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# History of the Origin of the *Bogurodzica* Song. A Musical Monument of 1407

*Giesmės „Bogurodzica“ kilmė – 1407 m. muzikinis paminklas*

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## Abstract

In Polish musical historiography, the song *Bogurodzica* is considered to be the oldest artifact of Polish song culture written in a staff notation. This article attempts to study the history of this song's emergence and distribution not only against the background of Polish musical culture of the late 14<sup>th</sup>–early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, but also under the conditions of the Kievan Rus' and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Firstly, the article presents the main written sources of the *Bogurodzica* in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries and analyzes the title, verbal text and the plot of the *Bogurodzica* as well as the origins of the melody. Secondly, the text focuses on Ruthenian Court Musicians of the King Władysław II Jagiełło, musical contacts between the courts of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas and the great masters of the Teutonic Order, the place and meaning of the Mother of God churches in the Kievan Rus', battle prayers to the Mother of God in the Ruthenian princely environment, singing to the Mother of God before battle in the Kievan Rus' and the Ruthenian cult of the Mother of God in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This research provides new grounds to consider the *Bogurodzica* as a piece of work of the ancient Ruthenian culture and suggests that eventually it could be included into the contemporary musical historiography of Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania.

**Keywords:** cult of the Mother of God, Bogurodzica, battle prayer, battle song, ruthenian musicians, Rurik Dynasty, the Gediminas dynasty, Jagiellonian dynasty, Kievan Rus', Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Teutonic Order, the Kingdom of Poland.

## Anotacija

Lenkų muzikos istoriografijoje giesmė „Bogurodzica“ laikoma seniausiu Lenkijos giesmių kultūros paminklu, užrašytu penkline. Straipsnyje analizuojamos šios giesmės ištakos ir paplitimas XIV–XV a. pradžioje Lenkijos muzikos kultūros kontekste ir Kijevo Rusijos bei Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės aplinkoje. Tyrimas pristato pagrindines rašytines „Bogurodzicos“ apraiškas XV–XVI a., analizuoja žodinį tekstą ir giesmės melodijos ištakas. Straipsnyje aptariami Karaliaus Vladislavo II Jogailos dvaro rusėnai muzikantai, Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Vytauto dvaro ir Teutonų ordino muzikiniai ryšiai, Dievo Motinos šventyklų vieta ir prasmė Kijevo Rusijoje, karinės maldos Dievo Motinai karališkoje rusėnų aplinkoje, giedojimas Dievo Motinai prieš kovą Kijevo Rusijoje ir rusėnų Dievo Motinos kultas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje. Šis tyrimas suteikia naujų, pagrįstų prielaidų suvokti „Bogurodzicą“ kaip senosios rusėnų kultūros palikimą ir leidžia įtraukti ją kūrinių į Ukrainos, Baltarusijos ir Lietuvos muzikos istoriografiją.

**Reikšminiai žodžiai:** Dievo Motinos kultas, „Bogurodzica“, karinė malda, kovos giesmė, rusėnai muzikantai, Riurikų dinastija, Gediminaičių dinastija, Jogailų dinastija, Kijevo Rusija, Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė, Teutonų ordinas, Lenkijos karalystė.

## Introduction

For Polish philologists, musicologists and historians, the *Bogurodzica* has become a true “cornerstone”. The number of publications devoted to this song in Polish, German, Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian sources reaches far beyond 300.<sup>1</sup> The first piece of research about this work started long ago in the 1744 German-language works of Ephraim Oloff (Oloff 1744: 213–214). What is the basis of this keen interest in the *Bogurodzica* song?

The point is that for Polish researchers and inhabitants, the *Bogurodzica* is the oldest song to be associated with the military and royalty. It became a symbol of the greatness of the Polish kingdom, since, according to the legend, the Allied troops, led by Władysław II Jagiełło, defeated the troops of the Teutonic order while singing this song in the

Battle of Grunwald, having thus undermined their power and stopped the expansion of the knights.

Polish researchers mostly adhere to the idea that this song is a specifically Polish cultural production. However, not everyone agrees with this statement. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were philological studies that substantiated the ancient origin of this song. This work was conducted mainly by Ivan Franko in 1902 and Vasył Shchurat in 1906–1907.<sup>2</sup>

Now *Bogurodzica* is increasingly attracting the attention of researchers from the neighboring countries of Poland. Zmicer Sasnoŭski, a Belarusian historian and a founder of the folk group “Stary Olsa”,<sup>3</sup> who gave pride of place to this song in several monographs devoted to the history of Belarusian music (Сасноўскі 2009: 29–33; Сасноўскі 2010: 31–43). The Lithuanian origins of the *Bogurodzica*

was studied by the musicologist Jurate Trilupaityene (Trilupaityene 1995: 54–55). In Ukraine, the historian Volodymyr Serhiychuk called the *Bogurodzica* a battle song, common to the peoples of Lithuania and Poland (Сергийчук 1992: 101).

