

## On the influence of the Catholic musical culture of Lviv and Vilnius on *partes* polyphony at the end of the 16th and during the 17th centuries

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**ABSTRACT.** During the last 10 years of the 16th century in the surroundings of the Lviv Orthodox Dormition Brotherhood, a new modern type of music was founded. Later it was called *partes* singing. It was not an initiative of the church leaders but the Orthodox lower middle class citizens of Lviv who were also members of the Brotherhood. The acute need for new music arose from competition with the Catholics on abidance of their rights and privileges. The Greek patriarchs helped to officially permit a new type of singing in the Orthodox Church, and had also earlier helped to receive independence in the management of the Lviv Brotherhood. Vilnius was the next city where *partes* polyphony was spread. Obviously, *partes* polyphony could not appear in an empty space. In this research, the author makes an attempt to follow the influence of the Catholic musical culture of Lviv and Vilnius on the formation and development of *partes* polyphony.

### KEYWORDS:

*Partes* polyphony, Lviv, Vilnius, Musical Brotherhood, Lviv Orthodox Stauropegic Brotherhood, solemn processions, organ, musical instruments, theoretical treatises, Marcin Leopolita, Jan Brant, Mikołaj Dilecki, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Belarus, Ruthenians, Protestant Movement, Orthodox, Irmologion, line staff notation, Eliseus Ilkovski, Jesuit Academy of Vilnius, Greek Catholic Church (Ruthenian Uniate Church), figural singing, plainchant (*cantus planus*), Simon Berent, Sigismundus Lauxmin, Marcin Kreczmer, Theodor Szewerowski, Russo-Polish War (1654–1667), Moscow, Jan Koljadka.

Today, existing facts witness that *partes* polyphony firstly appeared in Lviv (the capital of the Ruthenian Voivodeship) and secondly – in Vilnius (the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) during the last ten years of the 16th century.

We have already researched the process of the appearance and development of *partes* polyphony in our previous speeches and publications. But, in this article we will research the versatile influences of Catholic music on *partes* polyphony in these two cities.

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On March 9, 1580 the first regulations of the Lviv Musical Brotherhood were adopted. This brotherhood included musicians such as: “Organist, trombonist, bagpiper, lutenist, trumpeter, tambourine player and violinist” [Мацена 1994]. As we understand, at that time the word bagpiper (in Latin – *fistulatores*; in Polish – *piszczowie*) meant persons who played woodwind instruments and sometimes those who also played brass instruments. So, we can suggest that the “bagpipers” of the musical brotherhood were performers who also played the end-blown and side-blown flutes, pipes, shawms, surma-horns, dulcians, zinks, trombones, trumpets, etc. [ibid.]

Adolf Chybiński, in his work *Słownik muzyków* [Chybiński 1949], listed many musicians whose names appeared in Lviv archival sources and who lived in Lviv in the second half of the 16th century, namely: the flutist Caspar (approximately 1568–1569); tybiciens, i.e., those who played woodwind and brass instruments, Yakiw Boyaryn (d. 1579), Istvan (1578–1579), Christopher Zhaboklicki (1580–1599); trombonists Yuriy Izhyk (1566–1567), Andriy (d. 1588), Sebastian (ca 1599); dulcianist Wojciech (ca 1588) (the dulcian is the predecessor of the bassoon); lutenists Simon (ca 1555), Johann (ca 1556) and Valentine (ca 1582).

The Lviv Orthodox Stauropegic Brotherhood’s book of records (1601) contains records about three parishioners from the Paraskeva Orthodox Church: “Vasyl Violinist”, “Yuriy Violin” and “Petro Piper” [Архив... 1904, Т. 11: 32]. Obviously, these given names were the names of musicians, as after the names of the majority of the other parishioners, they indicated their professional allegiance, that is, cooper, baker, etc. It is also possible that the Orthodox citizens of Lviv were also members of the Lviv Musical Brotherhood or were simply musicians.

But, where did all these musicians play? What social functions did they perform?

Article 12 of the Charter of the Lviv Musical Brotherhood states the following: “Those who perform at banquets or weddings must always inform the elder members of the Brotherhood about such activity so as to avoid having to choose between them”. So, musicians entertained people at feasts and weddings with their playing.

Article 9 of the Charter states the following: “All members of the Brotherhood should be present at each funeral ceremony soon after its notification, and they should stay there until the body has been entombed”. Thus, musicians also took part in funeral ceremonies.

Article 8 of the Charter states the following: “The above mentioned musicians can teach a boy only after his introduction to all the other members of the Brotherhood”. So, from this we learn about its educational function.

Finally, article 4 of the Charter states the following: “If Holy Communion will take place in any church, the elder members of the Brotherhood should appoint several musicians to conduct public worship in praise of God” [Charewiczowa 1929: 168–172]. In our view, the only reason why *partes* polyphony appeared in the Orthodox communities of Lviv and Vilnius was for solemn processions. Such processions became one of the public forms of confrontation for privileges of religious city communities. It should be noted that the ancestors of Ruthenians did not have any rights to take part in the government of Lviv. For example, up until the last division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Orthodox lower middle class citizens were never members of city government.

