bishop of Ston).¹ These rituals were being shaped over a long period of time, transformed, refined and enhanced with new elements to suit the tastes of the times. The ceremony, fully developed by 1700 is described in the Book of Ceremonies

¹ It is interesting to note that the Venetian ceremony also regulated only three analogous funeral rituals: the doge's, the grand chancellor's and that of the patriarch of Venice (Bianca Mazzarotto Tamassia, *Le feste veneziane: I giochi popolari, le cerimonie religiose e di governo*. Firenze: Sansoni, 1961: p. 225).

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(*Cerimoniale*), a handbook which includes a collection of the forms of the most important state rituals, and contains a number of 18th-century examples that give an indication of further changes and new variations.²

Since the rector of Dubrovnik was elected for a term of only one month, it would be expected that death during his term of office was very rare. This was true in the 18th century when only two rectors died, but in the 17th century this happened to as many as sixteen rectors, two of whom died on the last day of their month-long term of office.³ In the final century of the Republic, the average inhabitant of Dubrovnik had a good chance of living long enough to see the ceremony of a rector's funeral, whereas his or her ancestor in the previous century could have experienced this several times.

When the rector of the Republic died, his funeral would be conducted pursuant to a special state ceremony. Regardless of the fact that the deceased had only been "borrowed" to fill the post of head of state for a one-month period, the family of the deceased could not exert any influence on the course and form of the funeral.⁴ The state would take on full responsibility for the funeral ceremonies, because this was an outstanding opportunity to emit messages on the nature of state authority and the social structure. The identity of the deceased had no significance whatsoever. This circumstance is best captured in the medal forged in 1798, on the occasion of the death of Rector Orsat Gozze. The medal bears the inscription "public bereavement" (*LVCTVS PVBLICVS*) on its reverse side, and "Republic of Dubrovnik" (*RESPUBLICA RHACVSINA*) on the obverse side.⁵ Even the siglum of the die designer is visible on the medal, but the name of the deceased is not given. The state did not actually use the medal to mark the death of a person, but to express sorrow for the loss of a head of state.

² State Archives of Dubrovnik, series 21.1. *Leggi e istruzioni - Manuali pratici del cancelliere*, vol. 8, *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 83r-94r, 112v-125v, 184r-200v.

³ *Specchio del Maggior Consiglio* for the 17th and 18th centuries (State Archives of Dubrovnik, series 21.1, vols. 3 and 4). This apparently inexplicable series of deaths may be attributed to the old age of the rectors in this period, because the patriciate was demographically weakened, and the eligible age had not yet been reduced.

⁴ The family was allowed at their own expense only to adorn the catafalque in the church with additional candles (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 84v). After the funeral had been divided into two stages in the mid-18th century, it was left to the family to shape the "private" stage of the funeral.

⁵ Rešetar, Milan. *Dubrovačka numizmatika*, vol. II. Posebna izdanja SKANU, vol. 59. Sremski Karlovci 1925: p. 306.

Immediately after the rector's death, the state would take the preparations for the funeral into its own hands. While performing his office, the rector resided in the Rector's Palace, one of the two connected buildings where all the state institutions of Dubrovnik held their sessions. Consequently, news of his death would spread very quickly. However, in order for necessary steps to be taken immediately, the rector's close family, who lived with him in the Rector's Palace during this month of office, were requested to promptly inform the Minor Council, that is, the Government of the Republic, of the rector's death. This was also the duty of the captain of the *zduri* (lat. *riverii*),⁶ the guards in the service of executive and judicial bodies. It was important for the Minor Council to obtain this information as soon as possible, not only to be able to prepare the funeral services in time, but primarily to take urgent measures to prevent anyone from coming into possession of, or abusing, the state insignia borne by the rector: the signet ring⁷ and the key to the cabinet were the state seals were kept.⁸ At the same time, the duty of replacing the rector was passed on to the oldest member of the Minor Council,⁹ or, if he happened to be absent or ill, then to the next oldest member of the Minor Council.¹⁰ The deputy would immediately move to the Palace and hold office until the next rector assumed his term of office at the beginning of the following month.

As soon as continuity in the performance of the duty of head of state was ensured, the preparations for the rector's funeral would begin. After the Minor Council had passed general decisions, it would entrust three of its members to implement them.¹¹ The staff of the chancellery would help them in the organisation.¹² These Minor Council trustees had to prepare for a suitable display of the coffin and plan the course of the funeral service, arrange for invitations to be sent to church prelates and state officials who were away from the city,¹³

⁶ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 84r.

⁷ The rector of Dubrovnik wore a signet ring from as early as the 14th century (*Odluke veća Dubrovačke Republike* II, ed. Mihajlo Dinić. Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, III.21. Beograd: SANU, 1964: p. 488).

⁸ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 84r.

⁹ Following a similar practice, in Venice, the function of the deceased doge, until an heir was elected, would be taken over by the eldest member of the Collegium (B. Mazarotto Tamassia, *Le feste veneziane*: p. 225).

¹⁰ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 83r, 84r.

¹¹ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 84r, 92r.

¹² *Cerimoniale* I, f. 92v.