Integral to this research are the issues of the song's origin and distribution. According to various historical, cultural, musical and philological features, the hypothesis is substantiated that the *Bogurodzica* might have originated in the Kievan Rus', where, in the 11th–12th centuries, it initially obtained the status of a military prayer, and subsequently became a song. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, through the Ruthenian princely and military environment, it came into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and in the late 14<sup>th</sup> – early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, along with the Ruthenian Court Musicians, came to the Krakow Royal Court of Władysław II Jagiełło.

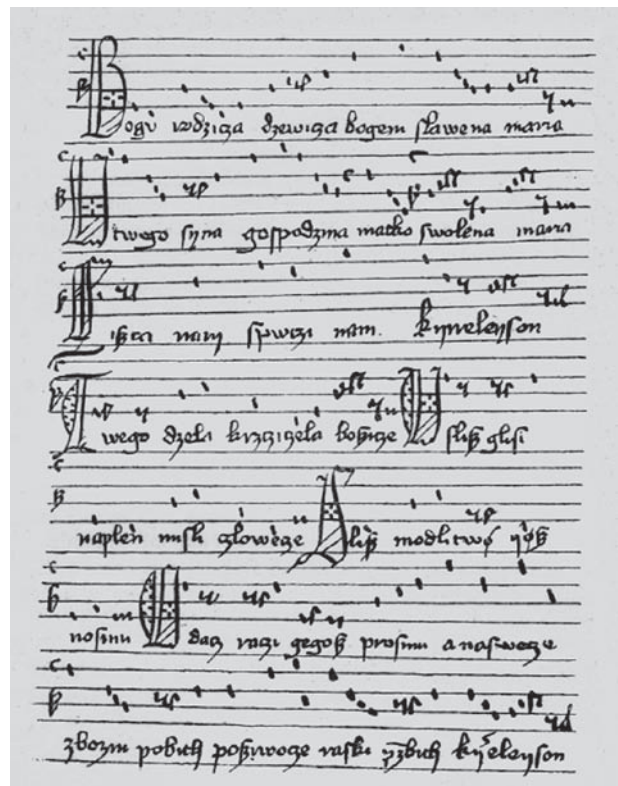
### The main written documents of the *Bogurodzica* song of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries

The first two sheets of the *Bogurodzica* are dated from 1407 and 1408 respectively, and the following three from the second half of the XV century. Two other important recordings are legal documents – the first printed in 1506 and then in Cyrillic of 1529. An important document is the historical chronicle of Jan Długosz in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, where this song is mentioned several times.

1) The oldest record of the *Bogurodzica* was created in 1407 in the Polish town of Kcynia. It was a part of the collection of Latin sermons by Mateusz of Grochów (Korolko 1980: 3). Now this manuscript is maintained at the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, approx. 1619). This oldest sheet contains both the note row and two verses of the verbal text. It is called “Kcynia’s”, or “the First Krakow’s”.

2) The second song sheet is dated in the next year. This sample is also maintained in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, sygn. 408). The *Bogurodzica* was completed in 1408 on the 87<sup>th</sup> page of the Code *Decisiones rote Wilhelmi Horborg* (Korolko 1980: 3). This sheet is called “the Second Krakow’s” and it contains 13 or 14 verses of the verbal text, but does not have a musical notation.

3) The third oldest *Bogurodzica* song sheet is dated back to approximately 1456. It is maintained in Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa, ręk. 480, karta 223). The manuscript contains 19 verses of verbal text (Maciejowski 1839: 363–367). This text mentions St. Adalbert and St. Catherine for the first time, being begged for intercession. In the text of the “Warsaw’s” sheet, the royal family is mentioned for the first time. Here the song begs God for the welfare of the Polish king and his children. This fact indicates that the *Bogurodzica* was unambiguously associated with the



Example 1. The oldest record of the *Bogurodzica* song in 1407 (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, appr. 1619)

representatives of the Jagiellonian royal dynasty, which is also confirmed by other testimonies and documented events. And the fact that the Jagiellonian dynasty comes from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania suggest that the *Bogurodzica* was brought from there to the Polish Kingdom. The latter idea has been additionally confirmed many times, which will be outlined in the article below.

4) Another sheet of the *Bogurodzica* comes from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was found pasted in the Latin Code of the Catholic Seminary library in the city of Sandomierz (Knothe 1886). Moreover, there is a Gothic pulpit in Sandomierz (around 1360–1382) with frescoes in the Byzantine style, painted on the order of the Polish king, Władysław II Jagiełło, at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century or at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Old Ruthenian Masters, perhaps from the Galician school. The main painting, which covers the entire plate, is called the Assumption of the Blessed Mother of God (Усмаицэв 2002: 37, 41). It is a very remarkable fact, because it can demonstrate the non-random association of the “*Bogurodzica*” song and the ancient Ruthenian fresco of the Mother of God.

