

SERAFINO RAZZI'S *STORIA DI RAUGIA*, OR, HOW RENAISSANCE DUBROVNIK (MIGHT NOT HAVE?) HEARD POLYPHONY IN FEBRUARY 1588: TOWARDS A LITURGICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FEAST OF SAINT BLAISE

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Abstract

With the emergence of the legend of Saint Blaise, who protected the people of Dubrovnik against the Venetian menace, the city of Dubrovnik has been continuously organizing a feast in Saint Blaise's honour on the 3rd of February of each year. In addition to the social importance of this event, it also emphasizes musical activity as the daily Liturgy of the Hour is modified to fit the festivity and enriched with musical instruments which accompany the main services. In this article, we will travel back to the feast of 1588, where Serafino Razzi – a Dominican friar on a two-year canonical visitation to Dubrovnik – witnessed the festivity. What did Razzi have a possibility of hearing at that time in Dubrovnik, were there

performing forces to support the festivity, and what did the liturgy look like on the 2nd and 3rd of February 1588 are the main questions this paper will address through thorough an analysis of Razzi's account, its comparison with other performances in European city-states, and extensive use of available sources.

Keywords: *feast of Saint Blaise; Dubrovnik; chant; improvised counterpoint; polyphony; Vespers; High Mass*

Ključne riječi: *fešta svetog Vlaha; Dubrovnik; gregorijansko pjevanje; gregorijanski koral; improvizirani kontrapunkt; polifonija; večernjice; svečana misa*

*Dubrovnik and Serafino Razzi**

Dubrovnik was one of the rare fortunate places of modern-day Croatia in the second half of the sixteenth century. Unlike the rest of the Dalmatian coast, which was under constant oppression,¹ Dubrovnik was a free republic. That guaranteed it successful survival and further social, economic, and cultural development. Because sixteenth-century Croatia was the first line of defence against the Ottoman Empire, it suffered many consequences: a large percentage of the territory was lost, the population was greatly reduced while its ethnic composition was being altered, the economic power of the country was heavily diminished, which impeded quick recuperation and continuation of any development.² Only after the major defeat of the Ottoman army in Siget in 1593 did the country start to recover and advance during the seventeenth century, despite the constant small-scale battles with the Ottomans.

Nevertheless, Dubrovnik thrived. It relied on outstanding diplomacy and internal politics – by performing a carefully planned political balancing act on the geographical and religious border between the East and West, between the Muslim and Christian world, and at the same time retaining the balance of its internal societal structure,³ its leaders – Rector and the Senate – created a prosperous and somewhat peaceful place to live for their citizens. These conditions assisted the development and stability of cultural activity, and most importantly, a tradition of court music. Court music was realized with the formation of Rector's chapel – the Republic's professional music ensemble, whose development can be tracked from the beginning of fourteenth century until 1809, when it was *retired* by the occupying French government.⁴

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¹ Croatia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was divided in several parts that were under different governmental rule: while northern Croatia, the Croatian Littoral and the northern part of Istria were under Austrian rule, the other, southern half of Istria and most of the Dalmatian coast were under Venetian rule. Hinterlands along the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina were under Ottoman control. For more on the topic, see Ivo GOLDSTEIN: *Croatia: A History*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović, London: Hurst & Co, 1999; Mirko VALENTIĆ – Lovorka ČORALIĆ – Ivo PERIĆ (eds.): *Povijest Hrvata*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2003.

² M. VALENTIĆ – L. ČORALIĆ – I. PERIĆ (eds.): *Povijest Hrvata*, knj. 2, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2003, 55.

³ More on the topic of how Dubrovnik used its position and managed to be so successful in the most terrible time of Croatian history in Lovro KUNČEVIĆ: *The Rhetoric of the Frontier of Christendom in the Diplomacy of Renaissance Ragusa (Dubrovnik)*, *Dubrovnik Annals*, 17 (2013), 37–68; Vesna MIOVIĆ: *Diplomatic Relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Dubrovnik*, in: Gábor Kármán – Lovro Kunčević (eds.): *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2013, 187–208; Lovro KUNČEVIĆ: *O stabilnosti Dubrovačke Republike (14.–17. stoljeće): geopolitički i ekonomski faktori*, *Analiza Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 54 (2016), 1, 1–38.

⁴ For the most important book on music and musicians in the Republic of Dubrovnik, see Miho DEMOVIĆ: *Glazba i glazbenici u Dubrovačkoj Republici. Od početka XI. do polovine XVII. stoljeća*, Zagreb:

On the seventeenth of May 1520, Dubrovnik was struck by a terrible earthquake, which significantly damaged its urban space: the Dominican monastery, located in the eastern part of the city, lost a whole wing that used to house theology students and younger priests.⁵ What is more, the monastery was already in a bad financial condition, and also had a poor relationship with the government as a result of the Dominican suppression of protestant propaganda that some noblemen in the government inclined to.⁶ With the intention of restoring order in the monastery, as well as repairing the deteriorated relationship with the government, the Dubrovnik Senate reached out to the General Chapter of the Order for external help. The help materialized in autumn of 1587 with the arrival of a well-known Dominican priest Serafino Razzi (1531–1611),⁷ who was immediately appointed as a vicar general and visitor to the Dubrovnik Dominican congregation. Razzi managed to swiftly solve all difficulties he was called in for,⁸ and was thus praised by the Senate and the congregation. He was further offered to lead the Dubrovnik diocese, which, despite his struggles to accept, he accepted as a temporary position. He served as vicar general of both congregation and diocese for four months and returned to Italy presumably in the summer of 1589.⁹

Coming to Dubrovnik, Razzi wanted to know more about the destination he was heading to, but unfortunately did not have printed or hand-written »history« of Dubrovnik.¹⁰ As read in the preface, *that* thought was the starting point that made Razzi congregate all the minuscule details of Ragusan life – he visited differ-

Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1981. Also available in German as *Musik und Musiker in der Republik Dubrovnik von Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Zagreb: Musikinformationszentrum, 1981; and as *Musik und Musiker in der Republik Dubrovnik (Ragusa) vom Anfang des XI. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1981. In a recent edition: Miho DEMOVIĆ: *Velika povijest dubrovačke glazbe: od konca X. stoljeća do velikog potresa 1667. godine*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Udruga Stara dubrovačka glazba, 2016; Miho DEMOVIĆ: *Povijest crkvene glazbe Dubrovačke katedrale kroz vjekove*, Dubrovnik: Udruga Stara dubrovačka glazba, 2013.

⁵ Serafino RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia: scritta nuouamente in tre libri*, Lucca: Vincentio Busdraghi, 1595, 74.

⁶ Iva GRGIĆ – Stjepan KRASIĆ: *Serafino Razzi, Povijest Dubrovnika*, Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Dubrovnik, 2011, 287–288.

⁷ For the most detailed biography, influence, and bibliography on Serafino Razzi, see I. GRGIĆ – S. KRASIĆ: *Serafino Razzi*, 265–297.

⁸ The big earthquake of 1520 seriously damaged the monastery of Saint Dominic in Dubrovnik. The student dormitories and living spaces were lost, which meant that the students had to share the living spaces with professors and other members of the monastery. This was contrary to the laws that Pope Sixtus V brought in at the same time, and therefore it needed to be changed. Razzi managed to divide the student dormitories from the rest of the living spaces, but also improved the liturgy and theological studies by including lectures in Thomistic theology in the curriculum, as well in the reformed spirit of the Tridentine council. I. GRGIĆ – S. KRASIĆ: *Serafino Razzi*, 291.

⁹ I. GRGIĆ – S. KRASIĆ: *Serafino Razzi*, 292.

¹⁰ Previous historiographical attempts include Ioannes Conversini de Ravenna (ca. 1343–1408), who wrote *Hystoria Ragusii* during his work as a notary in Dubrovnik from 1384 to 1387. Conversini was not a notable historian in his time and thus his work was never printed. It resembles more of a moral-philosophical essay than »a history«. For more see Relja SEFEROVIĆ: *Razočarani notar: iz ka-*

ent corners of the Republic's territory and gathered information on different matters, from its position, origins, development and political agenda to daily urban life and customs. This materialized in two works – a church history¹¹ and a general history book on Dubrovnik.¹² Both are easily categorized as credible high-quality historiographical works, as Razzi is a genuine *homo universalis*, humanist, and a professional historian with plenty of experience. Despite sometimes being unable to access the Republic's archives due to the Republic's internal politics, he still used all available sources for his work: from available chronicles and documents to personal observations and testimonies of native people who were witness to certain historic events.¹³ Furthermore, when it comes to music and the description of musical events, Razzi's credibility can be supported by his education – he attended *collegia generale* both in Perugia and Firenze¹⁴ – but mostly by his bibliography of printed works: both his first and last publications are large musical anthologies of *laude*,¹⁵ in which we also find a considerable number of his own

snog dubrovačkog prijepisa djela *Historia Ragusii* Giovannija Conversinija, *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 55 (2017) 1, 131–170.

Giovanni Mario Filelfo (1426–1480) described Dubrovnik both in verse (*Raguseis*) and in prose (*Historia de origine atque rebus gestis urbis Ragusae*). For more see Riccardo PICCHIO: *Povijest Dubrovnika prema interpretaciji humaniste Giovana Maria Filelfa*, *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole*, 1 (1973) 1, 15–22.

The most reliable source for Dubrovnik history, despite it predominately describes inanimate parts of the city, is *Situs aedificiorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclitae civitatis Ragusii* by Italian teacher and chronicler Philippus de Diversis de Quartigianis from Lucca. He served as a public teacher in Dubrovnik from 1434 until 1441, publishing his work at the end of his stay. For more on Diversis, the transcription of the original and a translation in Croatian, see Filip de DIVERSIS: *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, trans. Zdenka Janeković-Römer, Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004. According to Grgić and Krasić, Razzi did not have the chance to get a glimpse of either Conversini's or Filelfo's work, as they were in different Italian libraries, while Diversis's manuscript could have been in Dubrovnik, but because it is so architecture-oriented, might have not been of great use. Furthermore, the Benedictine monk Euzebijie Kabožić was only beginning his research on church history, therefore it could not be of significant help. What he had used – and that we see from the information he referenced to – was Vinko Pribojević's *De origine et successibusque Slavorum* for the origin of Illyrians and Slavic origins of the Dalmatians, as well as *Annales Ragusini anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina* and »old writings and memories of the Gentlemen, his friends« have provided him, but that we have no information about. I. GRGIĆ – S. KRASIĆ: *Serafino Razzi*, 298, 318. About the influence of mentioned work in Razzi's *Storia*, see *Ibid.*, 318–319.

¹¹ *Narrazioni o vero storia degli Arcivescovi di Raugia* is preserved in a manuscript form (kept in Firenze, Convento di San Marco, Archivio provinciale, cod. 820, ff. 212r–213r, 218r–247r). Written on February 22nd, 1590, it includes 49 biographies of Ragusan (arch)bishops until 1588.

¹² S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia: scritta nuouamente in tre libri*, Lucca: Vincentio Busdraghi, 1595. Divided in three parts, it contains a comprehensive history of Dubrovnik from its origins to year 1400, from year 1400 to Razzi's time, and the position of Dubrovnik and the customs of its citizens. The most complete survey on topics related to Razzi's *Storia* in I. GRGIĆ – S. KRASIĆ: *Serafino Razzi*, 298–316.

¹³ I. GRGIĆ – S. KRASIĆ: *Serafino Razzi*, 320. The reasons for writing the history are also listed in S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 5–6.

¹⁴ I. GRGIĆ – S. KRASIĆ: *Serafino Razzi*, 267.

¹⁵ His musical prints include *Libro Primo delle Laudi Spirituali da diversi eccellentissimi e divoti autori* (Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, eredi di Bernardo Giunti di Firenze, 1563; F-Sim Rm 240, GB-Lbl

compositions. Many of the compositions not only included his music, but also poetry. Well set to a poetic structure and following the subtle affect of the text, they serve as a verification that he not only appreciated music, but he deeply understood it. His success as a compiler is shown in the numerous copies that found their way around Europe and have been well-kept because of their practicality and constant need.

From Saint Blaise Saving the Republic to a Sainly Cult in Dubrovnik

According to Razzi, in 871 Venetians tried to seize Dubrovnik and incorporate it into their territory under the disguise of going to the East: they appeared in the harbour with 120 ships, and claimed that they are waiting for confirmation from the Levant for permission to undertake their trip. Ragusans were not aware of the Venetians' deception, and they welcomed them generously. The Venetian plan would unwind without any difficulty if Saint Blaise had not appeared to a devout priest called Stojko and warned him about the Venetians' true intent. Stojko informed the Senate, which organized guards around the city. The Venetians perceived that their plot was revealed and one night urgently set sail for Greece. From that point on, recognizing that they had been saved by the saint, Ragusans built the church in his honour, and decided to make Saint Blaise the protector of Dubrovnik.¹⁶ The legend not only triggered the yearly celebration of the saint, but was fairly quickly built into the identity of the Republic and its population, thus symbolizing an amalgam of medieval Christian values and political humanist ideology.¹⁷

The biggest and most notable feast of the Republic has been noted by several historical personalities passing through the region around the time it was celebrated. The earliest first-hand accounts appeared in Diversis's *Situs aedificiorum* (1440), and Razzi's *Storia di Raugia* (1595), but the feast has also been briefly portrayed by the Frenchman Michael Quiclet during his stay in Dubrovnik on his way to Istan-

K.8.f.10., and PL-Kj Mus. ant. pract. R 135), *Hymnario Dominicano* (Perugia: Andrea Bresciano, 1587) and *Santuario di Laudi, o vero Rime Spirituali* (Firenze: Bartolommeo Semartelli & Fratelli, 1609; GB-Lbl 11427. ee.25., HR-Hk without shelfmark, HR-Dsd 4-VI-25, and PL-Kj Mus. ant. pract. R136). In addition to these three printed collections, four books of *laude* assembled by Razzi survive in an autograph manuscript in I-Fc under Palat.173. More on anthologies in Ennio STIPČEVIĆ: *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2016, 161–163.