¹³ For examples of these letters, see *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 89v-91v.

and notify the confraternities who would join the funeral procession.¹⁴

The funeral was announced by the bell of the Major Council, which tolled solemnly to toll from midnight before the day of the funeral until the coffin was laid in the tomb and the funeral was over. Early in the morning, the body was exposed in the room on the first floor of the Rector's Palace, which would be draped in black. The catafalque was placed on a raised platform, covered in black cloth and topped by a black baldachin. Thick candles would burn around it, and, at the end of the 18th century, a small table was placed nearby with two candles, a holy-water vessel, a font, a censer and a cross arranged on it.¹⁵

The deceased was laid in an open casket, clothed in the rector's red garments. As in office, he wore the stole and the rector's ring. Next to his body, the golden chain would be laid, as well as the spurs and the sword, gifts of King Sigismund of Luxembourg and King Mathias Corvinus, symbols of the rector's honour, which were borrowed from the treasury solely for that occasion.¹⁶

On the day of the funeral, while the clergy performed the initial church services, the Major Council would convene in full in the neighbouring Council building. The meeting would begin formally, as at any other session of this body, with the calling of the roll and with fines being pronounced for those who were unjustifiably absent. It is important to mention that on this sad occasion no signs of office or hierarchy were displayed, with due emphasis being given only to patrician equality. Therefore, the deputy rector and the *provisores* would not sit in their usual raised positions, but on the benches with the other patricians.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 84rv. An example of a written invitation to the counts of Astarea to notify the confraternities in their area about the rector's funeral are included in the *Cerimoniale* I, f. 91r.

¹⁵ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 84v, 92v-93v.

¹⁶ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 85r. Ivan Bach, »Mač dubrovačkog kneza, dar Matije Korvina«. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 18 (1970): pp. 61-73; Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode: dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999: pp. 295, 315. The body of the Venetian doge was also dressed in ceremonial garments with the doge's headgear (*cornio*), one of the most important insignia. By his feet, spears would be laid on one side, and on the other, an upside-down sword. Cf. *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, ed. David Chambers and Brian Pullan. Oxford-Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992: p. 45.

¹⁷ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 85r.

The Major Council would elect ten nobles to carry the casket on their shoulders,¹⁸ without putting it down until they reached the catafalque set up in the church where the rector's family tomb was situated.¹⁹ Eight men were also elected to follow the casket, holding thick candles in their hands. Acceptance of these funeral tasks was not left to the good will and piety of individuals, since the state would threaten those who turned a deaf ear by imposing severe penalties upon them.²⁰ These eighteen men would then enter the room where the deceased was laid, and return with the coffin to the door of the Council hall. Here, the deputy rector would join them, dressed in black or purple mourning garments, together with the members of the Minor Council. In front of the casket, at the very head of the procession which at that moment would have already begun to form, the *zduri* would take their place, also dressed in a purple mourning uniform without a collar. While descending the main stairway of the Rector's Palace, the procession would be joined in the atrium, first by the closest relatives wrapped in mourning cloaks with hoods, and then by the rest of the nobility. Prelates and canons in ceremonial dress waited under the outside porch and there took the places provided for them in front of the casket, while the representatives of the confraternities dressed in gowns were gathering behind the *zduri*, holding their crosses and thick candles.²¹ The composition of the procession, its formation and sequence were thoroughly planned to emphasise state authority and the ruling class to which the deceased belonged, to ensure the "strongest show" from the ranks of the church, and also to exhibit social unity and harmony.²² Not even on this occasion did the ceremony fail to convey the message of the social structure of classes, of the power of the patricians and their mutual support, and of the significance and honour of state service.

¹⁸ This custom was also mentioned by Giacomo Pietro Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa*. Ragusa, 1790: p. 266.

¹⁹ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 88v-89r. The nobles selected in 1697 to bear the casket with Rector Marin Sorgo's body were all twenty-year-olds (see list in *Cerimoniale* I, f. 89r and the list of the Major Council members in *Specchio* for the 18th century).

²⁰ The *Cerimoniale* I, f. 84 prescribed a fine of 25 perpers, but the example of 1697 even involves the threat of 15-day imprisonment under lock and key (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 89r).

²¹ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 85rv, 93r.

²² The procession which followed the doge's funeral in the Republic of Venice in the 15th century was quite similar in terms of its composition: the confraternities with crosses, the secular and regular clergy, and the canons of St Mark's. However, according to the description of a foreign travel writer, it seems that not all the nobility joined the funeral procession, which was, in any case, much larger than in Dubrovnik (cf. *Venice: A Documentary History*: p. 45).

The procession went from the Palace to the family tomb in the Franciscan or Dominican church, where the catafalque was placed. After the archbishop had given the solemn mass, the eulogy would be delivered,²³ and, at the end of the funeral service, the casket was taken to the tomb and laid in it. Then, the state secretary, accompanied by the *zduri*, would approach the deceased rector and, with steady and ceremonial moves, remove the rector's ring, which he would take and present to the rector's deputy. This ended the church service. However, before returning to the Rector's Palace, the deputy, accompanied by his suite, would visit the home of the closest relative of the deceased. There, by praising the wisdom and other qualities of the deceased, he would extend sympathy to the gathered relatives.²⁴

The return of the deputy rector to the Palace would complete the funeral ritual, and only then would the city's life begin to resume its usual rhythm. Namely, in the meantime, state services would not have been functioning, all the shops would have been closed, and all working activities in the open would have been forbidden.²⁵ Public bereavement for the deceased was expressed with a number of symbols: flags would be flying at half mast,²⁶ the drum accompanying the closing and opening of the city gate was covered with a black cloth and the beats were dampened,²⁷ guards and soldiers would turn the barrels and the tops of their arms towards the floor, the windows of the Palace would not be opened nor would ornamental rugs be decorating the window ledges.²⁸ If it so happened that the rector died during the carnival season, all public festivities and private celebrations would be interrupted until he was buried: there would be no masks, dances or games (the special chivalric tournament of tilting at the ring would not be run).²⁹ However, for all the time that the rector was still alive, although dying, the programme of festivities would run its course, although with a reduced number of events. For example, in 1662,

²³ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 86r.