Music took one of the leading roles in feast day processions. For example, Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowic, who was the burgomaster of Lviv in the 17th century, in his Chronicle *Leopolis Triplex* mentioned one such procession dated 1583, i.e., three years after publication of the Charter of Lviv *Musical Brotherhood*. The procession coincided with the arrival of Jan Dymitr Solikowski, the new Catholic archbishop: “The city with a large retinue of friends firstly welcomed his arrival with the cheerful greetings of cannon fire from the foot of the High Castle, then he was met at the gate with official honours and taken to the Roman Catholic church. On the next day (it was Nativity of John the Baptist) when the archbishop had guests and magistrates during a noisy banquet, a trivial school which was famous at that time for its own and other pupils, in front of the weigh-house building, beautified a stage where a precursor of Christ with wild animals crowned by bays, i.e., boys dressed in animal skins, preaching peace and harmony, were placed as in a desert. After his convincing speech ... accompanied by the chorus of musicians, they [performed – I. K.] Bilbilis hymn “Lions did not know to whom they serve”. And at the end they sang in turns the Saint Ambrosian hymn with trumpets” [Зіморович 2002: 121–122]. In our opinion, the musicians of the *Lviv Musical Brotherhood* were the trumpeters during this procession, and the Saint Ambrosian hymn refers to the traditional and one of the main Catholic hymns – *Te Deum*.

Until recently it was believed that the Orthodox citizens of Lviv did not have such solemn practices. The document titled *Three Complaints on Behalf of the Lviv Brotherhood*

on *Religious Persecutions of the Local City Council against Orthodox Citizens of Lviv in 1594–1595* [Памятники... 1852: 39] testifies the contrary. In this document, the mayor and the entire municipal government (all of them were Catholics) threatened members of the brotherhood, as follows: “We will prohibit you to walk through the market with Body of Christ and the lighted candles, and also to escort the dead with candles through the market and we prohibit you to ring [bells]” [ibid.: 44–45]. The members of brotherhood responded as follows: “We have used liberties according to our Greek religion given to our ancestors under the law; we have several urban residential brick buildings not only on the streets but also in the middle of the market and under the Rathaus, and also in the Polish and Armenian houses, where tenements, merchants and artisans serve and live; our priests, in priestly dress, called upon all these buildings each time according to our religion, with the Holy Communion, with lighted candles, to each home through the market and through every street; and using our liberties, they carried the dead with lighted candles, singing as they went through the market and through the city we carry the dead, also from the suburb to the city church, and from the city to the suburb churches and also to the hospital and our monastery called a stauropagic; also, we walk with diverse processions every time out of the city through the market and through the city gates, on feast days with peal as in all kinds of cases, and with Jordanian holy water and willow on Lenten Triodion Saturday, and in school missions. And we remember the most significant processions, in particular: the reception of Gavril, Archbishop of Ohrid in 1585, the procession to welcome Joachim V Patriarch of Antioch in January 1586, the welcome of Michael Rohoza, the Ruthenian Metropolitan of Kyiv, Galicia and All-Rus’ in January 1591, and other occasions; we also remember the burial of solemn lords with honourable processions, among whom there were local and foreigner lords, and Wallachian masters; and we also buried the lower middle class citizens as Greeks and Vlachs and Ruthenians ... both rich and poor, every class with the lighted candles and singing”.

Earlier, the *Lviv Brotherhood’s Circular on Harassment of Catholics as Regards to the Orthodox* of March 13, 1593 [Архив... 1904, Т. 10: 90] mentioned that pupils were not allowed to sing *Hosanna in the Highest*, nor were they allowed to call the faithful to church services.

Thus, the Orthodox solemn processions followed Catholic practices entirely. These numerous and regular processions featured music as their integral part. It is also important that they were attended by pupils of the Lviv Orthodox Dormition Brotherhood School.

So, if the Orthodox lower middle class citizens had similar processions as did the Catholics, it is not surprising that they followed this practice in their appearance. The Lviv Orthodox Brotherhood's representatives developed and tried to introduce the use of organs in church, or at least they started this kind of discussion. Permission to use organs would have been received by the members of brotherhood in the Orthodox patriarch as per the required procedure, as the Lviv Brotherhood was independent of the local hierarchy. By the way, the independence of the brotherhood was one of the results of educational and religious reform within the Orthodox Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A message in response from Meletius I Pegas, the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria, to the Orthodox Commonwealth is dated between 1594 and 1598. The letter states that *partes* polyphony could be used in the Eastern church, but that use of the organ was not acceptable: "What shall we say about the music? ... we do not censure either monophonic or polyphonic singing, as long as it is proper and decent. As for the noise and buzz of the soulless organs, the philosopher and martyr Justin the Martyr condemns one that has never been accepted in the Eastern church" [Мальшевский 1872: 89]. This document became obligatory and had great value.

Historical archives have some information about organ culture in Lviv. The organ in the Latin Cathedral was built in the early 16th century, but Zimorowic stated that in 1598 it was damaged and out of tune, and the church elders tried to restore it. According to the information provided by Professor Adolf Chybiński, in the Lviv Dominican Church there was also an organ built in 1578 by Sebastian, the organ master from Kraków [Gołos 1972: 282]. Professor Chybiński also mentioned the names of nine Lviv organists of the second half of the 16th century, in particular: Stanislav Shponer (1549 – approximately 1570), Vincent Folynek (d. 1559), Stanislav from Kurów (1567–1590), Maciej from Żmigród (1572), Maciej Vuytsyk (1570), Jacob (1572), Mikołaj (ca 1590), Tomasz (ca 1594), Marcin (1595) [Chybiński 1949].

Apart from the organ culture, they archives also contain some information on clavichord practice in Lviv. In 1562 in the inventory of the deceased Dr Albert Tarnovita, they found two clavichords (a larger one made from cypress and a smaller one) and two lutes.

Parts of some inventories of tabulatures and musical and theoretical treatises were also saved there. The majority of these artefacts were of German origin and their authors were Protestants. To our mind, they found themselves in Lviv by the efforts of the local German community.

