
Introduction

The work summarizes the author's long-term scientific research, parts of which have been presented in scientific papers in Lithuania and foreign publications. The topic has not previously been researched, important not only for the knowledge of the musical history, but also for other cultural investigations. The aim of the work is to shed light on the development of Lithuanian church music in the 16th and 17th century by clarifying the influence of the reformation and the counter-reformation, and by researching Protestant and Catholic musical cultures. The music and texts of hymnals were analyzed and compared with analogue publications in other countries to find the extent of their similarities and differences and to demonstrate the international links of church music as well as the problems in evaluating the Lithuanian creative legacy.

Descriptive and restrospective historical-comparative research methods were used. The concept of the work as a whole embraces the history of church music together with its underlying causes and motives which affected its development in Lithuania Major and Minor\(^1\). The investigation treats the subject as a complex and continuous process of cultural life. The work consists of an introduction, five sections, and a conclusion.

Several factors determined the choice of themes. Among them was the previous lack of works devoted to this period of Lithuanian musical history, which has been under-researched for a very long time.

The paucity of Lithuanian musicological investigations can be attributed to the very late appearance of a historiography of music in Lithuania. Today we can point to only three works which explore certain aspects of the musical life of the period in question. They are Juozas Gaudrimas' article

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1 Lithuania Minor = territory between the rivers Pregel and Neman, with a major Lithuanian population from the 16th to the 19th centuries. This territory was taken by Teutonic order and became part of Prussia. Presently it is part of Kaliningrad (former Königsberg) territory; Lithuania Major = part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that was populated by Lithuanians; Grand Duchy of Lithuania = a feudal state which consisted of Lithuania Major, Belorus, a part of the Ukraine and some Russian lands. In 1569 it formed a federal union with Poland. Since 1795 it was part of the Russian Empire.
"Muzikinio gyvenimo vystymosi sąlygos Lietuvoje (XIII-a. vidurys-XX a. pradžia)" ["Conditions under which musical life in Lithuania developed (from the middle of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century)"] and his monograph "Iš lietuvių muzikinės kultūros istorijos" ["From the history of the musical culture of Lithuania"] (1958), Vyautas Jurkštas' "Zygimantas Liauksminas and his "Ars et praxis musica"" in a facsimile publication (1977). The latter publication studied closest the distinctive features of a music history period which was determined by the reformation and the counter-reformation.

Poland's music historians have carried out comprehensive research about 16th and 17th century musical life in Poland and Lithuania and revealed notable sources unique at the time. But their research is usually based on their view of the federal Polish-Lithuanian republic as a unified state and therefore also as a unified culture. Failing to appreciate ethnocultural and other differences, they usually assign the musical life of this region solely to a Polish history of professional music. But the cultural context of Lithuanian religious music in this period was different. Far from being influenced exclusively by Poland, it was also shaped by diverse cultural activities within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania itself, by its direct links with other nations and by other factors, which remain to be evaluated.

The increased interest in the country's past during the late 19th century was also not able to reveal the extent of the multi-layered and complex cultural heritage. At that time Lithuanian philological writings were limited, often characterized by romantic notions and focused on ancient mythology. The growing political and cultural disharmony between Poland and Lithuania at the beginning of this century gave rise to a negative and warped view of Lithuania's musical past. The nobility and the gentry of Lithuania were now considered to have become "polonized" and to be fostering Polish culture, a view which persists to this day.

The theme of this work can also be relevant to researchers in many other fields of the history of culture. The musical life seems to have had a fluid relationship with literature, the development of the written language, the practice of religion, book publishing and education. Music became an inte-

2 This interest was inspired by the "aušrininkai", a group of patriotic intellectuals who provided the impetus for a national awakening. Zealous political activists and literati belonged to this famous group. They took their name from "Aušra" ["Dawn"], the title of the journal they published between 1883 and 1886. It was one of the vehicles for their aim of fostering a consciousness of Lithuanian culture by directly promoting Lithuanian language and literature.
The cultural process encompassing the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, both Lithuania Major and Lithuania Minor, and the Polish music world.

Professional music seems to have been as important in the culture of Lithuania Major as in Minor, and drew Lithuania further into the circle of Western European musical life. But Lithuania was not a mere observer and beneficiary of this cultural legacy. Protestant and Catholic musical innovations were put into practice here: original hymnals were compiled, the writing of new hymns encouraged poetic and musical creativity, and mature vocal and organ works were composed.

