VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

Jonas Vilimas

THE FEATURES OF TRADITION OF THE GREGORIAN CHANT IN THE
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA.

*EXPOSURE OF THE 15TH-18TH CENTURIES AND ATTEMPT OF
RECONSTRUCTION*

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation
Humanitarian Sciences, History (05 H)

Vilnius, 2012

Dissertation is defended as an external work.

Scholarly consultant:

Doc. dr. Irena Vaišvilaitė (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05 H)

The dissertation is being defended at the Council of Scientific Field of History at Vilnius University:

Chairman
Prof. dr. Alfredas Bumblauskas (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05 H)

Members
Habil. dr. Jūratė Trilupaitienė (Lithuanian Culture Research Institute, Humanitarian Sciences, Art Studies – 03 H)
Doc. dr. Mintautas Čiurinskas (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05 H)
Dr. Liudas Jovaiša (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05 H)
Dr. Darius Antanavičius (The Lithuanian Institute of History, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05 H)

The Dissertation will be defended at the public meeting of the Council of Scientific Field of History in the 211th Auditorium of the Faculty of History of Vilnius University at 3 p.m. on 28 June 2012.
Address: Universiteto str. 7
             LT-01513 Vilnius

The Summary of the doctoral dissertation was distributed on 28 May 2012.
A copy of the doctoral dissertation is available for review at the Library of Vilnius University.

VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS

Jonas Vilimas

GRIGALIŠKOJO CHORALO TRADICIJOS BRUOŽAI LIETUVOS DIDŽIOJOJE KUNIGAIKŠTYSTĖJE.

XV-XVIII AMŽIŲ ATODANGOS IR REKONSTRUKCIJOS BANDYMAS

Disertacija ginama eksternu.

Mokslinis konsultantas:

Doc. dr. Irena Vaišvilaitė (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

Disertacija ginama Vilniaus universiteto Istorijos mokslo krypties taryboje:

Pirmininkas
 Prof. dr. Alfredas Bumblauskas (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

Nariai
 Habil. dr. Jūratė Trilupaitienė (Lietuvos kultūros tyrimų institutas, humanitariniai mokslai, menotyra – 03 H)
 Doc. dr. Mintautas Čiurinskas (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)
 Lekt. dr. Liudas Jovaiša (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)
 Dr. Darius Antanavičius (Lietuvos istorijos institutas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

Disertacija bus ginama viešame Vilniaus universito Istorijos mokslo krypties gynimo tarybos posėdyje, 2012 m. birželio mėn. 28 d. 15 val. Istorijos fakulteto 211 auditorijoje
 Adresas: Universiteto g. 7
         LT-01513 Vilnius

Disertacijos santrauka išsiuntinėta 2012 m. gegužės mėn. 28 d.

Disertaciją galima peržiūrėti Vilniaus unvierstieto bibliotekoje

INTRODUCTION

1. Relevance of the Research

The Gregorian chant (or 'plainchant') is a many-faceted phenomenon. It is a complex musical, religious, cultural and historical phenomenon, which has developed under certain historical and cultural conditions within a particular geographical location. Historical and political factors also played an important role in its development. The research of its beginnings, growth, and the period of its so-called 'golden age' has a solid background and historiography. However, its later evolution, various regional and local traditions, as well as its developments in the Early Modern period: are significantly less-investigated areas of scholarly knowledge. This fact is particularly true with the plainchant in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter: GDL). Actually, the historical plainchant studies in Lithuania are rather in a preliminary phase, lacking more detailed and systemic investigation. Thus, musicological, historical and interdisciplinary research of this phenomenon in the GDL is of primary importance and topicality.

2. The Topic of Research, Theoretical Basis, Aim and Tasks

The qualities of the Gregorian chant are determined/conditioned by both its inner nature and its medieval origin. Both of these factors have one common denominator that could be described by the concept of tradition. Therefore, the question of tradition is central.

2.1. The Understanding of Tradition. The concept of tradition is heterogeneous. Its interpretations depend significantly on the applied methodology. For instance, the 20th century German philosopher Josef Pieper, contemplating from the philosophical point of view, considers tradition to be the key condition of human common existence. He also relates tradition to divine revelation (i.e. the *tradita* is considered to be the delivering and sharing of the sacred tradition from one generation to another). This interpretation is rather close to the Christian theological understanding, according to which the tradition is the additional source of Revelation (i.e. the other source being Sacred Scripture).

From an anthropological point of view, tradition is understood to be a transfer of essential elements of certain culture from generation to generation. Tradition is a process, during which new elements or the components of other cultures are usually integrated; however, the core features of the culture are preserved. Another important function of tradition is a regenerative one, since one becomes acquainted with cultural values and forms through the use of established models and formulas, while at the same time certain process of re-creation and variations take place (cf. Treitler 1974). The factor of tradition is also important in composition of many musical genres and the development of artistic forms (cf. Lissa 1970). Thus, tradition is a complex practice involving the functions of transmission, reception and re-creation, mediation and communication; adjusting in itself the unchangeable and identifiable foundation with the elements that fertilize and corrects it. To a certain extent, these features are reflected in the evolution of the Gregorian chant.

2.1.1. Tradition in Liturgy and Gregorian Chant. The Gregorian chant is usually defined as the traditional liturgical chant of the Roman rite of the Roman Catholic Church. It is directly connected with the liturgy, which being the special ritual-action is the tool that preserves and transmits the experience of the divine – the sacred. This is the most important function of tradition. Therefore, the Gregorian chant, as the musical expression *par excellence* of the Catholic liturgy, is especially important instrument of transmission of the tradition. Furthermore, the development of the tradition of the Gregorian chant in Latin medieval Christianity was closely interwoven with the formation and evolution of the Roman liturgy.

However, the Gregorian chant is also often understood as a substantive musical phenomenon. In this case, while dealing with its tradition, one concentrates only on the development of musical features of the plainchant. In addition, it is also conceived as a homogeneous phenomenon. From the musicological point of view, such viewpoint is permissible.

Nonetheless, problems remain. One problem is connected to the paradigm of the plainchant as a composed artistic phenomenon, which at a certain point of its evolution experienced a decline, thus having a need of a restoration. The principle of its revival has been the search for, and the

restoration of, the most-authentic variants of the melodies of the chants. However, from a historical point one could raise an assumption that this conception and the search for the genuine melodic tradition has created a chant that never existed in its pure state during the Middle Ages. For this reason, the term *medieval plainchant* has been established. Moreover, in scholarly literature, the Gregorian chant is often denominated as a Franco-Roman chant. Yet these terms should not be over-emphasized, because the chant being formed in early Middle Ages and brought to the state of maturity in the high Middle Ages was also practised in later epochs while encountering various transformations and different names (e.g. '*cantus planus'* being one of the most common names). These alterations also were partly related to the rise and growth of regional chant traditions. In present work, this historically more-correct paradigm is held as a principal one (i.e. the plainchant and its tradition has been treated as an organic historical process). The chant itself is called the Gregorian chant, because historically this term was used in the GDL.

2.1.2. Constituents of the Tradition of Gregorian Chant. Because the history of the plainchant has been closely linked to the history of the liturgy, the changes in the latter always had impact(s) upon the chant. In this case, we are dealing not with the exterior but rather with the interior traditions of the Roman rite. It was already in early Middle Ages that two different uses of the Latin liturgy had developed: the monastic, and the cathedral or secular. Both uses in the broader sense effect the common tradition of the Roman liturgy; although some of the aspects of the uses differ. For instance, there are different formulas of liturgical prayer, chapters, chants and/or their disposition, etc. These elements may also influence the plainchant. However, when dealing with the Gregorian chant two factors are of key importance. The factors are the whole of chants (*corpus*), and the usage of chants (*usus*). The interrelation of these two categories defines one or another tradition of the Gregorian chant.

Another important factor is the geographical. This is particularly true regarding the cathedral liturgy and chant; the monastic tradition was influenced to a lesser extent. Since the time of Peter Wagner, there were two principal plainchant dialects (i.e. the 'Romanic' and the 'Germanic', or west- and east-Frankish). These dialects had developed in two neighbouring territories that

correspond to present-day France and Germany. On the other hand, in the late medieval period, multiple variants of chant would develop in a particular country, or in only one bishopric. These and other factors had a major influence on the formation(s) of the tradition(s) of the plainchant, especially in the newly-baptized countries.

2.2. The Aim and Tasks of Research. The primary aim of this interdisciplinary (i.e. historical, musicological and liturgical) work is to settle the explicit, historically and methodologically correct general view of the plainchant within the concrete historical, cultural and geographical location in a defined period of time. The additional tasks of this research are to explore:

The additional tasks of this research are to explore:

1) To what extent was the practice of Gregorian chant in the GDL analogous/different from that in other countries?

2) What local features of the plainchant did form (if any); and what were exceptional qualities of individual chants, which would also reflect the particularities of their performance?

3) What cantionals were in use; what was their relation to other liturgical books in use in the GDL?

4) What type of notation was in use; how did such notation differ from that used in the songbooks of neighbouring countries; to what extent does the notation reflect the usage of the plainchant in this particular historical-geographical space?

5) How long was the plainchant in use in GDL in the Latin liturgy as the way and norm of the liturgy's musical implementation?

3. The Object, Chronological Limits, and Sources of the Research

The object of this interdisciplinary research is the expression and development in the GDL of the Gregorian chant as represented in a variety of sources. The time period examined is from 1387 to 1795 (i.e. from the Latin Baptism of the state until the fall of the Republic of Two Nations). However, the main focus is for the period of the 15th to the 17th centuries, for the following reasons.

1) Latin Christianity required much more time than approximately thirteen (13) years after the Baptism in order to entrench in the country. Therefore, the 15th century is considered exactly the right datum-line. Moreover, the final Latin Baptism of all lands of the GDL occurred only in 1413, when Samogitia had been baptised.

