

THE MUSIC REPERTOIRE OF THE FRANCISCAN PROVINCIA BOSNAE ARGENTINAE AND THE PROVINCIA SANCTI JOANNIS A CAPISTRANO IN SLAVONIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES¹

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Abstract. *During the early part of the eighteenth century the Franciscan Provincia Bosnae Argentinae covered the wide geographical space of Bosnia, Slavonia, Srem, and Dalmatia, extending also to Hungary and Transylvania. After the first secession of 1735, monasteries in Dalmatia formed the new Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris, and following the second secession of 1757 monasteries in Slavonia, southern Hungary, Transylvania, and Vojvodina formed the Provincia S. Joannis a Capistrano.*

The most prominent music personality in the Slavonian monasteries in the first half of the eighteenth century was Filip Vlahović from Kaposvár (Philippo à Kapusuar, Philip Kapusvaracz; before 1700–1755), a multitalented artist who compiled, wrote, and exquisitely decorated anthologies of liturgical music, also composing some of the included Masses and hymns.

1 This article is based on research in the north-Croatian Franciscan libraries conducted during the early 1980s. An immense help was provided to me at that time by the late P. Paškal (Vjekoslav) Cvekan (25 May 1913–25 November 1998) and P. Vatroslav Frkin. Without their generosity, many libraries in the present-day Province of St. Cyril and Methodius would have remained closed to me. In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s Paškal Cvekan published monographs with the histories of over two dozen monasteries, which provide not only invaluable accounts of the activities of the Franciscan Order in northern Croatia, but also the context in which we can observe the changes in musical life in the monasteries of Slavonia. However, research of the monasteries belonging to the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Provincia Sancti Joannis a Capistrano in present-day Hungary and Transylvania remains inadequate. Hopefully, this general survey of musical life in the Croatian part of the provinces could lead to a joint research with Hungarian colleagues resulting in a full account of musical life in the entire province. A general survey of the sources kept in some monasteries in Slavonia could be found in Ladislav Šaban & Zdravko Blažeković, “Izvještaj o dvogodišnjem sređivanju triju glazbenih zbirki u Osijeku i o pregledu glazbenih rukopisa i knjiga u franjevačkim samostanima u Slavoniji i Srijemu”, in *Arti musices* 11/1 (June 1980): 47–95. A counterpart to the present article, discussing the Mass repertoire in the neighboring north-Croatian Franciscan province, is my “Glazbeni repertoar u kantualima Konrada Potočnika sastavljenima za sjevernokrvačku franjevačku Provinciju Svetoga Ladislava Kralja”, in *Nova nepoznata glazba: Svečani zbornik za Nikšu Gliga / New Unknown Music: Essays in Honour of Nikša Gliga*, eds. Dalibor Davidović and Nada Bezić (Zagreb: DAF, 2012), 249–276.

In 1750–1751 the general definator of the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae, Josip Janković (ca. 1710–1757), commissioned liturgical books for all the monasteries in the province from Giuseppe Maria Cordans (1694–1766), who worked at the monastery of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice. These were large-sized volumes, all with an identical repertoire of thirteen Masses mostly dedicated to the Franciscan saints, one Requiem, and three Tantum ergo settings for vocal solo/tutti performance. The accompanying organ part with figured bass in the style of late-Baroque monody was written separately. This repertoire was performed until the liturgical reforms of Maria Theresa in 1776 and Joseph II in 1785, who introduced simple Singmessen sung in the vernacular.

Keywords: Croatia/Slavonia, Order of Friars Minor (OFM), Filip Vlahović from Kaposvár, Giuseppe Maria Cordans, Marijan Jaić, Roman-Catholic music repertoire

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the Franciscan Provincia Bosnae Argentinae covered the wide geographical space of Bosnia, Slavonia, Srem, and Dalmatia, extending also to Hungary and Transylvania. After the secession in 1735, its monasteries in Dalmatia (Karin, Knin, Visovac, Šibenik, Omiš, Makarska, Živogošće, and Zaoštrog) formed the new Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris.² In 1757 monasteries in Slavonia and southwestern Hungary also separated, forming the Provincia S. Joannis a Capistrano with monasteries and residences in Bač, Cernik, Ilok, Gradiška, Našice, Osijek, Vukovar, Šarengrad, Velika, Đakovo, Slavonski Brod, and Požega in Slavonia; Buda, Dunafeldvár, Páks, Tolna, Baja, and Mohács in Hungary; Arad, Radna (Máriaradna), and Temesvár in Transylvania; and Petrovaradin, Sombor, and Zemun in Vojvodina. In the territory of Bosna and Herzegovina only three monasteries remained, in Sutjeska, Fojnica, and Kreševo; but by the 1760s the province added a number of parishes and residences throughout the country.³ These changes in the geography of the provinces determined the gravitational forces and lines of influence among their monasteries, and therefore it is important to keep them in mind when we study the repertoire performed in their churches.

Croatians were the most numerous population in the Capistran province, but a sizable number of brethren were of German and Hungarian origin. For this reason the Consilium Regium Locumtenentiale Hungaricum in Bratislava issued a regu-

2 At the time of secession the province bore the name of St. Kaja; it was renamed the *Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris* in 1743. See Filip Lastrić, *Pregled starina Bosanske Provincije* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1977), 71.

3 The changing geography of the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae is demonstrated in the geographical maps included in Lastrić, *Pregled starina Bosanske Provincije*, 173–175.

lation (5 October 1769) that the office of the provincial superior had to alternate between ethnic Croatian and Hungarian/German monks.⁴ Also, in the *novitiate* all three major languages used by congregations (Croatian, Hungarian, and German) were taught, and a provision was made that clerics who were not sufficiently fluent to give sermons using them might not be allowed the ordination.⁵

Although in the early eighteenth century the monasteries in the Croatian north were geographically separated from their counterparts in Dalmatia by the Ottoman-governed Bosnia, the mutual exchanges and influences between the monasteries in Slavonia and Srem with the monasteries along the Dalmatian coast were possible and allowed some flow of music repertoire. The most obvious evidence of the Italian influences impregnating the north are the Italian liturgical and musical books that have been preserved in north-Croatian Franciscan libraries. Brethren not only went to Italy for their education but also, in their Slavonian monasteries, studied music from Italian textbooks brought there by way of Dalmatia and Bosnia. The libraries of the monasteries in Slavonia keep a number of such music theory books: Giovanni d'Avella's *Regole di musica* (Rome, 1657);⁶ Joannes Baptiste de Marinis's *Clavis cantus ecclesiastici seu modus intonandi et cantandi* (Rome, 1661);⁷ Fabricio Tettamanzi's *Breve metodo per fondatamente e con facilità apprendere il canto fermo* (Milan, ¹1686; ²1706; ⁴1756);⁸ Andrea di Modena's *Canto harmonico* (Modena, 1690);⁹ Giuseppe Frezza dalle Grotte's *Il cantore ecclesiastico: Breve, facile, ed essatta notizia del canto fermo* (Padua, ¹1698; ³1733);¹⁰ Francesco Gasparini's *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Venice, ²1715; Bologna, ⁴1722);¹¹ and Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, ¹1725).¹² With the exception of the Fux treatise, all these music books are by Italian theorists, which is consistent with the education of the Franciscans in Loreto, Rome, Ancona, Milan, Bologna, and Venice. These manuals were either written by Franciscan musicians (Giovanni d'Avella, Tettamanzi,

4 In 1769 the Capistran province had 253 Croatian, 22 Hungarian, and 162 German monks, and four monks from other Slavic countries. See Emanuel Franjo Hoško, "Dvije osječke visoke škole u 18. stoljeću", in *Kačić* 10 (1978): 130–131.

5 E. F. Hoško, *ibid.*, 147.

6 Two copies are preserved in the library of the monastery in Našice.

7 One copy is preserved in the library of the monastery in Osijek.

8 Three copies of the first edition are preserved in the library of the monastery in Slavonski Brod, one in Bač, and two in Našice; one copy of the second edition is preserved in Požega; and one copy of the fourth edition in Slavonski Brod.