The greater part of the author's material is new. The examination of the new sources enabled her not only to amplify, but to reassess and correct attitudes or concepts about historical cultural facts and to put forward certain hypotheses.

**Protestant music in the cultural life of Lithuania Major and Lithuania Minor**

The spreading of the ideas of the reformation markedly differentiated the cultural, political, economic and social life of Lithuania Major and Lithuania Minor. Therefore it is not surprising that musical life in these two ethnic regions also showed wide differences. Certain musical traditions in Lithuania Major had already been established by the start of the reformation. Lithuania Minor, on the other hand, had until then been "shielded" from the influence of professional musical culture in Western Europe. We have no evidence of Christian (Catholic) church or secular music traditions of any significance there. It was the reformation which roused those previously closed and not especially receptive societies.

The reformation encountered a renaissance spirit in the music of Lithuania Major. Links had already been established with countries in Western Europe. The first disseminators of the new creed, and the most prominent of Lithuania's cultural activists were the humanists Abrahamus Culvensis, Stanislaus Rapagelanus, Jurgis of Eisiškes, all of whom worked both in Lithuania Major and Minor. Propagation of a new religion necessarily involved providing hymns. An example is Kulvietis' deathbed request that psalms he himself had translated into Lithuanian be sung at his funeral in 1545. Thus, some hymns were known and sung in Lithuanian somewhat earlier than the publication of the first Lithuanian hymn-book in 1547. Lithuanian hymnody was a concern from the very beginning of the reformation.

Cultural life was diverse and the circumstances of the time were complex. The second wave of the Calvinist reform movement in Lithuania Ma-
JOR did not ignite a desire to spread the mother tongue any further. Therefore, contrary to other protestant countries, the language did not then become essential to the development of a national culture. Because regulations demanded the use of the Polish language as much in church as in public places, all the major hymnals were published in that language. Moreover, Polish was the universal language in this part of the world and therefore most suited for the spreading of reformation ideas equally well throughout Lithuania Major, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. As the Grand Duchy's orthodox believers also began to lean towards reformation ideas, hymnals were also tailored to their needs. All material published in Polish and Lithuanian in the Grand Duchy was interdependent and reflected tendencies that were common to both cultures.

The comparatively late emergence of the written Lithuanian language explains why some Protestant hymns sung in Lithuanian had to be passed on by word of mouth in both Lithuania Major and Minor. Most of these are believed to have sunk into oblivion or changed beyond recognition.

During the 16th century reformation movement the spiritual ties between Lithuania Major and Minor blossomed. Protestant music and musical activity was the strong stem that nourished and held them together. At this time major stylistic changes in the music of Western Europe found a wider response in Lithuania than perhaps they had ever done before. Although those changes were not transferred wholly to Lithuania they influenced to some degree Protestant music during the reformation, and Catholic music during the counter-reformation.

For the Lutherans of Lithuania Minor the clergy was very important. A priest's role and authority within the society was great, also his responsibility for the music sung inside as well as outside the church. It was up to him to see to the hymn repertoire and to teach children and the community to sing them. Compiling the hymnal in this region was the concern of the priests. They therefore determined its nature within the Lithuanian communities.

It was quite different in Lithuania Major. The church ceremonies of the Calvinists (and those closely related to them) were simplified and the importance of their clergy was not as great as the Lutherans'. The hymnals of the Great Duchy reflect this. Unlike those used in Lithuania Minor, they contained no directions regarding the order of the singing in the ceremonies, no instructions for the celebrator, nor any hymns especially for pupils. They were meant for general community singing and were usually compiled by lay musicians and poets. Consequently they contained more secular themes.

The development of 16th century Protestant music in Lithuania Minor is closely linked with the Lutheran priest Martynas Mazvydas (ca. 1520-1563)
who prepared the first Lithuanian books which were published in Königsberg. The last section of his first and major book "Catechismusa Prasty Szadei" ["Simple words of Catechism"] (1547) contained hymns. He later produced "Giesmes Krikscioniskos", a two-part hymnal. The first part was published 1566, the second 1570. In Lithuania Major the great advocate of Protestant music was Mikalojus Radvila the Black (1515-1565), whose patronage proved to be a huge aid to the spreading of that music in the whole of the Grand Duchy and also in Poland.