2) During this period of 300 years, Latin Christianity extended throughout the entire state, experienced the crisis of the Reformation, and became re-invigorated. The church finally became settled, and crossed the ethnic Lithuanian boundaries within the GDL. In the 18th century, the Catholicism there continued some of the tendencies of the previous age. Correspondingly, there was also a form of retreat, together with the emergence of the Enlightenment and the decline of the union-state of Lithuania and Poland (i.e. the Republic of Two Nations).

3) The priority of the period of 15th to 17th centuries is based also on the sources used in research, the majority of which are from this time interval.

From the point of view of the plainchant and liturgical studies, this time is of particular significance. Firstly, the period of the 15th to mid-16th centuries was the age in which various European dioceses codified and systemised their liturgical traditions, using the Roman example. Secondly, the 17th century displays a changing situation. After the post-Tridentine liturgical reform, there remained many archaic and regional features. One may observe how these elements give place to the new universal features, or are preserved. The sources of the 18th century are used as a supplementary means, which permits verification of these tendencies.

4. Review of Historiography

The Gregorian chant (i.e. 'the plainchant') studies as such exist since the mid-19th century. For more than a century, the principal object of the studies has been the plainchant with its genres, forms, notation, musical, aesthetic, and interpretational qualities. Investigation of its regional and local traditions has begun actually only several decades ago. Furthermore, since the 1980's, the increasing interest in the Gregorian chant as a historical phenomenon has

significantly intensified. As a consequence, a more historical approach has been developed.

The turning point here has become the article, "Toward a New Historical View of the Gregorian Chant", by the German musicologist Helmut Hucke (1980). He summarised the existing mainstream theory of the origins and development of the plainchant. At the same time, he formulated the main principles of a new theory. According to Hucke, the foundations of the older paradigm were laid by the Benedictines of Solesmes and the aforementioned Wagner -- who could be considered as the founding-father of the plainchant modern studies. This theory is based upon the presumption that all of the various traditions of the Christian chant (i.e. in this case, not only the Latin, but also the Byzantine, as well as other Eastern Orthodox chant traditions) have developed from one single source. The latter is considered to be based in the liturgy of Jerusalem or Antioch. Hucke claims that the Western plainchant had developed in the West, although some Eastern influence in certain cases could be traced.

However, the major breakthrough he envisaged in plainchant studies are in the works by Solange Corbin, Kenneth Levy, Leo Treitler, etc. These authors analysed the ways of transmission of the chants, paying particular attention to written and oral transmission and the relationship thereof (see Treitler 1974, 1981, 1982, 1992). A special prominence has also been given to the period of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance, and to the essential Frankish input in the development of the Gregorian chant (Levy 1998). Based on these and other related assumptions, Hucke framed a new historical paradigm of the Gregorian chant. His view considers the latter no longer as a collection of melodies (i.e. as was proper to the older paradigm), but rather regards this chant as a complex phenomenon, which was affected by various influences and historical processes. This new conception explains much better the genesis and formation of the plainchant. Furthermore, this view opens a prospective for historical research of the plainchant's various traditions.

Another important branch of medieval music and plainchant studies has formed on the periphery of the mainstream, which continued to be developed

in the West. This peripheral location was partly due to the historical and political conditions that formed in post-WWII Europe. This branch came into being in Central European countries that had fallen into the so-called 'socialist block'. The block's scholars were limited in their possibilities to participate in the discourse generated in the West (i.e. although they referred to it). Such disjuncture motivated the block's scholars to concentrate on the medieval musical heritage of their countries, as well as to begin such serious scholarly investigation. The principal works in this field were made by Polish and Hungarian scholars.

In Poland, the important works appeared by the late 1950's. In 1965, the fundamental series of medieval musicology, entitled *Musica Medii Aevi*, was begun to be published. In the first volume, several important articles appeared that provided background for further growth of Polish plainchant studies. These articles are important for a better understanding of the chant in general. The first important text is "Liturgical Musica in Medieval Poland" by Hieronim Feicht (Feicht 1965). He deals with the plainchant through the prism of various traditions. He discusses the features of various monastic traditions and the characteristics of the plainchant in Polish medieval dioceses. Another important feature of this article is that the Polish contribution to the Gregorian chant in general is seen solely in the composition of new chants (e.g. rhymed offices in honour of St. Stanislas and St. Adalbert). In other words, Feicht considers the plainchant as a collection of melodies.

Another important text of the first volume of '*Musica Medii Aevi*' is by Adam Sutkowski, which deals with the attributes of chant notation in medieval Poland (Sutkowski 1965). The author described the principal types of notation that were used in Polish manuscripts. He provided important assumptions about the usage of two (2) main types of notation (i.e., 'square' and 'Gothic' notations), and their distribution among different monastic orders and dioceses. This supposition is also of high importance while considering the heritage of the plainchant in Lithuania. The third trend that also appeared in the first volume of *Musica Medii Aevi* is related to the investigation of concrete sources and genres of the plainchant in Poland. This trend would later become the leading view in Polish medieval musical historiography. These scholars

sometimes take a glance at the surviving Lithuanian artefacts as well (e.g. Morawski 1995). In recent years, there are important articles that attempt to subject various local traditions to analysis on the basis of selected sources and/ or genres (e.g. Kubieniec 2010).

The printed works by Hungarian scholars began to appear at similar time as those by their Polish counterparts. In the Hungarian case however, the emphasis was made on the publications of sources and ethnomusicological studies. In 1956, Benjamin Rajeczky, an established Hungarian ethnomusicologist of the period, published a collection of *Melodiarum Hungariae Medii Aevi* (Rajeczky 1956), with the melodies of hymns and sequences from Hungarian medieval manuscripts. This was an important stimulus to discern more of the musical past of Hungary; however, this was done via the prism of Hungarian folk-music. For example, Prof. Laszlo Dobszay and Prof. Janka Szendrei – the true founders of the Hungarian school of Gregorian chant studies – have a significant part of their oeuvre dedicated to the ethnomusicological problems. (viz. Szendrei/Hiley 1995).

It is also worth noticing that the appropriateness of ethnomusicological methodology in plainchant studies became an established event on the international level in the 1990's; and is now considered among one of the primary methods in this field (Jeffery 1992). The most important Hungarian impact is the project called CAO-ECE (i.e. *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*), which originated in the early 1990's. This project is a database of Central European office antiphons, and also an important methodology that forms the basis for explorations of various regional and local traditions of the plainchant.

Regarding the tendencies of recent decades, one might notice that the older paradigm is still retained -- dealing mainly with various musical, textual, aesthetic, and interpretational characteristics of the Gregorian chant. The search for the most-authentic plainchant melodies is also continuing. The most important work in this field is done by the school of Gregorian semiology (Cardine 1968, Agustoni/Goschl 1987-1991), which is also very significant as a theory of interpretation. Another development is that notable achievements have been reached in the field of the investigation of various regional and local

plainchant sources and traditions. In addition, the plainchant in the Early Modern period has also came to be an important part of the studies (e.g. Karp 2005). The present work could also be considered as an example of this second tendency.

Lithuanian plainchant studies are in its initial stage. Due to this fact, and to bring even its rudimentary manifestations into scholarly discourse -- to define the main guidelines of present research, the Lithuanian historiography is analysed in the first part of this work.

5. The Novelty of the Research and Methodological Principles

The novelty of the present research is grounded partially on the object itself, which in Lithuania has not been treated in a coherent and focused manner. Several articles by foreign authors have presented some medieval sources of the plainchant from Lithuania, thus introducing such sources into general scholarly discourse. The Gregorian chant has also been mentioned in Lithuanian historical and musicological discourses; however, usually avoiding the more detailed description of local features as well as complex analysis of this phenomenon. Hence, the present research is the first study of such an extent of the plainchant in the GDL; and with the principal objective to display an exhaustive in-depth view of this phenomenon, and to lay the foundations for the further investigation of its various aspects.

The principal methods used in this research are: the historical, musicological and source analysis, the descriptive, retrospective, and comparative. All of these methods are coordinated with the principles of the methodology, developed by Prof. Dobszay and his school (Dobszay/Proszeky 1988).

5.1. The Methodological Principles of the Examination of Plainchant Traditions. The key methodological principal of Dobszay is to consider the plainchant sources as material of historical analysis. He rejects the methodology expanded by the 'restaurateurs' of Solesmes, as well as that of its offspring (i.e. the semiological school). He also repudiates their principal objective to find the most authentic form of plainchant ("Urform"). According to Dobszay, the surviving sources of the plainchant should be considered first

of all as the documents of their own age. They manifest the proper situation of the period in which they were written, rather than indicated deviations from "original" (i.e. in case we are dealing with the late sources).

Dobszay marks three (3) epochs of evolution of plainchant traditions. The first epoch is the period of formation. At that time, the texts and melodies were rather laxly connected, and the principal melodies could still be adapted to more than one text. It was the phase of oral tradition, lacking primary sources. During the second epoch, the principal regions of plainchant tradition formed. Most likely, the two above-mentioned main chant dialects differentiated at such time. This period contributes quite a number of sources that provide sufficient information in order to distinguish certain variants of the plainchant. During the third epoch, the local traditions formed. This was the period of active development of the Gregorian chant, as well as interaction of various mutual influences. The majority of plainchant sources is from this time. They are also used in dealing with the first two epochs. At the same time, this legitimises the investigation of later sources, which the afore-mentioned older schools are considering to be less relevant. In order to identify a local plainchant tradition, one needs to invoke as many primary sources as possible. These should be of the same or close provenance, and should also belong to longer historical period. It is the detailed analysis of the entirety of sources that can display a 'typical' chant tradition of a region.

5.2. The Situation of Lithuania and Principal Methodological Scheme. The GDL received its Latin Baptism at the very-end of the Middle Ages. From the point of Christian culture and Catholic religious tradition, the GDL belongs to the eastern periphery of Central Europe. Because of such lateness, the plainchant used in the GDL belongs exclusively to the third epoch. To be more precise, it belongs to the very-end of this period, when the regional traditions were more or less settled, and when only minor changes (if any) could be made. As was mentioned above, this period is characterised by relative abundance and variety of sources. Thus, the CAO/ECE methodology appears to be the most relevant.