9 One copy is preserved in the library of the monastery in Ilok and two in Našice.

10 A copy of the first edition is preserved in the library of the monastery in Našice and the third edition in Bač.

11 A copy of the second edition is preserved in the library of the monastery in Požega and a copy of the fourth edition in Našice.

12 A copy is kept in the library of the monastery in Bač.

Andea di Modena) or specifically recommended for use in Franciscan communities (Frezza delle Grotte). The extent to which Croatian Franciscans relied on Italian Franciscan music literature might also be indicated by the fact that the *Fundamentum cantus gregoriani seu choralis*, which Mihovil Šilobod-Bolšić (1724–87) published in Zagreb in 1760, has not been found in any Slavonian Franciscan library.

From a secondary source we also know that in 1770 the later guardian of the Osijek monastery and the provincial superior Josip Pavišević (1734–1803) wrote a manual of Gregorian chant allegedly in the Croatian language. The work is known only by its Latin title, *Doctrina cantu figuralis seu recta et perfecta semita ad cantu figurale*, and it likely remained unpublished.

The coherence of the repertoire and music education between the south and north before the second partition of the Bosnian province in 1757 could be also identified through books kept in libraries in Slavonia which have the names of the Dalmatian monasteries where they were originally used penciled on their title pages, and manuscripts written locally in Slavonia with the orthography characteristic for the Croatian coastal regions. The specific territorial organization of the Franciscan provinces influenced the formation in the Slavonian Franciscan monasteries of two distinct musical styles during the eighteenth century: in the first part of the century the Italian style was dominant, while in the final decades, after the Theresian and Josephinian reforms, the main influences came from the north.

Students in seminaries were obliged to practice chant for one hour every day except on Sunday,¹³ and Gregorian chant remained in practice even during the nineteenth century. In 1850, when Marijan Jaić published his hymnal *Napivi bogoljubnih církenih pisamah* (Tunes of devotional church hymns), he included ninety-two Gregorian chants with texts in both Latin and Croatian.

THE MASS REPERTOIRE

The withdrawal of the Ottomans from Slavonia following the 1699 treaty of Sremski Karlovci re-established circumstances favorable for Franciscan activities, and they immediately started with recatholization throughout the region. Since

13 The regulation issued by Maksimilian Leisner on 10 September 1762. See E. F. Hoško, “Dvije osječke visoke škole”, 147. The practice of teaching music in the Franciscan communities during the second half of the eighteenth century was probably best documented in a manuscript by the student Marko Orovcčanin (†1781) containing notes taken during the music lectures delivered by P. Juraj Mirković: *Fundamenta cantus Gregoriani seu Ecclesiastici Patris Fris Marci Orovcsanin studentis in 3tium annum Theologiae descripta in Novitiatu anno Milesimo 7ptingentisimo sexagisimo (!) 5to [=1765] sub Rendo Patre Georgio Mirkovich actuali tunc magistro novitiorum*. The library of the Franciscan monastery in Slavonski Brod, C–R.53.

organs were installed in monastic churches only during the eighteenth century, before that time brethren were likely singing unaccompanied chant, as was usual for all Franciscan communities, and their congregations probably worshipped with singing simple hymns. Archival records from the first half of the century do occasionally mention that monasteries owned an *organon*, but these instruments must have been small portatives. An instrument in Našice was first mentioned in 1710, and the new organ (II/14) was built in 1774; Bač received its organ in 1719;¹⁴ Požega had possibly a portative before 1730 and the first organ was installed there around 1767;¹⁵ Ilok got its organ in 1738;¹⁶ Vukovar around 1749; Slavonski Brod had possibly a portative in the 1730s with its first organ built in 1778,¹⁷ and finally, Osijek got its organ in 1761.¹⁸ The chronicle of the monastery in Slavonski Brod for 1736 includes several references to the use of an organ during the liturgy, from which one can conclude that instrumental accompaniment was used during the Mass, the Office of the Terce, and vespers.¹⁹ Of other instruments, only the inventory of the Požega monastery from 1730 mentions two trumpets and two violins, although this certainly does not mean that other churches did not have performances of figural music.²⁰

The most important music personality in the Slavonian monasteries during the final decades of their administration under the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae

14 This first organ in the Bač monastery, built by an unknown builder, was replaced in 1827–29 by the one (II/16) by Simon Sangl, Ignacije Lehner, and Fridolin Wagner that is still used in the church. See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Baču* (Virovitica: author, 1985), 131–132.

15 The first record of an instrument in Požega dates from 1730, when the Jesuits borrowed a portative from the Franciscan monastery for their celebration of St. John Nepomuk. The chronicle of the Franciscan monastery lists organists continuously from 1767 until the church fire in 1842, which confirms that an organ existed there during this period. Following the fire, a new instrument was completed in 1844. In 1907, this instrument was replaced by the organ (II/12) built by Vaclav Holub. See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Požegi* (Požega: author, 1983), 113–115; 164–166.

16 In the church in Ilok the organ was in place already by 1738, when the positive was moved to a side of the altar. In 1833 this instrument was replaced by one (I/12) brought from Buda. See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Iloku* (Ilok: author, 1986), 173–174.

17 During the 1730s a portative was used in the old church in Slavonski Brod. In the new church, completed in the early 1750s, the organ was first mentioned in 1767 during a Mass in which the crown prince Joseph took part. This was likely the portative from the old church mentioned earlier. The first organist is mentioned in the *Tabula* in 1771. In January 1778 the provincial superior Blaž Tadijanović blessed the organ (I/8) which was brought from the residence in Čuntić. This instrument was replaced in 1835–38 by the organ (II/24) built by Ignacije Lehner, assisted by the carpenters Fridolin Wagner and Simon Frimmel. See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Brodu* (Slavonski Brod: author, 1984), 116–120; 166–168.

18 The instrument was built by Anton Roemer.

19 See Cvekan, *Franjevci u Brodu*, 118.

20 *Ibid.*, 113.

was Filip Vlahović from Kaposvár (Philippo à Kapusuar, Philip Kapusvaracz, Filip Kapušvarac; before 1700–21 September or November 1755),²¹ a multitalented artist who not only compiled, wrote, and exquisitely decorated anthologies of liturgical music, but was also a musician and a writer of spiritual poetry in the Croatian language. Five music anthologies have been preserved with the liturgical repertoire produced either by him or by his circle, which define the Franciscan repertoire in Slavonia in the first half of the eighteenth century. They were prepared by Vlahović for use in the monasteries in Požega (1719), Velika (1720), Vukovar (1730), and Našice (preface dated March 1737), and at least some of them were produced for his own use. In the preface to the section with hymns in his 1737 volume he apologizes to the person who will inherit it after his death, clearly indicating that he had made it for himself and intended to use it until his death. Therefore, we might consider both the Mass and the hymn repertoires included in these volumes as selections reflecting Vlahović's own musical taste and sensibilities.

The earliest known anthology written by Vlahović was the *Series missarum* with a note *Ad Usum Conventus Sancti Spiritus Posegae*, dated 15 September 1719.²² The manuscript is attributed to Vlahović on the basis of the decorations and initials which resemble those of his other manuscripts. In the following year, he produced an anthology *Ad simplicem usum Vellicensium*.²³ Its first part, entitled *Missae contra puncto tam de vivis, quam pro defunctis, quas descripsit Fra Philippus a Capussuar in Con[ven]tu Velicensi S. Aug[ustini], anno a partu virgineo 1720 die 7 mensis Xbris [=7 December 1720]*, includes five Masses and two Requiems, while the second part contains twenty-six *antiphonae & cantilena aliae res contra puncto quis descripsit Fr. Philippus a Cappusvar, in convento Velicensis Aggustinae*. All of these Masses and hymns are for two voices, with the parts written side by side, making the layout of this book unique among the volumes owned by Vlahović.