²⁴ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 86v, 93rv.

²⁵ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 87v, 93r.

²⁶ Thus, in 1798, for the death of Rector Orsat Gozze, the flag flying on Orlando's Column on the occasion of the holiday of St. Blaise's Hand was lowered to half mast, and so was the flag on the Lovrijenac fortress (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 93r).

²⁷ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 87v and G.P. Luccari, *Copioso ristretto*: p. 266.

²⁸ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 87rv.

²⁹ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 88r.

while Rector Paul Menze was in the Palace fighting for his life, the tailors' dance was cancelled, but the tilting at the ring in front of the Palace ran its course until the rector "moved from this into a better life".³⁰ After the funeral, that same afternoon, public life resumed as usual: the carnival fun with masks continued, the tailors danced, and the tilting tournament was run.³¹

In spite of the existence of precise forms and customs, it was difficult to prepare the rector's funeral within only a few days, before the corpse began to decay. In 1726, after the death of Rector Vladislav Bucchia, a person of great political merit,³² it became quite clear that such a hurry was inappropriate and unacceptable, and that the service would have to be changed in the future.³³ The chance to reform the ritual presented itself in March 1746, when it was becoming increasingly clear that Rector Sabo Ragnina would not live to see the end of his monthly term of office. It had been decided, even before he drew his last breath, that his body would be presented to the family and laid in the tomb on the same evening he died, and that the funeral ceremonies in the cathedral would be held within a month, at the state's expense.³⁴ It was seen at Orsat Gozze's funeral in 1798 that extending the time for preparations was really crucial, for not even the fifteen days planned for this were sufficient. In fact, the service had to be postponed for another three days, since the cathedral could not be prepared in time.³⁵

³⁰ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 88r.

³¹ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 88v.

³² The funeral eulogy was delivered by a learned theologian in the service of Dubrovnik, Lodovico Moreno (Mirko Deanović, »Anciens contacts entre la France et Raguse«. *Annales de l'Institut français de Zagreb* 24-25 (1944): p. 90). Bucchia was buried with the Dominicans where a tombstone inscription was also placed (Đuro Körbler, »Vićentije Petrović Dubrovčanin 1677-1754«. *Rad JAZU* 186 (1911): p. 196). Thanks to his diplomatic success with Emperor Leopold I of Hapsburg, and particularly in his diplomatic missions with Sultan Mustafa II, when he managed to lower the amount of Ragusan annual tribute to the Ottomans to a third, his portrait was placed in the hall of the Major Council (see reproduction in Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808.*, II. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1980: p. 202).

³³ The Rector died on Tuesday, 26 March 1726 in the evening, and the funeral was held on the following Sunday (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 91v).

³⁴ *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, series 3, vol. 162, f. 176rv; changes introduced in the ritual in 1746 are also mentioned in the Minor Council's decision of 1798 on the occasion of the funeral of Secondo Gozze (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, series 5, vol. 112, f. 95rv).

³⁵ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 92v. Orsat Gozze died in the evening of 11 June 1798. He was laid in the family tomb in the Franciscan church on the following evening, and the public funeral was held on 30 June (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 92rv).

In order to win time, the funeral service in the mid-18th century was divided into two parts:³⁶ “the private stage”, that is, the laying of the body to rest where the state would not intervene, and the “public stage”, which consisted of the setting up of the catafalque in the cathedral, the Mass for the Dead, the eulogy and procession through the town. The postponement of the second “act” of the funeral ritual brought about significant advantages, because the service could be thoroughly prepared and transferred to the cathedral, an area where the “set” could be much more flamboyant and the audience more numerous than in the Palace hall. Besides, the authorities were longing for occasions of ceremony where they could project their idealised image. Paying public homage to the deceased was a perfect occasion for singing the praises of the patrician class and displaying the strength of the state organisation of Dubrovnik.³⁷

This shift from the personal to the class and the state may best be depicted by the fact that an effigy was introduced in the ceremony, that is, a statue made in resemblance of the dead rector (*finto cadavere, figura*).³⁸ The use of this “prop” allowed the ritual to retain elements of the old service, from which it had stemmed, the deceased to be displayed, even if in the form of a statue, and for the usual activities to be performed, for example, the removal of the ring from the finger. Moreover, the bodily element was highlighted in an unusual way by the introduction of the procession passing through the town and bearing the casket, which had not been practised before.³⁹ The service was immediately expanded with an element that was “easier” to perform, and it did not matter that what was carried was, in fact, only an effigy, and not the actual remains of the deceased. In the course of one century there was another, apparently small, change of protocol: the nobles elected to carry the casket were only pretending to do so, while the casket was actually borne by four

³⁶ In fact, the stages of the funeral were separated for the first time in 1691, when Rector Junius Cerva died at the time of the plague. The Senate then decided that the body was to be buried without delay, and that the funeral rites would be conducted as soon as the danger of infection was over (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 131, f. 130rv). This change, dictated by pragmatic reasons, was a one-off thing, because the ritual had not been changed in any of its elements.

³⁷ On this, see. Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 314.

³⁸ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 93rv.