¹⁶ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 20–21.

¹⁷ Zdenka JANEKOVIĆ-RÖMER: *Okvir slobode: dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999, 374. For the interweaving of sacred and political, and likewise the use of the cult of Saint Blaise in Dubrovnik's internal politics and diplomacy, see *Ibid.*, pp. 374–377, but also Nella LONZA: *Kazalište vlasti: ceremonijal i državni blagdani Dubrovačke Republike u 17. i 18. stoljeću*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: HAZU – Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2009, 357–386.

bul in 1658.¹⁸ On the other hand, somewhat later the feast was retrospectively mentioned by Daniele Farlato and Jacobo Coletto in book six (1800) of their magnificent opus *Illyricum sacrum* (1751–1817),¹⁹ and Francesco Maria Appendini in 1802–3 in his *Notizie storico-critiche*.²⁰ And while later sources (Farlato and Coletto, Appendini) serve as good referential literature that sometimes provides additional information but is heavily based on the descriptions of earlier authors (both referencing to Razzi), and other sources describe various secular events and customs (Diversis, Quiclet), none of them describe the sacred part of the event so meticulously as Razzi's *Storia*, which probably has the greatest historiographical value for period-related research throughout different areas: from general history, through geography, architecture and ethnology, to music history.²¹

¹⁸ Michael QUICLET: *Voyages de M. Quiclet à Constantinople par terre*, Paris: Pierre Promé, 1664. On voyage from Venice to Ragusa see pp. 1–38, on the description of city of Ragusa, their way of living (*manière de vivre*), and their customs, see pp. 38–48.

¹⁹ Daniele FARLATO – Jacobo COLETO: *Ecclesiae Ragusinae Historia*, Venice: Sebastiano Coletto, 1800, 49–51.

²⁰ Francesco Maria APPENDINI: *Povijesno-kritičke bilješke o starinama, povijesti i književnosti Dubrovčana*, trans. Ante Šoljić, Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Dubrovnik, 2016, 207–211.

²¹ In the field of music history, Vjera Katalinić is the author of the first detailed paper about the feast. She presented the original citations, their summary, and historical context, but without any detailed speculations about music. Vjera KATALINIĆ: A Historical Example of Celebrating Patron Saints in Music: »Della solenne festa di S. Biagio, protettore di Raugia«, u: Ivano Cavallini (ed.): *Il diletto della scena e dell'armonia: Teatro e musica nelle Venezie dal '500 al '700*, 1990, 91–107.

The Feast of Saint Blaise was also briefly described in the same manner in Vjera KATALINIĆ: *Social Status of Music and Musicians along the Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in the 16th Century*, *Musica e storia*, 2 (1998), 508; Josip ANDREIS: *Music in Croatia*, trans. Vladimir Ivir, Zagreb: Institute of Musicology, 1982, 24; Ennio STIPČEVIĆ: *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia*, 159–64; Paweł GANCZYK: *Traces of Polyphonic Music in the Late-medieval Republic of Dubrovnik*, in: Ivano Cavallini – Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak – Harry White (eds.): *Glazba, migracije i europska kultura. Svečani zbornik za Vjeru Katalinić*, 2020, 35–52.

In general historiography, focussing on customs and rituals, the feast has been extensively studied. One of the first studies was Antun VUČETIĆ: *Sv. Vlaho u Dubrovniku*, Dubrovnik: Dubrovačka hrvatska tiskara, 1924. For a recent, probably the most comprehensive study of the feast, see N. LONZA: *Kazalište vlasti*, 357–383.

Most of the mentioned bibliography includes the description from Evliya Çelebi's *The Book of Travels* (see Robert DANKOFF (ed.): *An Ottoman Traveller, Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi*, London: Eland, 2011, 207–210; and Hazim ŠABANOVIĆ: *Evlija Çelebi: Putopis, Odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967, 422–424). Unfortunately, as Çelebi visited Dubrovnik at the end of May and the beginning of June 1644, he could not witness the feast of Saint Blaise that occurs in February. The procession he described is thus tied to the celebrations of the feast of Corpus Christi, which can be confirmed by the conversation Evliya had with the guard. The conversation is not included in Šabanović's translation, but it is in Dankoff's, because their translations gave priority to different sources.

The Feast of Saint Blaise in February 1588

In the third book of his *Storia di Raugia*,²² Razzi devoted a whole chapter to the Feast of Saint Blaise that he witnessed in 1588. The veneration of the saint started on the day before his feast day, the same as any high-ranking feast, where a liturgical day would start with first Vespers and take the central position in the whole Liturgy of the Divine Office of the feast, continue on the main feast day with an elaborated Mass and processions, and finish with second Vespers and Compline.²³ And while Razzi's descriptions are quite detailed, he only described the start of the feast: its first Vespers service, and the solemn Mass on the day of the saint, while the second Vespers have not been described, probably because they were not so extravagant in performance.

All first-hand accounts – Razzi, Diversis, and Quiclet – describe the secular events that followed the main sacred celebrations: they all happened on the same day, or in the week until the Octave of the feast. In addition, Diversis mentions how the festivity ended on the Octave of the feast with a couple of solemn Masses for the Saint in the churches of Saint Clare, and Saint Blaise.

First Vespers

»Alli due di Febraro, festa della Purificazione, e Vigilia del glorioso Vescouo, e martire San Biagio, auuocato particolare della Città di Raugia, conuenendo alla Cathedrale: padri di San Domenico, e quelli di San Francesco: e quelli stando nel Choro sinistro, e questi nel destro: e l'Arciuescouo, co'i Vescoui suffraganei, e quattro, ò vero cinque Abbati di mitra sul presbiterio, si canta solennissimamente il Vespro di detto Santo.«²⁴

²² The chapter concerning the feast is on pp. 135–137. Several moments of the feast have been mentioned in other places in the book, such as on p. 25 for the feast of the year 1004.

²³ Some preparations of a practical nature started even a month earlier: sending the invitations to the distinguished guests, acquiring the state gifts, and the distribution of the gunpowder for the *salve*. A week before the feast, a mast was raised to symbolise the start of two-week long moratorium for the debtors of the Republic (*salvus conductus*). The *triduum* was also observed, and it started with an evening Mass for the Saint including a panegyric that repeated for three days. A day before the main feast day, a solemn Mass was held, and the first Vespers of the Saint. Several military processions were held in these days as well. A. VUČETIĆ: *Sv. Vlaho u Dubrovniku*, 33; F. M. APPENDINI: *Povijesno-kritičke bilješke*, 207. On further details about rituals tied to the feast, see N. LONZA: *Kazalište vlasti*, 360–362. For a basic two-day feast structure in Italian city-states, see Diana WEBB: *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States*, London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996, 111–112.

²⁴ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 135. The citations in this paper are directly taken from the facsimile scan provided by Getty Research Institute under signatures *pi² A-2A⁴ 2B⁶, ID: 85-B5089 (digitized version available here: <https://www.archive.org/details/gri_33125010881593>). The citations are taken without any modifications, but rather with all its linguistic peculiarities, regional variants, and orthography.

The First Vespers of the saint were sung in the Cathedral:²⁵ both Dominican and Franciscan priests participated in the liturgy – Dominicans were in the left choir,²⁶ and Franciscan in the right, while the archbishop,²⁷ suffragan bishops and four or five mitre-carrying abbots stood in the presbytery. They all sang the Vespers of the saint, in the most solemn way. These first Vespers of the feast of Saint Blaise were concurrently the second Vespers of the feast of Purification of Blessed Virgin Mary that is celebrated on February 2nd. Liturgically, the feast of Purification is ranked *duplex* in pre-Tridentine office on the level of Roman Catholic church, while the feast of Saint Blaise is ranked *simplex*, but because saint Blaise is celebrated as a patron saint of Dubrovnik, his feast has automatically become *duplex* as well. *Simplex* ranking of the latter is expressed in most of the post-Tridentine *Roman* breviaries,²⁸ but it is questionable how relatable these liturgical books are, considering the fact that by 1588, Dubrovnik was still not strongly influenced by the ideas of the Tridentine Council.²⁹ Nonetheless – in accordance with Dubrovnik's

²⁵ Interestingly, Dubrovnik Cathedral, despite its strong connection to the saint, is not dedicated to Saint Blaise, but to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. This is connected to a legend of Richard I the Lionheart, who got thrown off his ship in the Adriatic Sea returning from the Crusade, and who then vowed to build a church wherever he was saved. He was saved on the island of Lokrum, but the Ragusans pleaded with him to build the church in their city on the place of Cathedral of Saint Blaise. He agreed, but only under the condition that it had to be consecrated as the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Krešimir REGAN – Branko NADILO: Ranoromaničke sakralne građevine dubrovačkog područja (II), *Građevinar*, 58 (2006), 3, 241–242.

²⁶ Dubrovnik Cathedral has no lofts above the chancel, and has never had any, therefore all the clergy were in the chancel, which was larger size in 1588 than in the baroque version of Cathedral built after the earthquake of 1667. For more on previous »versions« of Dubrovnik Cathedral, see Vladimir MARKOVIĆ: Projekt i izgradnja dubrovačke katedrale, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 36 (2012), 83–92; K. REGAN – B. NADILO: Ranoromaničke sakralne građevine, 239–242.

²⁷ Razzi mentions already in the beginning that Ragusan archbishop, Raffaele Bonelli, had been in Rome that year, but it is not clear why he mentions the archbishop singing during the Vespers with two suffragan bishops. The archbishop died in April 1588; assuming he was of advanced age, the intense travelling would not be possible. See S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 136.

²⁸ The use of thirteenth century *Missale Ragusinum* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 342), intended for the Dubrovnik Cathedral would be extremely useful in this case, only if the calendar section, and many others, would not be missing. The only item for the Mass of Saint Blaise is a *postcommunio* (75r, p. 282). See Richard Francis GYUG (ed.): *Missale Ragusinum: The Missal of Dubrovnik* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 342), Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990.

²⁹ The liturgy of Dubrovnik was always under Roman influence imbued with certain local peculiarities. This combination was somewhat natural, as since the beginnings, Dubrovnik and Rome were thoroughly connected through religion, culture, and politics. In accordance with that, the Dubrovnik church has, from the early Middle Ages, used the liturgical and chant patterns from Roman ritual and adjusted them minimally to their ambience. M. DEMOVIĆ: *Povijest crkvene glazbe Dubrovačke katedrale kroz vjekove*, 27.

The first contacts with Protestantism in Dubrovnik were made during the first half of sixteenth century through the constant travels of seamen, students, and tradesmen; and despite the fact that it has indeed sparked the interest of certain individuals, its ideas have not become rooted deeply in the wider societal tissue, and thus did not pose a problem for the Republic, both from the secular and sacred point of view. For detailed study on the case of reception of Tridentine reforms in Dubrovnik, see Atanazije MATANIĆ: Apostolska vizitacija dubrovačke nadbiskupije god. 1573./4. prema spisima sačuvanim u Tajnome vatikanskom arhivu (Visitatio apostolica achidioeceseos ragusinae annis 1573/4

relationship with the Holy See and long-standing inclination to the Roman rite – we can consider some rubrics from the 1570 Roman breviary³⁰ as valid and partly applicable, as they somewhat reflect the pre-Tridentine Roman influenced church traditions. The one that would be applicable in Dubrovnik – and, in fact, in any city, diocese, or church with a patron saint – is the instruction that supports local adorations centred around a saint, that dictates that the feast of a patron saint of a church or a city automatically acquires the rank of *duplex primae classis* (*duplex* in pre-Tridentine classification) because of its importance for the community, as it is in the case of Saint Blaise.³¹ For that reason both feasts were of the same rank and class, and they needed to be combined and adjusted to each other appropriately.³²

secundum acta in Tabulario Vaticano Secreto asservata), in: Ivan Vitezić – Bazilije Pandžić – Atanazije Matanić (eds.): *Mandićev zbornik: u čast o. dra. Dominika Mandića prigodom njegove 75-godišnjice života*, Rim: Hrvatski povijesni institut, 1965, 193–209; Josip SOPTA: *Reformacija i Tridentinski sabor u Dubrovniku*, in: Želimir Puljić – Nediljko N. Ančić (eds.): *Tisuću godina dubrovačke (nad)biskupije: Zbornik radova znanstvenoga skupa u povodu tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije / metropolije (998.–1998.)*, Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik – Crkva u svijetu Split, 2001, 379–395.

A somewhat slow reaction to the Catholic reform in Dubrovnik is also seen in the number and the rhythm of held synods. The first diocesan synod happened around 1565 during archbishop Crisostomo Calvino (1564–1575), not to proclaim Tridentine ideas, but only to dissolve a dispute between a priest and the archbishop. The second synod happened in 1574, during the apostolic visitation of Gianfrancesco Sormani (1566–ca. 1601), who was sent there to inspect and resolve problems concerning the clergy's discipline. The last synod of the sixteenth century was held in 1575 by Sebastiano Portico, an apostolic visitor and a brother of the newly appointed archbishop Vincenzo Portico (1575–1579). This was the first synod that presented and discussed the topics of the Catholic reform and church discipline of clergy and the people, but as far as we know, did not insist on the Roman Rite in the liturgy. Velemir BLAŽEVIĆ: *Crkveni partikularni sabori i dijecezanske sinode na području Hrvatske i drugih južnoslavenskih zemalja*, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2012, 143, 145–146.

When it comes to the topic of music, the Council itself did not directly implement the reform, but the broad principles of chant and polyphony brought by Trent were put into practice by a series of papal actions during the next 70 years, up to 1634. The reformed books that tried to standardize the liturgy – the Breviary (1568) and the Missal (1570) – were put together rather slowly. Kenneth LEVY – John A. EMERSON et al.: *Plainchant*, *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040099>> (10. 8. 2020).

In accordance with the slow production of reformed books, the already slow reaction to the Tridentine reforms seen through the organization of the synods, and the fact that Dubrovnik led a somewhat conservative cultural life, I do not think that the new reformed books or liturgy were implemented in Dubrovnik by 1588.