Protestant hymnals in Lithuania Minor
and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Protestant hymnals occupied an extremely important place in the musical life of both Lithuania Major and Minor. But in Lithuania Minor were only small centres of Protestant culture. There were no big towns with substantial middle-class population who would have been able to perform the more complex multi-part polyphonies. Consequently the main consideration for those compiling and publishing hymnals in Lithuania Minor had to be the general community singing.

The first hymnal in the Grand Duchy, "Piesni Chwal Boskich" ["Hymns to praise God"], has not survived. It was initiated by Radvila the Black and published in Brest in 1558, which we know to be the year that Radvila convened a synod there. It is possible that the hymnal was connected in some way with this convention, on the one hand for the purpose of spreading the new religion on the other to display the new works of Radvila's court composers.

Another major publication, "Katechizm" ["Catechism"], was also prepared at Radvila's the Black court in Vilnius, and printed in Nesvyzius in 1563. It was first reprinted in Vilnius in 1580 with some slight alterations and additions, then again in 1594 and 1598. A shortened Lithuanian version appeared in print for the first time in 1598. It was part of the bilingual catechism by Merkelis Petkevicius. Although no music was printed the melodies for the hymns can be traced back to the Polish and Vilnius publications already mentioned. Therefore we are able to reconstruct the first Lithuanian hymns sung in the Grand Duchy.

Other publications in which hymns were included were for example the short volume "Nauka i utwierdzenie" ["Knowledge and Confirmation"] by Stanislovas Sudrowius (the first edition of 1598 is lost and we know of it only from bibliographic sources), and a new "Katechizm" published by the printer Jokubas Morkunas in 1600. Later the Protestants prepared catechisms which consisted mainly of hymns. They published these "catechism-
hymnals" either with or without music notation in Liubcas\(^3\) during the first quarter of the 17th century.

The hymns in Morkunas' catechism and the Liubcas catechisms became the basis for the last collection of hymns produced in the Grand Duchy, the "Knygos nobaznystes krikscioniskos" ["Books devoted to the Christian Devotion"] (1653) of Stephan Jawgil Telega of Kedainiai. One of the three parts of this collection was devoted to hymns without music notation and Telega gave in his preface the instruction to sing them to the known melodies.

Comparing the Protestant hymns of Lithuania Major and Minor it becomes obvious that the principles underlying the compilation of the hymnbooks differ. What was published and composed in Lithuania Major covered the whole range of Protestant music, both unisono and part-singing. Material from German, Czech, Polish and French sources was used. Those who compiled hymns in Lithuania Minor were more inclined to follow the German Lutheran choral tradition. But hymnals from both regions show a common stock of melodies whose distinctive features surely point to a common source.

The development of Protestant music in Lithuania Minor ceased in the 17th century because the communities lacked the abilities necessary to maintain the musical traditions of the German communities. There is no data on the development of the Protestant chorale, the participation of the organist, or any other activities during Lithuanian church services. Once the enormous repertoire of Protestant hymns had been established, there was a tendency to pay more attention to the linguistic and literary aspects of the hymns than to the music. Examples of this tendency are the hymnbooks of Johan Bretke (1589), Lazaras Sengstock (1612), Danielius Kleinas (1666, 1685, 1705), and the works of Johan Jakob Quandt, Petras Gotlibas Milkus, Kristijonas Lovynas and Gotfried Ostermeyer.

Meanwhile Catholic music in Lithuania Major was much more diverse. The creative tradition was revitalized, the publication of hymnals continued, and an attempt was made to put changes in Gregorian Chant into practice. The development of Protestant music began to stagnate here too in the second quarter of the 17th century. As the counter-reformation took hold in the Grand Duchy previously favourable conditions disappeared. The interest in

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3 Liubcas, 25 km south of present-day Grodno in Belorussia, was during the time of the reformation a thriving commercial centre on the Nemunas river. It was staunchly Calvinist and the site of one of Radvila’s castles. A printing-office was established in 1592 especially for Protestant books which bore the heading "Liubbeca ad Chromium" ["Liubcas on the Nemunas"]. It operated until 1654.
diverse Protestant music waned, and the Protestants contented themselves with their traditional hymnody.