³⁹ *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 112, f. 95rv. The procession went by the shorter route, from the cathedral through today's *Ulica od puča* to *Široka ulica*, and then back through the *Placa (Stradun)*.

men hidden under a cloth reaching all the way down to the ground.⁴⁰ All these changes put together—the display of the deceased’s effigy and the procession that carried it through the town, as well as the pretence of carrying the casket—contributed to the theatrical display of the funeral service: everyone knew that the body was not real and that the bearers were hidden, but they all heartily acted as if everything was real. And if Luccari’s statement that the rector’s funeral “is slightly more excellent than that of a noble” was true of the 16th century,⁴¹ two centuries later, precisely due to this “performance”, the ritual differed significantly from an ordinary funeral.

By comparing the rector’s funeral in Dubrovnik with funerals of heads of state elsewhere in Europe, its significance is even more clearly delineated. In monarchic states, one of the most important elements of the funeral ceremony was the legitimisation of the transfer of authority, so that the heir was given a significant and marked place, both in the funeral procession and in other parts of the service.⁴² In republics which were ruled by an elected head of state, it was more important to emphasise that the temporary “headlessness” had no impact on the functioning of the state mechanism. In the Republic of Venice, the situation was different from that in Dubrovnik because the authority of the doge was for life, and it carried significant prestige, so the system faced an interregnum and tension surrounding the election of the new doge. For this reason, the ducal funeral ritual had to stress that authority was eternal and permanent. Therefore, the senators wore red instead of mourning garments.⁴³ The Ragusan system of regular and frequent changes of the head of state spared

⁴⁰ In 1697, on the occasion of the funeral of Rector Marin Sorgo, it was decided by vote that the coffin bearers would be the brethren of the deceased’s confraternity, and the nobles would just place their hands upon the coffin (*Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 135, ff. 123v-124r). The description of Orsat Gozze’s funeral in 1798, however, states that the “real bearers” were concealed under the cover (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 93r).

⁴¹ G.P. Luccari, *Copioso ristretto*: p. 266.

⁴² Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*. Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance, XXXVII. Genève: Librairie Droz, 1960: pp. 41-49; Matteo Casini, *I gesti del principe: La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale*. Venezia: Marsilio, 1996: pp. 88-89.

⁴³ B. Mazzarotto Tamassia, *Le feste veneziane*: p. 225; M. Casini, *I gesti del principe*: pp. 46-53. At the funerals of English rulers the custom was for the President of Parliament, as the highest judicial body, to express the continuity of the office by wearing red garments (R. E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony*: pp. 9-10), and a similar practice also existed in France (see Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981: p. 275, note 73).

the funeral ritual from the need for such an emphatic show of continuity; it was known that with the first day of the following month the rector's function would again be filled in a regular manner, and sometimes the new rector had already been elected, and it was completely clear which member of the Minor Council would perform the rector's duties in the meantime. The ceremony could thus focus on other elements, which were more important for the situation in Dubrovnik. Furthermore, while special graves with statues and tombstones that permanently recorded their statesmen's roles were built for the doges of Venice,⁴⁴ the rector of Dubrovnik was laid in his family burial place without special marks of his rectorship; after all, almost every patrician of Dubrovnik who did not die young had a good prospect of becoming at some time rector of the Republic. At the end of the state funeral, the Dubrovnik noble would return to his "ordinary" patrician status and to the private environment from which he had briefly been "borrowed" to carry out the function of rector.

The Dubrovnik state would also stage grand funerals for its highest clerks —secretaries of the Republic.⁴⁵ On this occasion, the Republic, which was otherwise very careful with money, spared no expense.⁴⁶ For a long time foreigners were elected as secretaries of the Republic,⁴⁷ but in the 17th century this service fell into the hands of a group of blood relatives of the highest rank of the commoners, members of St. Anthony's Confraternity.⁴⁸ Due to the great responsibility and trust involved, the secretary's office was the most sensitive and most important in the entire administrative apparatus, and at the same time, the highest office to which a non-noble could aspire.⁴⁹

The secretary's funeral was organised in a manner becoming of the social status and function of the deceased. However, in some of its elements, its form

⁴⁴ M. Casini, *I gesti del principe*: p. 31. Most of the doges' sepulchral monuments were kept in Dominican (*S. Giovanni e Paolo*) and Franciscan (*I Frari*) churches, but there are some in other churches as well.

⁴⁵ A magnificent funeral was prepared as early as 1490 for Secretary Bartolomeo Sfondrati, member of an Italian chancellor's family which had made Dubrovnik its home (Sebastijan Slade, *Fasti Litterario-Ragusini/Dubrovačka književna kronika*, ed. Pavao Knezović. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001 (with the reprint of the ed. Venice 1767): pp. 93 and 166, notes 177 and 182.

⁴⁶ In the mid-18th century, an amount of 100 ducats was allocated for this occasion, and from the 1780s, double this amount (*Cerimoniale I*, ff. 113rv, 121v-122r).

⁴⁷ Stjepan Ćosić, »Prinos poznavanju tajništva i arhiva Dubrovačke Republike«. *Arhivski vjesnik* 37 (1994): p. 128.

⁴⁸ S. Ćosić, »Prinos poznavanju tajništva«: p. 129.