5) The fifth of the most ancient sheets of the *Bogurodzica* dates back to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and was found in the Catholic Monastery of Jasna Góra in the Polish city of Częstochowa. The Częstochowa manuscript contains a musical notation and 17 verses of the verbal text (Przedziecki

1866: 309–328). It is noteworthy that this monastery contains the Częstochowa icon of the Mother of God dating from the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, which was brought here from the Ruthenian city of Belz. The “*Bogurodzica*” could have arrived to Częstochowa after the restoration, which took place in Krakow at the court of Władysław II Jagiełło in 1430. As with the “Sandomyr” sheet, the Częstochowa’s manuscript is associated with the ancient Ruthenian image of the Mother of God.

6) The next important date and event in the history of the *Bogurodzica* is the Battle of Grunwald in 1410. It is described by the Old Polish historian-chronicler, diplomat, and author of the *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, the Archbishop of Lviv – Jan Długosz (1415–1480). He writes that the *Bogurodzica* was sung just before battles:

Signis canere incipientibus regius universus exercitus patrium carmen Bogurodzicza sonora voce vociferatus est, deinde hastis vibratis in proelium prorupuit. (At the time of action, the whole royal army, singing loudly the parent *Bogurodzicza* song, with swinging the spears in hands, rushed to the battle.) (Шыпар 1906: 19)

In addition, on the eve of the Battle of Grunwald, during the meeting of Władysław II Jagiełło, Princes Vytautas, Mazowiecki, and the Polish barons it was noted:

Simili quoque devotione Dux Magnus Lithuaniae Alexander, Duces insuper Masoviae et barones Poloniae in suorum extensione signorum utebantur. Quibus dissolutis et extensis, universus exercitus patrium carmen Bogurodzicza coepit vociferari. (With a similar piety the Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander, as well as the Princes Mazowieckie and the Polish barons, widely used their banners. When revealed and dissolved, the whole army called out the parent *Bogurodzicza* song.) (Długosz 1877: 22)

An interesting phrase from the text “patrium carmen Bogurodzicza” may mean that the *Bogurodzica* could have been sung by the father of Władysław II Jagiełło, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Olherd (approx. 1296–1377). The details of this assumption will be discussed later in the article.

Are there any reasons to trust the Jan Długosz’s words since he himself lived after the described events? Yes, I believe that there are reasons to trust them. In 1455, Długosz served King Casimir IV Jagiellonian, educated his sons from 1467, and before that, in 1433–1455, he was an assistant, secretary and chancellor of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the Bishop of Krakow, the first cardinal of Polish origin and the regent of the Polish Kingdom (actual ruler of the state in 1444–1447). Oleśnicki, according to Długosz, during the Battle of Grunwald, saved the life of the King Władysław II Jagiełło, covering him with a shield (Długosz 1962: 104–105). Thus, a direct participant and eyewitness of the event (Długosz) could have described the singing the *Bogurodzica* during the Battle of Grunwald.

7) Długosz recorded in his chronicle three more events of the *Bogurodzica* used in royal environment and before the military events or battles.

In 1431, this song was sung before the battle of Dumbells with the Teutonic Order troops (Bitwa pod Dąbkami):

Et carmine patrio Bogurodzicza, cuius sonora silvis et campis repercussa erat vociferatio, per cantum expleto, pauci cum multitudine, nudi cum vestitis, agrestes cum militibus, adeo incunctanter et viriliter decertant, ut magis veteranos cum tyronibus, quam agrestes cum exercitatis, pugnare existimares. (And the parent *Bogurodzicza* song was heard in the woods and fields, exclamations were heard everywhere, at the end of the song, in a few masses of people, naked and dressed, peasants and soldiers, were fighting so hesitantly, bravely and resolutely that you would have thought that it was more likely veterans fighting with recruits, than peasants with professional warriors.) (Długosz 1877: 460)

In 1435, a decisive battle took place within the war for the throne in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ruthenia and Samogitia, the so-called Battle of Wilkomierz (Bitwa pod Wilkomierzem), where, before the battle, the Polish army sang the *Bogurodzica*:

Fit clamor magnus in Ducis Switrigal exercitu, et omnes, qui valebant Marte, derelictis stationibus suis, ad succurrendum suis accurrunt. Polonorum exercitus more maiorum canticum Bogurodzicza canere incipit, et paucis versibus peractis, cum hostibus congregitur. (And they shouted loudly in the Prince Švitrigaila’s army, and all those strong soldiers left their posts and ran as fast as possible. The Polish army began to sing the *Bogurodzicza* song in the custom of the ancestors, and singing a few lines, meeting with the enemy.) (Długosz 1877: 564)

In 1446, the song sounded during the Gniezno Cathedral in Piotrków Trybunalski, on the eve of the coronation of the Władysław II Jagiełło the younger son of Casimir IV Jagiellonian:

ua secuta, a clero Te Deum laudamus, a populo vero Bogurodzicza, per cantum cum magna animorum alacritate expleta sunt. (And then, the cleric sang *Te Deum laudamus*, but people sang *Bogurodzicza*, thanks to the singing, there was a great emotional uplift.) (Długosz 1877: 20)

It is obvious that the first representatives of the Jagiellonian dynasty jealously guarded the cult of the Mother of God.