In 1725 Matija Jakobović (d. 1753) compiled the *Liber missarum quas ex libris ref[er]endi P[at]ris Phillipi a Capusvar Ord[inis] Min[orum] S[ancti] Patris Francisci*

21 In the library of the Našice monastery is a volume with notes that Vlahović took during his seminary studies in Opava in 1717. The autograph title page reads: "Theologia moralis sec cvrsvs theologicus traditus atque completus a MM: VV: PP: Wenceslao Daudlebsky & Roberto Wohnsidler, Ord: Min: S:P: Nostri Francisci Reform: SS: Theologiae lectoribus actualibus, DESCRIPTUS autem a Venerando patre Fre Philippo Wlahowich a Kapusvar, ejusdem tunc temporis studioso. Oppaviae ad S. Barbaram V: & Martyr: gloriosissimam. Anno MDCCVII." For a biography of Filip Vlahović, see Dionizije Švagelj, "Filip Kapušvarac", in *Radovi Centra JAZU, Vinkovci V* (1984): 175–220.

22 The volume is a leather-bound unpaginated book (27.5 × 20 cm), kept in the library of the monastery in Požega.

23 This volume is a well-preserved leather-bound book (25 × 19 cm), kept in the library of the monastery in Požega.



Fig. 1. *Liber missarum quas ex libris re[vere]ndi P[at]ris Phillippi à Capusvar Ord[is] Min[orum] S[an]cti Patris Francisci Obs[er]vantium. Anno 1725. Die 22 Junij excerpt Matthias Jacobovich.* Title page, 21 × 16.5 cm. Library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R-6.

Obs[ervan]tium. Anno 1725. Die 22 Junii excerptis Matthias Jacobovich [fig. 1].²⁴ The title of this volume indicates that Vlahović owned a collection of music from which Jakobović copied Masses and hymns. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the contents of this anthology are complementary to Vlahović's volumes from 1730 and 1737. Among the seventeen Masses in the volume, five are also included in Vlahović's 1737 volume, in addition to a large number of hymns shared by both volumes. This manuscript also includes the only composition attributed to Vlahović, the *Messa di Pastorella del Ss^{mo} Natale, composta del Pre Philippo di Capusvar* (no. 10), a Christmas Mass with the characteristic dotted rhythm implemented in all movements [fig. 2]. Although a thorough analysis of this repertoire has yet to be done, it is probable that some of these Masses, most of which are in the style of measured chant, originated among Italian Franciscan musicians.

The 1730 volume from Vukovar, attributed to Vlahović, includes three Masses, one Requiem, twenty hymns in Latin and twenty in the Croatian language, the repertoire again shared with the Jakobović 1725 and Vlahović 1737 volumes.²⁵

Vlahović's 1737 volume from Našice, entitled *Consonans dissonantia*, is his most elaborately decorated manuscript [fig. 3].²⁶ The musical text on each page is framed with an expansive ornamental frame, and at the beginning of each Mass movement is inserted an initial that takes up almost a quarter of the page [fig. 4]. The volume is organized in four parts. The opening section includes sixteen Masses and twelve Latin hymns. The second part, *Saltus sine saltu ... seu fundamenta*,

24 Matija Jakobović was also the author of a Croatian-Latin dictionary written in 1710. Its manuscript is preserved at the Franciscan monastery in Visovac. See Loretana Farkaš, "Stari slavonski rukopisni rječnici", in *Filologija* 58 (2012): 99–114. The *Liber missarum* is a leather-bound book with 252 pages in quarto (21 × 16.5 cm), kept in the library of the monastery in Našice, R–6. Vlahović himself participated in the production of this volume and provided its decorations, since the volume's title page is consistent with his *Theologia moralis*, containing the notes he took at the seminary in Opava (1717), which is now kept in the library of the Našice monastery.

25 The volume is a leather-bound book in quarto (30.2 × 22 cm), with 116 pages (the title page and the first three folios are missing), kept in the Vukovar monastery, XII.G.1. The manuscript is dated on p. 47 (*Coventus Valcovariensis PP. Franciscanorum 1730*) and on p. 116 (*Spectat ad Conventum Sanctorum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi Anno Millesimo septingentesimo quadragesimo 3tio. Die vero 1ma januarii [= 1 January 1743]*). See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Vukovaru* [Franciscans in Vukovar] (Vukovar: author, 1980), 188.

26 The full title is *Consonans dissonantia in qua multiplicis vocis amicum dissidium et Deum ludendo colit et hominem saliendo commendat seu libellus cantuum sacrorum in quo viva vox pneumatica voce adjuncta facilitatem harmonicam pondere regularum pressa exhibet. Compilatus per me Patrem Fratrem Philippum à Capusvar Anno Domini M:DCC:XXXVII*. The manuscript is a leather-bound book with 210 pages in folio (34.5 × 22.5 cm), kept in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R–5. For its detailed description see Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Albinim Našicama* (Našice: author, 1981), 163–170; and Trpimir Matasović, "Našički kantual Filipa Vlahovića iz Kapušara", in *Arti musices* 29/2 (1998): 223–230.

93. 12

Messa di Pastorella del Ss^{mo} Natale
Composta del Pre Philippo di Capusvar

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Fig. 2. Filip Vlahović, *Messa di Pastorella dell Ss^{mo} Natale*, composta del Pre Philippo di Capusvar (1725). Mass no. 10 in *Liber missarum quas ex libris re[vere]ndi P[at]ris Phillippi à Capusvar ... excerpsit Matthias Jacobovich*, p. 93. Library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R-6.



Fig. 3. Filip Vlahović, *Consonans dissonantia* (1737), title page. Manuscript, 34.5 × 22.5 cm. Library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R-5.



Fig. 4. Filip Vlahović, *Consonans dissonantia* (1737), Kyrie of Mass III, page. 17.

praeludia & simphoniae organisticae in ecclesia haberi solitae, was supposed to contain some basic music theory and a selection of preludes and organ compositions, but only the first page with instructions for how to read clefs and key signatures has been written out. The third part, with the title in the Croatian language, *Pochim-ayu razlichite duhovne pizme od Blaxene Divicze Marie* (Beginning of various spiritual songs dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary), includes twenty-nine Marian and seventeen other hymns in the Croatian language followed by Requiem movements [fig. 5]. The final part, *Apolo Sacratu, non in parnasso sed in ecclesia cytharam tangens, seu cantus cantilenarum sacratiores qui in ecclesia pro majori solatio fidelium in modulamen referri solent* includes nineteen Latin hymns, the 1722 Martirologium by Antonio de Budrio, and the Alma Redemptoris.²⁷

The Masses in these volumes are for one voice without instrumental accompaniment. The *Liber memorabilium* of the Vukovar monastery provides an indication that on 16 November 1732 Vlahović sang there at the first Mass in the newly erected church “cum organo.” This was certainly not a permanent organ but a portative brought there for the celebration, because the Franciscans could not have afforded to build an instrument in the church which still was not completely finished, and at this time did not even have permanently installed altars.²⁸ The *Liber memorabilium* mentions how the old wooden church was in such bad condition in the fall of 1732 that, since the season was very rainy, there was a real danger of the roof collapsing on the congregation. Hence, the guardian decided to bless the new church before it was completed.²⁹ This circumstantial evidence is a compelling indication that, in compiling his Vukovar volume of 1730, Vlahović had no reason to include the organ part, since the monastery at that time did not yet have a satisfactory church, much less an instrument.

Unlike the books from the middle of the century, where we find written annotations in the Masses marking the alternations between *solo* and *tutti*, the music here is not accompanied by any instructions and these volumes were clearly not meant to be used by a choir of clerics but rather by one soloist. All of Vlahović’s volumes are small, and hardly more than one person could comfortably use at one time. In churches with an organ, the singer could easily have sung from the volume while at the same time improvising an organ accompaniment. The preserved textbooks document that Franciscan organists were learned in figured bass.

27 Two hymns from this volume – *Ignaculus amoris S.N.P. Francisci* (“Salve Deus, amor meus”) and “Poslan bi anđeo Gabriel” – have been edited by Ennio Stipčević and published in the music supplement to *Sveta Cecilija* 58/1 (1988).