Catholic hymnals and musical education

In the 16th and 17th century Lithuanian musical life in all its various forms was concentrated in the church institutions. Through Protestant culture, particularly strong in the 16th century religious music, new developments in Western music were transmitted. But it only flared up rather briefly and episodically, whereas the musical culture of the Catholics had been constant since the introduction of Christianity several centuries earlier. The 17th century saw Catholicism gain a firmer foothold in Lithuania Major. As in many central European countries the counter-reformation brought with it the new Baroque-style vocal-instrumental music. The solid tradition of church singing was continued and strengthened.

The Jesuits occupied a unique position in Lithuania. They were the most influential religious order through their manifold involvement in public life including musical education, music publishing and theatre. The Jesuits were the main agents of the reform decreed by the Council of Trent, that Gregorian Chant be propagated generally as well as taught appropriately in seminaries. Although they came to it late, the Lithuanian Jesuits made an attempt (keeping within the guidelines set down by the Council of Trent) to arrest the decline of plainsong by introducing obligatory singing in churches and schools.

One of the first Catholic hymnals in the whole state, "Parthenomelica", was prepared by the Jesuit Valentini Bartoszewski, published in Vilnius 1613. This volume reflected the change in church hymn repertoire in Lithuania. The new hymns showed the expanded role of music and singing in ceremonies, while the alternation of Latin Gregorian hymns with other Polish hymns brought Gregorian Chant into the realm of folk singing.

With the increase of the hymn-repertoire at the beginning of the 17th century the demand for hymns to be sung in Lithuanian grew also. Testimony to this is Saliamonas Slavocinsks' "Giesmes, tikėjimui katalickam priderancios" ["Hymns suitable to the Catholic faith"], published in Vilnius 1646. Among its almost 200 hymns were some which had been sung in Lithuania since the old times.

Preeminent in the history of Lithuanian Catholic music in the second half of the 17th century is Sigmunt Lauxmin (1596-1670), who not only continued the tradition of publishing Catholic hymnals, but was also the first to publish 1667 a book on Gregorian Chant entitled "Ars et praxis musica" in the Lithuanian language. It is significant that this and two other
works on the subject were printed and then reprinted several times at the printing house of the Vilnius Academy: "Ars et praxis musica" - 1667, 1669, 1693; "Graduale pro exercitatione studentium" - 1667, 1693; "Antiphonale ad psalmos, iuxta ritum s. Romcenae ecclesiae, decantandos, necessarium" - 1667, 1694, 1742.

Lauxmin's book can be said to have laid the solid foundations for a plainsong school in Lithuania. Multiple reprints seem to suggest that textbooks and hymnals published elsewhere were ignored for a long time. The result of this was a certain contradiction, a stand-off between a certain professionalism and a closed attitude. Lauxmin did adopt the old medieval hexachord system and music theory of Guido d'Arezzo in his "Ars et praxis musica". Having set out clearly and concisely the "cantus mollis" and "cantus durus" hexachord theory and the sound changes and mutations of the scales, Lauxmin established solmisation firmly and for a long time in Catholic centres in Lithuania and in the Grand Duchy.

His influence was felt no less in the new Gregorian chant theory textbook "Compendium Regularum Generalum Cantus", published in Vilnius 1753 (author unknown). It was meant to supersede "Ars et praxis musica". Although this publication set out the theory of Chant in some ways more thoroughly than Lauxmin had done, the status quo remained the same.

The next "rival" to appear on music theory was no longer in Latin but Polish. "Poczatki muzyki tak figuralnego i ako choralnego kantu" ["A primer for choral and polyphonic singing"] was written by Arnulf Woroniec and published in 1809 by the Vilnius university press. Unfortunately its author found it just as difficult to break with the past.

The turning point for the dominance of Gregorian Chant came when the new independent Lithuanian State was proclaimed. Cultural politics changed essentially. The seeds were planted by Teodoras Brazys, a former student of the Regensburg Higher School of church music. He expounded a new theory of Chant for modern times in his "Choralo Mokykla" ["School of the Choral Singing"], published in Kaunas in 1926.

