

## ORGAN HERITAGE IN THE FRANCISCAN PROVINCE OF THE MOST HOLY REDEEMER IN DALMATIA DURING THE 18TH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

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This dissertation presents and synthesizes the most important results of multiannual (field) research on the organ heritage of the eighteenth century and, to a lesser extent, the first half of the nineteenth century in the Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Redeemer in Dalmatia (officially known between 1735 and 1743/1745 as the Province of St. Caius, Pope and Martyr). Since the founding of this monastic province in 1735, which emerged through its separation from the much older and larger Mother Province of the Holy Cross of Bosna Argentina, its seat was located in Šibenik. Since 1888, it has been situated in Split, in the district of Dobri (Pozzobon). The term organ heritage refers to musical items and primary sources (organs, books on music and organ sheet music materials, mostly in manuscript form) that have been partially preserved to this day. An essential supplement is the corresponding human factor, musicians (organ builders and organists), primarily Franciscans, but also some laymen. In order to fully understand the topic of the thesis, relevant secondary, supplementary sources were also researched (chronicles, monastery diaries, expense books, organ construction contracts, as well as lists of monks associated with musical instruments and music manuscripts, along with their biographies, etc.). Existing, earlier knowledge from the literature has been synthesized, (re)contextualized and supplemented with previously unknown insights and new data. Occasional inaccuracies or imprecisions were corrected and, overall, a new interpretation has been provided. Since the chronological-stylistic framework of the Baroque and early Classical periods to which this dissertation is directed is quite flexible, especially in terms of absolute duration, the notion of a long (or one could say extended) eighteenth century is considered at length.

The monasteries and/or churches whose corresponding artifacts (organs and music archive materials) were researched, studied, digitized (in the case of manuscripts), and (re)contextualized, primarily from a musicological and partly from a cultural standpoint, are: 1. Karin (Church of St. Mary), 2. Knin (Church of St. Anthony of Padua), 3. Visovac (Monastery and Church of Our Lady of Angels), 4. Šibenik (Monastery and Church of St. Lawrence the Martyr), 5. Šibenik-Varoš (Church of Our Lady outside the City), 6. Split-Dobri (Monastery and Church of Our Lady of Health), 7. Sinj (Monastery and Church of the Miraculous Lady of Sinj), 8. Omiš-Skalice (Monastery and Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel), 9.

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Imotski (Church of St. Francis of Assisi), 10. Makarska (Monastery and Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary), 11. Živogošće (Church of the Holy Cross), and 12. Zaoštrog (Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary).

The main thesis of the dissertation is that the organ, along with its corresponding repertoire and methods of use, can be regarded from a musicological standpoint as one of the most relevant aspects of musical and cultural life, especially during the period in question. Thus, on the one hand, the organ is seen as a key indicator of the musical (or music-liturgical) culture of the Franciscans of the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer during the long eighteenth century; on the other hand, it is linked to both the public and cultural life of the communities in which the Franciscans were active, as well as to the musical culture of Dalmatia at the time, and even beyond its borders.

The dissertation is divided into four main parts.

The first part – »Music-Historical Circumstances and Contexts in the Long Eighteenth Century« – provides an overview of the events that marked and shaped the social, artistic, and stylistic dimensions of musical life in Europe and the Croatian lands, including Dalmatia. It outlines the musical contributions and names of the Franciscans from the Province of Bosna Argentina, the Province of St. John Capistrano, and the Province of St. Ladislaus the King. The »fateful« migrations of the population from Bosnia (and partly from Herzegovina) to mainland Dalmatia, in which the Franciscans of the Province of Bosna Argentina played an exceptional role, followed by those of the Province of St. Caius, Pope and Martyr/Most Holy Redeemer, had a decisive influence on the heritage discussed here.