8) Another song sheet dates from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Again, it refers to the environment of the Polish royal court. This is the first printed edition of the *Bogurodzica*. In 1505, it was approved, and in 1506, the world was introduced to the first printed government document of the Kingdom of Poland, which contained the verbal text of this song. “The Laski’s Statute” (Commune Incliti Poloniae Regni Privilegium constitutionum...)



was created by the crown secretary and the primate Jan Laski. The document was certified by the Polish King Aleksander Jagiellonńczyk. The document confirms the thesis that the *Bogurodzica* was a generic song of the Jagiellonian dynasty:

Prima omnium devotissima et tanquam vates Regni Polonie Cancio seu canticum Bogarodziczca manibus et oraculo sancti Adalberti scripta Cuius descriptio est primo dicta ad conferenda cum hostibus certamina dedicata primum in isto Regestri ordine locum vendicat. (First of all, this is a pious and inspirational song, which is sung by the Polish kings, that is, the *Bogurodzica* song, which is self-made by Saint Adalbert, which was rewritten from a copy, was initially performed as an appeal to a military enemy in battle, written in this register in the form of lines in the book.) (Laski 1506: f. 7v)

As for the authorship of the song, like many other researchers, I find it difficult to agree with the idea that the author of the song was St. Adalbert (approx. 955–997). First of all, there are no manuscripts originating from the time of the Saint, or close to that time. Secondly, there is a probability that this song was attributed to St. Adalbert on the basis of the somewhat older text, “Warsaw’s” sheet of 1456. It is to be recalled that this sheet did not mention

the authorship of St. Adalbert; he was an object of a prayer. Instead, in the oldest sheets any references to St. Adalbert are absent. Thirdly, St. Adalbert became the main patron of Poland with the efforts of the all-powerful bishop of Krakow Zbigniew Oleśnicki in 1436 (Nocoń 2007: 97–113). It is this fact that should be considered in St. Adalbert’s relation to the “royal song”.

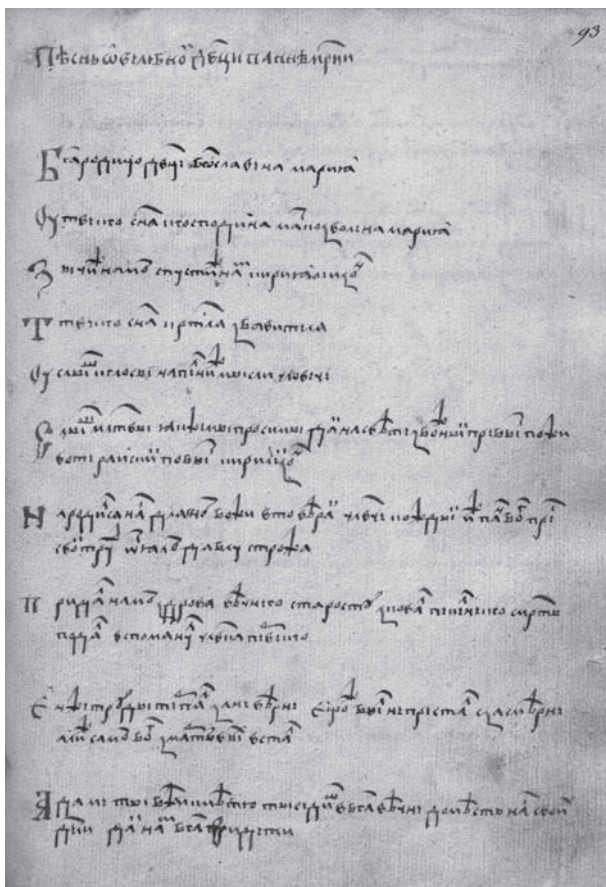
9) The last key document that captures the *Bogurodzica* is the first Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1529. This text does not contain a musical notation, but it was the first to be written in Cyrillic, not Latin. The song has 17 verses. The work on the Statute began after the Grodno Sejm in 1522, on the order of Sigismund I the Old, another representative of the Jagiellonian dynasty. The manuscript is maintained in the Assolineum archive in Poznan (Сасноўскі 2010: 33). Zmicier Sasnoŭski argues that the linguistic style does not change throughout the lyrics. The opposite was true in the Latin sheet, where the linguistic style changed after the first two oldest verses. This example serves as one of the arguments in favor of the ancient Ruthenian origin of the song.

### The title, verbal text and plot of the *Bogurodzica* song

The first thing to keep in mind is the name of the song, since in Old Polish and other Polish languages God’s Mother has never been called “the Bogurodzica”. It was called so in Old Bulgarian (old-Church Slavonic), Serbo-Croatian, Old Ruthenian and other Slavic languages. In modern Polish, Matka Boża or Matka Boska is used. The Polish linguist Tadeusz Lehr-Splawiński believed that this was a very ancient Church Slavonic linguistic borrowing, which came to the Polish language under Czech mediation with the first missionaries (Lehr-Splawiński 1954: 83–84).