In 1593, in the inventory of the deceased Agnieszka Krowczyzna Suchorabska, researchers found two torn German tabulatures and a musical treatise titled *De Arte Cantandi* by Andreas Ornithoparcus [Chybiński 1929].

After the death of the bookseller Hanus Brykyer in 1573, they also found 17 copies of a treatise titled *Questiones Musicae* by Johannes Spangenberg, seven copies of a treatise titled *Musica Poetica* by Nikolaus Listenius and 10 copies of a treatise titled *Musica Libris Demonstrata Quattuor* by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis.

In 1592 in the inventory of Baltazar Hybner, a German from Silesia, they found two copies of a treatise titled *Questiones Musicae* by Johannes Spangenberg [Skoczek 1939: 51]. In 1601, this treatise appeared in the Lviv Orthodox Dormition Brotherhood's register of books [Голубевъ 1883: 170 (addition)]. This is the first known musical treatise which could have been used in the Orthodox Brotherhood School.

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In addition to the above mentioned documents, at the end of the 16th and in the beginning of the 17th centuries, professional composers worked in Lviv as well. We have some information only about three of them.

The first was Marcin Leopolita [Ліпикъ 2002]. We certainly do not know much about him. Marcin was born in Lviv in approximately 1530. He could have studied at a department of the Kraków Academy, i.e., at the Lviv Cathedral School which provided a three-year course of study of church singing, the Catechism, Latin and arithmetic. For a short term of four years, he also took up the position of compositor cantus in Kraków. In 1564 he came back to Lviv and lived in his native city until his death in 1589. Marcin Leopolita was a creator of motets and masses and remains the most famous Lviv composer of his time.

In the Lviv city accounts book of 1590 (one year after the death of Leopolita's death), there is information about a guest who was not a local composer: "On Saturday before the feast of St. Valentine, a cantor from Zamość presented to the lord councilors an Officium devoted to Christmas for 12 voices that he had created for a fee of two zlotys" [Chybiński 1929].

It is not known for certain who was this "cantor from Zamość". The Zamojski Academy was established only five years after these events, i.e., in 1595, so this composer could not have been a teacher of the academy. We should note the unusually large number of voices in the work, because up until then, only *Magnificat* by Mikołaj Zieleński (1611) was considered the eldest Old-Polish work with 12 voices. Thus, we can suggest that "a cantor from Zamość" was not a simple, but a skilled composer of his time. Among all the famous composers of those times, only Mikołaj Gomółka comes to mind, because already in 1587 he was a musician of the Kraków bishop Piotr Myszkowski [Perz 1981: 112–113, 117, 121], but approximately in 1590 he searched for another patron and

employer. No later than June 19, 1590, Gomółka became a composer at Jan Zamoyski's court in Kraków. At any rate, the time of Gomółka's possible stay in Lviv is the same. Gomółka could have been called "a cantor from Zamość" despite not living in Zamostya. It could have been enough only to have served at Jan Zamoyski's court. This hypothesis has not been proven yet, because the facts suggest the possible existence of another version of the interpretation of this historical message, because information about a work for 12 voices might not be what it seems. It could be implied that the work was performed by 12 musicians, but initially it was created for a smaller number of voices, i.e., for three, four, five, six, etc. In this case, such work could be created even by ordinary cantor.

The last composer was the Jesuit Jan Brant. He was considered as one of the greatest composers of that time among all members of this religious order. A few centuries later he was mentioned in the documents and publications of the Society of Jesus [Szweykowski 1973].

Jan Brant studied in Vilnius, Braniewo and Rome. He worked in Kraków, Pułtusk, Poznań and Vilnius. And in 1601 he came from Rome to Lviv and stayed there until his death on May 27, 1602 [Brant 1980: 206]. During Brant's stay in Lviv, his Polish and Latin songs titled *Songs of various intentions for different pious needs* (*Pieśni różne pospolite o różnych pobożnych potrzebach*) were published there [Trilupaiteienė 1995: 134–139].

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If Lviv became a city where *partes* polyphony was born and made legitimate, then Vilnius was a city where it reached new professional heights. Stating this, we bear in mind the name of Mikołaj Dilecki.

In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the main musical culture centres in the 16th century were the court of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and palaces of the nobility, where famous Italian, Polish and Hungarian musicians (lutenists, organists, etc.) created their works. For example, approximately 100 musicians worked in Vilnius at the court of Mikalojus Radvila Juodasis (Mikołaj "The Black" Radziwiłł), the Protestant Grand Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Palatine of Vilnius (1515–1565) [Дадзіёмара 2012: 36–39]. Among chapel musicians, there were even ancestors of Ruthenians (modern Belarusians). Thus, in 1543–1601 in Grodno at the Duke's residence, there was a Lithuanian chapel where local musicians also worked, who had pronounced Belarusian surnames [ibid., p. 41].

Generally, in the 16th century in the territory of modern Lithuania and Belarus, alongside Catholicism there was also a strong Protestant movement. Its presence greatly influenced the establishment of the modern Orthodox Church, a new system of education,

methods of struggle against the Catholic Church, Orthodox philosophers, thinkers, public and religious figures, etc. The Protestant movement also influenced the development of musical culture in the territory of Belarus. In 1558, the *Cantional of Brest* with notes was issued, and in 1563 – the *Cantional of Nesvizh* came out, which were re-published in Vilnius in 1581 and 1594 respectively [ibid.: 34–35].

The appearance of the first four-line staff notation of Irmologion of Suprasl (1594–1598) is also connected with the territory of Belarus. It was here that a transition from neume notation to the line staff method took place. However, it was only the Lviv Orthodox Brotherhood that initiated this transition, and Bohdan Onysymovich, a singer from Pinsk, was a compiler of this line staff anthology. It is unknown if Onysymovich was associated with Protestant musical centres or if he could have been a singer in the Dominican or Franciscan Roman Catholic churches of Pinsk. As such musical centres did exist there, a compiler of the first line staff notation of Irmologion could have received a musical education there as well.