³⁰ *Breviarium Romanum: ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum*, Rome: Paulum Manutium, 1570. (D-Mbs 2 Liturg. 51). For the feast of Saint Blaise, see p. 686.

³¹ »Officium fit duplex [...] In festo Patroni unius, vel plurium alicuius loci, vel Titularis ecclesiae: et in festis sanctorum, qui apud quasdam ecclesias, Religiones, vel Congregationes consueverunt solemniter celebrari, cum eorum octavis consuetis, et officiis propriis a Sede Apostolica approbatis, aut ex eiusdem Sedis auctoritate receptis, vel recipiendis (servata tamen forma huius Breviarii) alioquin de Communi: etiam si praedicta festa in eius Calendario non sint descripta.« *Breviarium Romanum*, 1570, see *Rubricae generales breviarii*, b.

The rank of the feast in later source – *duplex primae classis* – can be seen in *Officium Proprium Sancti Blasii Episcopi, et Martyris, Romae*, 1723, 1.

³² As complex as adjusting same rank feasts is, it will not be discussed here, as there is plenty of literature, starting with all historical and contemporary chant manuals and ending with proper articles on the topic.

It is important to notice the position of the priests in the choir at this moment, as it indicates an announcement of *alternatim* practice that was about to happen. Explaining the historical reasons why the priests are on their respective sides,³³ Razzi continues with the description of how the singing happened:

»E perche l'anno 1588. quando vi si trouò la prima volta lo scrittore di queste memorie presente, l'eddomada era dal Choro sinistro: per cio à frati di San Domenico tocco il primo verso: e nell'vno, e nell'altro Choro, sopra l'hinno proprio del Santo fù fatta musica: cantandosi il rimanente del Vespro, à voci piane, & in canto fermo, con organo, e con la musica del Senato, à vicenda, di trombe, di flauti, e di cornette.«³⁴

As expected from the entrance position of the priests, *alternatim* singing was employed in the performance of the Vespers: the Dominicans in the left choir started the first verse, after which both choirs sang together, and alternately.³⁵ In the performance of the hymn, many instruments were employed. Razzi's implication that the hymn was taken from the *proper* of the saint confirms that the whole office was individualized for the occasion and was not simply formed around an adjusted *common* of a saint for a bishop and martyr.

We cannot say with complete certainty which text and which melody Razzi had in thoughts when he wrote »l'hinno proprio del Santo«³⁶ as no physical evidence from the specific period remains. We can, however, consult two later sources for the text of the hymn for Saint Blaise, and rely on the transmission of tradition Dubrovnik was so famed for. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, *Sacra Rituum Congregatio* approved a proposal for the proper office of Saint Blaise by

³³ That is because the Benedictines, that stood in the right choir, gradually left Dubrovnik, and Dominicans did not try to change their position in case the Benedictines ever come back: »Le causa perche i frati di San Domenico istanno nel Choro sinistro, siè peroche molt'anni addietro istauano nel destro i Monaci negri di San Benedetto. Ma hora non ci venendo, se non gl'Abbati con certi ministri, in habito pontificale, ò per la paucita loro, ò per quale si sia altra cagione, sono succeduti i padri zoccolanti in luogo loro. Nè si sono curati i frati di San Domenico di cangiare choro, & ire al destro, come maggiori de i minori: preche oggi, ò dimane, che i Monaci volessero tornare, bisognerebberendere alle loro Reuerenzie il luogo.« S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 135.

³⁴ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 135–136.

³⁵ This was also an usual hymn performance practice of the papal choir, that has performed Vesper hymns in alternating chant and polyphony on the major feasts over the whole year. Blanche GAN-
GWERE: *Music History During the Renaissance Period, 1520-1550: A Documented Chronology*, Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2004, 253.

³⁶ One would think that the hymn would be included in one of his musical publications, but his *Hymnario Dominicano* (1583) unfortunately cannot be relevant for Dubrovnik as it represents the Florentine Dominican tradition and is written and published before Razzi came to Dubrovnik. It mentions only hymns communal to the label of specific saints (martyr, confessor, etc.). On the other hand, in his 1609 publication, *Santuario di laudi* he includes a contrafactum dedicated to Saint Blaise with the melody of *Dolce, felice, lieta*, used in the festivity of Jesus' Nativity, but Razzi mentions no *lauda* of Saint Blaise being performed in Dubrovnik in 1588. Serafino RAZZI: *Santuario di laudi* (Firenze: Bartolommeo Sermatelli, e Fratelli, 1609), 30–31. Cf. S. RAZZI: *Libro primo delle laudi*, 56–57.

Ragusan archbishop Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini,³⁷ publishing it in 1723.³⁸ Several years later, in their history of Ragusan church, Farlato and Coletto also included proper hymns, versicles, orations, and lessons which Ragusan clergy used in celebrations for the feast of Saint Blaise.³⁹ The proper hymn for Vespers service in both sources is *Salutis aram Blasius*,⁴⁰ because their origin is probably in the same office coming from the same practical tradition – the one »diligently revised and corrected« by Vatican state secretary Francesco Barberini (in office 1623–1679):

<i>Salutis aram Blasius</i>	<i>Quam fortis ille & strenuus</i>
<i>Erexit; aegri accurrite</i>	<i>Suos dolores pertulit,</i>
<i>Languentiumque vindici</i>	<i>Tam mitis & Clemens opem</i>
<i>Votiva dona ponite.</i>	<i>Fert omnium doloribus.</i>
<i>Cuicumque tristis obsidet</i>	<i>Invicte Martyr servulos</i>
<i>Angina fauces, gutturis</i>	<i>Tuos ab hoste protege,</i>
<i>Cui semitam meabilem</i>	<i>Infer salutem corpori,</i>
<i>Obex iniquus perstruit,</i>	<i>Refer quietem mentibus.</i>
<i>Huc pharmacis mortalibus</i>	<i>Sit summa laus & gloria</i>
<i>Curisque spretis, advolet,</i>	<i>Tibi superna Trinitas;</i>
<i>Potentiore Martyris</i>	<i>Dona precante Blasio,</i>
<i>Levandus arte & dextera.</i>	<i>Beata nobis gaudia. Amen</i>

Interestingly, the same hymn is contained in a manuscript written in Croatian for the use in the monastery of Saint Clare in Dubrovnik,⁴¹ along with a hymn for Lauds, a hymn for Matins, three antiphons, and an oration, thus making a unit that is repeated three times during the novena. The hymns fit the proper office of 1723, while some antiphons seem to be adjusted from other offices.⁴² There is no literature

³⁷ Marinela RUSKOVIĆ-KRIŠTIĆ: Nastanak oficija uz blagdan svetog Vlahu te himne svetog Vlahu nastale u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća u arhivu Dubrovačke katedrale, *Arti musices*, 35 (2004) 2, 209.

³⁸ *Officium Proprium Sancti Blasii Episcopi, et Martyris* (Romae, 1723) seems to be a result of a diligent, constant tradition and need to officiate the liturgy of patron saint of Ragusan people – especially after the terrible earthquake of 1667 and the spiritual need for guidance. Considering it as a mirror of minimally changed tradition, we can consider it as a source of texts that might have been used in the liturgy even in 1588.

³⁹ »Huic loco subtexere libet hminos proprios, versiculos, orationes, lectiones, quibus Clerus Ragusinus diem solemnem S. Blasii III. non. Febr. laetissime, & sanctissime concelebrant.« D. FARLATO – J. COLETO, *Ecclesiae Ragusinae Historia*, 49.

⁴⁰ D. FARLATO – J. COLETO, *Ecclesiae Ragusinae Historia*, 49; *Officium Proprium Sancti Blasii Episcopi, et Martyris*, 1–2.

⁴¹ Mijo BRLEK: *Rukopisi knjižnice Male braće u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1952, 52.

⁴² The Matins hymn is *Stellata pande moenia*, and Lauds hymn *Blasi sacerdos inclyte*. Antiphon *Dobro arvagne voevosi* (f. 20r) matches the *Bonum certamen certavi*, used predominately for the feast of Saint Paul. Second antiphon, *Danaska Issukarstou hrabreni Uojnik Ulaho Sueti* (f. 23v) corresponds the Magnificat antiphon *Hodie Christi miles fortissimus Blasius*, which does not seem to appear anywhere else than in Croatian

dealing with the dating of the manuscript, but in accordance with the morphological changes of the Croatian language, it seems that the text corresponds to the language forms of the early seventeenth century.⁴³

And while this is the only hymn in Ragusan sources that can be directly connected to the Vespers of the office of Saint Blaise, and despite the fact that it was approved by the Papal See in the seventeenth century, it cannot be absolutely connected to the one performed in 1588, as we do not know what *corrections* cardinal Barberini made.⁴⁴ We must remember, though, that hymns as non-scriptural Christian devotional texts of the people can and have been deeply incorporated into the social identity of certain traditional, conservative societies. Thus, the possibility of Razzi hearing *Salutis aram Blasius* in the feast of 1588 is not completely unlikely.

Several similar performance instances uncover possible performance practice scenarios that could have also happened in Dubrovnik. The most probable of them – in accordance with Razzi's writings – seems to be the one of fifteenth-century Italy, where hymns were performed polyphonically only at Vespers on feasts of semiduplex and higher rank. The texts and melodies of hymns were a matter of the tradition of each establishment, although the situation was rather uniform in Italy in the fifteenth century, which tends to support the existence of a central tradition,⁴⁵ a tradition that could then easily influence cultures of dominated coun-

sources. Third antiphon, *Blasceni Issukarstou Muccenice* (f. 26) matches the antiphon *Beate Christi Martyr Deo* for the second Vespers of a manuscript in the sacristy of the Church of Saint Blaise (ff. 16r–17v).

⁴³ *Bogogliubne pjesni...*, HR-Dsmb MS 20, 17v–39v. For the chronological development of most important Croatian morphological innovation, see Ranko MATASOVIĆ – Ivo PRANIKOVIĆ: *Poredbenopovijesna gramatika hrvatskoga jezika*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2008, 304–305. For the chronological development of sound changes in Croatian, see pp. 171–172.

⁴⁴ Furthermore, Farlato is giving the Office credibility by including the confirmation of its approval by the Sacred Congregation, that was established in 1588. The confirmation was asked for and acquired in 1716, but the form of the Mass was »diligently revised and corrected« during the Vatican state secretary Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who was in office from 1623 to his death in 1679. This sets the origin of the hymn a bit closer to 1588 feast, and thus more probable. V. PONKO Jr.: Barberini, *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Detroit: Thomson/Gale, 2003, 94–95.

The letter is as follows: »Haec diligenter recognita approbavit Sacra Rituum Congregatio his verbis. / Rhagusina. / Ad reiteratas preces Reipublicae [sic] Rhasuinae Sacrae Rituum Congregationi porrectas pro approbatione Missae propriae S. Blasii Episcopi & Martyris, ejusdem Reip. Protectoris, humillime supplicantis, Sacra eadem Rituum Congregatio, audito tam in scriptis, quam in voce R. P. D. Prospero de Lambertinis Fidei Promotore, suprascriptam Missam propriam S. Blasii, ab Eminentissimo ac Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Barberino revisam diligenter, correctam, atque relatam, prout jacet, approbavit, ac in die festo ipsius Sancti ab universo Clero supradictae Reip. saeculavi & regulari recitari benigne indulisit, ac imprimi posse concessit, si Sanctiss. Domino nostro placuerit. Die XI. Julii 1716. factaque deinde per me Secretarium de predictis Sanctiss. Domino nostro relatione, Sanctitas sua benigne annuit, die prima Augusti ejusdem anni 1716. / F. Cardinalis de Abdua Praefectus. / N. M. Tedeschi Episcopus Liparitanus / Sac. Rituum Congregationis Secretarius«. D. FARLATO – J. COLETO: *Ecclesiae Ragusinae Historia*, 50.

⁴⁵ Tom R. WARD: The Polyphonic Office Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth Century Italy, *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), 163.

tries, such as Croatia.⁴⁶ Considering the latter ever-present influences of Italian tradition and local liturgical variants, we can conclude that the hymn in Dubrovnik must have been performed polyphonically. The varied polyphonic performance and the use of instruments are furthermore confirmed by the fact that Razzi particularly described the event of it, and thus pointed it out from *normal* (same melody stanza by stanza) everyday performance.

After a short versicle, the canticle of Mary follows the hymn in Vespers service, and so it happened in Dubrovnik: the lavishness and solemnity of the service was clearly implicated through the diverse ways of performance of the Vespers. Not only it was performed *à voci piane*⁴⁷ and as chant – showing piety, humility, and the general gravitas of the event – but it also exhibited the nobleness, grandiosity, and power of the Republic by including the Rector's prime instrumentalists. Furthermore, the service was elevated even more with the use of sonorous wind instruments (trumpets, flutes, cornetts) and organ, that played separately and in alteration. And while he somewhat specified the instruments, he did not disclose their position. It can be deduced according to the customary practice of the time seen in many other instances, where the musicians were equally often situated in the central choir as in the organ lofts.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The other, also Italian tradition of hymn performance is alternating sung versets with the organ playing either composed or improvised versets, which can be traced and confirmed through many printed organ manuals that teach organists how to improvise well on hymn tunes. See Daniel ZAGER: *Vespers Hymnody as a Context for Organ Composition and Improvisation in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italy*, in: Johan Norrback – Joel Speerstra – Ralph P. Locke (eds.): [an online] *Festschrift for Kerala J. Snyder*, 2017, 23. <<https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/56074>> (4. 8. 2020).

Another, widespread tradition tied to hymn performance is related to the tradition of earliest liturgy – hymns were sung to a repeated melody stanza by stanza, inducing a devotional trans.

⁴⁷ What Razzi meant when he wrote *à voci piane* is difficult to say. One is inclined to think that Razzi is disclosing the level of loudness – or silence – with it, but it is necessary to notice that Italian *piano* comes from Latin *planus*, meaning 'light, clear, intelligible', and could, in that case, mean 'with clear voices', which could be inspired by Tridentine aspirations.

See *piano*¹ in *Vocabolario – Treccani*, <<http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/piano1>> (4. 8. 2020).