However, if the name of the song can still be explained by linguistic borrowings from the environment of Bulgarian Orthodox missionaries in the Czech and Slovakia lands, then the other text can be read correctly only in the terms of the Old Ruthenian. This idea has been consistently developed in the extensive works by the Ukrainian researcher Vasyl Shchurat, dating from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The linguist examined the most ancient sheet of the *Bogurodzica*. On the basis of phonetic and grammatical features, Vasyl Shchurat concluded that this text is written in Latin on the basis of the Old Ruthenian. This is the so-called transcription of the Cyrillic text. In general, he proved that only the transcription in Old Ruthenian of the Latin text of the *Bogurodzica* in 1407 reveals its linguistic secrets (Шчурат 1906: 23–26).

The next compelling characteristic to consider in the *Bogurodzica* in terms of Orthodox Church culture is the idea that mankind is protection by the Mother of God and



Example 2. A page with the *Bogurodzica* song from the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1529 (Copy of Zamoyski)<sup>4</sup>

John the Baptist (Mazurkiewicz 1994: 30–41). This idea came from Byzantium to the West, but was significantly less embodied than, for example, in the Kievan Rus’.

The victory of the Emperor Constantine IV over the Arab caliphate, whose army besieged Constantinople in 678, was attributed to the Mother of God, who, by using the Greek fire destroyed the Arab navy. But the most important victory was of the Mother of God over the Arabs in 903, during the reign of the Emperor Leo VI the Wise. According to a story from Menaion, during the siege of Constantinople, St. Andrew fool-for-Christ and his apprentice Epiphanius saw the Mother of God over the city, more precisely, how she with the St. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist’s angels asked her Son for Christian intercession. At this time, the Mother of God covered Constantinople with her light Omophorion (Щупар 1906: 42–43). It was the last event that originated in Byzantine connected to the Virgin of Mercy, which subsequently became very popular in the Kievan Rus’.

Old Ruthenian sources recite the Byzantine victory of the Mother of God within a local context, where, instead of Arabs, the mythical pagan princes of Kyiv, Askold and Dir are depicted. The chronicler dates this fantastic, but unpredictable history back to 866. This chronicler was the author of the first edition of “The Tale of Bygone Years”, a monk of the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery – Nestor (approx. 1056–1114).

This legend continued in Kyiv, and even remerged at a later time, within a contemporary context. In the Patericon, 1630, it is told how the Mother of God, protecting the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, beats “the Poles with a fire rain” in the same way as once occurred in Byzantium with the defeat of the Arabs:

Гды едного часу Войско полское приступило подь Монастырь Печерскій и хотѣло его збурити, чуючи же тамъ Шулга Полковникъ зъ Рицтерствомъ запорожкимъ найдуется, в той часъ Пресвятая Богородица Монастырь свой отъ небезпеченства оборонила, бо за сй предстательствомъ огнистый дождь спалъ зъ Неба на войско полское и отогналъ его отъ Монастыря Печерского. (Once, when the Polish army approached the Pechersk Monastery and wanted to seize it, knowing that Colonel Shulga was there along with the Zaporizhzhia knighthood. At that time, the Blessed Virgin protected her monastery from danger, because through her intercession the fire rain fell from the skies on the Polish army and drove it away from the Pechersk Monastery.) (Щупар 1906: 46)

It should be mentioned separately the icons and iconostases of the Byzantine tradition, are common in the Kievan Rus’. This is a special type of icon – deesis. These icons depict in the middle the Savior, and on the sides – the Mother of God and John the Baptist turning to him in prayer. The story of deesis can be seen in the *Bogurodzica*, as it refers

to the intercession of Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, and John the Baptist.

The Sofia Cathedral of Constantinople was the first location where a deesis cycle was created after the end of the Age of Byzantine Iconoclasm in 867. It is to be remembered that one of the oldest churches in Kyiv – the Cathedral of St. Sophia was built using this particular Byzantine church as a template.

In turn, the Kyiv Pechersk Patericon announces the existence of a five-figure deesis and two distinctive icons painted by Alipy of the Caves (approx. 1050–1114) for one of the churches in Kyiv, probably for St. Michael’s Golden-Domed Cathedral (Жиленко 2001: 348) built in 1108–1113.

Such icons existed not only in the capital, but also in other cities of the Kievan State. For example, an icon dates back to the second half of the XII century from the deesis row “Savior of Emmanuel with the Angels” in the city of Vladimir on Klyazma.

A number of icons are preserved from the deesis row of the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, that is, the time of the *Bogurodzica* recordings, in the borderlands of the Polish territories of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) villages (Усманцев 2002: 56, 59).