⁴⁹ For more detail on the duties of the secretary, and his position within the administrative hierarchy, see S. Ćosić, »Prinos poznavanju tajništva«: pp. 125-132.

bore similarities to the rector's funeral. The funeral procession would begin from the deceased's home, although the closest male relatives were invited to the Palace to join the rites from the secretariat's premises.⁵⁰ The casket was borne by the members of the confraternity to which the deceased belonged,⁵¹ and, besides the *zduri*, the funeral was also attended by priests and members of many confraternities who would be holding candles.⁵² When the procession arrived at the Rector's Palace, it would be joined by the rector dressed in a purple mourning toga, and by the Minor Council and relatives. After that, it would proceed towards the church which contained the secretary's family tomb.⁵³ Some eighty candles, besides those lighting the church altars, would burn around the catafalque mounted on a platform consisting of several steps, covered with a dark cloth, and decorated with death scenes.⁵⁴ The coat of arms of the Republic was secured on the platform above a somewhat smaller coat of arms of the secretary's family.⁵⁵ In the church, the position beside that of the Minor Council was taken by the secretary's family,⁵⁶ with only some details indicating their lower status: for example, the chairs were in the same line as the bench reserved for the councillors of the Minor Council, but lacked a hassock to kneel on.⁵⁷ After the archbishop had given the sung mass, and before the funeral rites ended, a skilful orator, designated by the state authorities, would deliver a eulogy to the deceased.⁵⁸ As soon as the funeral had ended, the rector and the Minor Council would return to the Palace.⁵⁹

The secretary's funeral was also divided into two parts in 1774: a private burial soon after the death, and an honorary state ritual held later.⁶⁰ The first

⁵⁰ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 114 v, 118v-119r, 123v.

⁵¹ At the secretary's funeral in the final century of the Republic this was the renowned confraternity of St. Rosary (*Cerimoniale* I, ff. 115r, 119v, 125r).

⁵² *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 115r, 119v, 124v.

⁵³ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 115rv, 118v, 123v-124r. In all the 18th century cases described in the *Cerimoniale*, the graves of the secretaries' families were at the Dominican monastery (*Cerimoniale* I, ff. 114v, 115v, 117v).

⁵⁴ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 113v-114v, 117v-118r, 122r-123r.

⁵⁵ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 114r, 117v, 122v.

⁵⁶ The text describing this in the *Cerimoniale* I, f. 113v is explicit: "... che i parenti più stretti del Deffonto dovessero intervenire nella funzione con i signori Consiglieri del Minor Consiglio, e dovessero esser trattati in tutto come loro, ma in ultimo luogo...".

⁵⁷ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 121v, 124r.

⁵⁸ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 114v, 120r.

⁵⁹ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 120v, 124v.

⁶⁰ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 117r.

direct reason for this division and postponement of the Mass for the Dead was a snowstorm, but when the next secretary died in office six years later, such a ritual, by a decision of the Senate, was regulated as permanent.⁶¹ There is no doubt that this transformation was inspired by the new form of the rector's funeral, which was only several decades old. The motives were the same: resolving the "technical problem" of a decaying corpse⁶² and winning time to prepare the eulogy and other rites.⁶³ The consequence was also the same—a further ritualisation of the ceremony.⁶⁴ An effigy with the features of the deceased was also introduced,⁶⁵ dressed in the secretary's toga, and holding the state seal in one hand, and in the other a sealed letter.⁶⁶

The third state funeral ritual, conducted for the archbishop, differed significantly from those mentioned above. The jurisdictions of ecclesiastical and secular bodies intertwined, and some of its parts were regulated in detail by church regulations, so that the authorities of Dubrovnik could not shape it according to their own will. For example, the *Cerimoniale Romanum* provided for a light embalming procedure so that the body could wait for the day of the funeral.⁶⁷ Therefore, in this case, there was no separation between the actual burial and the solemn funeral, nor did an effigy have to be introduced.

⁶¹ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 121rv and *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. 188, ff. 212v-213r.

⁶² After the death of Đivo Facenda in April 1800, a private funeral, contrary to the customs of the time, was held in the morning because "it was not possible to wait for the evening since the corpse could not withstand it" (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 125r).

⁶³ In the description of Đivo Natali Aletti's funeral in 1743, it was recorded that, due to the lack of time, the orator held in front of him a written speech and read it more than spoke it (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 116). At the funeral of Antun Natali Aletti in 1774, not only did the orator speak by heart, but several epigrams were exhibited around the catafalque honouring the deceased and an honorary epitaph was written by Miho Milišić (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 120r).

⁶⁴ For example, in 1780, the ritual of the funeral mass, the eulogy and the Mass for the Dead were transferred from the Dominican church to the cathedral. There, real pyramids built out of candles were placed beside the catafalque of the deceased (*Cerimoniale* I, ff. 121r, 122v-123r).

⁶⁵ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 119r.

⁶⁶ *Cerimoniale* I, f. 119r.

⁶⁷ Surgeons removed the internal organs which would be buried first. The corpse was then embalmed with herbal solutions and put away in a dry place. For a description of these procedures with Archbishop Scotti's body in 1708, see *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 194rv, 198v. The procedure of lightly embalming the pope's body began from as early as the Middle Ages, because the funeral was held on the ninth day after death (Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Le corps du pape*. Paris: Seuil, 1997: pp. 155-157). For the post-mortem preparation of the pope's and cardinal's body, see *Caerimoniale Romanum of Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini*. Ridgewood: Gress Press Inc., 1965 (reprint of the edition Venice, 1516): ff. 62v, 66v-67r.