CAO/ECE is based on the analysis and interplay of two (2) key components: '*corpus'* and '*usus'*. The principle may be explained: after

exploring the majority of the repertoire of chants as contained in various cantionals (*corpus*), one should proceed to analysis of their usage, classification, and functional characteristics (*usus*). The combination of these procedures should lead to the clarification of certain plainchant tradition(s). However, because of the particularity and certain lack of primary sources from GDL (i.e. especially from the older period), the methodological scheme of this research is as follows. On the basis of CAU/ECE methodology, invoking certain wholeness of chants (*corpus*) and referring not only to sparse liturgical sources but also to narrative, diplomatic and normative sources in order in clarify their usage and functioning (*usus*), one attempts to reveal the key features of the tradition of the Gregorian chant in the GDL.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION
AND THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

The work consists of **t**hree parts. The first part is concerned with the plainchant studies in Lithuania, beginning with published texts from the early 20th century to the present day. The analysis and critique of this material helps to clarify the topics of the present research. In the second part, the primary and secondary sources are analysed using the historical-analytical methodology; consideration is given to the criteria for selection of sources. All of these are scanned with attention to the contained important liturgical and plainchant information. The reliable presumptions of the plainchant tradition in the GDL are formulated. In the third part, the secondary and primary sources are analysed according to the principal methodological scheme as well as the retrospective and comparative analytical methods. In addition, the musical analysis of the selected chants from the Divine Office, as well as from the Mass, are analysed in relation to their specific features as well as liturgical and historical contexts. The dissertation is concluded with the findings of the research, and the detailed bibliography. The Appendices contain various tables, the full liturgical and normative texts from various primary sources, and the transcribed chants and their comparative tables.

PART I

THE OUTLINE OF THE LITHUANIAN PLAINCHANT STUDIES

The first part of this dissertation discusses the scholarly and publicistic material by Lithuanian authors regarding the Gregorian chant. The principal objective is to present the general view of genesis and growth of the Lithuanian plainchant studies, as well as to highlight the guidelines for the future research in this field.

The Chapter *1.1. Pioneers* is a survey of the earliest Lithuanian publications, which date from before the First World War. There are analysed articles by the authors Juozas Naujalis and Česlovas Sasnauskas, whose writings are important on several points. First, there is the significance as being the publications by the founders of the Lithuanian national school of music. Second, they reflect their own epoch as historical documents that provide valid information about church music in general in Lithuania. Third, they express views that are rather common for the period, although different views about the plainchant. Naujalis revealed that the Gregorian chant was not familiar in early 20th century Lithuania. At the same time, it is an indication that the plainchant had to be implanted anew, rather than merely re-established (i.e. despite the fact the important songbook with the Gregorian chants has been published several times in 19th century Vilnius). Another important aspect could be grasped from the Naujalis creed on the subject. As a graduate of the Regensburg Church Music School, he continued to promulgate the teachings of that time, which were already recognised as not sufficiently correct. Although, it is true that a similar situation in this respect was still preserved in the majority of Catholic dioceses in Germany, as well as in some of English-speaking world. The articles by Sasnauskas should be considered as the first aesthetic essays on the Gregorian chant that were published in the Lithuanian press.

The publications that appeared during the period between the two World Wars are dealt with in Chapter *1.2. The Outlook of the Two Decades of the First Republic*. At the outset, the article by Blažiejus Česnys concerning the plainchant trip of Sasnauskas is discussed. This paper is important not only as

the source of memoirs about the afore-mentioned tour, but also as one of the first attempts of scholarly monographs about a Lithuanian composer. From the point of view of plainchant studies, other aspects of the article are particularly significant. First, Česnys presented the research and merits of the Benedictines of Solesmes. Second, he made known the key persons of the restoration of the Gregorian chant. In addition, he introduced one of the main methods of the Solesmes Benedictines' scholarly theory, which he called 'musicography'. Furthermore, he briefly described their fundamental publication series *Paleographie musicale*. In other words, Česnys while dealing with Sasnauskas' voyage and his personal achievements, managed to deliver them in a scholarly and positive fashion, as well as to introduce this knowledge into the Lithuanian scholarly discourse, and also to propose the new terminology.

The next sub-chapter (*1.2.2. Braziana*) is dedicated to Teodoras Brazys, the actual founder of plainchant studies in Lithuania. He was the individual to issue the greatest number of publications in the field, as well as concerning church music in general. Although the majority of his publications are of an educative rather than scholarly character, the material is characterised by clear knowledge of the subject-matter and accuracy. In his early articles published in the magazine '*Muzikos aidai'* (i.e., which he founded), Brazys expounds the principles of 'Cecilianism', and he highlights the key importance of the Gregorian chant. He also analysed certain compositional and aesthetic components of the chant, as well as set the guidelines for further work to be done by himself and others. A series of six (6) articles was also published after his death. At that time, it was the best historical survey of the plainchant to be published in Lithuania. It was partly based on the common paradigm of that period, namely on Christianization of classical culture, as well as on the concept of the chant as composition.

Dealing with the genesis of plainchant and its connections with pagan musical culture, Brazys also provided the analytic comparison with Lithuanian archaic folksongs. Nevertheless, the most important work by Brazys was his Gregorian chant textbook, *Choralo mokykla* ['The School of Plainchant']. It consists of a rather extensive theoretical part with numerous examples, and also a practical part – that includes not only the most important chants, but also

the singing exercises. He avoids scholarly reflections. However, every subject is presented in a comprehensive manner, and provides sufficient examples that are useful to the students of chant as well as more advanced singers (i.e. as a type of memo). In addition, the main genres and forms of plainchant are expounded in detail. All major chants, both of office and mass, are presented; however, more attention is given to the chants of the priest. In summary, the *Choralo mokykla* by Brazys is a textbook that is well-balanced, and finely prepared from a methodological viewpoint. It remains the best teaching tool for the plainchant to be written in Lithuanian.

In the next Chapter, *1.3. For the second-half of the 20th Century and in the early-21st Century*, the works published in the Soviet period and in the recent years of the Second Republic of Lithuania are discussed. The Soviet era was not the ideal time to study matters regarding the Church, and/or ecclesiastical culture in general. The Gregorian chant was considered to be just one of such issues. However, after the Stalinist period, it became possible to begin exploring and presenting for a wider audience the historical and cultural past of Lithuania.

The plainchant was thus introduced anew as a remnant of feudal culture of the GDL. The work of Vytautas Povilas Jurkštas (i.e. discussed in sub-chapter *1.3.1.*) was instrumental in this respect. His principal work was the facsimile edition of *Ars et praxis musica* – a short mid-17th century treatise of musical theory by Žygimantas Liauksminas [Sigismundus Lauxmin]. It was published together with full translation (made by Leonas Valkūnas), and with a thorough introductory article by Jurkštas himself. The edition contains short biographical notes of Liauksminas, a bibliography, a glossary, and a short concert catalogue with the chants attributed to Liauksminas. Although the introductory paper involves certain Soviet ideological clichés, they are few in number and do not distort the principal points. The work provides the basic knowledge about the plainchant. However, the author does not provide the sources for the grounds on which he makes his suppositions. Furthermore, some of his propositions appear to be incorrect or outdated. Nevertheless, such laxity does not degrade the significance of Jurkštas' account, since after the

long period of time, it was the first public description of this cultural and musical phenomenon; and moreover, a positive one.

The remaining/larger part of the chapter is allotted to the works by Jūratė Trilupaitiene that were published during the last two (2) decades of the Second Republic of Lithuania. It was she who reached the qualitatively new level in the research of the sacred music patrimony in Lithuania. Thus, in the sub-chapter 1.3.2., there are analysed and disputed the following publications by Trilupaitiene: a) *Jezuitų muzikinė veikla Lietuvoje* ['The Musical Activities of Jesuits in Lithuania'], b) the post-doctoral dissertation *XVI-XVII a. Lietuvos bažnytinė muzika: konfesinių sąjūdžių poveikis jos raidai* ['The Church Music in Lithuania in the 16th–17th centuries: The Effect of Confessional Movements for its Development'], c) as well as a number of articles on the subject of sacred music and plainchant patrimony of Lithuania that were published in Lithuanian scholarly journals.

One of the major features of all of these works, in regard to the Gregorian chant, is the following. Although in the majority of works the plainchant is not discussed as a priority issue, it is not regarded as a kind of well-known phenomenon of church music. Rather, the author attempts to give an account of reliable characteristics of the plainchant in the GDL, at least to a certain extent. Her propositions are based on a variety of ecclesiastical sources. She also provides a quite detailed account of printed and manuscript manuals of the plainchant, works that were written and used in 17th–18th centuries Lithuania. Alternatively, the author does not avoid the repetition of certain claims and suppositions that occur in a number of publications. Nevertheless, one should emphasise that it is the works by Trilupaitiene that in many cases are the first to explore the patrimony of church music of the GDL in particular. At the same time, in many cases they are the first to cast a look at some local features of the plainchant in the then-Lithuania. Still, it should also be observed that this subject is not explored in a more detailed manner, rather limiting with primary exposition of some evidence.

PART II
THE INDICATIONS OF THE GREGORIAN CHANT IN THE GDL

The second part of this dissertation is focused upon the presentation and examination of the wide range of sources; this is done for the following reasons. The plainchant tradition and its reconstruction in a certain geographical area and in certain historical period is interdisciplinary, which implies the combination of musicological, historical, and liturgical issues. The principal methodology used in this research is also based on an overall analysis of sources. Therefore, the investigation, examination and discussion of the sources is an integral part of the present work.

