

## SAŽECI DOKTORSKIH RADOVA U MUZIKOLOGIJI – SUMMARIES OF DOCTORAL THESES IN MUSICOLOGY

### MUSIC FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CENTRAL BOSNIAN FRANCISCAN MONASTERIES: FOJNICA; KRALJEVA SUTJESKA AND KREŠEVO<sup>1</sup>

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.21857/y26kec4pd9>

An important place in the music history of Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to church music, most of it being related to Franciscan music and musicians. Research in this field has been scarce, comprising only a small part of the known information about the Franciscan musical legacy. The undiscovered part of this legacy poses a demanding task for researchers. Scholars who have been dealing with the topic of Franciscan music and musicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina have only studied segments of the musical legacy of selected monasteries and their more prominent musicians. Due to incomplete research, many questions have remained unanswered to this day. This work, therefore, on the one hand, extends the number of processed sites because it adds insight into the musical content of

<sup>1</sup> The dissertation »Bosanskohercegovačka franjevačka glazba i glazbenici od 17. do prve polovice 19. stoljeća [Bosnian-Herzegovinian Franciscan Music and Musicians from the 17th to the First Half of the 19th Century]«, was defended in 2008 at the Music Academy in Sarajevo under the mentorship of prof. dr. sc. Ivan Čavlović, and the revised study was published by the Croatian Musicological Society in 2020 in the book »Glazba iz arhiva srednjobosanskih franjevačkih samostana: Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska i Kreševo [Music from the Archives of the Central Bosnian Franciscan Monasteries: Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska and Kreševo]«. The summary of the book is published here with the permission of the author and the Croatian Musicological Society.

the library and archival fund of the Sutjeska and Kreševo monasteries to the partially processed sources from the Fojnica Monastery; and, on the other hand, it lists the Franciscan musicians, church singers, organists, handwriting scriptwriters, singers, and provides a tabular overview of the six chant manuscripts, publishing a part of the analysis material.

The research project was designed to search through the Franciscan monasteries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which in the period between the 17th century and the first half of the 19th century had an important role in the evangelization of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in the archives and libraries of which there is a valuable legacy of the Bosnian Franciscans. But, in the field research it was not possible to carry out all the intended studies. In the monasteries of Guča Gora, Plehan and Tolisa, these were left out for justified reasons. The access to the library and archives of the Monastery of the Assumption of Mary in Tolisa was not possible because of the cataloguing of the library and the archive material, and the data we received were not sufficient to deal with the problem more seriously.

The monastery and Church of St Mark the Evangelist in Plehan completely disappeared from the face of the earth in the destruction of the last war (1990s), and part of the contents of the library and archive which had been moved in 2006 and 2008 and placed in Slavonski Brod, was also unavailable.

The overview of the library and archives in the monastery of St Francis of Assisi in Guča Gora was only conducted to the extent to which we could achieve it at the time of visiting the monastery (August 2003 and 2010). During the war destruction, the monastery and the church were completely devastated, and the same is true of the library with archives. At the time of our visit to the monastery, the process of recovering the fund confiscated from the monastery library began and, according to Fr Slavko Petrušić, the then-guardian, negotiations on the repossession of the remaining library and the archives of the monastery are difficult to achieve.

The library and archives of the monastery of the Holy Spirit in Fojnica were, for a long time, inaccessible to the public due to spatial planning, computer processing, and the process of updating the library and archive inventory. Because of this, the Fojnica collection is presented in three chant manuscripts only. Access to the overall content of libraries and archives was possible in two monasteries: Kraljeva Sutjeska and Kreševo. Because of all this, the study is directed towards chant manuscripts, the formation of which is directly linked to the musical activity of leading church singers in medieval monastery churches.

Given the complexity of the topic, the research process and the collection of materials were carried out from 2003 to 2006. The activity of these three monasteries and their importance in accepting, spreading, and preserving Catholicism in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be traced back to the earliest history of Franciscans

coming to Bosnia. Their libraries and archival collections make up the core of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian church music fund. Handwritten documentation, numerous notes and prints are stored and preserved in them.