The state authorities primarily took care of protecting the archbishop's property and the rights of his heirs, and to prevent, at the same time, any abusive moves until the regular appointment of a vicar. With this in mind, a number of measures was immediately undertaken: the safeguarding of all the keys, the sealing of the premises containing the deceased's possessions, and the taking of an inventory.⁶⁸ The squabbles and upheaval in Ragusan ecclesiastical circles that arose following the death of Archbishop Scotti in 1708 showed that state supervision in the days prior to the funeral was, in fact, neither inappropriate nor superfluous.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the state authorities took it upon themselves to send invitations to the funeral rites to the church dignitaries and to the heads of the village confraternities (*gastaldi*).⁷⁰ They also took care of the preparation and decoration of the premises⁷¹ as well as of engaging the person to give the funeral eulogy.⁷²

On the eve of the funeral, the archbishop's body would be taken out of the room where it was temporarily kept, appropriately attired and displayed on the catafalque in the archbishop's Palace.⁷³ The funeral procession to the church where the deceased was to be buried was large and particularly ceremonious, each group carrying their crosses. The main rules on the order of the procession had been laid down in the *Rituale Romanum*,⁷⁴ while the Ragusan Book of Ceremonies dealt with many details, too. The procession was led by the heads of the village confraternities, followed by a representation of several city confraternities. Then came the Dominicans and the Franciscans, followed by the cathedral's cross, the dean and the town clergy. The archbishop's secretary and chancellor walked right behind them, and in front of the body of canons. The following position was taken to the high prelates—the bishops of Ston and Trebinje-Mrkan, the abbot of St. Jacob's monastery and the mitre-bearing abbots. The bishop who was invited to perform the funeral rites was flanked by two assistants. Behind them walked the representatives of the city confraternities

⁶⁸ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 191v, 192v-193r, 197rv.

⁶⁹ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 196r-197r.

⁷⁰ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 184r-187r, 197v.

⁷¹ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 194r-196r.

⁷² The transcripts of a range of funeral eulogies for Ragusan archbishops have been preserved in the Library of the Franciscan Monastery (Mijo Brlek, *Rukopisi Knjižnice Male Braće u Dubrovniku*, I. Zagreb: JAZU, 1952: pp. 173, 219, 241); *Zibaldone* I, enclosure 42, pp. 569-581.

⁷³ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 198v-199r.

⁷⁴ *Rituale Romanum*, VI, 3 (*Rituale Romanum Pauli V Pontificis Maximi jussu editum, a Benedicto XIV et a Pio X castigatum et auctum*. Ratisbonae et Romae, 1916: p. 174).

carrying candles, and a priest carrying the archbishop's attire. Only then came the coffin with the deceased, followed by the rector and the members of the Senate.⁷⁵ This procession would move towards the place where the archbishop was to be buried until his family and heirs decided whether they would transfer him to another crypt or tomb.⁷⁶ The state authorities would also make sure that the church catafalque was respectably adorned.⁷⁷

Besides state funerals in the City, the course of which was described in the Book of Ceremonies, the manual of the Ston chancellery describes the funeral of Frano Sorgo, Bishop of Ston, held in 1800.⁷⁸ This ritual, in some of its elements, was modelled on the funeral of the archbishop of Dubrovnik, but adapted for a deceased of lower rank and for the more modest resources of Ston. The main difference, however, lay in the fact that the body of the bishop of Ston was not embalmed, but an effigy (*finto cadavere di detto defonto*) was used for the public funeral, similar to a rector's or secretary's funeral in Dubrovnik. For the funeral of Bishop Sorgo, the first part of laying the body in the grave was performed immediately, the day following the death (30 June), while the solemn part using the effigy was postponed for more than a month. On 10 August, the Bishop's effigy, dressed in Franciscan attire and bearing the insignia of the honour he had borne, was displayed on the catafalque in the Bishop's Palace. Indeed, it was from the Bishop's Palace that the "first" procession, which included Franciscan monks and the priests of the bishopric, had left for the church of St Nicholas's Monastery where the deceased had been buried in the usual way. The "second" funeral featuring the effigy was more elaborate and glorious. The catafalque in Ston cathedral was lavishly adorned with epitaphs, symbols of death, the coat-of-arms of the deceased and a cross on a spear wrapped in a black flag, and surrounded by many candles. The effigy on the catafalque covered in black damask was dressed with great care in the bishop's attire, including black gloves, a white mitre and a small cross on the chest, while the bishop's hat was laid at the feet. The pious folk came to pay their respects at the bishop's statue and to pray. To the toll of the bells of Ston, the funeral procession moved on from the Franciscan church,

⁷⁵ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 188v-189r, 193v.

⁷⁶ The Book of Ceremonies emphasises several times that the archbishop is buried there provisionally (*per modo di deposito*), until his family makes a decision on his definitive burial place (*Cerimoniale* I, f. 195rv).

⁷⁷ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 194r-196r.

⁷⁸ State Archives of Dubrovnik, series 21.1, vol. 32, ff. 142v-144r.

all the way to the Bishop's Palace, where it was joined by the remaining clergy and confraternities from the nearby villages. From there, it proceeded to the palace of the Count of Ston, who joined the procession, together with other nobles and distinguished persons who happened to be in Ston. After the procession had gone round the town, it returned to the cathedral where a Mass for the Dead was held, which completed the ritual.