Music in school theatre:
the relationship between amateurism and professionalism

With the firm establishment of the counter-reformation changed the way in which church music of different countries related to each other. Poland's role as intermediary between the musical cultures of the east and west weakened. It was replaced by Italy, which exerted the strongest influence on the character of Lithuanian church music. Consequently, at the turn of the
17th century, a new artistic dimension opened up, one which was closely linked to the counter-reformation - the school theatre.

The pupils of the Vilnius Academy and their professors often went to Rome for further studies. The rich musical life of the Italien Jesuits (especially in Rome) served as a model that the Lithuanian Jesuits could apply to their own productions. Thus they not only adapted known works that they saw, but also composed original works of their own.

17th to 18th century amateur school theatre, the crowning glory of the Jesuits cultural activity, filled a niche left empty by professional theatre in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for a very long period. Partheatrical festivities, i.e. colourful celebrations conducted in a huge variety of theatrical ways, constituted a very substantial part.

Certain Vilnius Academy festivals distinguished themselves by the magnificence of their processions. Special programmes were printed for the occasion to explain the procession. Many of these were prepared by Bartoszewski (mentioned above as the author of the first Catholic hymnal of 1613), and it is easy to identify there the Italian influence. Between the separate sections of these Baroque pieces there had to be various colourful passages of music to unite the "figures", i.e. the parts of the procession. This synthesis of the arts created a vivid, composite whole in which the ideological and didactic purposes of the production could be distinguished. They were attempts to fuse reality with fantasy, the everyday life of the temporal world with what was sacred and holy. As Bartoszewski indicated, he attempted to describe in his publications what he himself saw and experienced in the great processions each year in Vilnius.

The Vilnius Academy later printed anonymus programmes for the very popular Corpus Christi processions. They contained little reference to music, usually indicating only at the very end that "each section is to be followed by a retinue playing music which is relevant to the subject", or "trumpeters proceed with trumpets blaring and drums", and after the "figures" comes the "loud music", "music played with cymbals", and other similar instructions.

Similar scenarios and descriptions issued by the Vilnius Academy were required not only to commemorate a feast day but also to serve as models which could be altered and varied as necessary when preparing other displays. The music they featured was not of secondary importance; as already mentioned, its significance and function were quite clearly defined as describing and linking the several parts of the entire piece. It was also the component which was the least regulated and the least liable to censure of any kind.
Paratheatrical festivities were often enlivened by the use of certain artistic musical devices such as richly scored polychoral works, which seemed almost an echo of the traditions observed in the squares of Rome or in St. Mark's Basilica in Venice.

The Vilnius Academy theatre had quite a strong basis in theory; new treatises on theory were written within its walls. It was here that the study of theatre as a science in Lithuania began.

One of the first to state his theory and views on theatre matters was Matthias Casimirus Sarbievius (1595-1640). He was concerned with pure, classical theatre art forms and criticized the eclecticism of the Jesuit theatres.

In the 17th century the Vilnius Academy produced several academic works which discussed the purpose and place of music in performances for the theatre. Their unknown authors adhered to the theatre traditions of antiquity, and accented the role of the choir, claiming that the choir had a duty to express universally accepted morality.

At the close of the 17th century musical dramaturgy had become a significant part of school theatre plays. Music was often more than just a mean for describing something else. It had achieved parity with all the other components of theatre art.

Later the role of the static choir, which repeated ancient traditions, changed. Choreographed scenes were included. Dance acquired a sacred meaning and was interpreted as one possibility for oratorical art - a mute, silent rhetoric. The use of allegorical choir-ballet scenes also increased, and they were now integrated into the play rather than just used at the close of each act.

The Jesuits' educational work was not aimed simply at knowledge and learning outcomes. The children of aristocrats, nobles and townspeople in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania studied in Jesuit schools. Most of them acquired a sense of what cultural life was about. It is doubtful whether such splendid theatres which were built in the Grand Duchy in the 18th century would have been possible at all if there had not been the rich cultural nourishment provided earlier by the school theatres and, in particular, by the Vilnius theatre.

The Vilnius Academy theatre was paramount in realizing the aims and goals inherent in the artistic operations of the Jesuits. The intensiveness, variety and multiplicity of their productions allows us to judge this theatrical institution as closely professional. Together with other school theatres the Vilnius Academy was part of the overall evolution of theatre art in Western Europe. In some aspects it was even better than the palace theatres of the duchy's nobles because it trained its own performers and composers.
The goal of the Jesuit order was also to give training in the theatre arts and to nurture a school system which would rear its own performers and audience. School theatre maintained its place over several centuries as a part of the unbroken chain which culminated in the firm establishment of professional theatre.