28 See *Liber memorabilium* of the Vukovar monastery, I, 56–60. P. Cvekan, *Franjevci u Vukovaru*, 64–66, 118.

29 *Ibid.*



Fig. 5. Filip Vlahović, *Consonans dissonantia* (1737), Marian hymn XXIX and the introduction to the part with hymns for other church feasts, page 145.

In most Masses of this repertoire the text is treated in a melismatic manner, occasionally even in the Gloria and Credo, movements traditionally set as a recitative. The exceptions are a few Masses – Vlahović's singular attributed piece *Messa di Pastorella* in Jakobović's volume, or Masses I, II, IV, V, and to some extent IX in the volume *Consonans dissonantia* – which are set in a more recitative manner, and where one cannot find sections with unmeasured rhythm. Masses I and IX have the tempo marked in several places, which makes them the only such works in this entire repertoire. A certain evolution can also be noticed in the notation, and it is obvious that Vlahović modernized his writing between his early volumes and the *Consonans dissonantia* of 1737, although the older style of diamond-shaped notation, which he used in earlier volumes, was still in use in Slavonia as late as 1749.³⁰

It is also important to mention the missal copied by Franjo Vukovarac (Franjo from Vukovar, 1692–after 1771) entitled *Missae compositae per R.P.Fr. Franciscum de Budrio ac descriptae per Fr. Franciscum de Walchovarino Prov[inciae] Bosnae Arg[entin]ae Alumnum Ferraria dies 1722*. When Franjo produced this volume in 1722, he was a student of theology in Ferrara. The volume includes twenty-seven one-voice Masses and one two-voice Mass which the title page attributes to the Italian Franciscan composer Francesco Antonio di Budrio.³¹ Vlahović copied another piece of his, a Martirologium, in his *Consonans dissonantia*, and it is the only attributed composition there, also dated to 1722. It would certainly be interesting to follow the connection between the Franciscan musicians in Slavonia and Francesco Antonio di Budrio, particularly since very few of his works have been preserved elsewhere.

Among the liturgical music books written in Našice is also included a volume dated at its end: *Finis hujus II-di Libri Nascicis in Conventu S. Antonii Paduani Anno Domini MDCCXLIX Mensis May die 7ma*. This volume is exceptionally well preserved and appears not to have been used much. Written in 1749, it was completed shortly before the monastery received the choirbook commissioned from Venice by Josip Janković which eliminated the older repertoire.

After the Dalmatian Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris separated from the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae in 1735, its administrators made an effort to supply the monasteries with new liturgical books which would make the music repertoire, and particularly the Masses, uniform throughout the province. Starting in 1744, new liturgical music books were commissioned from Giuseppe Maria Cord-

30 For example, in the so-called *Liber secundus* completed in Našice on 8 May 1749 (and kept in the library of the monastery in Šarengrad in the 1980s).

31 During the 1980s the volume was kept in the library of the monastery in Vukovar, XX.F.3. It is leather-bound and has 100 pages in quarto, 29 × 22 cm. The contents are cited in P. Cvekan, *Franjevci u Vukovaru*, 119–120.

ans (1694–1766),³² a Franciscan living in the monastery of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, who at the time had already produced many liturgical books for the Franciscan monasteries in Veneto. In 1750–51 the general definator of the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae, Josip Janković (ca. 1710–57), also commissioned liturgical books from him for the monasteries in his province. Fourteen such choirbooks are known to be preserved, three of them with an accompanying organ part containing the figured bass [fig. 6].³³ At the beginning of each choirbook is a preface about the use of the volumes, with regulations about liturgical singing and its organ accompaniment, signed by Janković and approved with his wax seal.³⁴ The choirbooks were written by at least three different hands, one of them being Cordans.³⁵ They have a calligraphed script, usually seven staves per page. On the other hand, the organ part is not calligraphed, with not always parallel staves rather quickly lined with rastrum.

All the vocal volumes have identical contents consisting of thirteen Masses mostly dedicated to the Franciscan saints, one Requiem, and three Tantum ergo settings for one voice accompanied by the figured bass in the style of late-Ba-

32 The preserved volumes by Giuseppe Maria Cordans were produced for the monasteries in Šibenik (1744), Visovac (1745), Zaoštrog (1748), Imotski (1748), Živogošće (1749), and Makarska (1754). A hymnal and antiphony (in two volumes) were commissioned from Cordans in 1741 for the monastery in Košljun (north Adriatic) which belonged to the Dalmatian *Provincia S. Hieronymi*. See Albe Vidaković, “Tragom naših srednjovjekovnih neumatskih glazbenih rukopisa”, in *Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije* 67 (1963): 364–392.

33 Eleven books produced for monasteries in Croatia have been preserved: those for Požega, Slavonki Brod, Bač, Stara Gradiška, Osijek, Vukovar (with the organ volume), Šarengrad, Ilok, Velika (with the organ volume), Cernik, and one without the title page possibly from Đakovo (with the organ volume). Three were copied for monasteries in present-day Hungary: for Baja (today in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. mus. IV.799), Buda (today in the monastery in Pest, Ferencs Ms. 7a–b, with the organ volume), and one volume without a title page (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. mus. IV.803). At the Franciscan monastery in Budapest are kept two organ parts brought from Mohács (s.nr [Pécs E.I.53 and E.I.54]). – The volumes were produced with slight variations, for example, the Osijek choral volume is in large folio (50.5 × 35.5 cm) with iii + 297 pages, while the Šarengrad volume (48 × 34 cm) has 269 pages. The organ volume, containing the figured bass, is in the oblong format (22.5 × 30 cm), and the Vukovar copy has 204 pages.

34 At the beginning of each book is included the note: “Ut praesens liber Choralis, qui ad Majorem Dei Gloriam ordinatus in omni functione solemnibus ab omnibus exacte observetur stricte praecipimus etque mandamus, Fra Josephus Jankovich, Minis. Generalis et Diffinitor sui Ordinis, mp.” The integral introductory text (from the Baja volume) is published in Róbert Árpád Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen in den franziskaner Handschriften in Ungarn* (Budapest: Püski, 1997), xiv–xv.

35 Cordans wrote his name in the vignette on the title page of the books produced for the monasteries in Osijek and Ilok (R.P. Josephmaria Cordans Venet. Ord. Min. Regul: Observ. S.P.N. Francisci scribebat in Conventu Vineae venetiarum Anno Jubilaei 1750). They are also numbered II and IV, indicating that some books from this series might be somewhere unidentified as of yet.



Fig. 6. Title page of the choral book for the monastery in Velika (1751). Such books Josip Janković commissioned from Giuseppe Maria Cordans for all Slavonian monasteries of the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae. Library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R-3.

roque monody [fig. 7].³⁶ These volumes provide a good indication of performance practice in the Slavonian Franciscan monastic communities. The vocal parts have clearly marked *solo* and *tutti* sections, indicating that the Masses were performed with an alternation between solo and choral ensemble, accompanied by the organ and sometimes the trumpet. Unlike the Vlahović volumes, which are small and obviously meant for use by only one or two monks, these volumes are large and a group of singers could easily have performed from them. With the introduction of these volumes in the middle of the eighteenth century, Masses began to be performed in Franciscan churches with an organ accompaniment. All the Masses in this volume are anonymous, and the repertoire still needs to be attributed. Besides the figured bass for the Masses included in the vocal part, the organ *libello* includes a selection of antiphons, arias, and hymns written for solo voice with organ accompaniment. This makes it apparent that the Masses were performed by a soloist alternating with a larger vocal ensemble, while the shorter compositions were sung by the organist, following the usual practice in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

The commissioning of liturgical music books for both the Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris and the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae was a result of several factors. On one hand, they were standardizing the repertoire, making it uniform throughout the province, and possibly elevating its quality. On the other hand, with organs installed in more and more churches, it was now possible to have performances of more complex works. Just a year before the books were commissioned for the monasteries in Slavonia, Pope Benedict XIV Lambertini issued his encyclical *Annus qui*, which was intended to suppress the influence of theatrical music on church singing. Regarding the music situation in the Slavonian monasteries, the pope need not have been too concerned, because the available performing forces were limited, organs were installed only in the largest churches, and castrati were an unknown phenomenon. Still, the Masses in the Janković choirbooks were obviously not the only repertoire performed during the liturgy. Within a large amount of anonymous repertoire, the library of Slavonski Brod preserves the 1767 manuscript of a Mass by the Italian opera composer Antonio Maria Mazzoni

36 The Masses are: Missa S. Josephi, Missa S. Bonaventurae, Missa S. Caeciliae, Missa S. Benedicti, Missa S. Clarae, Missa S. Joannis Capistrani, Missa S. patri nostri Francisci, Missa B. Mariae Virginis Immaculatae, Missa S. Antonii, Missa S. Jacobi de Marchia, Missa S. Petri de Alcantura, Missa S. Didaci Confessoris, and Missa S. Catherina Bonania. – Ladislav Kačić attributed two of these Masses: the Missa S. Clarae to Giovanni Abondio Grotti, and the Missa S. Didaci Confessoris to Ferdinand Steiner. See Ladislav Kačić, “Repertoire und Aufführungspraxis der Kirchenmusik in den Franziskanerprovinzen Mitteleuropas im 17.–18. Jahrhundert”, in *Musicological istropolitana* 1 (2002): 97.