The study of Franciscan music and musicians in the period from the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was carried out in accordance with the researches that showed that, in this period, the legacy of Franciscan musicians preserved the largest number of musical manuscript liturgical collections, and ceremonies of famous and/or unknown composers.

Franciscan music of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and musicians from the three ancient monasteries of Central Bosnia were thoroughly researched and studied, and questions were answered about the subject matter, such as:

- the repertoire of Franciscan chant and rite of the Mass
- the specifics of the repertoire regarding the celebrations of the feast (especially the celebration of the feast of St Elijah, the patron saint of Bosnia)
- individual examples of preserved chant items (such as *Credo Cingalinum* and *Missa quotidiana*)
- education for monastic vocations (most often in Italy)
- possibilities of additional music education within the province
- the authorship of chant manuscripts, their origin and place of use, and the needs of the community.

The above mentioned tasks, questions and possible answers follow a basic insight into:

- the prevalence of music in Franciscan monastery schools
- caring for church singing
- the importance of liturgical music
- the results of the analysis of the repertoire of six chant books used in celebration of the mass
- the results of the comparison between Central Bosnia and Herzegovina chant manuscripts, and the concordance with the Croatian and Italian sources
- the results of the *Credo Cingalinum* and the *Missa quotidiana*
- the results of the analysis of the proper of the Masses to St Elijah
- role of the leading church singer (choir leader) in church singing
- the role and meaning of the most prominent musicians and / or those whose names are associated with musical manuscript collections
- the number of printed liturgical books.

At the forefront is a thorough research and a detailed analysis of six manuscript canvasses, created from the quills of numerous modest Franciscan musicians. Bosnian Chant books are subjected to detailed examination, analysis and mutual comparison. They are likewise compared to four Chant books from three Dalmatian monasteries which were, over the course of history, either a part of the Franciscan province *Bosna Srebrena* (Bosna Argentina), or in direct contact with it:

»A« and »B« chant manuscript of Petar Knežević from Sinj, a chant manuscript without a separate name, inventory number or any other tag, and a choral manual from the church of St Vlaho (St Blasius) in Dubrovnik from 1771.

The role of music in the Catholic liturgy is considerable, so the paper discusses the number of leaders of church singing, as well as organists, or chaplains in monastery churches, their skills in chanting and teaching younger singers in singing and playing. Their role in developing, nurturing, and performing church music in the liturgy is significant. According to Vatican regulations, singing was mandatory in the Catholic liturgy, that is, the singing was, and still is an integral part of the liturgy. Although not all of the churches in Bosnia had the requisite conditions to fulfill the Vatican regulations, they still observed them with particular joy. It is an undeniable merit of choir leaders in performing and nurturing ecclesiastical music, as well as their role in the transfer of musical knowledge and abilities to the Franciscan youth, for which they were in charge in the role of singing teachers, especially when it comes to choral music. According to the available information extracted from the reference material, in the period between 1700 and 1950 there were 32 leaders of church singing in Central Bosnian churches.

This number includes only those friars whose legacy is stored and kept in these three Central-Bosnian monasteries, and those friars who were fortunate that, thanks to their special merits in fostering church music, fine singing, organ-playing, conducting choirs, or teaching church singing, they are recorded in the necrologies as deserving brothers. Mostly educated abroad, the Franciscans bring to Bosnia an air of European civilization and, with great enthusiasm, they take to raising the cultural level of the Bosnian people. Their role in transferring musical knowledge and abilities to the Franciscan youth, and then to the wider Catholic population which gained basic knowledge in Franciscan schools, is undeniable. Among the Franciscan musicians there are distinguished names that, thanks to their preserved legacy, remain in public memory to this day. These are the friars that stand out as scriptwriters of music books for Mass, poets, composers, music theoreticians, or composers of musical theoretical manuals. In this study we mention only the most prominent ones, those who made the greatest contribution to the development of catholic church music in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the mentioned period, and whose names are recorded on note records and / or musical theoretical manuals.