The first chapter *2.1. The Topic of Sources* discusses the various groups and categories of sources used in the research. They are distributed into the primary direct and indirect sources, and also into the secondary sources. The primary direct sources are various liturgical cantionals, both manuscript and printed. These include: antiphoners, himnaries, tropers, psalters, graduals, kyriales, notated missals and breviaries, tonaries, etc. In addition, there could be cantionals of mixed liturgical purpose. To this group also belong fragments of all of these songbooks. The primary indirect sources are the liturgical books [e.g. missals and breviaries (i.e. both of these without notation), sacramentaries, lectionaries, martyrologies, etc.]. To this group also belong liturgical normative sources, in which the order various liturgical and extra-liturgical rituals and ceremonies are described. They are the ritual books, agendas, pontificals, etc.

The analysis of sources begins with chapter *2.2. The Secondary Sources* that deal with narrative and hagiographical material. Normally they are used when investigating the medieval culture and/or church history. In our case, these were important as additional sources, which contain the missing information about the liturgy and the chant. As a matter of fact, the hagiographical stories usually intertwine with the special liturgical offices in honour of the saints. They would inspire the composition of new chants and special rhymed offices that became popular in the later Middle Ages. In present research, these sources are important while investigating the earliest period of

Christian activities in Lithuania. Particularly significant are the ones pertaining to the 1009 A.D. mission of St. Bruno of Querfurt, which are discussed in detail in Part III of this work.

Another important group of secondary material is the diplomatic sources. The diplomatic documents of the church in the GDL, from the initial stage of Christianity in Lithuania (i.e. late-14th to the mid-16th centuries), contain some interesting information, not only about the liturgy, but also about the liturgical books and the chant (i.e. to a certain extent). Various epistles, reports of visitors, letters of foundations, and testaments enable clearer picture of the historical and cultural context of the country and of some of the ecclesiastical institutions. The most important information in this case concerns aspects of the cult of saints, liturgical services required by donors (i.e. with types and character of the ceremonies), the description of liturgical tools and books, etc. The most important of diplomatic sources from the medieval and Early Modern Lithuanian dioceses are put into two collections: the 'Diplomatic Codex of the Vilnius Diocese' (Fijałek/Semkowicz 1932--1939, CDV) and the 'Diplomatic Codex of the Samogitian Diocese' (Jatulis 1984, CMDS). In addition, there are reports from visitors of dioceses, notifications of bishops (*Relationes* 1971-1978), reports from visitors on the parochial level, protocols, various lists, etc.

Between these and the primary material are the normative sources, which include documents that regulate the inner life of the Church. Among these are the cathedral statutes, monastic rules, the acts and constitutions issued by synods, etc. Among the decisions are quite a number dealing with liturgical matters. In some of the synods, one also finds the instructions given to adjust the church music matter, including the problems of musical education. To some extent, they reflect the situation and provide possible insights into the field of the liturgical and musical situation within the church. The majority of sources, from this group as used in this work, consists of the acts of synods of the Archdiocese of Gniezno, and of the bishoprics of Vilnius and Samogitia.

The next chapter *2.3. The Primary Sources* discusses both groups of these (i.e. primary direct sources, which include musical liturgical material; and primary indirect sources, which contain the liturgical and normative-liturgical

books). The latter are particularly important in determining the *usus* of the chants and their liturgical context. According to the methodology in use and the settled practice, the variety of manuscript and printed sources are employed. One of the main reasons is that the printed missals and breviaries of late-15th to mid-16th centuries are often invoked as a type of arbitrator, since they provide an organic version of the liturgy of a diocese or a monastic community. They are highly instrumental in verifying various elements and parameters of a liturgical tradition (e.g. calendar, saints, contents of a certain office and/or proper of the mass, etc.). In this work, the printed liturgical cantionals are also added and are treated as primary direct sources. As for the primary indirect sources that are used in the dissertation, several printed agendas or ritual books are included. Apart from various rituals, they also give descriptions of processions that indicate or give full texts of the chants to be performed during these actions. However, the principal primary indirect sources used in this work are the printed missals, breviaries and special office books; some of these having been printed in the GDL.

The oldest available missals are from the late-15th to early-16th centuries. For this investigation, the most important were two (2) missals from the Cracow diocese (N.B. the provenience of one of them was determined during the present investigation), and one (1) from the Gniezno archdiocese. All three (3) are in the Vilnius University library. The later missals available are all typical post-Tridentine Roman missals. Although, nearly all of them contain special parts (i.e. usually published separately, yet bound in the same book) with the propers for the masses of the patron saints of the kingdom of Poland; while several also contain the special propers of the patron saints of the kingdom of Sweden. The latter most-likely is due to the Wasa dynasty, which ruled the Polish-Lithuanian state from 1587 to 1668. Without doubt, all of these books were used in (i.e. as some inscriptions indicate) the churches or monasteries of the GDL. As for breviaries, they are less common; the oldest are preserved in the Lithuanian National Library. More significant are those published in 1684 in Vilnius, and intended for the Brigittines. There are interesting references pointing to some peculiarities more characteristic to the GDL. Among the remaining liturgical sources, of particular interest are the

special offices in honour of several saints, or for special feasts. The most interesting of these is the office of St. Casimir, which was published in Vilnius in 1638.

The primary direct sources are discussed in subchapter *2.3.4 Liturgical Cantionals*. According to their liturgical function, they are grouped into three (3) sections. The first section includes the books for the Divine Offices [e.g. antiphoners, psalters and their fragments (subchapter *2.3.4.1*)]. The second section covers the cantionals for the mass [i.e. graduals and their fragments (subchapter *2.3.4.2*)]. The third section involves the cantionals and their fragments that are of mixed liturgical-functionality (subchapter *2.3.4.3*). Some of the sources (i.e. specifically the parchment manuscripts) are described in both Lithuanian sources and international scholarly literature. However, the greatest portion of the sources has not yet been investigated.

Regarding proportions, the largest part of all chant sources consist of Divine Office songbooks, with antiphoners and their fragments prevailing; the psalters preserved are few. Concerning the oldest sources, the ratio between those for the mass and those for the office is approximately equal. However, among those from later period, the office songbooks become predominant; while the written graduals become nearly extinct, although the printed ones are still in use. Concerning the oldest parchment manuscripts and their fragments, it is not definitely clear how they arrived into the GDL. Nevertheless, it is quite reliable to suppose that they were in use in the GDL from at least 15th century. Furthermore, some of these may have been written in the GDL as well, in the period of 15th to the 16th centuries. As for their usage, it is also reliable so suppose that they were functioning as liturgical tools until the 18th century. In any case, they are the remnants of the Gregorian chant patrimony of the GDL, the one upon which the plainchant tradition or traditions in the GDL were generated.

One parchment source is particularly worth mentioning: the three (3) fragments from the Vilnius University library VUB/F45-9/10/16. In the process of investigation, it was determined that all three are actually one larger fragment from the same antiphoner of unknown provenience. Deriving from the style of script and notation, as well as the performance technique, it is

evident that this cantional is of Central European origin. However, it is not clear when, how and where it originated in the GDL. Also, the questions whether it was written in the GDL, or merely used in some larger church or monastery, remain unanswered. The presumption remains, or cannot be discounted, that it could have been used in the Vilnius Cathedral. This is one of the reasons why this source (i.e., together with the other parchment and paper, and written and printed cantionals) is used for the further analysis that take place in the third part of this dissertation.

Generally, the analysis of all of the sources has demonstrated that by the beginning of Latin Christianity in Lithuania (i.e. after the Baptism of 1387), liturgical books with the sections that are necessary in order to perform the sung liturgy were in use. It is also relevant to assume that such books could be from various parts of Europe; however, the sources of Polish origin could be more common. This is particularly true dealing with the epoch after post-Tridentine liturgical reforms. Actually, in the period of late 16th to 17th centuries, the dioceses of the GDL are finally incorporated into the common liturgical area of the Metropolis of Gniezno, which was governed by the constitutions and acts of the Piotrkow synods. Simultaneously, investigation revealed that some autonomous features were preserved (i.e. some of which could have developed long before this time). For example, the feast of St. George (i.e., being the second patron saint of the GDL) was celebrated in April 23, instead of St. Adalbert as in Poland. The special rank of the feast of St. Casimir was in Lithuania *duplex cum octava;* while in Poland, only *duplex.* Moreover, in the entire GDL, the second feast of St. Casimir was celebrated in August (i.e. that of 'Translation of St. Casimir').

The analysis of the sources also revealed that the plainchant was the principal sacred music to be performed in the Catholic churches, not only in 15th to 16th centuries, but also throughout the 17th century, and to certain extent the entire 18th century. However, the primary direct sources also contest the still recurring thesis (i.e. in scholarly circles) regarding the nearly-total decline of the plainchant in the period after the Council of Trent, and a special importance and influence of the so-called *Editio Medicea*. None of the sources used for this research are even close to the latter. The overall analysis also

disclosed that in the GDL, the plainchant was mainly practiced by monks and friars. The first among these were Franciscans, the Dominicans coming next. The preserved cantionals also show the importance of the plainchant for Carmelites and the Lateran Canons Regular. The contribution of other orders is less visible and significant. Although, it necessary to stress that it was the Jesuits who published the first original liturgical songbooks that were used throughout the GDL.

PART III
THE OUTLINE OF THE TRADITION OF THE GREGORIAN CHANT IN THE GDL

In the third part of this dissertation, the sources discussed earlier are examined more thoroughly. The secondary sources are investigated in order to concretise the conditions of the plainchant. There is an analysis of selected chants. The afore-mentioned descriptive, retrospective, and comparative methods, as well as the musical analytical methodology are applied. This procedure leads to formation of the outline of the plainchant tradition in the GDL.

Chapter *3.1. Prehistoric sketch* examines some aspects of the mission of St. Bruno of Querfurt to Lithuania that took place in 1009 A.D. The narrative and hagiographical sources published in the collection of documents by Inga Leonaviciute are taken into account (see Leonaviciute 2006). The letter of Bruno to Emperor Henry dated by 1008 A.D., upon which J. Trilupaitene constructs her arguments in two (2) of her articles (Trilupaitiene 2007, 2009), is not taken into consideration, as being not sufficiently relevant. The pivotal insights of this chapter are the consideration of what Bruno and his companions could sing during their mission, particularly in the episode of the fire test of Bruno. After discussing some historiographical propositions of recent decade, the following assumption is proposed. It appears most likely that Bruno's escort sang the six (6) so-called 'penitential psalms'. It is also

assumed as unquestionable that they were sung according to the plainchant norms and monastic tradition.