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An institution which greatly influenced the development of *partes* polyphony was the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius, reorganised on the basis of the Jesuit College of Vilnius in 1579 [Trilupaitienė 1995: 16–19].

It is quite strange that attitude of the Order's leaders to music was extremely harsh and unfriendly. Thus, they made attempts to exclude using musical instruments in churches. Incidentally, this kind of attitude to musical instruments is similar to the position of the Orthodox monks who were supporters of traditional hymns. In 1599–1600, Ivan Vyshenski (who was a monk and supporter of the Orthodox Church's traditional views) sent a work from Mount Athos to the Lviv Stauropegic Brotherhood of the Dormition titled *Book*, which argued that *partes* polyphony, widespread under the influence of Catholic culture in Orthodox churches, should be eliminated, and that the traditional Orthodox plainchant should be sung instead: "... you should turn out the Latin stench of songs from the church, and praise God by singing our simple Ruthenian song" [Іван Вишенський 1986: 34]. The negative attitude to musical instruments was legalised in the Jesuit Order in the last decade of the 16th century when a decree of a general of the Order was issued in the form of reply to the Polish province. There they noted that the Jesuit church "does not allow (...), singing with secular pleasure because it does not comply with the Order's statute and prevents us from freely performing our obligations. If somewhere in churches and colleges they have secretly set up organs, let them stand there until it will be possible to remove them. However, we prohibit their installation in



places where they do not yet stand. And if anybody dares to do so, Jesuits of the province should immediately remove such persons from their position and inform us about this” [Vilniaus akademijos... 1987: 199].

However, the Jesuits of Vilnius developed the cause of music despite the prohibitions. Music penetrated educational processes and ceremonies in informal ways. It was a necessity dictated by life itself. The educational mission of the Jesuits could not gain wide success without resorting to this impressive art form.

Threatening prohibitions on using polyphonic music continued from Rome. In 1602–1604, Claudio Acquaviva, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus replied to the noviciate on the question of whether they were allowed to use figural singing with his strict “no” [ibid.: 94].

Analysing the memorandum of 1608, we can draw the conclusion that prohibition was widely used by the Orthodox and Protestants who lured the faithful with polyphonic music [Trilupaitienė 1995: 45–46].

Another document that confirms the viability of our previous thesis was issued in 1611. Participants of the first meeting of a congregation in the Lithuanian province in Braniewo drafted a formal letter to the general of laws, asking him to approve using singing during liturgies in church: “We have five colleges at parishes, and in all the other [Roman Catholic churches – *I. K.*] we restrained from singing. However, we notice that many of the faithful go to other churches because of its lack in our Roman Catholic churches. Besides, pastors and other priests graduate from our schools without being acquainted with singing, while schismatics [the Orthodox – *I. K.*] and heretics [Protestants – *I. K.*] attract the common people to their temples just by singing” [Kochanowicz 2002: 56].

Meletius Smotrytsky, the Archbishop of Polotsk, Bishop of Vitebsk and Mstislav, also approved of using *partes* or figural singing among the Orthodox inhabitants of Vilnius. In 1620, just after his ordination, he returned from Kyiv to Vilnius. His meeting with Meletius Smotrytsky was described in detail in his polemical work titled *Exethesis* of 1629: “There, in Vilnius, arrogance and pride should overcome me. There I was followed by the hundreds of people, in front and behind, to the church and from the church. And when I read the Service, figural singing resounded from four choruses” [Грушевський 1996: 102].

However, the documents have preserved only one name and surname of a singer and composer who was close to Archbishop Smotrytsky – Eliseus Ilkovski [Єлисей Ільковський 1999]. Archbishop Smotrytsky wrote about this composer in his letter dated March 2, 1628 [Коялович 1861: 367–368]. Eliseus Ilkovski was also mentioned as a

teacher of the local Orthodox brotherhood school in a complaint of the Jesuits of Lutsk dated October 8, 1627 [Архив... 1883: 592–596]. This document refers to “the small singer Ivan discant” and this fragment shows that in Lutsk, Ilkovski also took up the position of a teacher of music, chorus regent, etc. From 1635 to 1647, Ilkovski was mentioned several times by Peter Mohyla, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych and All-Rus’: “Monk Eliseus Ilkovski was then in Vilnius at apostate [Meletius Smotrytsky – I. K.] and now he took a position of protopsaltes at Pechersk Kyiv Lavra” [Архив... 1887: 118]. He spent his last years in the Zhyrovichy Monastery of the Ruthenian Uniate Church. In the “old distinguished monks” register (1661) we can find the names of “Eliseus Ilkovski, regent of music, chief singer Victor Charnetski and regent of Zhyrovichy music Ilarion Starzhynski” [Археографический... 1900: 65, 72, 74, 78]. Here, in 1669, “the most famous composer” (as his contemporaries called him) died, bequeathing all his money to the noviciate in Vilnius.

Owing to Eliseus Ilkovski, we can see the direct impact of the Vilnius tradition of *partes* singing on the formation of the Lutsk and Kyiv traditions. We should add that Petro Mohyla used the same term as Meletius Smotrytsky to define *partes* singing, i.e., figural singing. We should add that in Kyiv, *partes* singing was founded, legitimised and spread on the initiative of the Kyiv Metropolitan Petro Mohyla in around 1633.