Among the first is Mato Banjalučanin, from the 17th century, whose name was recorded in the musical theoretical manual, *Regulae cantus plani pro incipientibus*, born in 1687, with recorded examples and performances. This is the oldest theoretical-music manual of this kind found in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and unfortunately it is lost. The scarcity of historical traces of Mato's origins and life, the inconsistencies in written sources about him, as well as the cracks in meaning associated with the manual, are certainly an incentive to further deepen the

knowledge about Bartlius, and his contribution to the music of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with two directions of exploration being opened. One way leads to the graphological analysis of the surname Bartli, and the second one leads to reading the part of the text from the title of the manual *Fr: Mattheus Bartli á Felsü Dios, vel a Bagnaluca, scribebat 1687*, in order to get answers to questions about the origin of the manual, its authenticity (autographs or transcripts) and of the links between Banja Luka and the manuals.

Attempting to determine the initial grapheme of the surname will revolve around two similar graphemes, B and P, which is why it is assumed that Mato's surname was read incorrectly. Instead of Pauli as an abbreviation of Pavlović or Paulesich, Jelenić misread the surname Pauli by turning it into Bartli, which is confirmed by Srećko Džaja, who comes to the same conclusion.

In finding solutions to these dilemmas, it is certain that the manual is a relevant document. From the addition of the title »Fr:[ater] Mattheus Bartli á Felsü Dios, vel a Bagnaluca, scribebat 1687« it is entirely unquestionable that the manual was written by Fr Mattheus Bartli / Partli / Pauli. The information that the manual was for some time placed in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska was entirely acceptable, with regard to the educational nature of the manual and its extensive use, which implied its journey through the Bosnian monasteries. In all this, it seems that a copy of a manual that is considered lost is not an original, but a copy of someone whose identity is difficult to uncover.

In support of this, as well as some other thoughts, I give the following points:

I. If Mattheus wrote a manual with his own hand, how logical is it that in the title he has doubts about his own origins (Felső Dios or from Banja Luka).

II. If the transcriber copied Mattheus's manual, it is quite logical that he wrote the year of origin of the original (written as 1687!). Taking this possibility into consideration, citing the locations of Felső Dios and Banja Luka, the writer doubts the origins of the author because he does not know him personally, and because of his own need for data accuracy, he lists those whose credibility he does not doubt. It should be added that the research into the author's origin conducted in Slovakia did not yield satisfactory results and therefore it is not possible to ascertain which indicators made the transcriber point to the connection of the author with the Slovak city. If we take into consideration the diversity of the first part, which includes the music theory, from the second part, which is written in twenty-six pages and brings the songs recorded in the chant notation of the five lines in the Latin and folk language, and likewise is similar to the graph used in his chant manuscript by Fr. Vice Vicić from Fojnica in 1774, we are faced with the assumption that the second part could have been created later, and that its author could be Fr Mato from Lašva (who died in 1775), who wrote on the seventeenth page of the second part of the manual in a *bosančica* note: »F.O.P Fra Mato of Lašva, let it be known that they were mine.« It is easy to believe that this note of Fr Mate

from Lašva is related to his ownership of the manual in the second half of the 18th century. Also worth mentioning is Jelenić's statement that the texts of the songs written in the folk language: *Zdravo, krvi Isusova, Poslan bi anđeo Gabriel, O, divico vele lipa* were added later. Over time, in Bosna Srebrena there was an increase in the number of priests who, with solid music education, also acquired organ playing skills, and there was a need for the purchase of musical instruments that could serve as an accompaniment to church singing. As far as it is known, in Bosnia, no monastery church had an organ until the beginning of the 19th century. In this case, given the period of Fr Mato's work in Bosnia, his organ playing in Bosnian churches can be ruled out. In other words, at that time, we associate him with singing and performing the function of the leader of the church singing, which does not exclude the claims of his expertise as an organist.