The key aspects of organ art in the Baroque and (pre-)Classical periods are described, with an overview of European organ-building schools and the role of the organ in Catholic worship during that time. Italian organ-building is briefly considered, particularly in relation to the Dalmatian organ repertoire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Furthermore, the commissioners, circumstances, and methods of organ acquisition in Dalmatia are described through ten case studies. The characteristics of Venetian-Dalmatian types of organs are illustrated by the contributions of Don Petar Nakić and the master organ builders from his school in Dalmatia and Italy, with a selection of organs corresponding to those acquired by the Franciscans of the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer. Nakić's organ-building principles proved to be so resilient in practice that they are sometimes applied even in recent times, as demonstrated by the organ built by the Italian organ builder Gustavo Zanin in 1994 for the Cathedral of the Assumption of Mary (St. Domnius) in Split, now located in the parish church of St. Jerome in Kaštel Gomilica.

The official duties and life occupations of organists in Dalmatia (using examples from Split and Hvar) and the Republic of Dubrovnik (using an example from Dubrovnik) provide a general portrait of the organist-musician in the eighteenth

and early nineteenth centuries. This profile is comparable to that of the Franciscan organist-musicians of the time, particularly in the range of interests associated with it. Based on compositions from selected manuscript organ notebooks from four archives in the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer (Visovac, Split, Omiš, and Makarska), which serve as personal catalogues of repertoire and performance capabilities of the monk organists (mostly unidentified, but whose identities can be assumed), general conclusions are drawn about their qualifications, the musical style of the compositions they performed and the integration of various musical genres into the Mass and Divine Office. The use of the organ in a soloist sense, i.e. in *alternatim* exchanges with the choir and accompanying soloists (or smaller vocal ensembles) in *continuo* fashion, is discussed.

The second, central part of the paper – »Franciscans of the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer: History and Music« – provides an overview of the history and general significance of the Franciscan Order, as well as the Franciscans' relationship to liturgical music. It explores their engagement with Gregorian chant, the phenomenon of *cantus fractus* (Italian *canto fratto* or *l'altro gregoriano*), and simple liturgical polyphony (*polifonia semplice*), along with the practical use of the organ, especially through the prism of the Sambucan General Constitutions of 1658, which were binding for the Observant Franciscans. In this context, an expansion of the current interpretation of the provisions, particularly the section referring to the so-called *regalum*, to include the organ (with labial pipes), is proposed.

The historical background and involvement of the Franciscans of the Province of St. Caius, Pope and Martyr/Most Holy Redeemer, in the social and cultural circumstances from the eighteenth century to recent times is presented. The multifaceted activities of the monks of the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer in the context of Enlightenment and the far-reaching social changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are also highlighted, along with the monastic education system in the Province, particularly as a system that officially fostered music in the education and training of young Franciscans.

This is followed by a review of the existing knowledge about musician-monks in the Province, as referred to in academic papers and general and specialized literature. Emphasis is placed on the two most renowned figures: Don Petar (formerly Fra Pavao OFM) Nakić (1694–1769), a master organ builder of Venetian-Dalmatian organ craftsmanship in the eighteenth century, and Fra Petar Knežević OFM (1701–1768), one of the most prominent musicians in the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer during the same period. Thanks to their activities and legacies – to Nakić as an agile musical migrant, a secular priest working throughout the Adriatic basin (within the Venetian Republic), and to Knežević, who was engaged within his monastic community – the eighteenth century achieved its »extended duration«.

Further insights into the dynamics of musical life and its key figures in the Province are provided by the presented group of sixty-five Franciscan musicians

who worked in monasteries across the Province as singing teachers, directors of monastic choirs and, especially, as organists (sometimes on an occasional basis); some were also copyists of musical materials, and one of them worked as an organ builder. Some of these monks involved in music were previously entirely unknown, while others were only lesser-known or little-known. On this occasion, their biographies are presented in detail, from which were compiled lists and timelines of the locations where they were active as musicians. It is certain, as is still the case today, that some monastic (musicians') duties were sometimes performed unofficially, based on oral agreements. This understanding provides at least a partial explanation for some »gaps« in the constructed musical chronotaxes.