The example of Eliseus Ilkovski shows a very common practice at the time, namely the transition from one faith to another. It was common for Ruthenian Greek Catholics and Orthodox believers to convert between faiths several times during their life. How did this transition affect musical culture? Of note is that the Greek Catholics permanently studied at Jesuit Academy of Vilnius.

Music was important for both the Orthodox and Greek Catholics in Vilnius. Court confrontations could be a result of competition for talented singers. For example, the document dated March 24, 1655 describes a complaint from the Archimandrite of the Ruthenian Uniate Church in the Holy Trinity Monastery of Vilnius against the senior Orthodox Monastery of Vilnius named after Joseph Nielubowicz-Tukalski for the unauthorised maintenance of a boy Athanasius Pirotski, a pupil of the Holy Trinity Monastery. Athanasius was a chorister at that monastery for several years. Later, he was sent to study the “Latin sciences” at the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius. However, on February 12, 1655 Athanasius Pirotski, whose studies cost 300 zlotys, ran off to the Orthodox monastery of the Holy Spirit of Vilnius. Joseph Nielubowicz-Tukalski, in turn, refused to return the singer [Описаніє... 1897: 304].

Let us study in detail the issue of Greek Catholics who studied at the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius and their *partes* singing practice.

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In the 17th century, the bishop's throne of the Greek Catholic Church (Ruthenian Uniate Church) was located in Vilnius. Improvement in the musical sphere took place after the general reforms of Metropolitan Josyf Veliamyn Rutsky, who created the monastic order following the example of the Order of the Society of Jesus.

The Chronicle of the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius (1617) contains an important note: "Under our, Jesuit, leadership, we have done great things among the Ruthenians... Josyf Veliamyn Rutsky, the Metropolitan, Archbishop of Rus', who was a graduate of the Seminary of the Holy Father in Rome, gathered from his diocese local ordained and other lawyers in rank of St. Basilian and held a synod which decided to keep the eternal unity with the Catholic Church and to fully take care of the behaviour of [monks in] their religious rank ... And finally our ... took under their custody the noviciate of St. Basilian's order" [Piechnik 1983: 233–237].

The noviciate of the Basilians was not only under the custody of the Jesuits, but also the first of his order to have studied at Jesuit Academy of Vilnius on a regular basis. In 1616, describing the activity of students, a chronicler noted that in that year there were 23 alumni students, of whom three were Basilians.

Soon after, already in 1621, the Basilian congregation decided to elect "the law of St. Jesuit Fathers, with the purpose of helping, and sent a special letter with a corresponding request to a general of the Order; all Uniate monks had to treat the Jesuits as their brothers" [Морошкин 1867: 247–248].

The Vilnius bishop also mentioned about the studies of Basilians at the Academy. In 1622 Eustachijus Valavičius (Eustachy Wołłowicz) wrote the following to Rome: "To fight the schism [Orthodox – *I. K.*] that has grown old in our Ruthenians, Josyf Veliamyn Rutsky, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, founded seminaries throughout the Duchy. But the main one is in Vilnius in the Monastery of the Holy Trinity where there are many monks of St. Basil ... Many of them study at my Vilnius Academy". A similar report was submitted to Rome in 1625 [Piechnik 1983: 233–237].

However, soon Metropolitan Rutsky tried to reduce the influence of the Jesuits, as under the influence of propaganda, many Greek Catholics started to profess the Roman Catholic rite. Thus, after the foundation of the diocesan Greek Catholic seminary for which Benediktas Vaina (Benedykt Woyna), the Bishop of Vilnius, granted a building for 12 persons, the Jesuits were not invited to co-operate. Management of the seminary was entrusted to Petro Arcudio, a graduate of the Hellenic College in Rome. It is also remarkable that in 1632 Metropolitan Rutsky moved the seminary from Vilnius to Minsk because that city did not have a Jesuit school yet.

Regarding the *partes* practice of the Greek Catholics in the first half of the 17th century, we should point out the following.

In 1621, Metropolitan Rutsky in his work titled *Sowita wina* (i.e., Double Fault) issued in Vilnius justifying differences in faith, wrote that singing in the Greek Catholic Church was the same as in the Orthodox Church... “... we sing and read like you!” [Архив... 1887: 499].

Moreover, music practice in Vilnius was also mentioned in a document of the second congregation held the same year, in 1621, at the Lauryshava Monastery. The article from this document has this title: *To Save the Music of Vilnius*. Here is the text of the decision: “Music in Vilnius should be saved and kept, introduced by practical reasons, to avoid any obstacles to law, we should try to make the most successful rules, given by us to the singers” [Археографический... 1900, p. 21]. Unfortunately, the content of these rules is a mystery to us.

On April 21, 1629 Job Boretsky, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, announced that the Sejm in Warsaw decided the following: to hold a separate council of members of the Uniate Church in Volodymyr (Volhynia) and a separate council of the pious, i.e., the Orthodox, in Kyiv, and then to attend a general council in Lviv as the capital of All-Rus', with the purpose to unite the faiths. This was done. Imagine the surprise of the Catholics and Orthodox of Lviv when the Vilnius Greek Catholics sang *partes* (figural) polyphony in Lviv's Catholic churches. Contemporaries described this event as follows: “The Uniate bishops in the Catholic churches sang liturgies in the Slavonic language on some feast days, and even in the cathedral church, and vicars of the metropolitan in monastery chapels, despite the large gathering of people who were in wonder of the Greek rituals and singing which differed from the moderate Roman traditions, they were also in awe of the Ruthenian singers to whose sweet voices without [instrumental – I. K.] support the people listened eagerly” [ibid.: 167–168].