Chapter *3.2. Diplomatic findings* examines the above-discussed diplomatic sources from the Vilnius (sub-chapter *3.2.1.*) and Samogitian (sub-chapter *3.2.2.*) dioceses. This is done in order to explore the information regarding the liturgical and chant matters. Concerning the documents from Vilnius diocese, the first letters contain important details [i.e. which give evidence that already Andrew – the first bishop of Vilnius – possessed the notated liturgical books that are necessary for the celebration of sung liturgy (viz. CDV)]. It also becomes clear that in the first-half of the 15th century there were quite a number of donation letters and testaments, according to which the clerics are obliged to fulfil liturgical services. In a number of cases, the sung services are required (i.e. especially if such letter is connected with the Franciscans). In the letters of the late-15th century, there appear indications on what type of liturgy and when it should be celebrated (cf. CDV No. 432). Furthermore, there arises information which permits to hold an assumption that at that stage in the Vilnius diocese, there could exist certain local liturgical (i.e. and possibly chant) traditions, at least as a *consuetudo* (CDV No. 462). As for diplomatic sources from the Samogitian diocese, the situation here appears to be different from that of Vilnius. Many processes came into view much later. For instance, the donations and foundations in return to liturgical services, that in the Vilnius bishopric began to be practiced already in the end of the 14th century, in Samogitian diocese tentatively began in the very-end of the 15th century. Moreover, it was practiced on a smaller scale. As for the liturgy, usually only some low masses are mentioned, with no indication of the sung services. It is only later, in the 1st half of the XVI century, that there are mentioned requirements for sung mass (CMDS No. 73, No. 106). Some letters already prescribe solemn and sung liturgy and also donate the necessary books for these aims (e.g. CMDS No. 111).

Additional information is provided in the reports by bishops (*Relationes*) that they sent to Rome (sub-chapter *3.2.3*). The oldest of them are from the early 17th century. However, they permit to get some ideas about the situation before the date of writing. Once again, the best state of affairs was in the

bishopric of Vilnius, and especially in the Vilnius cathedral itself. It had a large chapter, consisting of six (6) prelacies and twelve (12) canons, everyone of whom had a vicar. In addition, there was a rather numerous college of other clergy and psalmists (Relationes I 1971). The primary obligation of all of them was to celebrate sung Divine office and several masses every day, as well as additional psalm singing in between. The findings show that in a period of two (2) centuries, an impressive level of liturgical celebration was achieved in the cathedral of Vilnius. Without doubt, the majority of the liturgical music was made of the Gregorian chant. Such positive situation was most likely preserved until the mid-17th century, after which it deteriorated due to wars with Sweden and Russia.

The calamities of wars and upheavals afterwards were also among the key factors of the deplorable condition of the Samogitian diocese. At the beginning of the 17th century, the cathedral church in Varniai (i.e. the centre of the Samogitian bishopric), lacked not only the clergy, but also liturgical vestments and many other materials. The situation improved only towards the mid-17th century, during the episcopate of Bishop Jurgis Tiškevičius. On the other hand, the disorder of the Samogitian bishopric was a natural outcome of the earlier period, namely that of the late 16th century. Such fact is well illustrated in the report of visitation of 1579 made by the papal legate Tarquinius Peculus (Jovaiša 1998). The report shows that the preparation level of the priests was very low, many of them leading a vicious way of life. The liturgical books usually are very old, the liturgy itself being celebrated on rather irregular basis. It is also difficult to speak about the sung liturgy, although some separate cases indicate that it was known, although as an exception rather than as a general rule. Turning to the late 18th century reports from the visitations on the parochial level, it is worth noticing that these unveil some information about the liturgical and chant books contained in some of the churches. According to such reports, one may assume that in the majority of parochial churches, the sung liturgy was hardly celebrated.

Chapter *3.3. Normative guidelines* analyses the constitutions and acts of several provincial and diocesan synods. In essence, they are juridical documents, according to which the internal life of the Church was organised in

the Metropolis of Gniezno, and in both Lithuanian bishoprics. This material also enables to raise certain presumptions and hypotheses retrospectively (i.e. on the strength of principle that one or another article could have appeared in a constitution as a reaction to the emerged practice). Another important information provided by these sources is connected with the liturgical calendar (viz. sub-chapter *3.3.1*). Usually the calendars reflect certain regional liturgical traditions or consuetudes. During the research, it was determined that in the dioceses of the GDL, certain saints (e.g. St. Adalbert, St. Wenceslas, and St. Hedwig), who were celebrated in all bishoprics of the Kingdom of Poland, were not even mentioned. This was the case not only in the early 16th century (i.e. when the first known synod of the diocese of Vilnius took place), but also throughout the 17th century (i.e. when St. Casimir's feast became a central one in Lithuania; and while St. George was continuously indicated as a special patron saint of the GDL).

Normative sources also provide relevant musical references analysed in sub-chapter *3.3.2*. Some of these deal with the education of children. For instance, even in the earlier constitutions, there is mentioned the incumbency of the cantor alongside with the teacher; although music as a teaching course is not mentioned. However, in the acts of the mid-17th century synods, there are clear indications of necessity to have competent teachers of music and chant. It is thus possible to assume that the problem was understood as critical. Some other issues deal with the liturgical books, including the cantionals. For example, in the provincial synod that took place in the late 16th century, the decision was made to repair the used metropolitan and diocesan liturgical books and cantionals with the reformed Roman books. As analysis of later documents show, this problem was still existing even after several decades after the post-Tridentine liturgical reforms. Some references also talk directly about liturgical chants. For instances, in one of the early 17th century synods of the Vilnius bishopric, the decision was made to render uniform the melody of the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina*, because rather different variants were in use throughout the diocese.

Chapter 3.4 – end of part III of the dissertation. *Musical characteristics of the plainchant in the GDL*, the musical analysis of the selected chants takes

place pursuant to the principal methodology of the research. The key criteria of the selection of chants are the following. First, the choice was conditioned by the liturgical function (i.e. some chants are taken from the cycle of divine office, others from the mass). Quantitatively, a majority of the chants used are the office chants. Such choice was partly determined by Dobszay's useful remark that the office chants are more relevant in defining a plainchant tradition, since the chants of the mass preserved a much-higher level of uniformity (Dobszay/Proszeky 1988). A second criteria of choice resulted from the available sources themselves. The starting point of the selection was to use those chants that are written in the oldest fragments preserved, as they are supposed to be witness of the beginnings of the plainchant in Lithuania. Therefore, the *corpus* of the chants from the parchment fragments is analysed with those from the later cantionals, using the comparative analytical method.

Sub-chapter *3.4.1.* analyzes the divine office chants. On the basis of the afore-mentioned criteria, the following were selected: a) the offices of St. Trinity of *Corpus Christi*, b) two smaller offices for the feasts of the Nativity and the Immaculate Conception of Mary, as well as for the Stigmatisation of St. Francis, and c) the antiphon *Unus ex duobus* from the feast of St. Andrew. Regarding only the oldest fragments: the first two (2) offices are written in the above-discussed fragment VUB/F45-9/10/16; the Marian and St. Francis' cycles are found in two antiphoners LMAVB/F22-101 and LMAVB/F22-102 (i.e. which contain also the chants from St. Trinity and *Corpus Christi*); and the antiphon of St. Andrew is written in another (i.e. most-likely the 14th century fragment VUB/F45-14. For comparative analysis, a wide range of other cantionals of the period of the 15th to 18th centuries were used.

There are two (2) known versions of the St. Trinity office (viz. sub-chapter *3.4.1.1*). The first was composed in the 10th century; it is ascribable to Stephen of Liege. Another was written in the 13th century, and its authorship is accorded to the Franciscan, John Peckham. The investigation revealed that in our sources there are three (3) variants, two (2) of which are rather close to each other. All three (3) variants are named as versions A, B, and C. Version A is considered to be the oldest; its virtually-entire variant is written in the VUB/F45-9/10/16 fragment. Version B appears to be the post-Tridentine form of the

latter, lacking a number of chants and/or using some others. Version C is written by John Peckham. For the overall analysis of the office chants, the manuscript and several printed antiphoners were taken. Among the older ones were the afore-mentioned late-15th century parchment manuscripts LMAVB/ F22-101 and F22-102, which are ascribed to the Vilnius Franciscan Observant (or Bernardine) friary. Among the later ones are the mid-18th century paper manuscripts from the Vilnius Dominican friary. As for the printed sources, the following were used: a small antiphoner published by Liauksminas; the early-17th century Roman antiphoner for the Metropolis of Gniezno – representing the so-called Piotrkow plainchant tradition and printed in Cracow; and the late-16th century Roman antiphoner (VUB/II/1609_AnR1586) – most likely published for the Franciscan's use.

The more-detailed analysis show that the version A (i.e. in its fullest form) was written namely in VUB/F45-9/10/16; while some antiphons of Lauds (i.e. only without special doxologies) were also written in one late-18th century Carmelite antiphoner. The majority of other sources contain the chants of version B. As for version C (i.e. in its fullest form), it is found in the above-mentioned printed Roman antiphoner. Further investigation also revealed that initially the Lithuanian Franciscans also used this version. Only at the end of the 16th century, or at the beginning of the 17th century, was the form changed into version B. As for musical features, it is possible to assume a kind of common tradition, despite some melodic and neumatic variability. In some cases, however, greater differences emerge. It is also evident that since the 17th century, the Piotrkow chant tradition became increasingly more present and important. Even some Franciscan sources of that time indicate a gravitational pull towards that tradition.