Research has established that all the friars-musicians were versatile individuals. They often came from small Dalmatian villages, and music was just one of their many responsibilities. However, some of them, as music teachers, singing leaders and organists in certain monasteries, i.e. in the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer, achieved long-standing, notable contributions. In addition to their training within the Province's institutions, some monks also acquired musical knowledge and skills, especially as organists, outside the country, primarily in Italy. Among the Franciscan musicians – particularly those proven to be organists – the following stand out by their achievements and musical careers (listed by order of birth): Fra Petar Ravlić OFM from Kozica (ca. 1697–1771), Fra Petar Knežević OFM from Kapitul near Knin (1701–1768), Fra Šimun Batinić from Makarska (1703–1771), Fra Josip Kukavica OFM from Karin (1726–1822), Fra Sebastijan Jurišić OFM from Baška Voda (1728–1811), Fra Ivan Evangelist Knežević OFM from Knin (1737–1801), Fra Pavao Vučković Jr. OFM from Brnaze near Sinj (1737–1817), Fra Jeronim Vuletić OFM from Vrlika (ca. 1742–1812), Fra Paškal Jukić OFM from Živogošće (1748–1806), Fra Bartul Šakić OFM from Piramatovci (1750–1816), Fra Karlo Vladić OFM from Prvić (1764–1816), Fra Ivan Šoda OFM from Bristivica (1766–1843), and Fra Paško Dropulić OFM from Proložac (1784–1863). As supported in the paper, it is assumed that Fra Jeronim Filipušić OFM from Muć (1771–1849) was an assistant/collaborator (and thus also a student) of Gaetano Moscatelli (ca. 1765–1822) during the installation of a new organ in the Franciscan church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Omiš (1792). It was precisely through Filipušić, and with the help of Moscatelli, that Nakić's organ-building tradition, albeit as an echo, »returned« to Dalmatia, i.e. to the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer.

This is followed by a review of all the old organs in the Province, totaling as many as eighteen, which were possessed by the monastic and/or parish churches (somewhere even two organs in the same church) in Šibenik, Karin, Zaostrog, Visovac, Makarska, Šibenik-Varoš, Živogošće, Sinj, Split-Dobri, Knin, Omiš, and Imotski. The existence of an additional, nineteenth, organ in the Province, in Sumartin on the island of Brač, cannot be proven and remains an open question.

Of all the organs, whether used or new at the time, acquired in various ways between 1711 and 1834, only fragments of Nakić's organ in Zaoštrog (1738) and the remains of the manual windchest of Bazzani's organ in Imotski (1834) still exist today, along with two restored organs: that of Francesco Dacci Sr. in Visovac (1771) and that of Antonio Callido in Živogošće (1824), as recorded according to their condition *in situ*. Certain details regarding the organs have been specified, clarified and further contextualized, where necessary/possible. The circumstances of the acquisition and other characteristics of most of the organs are provided, along with the names of the guardians whose efforts (likely) facilitated the acquisition of the organ. Comprehensive chronotaxes have also been made for the friars-musicians who played the organ or held other musical functions in the respective monasteries (e.g. leading the monastic choir or serving as *coristi*).

To expand the context of musical performance, an examination is also provided of three previously unknown musical sources from the Franciscan Monastery of St. Lawrence the Martyr in Šibenik. These sources demonstrate the »enhancement« of the organ musical archive with theoretical materials used (also) during the eighteenth century (Giovanni Maria Bononcini: *Mvsico pratico*, Venice, 1678) and musical scores (M. Rosa Giacinta Badalla OSB: *Motetti a voce sola*, Venice, 1684, and an incomplete part for the second violin or mandolin: *Allegro* in D major by an unknown composer, likely from the second half of the eighteenth century), which certainly requires further detailed research.