⁴⁸ We do know from archival documents of the Senate, that the latter has ordered in 1389 that a *locus organorum* has to be built: »Die penultimo 1389 ind. XII. In Minori Consilio more solito congregato captum fuit quod constratur locus organorum in ecclesia S. Marie, cum illis expensis que videbuntur ser Junio de Sorgo et ser Lampre de Zriuea.« Mihailo DINIĆ (ed.): *Odluke Veća Dubrovačke Republike, Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda / Srpska akademija nauka. Odeljenje III*, knj. 15, Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1951, 572. Demović suggests that it was built in the main nave above the main door, what indeed sounds probable and usual. M. DEMOVIĆ: *Povijest crkvene glazbe*, 16.

In San Marco in Venice, three principal sites for music-making were mentioned in contemporary documentation, but the position of instrumentalists has been excluded. Bryant concludes that there is a high probability they were positioned in both organ lofts together with the organist and few vocal soloists among them. See David BRYANT: The »cori spezzati« of St Mark's: Myth and Reality, *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), 182.

In the same period in Seville Cathedral, in the context of Vespers of a high-ranking feast, instrumentalists (*ministriles*) played from the central *coro* of the cathedral, in the gallery, or in the organ loft. See Owen REES: Case Study: Seville Cathedral's Music in Performance, 1549–1599, in: Colin Lawson,

Knowing which instruments they played, it is fairly easy to confirm the presence, and even the names of all mentioned instruments at the court around 1588, as Dubrovnik government documents recorded everything and have been diligently preserved.⁴⁹ The instruments Razzi mentioned are somewhat objectified, especially when it comes to the term *trombe* that can be easily interpreted in many ways. Although actual trumpets might have been used, we must take in consideration the limited range and impracticality of the instrument when it comes to playing even the simplest of polyphonic music such as *fauxbourdon*. In addition, a combination of flutes, cornetti, and trumpets – all instruments that usually perform in *cantus* and *altus* lines – is somewhat unusual, despite different transpositions, and other sorts of *instrumentation*. Hence, I suggest that Razzi has implicated the use of trombones under the term *trombe*, an instrument that would be more often seen in such combinations, and more suitable for polyphonic playing because of their wider, naturally flexible range. In that case, trombones would have played the *tenor* and *bassus* parts, while cornetts and flutes *altus* and *cantus* parts, no matter the number of voices.⁵⁰ The trumpets are still not excluded from the feast, they could have been included in the term *trombe* as a general term with trombones – since trombone in Italian is often described as a big trumpet, thus the name – as we have numerous examples around Europe when they participated in announcing the liturgy outside the church, and sometimes even during the liturgy

Robin Stowell (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, Cambridge, UK – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 353–374.

In Siena Cathedral, approximately in the same period during communion at Mass, Palace instrumentalists played in one of the side chapels. See Frank A. D'ACCONTE: *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, 25.

A famous engraving by Philip Galle for Johannes Stradanus's *Encomium musicus* (1590) shows ten to twelve choristers and several wind instruments playing from the same lectern and choirbook divided in two choirs in front and on the side of high altar. See fig. 2.1 in Jean-Paul MONTAGNIER: *The Polyphonic Mass in France, 1600–1780: The Evidence of the Printed Choirbooks*, Cambridge, United Kingdom – New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017, 37.

In the fifteenth century, instrumentalists were usually advised against playing in the church, but if they participated at solemn events – such as coronations and bigger feasts – they played from the nave, even if the event they celebrated was in the presbytery. On the other hand, during the sixteenth century instrumentalists gradually entered churches, and were hosted in and on permanent and temporary architectural structures distributed around the church, such as balconies, pulpits, galleries, organ lofts, and wooden platforms. For the fifteenth century see Reinhard STROHM: *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, Cambridge, UK – New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 270–273; for sixteenth-century accounts see Iain FENLON – Richard WISTREICH (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, Cambridge, UK – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 267.

⁴⁹ Despite that this is possible, this paper has not dwelt on it, as the matter is irrelevant for the purpose of the paper itself. The same applies for the identity of the organist. For lists of all court chapel musicians in Dubrovnik, see M. DEMOVIĆ: *Glazba i glazbenici*, 277–281.

⁵⁰ I have further analysed and discussed why *trombe* are *trombones* in chapter five of Tin CUGELJ: *De Trombonis: Trombone and Trombonists in Renaissance Croatia*, Master's Thesis, Basel: Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz, Musik-Akademie Basel, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, 2019.

in different occasions. However, they are definitely not suitable for performing polyphony.

The great amount of participating clergy⁵¹ does not discourage the possibility of the performance of elaborate polyphony, but it seems less conceivable without the division into smaller groups, the help of choirboys or trained falsettists for ever-so-range-demanding *cantus* lines in the end of sixteenth century counterpoint,⁵² proper training,⁵³ or additional professional singers that would fulfil that arduous role.⁵⁴ Furthermore, cathedral polyphony, because of its growing complexity, was

⁵¹ In accordance with his writing about the number of priests in certain monasteries a few pages later in the book, we could reconstruct the approximate number of priests participating in the liturgy. There were 33 Dominican and »even more« Franciscan monks (»i frati di San Domenico, il dett'anno in numero trentatre...i Reuerendi padri di San Francesco... ma in numero maggiore di quelli di San Domenico«. S. RAZZI: *Storia di Raugia*, 136), which is further confirmed in the description of the Republic's monasteries on p. 173, where he counts 30 Dominican and »an equal number of« Franciscan monks. The Franciscans could have been joined by the brothers from Franciscan monasteries outside of the city, which were more numerous than the Dominican monasteries, which would explain the numerosity of the Franciscans. (See S. RAZZI: *Storia di Raugia*, 123, 173–174). Counting in the archbishop (it is not really clear if he was there on the first day and then left the other day or if he was there at all, as Razzi's writing makes both scenarios possible), two suffragan bishops (»il Vescouo d'Alesio, frate Minore, e gentil'huomo Albanese; & in vltimo il Vescouo di Mercana suffraganeo, per essere il dett'anno, L'Arciuescouo à Roma«, S. RAZZI: *Storia di Raugia*, *ibid.*) and four or five mitre-carrying abbots, we come up to the number of minimally 73 or 74 clerics participated in liturgical singing.

⁵² The only account of choirboys participating in the liturgy is by the Croatian theologian Bartol Kašić (1575–1650), who mentions that he often sang with clerics during his childhood. In the beginning he sang in his hometown Pag on Pag Island, since he was seven (1582) until age twelve (1588), after which his uncle took him to Zadar to receive his first clerical tonsure and be introduced into the clergy. During these studies, starting at age twelve or thirteen, he continued to sing, but in Zadar. See Bartol KAŠIĆ: *Putovanje južnoslavenskim zemljama*, ed. Zlatko Virč, Privlaka: Privlačica, 1987, 20–23. Nevertheless, Razzi did not mention any boys participating in the feast, which of course does not exclude them, but it would be a common thing to mention when describing in detail, especially under the pen of such a proficient writer.

⁵³ In his extensive research on the musical life of Dubrovnik, Demović did not find any archival documents of cathedral schools that would educate boys or priests in singing at the time, but there is a mention of cathedral schools in thirteenth century. The schools must have continued with their work, as mentioned by Kašić (see footnote 52), and because in 1554 Lambert Courtoys came to Dubrovnik and obtained a post of *maestro di cappella* which he held until 1570. His son Henry Courtoys was a *tibicinus* at the court, and, as a skilled musician, *maestro di cappella*, too, from 1573 until his death in 1629. Because we know that one of the main jobs of *maestro* was to teach singing necessary for liturgy, we must conclude that the priests had the minimal knowledge of singing *canto figurato*. M. DEMOVIĆ: *Glazba i glazbenici*, 113.

It is also important to bear in mind that following the decisions of the Council of Trent, each episcopal church was obliged to educate young men, and everyone attending their *Colegii* – organized on the model of *Coleggio Germanico* in Rome – were taught grammar and singing. V. KATALINIĆ: *Social Status of Music and Musicians*, 508. More on general training of choirboys and clergy in R. STROHM: *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, 287–294.

⁵⁴ Archival documents from Dubrovnik Cathedral have completely disappeared and thus provide no information on the number of singers in the cathedral at the time, but based on other earlier documents that do mention the number of priests in it, Demović concludes that Dubrovnik cathedral was not far away from any other in that earlier period. See M. DEMOVIĆ: *Glazba i glazbenici*, 45. On priest training see note 29.

only possible if the church could afford the highly skilled performers it required, that is, only in some of the larger cities,⁵⁵ and while Dubrovnik was fairly large,⁵⁶ it might not be comparable in its population to Italian cities of the same status, such as Genoa, Florence, or Lucca, that had monumental cathedrals as a result of their political position and patronage.⁵⁷ Furthermore, despite the wealth Dubrovnik had, it also had to pay yearly tribute to the Ottomans, which after the 1480s totalled 12,500 gold coins. That expense might have required Dubrovnik to cut down on some other luxuries, such as professional cathedral singers.⁵⁸ Paying of the tribute is also mentioned by Razzi, who had the opportunity to talk to the diplomats that brought the tribute to the Ottoman Port in 1587.⁵⁹

Another discouragement of more elaborate polyphonic performance is seen in the absence of historical lecterns, which would be used to hold the choir books to sing polyphony from, as chant would be sung from memory.⁶⁰ The cathedral for sure had one stone lectern that was used to read the epistle and gospels, as we find in other similar cathedrals on the Dalmatian coast, while the choirbook stand has never been really mentioned.⁶¹

However, a lot of hope is still present in the unwritten performance practices, and thus the absence of a lectern or even choirbooks does not confirm absolute absence of polyphony: any cleric would do antiphonal psalms by heart; therefore, no memory aids would be needed. Many choral books are also sometimes smaller

⁵⁵ Nino PIRROTTA: *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984, 168.

⁵⁶ Dubrovnik in the second half of sixteenth century had between 50 000 and 60 000 people. For a detailed survey on the population of Dubrovnik, see Nenad VEKARIĆ: *The Population of the Dubrovnik Republic in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, *Dubrovnik Annals*, 2 (1998), 7–28.

⁵⁷ Genoa and Florence around 1600 both had around 70 000 people, but both cities had also a steady court patronage, Genoa by the House of Sforza, Florence by the Medici, who were both great patrons of art, and thus also architecture.

⁵⁸ V. MIOVIĆ: *Diplomatic Relations*, 188.

⁵⁹ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 181–182.

⁶⁰ Cf. J. P. MONTAGNIER: *The Polyphonic Mass in France, 1600-1780*, 34–36.

It is not an absolute absence of historical lecterns, as one solid bronze Gothic lectern by an unknown Belgian or English master from 15th or 16th century is kept in Cathedral's Reliquary. Cast in a shape of an eagle carried by three cast lions at its rounded graded base, it is 175 x 55 cm big, and carries an inscription *HENRICE MEMENTO QUIA MORIERIS KYNG. JHESU MERCY*. According to legend, this lectern is one of four from Westminster Abbey in London, bought by a Dubrovnik seaman at the time of the Reformation in England, who then donated it to the Dubrovnik cathedral. The lectern originates from the church of Saint Roch, which we know with certainty because the confraternity statute lists it as: *uno lectore dell'otone grande con Aquilla che sta in chiesa nel coro avanti lo altare grande*. Katarina HORVAT-LEVAJ (ed.): *The Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin in Dubrovnik*, Dubrovnik – Zagreb: City Parish of the Assumption – Institute of Art History – ArTresor Publishers, 2016, 423–424. Unfortunately, this lectern is not a lectern that would support a choir book, as it is simply too small. This lectern was probably used for daily readings.

⁶¹ For detailed information about inventory, but also all other topics concerning the cathedral in Katarina HORVAT-LEVAJ (ed.): *Katedrala Gospe Velike u Dubrovniku*, Dubrovnik – Zagreb: Gradska župa Gospe Velike – Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2014.

and thus could be held by one of the priests, if really necessary, as can be seen on plate two in Ulrich Richental's *Chronik* of the Council of Constance (1414–1418).⁶² Partbooks could have been employed for performing polyphony. Additionally, as we have already mentioned, the Papal chapel had the practice of performing Vesper hymns alternating chant and polyphony, and Dubrovnik, under the direct influence of the Papal State through numerous diplomatic connections, could have followed a similar or identical practice.⁶³

Together with tentative polyphonic compositions, further musical elaboration of the service was pure chant and improvised counterpoint over the latter as *cantus firmus*, which could have been easily done by the priests.⁶⁴ One of the most frequently used techniques was three-voiced *fauxbordon* or the harmonically formulaic three-, or four-voice elaboration of chant (*falsobordone*), which was often encountered during dominical or festal Vespers in other influential countries.⁶⁵ The *Alternatim* described was either chanted psalms performed antiphonally, or the *Magnificat*, which has many opportunities for alternating (odd verses and similar). *Magnificat*, the centrepiece of the Vespers by its significance, is an appropriate moment for any particular demonstration of wealth in the manner of performance (*alternatim*, instrumentation).⁶⁶ Physical evidence of rich choral, polyphonic, and

⁶² R. STROHM: *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, 113–114.

⁶³ Mitchell BRAUNER: Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Chapel in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, in: Richard Sherr (ed.): *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, 169.

Dubrovnik's tight and good relations with the Holy See can be seen through the approval of trade with the infidel Ottomans. To hold onto that privilege, I believe that Dubrovnik tried to avoid drawing attention with unusual or liturgical practices that would deviate from the Roman rite, or in fact, any attention whatsoever. This can also be confirmed with Senate's quick reaction after the 1520 earthquake in obtaining an external investigator to bring order into one of the two biggest monasteries in Dubrovnik. For more, see V. MIOVIĆ: *Diplomatic Relations*.

⁶⁴ The group of singers who performed chant and polyphony in the sixteenth century were usually a mixture of ecclesiastical figures and lay professionals. Before 1573, we have no detailed information about secular singers in the cathedral except for several exceptions all prior to sixteenth century. In 1573 visitation documents by bishop Gianfrancesco Sormani, we find a list of ten priest singers in the church of Saint Blaise, which proves that they had proper training, being specified as *cantores*. These unquestionably joined the festivity, as all clergy of the city was present in the liturgical celebration in the Cathedral. M. DEMOVIĆ: *Glazba i glazbenici*, 45.