The office for *Corpus Christi* (viz. sub-chapter *3.4.1.2*) demonstrates a much-more homogeneous view. All of the sources use the version ascribed to St. Thomas Aquinas. The oldest and the fullest variant is once-again present in VUB/F45-9/10/16. A nearly complete version is also found in LMAVB/ F22-101 and in the late Dominican source VUB/F45-7. In most other sources, only antiphons for Lauds or Vespers are written. From a musical point of view, one may notice the similar tendencies to those in the St. Trinity office. Some

dialectal variance is also traceable. Franciscans usually used the chants that are closer to Western European dialect; while other sources show features of the Eastern European. However, this is not an absolute rule, as some cases demonstrate. Interesting peculiarities brought the analysis of Liauksminas' antiphoner, where some melodies depart quite interestingly from their model in the Piotrkow chant books. Nevertheless, the overall view provides for an assumption that the tradition of the *Corpus Christi* office was much more uniform than that of St. Trinity.

Interesting features are found in the Marian offices (sub-chapter *3.4.1.3*). As was mentioned above, only two (2) of them (i.e. the Nativity and Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary) are taken into consideration. In the majority of sources, the office of the first feast suggests that the same versions were used, although Carmelites prove to have had their own tradition. Many sources also indicate that for both feasts the same antiphons were used, changing only some words (e.g., instead of *Nativita's* in the first case, the word *Conceptio* is written in the second office). However, the Franciscan sources use a different office (i.e. *Sicut lilium)* for the second feast. One earliest variant is given in the printed Roman antiphoner VUB/II/1609_AnR1586. The earliest handwritten version dates from 1607, and is written on some older chants in LMAVB/F22-101. What is more striking is the fact the melodies of the antiphons here differ quite significantly from the printed version. Some other variants (i.e. in later written sources) also differ quite seriously, thus permitting the assumption that the melodic tradition of this office was not settled, and it was in a stage of formation.

The antiphons in honour of St. Andrew and St. Francis disclose a different view than those of Mary's offices (viz. sub-chapter *3.4.1.4*). The antiphon *Unus ex duobus*, which is written in eight (8) sources, demonstrates a high level of uniformity, with only minor dissimilarities. However, these allow definition of three (3) melodic traditions: the Franciscan, the Piotrkowian, and the Carmelite. As for the office of the feast of Stigmatisation of St. Francis, it is presented exclusively in the Franciscan sources. Differently from the office *Sicut lilium*, the Stigmatisation office indicates a uniform melodic tradition, although some of the antiphons have different melodies from the ones given in

the above-mentioned printed Roman antiphoner. This suggest that the melodic tradition of this office was well-settled and strongly preserved; and moreover, differing from its Western European expression.

Chapter *3.4.2. Some features of chants for the mass* discuss several chants from the proper of the mass from the *Temporale*. At first, the Ascension introit *Viri Galilaei* is analysed (viz. sub-chapter *3.4.2.1*). It is written in two mid-14th century parchment fragments (VUB/F45-13 ir VUB/F45-177), and in some older sources. The analysis shows that the melodic tradition of the introit (i.e. especially in the Franciscan sources) was kept virtually unchanged. This also proves that both fragments were most-likely used by the Franciscans. However, it differs slightly from the version of the Piotrkow plainchant tradition. The second chant under discussion is the tract *Commovisti Domine,* from the Sexagesima Sunday (viz. sub-chapter *3.4.2.2*). The oldest, although incomplete, version is written in a parchment fragment VUB/F45-11; the others, in Franciscan graduals and in a Roman gradual for the archdiocese of Gniezno – published in the early-17th century in Cracow (LNMMB/ 04/28036_GrRGn1600). The variability between different versions is rather great; only the Franciscan sources demonstrate a familiar uniformity. As for the VUB/F45-11 variant, it evidences a proximity (i.e. although not identical) to other Central European variants from Cracow and Hungarian sources.

The final analysis is made with the *Mandatum* cycle from the Maundy Thursday evening mass (viz. sub-chapter *3.4.2.3*). The oldest sources, once again connected to the Franciscans, contain the long, pre-Tridentine version of this cycle. In later sources, the number of chants is reduced to that of the post-Tridentine version. However, one mid-17th century manuscript is associated with the Benedictine nuns from Nesvyžius [Nieśwież] (LMTAB/LU). These nuns were using a mixed version (i.e. still preserving some antiphons that were excluded from the post-Tridentine version). In other words, this is an example of some archaic features and tendencies that were still in use in the GDL several decades after the post-Tridentine liturgical reforms. As for the musical aspect of the chants, the level of variability appears to be rather small, thus permitting to presuppose that the melodic tradition of this cycle was kept quite uniform. If to summarise the findings of the more detailed investigation of all

the chants for the mass used in this research, one could notice that in principle the analysis reveals similar tendencies to those observed in the office antiphons.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Gregorian chant and its tradition, to a certain extent, reflect the level of Christianisation of a country or state. The accomplished research permits the assumption that the individual plainchant tradition can be formed only in a country that has reached the necessary level of reception of Latin Christianity, and that has experienced the sufficient conversion. This level had to surpass the narrow layer of the monarch and his court. The Christianization of society should penetrate at least the stratum of the higher and middle nobility. This assumption would explain the reasons of uneven dissemination of the plainchant in the GDL. In the capitol city of Vilnius, and to a certain extent in the entire Vilnius bishopric (i.e. where Latin Christianity was active for nearly the entire 14th century), the plainchant was most-likely practiced from the very beginning. Furthermore, from the 15th century the demand for the sung liturgy is already present. Meanwhile in Samogitia, similar desires tentatively begin to appear only in the beginning of the 16th century. Generally, the sources show that here the sung liturgy and the plainchant began functioning more commonly on a regular basis only in the 17th century. Due to these and other factors, it is relevant to assume that the reception of the phenomenon was not as smooth, and that the formation of the plainchant tradition in the GDL was rather complicated.

2. The Gregorian chant in the GDL was practiced since the beginnings of Latin Christianity in the nation. In accord with some primary sources and some data from secondary sources, it may be presumed that the Gregorian chant was practiced well-before the actual Latin Baptism of Lithuania in 1387. This assumption is illustrated somewhat by the short episode of St. Bruno's mission in 1009, and greater by the diplomatic sources from the

bishopric of Vilnius. They endorse the significant missionary gains of the Franciscans, which is evidenced not just by the fact that the first two (2) bishops of Vilnius were from this order, but also by the manifest indication of liturgical books that were necessary for plainchant singing.

3. One of the critical factors in the formation of the plainchant tradition in the GDL was the late acceptance of Latin Christianity, which came to Lithuania at a time when the Middle Ages entered into its final stage. The liturgical and musical tradition of the Roman rite was already settled, and was also enriched by the polyphony that was practiced in major centres of the Western Christendom. At that period, the plainchant had been functioning according to the principle of plurality in unity. The chant was manifest in various regional, cathedral, and monastic traditions, and consuetudes within the context of the same Roman rite. A challenge for Lithuania arose regarding what tradition to choose as the primary one: various monastic, other diocesan, or some synthesis. To a certain extent, this issue was addressed throughout the entire Christian period of the GDL. Therefore, the practice of the plainchant differed slightly from some neighbouring countries, where the strong initial impulse was given by some monastic congregation(s).

4. However, the monastic chant of various orders had a major impact on the practice of the plainchant and the formation of its local tradition in the GDL. As many sources used in this research substantiate, the key role at the initial phase was played by the Franciscans. Since they were following the liturgical use of the Roman curia, it is relevant to assume that at an early stage (i.e. possibly until the mid-16th century) of Christianisation, the liturgy of the Vilnius Cathedral (i.e. and to certain extent of the entire Vilnius diocese) was following the tradition of the Roman curia, rather than that of Cracow or Gniezno. This factor would also enable the presumption that the Latin liturgy as practiced in this early period in the GDL could have had some peculiarities that distinguished it from the other bishoprics of the Metropolis of Gniezno. Some of these distinctions could have been preserved in some later time, as well. Another important aspect is the

evidence that monastic congregations preserved the practice of the plainchant throughout the entire period of existence of the GDL.

5. The analysis of sources revealed that in a comparatively short period of time (i.e. the 15th to 16th centuries) a rather substantial plainchant culture had formed in Vilnius, and to a lesser extent in the entire Vilnius bishopric. It is relevant to suppose that some local tradition (i.e. at least as *consuetudo*) could have formed. In the cathedral of Vilnius, the regular celebration and chant practice with certain customs was established. Some of these were attempted to imitate by some parochial foundations already at the end of the 15th centuries and later.

As for the Samogitian bishopric, the situation was quite different. Although, many of its principal clergy (e.g. canons, priests of some major parishes) were usually connected with the diocese of Vilnius, these clerics remained in their locations on a somewhat irregular basis. The cathedral church in Varniai appears to have not had a stable liturgical tradition, and even the services were not performed as regularly as in the Vilnius cathedral. In terms of liturgical tradition throughout the Samogitian bishopric, it could be that various influences from Poland could have been rather tangible (i.e. some of the clergy in Samogitia were from the diocese of Plock, even at the end of the 16th century; furthermore as indirect sources indicate, many liturgical books in use during that period were from Cracow or Gniezno). As for the condition of the plainchant in Samogitia, most likely it improved only in the 17th century.

6. After the Council of Trent, the strong processes of unification of the Roman liturgy began. It appears that in the GDL, the main influence was from the so-called 'Piotrkow plainchant tradition'. This is suggested also by a relatively large number of preserved Roman antiphoners and graduals, which were prepared on the basis of the decisions of the provincial synods of the Metropolis of Gniezno and published in Cracow in the 17th century. The impact of this tradition is also seen in some written and printed cantionals that were prepared and used in the GDL during that period. At the same time, the research revealed that some archaic features (i.e. especially within the monastic milieu) were also preserved well into the mid-17th

century, and later. It is probable that such features reflect the earlier, pre-Tridentine practice in the GDL.