The document of April 27, 1643 certifies the later evidence of *partes* practice. When granting the annual gift to the Vilnius Greek Catholic Holy Trinity Monastery, Katarzyna Eugenia Skumin Tyszkiewicz, the wife of Duke Janusz Wiśniowiecki, who was a Polish nobleman, the High Royal Equerry, starost of Kremenets, asked the following: “... always during monthly feasts, a service for the souls of my benefactor parents must be read in figural singing, and on all other days for the souls of the dead ancestors and my parents, in usual Mass singing” [Собрание... 1843, p. 97–98].

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Despite moving of Greek Catholic Seminary to Minsk, Vilnius remained a central city for musical culture of the Greek Catholics. The name of the most famous composer and theorist of *partes* polyphony Mikołaj Dilecki is also connected with this city. New facts from Dilecki's biography which connect the famous composer only with the Greek Catholic church have been found. The document titled *Protestations of Monks of the Greek Catholic Holy Trinity Monastery of Vilnius against Monks of the Orthodox Monastery of the Holy Spirit of Vilnius on Errors Made by the Latter* [Акты... 1875: 121–122] of April 5, 1637 points that the Orthodox monks kidnapped a singer boy Stephen Martynovich from Greek Catholic Monastery and tried to grab another – Stephen Dilevski – who managed to escape.

There are several reasons to identify Dilevski as Mikołaj Dilecki. Besides the same first names, a city connected with the composer's biography, the same profession and an entirely suitable time, there is another document which combines together the biographies of Dilevski and Dilecki. Iryna Gerasimova, a researcher from St. Petersburg, found a document dated to 1636 which states that a Mr. Zjuska lived in the house which belonged to the Greek Catholic Holy Trinity Monastery [Герасимова 2008: 37–38]. Mikołaj Dilecki also mentioned the name of this man in his work titled *Musikijska Gramatika (Musical Grammar)*: "... in concert fantasies you should follow the old creator Zjuska, his works are Songs of Moses" [Российский...: 38]. Thus, thanks to Gerasimova's document we can rightly consider *Protestations* as a document which concerns Mikołaj Dilecki's biography.

How can we explain the error in the surname mentioned in *Protestations*? In general, in the 17th century, surnames of the same people were often written in a different way. Different surnames can also be explained by several versions. Firstly, we should note that two singer boys have same names, so it can be interpreted as mistake made by the person who compiled the document. Secondly, the practice of name-changing was widespread among monks, as they would change their secular names after ordination.

Dilecki pointed out himself that he studied at the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius: "... earlier I studied the liberal sciences in Vilnius" [Российская...: 8], and when researching *Protestations* we can assume that he was sent to study there by the efforts of the Greek Catholics who regularly studied there as well.

Taking into consideration the above information, we should become better acquainted with the musical cause at the Academy, as this will help us to understand better its possible impact on *partes* polyphony.

\* \* \*

Because of the Order's leaders' strict attitude to music, Jesuits were forbidden to study it. To do this, they had to invite people from the public or, at least, people who were not members of the Order. Overall, this is obvious, as the Society of Jesus was initially a monastic order. They cultivated primarily a plainchant (*Cantus planus*).

This practice was adopted by the Greek Catholics too. This is evident from the fact that at the Greek Catholic monasteries of the Basilian Order they actively continued to use the plainchant inherited from the Byzantine Church. This is evident from the large number of four-line staff notation of Irmologion (anthologies of liturgical singing) founded in the Greek Catholic monasteries. Here we can mention *Irmologion* of Suprasl by Theodor Simeonovich (1638–1639) and *Irmologion* of the Zhyrovichy Monastery (beginning of the 1640s), etc.

Although the Jesuits had strict rules on polyphony and musical instruments, some of them ignored these prohibitions.

For example, we have already mentioned the name of Jan Brant. Another figure is Simon Berent, a composer from the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius in the 1630s. Only two of his works were published at the Academy's printing house, and even they were lost. We know about them only from bibliographic sources. His contemporaries pointed out that he published the following works anonymously: *Litaniarum de Nomine Jesu...* (1638) and *Litaniarum Lauretanarum de B. Virgine Maria...* (1639) [Alegambe 1643: 230]. Simon Berent was born in 1585 in Prussia and died on May 16, 1649 in Braniewo. In 1600 he joined the Jesuit Order in Braniewo. He studied and taught at the Jesuit schools as a teacher of the humanities and moral theology. He worked as a preacher for many years.

In 1644–1647 a choir from the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius was directed by the “talented musician” Michael Radau (1616–1687). At that time he worked there as a teacher of philosophy [Ліхач 2008: 28]. Since 1644 there was a revival of musical life at the Academy of Vilnius, as the Jesuit Mikołaj Kazimierz Kopec granted 9,000 Polish zlotys to support the musicians [Vienuolio jėzuito...]. Perhaps this explains why a choir was founded headed by Michael Radau. The last will of Kopec defined in detail a salary for the work of musicians. The main duty of singers was visiting church services. Also, the choir musicians could participate in other religious ceremonies. According to Kopec's words, less solemn music could be performed in comedies, tragedies, speeches (orations), debates, etc. Generally, the money was meant to give the choir musicians an opportunity to play on different musical instruments “... pious motets, symphonies, canzone and other various tunes to praise God” [ibid.] during church holidays and other days of the week.

For several years, the professional musical environment of the Lithuanian capital was enriched by one more educational centre. In 1651, Jurgis Tiškevičius (Jerzy Tyszkiewicz), the bishop of Vilnius, wrote the following in his report sent to Rome: “There were four open colleges for poor students, while last year even a fifth one was founded, for those who want to learn to sing”. The report indicated that the college was subsidised by the deceased dean of Vilnius [Relationes 1971: 90]. The aim of the college was to prepare singers for the cathedral. Thus, in Vilnius, two out of five colleges were musical. One was created by the Jesuits and another, a singing college, was created by the capitula.