Missa S. Catharinae Bononiensis.

Orgen: quere in Libello Pag. Prima

Adagio

Ohiri e chirie e leison

Allegro

chiri e e leison .6. chirie e

leison e leison e leison eleison e

leison eleison e leison eleison e

leison e leison chirie eleiō e

leison e leison eleiō e leioō e 162

Fig. 7. Missa S. Catharinae Bononiensis, in the choral book from Velika (1751).

(1717–85), copied by Kuzma Vučka. This composition indicates that the Slavonian Franciscans remained interested in the newest music trends coming from Italy even after their monasteries were reorganized into the Provincia Sancti Joannis a Capistrano and geographically separated from Italy by the Bosnian and Dalmatian provinces.³⁷

The repertoire from the choral books commissioned by Josip Janković as well as other Italian Masses continued to be performed until the reforms of Maria Theresa in 1776 and Joseph II in 1785, which terminated the earlier ceremonies and introduced simple *Singmessen* sung in the vernacular. The Franciscans had been eagerly promoting music in the vernacular all along, and now quickly adopted these new regulations. Ironically, in the *Liber annotationum* of the monastery in Brod, there is a note indicating that when the Crown Prince (the future Emperor Joseph II) visited the monastery in 1768, the Franciscans celebrated the Mass “as it was customary, singing from the book by the late Janković.”³⁸ Now, the reforms of Joseph II put these same choral books out of commission.

Italian influences gradually diminished during the 1770s, and traditions approaching from the north (Hungary and Austria) brought classical instrumental music into fashion. Despite the recommended *Singmessen*, the music preserved in major monasteries indicates that from the 1770s the Masses were more and more often accompanied by an instrumental ensemble. In Slavonski Brod is preserved a large number of liturgical works for instrumental ensembles; one or two voices were accompanied by two violins, two clarinets, two horns, and one organ. The chronicle of the monastery in Osijek documents that three singers, two violinists, and an organist were sent in 1773 to play during the pontifical Mass in Đakovo.³⁹ Such performances became more frequent toward the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century in Franciscan as much as in diocesan churches. If some of the pieces found in the music collections of Slavonski Brod or Osijek did not have religious texts, the score would look like a simple instrumental secular piece in classical style.

37 Library of the Franciscan monastery in Slavonski Brod, C–R23. The original Credo in the Mass was replaced in Vučka’s copy with one by Francesco da Bagnacavallo.

38 “cantus autem in choro erat ordinarius sub missa, prout etiam nos solemus, ex libro pie defuncti Jankovich cantare sine ulla musica.” *Protocollum seu liber annotationum rerum notabilium conventus SS. Trinitatis*, library of the Franciscan monastery, Slavonski Brod, I, 115. See P. Cvekan, *Franjevci u Brodu*, 169. The term “sine ulla musica” should not be understood as a *cappella* singing, but rather as singing without instruments other than the organ. In the monastery library in Slavonski Brod a number of compositions are preserved with two violins, and occasionally also two trumpets.

39 See Marija Malbaša, “Glazbeni život u Osijeku”, in *Osječki zbornik IX–X* (1965): 141. The organist in the Franciscan monastery at that time was Cecilijan Ockl.

In the monastery of Slavonski Brod are preserved compositions by P. Kristofor (Christophor) Kellerer (Kuttenplana, now Chodová Plana near Mariánske Lazni, Bohemia, 30 January 1742–Klagenfurt, 10 December 1790) and possibly his brother Karlo Kellerer (also born in Kuttenplana, 1748). Kristofor was a well-known theologian who taught philosophy in Buda (1769–72) and theology in Temesvár (1777–79) and Osijek (1779–83).⁴⁰ After 1783 he was a military priest, serving with the troops in the Petrovaradin fortress (1787–89). The *Necrologium conventus Vukovar* mentions that he was a composer and a good singer, but only a handful of his compositions have been identified.⁴¹ In the monastery of Slavonski Brod have been preserved his *Ariae duae de S. Antonio vel pro aliis festis* for two voices and organ.⁴² Other pieces by Kellerer include possibly the *Duetto I de F. Sanctissimo Corpore Christi*, and the *Aria de sanctissimo Sacramento*, both for bass and organ, preserved in anonymous manuscripts from around 1770,⁴³ the twelve vocal duos for which only the bass part is preserved, and five of his Masses.⁴⁴ Considering that Kellerer studied in Buda and later taught in Temesvár, it is likely that some of his compositions may also surface in the Hungarian monasteries.

THE HYMN REPERTOIRE

During the eighteenth century, the Franciscans in Slavonia championed simple congregational hymns with the text in the Latin or Croatian language, and they became an important tool in evangelization. Many monastic libraries in Slavonia and Srem preserved small hymnals created during the eighteenth century filled exclusively with such hymns, intended for the personal use of monks. It is significant that hymns in the German or Hungarian language are completely absent from these hymnals, and even when a German hymn was adopted into the repertoire, its text was regularly translated into Croatian. Given that in this region the Austrian military administration imposed the use of German in education, the Franciscans

40 See E. F. Hoško, “Dvije osječke visoke škole”, 167. In the monastery in Bač was preserved the first edition (1725) of Fux’s *Gradus ad parnassum* with Kellerer’s signature (today kept in the monastery in Slavonski Brod). Kristofor’s two compositions in Slavonski Brod were copied by P. Kuzma Vučka (Wutschka), who copied a considerable amount of liturgical music during his seminary time in this monastery in 1767–1768. Later he lived in several monasteries in Slavonia, mostly in Bač, and died in 1800 as the organist of the Franciscan and parish churches in Đakovo.

41 See E. F. Hoško, “Dvije osječke visoke škole”, 178.

42 The manuscript was copied by Vučka and dated 18 November 1767. Library of the monastery in Slavonski Brod, C-R49 and C-R50.

43 Library of the monastery in Slavonski Brod, C-R46 and C-R47.

44 The duos are in the library of the monastery in Slavonski Brod, C-R48, and the Masses in the monastery in Osijek.

were clearly going against the grain by promoting hymns in the Croatian language.