**Composition and patronage**

During the 16th and 17th century conditions were favourable for Lithuania to "open up" to Western musical culture. However, a number of things kept a vast area of ethnic Lithuania bound to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland: a common state, the use of the Polish language in public life, strong religious bounds, a shared level of cultural life for those of noble rank, and the remarkable extent to which cultural activists could move about the wide geographic area of these united states.

Patronage and support of music were about the same during the reformation and the counter-reformation, with one exception - the wide-ranging cultural activities of Mikalojus Radvila the Black. He was a singular patron of that period, well known for his efforts to enrich and vary the cultural life of his court and to circulate the works of his composers as widely as possible. Above all, he had faith in local composers and was their great advocate.

Much creative activity depended on patrons from the nobility and on confessional institutions whose commissions and demands were extremely concrete. Patrons in the Grand Duchy were not great supporters of music, lacking a wider understanding or convictions of the enduring worth of musical compositions and therefore making no attempt to circulate them.

Radvila's contribution to the musical culture of Lithuania stands out as an exception in the mid-16th century and has yet to be researched more thoroughly and appreciated more highly. Thanks to his efforts and generous financial backing, Vilnius was for a long time the creative centre of Protestant music for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. To his court in Vilnius he brought many composers and writers of Polish, who - being laity and not clergy - opened up quite new possibilities and directions for sacred poetry and music. It seems likely that these activities lead to and involved the school also founded by him.

The cultural activity concentrated in Radvila's court lasted until his death in 1565. The composer Ciprianus Basilicus who had worked at his court, unexpectedly ended his music career in the same year; significantly two other composers well-known to music history - Mikolaj Gomółka and Valentin Bakfark (Valentini Bacfark, Bacfartus and other variants) - left Vilnius just as unexpectedly. We assume that Bakfark, a famous lute player
at the court of Grand Duke Sigismunt August, was connected with Radvila Black because Bakfark did not move to Cracow when the King's court did, but remained to live in Vilnius. Further circumstantial evidence lies in the letter of recommendation Bakfark took with him when he did leave Vilnius for Western Europe looking for a publisher for his work. The letter was addressed to the renowned reformation supporter and patron Melanchton, who kept in touch with Radvila. What is more, Bakfark used many polyphonic vocal works in his intavolaturas, and his own commitment to the Netherland choral polyphony resembled closely the principles which guided Radvila's court composer Venceslaus Shamotulinus (1520?-1560?). These facts together with his sudden flight from Vilnius in the year of Radvila's death constitute a persuasive argument to support the assumption that Bakfark was close to the great patron's court.

The most famous composer who worked at Radvila's court was Venceslaus Shamotulinus. He started there as an already mature composer. The breadth and depth of his musical idiom suggest that he learned his craft in Western Europe. The esoteric symbolism in his writing marks him as an exceptional mid-16th century Lithuanian composer.

The four-part hymns of Ciprianus Basilicus (1535?-1600?) are entirely different. They have Protestant chorale characteristics, which is not surprising because they were composed quite deliberately to carry the texts of the reformation poets working at Radvila's court. He also set some well-known Latin texts to music.

At the height of the counter-reformation attempts were made to restore churches neglected during the reformation and to construct new ones. The nobles began to take an interest in organs for those churches under their patronage. This opened up new perspectives for church music. The organ with its own particular repertoire best exploited the possibilities for church instrumental music in Lithuania. Thus began a long period in which organists became the prominent organizing force in musical life. The main aim for Lithuanian organists was the gradual establishment of creative ideas and theories from Western Europe - primarily the form principles for composition, the rendering of a figured bass, the interpretation of the subtle.

This paper has already discussed the vital role that the Vilnius Academy played in musical life since the final decade of the 16th century. It also supported musical composition. However, the total output was modest, and only a few works ascribed to notable Jesuits survive. These were men of learning and supporters of the reformation and - although they were no professional musicians - the musical culture of Lithuania is indebted to them. The best known were Simonas Berentas (Berentus, 1565-1649), Johanesas Brantus (1554-1602) and Martinus Kretzmer (1631-1696). Creating
music can have been for all three only a minor part of their work, having mainly scholarly and pedagogical duties. We have only secondary sources to attest their authenticity.