Regarding organ manuscripts, the most artistically, technically and stylistically representative collections in the Province have been thoroughly studied and analyzed. These include five music notebooks: 1. *Studio Di Composizioni Musicali d'Organo per rispondere al Coro...* (sign. 152, from 1757), from the Monastery of Our Lady of the Angels in Visovac; 2. and 3. organ music notebook *Scale Cadenze, e Ricercate Per tutti i Tuoni Musicali...* (sign. RK 107, from 1807) and a collection with a transcription of *Sonata for Violin and Violone or Harpsichord, Op. V* by Arcangelo Corelli from 1700, intended for organ or possibly harpsichord (sign. RK 111, undated, probably from the second half of the eighteenth century), from the Monastery of Our Lady of Health in Split-Dobri; 4. organ music notebook (no sign., undated, from the second half of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century) from the Monastery of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Makarska; and 5. organ music notebook (sign. OMf I/33, undated, from the eighteenth or nineteenth century) from the Monastery of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Omiš. In addition to the analysis of style, musical qualities, performance aspects, and other relevant parameters/circumstances, the names of monks who used or could have used these collections have been identified. A sixth music notebook from Split (sign. RK 113, probably from the second half of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century) is now misplaced. It is presented thanks to an earlier (and the only) musicological review, with contextualization derived through indirect conclusions.

Using the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM) database, the authors of individual works and other locations where they were stored/disseminated have been identified. The total number of complete compositions/movements in the listed (preserved) collections is 537. The Visovac collection contains 264 complete works; the complete Corelli collection from Split has 11 multi-movement Baroque sonatas, concluding with No. 12, the famous *La Folia*, totaling 61 movements; another Split collection contains 35 complete compositions; the Makarska collection holds 163 complete works; and the Omiš collection preserves 14 complete pieces. Most of the compositions can be dated to the eighteenth century, possibly (also) the early nineteenth century, while the only certain year of origin (although not of the transcription) can be associated with the compositions from the first Split music notebook, i.e. Corelli's *Op. V*, published in 1700. The oldest explicitly dated collection, and unique in every respect, is the Visovac collection from 1757, which includes also some complex compositions, mostly *partimenti*, for solo organ *alternatim* accompaniment of the solemn, sung Divine Office. With the information from the preface and, particularly, its content, *Studio Di Composizioni Musicali d'Organo per rispondere al Coro...* represents a source somewhat analogous to the valuable (lost) organ tablature from Hvar (from the early seventeenth century). Although the Visovac collection is originally a Servite musical source created in Brescia, it should now be viewed as a monument of Franciscan musical culture, filling the general lack of solo organ literature in the mid-eighteenth century in our region. The older Split collection (of unknown date), including all 12 of Corelli's *Sonatas for Violin and Violone or Harpsichord, Op. V* from 1700, indicates the persistence of the Baroque style in Split at least through the second half of the eighteenth century, confirming the possibility that such compositions can be performed on the organ or harpsichord. The younger collection from 1807, which is technically much easier and expanded with later additions – including one piece explicitly for harpsichord – contains additions of pre-Classical performance material to Classical style contributions by Austrian composers. This collection also reveals that the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer maintained a connection with the famous Venetian Franciscan Monastery of San Francesco della Vigna in the early nineteenth century. It was used in liturgy, music education, and possibly private music-making. The Omiš music notebook probably dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and represents a small (personal) anthology of typical organ pieces of the day suitable for practical use in the (Mass) liturgy. The same applies to the much larger Makarska collection, which is probably somewhat older. However, the Makarska organ notebook, with its 163 complete pieces, written/used by several individuals (probably over time), stands out in the group of similar works on Croatian soil. Both the Omiš and Makarska organ notebooks contain pieces requiring average to significant technical skill; the Split collection from 1807 is the most accessible for performers, whereas the Viso-

vac and older Split collections, especially in some movements/pieces, are technically quite demanding.