The Academy’s musical college was privileged in comparison with others, but not the musical ones. Its auditors witnessed that they noticed more than once that a majority of the revenue was allotted to the musicians to the detriment of other poor students. For example, in 1681 Michael Mazowecki (Mykolas Mazoveckis), the Lithuanian Jesuit provincial, wrote in his memorial: “We have to think about the ways to develop and support music without prejudice to the inhabitants of college, because the prefect spends a big part of revenue of the seminary’s founder on musicians and he continues to give them more money and other inhabitants receive less money correspondingly” [Vilniaus akademijos... 1987: 240].

Students who were members of professional chapels have become some kind of counterweight to those ones who graduated from the musical brotherhoods of the Uzualists, musicians *non arte sed usu* (without art, aurally). We mentioned this kind of musical brotherhood in the beginning of this article.

In fifteen years in Vilnius a system of musical education was extended. In 1667 at the Academy, a special music department was opened. The documentation of the Academy pointed out the following: “There founded a new music department. Our fathers teach here and they have enough students who love music” [Piechnik 1987: 40]. In this year, one of the teachers of the Academy, the Jesuit Sigismundus Lauxmin, anonymously published musical works and short musical treatise titled *Ars et Praxis Musica*.

Comparing the treatises of Dilecki and Lauxmin, we can definitely state that both authors used the same terminological base, identical interpretations of concepts and rules, etc. [Kuzminsky 2012]

In 1665, while holding a discussion of educational problems, the congregation noted again that musical education should not be conducted by the members of the order, however this function should be performed by laymen: “Compulsory teaching of music in schools, especially choral ones, becomes the responsibility of the laymen” [Piechnik 1987: 40].

Just after the foundation of the department in 1669, Wojciech Cieciszowski, the Jesuit provincial, was entrusted to the rector of the Academy to hire as teachers only those senior students who were good at music. One of the professors should be responsible for a choir in the Roman Catholic church [Λixax 2008: 28].

Marcin Kreczmer (1631–1696) is another famous Jesuit, besides Jan Brant, Simon Berent and Sigismundus Lauxmin. He was born in the same year as Dilecki. Kreczmer was the most famous composer who created a great number of church music works. However, only one exists today, namely the vocal and instrumental work *Motetto Sacerdotes Dei Benedicite Dominum* (probably dated to 1664) created for five vocal voices [Szweykowski 1965: 54]. The manuscript is kept in the Jagiellonian Library of Kraków. This work was named after the fashionable and venerable word “motet”, but it has nothing to do with the motet genre. In fact, Kreczmer’s motet is a version of the Venetian Rondo concert. Obviously, this work could not fully reflect the composer’s activity. In general, very few works by 17th-century composers from Vilnius have survived to our days.

When the Jesuits wrote Kreczmer’s biography, they pointed out that he had musical talent. The information in this biography is very valuable: “He knew the musical art very well, and Fr. Athanasius Kircher actually wrote about this; in particular, many pious hymns and poems he devoted to the Holy Lady and other saints and prepared pious musical performances for patron saints. In fact, throughout Lithuania in our and other churches the festive Vespers, Litanies and Masses of Fr. Marcin were sung most often as they raised feelings of piety with the best arising harmony” [ibid.; Poszakowski 1536].

This biography also states that Marcin Kreczmer was born in Prussia on September 12 or 19, 1631. He worked in Poznan, Kraków, Warsaw, Vilnius and Braniewo where he died on May 19, 1696. He was a doctor of philosophy and canon law. In 1670–1673 he taught philosophy at the Academy of Vilnius and in 1673–1677 he went to teach theology in Braniewo. In 1677–1678 he returned to the Academy of Vilnius.

Interestingly, in the same year of Kreczmer’s return to Vilnius (1677) Mikołaj Dilecki went from Vilnius to Smolensk. And his *Toga Złota* [Estreicher 1897: 207] (1675) addressed to the Vilnius magistrate could actually be associated with Kreczmer’s departure from Vilnius. This may mean that Marcin Kreczmer could have been Mikołaj Dilecki’s direct competitor.

Besides Mikołaj Dilecki, we also know about Theodor (Foma, Tomasz) Szewrowski (Szawerowski, Szawarowski), another Greek Catholic composer from the second half of the 17th century who studied at the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius [Балик 1985]. We just know that he was born in Minsk and graduated from school in Nesvizh. At



the Academy he studied philosophy and theology. Szewerowski's biographies state that he was very good in music and singing, so he was considered the first regent in Vilnius. Many his students moved to Moscow. Hearing his compositions for singing (*cantus fractus*), the listeners thought that the works of previous composers were melancholic, as happened with Borovyk, a *partes* composer from the Greek Catholic Zhyrovichy Monastery. In 1674 Szewerowski became a regent of the Metropolitan Kyprian Žochovski who was great admirer and patron of music. Szewerowski's works were heard at diets, in the audience of John III Sobieski, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania and the Senate of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, etc. In 1680, during the Lublin Congress which aimed to reconcile the Orthodox and Greek Catholics, the bishops with their choruses, including Szewerowski's chorus, gathered in the Jesuit college. After the metropolitan's death in 1693, Szewerowski took the monastic rank in Vilnius at the Monastery of the Holy Trinity. He was a preacher and regent in Polotsk for five years. In 1698 he moved to the eldership of Biała Podlaska, the residence of the Prince Karolis Stanislovas Radvila (Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł), a philanthropist and patron of the Greek Catholics. It explains the fact why Szewerowski studied with the Prince's French musicians. The composer died the next year. The titles of his works remained in the registers and some of his songs (some complete, some only in parts) have survived to our days [Герасимова 2010].