Despite all the efforts to illuminate the dilemmas surrounding the reading of Matheus's surname, as well as the circumstances under which he conducted his work in Bosnia, and the authenticity of the manual to which all Bosnian-Herzegovinian historians refer, a final determination will not be possible until the manual is found and subjected to thorough analysis. Since most of the data on the manual is transmitted from Jelenić's texts, who was the first one to make it available to the public, it can be assumed that the manual is in the legacy of Julian Jelenić, which is stored in the Franciscan monastery in Tolisa.

Vice Vicić from the 18th century, was a compiler of chant manuscript A (Kantual A) in which, in addition to the selected works of songs for the Mass, he also recorded his collection of songs, *Pisme razlike / na poštenje / Božje B.D. Marieli sviu svetih*, from 1785. It is the oldest collection of poems written in folk language whose songs were performed in Bosnian Catholic liturgy. For the music history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is important to emphasize the fact that in the chant manuscript of Fr Vice Vicić, as well as of Bosnian Franciscan musicians in general, we find the notes of the simple polyphony and *cantus fractus* in the 18th century. It is also important to point out that Fr Vice Vicić is the first Franciscan who introduced the vernacular language into the liturgy. His collection of liturgical songs *Pisme razlike na poštenje Božije B[lažene] D[jevice] M[arije] i sviu svetij*, written in the national language, has achieved exceptional popularity with the people, and for many years the songs were transmitted orally. The popularity of the songs and some other folk devotions in the vernacular language to this day has remained preserved and alive in the people. In this regard, special mention is made of the songs dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which in most cases the authorship is lost, and of the folk devotions emphasis is put on *Križni put*, the singing of Our Lady, and in *Kreševo, O Gospojo i kraljice*, the devotion that takes place every Friday in the Lent time, after the morning holy mass in front of the image of the Mother of God of seven sorrows.

The tradition of simple polyphony, and some of the forms of *cantus fractus* in the Central Bosnia Franciscan monasteries, and their parallel with the tradition of

*cantus fractus* in the Dalmatian and Italian Franciscan monasteries, confirm the actuality of Bosnian Franciscans, in accordance to the demands of musical achievements of European liturgical music of their time. This knowledge, which is reached through comparison, for the first time in the history of Bosnian-Herzegovinian musicology, places the tradition of *cantus fractus* of Bosnian monasteries in the context of the same Dalmatian and European liturgical tradition, and gives it the characteristic of contemporaneity as it was understood back in the day. Thanks to the analysis conducted, and the *cantus fractus* tradition described, the Bosnian Franciscan monasteries join the European Franciscan tradition with their chant manuscripts, in the mosaic of the 18th century *cantus fractus*.

This is primarily done thanks to Fr Vice Vicić and his chant manuscript (Kantual A), on whose example is, to a large extent, based an analysis which yielded the forms of the simple polyphony and *cantus fractus* in the Franciscan liturgical repertoire of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Chant manuscript (Kantual A) by Fr Vice Vicić, is also precious for its collection of liturgical songs in folk language, and its connection to the same aspirations of the European Franciscan phenomenon.

At the turn of the 19th century, Pavao Alaupović, a musically self-taught man, lived in Fojnica Monastery. He dealt with the scriptural work and the compilation of the chant manuscripts. In the period between 1832 and 1835, he made a three-part chant manuscript in which all the liturgical genres of music that were performed in accordance with the liturgical year were represented, and in the third part, the masses from the first part of Vicić's chant manuscript (Kantual A) were transcribed. His contribution to musical research is also very valuable, because at the beginning of the chant manuscript, there is a lengthy preface with clarifications related to the reason for the creation of the chant manuscript, its contents as well as for the chanted parts of the Franciscan liturgy in general.

The name of Franjo Tometinović from Kreševo is recorded in a collection of Mass transcripts written by the Italian composer Francesco Antonio di Bagnacavallo in the year 1822. Tometinović also lived at the turn of the 19th century and was one of the most famous leaders of church singing in Bosnia. He studied in Italy.