From the preserved descriptions we can envisage what the catafalque at these state funeral rites in the 17th and 18th centuries looked like. The more modest ones created a mood of grieving with drapes of black cloth covering the walls and the catafalque, and with a velvet baldachin, sometimes adorned with a golden fringe. The catafalque was mounted on a platform and lit by candles. In more ceremonious and more elaborate state funerals, adornments and symbols would be added to these basic elements, depending on the function and rank of the mourned person: coats-of-arms (state and family), paintings representing Death, statues and carvings, a multilayered base, a multitude of candles, and even verses written for the occasion. During the funeral of Archbishop Scotti in 1708, the design of the catafalque was entrusted to the "state architect" Marino Gropelli, a Venetian architect, who was then busy with the construction of the Church of St. Blaise.⁷⁹ Out of a number of drawings that Gropelli had submitted, the three-member panel of the Senate selected one that was to be constructed and set up in the Dominican church.⁸⁰ The state commissioned carpenters and painters of Dubrovnik to make a sophisticated construction adorned with statues, coats-of-arms, flowers and other carvings.⁸¹

We can find the same set of requisites in the state funerals of other European countries in the Baroque period, but by far richer and more glorious. Not only at West European courts, but also for the Venetian doge's funeral, for example, huge constructions with an abundance of decorations would be raised around the catafalque.⁸² The Republic of Dubrovnik bid farewell to its dead in the

⁷⁹ Kruno Prijatelj, »Barok u Dalmaciji«, in: Anđela Horvat, Radmila Matejčić and Kruno Prijatelj, *Barok u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber et al., 1982: pp. 721-722.

⁸⁰ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 194r, 195r.

⁸¹ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 194r, 195v-196r.

⁸² For example, the catafalque of Doge Luigi Mocenigo in 1709 lay on a high base surrounded by sixteen pillars carrying a cupola with a pyramid on the top. Several statues, decorations and candelabra were incorporated in this construction. See M. Casini, »Cerimoniali«, in: *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, VII - *La Venezia barocca*, ed. Gino Benzoni and Gaetano Cozzi. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997: pp. 143-144 and illustration at p. 120.

Baroque fashion, although with less glamour and pomp, in conformity with the spirit of restraint in expending state money, and in line with its own structure, in which the significance of office surpassed that of an individual.

However, no effort was spared when it came to finding fine words for the deceased. The eulogy was carefully prepared, and the authorities always made special efforts to find in due time a skilful orator who would know how to speak about the deceased to stress his importance, but at the same time, to honour the class and the state he had belonged to. All these speeches, in one way or another, drew their inspiration from the European heritage, the Roman *laudatio funebris* and its *topoi*,⁸³ but again, they also continued the Ragusan tradition of political and festive orations. The speeches delivered at a rector's funeral differed in both tone and emphases from that of a state secretary or archbishop. Francesco Maria Appendini, a distinguished lecturer and writer, in his eulogy to Rector Orsat Gozze in 1798, presented first in choice words the history of his ancestry, then stressed the education and broad interests of the deceased, emphasising his virtues in performing public functions, and ended by praising the patrician class, which, in these fateful times, was a paragon of private and public life, and of the commitment to the homeland.⁸⁴ In 1743, Vicko Petrović began the eulogy for State Secretary Đivo Natali Alletti by emphasising the great loss that this represented for the Republic, listing the deceased's virtues: reliability, caution, wisdom, agility and diligence, as well as his high morals.⁸⁵ Antun Liepopilli, in his eulogy on the occasion of the death of Đivo Facenda in 1800, stressed the deceased's piety, diligence in serving the state, and care taken in protecting its interests.⁸⁶

Judging by the length of some recorded examples in the late period of the Republic, eulogies would last some forty minutes, and were obviously a popular literary form, because they are often preserved in several transcripts.⁸⁷ Not

⁸³ Josip Lučić, »Posmrtna počasti Ruderu Boškoviću u Dubrovniku«, in idem: *Dubrovačko povjesno iverje*. Dubrovnik, Matica hrvatska Dubrovnik, 1997: p. 174, note 19.

⁸⁴ Library of the Monastery of Friars Minor, B. 243. According to M. Brlek's inventory, it is also included in the manuscript collection of speeches, no. 221, pp. 65-74 (M. Brlek, *Rukopisi*: p. 219). Appendini was engaged following a decision by the Minor Council (*Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 112, f. 95v).

⁸⁵ Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute for Historical Sciences in Dubrovnik, Bizarro collection, D.a.20, pp. 148-156.

⁸⁶ Library of the Monastery of Friars Minor, 1761/XVI.

⁸⁷ The eulogy by Bernard Zamagna to Ruder Bošković was even published at state expense. For more on this and on the content, see J. Lučić, »Posmrtna počasti«: pp. 170-174.

only did this literary tradition allow for the memory of a deceased to live longer, but it also preserved the messages of commitment to the state that underlay the speech and the entire ritual.

As we have seen, effigies were used in the 18th century for the funerals of the rector of the Republic, the state secretary and the bishop of Ston. However, the introduction of the statue in the Dubrovnik funeral rites was not a complete novelty. It seems that such effigies had been made in Dubrovnik for the memorial services of the rulers and distinguished foreigners in the second half of the 15th century.⁸⁸

In Baroque Dubrovnik, the deceased's effigy was made of wax,⁸⁹ and the lines of the face were very faithful, because they would be transferred from a death mask,⁹⁰ as elsewhere in Europe of the time.⁹¹ The effigy was dressed in the official attire (the rector's attire with a stole, the secretary's toga, the Ston bishop's robe) and bore the symbols of the office (the rector's signet ring, the secretary's seal, the bishop's insignia).

Historians and anthropologists who have studied the use of funeral statues have put forward different interpretations of the causes and meaning of the introduction of these effigies. Some stressed practical reasons: insufficient knowledge of embalming methods in the Middle Ages, the fact that the decay of the body could only be postponed for a few days, while replacing the body with a wax figure would buy time to prepare the sumptuous funeral ceremony.⁹² Others, on the other hand, stressed that effigies which were a faithful representation of the deceased allowed for the elaborate shaping of the transitional rituals replete with important messages on the transfer of power and continuity.⁹³ Statues

⁸⁸ An anonymous chronicle mentions "*una imagine fata*" on the occasion of the alleged funeral of the Bosnian King Stephen in 818 (*Annales Ragusini anonymi*, ed. N. Nodilo. Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium, XIV. Zagreb: JAZU, 1883: p. 17). Zdenka Janeković Römer rightly stresses that a 15th-century chronicler introduces here in the legend about King Stephen a description of a funeral of his own times (*Okvir slobode*: p. 312).