Vlahović's volumes include large sections with hymns in Croatian and Latin. Taken together, all four volumes contain a repertoire of about sixty hymns, with the largest number in the third part of the *Consonans dissonantia*. Of the forty-six hymns included there, six are provided with a tune, a few others have a note instructing which melody should be used for the hymn, and the rest are represented with the text only. In this repertoire six hymns have been identified that are also included in the then extremely popular *Cvit razlika mirisa duhovnoga* (Venice, ¹1726; ²1736), compiled by the Dalmatian Franciscan Toma Babić (c. 1680–1750); five are also in the second edition of the *Cithara octochorda*, and one hymn in the Vukovar volume is accompanied by a note saying that it should be sung to the tune of the hymn "Freut euch, ihr lieben Seelen."⁴⁵ Certainly these hymns were widely known even before they were printed in the *Cvit razlika* and the *Cithara octochorda*, and it should not be assumed that Vlahović copied them from either of these two sources. Still, the hymns for which he included only the lyrics, some of them probably written by Vlahović himself, should not be overlooked, since their quality places them at the apex of Franciscan poetry in Slavonia during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The choral books which Josip Janković commissioned in 1750–1751 in Venice made uniform not only the sung Masses but the entire liturgical repertoire. The hymns, antiphons, and arias in these volumes, all with Latin texts, could easily be overlooked because they were intended to be sung either by the organist or by a soloist standing next to him, and were therefore written only in the organ volume which is missing from most monasteries. This Latin repertoire apparently coexisted together with the hymns in the Croatian language which can be found in smaller volumes in all the Franciscan libraries in Slavonia, generally created *pro simplici uso* of monks. It is likely that the monks would have performed some of these more popular hymns together with the congregation, and in this way continued the tradition which we have traced already in the Vlahović volumes. Certainly, as a source of Croatian hymns the Franciscans could have also been using the *Cithara octochorda*, the hymnal of the Zagreb bishopric. Copies of its second edition (1723) have been found in the monasteries in Osijek, Ilok, Našice, Vukovar, Požega, and in a parish church in Feričanci.

In their attempt to better disseminate the hymns, both the Franciscans and the Jesuits also issued them in the form of printed flyers. Printed on a small sheet of

45 In the 1735 volume, Vlahović included only one hymn from the *Cithara octochorda* ("Poslan bi Angeo Gabriel"), while in the 1737 book there are five ("Poslan bi Angeo Gabriel," "Svitla zora, Diva Marija," "Zdrava Divica Bogorodica," "Zdravo o Marija, zdenac slatkosti," and "Zdrava zviezdo morska"). See Ladislav Šaban, "Glazba u slavonskim samostanima", 115.

inexpensive paper, these flyers are extremely rare today and only two are known to have been preserved in Croatia: *Popevka od treh chinov vere, uffanya, i lyubavi, koju iz zapovedi preszvetle czeszaricze, i kralyicze vojaki pod szvetum messum popevaju* (Song of the three mysteries of faith, reliance, and love, which is sung by soldiers during the holy Mass upon the order of the most illustrious empress and queen), printed in Vienna by Thomas Trattner in 1753, and *Pisma kojase piva pri Misi, posli prisobstvenja, ù tonu diacske pisme: Chare, chare Jesu &c.* (Song which is sung during the Mass after the veneration of the holy host, to the tune of the student song *Care, care Jesu*), issued without a date but possibly in the 1770s or 1780s [fig. 8].⁴⁶ The first hymn, obviously issued by the order of Maria Theresa to be circulated among the soldiers serving in the area of the military border, originated in the Kajkavian Jesuit missionary circle of Juraj Mulih (1694–1754). The other flyer, with a Croatian translation of the well-known Franciscan hymn *Care, care Jesu*, must have been issued by the Franciscans. Judging from the dialectal characteristics of the text, this was more likely the Slavonian Capistran circle than the north-Croatian Ladislav circle.⁴⁷ The tune of this hymn (with figured bass and the original Latin text) was already included in the 1737 volume *Consonans dissonantia* of Filip Vlahović, and also in the 1750–1751 volumes commissioned by Josip Janković. This later source is particularly important because it made this tune a standard throughout the province. Later, when the Janković volumes were put out of use, the printed leaflet reinforced this version of the tune, this time with a translation into the Croatian Ikavian dialect. The two leaflets also demonstrate how both Jesuits and Franciscans disseminated hymns in their catholicization efforts in similar ways.

Certainly, this is only a small portion of the repertoire which once circulated in practice and which congregations knew by heart. In the introduction of his 1819 *Pismenik*, describing the situation among the Croats in Vojvodina and in eastern Slavonia, Gjuro (György) Arnold (1781–1848) said that the hymn repertoire was not only deficient, but that each congregation in his diocese of Subotica sang different hymns using different books.⁴⁸ There is no reason to believe that the situ-

46 *Popevka od treh chinov vere, uffanya, i lyubavi* is preserved in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Zagreb, R–A5. The sheet's dimensions are 16.9 × 10 cm. See Ladislav Šaban, "Misna popijevka carice Marije Terezije za vojnike u Hrvatskoj iz 1753. godine", in *Sv. Cecilija* 52/3 (1982): 56–58; Elizabeta Palanović, "Misna popijevka za krajiške vojnike iz 1753. godine", in *Sv. Cecilija* 66/1–2 (1986): 17–21. *Pisma kojase piva pri Misi* is preserved in the archives of the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod in Zagreb, rara collection. The sheet has dimensions 19 × 16.4 cm.

47 From 1735 to 1774 the only print shop in Slavonia was at the Franciscan monastery in Osijek. Since there is no indication that the shop owned type for setting music, this sheet was probably printed either in Hungary or in Vienna.

48 "medju to jesam opazio, i ocsito vidio, da illiti bash nejma Pisama Cerveni za svaki, Nediljni, svecsani, illiti drugi dan godishtni podobni, illiti akoji i ima, a ono illiti takve Pisme nisu zakonito

P I S M A,
Kojase piva pri Misi, posli Prisobstvenja,
ù tonu diacske Pisme: *Chare, chare Jesu &c.*

1. Vics nji, vics nji Kra lju, vics nji, vics nji Kra lju,
ti si mo je ras kofs je - - - fvem na fvi-
2. tu naj viš je, tebe kada ja i mam, blago glavno
3. fu xi vam, ti si mo je ras kofs je -
4. fvem na
5. fvi tu naj viš je. Da capo
6. Vicsnji,

Vicsnji, vicsnji Kra lju, vicsnji, vicsnji Kra lju, Kripof meai udili, moj lufte primili, tobi vazda da sluxim, volju tvoju ispunim: Kripof meai udili, moj lufte primili; vicsnji, vicsnji &c.

Vicsnii, vicsnii Kra lju, vicsnii, vicsnii Kra lju, tvoje radi milofii, krivicemi oprofi: protivniku nedajme, od napafii ofvajme: tvoje radi milofii, krivicemi oprofi; vicsnii, vicsnii &c.

Vicsnii, vicsnii Kra lju, vicsnii, vicsnii Kra lju, i ovomi jofii fivori, slavu tvoju otvori: xivit kada prifanem, ù nju da ja unigiem: i ovomi jofii fivori, slavu tvoju otvori; vicsnii, vicsnii &c.



Fig. 8. *Pisma, kojase piva pri Misi, posli prisobstvenja, ù tonu diacske pisme: Char, chare Jesu &c.* (1760s or 1770s). The sheet has dimensions 19 × 16.4 cm. Zagreb, Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, rara collection.

ation in Slavonia or among the Franciscans was any different. Croatian scholars have thus far focused their attention on the repertoire found in printed hymnals with tunes, neglecting the repertoire in manuscript sources, although because of its uniqueness, the repertoire in manuscripts is even more significant and revealing. This is the repertoire that was certainly performed, and it embodies all the characteristics of localized performance practices. One would need to make an inventory of this entire repertoire, and through a comparative analysis trace the variants and sources of these hymns, determining what was composed locally and which hymns were imported and adopted from the neighboring regions with texts translated into Croatian.

A uniform repertoire of hymns for all of Slavonia was offered for the first time in the collection *Bogoljubne pisme koje se pod svetom misom i razlicitim svetkovinama pivati mogu; iz razlicitih knjigah skupljene* (Religious songs which can be sung during the holy Mass and on various holidays, collected from different sources), by Marijan Jaić

izvodjene, illiti pak po razlicitim Knjigam tako jesu razmetnute, daji ni svaki Pivacs Cerkveni, akamoli ostali Puk jest moguch u jedno skupiti, sabrati, i imati.” Gjuro Arnold, *Pismenik* (Osijek: M.A. Divald, 1819), “Pridgovor”.