The works of Simonus Berentas are lost. We know about them only from bibliographies which mention that his two multil-part litanies were published at the Vilnius Academy's printing house in 1638 and 1639, but that the author was not acknowledged.

Brantas' hymn cycle and intavolatura *Jesu dulcis memoria* and several other hymns were found in the organ tabulaturas assembled in 1620 belonging to the Jesuit college of Riga.

The original of Kretzmer's *Motteto Sacerdotes Dei Benedicte Dominum* is also lost, but transcriptions (copies) of separate vocal and instrumental parts have survived. Although biographers of the Jesuits have written that Kretzmer's works had quite a wide audience in Lithuanian churches, no other evidence of his work (apart from the *Motetto*) has come to light.

To base an evaluation of the composed music left to us is problematical. They may exemplify general characteristics of creative thought and compositional techniques, but due to the strictures applied to a Jesuit's musical activity by his order, the authorship of these works cannot be said to be beyond doubt. Viewed in the larger context, this small body of work raises real doubts and questions. How could these Jesuits have reached such creative maturity if one of the rules of their order forbade them to play music? Was a short trip to Italy enough to acquire composition techniques and to grasp the latest in music, especially when the purposes and tasks of the trip were quite different? Could they really be the authors of these works if Jesuits routinely entrusted the music and art around them to laymen? Could the compositions in question be only single and random works? Why is there not more evidence about the music that these men wrote?

All these questions have yet to be answered. However, looking at the whole context of the general cultural work of the Jesuits, there is reason to believe that Kretzmer's *Motetto* and Brantas' hymn cycle could be adaptations, alterations or reworked themes taken from other Western European (probably Italian) composers. Most likely the source of these single works is buried in the rich soil of Italian music and remains something that future scholars must locate in order to verify or disprove these hypotheses. Even so, what remains is the proof of the high level of musical skill that the "authors" possessed, and - as their biographers have noted - of their advanced knowledge of repertoire.

It is no easy thing to compare the musical legacy of reformation and counter-reformation composers, but it is possible to make out the tendencies fundamental to 16th and 17th century creative thought. The peculiarities of
the renaissance aesthetic in Lithuanian church music are seen more easily in the repertoire imported from abroad than in the works of local composers. What has come down to us of the music written for religious use in the 17th century shows that the gap between secular and sacred music diminished and "concertanto" features appeared. But although the composing of music was stimulated by the reformation and counter-reformation alike, it found neither favourable conditions in the general cultural milieu, nor an adequate tradition of patronage to support it.

Conclusion

1. The musical culture of the reformation and counter-reformation spread along with cultural developments in Lithuania Major and Minor, the Polish-Lithuanian Republic and Western Europe, all of which were complex and interdependent. The circumstances which determined its own character in Lithuania were the different religious and ethnic cultures in the region. However peripheral, the old Catholic culture still occupied ground. Ethnic peculiarities differentiated the regions of Lithuania Major and Minor, ties were maintained with the Duchy of Prussia. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania's religious and national heterogeneity and also the active Polish cultural influence were decisive in shaping and determining the spread of musical culture from Western Europe.

2. When we review studies of Lithuanian artistic and cultural heritage it is obvious that those of the fine arts and literature are more solidly based on authentic extant material. The shortage of sources for such areas as music genres and the idiosyncrasies of musical language means that the musicologist is not in quite such a happy position. Nevertheless, the conclusions that the author can draw in her research about the musical life of Lithuania are for the most part in line with those of researchers in allied art fields. This supports the view that Lithuanian church, art, music and religious literature have development tendencies in common. Essentially, artistic and spiritual life in Lithuania Minor and Major was tied to religious literature and hymns in translation during the reformation. While Lithuania Minor was influenced solely by Lutheranism, the spiritual life in Lithuania Major differed in its considerably wider variety and greater creative freedom. The polemic religious literature as well as the poetry and hymn music written there reflected the diversity of both literary and church music genres. Major attention was given to multi- and single-part hymns which embodied the essential features of both the Protestant chorale and the Netherland polyphonic school. In addi-
tion, most hymns could be traced back to medieval traditions, being pre-
dominantly translations and adaptations, alterations or reworkings of old
Latin hymns. Even if such western genres as the villanella, madrigal or
the chanson reached Lithuania Major, they influenced its musical com-
positions only minimally. As Protestant music consolidated, it stifled
any expression of Italian renaissance musical culture. During the coun-
ter-reformation some 16th century secular vocal genres gained currency
through organ intavolaturas and original compositions.