As a worthy Franciscan, we take note of Stjepan Marijanović as well, whose merits are not limited to the area of music. He is equally well-versed in the field of literature and music. The chant manuscript from 1854 was preserved in Kraljeva Sutjeska: *Missae Novissimae Sanctorum / Descriptae Cura A. R. P. / Stephani Marianovich / pro Choro S. Ioan: Baptistae / Sudinskae 1846*.

In accordance with the manuscripts of the Kreševo chant manuscript, we conclude that more scripts were written by more than one author, but since there is no trace that could connect us to any of them, we can only make guesses concerning their names. Thus, in the chant manuscript, of the old label 47-I-8; no. Inv. 9, there is a name filed under Fr Filip Majjić 1854. We assume that it is Filip Majjić who, according to data from his legacy, which was stored at the Kreševo

monastery, did his work in Kreševo at that time. We consider that the year in which the chant manuscript came to Filip Majić's possession. Another handwritten Kreševo chant manuscript, of the old 47-I-9 label, without any other labels and without the annotated years and names, is also written with several different handwritings. Of the three Fojnica catuals, two bear the author / scriptor's name, while the third is the work of multiple authors, as evidenced by different handwritings. The older chant manuscript, as already mentioned, was compiled by Vice Vicić, while the author / scriptor of the second one was Pavao Alaupović.

In the five chant manuscripts, there are recorded music genres of liturgical music intended for the celebration of various feasts according to the liturgical calendar, and marking the feasts important for the Franciscan order, as well as those related to the specifics of the music repertoire of the Bosnian Franciscans, while in the sixth, authored by Vice Vicić, we find Vicić's *Pisme razlike na poštenje Božije B[lažene] D[jevica] Marie i sviu sveti*. In the Bosnian chant manuscript, along with the usual Franciscan repertoire, chant notations are written in black on the four-line system, the notes of the proper for the Mass song of St Elijah, the protector of Bosnia, the writings of *Credo Cingalinum*, and the Mass of *quotidiana*. While the writings of the latter two music genres are found in some manuscript collections outside of Bosnia, in Makarska, Sinj and Dubrovnik, the Mass of St Elijah has so far been found only in the three Central Bosnian Franciscan monasteries, in Kreševo, Kraljeva Sutjeska and Fojnica.

Previous research on the origins and distribution of the songs for the celebration of St Elijah, the Prophet, the protector of Bosnia, *Credo Cingalinum*, and the Masses of the *quotidiana*, show that their records are not found in the prescribed liturgical books of the Roman rituals, and therefore we consider them as distinct features of the Franciscan repertoire of *Bosna Srebrena*. According to the tradition, *Missa quotidiana* and *Credo Cingalinum* were in the past a permanent repertoire, and performed in Bosnian monastery churches thanks to the old friars, who sang with great care and love, and thus passed it on to those young people who had sensitivity for such type of church singing.

The remaining manuscript records of ecclesiastical music represent an important source of research, whether it be church singing or theoretical works that were used in monastic schools as manuals for acquiring knowledge in music theory and singing skills. In the paper, we refer to the individual manuscript music collections stored in the groups of Music or Musical things. The manuscript sources from the archive in Kraljeva Sutjeska were marked with Gl. and an ordinal number. In this archive, along with the aforementioned chant manuscript labeled *Gl. 2 Missae Novissimae Sanctorum*, by Stjepan Marjanović, these collections can also be found:

- *Gl. 1* collection of transcripts of choral masses of unknown sriptwriters
- *Gl. 3* theoretical work entitled *Unesoše u kuću Božju sklad i način Czarkovnoga pripivagnia kako ga pako josc... izitri veliki Gargur 1827*, by an anonymous author

- *Gl.* 4 theoretical work without title and without a few first pages, with the name Luigi Matelica in 1827, on the last page.

In the archives of the Kreševo monastery, under the label »Musical things«, in the boxes 155 and 156, there are four manuscript collections and two printed theoretical works with the old label *Glaz.*, and the ordinal number, the same as in Kraljeva Sutjeska. Through comparison of the manuscripts with the old label *Gl.* and *Glaz.* with the ordinal number in the said two monasteries, it was found that the manuscripts are very similar and that there is a possibility that the earlier list was, most likely, made by the same person in both monasteries. These are various manuscript collections of choral masses, Lent rituals on Palm Sunday, and the breviary.