(1795–1858) and published in Buda in 1827.⁴⁹ Three years later, Jaić reissued the collection under the new title *Vinac bogoljubnih pisamah koje se nediljom i s prigodom razlicsitih svetkovinah pod s. misom pivati obicsaju iz razlicsiti duhovnih knjigah sastavljen i s nacsinom csiniti pod krixa* (A wreath of devotional hymns customarily sung on Sundays and other holidays during the holy Mass, compiled from religious books, and with the way of the cross in an appendix; Buda 1830). The *Vinac*, as the volume is usually known by its title on the second edition, immediately became a bestseller and was issued eleven times during Jaić's lifetime and reprinted in fourteen later editions, with several thousand copies issued in each printing.⁵⁰ Like Fortunat Pintarić (1798–1867), his counterpart from the Ladislav province, in this first printed hymnal of the Capistran province Jaić combined the prayer book and hymnal in one volume, and also included prayers and liturgical hymns from Slavonia, southern Hungary, and Banat, but – like Arnold eight years earlier – in his *Pismenik* (1819) he did not offer their tunes.

From the very beginning of his work on the hymnal, Jaić envisioned issuing a volume which would include the organ accompaniment for every hymn in the *Vinac*. He imagined that such an edition would make it easier for teachers and organists to introduce this repertoire to congregations and to school children. However, it took him twenty-three years and seven editions of the *Vinac* without the tunes before he was able to issue this accompanying volume, the *Napivi bogoljubnih cérkvenih pisamah* (Tunes of pious church songs; Buda 1850), which included the complete repertoire that an organist needs through the church year and at various religious ceremonies.⁵¹

49 Marijan (Stjepan) Jaić was born in Slavonski Brod on 4 July 1795. He received his first Franciscan education in Osijek, then studied philosophy in Našice and Slavonski Brod (1813–1815), and theology in Vukovar (1815/1816 and 1817–1819). He was clothed in Bač on 7 May 1812, professed his vows on 7 July 1816 in Vukovar, and was ordained on 19 September 1818 in Đakovo. After his studies he remained in the monastery in Vukovar and worked there as a teacher at the elementary school (1819–21). After passing the exam for professor of theology in 1821, he taught theology in Vukovar (1821–1822, 1824–1828, 1830–1833), in Arad (1822–1824), and in Mohács (1828–1830). Between his two tours serving as the provincial superior of the Capistran province (1833–1836; 1845–1848), he was the guardian of the monastery and the director of the gymnasium in Osijek (1837–45). After completing his second tour as the provincial superior, he stayed in Buda, first to complete his collection of the *Napivi*, and later was elected the guardian of the monastery (1850–1853), the dean of the theology university (1850–54), and finally the custodian of the province (1854–1857). Marijan Jaić died in the Buda monastery on 4 August 1858. – See Emanuel Franjo Hoško, *Marijan Jaić, obnovitelj među preporoditeljima*, Orijentacije 12 (Zagreb: Katehetski salezijanski centar, 1996).

50 The 18th edition, published in Buda in 1890, had an appendix compiled by the teacher and organist in Petrovaradin, Vjekoslav Grginčević, in which he added 77 pages with forty additional hymns.

51 A facsimile edition of the hymnal was edited by Miho Demović, “*Napivi*” *Marijana Jaića: Prvi hrvatski orguljnik (kantual)* (Zagreb: Kor prvostolne crkve zagrebačke, 1997). The original 1850 edition of the *Napivi* has viii + 114 pages, 31.7 × 24.7 cm in size. The content of the *Napivi* follows the seventh edition of the *Vinac*.

In the preface to the *Napivi* Jaić said that he “intended to complete this edition already for a long time, but was prevented by various other work and by the high expenses of printing.” And indeed, without a large contribution for printing provided by the ban Josip Jelačić, he would possibly not have been able to print it even then. In the introduction he also mentioned that he wants to offer in his hymnal a repertoire that could be adopted and made uniform throughout the lands where Croats lived.⁵² Such a concept certainly appealed to Jelačić who, fresh from the revolutionary events of 1848 and the national renewal they initiated, was also interested in the cultural and political unification of the Croatian Tripartite Kingdom. While financing the printing, Jelačić – to whom the hymnal was also dedicated – received a large portion of the run, possibly several hundred copies, which he distributed to organists and teachers throughout northern Croatia and Slavonia. The distribution of Jaić’s *Napivi* in Slavonia had probably an effect similar to that of the *Cithara octochorda* a century earlier in the Zagreb Diocese.

Most of the *Napivi* was completed already by 1840, since Jaić acknowledged in the preface the help of two young friars, Gèrga Dvoršak (Dvořák) and Eusebie Bauer, who “surprised him on New Year’s Day of 1840 with a clean copy of the complete work.” Among the music that Jaić once owned, today in the Osijek monastery are preserved the autographs of four Eucharist hymns set for one or two voices, bassoon, two clarinets, and two horns – (1) *Ko che to csudo primit?* (2) *Das größte Sakrament*, (3) *Sacris solemnibus*, and (4) *Csudo prislavnoga tila, jezici zapivajte* – which make it clear that he started working on the hymnal at the same time as he conceived the *Vinac*. The vocal and instrumental parts from which musicians once performed these compositions are inserted in a jacket made of the same kind of paper, but which was mistakenly taken from a different composition by Jaić, since its title, although written in his hand and in the same ink as the music, does not correspond with the material found within.⁵³ It is significant that the jacket is dated 1825, two years before the first edition of the *Vinac*, which makes it certain that Jaić by that time already had music for these and possibly other hymns. This group of

52 “da i onde slavjanah bogoštovnoj želji odgovorim, a drugih Narodah pravu bogoljubnost neuvredim –; želeći s’ ovim dilom, i civosviračem, – i bogoljubnom puku, koliko bi barem moguće bilo, – tako na rukuh prispiti: da došao Šlavonac u Hèrvatsku, ili Dalmaciu; ili se nalazio Hèrvath, ili Dalmatinac u Šlavonii, svaki iste cèrkvene pisme, iste njihove napive, i sve isto bogoljubno štovanje našao, i po tomu se još pokrutje u duhu vèrezakonite Istine, i ljubavi s’ jedinili.” *Napivi*, preface “Bogoljubni pivače.”

53 The title reads: *Tantum Ergo / Nro 1° / Vocibus: Canto et Alto / Violino Primo con Secundo / Clarineto Primo con Secundo / Cornu Primo, Cornu Secundo / con Organo / P. Mariani Jaich, S[ancitissimae]. Th[ecologiae]. Lect[or] mp. 1825 (cornu primo and cornu secundo is crossed out)*. The library of the Osijek monastery, II/48. Two of these hymns, somewhat altered, were included in the section with Eucharist hymns of the *Napivi*: *Ko che to csudo primit?* appears as hymn XI, and *Das größte Sakrament* is in Croatian translation hymn IX.

parts may suggest the way in which Jaić was able to introduce new hymns to congregations unfamiliar with them. They could have been first performed by a soloist with instrumental ensembles. Then, when the congregation became familiar with the tune, everybody could join in singing by reading the text available in his *Vinac*.

On the title page of the *Napivi*, Jaić gives credit for “checking and putting tunes in order” to the teacher and organist from Buda, Josip Kalasancie Dèrlik. Nothing is known about Jaić’s musical training, although it is possible that he received same music education from Marijan Lanosović (1742–1812), who was his tutor in the gymnasium between the end of 1807 and May 1812. In his student days Jaić played the organ in several churches,⁵⁴ and music he once owned suggests that he also used to play in chamber ensembles.⁵⁵

The organization of the *Napivi* corresponds with the *Vinac*, following its division into thirteen sections. Each piece in the *Napivi* has a reference pointing to the page number where the text can be found in the *Vinac*. The volume opens with the antiphons *Rorate*, *Aspergas*, and *Vidi aquam*; the hymns before the homily are followed by the hymns for *Singmesse* and the Eucharist hymns. The second part includes hymns for particular liturgical periods through the church year: Christmas carols, hymns for Lent, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Holy Trinity. The third part includes Marian hymns, hymns dedicated to saints, and Advent hymns. Finally, the fourth part has two hymns to keep the plague away, litanies, pieces for funerals, and it closes with the Austrian anthem, and the *Te Deum laudamus*.