7. From a musical point of view, one has to state that the fully homogeneous plainchant tradition did not form in the GDL. This is true in regard to both the pre-Tridentine and post-Tridentine periods. This could be conditioned by the influences that surpass the boundaries of various monastic traditions, or that of the Metropolis of Gniezno (i.e. it is worth remembering that the oldest parchment fragments of primary sources were likely of northern Italian provenience; furthermore, in the late period, the liturgical songbooks printed in Italy were used as well). Nevertheless, the analysis of chants showed that a rather intensive process of interaction of various traditions and influences was occurring (e.g. the Franciscan characteristics of chants in the Dominican cantionals; the penetration of the Piotrkow chant tradition into the Franciscan sources). Thus, it becomes possible to presume that the natural and organic process of formation of a common plainchant tradition in the GDL was occurring. Under different historical circumstances, this could have led to a more homogenous expression. Alternatively, these processes reveal a developed plainchant culture that also had the ability to create some original chants and locally prepared teaching tools in a later phase. This culture subsisted on the basis of a principle of *pluribus in unum,* which was proper to the Medieval plainchant and medieval Latin liturgy in general.

REZIUMĖ

Tyrimo problema ir aktualumas. Grigališkasis choralas yra daugia-briaunis reiškinys. Tai yra kompleksinis muzikinis, religinis, kultūrinis ir istorinis fenomenas, susiformavęs tam tikromis istorinėmis–kultūrinėmis sąlygomis apibrėžtoje geografinėje erdvėje, kurio galutinei išraiškai nemažai įtakos turėjo ir istorinės–politinės aplinkybės. Jeigu grigališkojo choralo raidos ir susiformavimo klasikinis laikotarpis turi solidžią tyrinėjimo istoriją ir istoriografiją, tai jo vėlyvesnės sklaidos, recepcijos bei adaptacijos skirtinguose regionuose bei vietinių tradicijų, o tai pat ir choralo ypatumų Naujaisiais amžiais tyrimas yra gerokai mažiau tyrinėta sritis. Ypač tai pasakytina apie šio fenomeno atsiradimą, plėtotę bei ypatumus LDK — šioje vietoje choralo tyrinėjimai iš esmės tebėra pradinėje stadijoje. Todėl tiek muzikologinis, tiek istorinis, tiek tarpdisciplininis grigališkojo choralo LDK tyrimas yra daugiau nei aktualus, siekiant nors kiek užpildyti mūsų žinijos spragą šioje srityje.

Tyrimo tikslas ir uždaviniai. Pirminis šio tarpdisciplininio (istorinio, muzikologinio ir liturginio) darbo tikslas yra sudėlioti kuo aiškesnį, istoriškai bei metodologiškai korektišką šio fenomeno visuminį vaizdą konkrečioje istorinėje–kultūrinėje bei geografinėje erdvėje chronologiškai apibrėžtu laikotarpiu. Papildomi šio tikslo uždaviniai yra išsiaikinti:

1) kuo grigališkojo choralo praktikavimas buvo analogiškas kitiems kraštams, kuo jis skyrėsi;

2) ar susiformavo ir, jei taip, kokios susiformavo svarbesnės lokalinės šio giedojimo savybės, atskirų giesmių išskirtiniai bruožai, kurie tam tikru laispniu atspindi ir jų giedojimo ypatybes;

3) kokie giesmynai buvo naudojami, koks jų santykis su kitomis LDK naudotomis liturginėmis knygomis;

4) kokia notacija naudota, kuo ji skiriasi nuo aplinkinių kraštų giesmynuose naudotos notacijos, kiek ji atspindi patį grigališkojo choralo gyvavimo būdą šioje istorinėje–kultūrinėje erdvėje;

5) pagaliau, kiek ilgai ir kiek plačiai choralas buvo naudojamas, giedamas pačioje LDK, lotyniškųjų apeigų liturgijoje, kaip šios muzikinio išpildymo būdas ir norma.

Tyrimo objektas, chronologinės ribos ir šaltiniai. Šio tarpdisciplininio tyrimo objektas yra grigališkojo choralo raiška ir raida, atsispindinti išlikusiuose įvairiuose šaltiniuose, konkrečioje istorinėje geografinėje LDK erdvėje apibrėžtu istoriniu laikotarpiu. Laiko rėmai, kuriais remiamasi šioje studijoje, iš dalies sąlygoti valstybės istorinių aplinkybių, o iš dalies ir pačių išlikusių šaltinių. Tyrimo chronologinės ribos apsiriboja 1387–1795 m., t.y. nuo lotyniškojo valstybės Krikšto iki Abiejų Tautų Respublikos žlugimo. Tačiau pagrindinis dėmesys teikiamas XV-XVII a. periodui. Grigalistikos ir liturgikos požiūriu šis laikotarpis yra ypatingos svarbos. Viena vertus, XV-XVI a. vid. — tai metas, kuomet visoje Europoje, remiantis Romos pavyzdžiu, buvo kodifikuojamos ir sisteminamos vyskupysčių ir/ar bažnytinių provincijų liturginės tradicijos. Kita vertus, XVII amžius itin svarbus tuo, kad jis neblogai atspindi besikeičiančią situaciją, kai po potridentinės liturginės reformos, galima atrasti vis dar nemažai specifinių regioninių ir lokalinių elementų, o sykiu stebėti kaip šie elementai palaipsniui užleidžia vietą universalesniems bruožams arba savotiškai užkonservuojami tik jau naujoje situacijoje. XVIII a. šaltiniai daugeliu atveju naudojami kaip papildoma priemonė.

Tyrimo naujumas ir metodologiniai principai. Šio tyrimo naujumą iš dalies pagrindžia jau pats objektas, kuris nuosekliai ir kryptingai Lietuvoje nėra tyrinėtas. Šis tyrimas daugeliu atžvilgiu yra pirmoji tokio masto studija, kuria siekiama pateikti kuo išsamesnį nagrinėjamo reiškinio vaizdą bei padėti pagrindus tolimesniems įvairių jo aspektų tyrimams. Pagrindiniai tyrime naudojami metodai yra šaltinių analizė, aprašomasis, retrospekcinis, lygina-masis, istorinis ir muzikologinis analitinis metodai. Tačiau visa tai grindžiama ir koordinuojama, pagal prof. L. Dobszay ir jo mokyklos išplėtotą metodo-logiją (Dobszay/Proszeky 1988).

Darbo struktūra. Darbą sudaro trys dalys. Pirmojoje analizuojama lietuviškoji grigalistika bei aptariami svarbiausi autoriai bei jų darbai, pradedant XX a. pr. publikuotais tekstais ir baigiant XX a. pab.–XXI a. pr. pasirodžiusių tekstų analize bei kritika, kas padeda išgryninti ir šio tyrimo problematiką. Antroje dalyje, pasitelkus istorinį analitinį metodą, detaliau aptariami mūsų turimi tiesioginiai ir netiesioginiai šaltiniai, išdėstant svarbiausius jų atrankos kriterijus, o sykiu lukštentant juose esančią liturginę

bei su grigališkuoju choralu susijusią informaciją. Tuo pačiu formuluojamos kai kurios tikėtinos tradicijos prielaidos. Galiausiai trečiojoje dalyje, pasitelkus aukščiau išdėstytą metodologinę schemą bei istorinės lyginamosios analizės ir retrospekcinį metodą, nagrinėjami antriniai ir pirminiai šaltiniai, išgryninant su liturgija bei grigališkuoju choralu susijusią informaciją, bei analizuojamos muzikinės šio giedojimo LDK ypatybės, naudojant pasirinktas giesmes ir nagrinėjant jų liturginį bei istorinį kontekstą. Darbą užbaigia išvados ir išsami bibliografija. Prieduose patei-kiamos įvairios lentelės, pilni liturginiai bei norminiai tekstai ir iš įvairių giesmynų iššifruotos giesmės bei jų palyginimo lentelės.

Ginamos išvados.

1. Grigališkasis choralas bei jo tradicijos atspindi (bent jau iš dalies) krašto ar valstybės sukrikščionėjimo lygmenį. Atliktas tyrimas leidžia kelti prielaidą, kad savita šio giedojimo tradicija gali susiformuoti tik atitinkamą lotyniškosios krikščionybės recepcijos lygį pasiekusiame bei stipresnę konversiją patyrusiame krašte. Šis lygis turėjo būti pranokęs ne tik valdovo bei jo artimiausios aplinkos ribas, bet ir gana siaurą didikų ratą bei turėjo apimti bent jau platesnį bajorijos sluoksnį. Tai iš dalies paaiškina, nevienodą laiko ir teritorijos prasme grigališkojo choralo pasiskirstymą ir sklaidą LDK. Antai pačiame Vilniuje ir Vilniaus diecezijoje, kur lotyniškoji krikščionybė gana aktyviai reiškėsi kone per visą XIV a., choralas, kaip rodo įvairūs šaltiniai, neabejotinai buvo praktikuojamas dar iki oficialaus LDK lotyniškojo krikšto, o jau XV a. vid. ir II p. aiškiai matyti giedamų pamaldų poreikis. Tuo tarpu Žemaitijoje nedrąsūs tokio poreikio daigai kalasi tik XVI a., o realiai, remiantis įvairias šaltiniais, grigališkasis choralas čia plačiau funkcionuoti pradeda tik XVII a. Taigi, visi šie faktoriai lėmė ne visur ir ne visuomet sklandžią mūsų nagrinėto fenomeno recepciją bei gana komplikuotą pačios choralo tradicijos LDK tapsmo procesą.

2. Grigališkasis choralas LDK pradėtas praktikuoti kartu su lotyniškąja krikščionybe. Remiantis įvairiais išlikusiais tiesioginiais šaltiniais bei kai kuriuose netiesioginiuose šaltiniuose užfiksuotais duomenimis, galima daryti išvadą, kad jis žinotas ir lotyniškosios krikščionybės atstovų praktikuotas dar iki 1387 m. Lietuvos Krikšto. Tai rodo ne tik ir ne tiek

trumpasis XI a. pr. epizodas su šv. Brunono misija, kiek ankstyvoji Vilniaus vyskupystės diplomatika, liudijanti ne tik stiprų misijinį pranciškonų įdirbį, bet ir mininti buvus realias liturginiam giedojimui reikalingas knygas, nors ir ne visa reikalinga apimtimi.