We list them with the basic characteristics of the manuscript recorded on the front page, the cover, or the first page if the work is not completely preserved, and we present the old label for those manuscripts having such a label:

- *Glaz.* 1 Manuscript with the songs of the Mass proper, with the name of Leonardo da Napoli added on the last page. Old label: 41-III-40; K. no. Inv. 267.
- *Glaz.* 2 *Messe corali di canto posato del. P. Franc:o Ant:o di Bagnacavallo*, with the inscription Francesco Tometinovich and the year 1822. Old label: 41-III-47; K. no. Inv. 274.
- *Glaz.* 3 *Vexilla regis ...* written in chant notation. Old label: 41-III-60; K. no. Inv. 287.
- *Glaz.* 4 *Iesus. Quod vocatum est ...*, written in chant notation. Old label: 41-III-63; K. no. Inv. 290.
- *Glaz.* 5 theoretical work, print, without the front page and the first six pages, the seventh page begins with the text: ... *ne interrogatio intrans...* Old label 299.
- *Glaz.* 6 *L'ARMONICO / pratico / al cimbalo* Gasparini Francesco, Lucchese, Venice, 1764. Old Label 41-II-234, K. no. Inv. 234.
- *Glaz.* 27 various liturgical singing lists written in chant notation.

With this work, we also provide insight into the fund of printed music after the Trident Council, stored outside the music archive, containing 16 large Mass books from Kraljeva Sutjeska, printed between 1595 and 1792, and the 21 books for liturgy, written in Kreševo, printed between 1611 and 1931. Among the works printed in Kreševo, the two chant manuscripts mentioned earlier are stored.

In this work, the note writings for the hymns *Credo Cingalinum* and *Missa quotidiana* are especially emphasized, along with the proper Mass hymns of St Elijah, the protector of Bosnia, and we attempt to provide answers regarding their origin and frequency. *Missa quotidiana* and *Credo Cingalinum* are first mentioned publicly in the doctoral dissertation of Fr Slavko Topić. While in the *quotidiana* Topić provides more details on the transcripts of his own field research, analyzing and summarizing the conclusions as the results of the analyses carried out, in the

case of *Credo Cingalinum* he gives the interpretation of the term. Vinko Krajtmajer was the one who pointed to the importance of the writing of the *Misa quotidiana* from Kraljeva Sutjeska, and he analyzed the Mass and presented it to the public.

Given that contemporary musicological research highlights the importance of methods of comparing the repertoires of liturgical books within the same liturgical tradition, both in the narrower and wider European context, in this paper comparisons are made between the chant manuscripts from the quoted Bosnian monasteries, Knežević's A manuscript and chant manuscript (Kantual B) from Sinj, some of the songs from the chant manuscript from Makarska, together with the Italian sources.

The attached work provides a list of music stored outside the music archives. These are liturgical books with recorded note records of chaplains and Mass propers printed in Italy and brought to Bosnia by the benevolence of various donors, mostly from Bosnian Franciscans.

In the subsequent section, a number of illustrations are made that emphasize the subject matter of the study, the abbreviations used by the scribes are explained, and examples of abbreviations Vicić most frequently applied in the first part of the chant manuscript (Kantual A) are shown. Furthermore, the illuminations used by Vicić in his collection *Pisme razlike* are described and, although this paper does not deal with language studies, it outlines the methods of the annotation of individual voices used in the studied era.

A prominent place in the work is reserved for a collection table classified by genres. Such display provides the opportunity to read numerous data; from the texts used to the noted musical variants, and it also offers the possibility of establishing the Franciscan repertoire, especially the repertoire of Bosnian Franciscans. The collection table is a novelty in the presentation of the Franciscan legacy and the contents of the chant manuscripts in Bosnia and Herzegovina's musicological practice. This approach to data processing opens up many questions and provides future researchers the potential for new knowledge and discoveries.