The main sources for the hymns which Jaić selected for his *Vinac* were the *Mala i svakom potribna bogoslovica (Nauk kerstjanski)* (A brief and essential book for all catechism; or Christian catechism; 1760) by Antun Kanižlić (1699–1777), which remained popular in Slavonia through the Josephinian period,⁵⁶ and the *Bogoslavne pismice za potribu bajske xupne cerkve* (Liturgical songs for use in the parish church of Baja; Kalocsa, 1806).⁵⁷ The tunes in the *Napivi* have several sources. There are

54 Hoško, *Marijan Jaić*, 28.

55 The music at the Franciscan monastery in Osijek includes the manuscripts of several chamber compositions Jaić once owned: an album of six sonatas for violin and piano by an unknown composer (Jaić dated it in 1823, no. I/15), *Contratänze* from ballets and operas for violin or flute and guitar (II/37), a *Sammlung mehrerer Stücke für Violino und Guitarre* (II/41), a *Tercett Serenade* for guitar, flute, and viola (II/42), and the *Rossini-Collection des Ouvertures* arranged for flute and guitar (II/43). It is likely that Jaić brought these compositions from Buda, where he received his licentiate in 1823.

56 Hoško, *Marijan Jaić*, 196–199.

57 According to Hoško, this hymnal might have been a new edition of the now-lost *Bogoslavne pismice na poshtenje Bogorodici Boxanskoj Marii, i svetom Antunu Padovanskomu, prikazane za duhovnu korist bogomilih gospodatra varashanah varoshi Baje, sklopljene po jednom francishkanu kapistranskomu* (Pecs, 1784), attributed to Petar Lipovčević. See *ibid.*, 194, 199–201. See also, Veronika Reljac, “Slavonsko-podunavske pastoralne teme: Osvrt na jednu crkveno-povijesnu tetralogiju”, in *Diakovensia* (2011): 251–286.

one hundred eighty traditional hymns in the volume, some originally Croatian, others translated from German or Hungarian. It is possible that congregations had forgotten the tunes of some of the hymns included in Kanižlić's *Nauk kershtjanski*, and Jaić composed replacements or adopted existing tunes. Miho Demović points out that Jaić introduced in his arrangements a new style, dominated by a major key, a lively rhythm, and a well-developed melody, with clear cadences.⁵⁸ Ninety-two more tunes are chants with texts in Croatian and Latin, and finally there are thirty-one vocal pieces (Josef Haydn, J. K. Dèrlik, Fr. Kreutz) and twenty-six organ preludes (J. S. Bach, Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger) taken from the classical repertoire.

It is rarely mentioned that Jaić, aware of the multinational and multilingual composition of the population in the orbit of the Capistran province, also published a hymnal (without tunes) for the German congregations: *Sammlung katholischer Kirchengesänge* (Pest, 1856).⁵⁹ In the introduction to this volume he mentioned that in his youth he had accompanied Masses for the German congregations on the organ, and at that time collected hymns and their tunes. He obviously also intended to publish a companion volume with the harmonizations of these hymns, but he died before he was able to accomplish this.

NON-LITURGICAL MUSIC PERFORMED IN MONASTERIES

The Franciscan libraries reveal little about the music performed in monastic refectories in Slavonia before the 1770s. The preserved material is sporadic and often unreliable because some scores entered the libraries later and were not used by the Franciscans. Still, some sources do give us a sample of what they played and sang in their leisure time. The Osijek monastery has an edition of German secular songs for one, two, or three voices, *Tafel-Confect* (Augsburg: Lotter, 1733), by the Benedictine Johann Valentin Rathgeber (1682–1750). The signature of Josip Pavišević on the title page of these Anacreontic songs reliably identifies this music as having been used in the monastery.⁶⁰

The earliest Franciscan composer in the region whose secular works have been preserved is Karlo Kellerer, possibly the brother of the aforementioned Kristofor.

58 Demović, "Napivi" *Marijana Jaića*, 35–42.

59 The hymnal was dedicated to the Prince Primate of Hungary, Cardinal János Scitowszky de Nagy-Kér (1785–1866), who approved its publication.

60 The signature on the basso part, kept in the monastery's library with shelf no. I/10, reads: "Ad Usum P.F. Josephi Pavissevich Lectoris Generalis", Pavišević passed the requirements for general lector in 1768 and taught theology in Osijek from 1768 to 1778. He was later the guardian of the Osijek monastery (1778–80) and the provincial superior (1783–91; 1797–1800).

He was clothed in 1768, but in 1779 he left the order before professing his vows, and nothing is known about him after that. It is possible that he studied music with Kristofor, who might have been a better trained musician. In the Slavonski Brod monastery are preserved his string quartet (*divertimento*) in C major, which is the earliest known chamber work composed in Slavonia, and the title page of his *Offertorium pro omni tempore*.⁶¹ Karlo Kellerer was obviously more self-conscious than his brother Kristofor, since he did not hesitate to sign his pieces as the composer and organist.

The Osijek monastery also holds a manuscript of Vanhal's eight variations that was once owned by Cecilian Ockl, the organist there from 1773 to 1779. Since he was a life-long organist, other sources of keyboard music found in monasteries in Ilok and Slavonski Brod might also have come from him. In the early nineteenth century, music-making in monasteries obviously became more diversified and extensive. A substantial amount of preserved music includes chamber works for two, three, or four string instruments, sometimes with flute (Haydn, Mozart, Pleyel, Gyrowetz), arrangements of operas for piano solo or duet (Czerny, Gelinek, Mozart, Rossini, Drechsler, Peter Winter), and dances (Strauß, György Arnold), pieces originally written for piano (variations and sonatas by Mozart and Pleyel), and also, becoming popular around the middle of the century, the guitar. Within this repertoire belong also the chamber pieces once owned and possibly performed by Marijan Jaić, kept in the Osijek monastery.

THE FRANCISCANS, THE ORGAN BUILDERS

The picture of music in the Provincia Sancti Joannis a Capistrano would be incomplete without mentioning the Franciscan organ builders coming from within the province, especially since some of their instruments are still in use. Simon Sangl (1768?–1829) from Arad built the organ in Vukovar (which no longer exists) between October 1821 and October 1822. In 1827 he completed the organ in Baja, and made a proposal for the disposition of the new instrument in the monastery in Bač. The work on this instrument (II/16), which is still used today, commenced on 15 May 1827, but Sangl died on 20 March 1829 at the age of 61, without completing it. The organ was finished on 20 September 1829 by his assistant Ignacije Lehner and the carpenter Fridolin Wagner (1797–1856).⁶²

61 The *Divertimento* is in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Slavonski Brod, C-R60. The viola part is missing. *Ad offertorium ex F, pro omni tempore (Eja chori resonate)* for two sopranos, basso, two violins and organ is at C-R38.

62 See Paškal Cvekan, "Brača franjevci graditelji orgulja u 19. stoljeću", in *Sv. Cecilija* 43/4 (1973): 102.

The Austrian Ignacije Lehner (12 March 1783–Radna, 30 October 1843) was clothed on 22 March 1804, and professed his vows on 22 December 1805. In 1823 he was listed in the chronicle of the monastery in Našice as the organist, who also taught the seminarians to play music and sing. Apparently he was at first assisting Sangl in building the instrument in Vukovar, but he soon learned from him how to build instruments, and the chronicle of the monastery in Bač calls him in 1827–29 the “organifex.” When the Franciscans in Slavonski Brod sold their old organ in 1836 to the parish church in the town, Lehner took the old instrument apart and replaced it with the new organ (I/14) which the Franciscans bought in Tabán, a suburb of Buda. He played this new instrument on 14 August 1836, even before it was completed, and again upon finishing it two years later, on 30 August 1838. Helping him during the work on this instrument, which is still being used, were the carpenters Fridolin Wagner and Simon Frimmel. Lehner interrupted his work in Slavonski Brod from 19 October 1837 to 1 April 1838 when he worked on the organ in Ilok. After completing the instrument in Slavonski Brod, he probably moved to some Capistran monastery in southern Hungary or Romania, because his name does not appear in the records of the Slavonian monasteries.⁶³

63 Ibid.