⁸⁹ *Cerimoniale* I, ff. 119r, 120v.

⁹⁰ Francesco Maria Appendini, *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*, II. Ragusa, 1803: p. 195.

⁹¹ R. E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony*: pp. 2-4, 13; B. Mazzarotto Tamassia, *Le feste veneziane*: p. 225; M. Casini, *I gesti del principe*: p. 106, note 130.

⁹² R. E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony*: pp. 17-28; M. Casini, *I gesti del principe*: p. 106, note 130.

⁹³ Carlo Ginzburg, *Occhiacci di legno: Nove riflessioni sulla distanza*. Milano: Feltrinelli, 1998: pp. 84-89; for rituals where an effigy is treated as living being, see R. E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony*: pp. 5, 149-150.

representing the deceased in funeral rituals appeared in different periods and cultures (for example, Ancient Greece and Rome, the civilisation of the Incas).⁹⁴ As for the European countries in the late Middle-Ages and the early modern age, such a practice was first established at the funerals of the rulers of England (1327), then it was transposed to France (1422), but in these communities it was also abolished early (at the beginning of the 17th century).⁹⁵ The first funeral statue in Venice was made, as far as is known, in 1485, when Doge Giovanni Mocenigo died of the plague. After that, this procedure was sporadically performed according to the written will of the deceased, only to become common practice as part of the state ceremony at the doge's funeral in 1612.⁹⁶ The statue was used at the Medici court in Florence at least from 1537.⁹⁷ However, it seems that we are dealing here with separate traditions, with different motifs and symbolism.⁹⁸ While the effigies used in England, France, and even in Florence and Ancient Rome symbolised the survival of political substance, and carried the message of political continuity and legitimate transfer of authority,⁹⁹ it was not necessary to stress this in Venice or Dubrovnik, because here authority was transferred and allocated solely by election. The death of the Venetian doge or the rector of Dubrovnik neither "decapitated" the system, nor forced it to face a struggle for preservation. The state continued to act according to the established forms, calmly waiting for a new head of state to take his place. The two republics used statues for the ritualistic and ceremonial needs of the community, but without the political charge that existed in monarchies and related forms of rule. In fact, in Dubrovnik, the effigy would also feature at the funeral of the secretary, where no political power was in play. While the death of a Venetian doge marked the end of an era, the death of a Ragusan rector, however, proved far less significant in terms of governmental stability and continuity. It is interesting to read this difference from the ritual procedures of the signet ring of the head of state. In Venice,

⁹⁴ C. Ginzburg, *Occhiacci di legno*: pp. 84-86.

⁹⁵ R. E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony*: pp. 81-85 and 91-104; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. 6th edn., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981: p. 421.

⁹⁶ E. Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice*: p. 273, note 69; M. Casini, *I gesti del principe*: p. 106, note 130.

⁹⁷ M. Casini, *I gesti del principe*: p. 89.

⁹⁸ Muir assumes that the ritual of the doge's funeral grew from the domestic tradition (*Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice*: p. 264).

⁹⁹ More details on this in E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*: pp. 419-437.

the ring bore the family coat-of-arms. After the Venetian doge died, the ring would be ceremoniously fragmented, and the fragments delivered to his blood relatives.¹⁰⁰ In Dubrovnik, the signet did not carry any personal element, and after the rector's death it was ritually removed from his finger to be handed to the next rector. The ring ceremony in Venice marked the end of one period and the beginning of another, whereas in Dubrovnik it only showed that someone else was taking over the charge of head of state.

Why effigies were used in Dubrovnik and elsewhere, instead of death being presented by an abstract ritual, or at least less literally, (closed casket, bare catafalque) is a separate question.¹⁰¹ It should be noted, however, that the custom of corpse exposure was also deep-seated in Dubrovnik. In my opinion, the role of the statue was to help minimise the departure from continuity and tradition, the qualities essential to the ritual's success. From this perspective, the transition from the body to effigy was more convenient than introducing an utterly new symbolic code.¹⁰²

Since, the death of the rector in office would not cause any serious disruption of the institutional structure of Dubrovnik or bring affairs to a halt, there was no need to legitimise the transfer of authority or glue together any cracks in the state apparatus through the funeral rites. However, the rector's, and to a lesser degree also the secretary's, funeral was a very valuable ritual to promote the highest values, such as the stable social layering with clearly defined hierarchies, to glorify the office over the individual, but also to offer public recognition for faithful service. By replacing the body with a funeral effigy, the ceremony could, without temporal constraints, be thoroughly planned and more fully elaborated. It was for these very reasons that the funeral ceremony was transformed in this direction in the 18th century.

¹⁰⁰ E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*: pp. 270-271.

¹⁰¹ Z. Janeković-Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 312. In Florence in the 15th century it was prescribed that only knights and those holding a doctor's degree may be carried in an open casket (the latter, perhaps because, pursuant to the legal doctrine, they were equal to the *milites*); see M. Casini, *I gesti del principe*: p. 75.

¹⁰² E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*: pp. 270-271.