The oldest medieval fresco of a deesis row in Poland was preserved in the monastery of the city of Tum near Lenchycia. Consecration of the monastery took place in 1161. In general, Polish researchers found only two similar monuments, one is a miniature in the Tshebnitsk Book of Psalms, and the other – frescoes in the church of the village of Dobrochin. Both pieces date back to the XIII century. Moreover, both towns, at that time, were under the influence of German culture. However, for some researchers, these facts have become sufficient grounds for making a conclusion in favor of the Polish origin of the *Bogurodzica* (Mazurkiewicz 2012).

### Origins of the *Bogurodzica* melody

The musical aspect of the *Bogurodzica* has been repeatedly studied by musicologists. The famous Polish music historian Hieronim Feicht adhered to the idea that the *Bogurodzica* was not created as a single piece, but consists of several mechanically bonded melodies, where two of the oldest verses were subsequently joined by the following (Feicht 1975: 83). This idea is confirmed by a philological analysis. These two ancient verses are written in the first authentic mode (Dorian system) and have a symmetrical structure.

Initially, Hieronim Feicht argued that analogues of this melody were not found either in Latin, or Greek, or Czech, or in the German grammar (Woronzak, Ostrowska, Feicht 1962: 13). But subsequently, relying on external studies, he





Not only individual Ruthenian musicians served at the court of Władysław II Jagiełło, but also groups. In 1411, the master of the royal choir named Yan Slyedz – “Capellae suae regiae magister” (Chomiński 1964: 217) was first mentioned. The composition of this musical chapel is not specifically mentioned; however, starting from 1411 through to 1416, the court accounts of King Jagiełło, along with the Ruthenian falconry, hunters, merchants, bakeries, the Ruthenian zitherists, flute players, and drummers are mentioned. It seems that they were the participants of the royal chapel of Władysław II Jagiełło. It is noteworthy that at this time there is no mention of the names of any other court royal musicians, except for the Ruthenians:

Falconistis, venatoribus, mangonibus, pistoriibus... citaristis, tympanistis, fistulatoribus... et aliis omnibus Ruthenis. (Falconry, hunters, merchants, bakeries... zitherists, drummers, fistulatoribus and other Ruthenians.) (Piekosiński 1896: 392–511)

In some accounts, along with indications of the profession, it is repeatedly stated from which Ruthenian towns or principalities these courtiers originated, namely, Grodno, Smolensk and Kyiv:

Smolnanom, hrodnanom, citharistis, kijanom ceterisque Ruthenis. (Natives of Smolensk, Grodno, Kyiv, zitherists, and other Ruthenians) (Piekosiński 1896: 433).

In addition, the account of 1415 lists the names of 8 Ruthenian zitherists:

Item cytharistis, item Mosquitis, item Andreyconi, item Szudzycz, item Chodco, item Steczco, item Lukyan, item Podolan, item Cotoreca, item istis omnibus Ruthenis. (And the zitherists, and Moscow, and Andrey, and Shudzhich, and Hodka, and Stechku, and Lukyan, and Podolian, and Kotorrek, and all the other Ruthenians.) (Piekosiński 1896: 486)

Most of these names have a typical Ruthenian phonology, and some names even allow one to determine the place of the musician's origin: Mosquitis – from Moscow (the Moscow principality), Podolan – from Podillya (Podillya principality).

The surname of one of these musicians is in line with the head of the chapel, perhaps it is one and the same person: Yan Slyedz – Szudzycz. This assumption is supported due to the fact that in the expenditure records the same names are not recorded in a standard format and are often written differently.

During the kingship of Jagiełło, Ruthenian artists, under the direction of Master Andrew, were painting the Holy Trinity Church in Lublin with images of musicians. The prototype of these frescoes, most likely, was the musicians of the royal chapel of Władysław II Jagiełło. This chapel of musicians is part of the fresco “Christ in Pretoria” in the chapel of the Holy Trinity (Церашчатава 1987: 175,



**Example 4.** Frescoes depicting Ruthenian musicians of the royal musical chapel of King Władysław II Jagiełło from the Chapel of the Holy Trinity in Lublin

204). In example 4 are the musicians who play lute, rebel, zitherists, big horn, drum, shawm, as well as perhaps three singers and four dancers-acrobats (skomorokhs).

All the information presented indicates the presence of secular courtiers of Ruthenian musicians in the late XIV – early XV centuries, that is, before the record of the *Bogurodzica*.

### **Musicians at the court of the Prince Vytautas**

But it remains unclear where and when these Ruthenian musicians could master Western European musical practices. It is likely that this could have happened at the court of Władysław II Jagiełło already in Krakow, by the 1480's, on the other hand, the reception of the Western European music culture by Ruthenian musicians could have happened earlier, for example, even at the court in Vilnius, at least this is evidenced by a number of chronicles.

In 1399, various musicians – lute players as well as trumpeters and bagpipers arrived from Konrad von Jungingen's court (approx. 1355–1407) to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vytautas' court (1350–1430), and more precisely his wife Anna (died in 1418) (“Zu herzogen Wytowtew frauwe”) (Falvy 1987: 80-81), (Morawska 1998: 145).