⁶⁵ It is in this context that the technique is described being used at San Marco in a travel diary written by Arendt Willemsz, a barber-surgeon from Delft, who, together with a number of companions, stayed in the city for some weeks in 1525 on his way to the Holy Land. One of his travel companion was a priest, Jan Goverts van Gorcum, who has also left an account of the pilgrimage, and that one is textually so close to Willemsz's diary that both manuscripts must have been made from a common exemplar, perhaps notes that they made together on the journey, which were then used as the basis for professional copies made after their return. For the complete description of the event from the diary, see Iain FENLON: *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, 74–76.

⁶⁶ Both 1548 and 1630 ceremonial documents of Seville Cathedral, for example, in instructing about the ceremonial practices at Vespers and other feasts of the first rank, mention that first and last psalms were performed by the singers of the *capilla* and the *ministriles* in *alternatim* fashion. As for the

instrumental practices in Dubrovnik mostly disappeared after the earthquake of 1667, but the leftover twenty-six choral books, gathered and brought in to be used after the earthquake from different monasteries around the Republic still prove that Dubrovnik tended to its liturgically and musically rich everyday life, and had the need to compensate the books containing music in the earthquake.⁶⁷ Besides, the everyday usage of books is reflected in »seven books kept in the choir for daily usage«, from the after-earthquake testimony of the monastery librarian.⁶⁸

And while the Vespers were sung in that lavish manner, around twenty-five confraternities and guilds adorned the church with their candles and gifts by passing in the middle of the choir, while different instruments accompanied them (*accompagnate da varij instrumenti musicali*). Because the musical repertoire of the Rector's cappella has not been preserved, we cannot say or speculate much about what the instrumentalists played in accompanying the procession, as it could include a vast amount of repertoire. Nonetheless, we can surely say it was the Rector's cappella playing – and not additionally hired musicians – as the Cappella always played in the Rector's presence, and sometimes as well in other situations ordered by the Rector.⁶⁹ In addition to previous thoughts on the term *trombe*, instruments playing without organ would have much more use of a trombone than of a trumpet, as the latter would not be able to support a real fundamental bass to the rest of the instruments because of its natural limitations. As Razzi does not mention instruments *and* organ playing simultaneously in the procession of the fraternities, we could conclude that trombones were present in the festivity.

Despite not knowing what the musicians played during the procession, we can point out two similar situations: both in Antwerp in 1508, and in Bologna in 1557, the instrumental ensemble played »a motet« accompanying processions.⁷⁰ The motet is unknown, but the inventory of Treviso Cathedral's lost manuscript MS 29 shows two Franco-Flemish five-voice motets dedicated to Saint Blaise that could serve as a possibility. *Ave martir egregie* is by Bartholomeus Comes Gallicus (Bartholomeus Le Conte, fl 1547–65), copied from Comes' 1547 collection *Motetta*

second and fourth psalms, a compendium of the duties of the ministriles and the singers of the *capilla* published in the early eighteenth century specifies the use of *fabordón* for these. Hymns and *Magnificat* also recieved *alternatim* performance. See O. REES: *Seville Cathedral's Music*, 366–368.

⁶⁷ Hrvoje BEBAN: *The Dominican Antiphoner from the Badija Franciscan Monastery near Korčula: Manuscript Analysis*, *Arti musices*, 41 (2010) 2, 169.

⁶⁸ »...chori ad usum librorum volumina tam praeclara servabantur septem quorum paria in Orbe adhuc non condidit magistra manus«. *Acta et decreta capitulorum et congregationum provincialium ab an. 1649–1713*, f. 2v. M. BRLEK: *Rukopisi knjižnice Male braće u Dubrovniku*, 10.

⁶⁹ On the duties of Rector's musicians in M. DEMOVIĆ: *Glazba i glazbenici*, 130–137.

⁷⁰ Richard SHERR: *Questions Concerning Instrumental Ensemble Music in Sacred Contexts in the Early Sixteenth Century*, in: Jean-Michel Vaccaro (ed.): *Le Concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance: Actes du XXXIVe Colloque International d'Études Humanistes, Tours, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1 - 11 juillet 1991*, Paris: CNRS, 1995, 147.

quinque vocibus (Venice: Gardane, 1547, p. 7);⁷¹ and *Magnificemus Deum salvatorem* is by Jan Nasco (c. 1510–1561), whose only concordance is found in Treviso Cathedral's choirbook MS 8, f. 110.⁷² The connection to Dubrovnik is clear: already mentioned *maestro di cappella* of Dubrovnik chapel, Lambert Courtoys the Older, served in Dubrovnik until 1570, after what he left to Udine Cathedral and in 1578 to Treviso Cathedral. Despite that MS 29 was compiled between 1577 and 1584, Comes' motet could have been familiar to Courtoys from before: Comes is a Franco-Flemish composer, as well as Courtoys, and the motet was included in Comes' 1547 collection *Motetta quinque vocibus* (Venice: Gardane), which was probably in circulation before the compilation of MS 29. Courtoys could have easily incorporated a motet he was already familiar with into the repertoire list of the Rector's chapel when he was employed there in 1554. Additionally, the fact that we still have nine exemplars of the collections preserved (some partially, some complete), and one in Rome, where Courtoys was found before coming to Dubrovnik, proves that the collection was widely spread and used, thus potentiating the argument that Courtoys probably knew it. The other motet, *Magnificemus Deum salvatorem* exists only in Treviso, and cannot be so easily connected to Dubrovnik, hence being likely unknown there.

The lavish Vespers ended when the adorning procession of the confraternities finished, which in 1588, because of the *solemnity* of the benefaction process lasted much longer than expected.⁷³

First Vespers: A Reconstruction

With all the information Razzi provided and our general knowledge about the order of the medieval Vespers office, we already have a basic framework for the reconstruction of the whole service. In accordance with the initial character of this paper, I have turned only to accessible sources with Ragusan provenance or any connection with the Republic, as scarce and incomplete the office in them is, rather than international sources containing the office.⁷⁴ The aforementioned lack or inaccessibility of certain sources made me consult *Officium proprium Sancti Blasii* (Rome, 1723), which contains the first printed complete proper of the office, with some items being included in Farlato and Coletto's *Historia* (1802–3) as well. And while these

⁷¹ The collection is preserved in nine different libraries all over Europe, proving its widespread use, or at least an interest in its intellectual value.

⁷² Inventory of both MS 29 and MS 30 on pp. 72–112. Bonnie J. BLACKBURN: *Music for Treviso Cathedral in the Late Sixteenth Century: A Reconstruction of the Lost Manuscripts 29 and 30*, London: Royal Musical Association, 1987.

⁷³ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 137.

⁷⁴ Already a brief search entry in the Cantus Database results in nineteen international sources containing over hundred chants for the feast of Saint Blaise.

sources might seem too late to be used for the reconstruction of the end-of-sixteenth-century Vespers service, one must bear in mind the inscription that Farlato and Coleto included. The latter confirms an earlier version of the office in the mid-seventeenth century, approved by cardinal Francesco Barberini (in office 1629–1679), thus bringing it closer to the feast of 1588. One might further argue that the redesigned office was submitted in the spirit of Tridentine reform, and thus changed from the previous design, but the possibility of submitting a proper in the form it was already celebrated in Dubrovnik just to confirm the tradition in front of the Holy See cannot be excluded, simply because we do not know what cardinal Barberini »diligently revised and corrected«. ⁷⁵ Moreover, the reformed spirit would mostly reflect in the simplification of the chant, not their liturgical texts. Further two factors deliver more confidence in considering these late sources for the reconstruction: diplomatic relations with the Holy See, and the observance of tradition. ⁷⁶

I have included the commune of one martyr bishop from the third of the four-volume fifteen-century Franciscan antiphoner (HR-Hf Cod. E) as an option. The source is of Ragusan provenance but seems to be in concordance with the regional rite of Bosnian Franciscan Friars. That it has still been used in Dubrovnik can be seen in the inscription in volume one. ⁷⁷

Three other Dubrovnik sources match *Historia* and *Officium proprium*. Early seventeenth century Croatian manuscript containing the *officium parvum* of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the novena of Saint Blaise (*Bogogliubne pjesni*, MS 20) ⁷⁸ confirms the hymn, Magnificat antiphon, and collect; the latter also existent in *Breviarium Romano-seraphicum* (MS 241). ⁷⁹

The whole Vespers service is also present in a much later source, a chant manuscript without a shelf mark kept in the Dubrovnik Cathedral archive, coming from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. ⁸⁰ There, the *Officium* and *Historia* psalm antiphons, hymn, and the Magnificat antiphon *Hodie Christi* are in complete concordance, although the psalm positions are different from what the *Officium* or *Historia* describe. The manuscript does not include the psalm *Dominus Regnavit*, but rather all Sunday psalms in their usual order: *Dixit Dominus*, *Confitebor*, *Beatus*

⁷⁵ See footnote 44, or D. FARLATO – J. COLETO: *Ecclesiae Ragusinae Historia*, 50.

⁷⁶ See footnote 63 for diplomatic relations, footnote 95 and pp. 246–247 of this paper for the practice of *laudes regiae* as an example of long lasting minimally changed tradition. See also N. LONZA: *Kazalište vlasti*, 357–386.

⁷⁷ For more about the source, see <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123721>> (4. 8. 2020).

⁷⁸ For explanation of dating, see p. 232 of this paper, and footnote 43.

⁷⁹ According to palaeographical analysis by Badurina, it seems it was written in the end of fourteenth and beginning of fifteenth century, and according to Brlek, before 1481. The liturgical content indicates that it was written for the Franciscans, and by addenda we see that it was used in Ston. It nevertheless contains proper items for Saint Blaise, and thus reflects Dubrovnik tradition – we must bear in mind that Ston was part of the Republic. M. BRLEK: *Rukopisi knjižnice Male braće u Dubrovniku*, 239.

⁸⁰ Second page of the manuscript is shown in K. HORVAT-LEVAJ: *Katedrala Gospe Velike*, 380.

vir, *Laudate pueri*, and *Laudate Dominum*. Interestingly, the seventeenth-century seventeen-page manuscript, containing the complete office and ordinary of the Mass of Saint Blaise and which is kept in the sacristy of the Church of Saint Blaise in Dubrovnik, follows the same ordinance of psalms.⁸¹

The first column of the table includes the texts and order that are assumed from the widespread tradition that has already surpassed the border of general knowledge. The psalms for the feast are assumed from the Sunday Vespers, as it would be usual to interrupt the ferial psalm order during big feasts.⁸² That practice can be seen in the *Officium*, which brings both a proper psalm and confirms the usage of Sunday psalms.⁸³

The last column is the result of the interpretation of items provided by the assumptions, additional textual concordances, and Razzi's descriptions, but only in brief, as they have mostly been polemicized about in the course of the paper.

The last thing that needs to be mentioned, and that is valid for both reconstructions, is that I have not included chant reproductions, transcriptions, or the analysis of the chant from the sources, but rather only their liturgical texts. The reasons for that are obvious: not all sources could be analysed in person and thus the provided results would be incomplete; and, with the inclusion of all international concordances, the scope of this paper would proportionally widen.

⁸¹ The manuscript is in the sacristy of the church of Saint Blaise and has no shelfmark. In the table, I am referring to it with a new siglum, HR-Dcsv (Crkva sv. Vlaha, the Church of St. Blaise), that was reported to RISM.

⁸² John HARPER: *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford – New York: Clarendon Press – Oxford University Press, 1991, 242–250, 258–259, 262–263.

⁸³ See footnote 87.

Table 1: The Reconstruction of the First Vespers (2nd of February 1588)

Order	Assumed items ⁸⁴	<i>Commune unius Martyris, extra tempus Paschale</i> (HR-Hf Cod. E)	<i>Officium proprium Sancti Blasii</i> (1723) and <i>Farlato and Coletto</i> (1802-3)	Concordance	In 1588:
OPENING VERSICLE	V. <i>Deus in adiutorium</i> (Ps 69) R. <i>Domine ad adiuvandum me festina</i> Ant. [proper]	Ant. <i>Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor & ego eum coram Patre meo.</i>	Ant. <i>Certamen forte dedit ei Dominus, ut vinceret, & sciret, quia omnium Protector est Christus.</i> Ps. <i>Dominus Regnavit</i> Ant. <i>Stetit Iustus in magna constantia adversus eos, qui se angustiauerunt.</i> Ps. <i>Dixit Dominus</i> Ant. <i>Non equuleus, non verbera, non omnia Tyranni tormenta separare Blasium a charitate Christi potuerunt.</i>	All antiphons of HR-Hf Cod. E have concordances in HR-Dsmb MS 3: 246-247r, and in HR-Dcsev: 1-2v. Incipits of Sunday Psalms in HR-Dcsev: 1-2v.	Chant: versicle (officiant) and response (choir). ⁸⁵ Chant: intonations by the hebdomadary priest in the Dominican choir. The possibility of improvised polyphony (<i>fauxbordon</i> or <i>falsobordone</i>) for the psalms and/or doxology is not excluded.
PSALMS AND ANTIPHONS ⁸⁶	Ps. <i>Dixit Dominus</i> (Ps 109) Ant. [proper] Ps. <i>Confitebor</i> (Ps 110) Ant. [proper]	Ant. <i>Qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitae,</i> Ant. <i>Qui mihi ministrat, me sequitur: & ubi ego sum, illic sit & minister meus.</i>			

⁸⁴ For the sake of this table's clarity, I excluded the short doxologies (*Gloria patri*). These were recited (if the text was recited) or sung (in the manner of singing of the rest of the text; included in the composition or set to appropriate reciting tones) after the opening versicle, at the end of every psalm (or section of a psalm), and after the canticle.