\* \* \*

The last episode we shall look at are the events that took place during the Russo-Polish War (1654–1667).

In the beginning of this military campaign some singers from Lithuania appeared in Moscow. They were captured and taken hostage as military trophies. Thus, on September 15, 1655 in the Church of Three Saints in Moscow 28 "Lithuanian singers" sang who received six and a half rubles from Patriarch Nikon of Moscow [Харлампович 1914: 318].

Five "singer boys, Poles" served personally to the Patriarch Nikon of Moscow, together with "the Pole who sings in Latin". Remarkably, military operations hardly occurred in the ethnic Polish territories, so maybe these singers were inhabitants of the modern Belarusian, Lithuanian, Latvian or Ukrainian lands. We know the names of these singers, in particular: "Cyrylko Ivaniv, Ostap Yakovliv, Mykhailo Fedoriv, Petro Magnusiv ra Ivanko Zhydovyn (Jew)" [ibid.]. Indeed, the name of one of the singers is the Russified form of the name Peter Magnus or Magnusson. We also know that the singer Cyrylko was "taken" from Prince Aleksey Trubetskoy who participated in the first

two military campaigns against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He captured the fortress of Mstislaw. Ostap was “taken” from Prince Andrey Meshchersky who also took part in these military campaigns.

Another example is a person thought to be from Vilnius. He appeared in 1657 in Moscow and was known as Ivan (Jan) Koljada (Koljadka), a chorister master [ibid.: 319]. He was also mentioned later, particularly in the documents dated 1666 and 1667, as one of the Moscow chorister clerks [Разумовский 1895]. Mikołaj Dilecki also mentioned him in two of his three editions of *Musikijskaja Grammatika* (Musical Grammar): “...to follow Johann Koljada in all things, but mostly in choral singing as he wrote many choral singing works” [Российская...: 137]. We also find the name and surname of Ivan Koljada in other Moscow sources of 1657 [Российский...: 48; Trilupaiteienė 1995: 109]. In fact, before the war Jan Koljadka worked as a regent in the choir of the Orthodox Marija Radvila (Maria Radziwiłł), the wife of Jonušas Radvila (Janusz Radziwiłł), the Grand Hetman of Lithuania [Герасимова 2008: 35]. The musical works of Ivan Koljada are kept in the historical archives of Moscow [Государственный... № 1382: 74].

Finally, we should not forget about Mikołaj Dilecki who arrived in Moscow from Vilnius in 1675–1676, nor the students of Szewerowski, etc. More details about how *partes* polyphony spread to Moscow can be found in our separate research [Кузьмінський 2014].

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So, *partes* polyphony of the 17th century cannot be considered as being outside the influence of Catholic musical culture. As European polyphony of the early modern period is the result of the evolution of Catholic musical culture, *partes* singing is the national version of this kind of polyphony.

It is only recently that Ukrainian history and Belarusian music has been discussed outside the boundaries of Russian historiography. This allows more unbiased research deprived of the influences of manipulative myths and ideologies to be written. Finally, the positive influence of representatives of the Catholic and Protestant musical communities of different cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on *partes* singing and the whole musical culture of modern Ukraine, Belarus and Russia will be fairly researched and appreciated.

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## Lvovo ir Vilniaus katalikų muzikinės kultūros įtaka partesinės polifonijos plėtrai XVI a. pabaigoje – XVII amžiuje

REIKŠMINIAI

ŽODŽIAI:

partesinė polifonija,

Lvovas, Vilnius,

muzikinė brolija,

Lvovo ortodoksų

brolija, iškilmingos

procesijos, vargonai,

muzikos instrumentai,

teoriniai traktatai,

Marcinas Leopolita,

Janas Brantas,

Mikołajus Dileckis,

Lietuvos Didysis

Kunigaikštis, Baltarusija,

rusėnai, protestantiškasis

judėjimas, ortodoksai,

linijinė notacija,

Eliseus Ilkovskis,

Vilniaus jėzuitų

akademija, Graikų

katalikų bažnyčia

(rusėnų unitų bažnyčia),

figūrinis giedojimas,

lygusis giedojimas

(*cantus planus*),

Simonas Berentas,

Žygimantas Liauksminas,

Marcinas Kreczmeris,

Theodoras Szewerowski,

Rusijos-Lenkijos

karas (1654–1667),

Maskva, Janas Koljadka.

SANTRAUKA. Per paskutinįjį XVI a. dešimtmetį Lvovo ortodoksų Marijos Užmigdymo brolijos aplinkoje atsirado naujas giedojimo būdas, vėliau pavadintas partesiniu giedojimu. Jis kilo ne iš Bažnyčios vyresnybės, bet iš vidurinės klasės – Lvovo miestelėnų ortodoksų, kurie buvo šios brolijos nariai. Naujos muzikos poreikis atsirado iš konkurencijos tarp ortodoksų ir katalikų, kurie taip pat kovojo už savo teises ir privilegijas. Graikų patriarchai padėjo gauti oficialų leidimą šiam giedojimui ortodoksų bažnyčioje. Vilnius buvo antrasis miestas (po Lvovo), kuriame plito šis giedojimas. Savaiame suprantama, jis neatsirado tuščioje vietoje. Šiame straipsnyje autorius tyrinėja Lvovo ir Vilniaus katalikų muzikinės kultūros įtaką plėtojantis partesinei polifonijai.