3. The reformation and Italian renaissance wave which reached Lithuania
Major in the mid-16th century were no isolated phenomena. The first
Lithuanian books, the hymnals of Martynas Mazvydas, were the fruit
not only of the East Prussian cultural environment, but also of Lithuania
Major's own musical traditions and experience. Mazvydas' little volumes
went far beyond the function of the most typical hymnals. They were
intended to be religious accessories certainly; but at the same time they
fostered the traditions of professional church music, fulfilled a broader
educational mission, laid the foundations for the written Lithuanian lan-
guage, and constituted a landmark for the Lithuanian school.
The Protestant musical culture of Lithuania Major was more open to the
artist's creative initiative which was a truer reflection of an indi-
vidualized attitude to the realities of everyday life. Some individual
writers and composers of this region had an appropriate place in the
general Western European music context. But the creative start made by
Protestant music did not develop past the initial stage into what surely
would have been a period of further adopting and continuing the cultural
process of the great Protestant centres of Western Europe.

4. During the counter-reformation in the 17th century the music-exchange
with Western Europe took on a new character as the cultural scope wid-
ened to admit distinctively baroque expressions. Solemn and sacred
church music began to change and allow concert elements, included
various composition genres and saw the beginning of improvisational
keyboard music. This was influenced by a shift in international affairs.
Whereas in the 16th century the Gniezno archbishops and individual no-
bles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had been influential, the 17th cen-
tury began to be more democratic. The role of the Vilnius Academy be-
came important because it fostered and advocated extremely diverse
forms of musical life which were adopted directly from the Italian musi-
cal experience. The Vilnius Academy propagated a network of school
theatres and organized parateatrical productions not only for the aristo-
cracy, but to all the other classes in the population. The Academy pro-
vided a platform where baroque art and world outlook could find ex-
pression. Despite their exlectic character, these musicals surpassed the school theatres and did not fall short of standards set for professional productions.

5. A variety of factors - the anonymity of Lithuanian church music, the unreliability of data, the lack of definition of the status of patron, composer and artist - make it difficult and problematic to examine the Lithuanian creative musical legacy thoroughly. The practice of church music, music theory and the circulation of compositions in the 16th and 17th century could not measure up to those of Western Europe. Even so, the musical life of Lithuania in this period must be evaluated on a broad international scale. It must be seen as a distinctive and unique Lithuanian part in the history of European culture.

by the author

Alfonsas Motuzas, Mažosios Lietuvos Evangelikų Liuteronų liaudies apeiginė muzika (giesmės, psalmės) [Litauische evangelisch-lutherische Kirchengesänge], in: Mažosios Lietuvos liaudies instrumentai ir apeiginė muzika, hrsg. von Lietuvininkų Bendrija, Lietuvos Muzikos Akademijos Klaipėdos Fakultetas, Vilnius (Apyausris) 1994

Bis heute ist noch kein Druckwerk der litauischen religiösen rituellen Volksgesänge mit Noten eingeteilt nach ethnographischen Gebieten der Republik erschienen; es gibt auf diesem Gebiet noch keine eigenen Traditionen. Einen ersten Versuch machte der Autor mit seinem Buch "Der Kreuzweg von Žemaicių Kalvarija. Leichenschmausgesänge" (mit Noten).

Die hier zusammengefaßte Studie ist eine Fortsetzung seines früher erschienenen Werkes. Sie betrifft schon nicht mehr Žemaitija, sondern Kleinlitauen mit seiner reichen Geschichte, ethnokulturellen Vergangenheit, zahlreichen Liedern und besonders eigenartigen religiösen Ritusgesängen, die in der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinde noch lebendig sind.


Eines der charakteristischen Merkmale der religiösen Volksmusik Kleinlitauens ist die Instrumentalmusik. Außerdem gibt es noch eine einstimmige instrumentale und vokale Gesangsausführung. Außer diesen Gesängen enthält das Buch auch eine kurzgefaßte historische Darstellung über die In-