⁸⁵ I use the term *choir* to denote the community of both Dominican and Franciscan monks positioned in the church during the Vespers.
⁸⁶ Psalms and antiphons are the core of the Office, and they are usually sung in a pair in a sequence either Ant. 1 – Ps. 1 – Ant. 1, Ant. 2 – Ps. 2 – Ant. 2, etc.; or Ant. – group of psalms – Ant. I have not written out the structure every time, but brought them in pairs, hence the first antiphon should always be repeated after the psalm that is following.

The beginning of the psalm is intoned by the appointed singer or singers, and then sung alternately in groups. The opening intonation was sung only at the beginning of the psalm; thereafter each verse began on the reciting note. There were a few exceptional ways of performing psalms: without an antiphon or the antiphon could be repeated after each verse or group of verses in the manner of early Church practice. J. HARPER: *The Forms and Orders*, 78-79.

<p>Ps. <i>Beatus vir</i> (Ps 111) Ant. [proper]</p> <p>Ps. <i>Laudate pueri</i> (Ps 112) Ant. [proper]</p> <p>Ps. <i>Laudate Dominum</i> (Ps 116) [Seasonal, common, or proper]</p>	<p>Ant. <i>Si quis mihi ministraverit, honorificabit eum Pater meus, qui est in caelis, dicit Dominus.</i></p> <p>Ant. <i>Volo Pater, ut tu bi ego sum, illic sit & minister meus.</i></p>	<p>Ps. [Confitebor]⁸⁷ Ant. <i>Benedictus es Domine, qui gloriosum Martyrem tuum fecisti transire per ignem & aquam, & eduxisti eum in refrigerium.</i></p> <p>Ps. [Beatus vir]</p> <p>Ant. <i>Laudabat Deum Blasius, quod dignus haberetur pro ipsius confessione torqueri.</i></p> <p>Ps. <i>Laudate Dominum omnes Gentes</i></p>	<p>Some antiphons might have been substituted with an instrumental motet.⁸⁸</p>
<p>SENTENCE FROM SCRIPTURE (CAPITULUM)</p>	<p>(Hebr. 11. g.) <i>Fratres, Sancti per fidem vicerunt regna, operati sunt iustitiam, adepti sunt reppromissiones, obturaverunt ora leonum, continuaverunt impetum ignis, effugerunt aciem gladii, convulnerunt de infirmitate, fortes facti sunt in bello, castra verterunt exterorum.</i> R. <i>Deo gratias.</i></p>	<p>Recited by the officiant on a familiar formula with inflections; short response of the choir.</p>	

⁸⁷ In the source only the first antiphon is written, then comes the annotation »Cum reliquis de Laudibus, ut infra«, after which is *Dixit Dominus*. In Lauds, first antiphon is mentioned again, then psalm *Dominus regnavit* with annotation »Cum reliquis de Dominica«, which would start with *Dixit Dominus*, etc. Coming back to the first Vespers, it continues with *Dixit Dominus*, and continues with annotation »Cum reliquis de Dominica & loco ultimi, Psalm. Laudate Dominum omnes Gentes«, henceforth cutting off *Laudate pueri*.

⁸⁸ I believe this would be highlighted in Razzi's writing as something *special*.

HYMN	[Seasonal, common, or proper]		<i>Salutis aram Blasiusus</i> ⁸⁹	HR-Dsmb MS 20: 19v–20r. HR-Dcsv: 2r–4r.	<i>Alternatim</i> chant and polyphony by verses; the choir with instruments in many combinations.
VERSICLE	[Seasonal, common, or proper]		V. <i>Gloria et honore coronasti eum Domine.</i> R. <i>Et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.</i>	HR-Dsmb MS 3: 239r.	Chant: versicle (officiant) and response (choir).
CANTICLE AND ANTIPHON ⁹⁰	Ant. [proper] Cant. <i>Magnificat</i> Ant. [proper]	Ant. ad Magnificat: <i>Iste sanctus pro lege dei sui certavit usque ad mortem, & a verbis impiorum non timuit: fundatus enim erat supra firmam petram.</i>	Ant. ad Magnificat: <i>Hodie Christum miles fortissimus Blasius expleto suae mortalitatis agone ad immortalam Patriam Angelorum inter plausus. perpetuo triumphaturus ascendit.</i>	<i>Hodie Christi</i> in HR-Dsmb MS 20: 23; and in HR-Dcsv: 4. <i>Iste sanctus</i> in HR-Dsmb MS 3: 239.	Intonation by the hebdomadary. <i>Alternatim</i> chant, composed polyphony, and organ verses; the choir with instruments in many combinations.
COLLECT (ORATIO)	[Ferial, or proper]		V. [Oremus.] <i>Deus, qui Beatum Blasium Martyrem tuum atque Pontificem in suis perferendis suppliciis, & in aliorum depellendis infirmitatibus admirabilem effectisti: concede propitius, ut illius & in fide constantiam imitemur, & in periculis patrocina sentiamus.</i>	HR-Dsmb MS 241: 79v. MS 20: 20v, 23v, only incipit on 26v.	Recited by the officiant on a familiar formula with inflections; short response by the choir.

⁸⁹ See p. 231 of this paper for the complete text.

⁹⁰ After the canticle follows the most variable part of every Office; at some Offices on Sunday and feasts it consisted only of Collect and Blessing, however, other items were commonly interpolated, resulting in the sequence of Lesser Litany (*Kyrie – Christe – Kyrie*), and *Pater noster* with a responsorial answer in the last two verses. J. HARPER: *The Forms and Orders*, 84. Concluding the Vespers were already long enough, it seems probable that those items were cut to make more time for lengthy processions.

GREETING AND BLESSING	<p>V. <i>Dominus vobiscum.</i> R. <i>Et cum spiritu tuo.</i> V. <i>Benedicamus domino.</i> R. <i>Deo gratias.</i></p>					<p><i>Per Dominum. [nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum.]</i> R. <i>Amen.</i></p>					<p>Chant: versicle (officiant) and response (choir). Ornate improvised polyphony not excluded as an expression of grandiosity.</p>
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The Solemn Mass on the Main Feast Day

On the 3rd of February, after they celebrated the morning Mass in their church, the Dominicans reached their place in the choir of the Cathedral in a procession, carrying the relics in their hands. Arriving from the opposite side of the city, the Franciscans joined in the choir, after which came the mitre-carrying abbots, the Ragusan bishop Marin Brajan, and Mrkan's suffragan bishop Šimun Metis. All 111 relics, brought in by the clergy, were first put at the main altar in the Cathedral, and then carried by a smaller congregation of priests to the church of Saint Blaise in another procession. After the relics were returned to the Cathedral, where the rest of the priests and folk waited, they were distributed on the stairs of the main altar and the solemn Mass started.⁹¹ It was sung by the suffragan bishop and both choirs of Franciscan and Dominican priests.⁹²

After the gospel was sung, three or four higher priests sang the *laudes (regiae)*⁹³ in a responsorial manner with the rest of the clergy responding *Exaudi, Christe*. The people were not actively participating in responses, but listening »with great attention and piety«:

Exaudi Christe. Vnus Deus, Christus vincit, Christus regnat: Christus imperat. Exaudi, & cetera vt supra.

Domino nostro Sixto, summo Pontifici, ac vniuersali Papæ, salus, & Vita. Exaudi, vt supra.

Domino nostro, Rodulfo Serenissimo Imperatori Romanorum, salus, honor, vita, & victoria. Exaudi, vt supra.

Domino, Regi nostro, Vngariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Crouatiæ; salus, honor, vita, & victoria. Exaudi, vt supra.

Domino Paulo, Reverendissimo, in Christo Patri, Archiepiscopo Ragusino; salus et vita.

Exaudi, ut supra.

*Domino Rectori nostro, Illustrissimo; salus, vita, honor, & victoria. Exaudi Christe.*⁹⁴

According to Razzi, the *laudes* were sung three or four times during the year, for Easter and the biggest feasts.⁹⁵ The tradition of singing *laudes* dates to the early

⁹¹ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 136–137.

⁹² »... s'incominciò la solenne messa, cantata dal Vescouo suffraganeo, e da i due chori di padri, Domenicani, e Francescani, cedendo per quel giorno il luogo, il Reuerendo Clero del Duomo, occupato in altri seruzij, & intorno al sacro altare assistente.« S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 137.

⁹³ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 137.

⁹⁴ »Cantato il Vangelo, il giorno di San Biagio, salendo sopra dell'istesso pulpito, e pergamo, tre, ò vero quattro signori Canonici, cantano, secondo vna loro antichissima vsanza, con molta attenzione, e diuota vditione del popolo, i seguenti versi. [...] Cantano i versi i Reuerendi signori Canonici, & il Choro, per ciascuno come siè notato, replica Exaudi Christe.« S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 137.

⁹⁵ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 138.

Laudes regiae, as a mean of expressing the submissiveness and public recognition of the current suzerain, have been sung in Croatia since the Middle Ages, especially in places along the Eastern Adriatic coast that were under Byzantine rule. Acclaimed both to secular and church rulers, they have been continuously in use since the first written records of their performance in Zadar in the beginning

times of the city: first mentioned in year 1000, then again mentioned in an agreement with the Byzantine emperors in the twelfth century in which Ragusans obliged themselves to sing *laudes* three times a year for the king in the Cathedral, and finally even written down in the Statute of the Republic from 1272.⁹⁶ Concurrently with changing patrons and governing rule, the names in the *laudes* changed, while the basic responsorial form and tradition stayed practically unchanged until the fall of the Republic in 1808.⁹⁷ As a main means of expressing docility and acceptance of a suzerain, they had a privileged spot in the liturgical order – during the feast of 1588, the *laudes* were sung before the *Credo*:

»Finiti di cantare: predetti versi, s'impone il Credo, e si seguita la messa.«⁹⁸

The narration does not limit the performance either on polyphony or chant, as the intonation would be done in both cases. The solemn Mass had the same number of participants as the first Vespers; thus, the performance conditions were the same. From that point of view, both chant and polyphony are again viable options. Another option is the continuation of an already seen practice, *alternatim* performance of *cantus planus*, improvised counterpoint, and polyphony, with singers, organ, and instrumentalists.

Following the Mass, thus outside the liturgy, and returning to the monastery, the monks sang *Te Deum laudamus*.⁹⁹ We can only assume how it was sung in

of the eleventh century, until the beginning of twentieth century. They were last heard at Easter in Zadar in 1918 for the last Habsburg Emperor Karl I, when they were abandoned after the end of the First World War and Italian occupation. For how they re-emerged in Zagreb in 1920s, see Hrvoje BEBAN: Musik für Geistliche Herrscher: Zagreber Laudes aus der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Robert Klugseder (ed.): *Cantare amantis est. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Franz Karl Praßl*, Purkersdorf: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 2014, 46–56. More on *laudes regiae* in Richard L. CROCKER: *Laudes Regiae*, *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000016100>> (4. 8. 2020); Ernst KANTOROWICZ: *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958.

One could additionally argue and support the highest status of the feast of Saint Blaise with the fact that *laudes* were sung on his day, thus including it to the group of the most important Catholic holidays – Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter.

⁹⁶ »In die autem Sancti Blasii ad missam canonici cantabunt in pergulo Maioris ecclesie domino comiti sollempniter [*sic*] laudes; pro quibus laudibus dabit eis dominus comes de suo proprio yperperum unum. [...] Adveniente die Pasce ad missam in pergulo Maioris ecclesie canonici eiusdem cantabunt domino domiti sollempniter laudes, pro quibus ipse dabit eis de suo proprio yperperum unum; et hec omnia supradicta anuatim fient.« Ante ŠOLJIĆ – Zlatko ŠUNDRICA – Ivan VESELIĆ: *Statut grada Dubrovnika: sastavljen godine 1272.*, Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv, 2002, 84.

⁹⁷ Miho DEMOVIĆ: *Velika povijest dubrovačke glazbe: od konca X. stoljeća do velikog potresa 1667. godine*, 54–55; Antonin ZANINović: O pjevanju i glazbi u starom Dubrovniku prigodom svečanosti sv. Vlahu, *List Dubrovačke biskupije*, 2 (1916), 45.

⁹⁸ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 138.

⁹⁹ »Finita poi la messa, ciascuno ritorna à desinare alla casa propria, & i Religiosi cantando per la strada, il cantico, Te Deum laudamus, se ne ritornano à i loro conventi.« S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 139.

Dubrovnik, but in 1465 in Spain, *Te Deum* was performed in *alternatim* fashion during the procession; the participants walked when the organ played its verses, and stopped when singing theirs.¹⁰⁰ Considering that the organ played different verses, and the priests sang the others, it is obvious that the Spanish procession occurred completely inside the church, while the procession in Dubrovnik seemed to be partially indoors (from their positions towards the exit of the Cathedral) and partially outdoors (on the way to the monastery, as described). The organ itself was a known instrument for accompanying processions,¹⁰¹ as well as other instruments,¹⁰² and in an earlier Dubrovnik example, Diversis mentioned the Rector's musicians accompanying the procession whether the Rector participated in it or not,¹⁰³ but organ participation in a procession that headed out of the church would be rather impractical, thus we conclude that the Rector's musicians would accompany the procession if it were accompanied.

The Solemn Mass: A Reconstruction

Razzi's description in the case of the solemn Mass is rather less detailed than the one from the Vespers. This must be because the Mass itself – in comparison with Vespers – contains fewer items that are usually elaborated with music, and more ritual activity and spoken text. The focus of the Mass is, in the end, the preparation of the elements of bread and wine, their transubstantiation and consumption. Furthermore, the gradual truncation of certain items which became priestly rather than corporate, restricted to the sanctuary around the altar rather than encompassing the whole church, resulted in musical consequences, seen in the shortening of Introit, Offertory, and Communion: whole psalms intended to accompany extended actions were reduced to an antiphon, or else an antiphon and residual psalm verse.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, the only chance for elaborate musical performance was left in ordinary texts, which resulted in a vast corpus of composed polyphony.

The Cathedral inventory from 1877 shows that Dubrovnik Cathedral had six individual and smaller missals for the Mass of Saint Blaise (*Sei messaletti di San Biagio*).¹⁰⁵ These books were, at the time of writing this paper, inaccessible and

¹⁰⁰ José María LAMAÑA: *Los instrumentos musicales en los últimos tiempos de la dinastía de la casa de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1969, 115.