3. Grigališkojo choralo tradicijos LDK formavimuisi nemažai įtakos turėjo vėlyvas lotyniškosios kriškščionybės priėmimo laikotarpis, nes jis įžengė į Lietuvą tuo metu, kai visoje Europoje jau buvo gerokai įsibėgėję vėlyvieji Viduramžiai. Tai buvo metas, kai visa Romos rito liturginė ir muzikinė tradicija jau buvo ne tik susiformavusi bet ir apaugusi įvairiomis papildamomis formomis bei žanrais. Be to, bent jau didžiuosiuose Vakarų krikščionijos centruose buvo gana plačiai praktikuojama iš choralo išaugusi, bet tuo metu jau gana savarankiška daugiabalsė bažnytinė muzika. Tačiau pats choralas nebuvo praradęs savo reikšmės, o veikiau skleidėsi ir gyvavo pagal vienybės įvairovėje principą, kuris reiškėsi įvairiomis regioninėmis ir vienuoliškosiomis choralinėmis tradicijomis tame pačiame Romos rito kontekste. Tad Lietuvai galutinai priėmus lotyniškąjį krikštą kartu su visu ritu, iškilo ir savotiška dilema, ir kartu pasirinkimo galimybė, kokiai liturginei bei choralinei tradicijai — vienuoliškai, katedriškai, jų sintezei ar kokios nors konkrečios vienuolijos arba diecezijos — teikti pirmenybę. Tam tikra prasme ši problema buvo sprendžiama kone per visą krikščioniškąjį LDK gyvavimo laikotarpį. Šiuo požiūriu choralo praktikavimas kiek skyrėsi nuo kaimyninių kraštų, kur stiprų pradinį impulsą davė vienuoliškoji (paprastai benediktinų) tradicija.

4. Vis dėlto, Grigališkojo choralo praktikavimui ir tradicijos formavimuisi LDK didelės reikšmės turėjo įvairių vienuolijų liturginė praktika. Pradiniu laikotarpiu išskirtiniu laikytinas pranciškonų vaidmuo, ypač XIV a. II p.–XV a., ką paliudijo ir pagrindiniai, ir pagalbiniai tyrime naudoti šaltiniai. Beveik neabejotina, kad jų misijinis įdirbis padėjo pagrindus ir savitai liturginei bei choralinei tradicijai pagrindinėje LDK Vilniaus vyskupijoje formuotis. Kadangi pranciškonai nuo pat pradžių laikėsi Romos kurijos rito, keltina prielaida, kad bent jau pirminiu krikščionėjimo laikotarpiu ir kiek vėliau (maždaug iki XVII a. I p.) Vilniaus katedros ir vyskupijos liturgija (o su ja ir choralas) veikiau sekė Romos kurijos, o ne

Krokuvos ar Gniezno *usus*. Kitaip tariant, yra pagrindo manyti, kad nuo pat pradžių LDK praktikuota lotyniškoji liturgija turėjo savitų, nuo likusios Gniezno metropolijos besiskiriančių bruožų, kurie atskirais atvejai išliko ir vėliau. Kitas svarbus aspektas, kurį tyrimas parodė, yra tas, kad būtent įvairiose LDK vienuolijose grigališkojo choralo praktikavimas nenutrūko per visą valstybės gyvavimo laikotarpį.

5. Kaip pademonstravo šaltinių analizė, per palyginti neilgą XV-XVI a. laikotarpį susiformavo gana turtinga liturginė grigališkojo choralo kultūra, ypač Vilniuje bei kiek menkesniu mastu Vilniaus diecezijoje. Tikėtina, kad susiklostė ir savita tradicija bent jau kaip tam tikras *consuetudo*. Pačioje Vilniaus katedroje nusistovėjo reguliarus liturgijos šventimo bei giedojimo ritmas bei tam tikri papročiai, kurių jau XV a. pab.–XVI a. pr. siekta laikytis ir kai kuriose stipresnėse parapijinėse fundacijose. Tuo tarpu Žemaičių vyskupystėje, kurios aukščiausi dvasininkai (Žemaičių katedros kanau-ninkai, kai kurių svarbesnių parapijų klebonai) buvo tiesiogiai susiję su Vilniaus diecezija, o neretai ir turėję joje gana svarbius postus, padėtis buvo permaininga. Viena vertus, pačioje Varnių katedroje gana ilgai nebuvo stiprios liturginės tradicijos, o kita vertus ir parapijose galėjo būti stipresnė įvairių lenkiškųjų vyskupijų įtaka (prisimintina, kad dar XVI a. pab. nemaža dalis kunigų Žemaičių vyskupystėje buvo kilę iš lenkiškos Plocko diecezijos, o tarp turėtų mišiolų ar kitų liturginių knygų daugiausia buvo iš Krokuvos ar Gniezno). Nepaisant kai kurių įdomių nuorodų ankstyvuo-siuose Žemaičių diecezijos diplomatiniuose šaltiniuose, grigališkojo giedojimo padėtis čia pagerėjo veikiausiai tik XVII a.

6. Po Tridento susirinkimo įvykdytos katalikų liturgijos reformos visoje Bažnyčioje prasidėjo ryškūs liturgijos ir jos giedojimo unifikavimo procesai. LDK didžiausią įtaką turėjo vad. petrakavinio grigališkojo choralo tradicijos atsiradimas ir susiformavimas. Tai rodo palyginti gausus išlikusių pagal Petrakavo provincinių sinodų nutarimus parengtų ir Krokuvoje A. Petri-kovijaus išleistų liturginių giesmynų skaičius. Jų įtaka atsispindi ir tyrime analizuotuose rankrašitniuose antifonaluose bei mišrios paskirties giesmynuose, ir jau Lietuvoje parengtuose spausdintiniuose nepilnuose liturginiuose giesmynuos (kaip Ž. Liauksmino *Graduale* ir *Antiphonale*).

Vis dėlto tyrimo metu naudotų šaltinių detalesnė analizė atskleidė, kad buvo išlaikyta ir nemažai archaiškų bruožų, ypač vienuolijose. Tikėtina, kad jie atspindi ir senesnę, ikitridentinę LDK gyvavusią praktiką.

7. Tenka konstatuoti, kad muzikiniu požiūriu visiškai homogeniška grigališkojo choralo tradicija LDK nesusiklostė. Tai pasakytina tiek apie ikitridentinį, tiek ir potridentinį laikotarpį, kai unifikavimo trauka buvo itin stipri. Tai sąlygoti galėjo gana skirtingos čia veikusios įtakos, kurios peržengia skirtingų vienuolijų tradicijų ar Gniezno metropolijos ribas (prisimintina, kad seniausi turimi pergamentiniai giesmynų fragmentai veikiausiai yra kilę iš šiaurės Italijos; be to, jau vėlesniu laikotarpiu naudota ir Italijoje išspausdintais liturginiais giesmynais). Vis dėlto, giesmių analizė parodė, kad vyko tradicijų ir įtakų sąveikavimo procesas (pavyzdžiui, pranciškoniški giesmių bruožai domininkonams prisikiriamuose giesmy-nuose; petrakavinio choralo prasiskverbimas į pranciškonų šaltinius, etc.), kas leidžia kelti prielaidą ir apie natūralų ir organišką bendros LDK grigališkojo choralo tradicijos formavimąsi. Esant kitoms istorinėms aplinkybėms tai veikiausiai būtų atvedę į gerokai labiau homogenišką jos išraišką. Sykiu šie procesai rodo egzistavus gana aukštą ir tam tikra prasme savarankišką choralo kultūrą, įgalinusią atsirasti ir orginalios kūrybos giesmių bei savitų mokymo priemonių. Ji reiškėsi pagal viduramžių choralui ir lotyniškajai liturginei tradicijai būdingą *pluribus in unum* principą.

Scholarly publications

Mokslinių publikacijų sąrašas

1. *Vilimas J*. Grigališkasis choralas Karolingų epochoje // Krantai, 1992, Nr. 1.

2. *Vilimas J*. Grigališkasis choralas: tradicija ar tradicijos? // Muzikologija, 2000, Nr. 1.

3. *Vilimas J*. Muzika // Lietuvos didžiosios kunigaikštystės kultūra: Tyrinėjimai ir vaizdai, sud. ir red. Vytautas Ališauskas ir kt. Vilnius: Aidai, 2001.

4. *Vilimas J*. Europos viduramžiai. Chronologija ir periodizacija // Muzikos kalba. Viduramžiai, Renesansas. I d., sud. Gražina Daunoravičienė. Vilnius: Lietuvos mokslų akademijos leidykla, 2003.

5. *Vilimas J*. Lietuviškosios grigalistikos pradžia // Menotyra, 2011, Nr. 3.

Short Curriculum Vittae of the Cantidate

Jonas Vilimas was born in Kaunas, Lithuania, on 17 July 1965.

In 1992 he graduated from the Lithuanian Academy of Music as Musicologist. In 1996 he graduated from the Central European University (Budapest), receiving the MA in Medieval Studies. Main field of scholarly interest – the history of sacred music and the plainchant in Lithuania, with particular emphasis to medieval and Early Modern period.

He is lector in music history at the Department of History of Music of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre.

Trumpos žinios apie doktorantą-eksterną

Jonas Vilimas gimė 1965 m. liepos 17 d. Kaune.

1992 metais baigė Lietuvos muzikos akademiją, įgydamas muzikologo diplomą. 1996 metais baigė magistrantūros studijas Centrinės Europos universtite, Budapešte, įgydamas Viduramžių studijų magistro laipsnį. Pagrindinės domėjimosi ir tyrinėjimo sritys – Lietuvos bažnytinės muzikos ir grigališkojo choralo istorija, svarbiausią dėmesį skiriant viduramžių ir renesanso–ankstyvojo baroko laikotarpiams.

Jis yra Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos Muzikos istorijos katedros lektorius.