Even before this research, there was a clear starting point for church music and Franciscan musicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but what is known to the public is only a small part of the available information about their legacy, about the repertoire of Mass music rituals, the special characteristics of their repertoire, or about the individual copies of the preserved records of the frequently performed genres, such as *Credo Cingalinum*, or fully preserved Masses, such as the Mass in honor of St Elijah and *Missa quotidiana*. The same goes for their distribution and origin.

*Credo Cingalinum* and *Missa quotidiana* are two of the three musical genres of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Franciscan liturgical repertoire. *Credo Cingalinum* is presented to the public for the first time in this paper.

While the existence of the *Credo Cingalinum* was a known fact in the musical circles of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the proper of the Mass in honor of St. Elijah was discovered during the processing of chant manuscripts of the Central Bosnia monasteries, undertaken during this research. Until now, it was not known that the Bosnian Franciscans celebrated the patron saint of Bosnia in a special way – with the Mass composed in his honor. The results of this research show that St. Elijah was proclaimed the patron of Bosnia in 1752, and that the breviary and Mass chants for the celebration of St. Elijah were printed in 1754. The paper also reports that until 1792, on 20 July, there was a celebration of the feast of St. Margaret, the Franciscan saint, and that in 1792 that day at the *Missale Romano-Seraphicum* was recorded as the day of St. Elijah. This discovery does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the day of St. Elijah was later celebrated in other countries as well, but the fact remains that he was initially designated as the protector of Bosnia and that the melodies for the three masses were adapted to the needs of the celebration of the Bosnian protector. The response that the work offers about the prevalence of masses tells us that they were, so far, found only in the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the chant manuscripts of Central Bosnia's monasteries. This is understandable with regard to the time of the proclamation of St. Elijah as the protector of Bosnia in the year 1752, when the provinces of the Blessed Redeemer (seceded in 1735) and St. Ivan Kapistran (St. John of Capistrano, seceded in 1757) are no longer part of *Bosna Srebrena*.

The initial insights on the *Credo Cingalinum* were based on the assumption that, due to its prevalence and use, practiced only in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that, like the *Missa quotidiana*, it probably came about as a work of Bosnian Franciscans trained in Italy. The research we carried out in order to establish its origin and distribution showed that this record of the Credo hymn, just as other various records of *Credo Cingalinum*, are found in five chant manuscripts in Bosnia: in Vicić's chant manuscript (Kantual A), Alaupović's chant manuscript (Kantual C), the chant manuscript (Kantual B) of an unknown author, all three chant manuscripts from Fojnica, the chant manuscript (Kantual KM) from Kreševo and a chant manuscript (Kantual KA) of an unknown author from Kreševo. We also found three records outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in: Knežević's chant manuscript (Kantual A) in Sinj, a choral guide from the church of St. Vlaho in Dubrovnik from 1771, and in a chant manuscript from Makarska. The discovery of three more versions of *Credo Cingalinum* partly gives an answer to the issue of distribution and points to the need for a further search of all the monasteries that had once belonged to *Bosna Srebrena*. Future research should also provide more data to determine the origin of the *Credo Cingalinum*.

*Missa quotidiana* has so far been presented twice. Fr. Slavko Topić wrote about it in his doctoral dissertation *Kirchenlieder des bosnischen Katholiken*, and so did Vinko Krajtmajer in the article *Missa Quotidiana* in Bosnia and Herzegovina. While

Krajtmajer defends the thesis that the *Missa quotidiana* could be the work of Bosnian Franciscans, and that it emerged according to their need and practice, Topić is more inclined to believe that it was created in the likeness of the Medici choral masses, and that thanks to the manner of performing and transmitting as well as to the daily needs, it took on some new elements that are close to Bosnian folk singing. They argued that the *Missa quotidiana* can be found only in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We add to the previous claims that we have so far found two more texts of its variant, with abbreviated text, and these can be found in the chant manuscript of the Franciscan monastery in Makarska.