¹⁰¹ R. STROHM: *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, 272.

¹⁰² R. STROHM: *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, 304–305.

¹⁰³ F. de DIVERSIS: *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, 93.

¹⁰⁴ J. HARPER: *The Forms and Orders*, 113.

¹⁰⁵ *Inventario generale della Chiesa Cattedrale di Ragusa (1877)*, Archive of the Dubrovnik Diocese, Dubrovnik, fund Dubrovnik Diocese, sig. 2, series 6, post-series 2, call no. 696.

Earlier inventories include 1531 inventory that is missing the last page containing the liturgical books; and 1573 inventory, mostly focussing on the relics, by apostolic visitor Sormani. Danko ZELIĆ – Ivan VIĐEN: *Inventario dela giexia di S. Maria Mazor, de tute le argenterie, aparati deli sazerdoti*,

could not be inspected. Furthermore, it is a question if these books still exist at all, what is their temporal provenance, and how relevant they are for the feast of 1588. In accordance with that, we must turn to other sources, primarily *Supplementa Gradualis et Antiphonarii* MS 93 from the Dominican convent of St. Dominic in Dubrovnik, that contains an incomplete Mass proper for Saint Blaise, dated to the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶ The first folio (f. 20), where the Proper with Introit and Gradual of the Saint starts, is unfortunately missing, but another source complements the missing items, bringing the same text of Farlato and Coletto for the Introit, but also the typical text for many saints (*Gaudeamus omnes*).¹⁰⁷ That is the seventeen pages of already mentioned seventeenth-century part of an office and Mass of Saint Blaise, kept in the church of Saint Blaise.

All the other sources consulted for completing the Mass are all from library of the Franciscan Monastery of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik. *Antiphonale de sanctis E* (MS 3) originates in Venice and was in use in the mid-fifteenth century. The calendar contains no peculiarities – hence we conclude it is written *secundum ordinem Romanae curiae* – and without the presence of Franciscan saints, Badurina concludes it was not written for the Franciscans.¹⁰⁸ The same source also does not contain any proper antiphons for Saint Blaise (after the feast of Purification follows the feast of Saint Agatha), but we do find some items for the common of one martyr (Offertory and Communio).

Graduale de sanctis K (MS 7), on the other hand is of Franciscan provenance and was written in Dubrovnik at the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁹ It also does not contain any items for the Mass of Saint Blaise, but rather common items. The same is valid for *Graduale Romanum* (Ink. A–113), printed in Venice in 1499.¹¹⁰

Following the same rationale as for first Vespers and consulting Farlato and Coletto, we see that they include the items »that differ from the ones common to martyrs« and are »recited in the solemn liturgy, or Mass of St. Blaise«. ¹¹¹ *Historia*, therefore, included the proper texts of Introit, Oration, Offertory, Secreta, Communion, and Postcommunion. Another version of Postcommunion can be found

insenarii, libri, tapezarie et altre robe (1531.) – najstariji imovnik liturgijske opreme, ruha i paramenata dubrovačke prvostolnice, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 42 (2019), 19, 23.

¹⁰⁶ I must most kindly thank Hrvoje Beban for sharing this source and information about it with me.

¹⁰⁷ The Introit was reproduced and mentioned in M. DEMOVIĆ: *Glazba i glazbenici*, 37, 274.

¹⁰⁸ Anđelko BADURINA: Iluminirani rukopisi samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku, in: Krešo Tadić – Justin Velnić et al. (eds.): *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Kršćanska sadašnjost – Samostan Male braće, 1985, 532–534.

¹⁰⁹ A. BADURINA: Iluminirani rukopisi, 551–552.

¹¹⁰ Vatroslav FRKIN: Katalozi inkunabula crkvenih ustanova u Hrvatskoj. IV. zbirka inkunabula u knjižnicama franjevačke Provincije sv. Jeronima. Prvi dio, *Croatia Christiana periodica*, 14 (1990), 26, p. 176. Commune Santorum on ff. 267–277v.

¹¹¹ D. FARLATO – J. COLETO: *Ecclesiae Ragusinae Historia*, 50.

in the thirteenth-century *Missale Ragusinum* (GB–Ob Canon. Liturg. 342, f. 75r),¹¹² which brings parts of the text we find in Farlato and Coletto.

For now, it seems that without direct period-related sources for the Mass of Saint Blaise the reconstruction will stay somewhat speculative, as the table below also shows. This reconstruction was also burdened by the number of items a Mass usually contains. With such a high number of items, several books are needed to reconstruct the liturgy, which unfortunately was not possible in this case. However, some items can still be reconstructed with the help of later dated sources. The concordance in HR-Dcsv also proves the relevance of *Historia* and provides one with confidence about the rest of the source's content.

The last column of the table, hence, is the result of the interpretation of findings, that are mostly built on forms of the Mass tradition of the Roman rite and influenced by Razzi's portrayal.

¹¹² R. F. GYUG: *Missale Ragusinum: The Missal of Dubrovnik*, 282.

Table 2: Reconstruction of the Solemn Mass (3rd of February 1588)

Mass item ¹¹³	Assumed items ¹¹⁴	Supplementa Gradualis et Antiphonarii MS 93	Farlato and Coletto (1802–3)	Concordance	In 1588:
INTROIT ¹¹⁵	Ant. [proper] Ps. verse [proper] Gloria verse Ant. [proper]		[Ant.] <i>Gaudemus omnes in Domino diem festum celebrantes sub honore S. Blasii Martyris atque Pontificis, de cuius passione gaudent Angeli, & collaudant Filium Dei.</i> Psal. <i>Magnus Dominus, & laudabilis nimis in Civitate Dei nostri, & monte sancto eius. Gloria &c.</i>	HR-Dcsv: 5–6r with <i>Gloria et honore</i> verse.	Chant: begun by rulers, ¹¹⁶ the choir continued; psalm verses sung by rulers; doxology intoned by the rulers, antiphon again by the whole choir.
KYRIE	<i>Kyrie eleison,</i> <i>Christe eleison,</i> <i>Kyrie eleison.</i>			HR-Dcsv: 9r–10v.	Chant; probably written polyphony with instruments, but improvised polyphony is not excluded.
GLORIA	<i>Gloria in excelsis deo.</i>			HR-Dcsv: 10–11, without the intonation (starts with <i>Et in terra pax</i>).	Chanted intonation by the celebrant, ¹¹⁷ continued by all in the choir. Probably polyphony with instruments.

¹¹³ Ordinary items in italic. In accordance with Razzi's testimony that the Gospel was sung, I am considering that most of the readings were sung on this day, with few exceptions being marked by an asterisk. A note on antiphonal and responsorial chants distinguished by ritual: antiphonal chants (Introit, Offertory, and Communion) were begun *in choir* by the rulers; responsorial chants (Gradual, Alleluia) were begun by soloists *at the lectern at the choir step or in the pulpit*; Ordinary chants were begun either in the sanctuary (*Gloria* and *Credo* by a celebrant, *Ite* by deacon), or in choir by the rulers (*Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus Dei*). This use was spread around the late fourteenth century up to the Tridentine reform. J. HARPER: *The Forms and Orders*, 124–125.

¹¹⁴ I am presenting only the texts that are different from the expected, hence only the first verses of the Ordinary.

¹¹⁵ Usually in the written order, but sometimes, as a mean of reflecting original antiphonal practices, appeared as antiphon – psalm verse – antiphon – *Gloria Patri* – antiphon. J. HARPER: *The Forms and Orders*, 72, 115.

¹¹⁶ *Rector chori.*

¹¹⁷ The celebrant for the Mass was in this case suffragan bishop from Mirkan, Šimun Metis. S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 137.

COLLECT(S) (ORATIO)	[Ferial, or proper]	V. [Oremus.] <i>Deus, qui Beatum Blasium Martyrem tuum atque Pontificem, in suis perferendis supplicis, & in aliorum depellendis infirmitatibus admirabilem effecisti; concede propitiis, ut illius & in fide conflantiam imitemur, & in periculis patrocina sentiamus. Per Dominum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum.</i> R. Amen.	Intoned by the celebrant and sung in a recitation manner with inflections; choir responded.
EPISTLE (LECTIO)	V. <i>Fratres.</i> [Two or three readings, tied to the day]		Intoned by a sub-deacon from lectern on pulpit, then read on a recitation note with inflections.
GRADUAL ¹¹⁸	Ant. [proper] Ps. verse [proper] Lesser doxology Ant. [proper]		Chant: beginning and psalm verses sung by chosen soloists from the lectern on the pulpit, the rest by the choir.

¹¹⁸ Assuming from the Commune Sanctorum, one of these three could appear in the sources: *Posuisti Domine, Iustus ut palma*, or *Iustus non conturbabitur*.

ALLELUIA ¹¹⁹	Alleluia Ps. Verse	21r Alleluja V. <i>Ora pro nobis beate blasij ut digni efficiamur promissionibus cristij.</i>		HR-Dcsv: or Alleluia V. <i>Hic est sacerdos quem coronaverit dominus.</i>	Chant: first strain of <i>alleluia</i> by cantor; then choir sings the whole <i>alleluia</i> , then a solo verse concluded by choir singing whole <i>alleluia</i> . Improvised polyphony in the last strain to express joyfulness not excluded.
TRACT ¹²⁰	Psaln verse without antiphon or respond.			HR-Dcsv: 7r-8r <i>Beatus vir, qui timet dominum, in mandatis eius cupit nimis.</i> V. <i>Potens in terra erit semen eius. Generatio rectorum benedicetur.</i> V. <i>Gloria & divitie in domo eius, & iustitia eius manet in seculum seculi.</i>	Chant: sung by the choir. Might have employed improvised polyphony.
GOSPEL	V. Intonatio. R. <i>Gloria tibi domine.</i> V. <i>In illo tempore...</i>				Sung by a deacon at lectern in pulpit, announced by him with a response <i>Gloria tibi domine</i> .
LAUDES REGIAE				Razzi 137	Chant: verses sung by three or four priests, the choir responding <i>Exaudi Christe</i> .
CREDO	<i>Credo in unum Deum.</i>			HR-Dcsv: 12 (also without incipit, starts at <i>Patrem omnipotentem</i>).	Celebrant intones the beginning; the choir continues to sing. Probably polyphony with instruments.

¹¹⁹ Sometimes followed by Sequence (Prosa).¹²⁰ Replaced Alleluia during the penitential season and on other penitential days during the year. J. HARPER: *The Forms and Orders*, 118.

OFFERTORY	Ant. [proper] Ps. verse [proper] Lesser doxology Ant. [proper]	21 <i>Gloria et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super opera manus tuarum domine.</i> ¹²¹	<i>Transvexit illum Dominus per aquam nimiam, & ab altitudine inferiorum deduxit illum.</i> ¹²²	<i>Gloria et honore</i> in HR-Damb MS 3: 239v; HR-Damb MS 7: 82r-83v (as Introitus), 84v-84r (as Offertory), 88r-89v (as Alleluia verse), 89r-90v (as Offertory). <i>Transvexit</i> in HR-Dcsv: 8v.	Chant: beginning and psalm verses sung by chosen soloists from the lectern on the pulpit, the rest by the choir.
SECRET*	V. [proper] <i>Gloria patri...</i> R. <i>Amen.</i>		<i>Hostias tibi Domine B. Blasii dicatas meritis &c. ut in Com. un. Mart.</i>		The celebrant recites the beginning to himself, only the conclusion of the doxology at the end of the prayer said louder by the celebrant, with a response from the choir.
SURSUM CORDA	V. <i>Dominus vobiscum.</i> R. <i>Et cum spiritu tuo.</i> V. <i>Sursum corda.</i> R. <i>Habemus ad dominum.</i> V. <i>Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.</i> R. <i>Dignum et iustum est.</i>				Recitation based on familiar models with inflexions: responsorial manner, celebrant leads, the choir responds.
PREFACE*	<i>Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare...</i>				Celebrant intones the preface, the present respond.

¹²¹ Here the MS 93 also includes *Alleluia* for Paschal time.¹²² Psalm verse not included.

SANCTUS	<i>Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth.</i>			HR-Dcsv: 15r.	Probably polyphony; possibly with the instruments.
BENEDICTUS	<i>Benedictus qui venit.</i>			HR-Dcsv: 15r.	Either polyphony or replaced by an instrumental motet by musicians or the organ.
CANON OF THE MASS*	The bread and wine are consecrated by the celebrant.				Read silently, only the last phrase of the doxology was read aloud by the celebrant; all responded <i>Amen</i> .
PATER NOSTER	<i>V. Pater noster . . . et ne nos inducas in tentationem: R. Sed libera nos a malo. V. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. R. Amen.</i>				Celebrant intoned; the choir responded in the last verse. Sung over the usual formula.
PAX DOMINI*	<i>V. Pax domini sit semper vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.</i>				Responsorial reading of the celebrant and the choir.
AGNUS DEI	<i>Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi.</i>			HR-Dcsv: 15v.	Either all polyphony, or first and last verse in polyphony, while the second is chant.

COMMUNION	Ant. [proper] Ps. verse [proper] Lesser doxology Ant. [proper]	f. 21v <i>Qui vult venire post me abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.</i> f. 21v-22r <i>Vos qui secuti estis me sedebitis super sedes iudicantes super duodecim tribus israel. Alleluia.</i>	<i>Semel juravi in Sancto meo, &c. [semen ejus in aeternum manebit et sedes ejus sicut sol in conspectus meo et sicut luna perfecta in aeternum et testis in caelo fidelis.]</i>	<i>Qui vult in HR-Damb MS 7: 91. Semel juravi in HR-Dcsv: 9.</i>	Chant: begun by rulers, sung by all in choir.
POSTCOMMUNION	V. Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo. V. [Proper] R. Amen.	V. Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.] V. Percepta nobis Domine praeceant Sacramenta subsidium, & praesta ut B. Blasii Martyris, atque Pontificis meritis, & intercessione, nulla nobis noceat adversitas, & nulla dominietur iniquitas. Per Dominum &c. [nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. R. Amen.]	<i>[V. Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.] V. Percepta nobis Domine praeceant Sacramenta subsidium, & praesta ut B. Blasii Martyris, atque Pontificis meritis, & intercessione, nulla nobis noceat adversitas, & nulla dominietur iniquitas. Per Dominum &c. [nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. R. Amen.]</i>	GB-Ob Canon. Liturg. 342: 75r <i>Te deum saluatorem nostrum; suppliciter exoramus. ut intercessione beati blasii martyris tui atque pontificis. ab omnibus diabolicis liberemur insidiis. per.</i>	Intoned and recited over a familiar pattern by the celebrant, choir responds.
DISMISSAL	V. Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo. V. Ite missa est: R. Deo gratias.				Deacon sung; choir responded. Ornate improvised polyphony with instruments not excluded, to denote the festivity and the end of the Mass.