Already in 1406, a music master arrived to Prince Vytautas from the Teutonic Order named Pastemack, with his

friends. And in 1408, the great master Ulrich von Jungingen (1360–1410) sent a gift to Vytautas' wife – a clavichord and a portable, perhaps the oldest mention of the clavichord in Europe (Morawska 1998: 145).

In turn, musicians from the Vytautas court, appeared at the court of the Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen at least three times, in 1399, 1404 and 1405. They were fistulators and singers (Morawska 1998: 145).

Evidently, Vytautas' wife, Princess Anna, had previously expressed her love for music, and therefore, the first two royal fistulators arrived from the court of Władysław II Jagiełło to his cousin Vytautas in Vilnius, in 1393, named Aulon and Nespekha, and soon after, the King's trumpet player Geinch:

... fistulatoribus dni Regis Auloni et Nespechoni... ad ducem Witholdum; item Heyncze tubicinatori Regis, misso ad ducem Witholdum. (King's fistulators Aulon and Nespekha... to the Prince Vytautas and royal trumpet player Geinch to transfer to the Prince Vytautas.) (Piekosiński 1896: 169–170)

In 1401, 1402, 1405, 1406, the "spielmann", that is, the musicians of the Polish king, Władysław II Jagiełło, were in Malbork, the capital of the Teutonic Order (Morawska 1998: 83).

It is not known when the musical contact between the Teutonic Order and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania started. However, it is definitely known that in these states musical life was very diverse, because the knights from all over Europe often came to the Great Master's Court and the Teutonic Order, and among them there were also musicians, for example, the famous mastersinger Oswald von Wolkenstein (approx. 1377–1445) (Morawska 1998: 145). The celebrations of the Grand Master's election were also richly decorated with music, for example, the election of Winrich von Kniprode in 1351 (approx. 1310–1382) (Morawska 1998: 145). Musical life flourished not only in the capital of Malbork, but also in Riga, Tallinn, Gdańsk and other cities.

Thus, there are solid reasons to state that Ruthenian musicians were quite capable of distributing the *Bogurodzica* in the Polish Kingdom.

### **Churches and monasteries dedicated to the Mother of God in the Kievan Rus'**

The musical and philological directions of research into the *Bogurodzica* give indications to the origins of the song, but the secret of its emergence lies deeper in historical and cultural events. These events relate to the military cult of the Mother of God in the Kievan Rus'. The basis for the analysis of the Mother of God cult will be the consolidated edition of the Ruthenian chronicles – *Chronicle of the Ruthenian by the Hittite List* (Махновець 1989). The most prudent

site to begin investigating this is in ancient temples and monasteries.

Prince Volodymyr Sviatoslavych (960–1015), the Baptist of Kyiv, built the first church in 991, the Church of the Assumption of the Mother of God. In 996, the church building was completed:

He thought of erecting a stone church in honor of the Holy Mother of God, and, by sending emissaries, brought masters from Greece, and started erecting it. And after finishing, embellished it with icons. (Махновець 1989: 70)

Volodymyr was buried in 1015 in the same church. According to archaeological research, in the Church of the Tithes, his wife and sister of the Byzantine emperor, Princess Anna, were buried. From then on, the Church of the Tithes became the tomb of the Kyiv Princes and their families from the Rurik dynasty. The descendants of Prince Volodymyr Sviatoslavych were buried in this church. In 1078, his grandson, Iziaslav Yaroslavych (1024–1078) was buried there, and also in 1093 the grandson of Iziaslav Yaroslavych, Rostislav Mstyslavovych (died in 1093).

In 1037, the son of Volodymyr, Yaroslav (983/987–1054), built another church dedicated to the Mother of God in Kyiv – the Church of the Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God at the Golden Gates. Although there is evidence that this church could have been built even earlier at the time of his father. Yaroslav Volodymyrovych also built the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv. According to other sources, Prince Yaroslav again completed the works of his father Volodymyr. It is worth recalling that Sophia of Kyiv is also identified with the Mother of God. As depicted by the fresco of the Mother of God of Oranta, which is located in the central apse of the church.

The tradition of building churches devoted to the Mother of God, founded by Volodymyr Sviatoslavovych, spread to other cities of the Kievan Rus'. These churches became the main churches in their locations and served as princely burial grounds.

In 1022, the son of Volodymyr Sviatoslavovych, Mstyslav (approx. 983–1036), the Tmutarakan Prince, built a church in honor of the Mother of God after the victory.

In 1066, in the church of the Mother of God, the Tmutarakan Prince Rostyslav Volodymyrovych was buried (approx. 1038–1067), but it is not clear in what location exactly, either in Tmutarakan or in Chernihiv, since chronicles repeatedly say that Tmutarakan belonged to the Chernihiv principality.

In 1196, the Trubchevsk and Kursk Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavovych was buried in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Chernihiv (approx. 1155–1196). Probably, his father was also buried, in the church of the Holy Mother of God in Chernihiv, as well as his father's brothers and grandfathers of Vsevolod Sviatoslavovych.