The examined collections contain notable composers, but also lesser-known »minor« masters, predominantly from Italy, with some Austrian composers included. They represent the contributions of the mature and late Baroque periods or (pre)Classicism, confirming the inclination of the Franciscans, the creators and users of the respective collections, towards music that was primarily functional, beautiful, and often stylistically quite modern. Through RISM and, to a lesser extent and through personal identification, a total of 22 composers have been established (seven of whom were indicated in the manuscripts themselves). The studied organ manuscripts feature compositions chronologically attributed to the following authors (listed in chronological order): 1. Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690), 2. Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), 3. Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739), 4. Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785), 5. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736), 6. Pasquale Anfossi (1727–1797), 7. Antonio Sarti (1727–1797), 8. Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), 9. Andrea Lucchesi (1741–1801), 10. Pietro Morandi (1745–1815), 11. Joseph Schuster (1748–1812), 12. Giovanni Battista Grazioli (1756–1820), 13. Ignace Joseph Pleyel (1757–1831), 14. Antonio Nava (ca. 1775–1826), 15. Johann Anton (Giannantonio) Banner (early 18th century – late 18th or early 19th century), 16. Pietro Beretti (?–?), 17. Melchiorre Chiesa (?–?), 18. Domenico Tononi (?–?), 19. Giuseppe Piziolatto (?–?), 20. Composer with the surname Lucatelli (?–?), and 21. A certain Martinelli (?–?), possibly the one whose one composition is preserved in Korčula (*Allegro in F major*, no sign.), and another was part of the now lost music notebook from the Franciscan monastery in Split-Dobri (sign. RK 113). Finally, from the composers active in Dalmatia and the Dubrovnik Republic, only 22. Tommaso Resti (1765?–1830) is recorded. It seems likely that at least some of the compositions may have originated not only from Italian authors, but also from Dalmatian composers, potentially even from the friars-musicians themselves. Based on research, particular attention is given to Fra Paško Jukić OFM (1748–1806), known to have composed some works in a now lost collection from Dobri.

The third part – »Conclusion« – reviews the organ heritage of the Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Redeemer, viewing it as a historical, but also contemporary testament to spiritual and material culture. The researched organ repertoire reflects an undeniable connection to the Italian organ-building tradition (especially that of Nakić), closely linked to the ways in which the organ was used, as well as the repertoire intended for it (whether for solo performance or accompaniment of instrumentalists and/or singers). The performance context, as demonstrated in the study, regularly arises from the needs of liturgy and the dynamics of the liturgical acts, reflecting a pronounced practical nature. The period of acquiring organs, spanning from 1711 to 1834, covers the long eighteenth century: 123 years. Since these organs are traditional types from the Venetian-Dalmatian organ tradition, which belong to the late Baroque and partly to Classicism, it is evident

that within the Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Redeemer, we can speak of a periodization of organ construction in which the eighteenth century lasted until the end of the first third of the nineteenth century. This can serve as a reference point for future research on organ heritage in other contexts (especially in coastal Croatia). In a broader sense, since both organs and sheet music were used (primarily in liturgy) up until the twentieth century, their relevance extended even longer. Finally, today's use of certain churches, along with inventories from the eighteenth century, as well as occasional liturgical or concert use of the restored organ in Visovac, leads to the same conclusion.

The combined research on instrumentation, documentation, biographies of Franciscan musicians, their networks, mobility, representative sheet music, and on the existing literature, results in a deepening and stratification of knowledge about the organ musical culture in the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer. Through their efforts – acquiring organs, transcribing sheet music and performing – the friars strongly and continuously maintained and developed organ art. At the same time, they contributed to its democratization in coastal and especially inland Dalmatia, an area that would undoubtedly have been deprived of such cultural enrichment without the Franciscan presence. The quality of the examined organ sheet music clearly demonstrates an up-to-dateness in relation to then contemporary Italian literature. Through the same channels, some works by Austrian composers from the Classical period also arrived in the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer, which proves to be particularly interesting.