This paper also presents a tabular overview of the most frequent Franciscan celebrations, as well as the singled out songs, most often sung with the list of contents of the Vice Vicić's collection *Pisme razlike*, according to three sources.

The common table of the most frequent celebrations of the Franciscan festivities distinguishes 13 songs of the masses composed for the marking of the Franciscan celebrations, and one dedicated to the celebration of St Elijah. This is a common Franciscan repertoire not only for Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in general. The only difference relates to the Mass of St Elijah, for which we did not find the details of a separate celebration in other European countries.

This work brings to the public the results of the research conducted, completing the knowledge of the Friars, their liturgical repertoire and their contribution to the development of church music in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The results of the research show that in the repertoire, with the mandatory performance of the Mass meant for the celebration of the Franciscan festivities, there is recorded in five chant manuscripts the Mass of St Elijah the Prophet, *Credo Cingalinum* and *Mass quotidiana*.

Vicić's *Pisme razlike*, written in folk language, are performed. A special place in the repertoire is reserved for his songs which, along with the verses, have the notes written down. The song *Klanjam ti se, Kraljiću* has, owing to its beauty and simplicity of melody, gained popularity and is, with slight changes, present until today. Of the other songs, when it comes to the frequency of performance, the ones which stand out are *Zdravo Kraljice* or *Salve Regina*, sung in Latin, *Sva si lijepa* i.e. *Tota Pulchra, Si quaeris miracula*, and *Spasi, Kraljice*. Along with the Christmas song *Klanjam ti se, Kraljiću*, in Bosnia and Herzegovina today, some other songs are the people's favorites. Among these, *Ponizno se Teb' klanjamo* and *Zdravo Tijelo Isusovo* are sung in many different variants and in each of the three Central Bosnian monasteries, with their own tune. In the past, in the Lenten time of the Easter cycle, each and every one of the houses sang the *Gospin plač* every day, for which Kreševo, Kraljeva Sutjeska and Fojnica have their own songs. Of the devotion songs, they especially cultivate the Way of the Cross (*Križni put*) with special feeling, and in the Kreševo, the same is true of the Seven Sorrows.

One could draw the preliminary conclusion that ecclesiastical music in the Franciscan Bosnian liturgy had a very important role. Its importance was also

emphasized by the existence of the Mass that was created in honor of St Elijah, which says a lot about the ways in which important feasts were celebrated in the past, as well as about the role of music in them. *Missa quotidiana* has, with its popularity with the people, as well as in the Franciscan order, confirmed that the singing of the liturgy took place on a daily basis, not just at the time of the celebrations of the most important feasts. The characteristic motif of *Kyrie eleison* mass no. 2 and no. 3 from Vicić's chant manuscript (Kantual A) corresponds to the starting motif of *Missa in F fa ut* in the chant manuscript (Kantual KM) (Filip/Filan Majić, 1854) from the monastery in Kreševo, the old label 47-I-8 with inventory number 9.

The same motif is found in the two-voiced *Missa in F fa ut* in Knežević's B chant manuscript, as well as in a two-voice mass in the choral manual of the church of St Vlaho in Dubrovnik from the 19th century. Thus, the motive does not merely give the unity of Mass 3, but it is also evidently present in Mass 2, that is, both of the masses are built on the same initial motif. Through the common motif of these two masses, they realize mutual unity, but also resemblance the one-voiced *Missa in F fa ut* of the chant manuscript (Kantual KM) from Kreševo, and the two-line Mass *Fratris Marii* from the choral manual of the church of St Vlaho in Dubrovnik from the 19th century, and with *Missa in F* from Knežević's B chant manuscript. This phenomenon confirms the unity of the Franciscan repertoire in Bosnia, Croatia and, indirectly, in Italy thanks to the concordance that was carried out by Hana Breko Kustura in several works.

In this way, they significantly show the effort that the Bosnian Franciscans, as the only intellectuals of those days, put into raising the intellectual level in their own monasteries and schools, but also in the wider environment of their work, thus joining Bosnia with the contemporary European musical endeavors of their time.