The End of the Feast Day

After the description of the procession singing *Te Deum*, Razzi continues his narration without referring to any other musical activities, but rather describing the procession of the relics, and secular processions of people coming from different regions of the Republic – some of whom are in masks and sing »certain Slavic songs of beautiful sound«. ¹²³ Continuing with secular activities that include music and dance, different games, and theatre plays, Razzi describes the perfect amalgam of sacred with secular, especially in years when the carnival festivities coincided with the feast of the Saint. ¹²⁴ The secular merriments are also mentioned by Diversis in 1440, who writes that »after the lunch, the Rector invited the young nobility of both sexes to dance to the music of trumpets and flutes« and »as they devoted the morning to the salvation of the soul, they should devote the time after lunch to joy and delight of the body«. ¹²⁵ Quiclet and Appendini likewise mention various activities, including jousts played by masked nobility on fine Turkish horses, ¹²⁶ or the abundant luncheon that was served after the solemn Mass and processions. ¹²⁷

Octave of the Feast: Masses in Saint Clare, and Saint Blaise

And while Razzi's description of the feast ended with a description of the secular events, Diversis furthermore described its Octave, when the archbishop, the rector, and Minor Council celebrated the solemn Mass for Saint Blaise in the church of Saint Clare, and on the fifteenth day, in a similar manner, a Mass in the church of the Saint Blaise. ¹²⁸

»Sed octava die accredit dominus archiepiscopus, et secum dominus rector et Consilium minus at [sic] templum Sanctae Clarae, ubi eo mane ad honorem Sancti Blasii missa sollemnis celebrator. Quinta vero decima die simili modo in ecclesia Sancti Blasii apud logiam solemniter festum ipsius colitur. [...] Hoc triplex festum efficitur interpolatis diebus, quoniam in tribus ecclesiis dominus archiepiscopus, aut dominus rector simul interesse non posset.« ¹²⁹

The Mass in the church of Saint Clare, being described as *missa sollemnis*, would have also been sung, and considering that the church of Saint Clare is the main

¹²³ S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 138–139. »E tra loro erano alcune immascherate, le quali veniuano cātando certe loro canzonette schiauone, di vaghissima aria.«

¹²⁴ M. DEMOVIĆ: *Glazba i glazbenici*, 13–17.

¹²⁵ F. de DIVERSIS: *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, 108.

¹²⁶ V. KATALINIĆ: *A Historical Example*, 101.

¹²⁷ F. M. APPENDINI: *Povijesno-kritičke bilješke*, 208.

¹²⁸ The fact that the feast of the saint had its Octave again confirms its highest rank in Dubrovnik.

¹²⁹ F. de DIVERSIS: *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, 108, 177.

church of the same-named convent, and that the Mass was brought to the nuns because they did not celebrate with the monks in the Cathedral, it is likely that the nuns sang it themselves. Additionally, the convent of Saint Clare was only one out of eight female monasteries Dubrovnik had, and it might have been selected to host the solemn Mass of Saint Blaise for all Ragusan nuns because of its reputation as »the most beautiful and spacious of them all«. ¹³⁰ As we know, the church was equipped with an organ of unknown type and size, but similar to one in the church of Saint Blaise installed in 1398. ¹³¹ The possibility that the church of Saint Clare had an organ in the time of Diversis (just 42 years later) is indisputable, while the presence of the *same* organ in Razzi's time is slightly doubtful – as can be seen from other documents of Dubrovnik Republic, ¹³² the organs needed constant maintenance and repairs, and they have probably been modified in some way in the 190 years period from the first instalment until Razzi's arrival. The Republic's constant care for its organs can be seen through the number of archival news and the amount of money it invested in renovation of organs in different churches. Despite the lack of documents about the organ in the church of Saint Clare, the possibility that they upgraded the organ is indubitable. Unfortunately, we have no specific information about the performance of Ragusan nuns in any of the sources yet, but

¹³⁰ »Sunt praetor haec septem dominarum monialium [sic] loca seu monasteria. Quinque scilicet ordinis beati Benedicti, unum ordinis patriarcae Domini et unum aliorum omnium pulcherrimum et amplissimum devotissime virginis sanctae Clarae, discipula quae fuit sancti Francisci. Ubi solum nobiles Ragusinae virgines Deo dedicantur ut plurimum.« F. de DIVERSIS: *Opis slavnoга grada Dubrovnika*, 53, 149.

Diversis mentions seven monasteries in 1440: the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary of Angels, St. Andrew, St. Thomas on Pustijerna, St. Simon, St. Marc in Kalarinja (before being dedicated to St. Bartholomew), the Dominican monastery of St. Michael the Archangel, and the Franciscan monastery of St. Clare. The latter was the most famous and spacious probably because of its inhabitants' prosperity in pre-monastic lives: because it was intended for noblewomen whose parents wished for them to get the best education, their ordination came with great dowry. The dowry included both money, material possessions, but also real estates. For more on dowry practices in Dubrovnik, see Zdenka JANEKOVIĆ-RÖMER: *Rod i Grad: Dubrovačka obitelj od XIII do XV stoljeća*, Dubrovnik – Zagreb: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1994, 77–92. See also footnote 10 in Minela FULURIJA: Utemeljenje ženskoga samostana Sv. Katarine Sijenske u Dubrovniku, *Povijesni prilozi*, 32 (2013) 45, 115–133.

Razzi in 1588 mentions the same seven female monasteries as Diversis and includes the number of nuns (altogether it had 127 nuns in five Benedictine nunneries; Franciscan St. Clare had 60 sisters, while the Dominican monastery of St. Michael had 25 noble nuns). The eighth, Franciscan monastery of Saint Peter and Paul, was built in 1505. S. RAZZI: *La storia di Raugia*, 173–174; M. FULURIJA: Utemeljenje ženskoga samostana, 121.

¹³¹ Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, *Diversa Cancelariae* 32, 205'. »Die 7 Decembris 1398: Johannes Spalensis de Sibilis conventi et promisit ser Matheo de Georgio et ser Aluio de Goze procuratoribus ecclesiae sancti Blaxii dare et consignare hinc ad festum Assensionis proxime unum bonum organum bene laboratum et completum omnibus necessariis expensis ipsius Johannis repositum in ecclesia sancti Blaxii Ragusii illius bonitatis, pulchritudinis et magnitudinis ad minus cuius est organum Pulcellarum Ragusi.« M. DEMOVIĆ: *Velika povijest dubrovačke glazbe*, 105, 272.

¹³² M. DEMOVIĆ: *Velika povijest dubrovačke glazbe*, 104–109.

considering that nuns have been mentioned singing and playing instruments throughout Renaissance Europe, we can be assured that the nuns in Dubrovnik did not stay completely silent.¹³³

Conclusion

The importance of Serafino Razzi's appointment in Renaissance Dubrovnik is of unimaginable importance for Croatia. His devotion for work resulted in a comprehensive and detailed history of Dubrovnik. Thanks to Razzi's status and the book's popularity, we have not only been left with great insight into the vivid religious and secular life and society of late sixteenth-century Dubrovnik, but with a direct description of the liturgical day on the most important day of the Republic, the feast of Saint Blaise. Despite the lack of physical liturgical sources directly tied to the cult of Saint Blaise because of the never-forgotten 1667 earthquake; some preserved primary and secondary evidence, descriptions of similar moments during events in other European cities that are tied to Dubrovnik via diplomatic relations, and the fact that Dubrovnik was a tradition-oriented Republic help us further reconstruct the feast.

The great amount of clergy and local people gathered for the festivity on the 2nd of February 1588, and lavishly celebrated Vespers and solemn Mass to express their eternal gratitude to the saint. There the numerous clergy embellished the usual chant with improvised counterpoint and with interspersed written polyphony. The Rector's musicians contributed to the festivity with instrumental pieces featuring organ, trumpets, trombones, flutes, and cornetti. Secular festivities continued in the afternoon, with various processions, games, jousts, and more music and dance. But the feast did not end there, as the whole week until the Octave of the feast – and even two weeks after – was celebrated in the same manner, when the festivity was closed off with a couple of solemn Masses: one in the church of the patron saint, just steps away from the Republic's cathedral, and the other in church of Saint Clare for the numerous singing and instrument-playing nuns, again lavishly commemorating the saint.

And while this paper investigated only the layer just beneath the scratched surface, it provides a wider basis for further research and speculation: inaccessible

¹³³ For more on the topic of nuns singing, see Laurie STRAS: *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018; Laurie STRAS: Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The »materna lingua« Complex, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 70 (2017), 3, 617–696; Laurie STRAS: The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents, *Early Music*, 45 (2017) 2, 195–215; Magdalena WALTER–MAZUR: On How the Nuns Sang Vespers in Fractus – Alternatim Practice in Liturgical Music of Polish Female Benedictines, in: Paweł Gancarczyk – Agnieszka Leszczyńska (eds.): *The Musical Heritage of the Jagiellonian Era*, Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2012, 269–276, and others.

sources need to be accessed and analysed, the others need to be put in context. The sources with Ragusan and Croatian provenance need to be compared with international ones; some other historical feasts of the saint in other countries need to be analysed, and their rituals need to be observed and compared to the ritual in Dubrovnik. Further archives need to be combed through repeatedly to locate the missing information so that the liturgical picture of the celebrations tied to the patron saint of the one and only true Croatian Renaissance city can be completed.

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*Sažetak***STORIA DI RAUGIA SERAFINA RAZZIJA ILI O DUBROVAČKOJ RENESANSNOJ POLIFONIJU U VELJAČI 1588. GODINE: PUTEM REKONSTRUKCIJE LITURGIJE BLAGDANA SVETOGA VLAHA**

Za razliku od ostatka suvremene hrvatske države u šesnaestome stoljeću, kojoj je pod neprestanom tlakom austrijske, mletačke i turske vladavine suspregnut razvoj na različitim razinama, Dubrovnik je bio slobodna i sigurna republika. Vješta diplomacija vladajuće vlastele i stabilna unutarnja politika osigurala je dugogodišnji opstanak male republike na Sredozemlju te njezin društveni, ekonomski i kulturni razvoj. Potonji je nadalje omogućio uspostavu i dugogodišnje očuvanje profesionalnog tijela glazbenika i pjevača, čiji razvoj i djelovanje možemo pratiti od početka četrnaestoga stoljeća pa sve do 1809. godine, kada ga je okupatorska francuska vlast *umirovila*.

U jesen 1587, na poziv dubrovačkoga Senata, na čelo dominikanske kongregacije dolazi svećenik i polihistor Serafino Razzi s jasnim zadatkom: ponovno uspostaviti red i stegu među dubrovačkim dominikancima te popraviti njihov odnos s vlastelom koji se polako raspadao. Potaknut prvenstveno nedostatkom *prave povijesti* Dubrovnika, a potom i velikodušnošću i srdačnošću Dubrovčana, Razzi je za vrijeme svojega djelovanja u Dubrovniku marljivo skupio sve potankosti njegova svjetovnog i crkvenog života te je 1595. godine u Lucci objavio prvu *pravu povijest* Dubrovnika, *La storia di Raugia*.

U trećoj knjizi Razzijeve Povijesti nalazimo detaljno svjedočanstvo svetkovine povodom blagdana svetoga Vlahu iz 1588. Od pojave legende o svetom Vlahu u devetom stoljeću pa sve do danas, Dubrovčani na svečev blagdan 3. veljače održavaju *festu* u znak zahvalnosti svecu za pomoć u obrani protiv Mlečana, a koja je postala sastavni dio dubrovačkog identiteta. Osim vjerskog, društvenog i političkog obilježja, za vrijeme svetkovine naglašena je i uloga glazbe, kojoj je svakodnevna crkvena uloga tijekom svetkovine raskošno uvećana.

Ovaj rad detaljno analizira glazbene pojedinosti iz Razzijeva zapisa, a uz pomoć različitih povijesnih vrela odgovara na pitanja izvođačke i liturgijske prakse renesansnog Dubrovnika te donosi liturgijsku rekonstrukciju večernjice uoči blagdana i svečane mise na svečev dan. Iz analize proizlazi da je Dubrovnik 2. i 3. veljače 1588. svjedočio okupljanju mnoštva svećenstva te stanovnika Republike koji su zajednički slavili svojega zaštitnika. Svećenstvo je u katedrali izvodilo uobičajene gregorijanske napjeve gdje gdje obogaćene improviziranim kontrapunktom i polifonim skladbama koje su bile umetnute u liturgiju. Glazbenici Kneževe kapele svečanosti su pridonijeli instrumentalnim skladbama te su obogatili vokalne dionice podvajajući ih orguljama, trubama, trombonima, flautama i kornetima. Crkvene svečanosti nadovezale su se na svjetovne, koje su se nastavile u popodnevnom satima različitim povorkama, igrama, viteškim borbama te glazbom i plesom. Svečanosti su se nastavile tijekom čitavog tjedna, a poneke i dva tjedna nakon svečeva blagdana, završivši dvjema misama u Gradu: u crkvi svetog Vlahu te crkvi svete Klare za brojne dubrovačke redovnice, koje su svetog Vlahu sjajno slavile pjevajući gregorijanske napjeve i polifone kompozicije te svirajući instrumente.