As previously mentioned, the technical level of the analyzed compositions by the monk organists required average and, at times, quite demanding performance capabilities. Thus, the monks, especially those who performed in the Province for several decades, should be placed alongside the Dalmatian cathedral organists and counted among the devoted Dalmatian musicians. Although these were monks who operated discreetly, entirely within their monastic communities, their contributions prove to be a significant part of the overall Dalmatian musical culture. In this sense, Franciscan organ music reflects both development and consistency concerning both the instrument and the prevailing style, which is late Baroque and (pre-)Classical. When it comes to the organ, it can be concluded that the often mentioned »Franciscan simplicity«, as a monastic life ideal and liturgical-pastoral »style«, does not by any means imply avoiding more complex and (occasionally) quite sophisticated musical works.

Based on current knowledge, the Monastery of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Makarska holds international musical significance, while national importance is attributed to the Monastery of Our Lady of Carmel in Omiš and the Monastery of Our Lady of Sinj in Sinj. Of local significance are the Monastery of Our Lady of Angels in Visovac and the Monastery of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Zaostrog. Other locations – Karin (Monastery of St. Mary), Šibenik (Monastery of St. Lawrence the Martyr), Knin (Monastery of St. Anthony), Split-

Dobri (Monastery of Our Lady of Health), Imotski (Monastery of St. Francis), and Živogošće (Monastery of St. Cross) – have not yet been classified. During this research, it was found that – at least regarding organ manuscripts – Split should be attributed at least local significance, whereas the Visovac manuscript *Studio Di Composizioni Musicali d'Organo per rispondere al Coro...* marks its repository with national significance. Unfortunately, the organ music materials in Karin, Knin, Šibenik, Imotski and Živogošće no longer exist, which leads to the well-founded assumption that these locations, having possessed an organ, must have been musical-cultural microcenters.

The dissemination of certain transcriptions/versions of organ compositions, which – according to RISM – are found in archival and library collections stretching from Europe (Ansbach, Berlin, Brussels, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Keszthely, Münster, Naples, Novo Mesto, Padua, Paris, Rome, Rudolstadt, and Warminster) to the United States (Berkeley, Boston, and Washington), tangibly testifies (also) to the Franciscans' musical networking in the long eighteenth century. Additionally, some compositions can also be found in local music collections, such as those in Cres, Poreč and Zagreb (and Krk: the Collection of Don Nikola Udina Algarotti). From all this, it follows that the heritage of the Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Redeemer in the long eighteenth century should be viewed, read and valued as an integral part of the musical and cultural history not only of Dalmatia, but also of Croatia and, indirectly, beyond.

The final, fourth part – »Appendices (tables and musical transcriptions)« – presents an alphabetical register of Franciscan musicians with information about their places/years/dates of birth and death, followed by an overview of all old organs with their basic characteristics and lists of the five organ manuscripts included in this research. An additional aspect consists of transcriptions of twenty-one compositions from organ notebooks from Visovac (1757) and Makarska (second half of the eighteenth century/beginning of the nineteenth century). The purpose of these transcriptions is to show to what extent these compositions reflected the specificities of individual instruments on the one hand, and the performance skills of the organists of the Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Redeemer on the other. The qualities and capabilities of the organs, in turn, reflected the demands of the monastic community and its desire for an appropriate offering to the faithful, who were also its musical recipients. The compositions – five from the Visovac collection and sixteen from the Makarska collection – are prepared in the form of a modernized *Urtext* and can be performed in concert or as part of liturgy. They may also serve didactic-pedagogical purposes in organ teaching (and also in harpsichord and possibly piano teaching).

The work is supported by 66 illustrations, mainly photographs of sheet music, organs, some secondary sources, and the like, with most of the contributions presented for the very first time.