During the reign of Yaroslav Volodymyrovych in 1044, the bones of his father's brothers, Yaropolk (955–978) and Oleg (approx. 956–976) were dug up and baptized in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in the city of Volodymyr. The city of Volodymyr was probably founded by Prince Volodymyr Sviatoslavovich in 988, so one could not exclude the possibility that he built the Church of the Mother of God. The church has not survived into the modern era, but the oldest architectural monument of the times of Volodymyr is also a church dedicated to the Mother of God – the Church of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God, built in 1160. In the church of the Mother of God built in 1195, Volodymyr's Prince Vsevolod Mstyslavovych was buried. In 1268, Volodymyr's Prince Vasilko Romanovych was buried there (approx. 1203–1269), and somewhat earlier, in 1265 – his wife, Elena.

The city of Pereiaslav was also established by Volodymyr Sviatoslavovych. It is not known whether the Church of the Mother of God existed at the time of his reign, but such a church was built by another well-known prince from the Rurik dynasty. In 1098, the Prince Volodymyr (1053–1125), son of Vsevolod Yaroslavych (1030–1093) and the Byzantine Princess Mary (Anne) of the genus Monomakh (approx. 1030/35–1067), laid the stone church of the Mother of God in Pereiaslav.

Volodymyr Monomakh in 1101 founded Smolensk's new diocese, and the first and the main church of the city was also dedicated to the Mother of God.

In Galich in 1187, the Galician prince Yaroslav Volodymyrovych (approx. 1130–1187), known as Yaroslav Osmomysl, was buried in the church of the Holy Mother of God. He inherited Galich after the death of his father – Prince Volodymyr Volodarovych (approx. 1104–1152/1153). The fact that the Church of the Mother of God was the main princely church in Galich confirms the references to it from 1208, because it was in this church that the decade of Danylo (Daniel) (1201–1264) began, when the future Galician king was installed on the throne.

In 1223 Danylo Halytsky founded a new capital of his state – Chelm. In the newly established Chelm diocese, the cathedral church became the Church of the Mother of God. He was buried in the same church in 1264. In 1268, next to Danylo Halytsky, his younger son, Shvarna (1230–1269) was buried, which, incidentally, was for some time the title of the Lithuanian prince. And in 1284, the little grandson of Danylo Halytsky Mykhailo Yuriiovych was buried there. The fact that in Chelm was the royal tomb of the Mother of God is shown in a fragment from 1288, which describes the conversation of the Ambassador of Prince Yurii Lvovych (approx. 1252/1262–1308/1316) with his father's brother, the Volodymyr Prince Volodymyr Vasylykovych (1249–1288) about Danylo Halytsky, his sons and grandsons, buried in Chelm in the church of the Mother of God.

The tradition of the churches of the Mother of God extended to the Northeast of Kyiv. Prince Andrew (approx. 1110–1174) built in Vladimir on Klyazma in 1158–1160 the church of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God, where, according to the legend, he was buried. His brother Vsevolod Yuriiovych (1154–1212) was buried there. In 1182 in the church of the Mother of God his nephew Iziaslav Hlebovych was buried. There are also other representatives of the princely family buried there.

In 1192, Prince Vsevolod Yuriiovych renewed the existing Church of the Holy Mother of God in Suzdal.

These numerous examples testify to the existence of the cult of the Mother of God in the princely environment of the Rurik dynasty, embodied in the siting of the churches of the Mother of God, which served as the place of coronations, and the site of the throne, and princely burial. Apparently, in these churches other events from the Prince's life occurred, both festive and mournful.

An example of the Rurik dynasty was also imprinted by the "princes of the church". The first church in the first monastery in Kyiv and the Kievan Rus' in general was built in 1051, that is, 60 years after the appearance of the Prince Volodymyr in the city of the first church. It also carried the name of the Mother of God, from which the monastery received its name – Pechersk Monastery of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God:

And the God began to multiply the Black-Haired people with the prayers of the Holy Mother of God, and made the council the brother with the abbot to put a monastery. (Махновець 1989: 97)

The abbot of the monastery Theodosius, according to the model of the Ruthenian Princes, was buried in 1074 in the same church. In 1089, the stone church of the monastery was consecrated.

The first monastery in Chernihiv and the second in the Kievan Rus', as well as the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery, were founded by St. Anthony in 1077 and also received the name of the Mother of God. Now it is called the Elets'k Monastery of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God.

The cult of the Mother of God in the Kievan Rus' was not accidental and not limited to churches.

### **Ruthenian military prayers to the Mother of God**

During war, the most widespread prayers in the Kievan Rus' were theological prayers. Numerous references are preserved to such fighting prayers in the Ruthenian princely environment.

The oldest mention of the battle prayer to the Mother of God dates back to 1022, when the son of Volodymyr Sviatoslavovych, Mstyslav, the Tmutarakan Prince, went

to war with Kasohs (probably Adygs). Before a fight with their ruler Rededeus, Mstyslav prayed to the Mother of God, and after the victory built a church in her honor. This is the oldest mention of the prayer of the Mother of God just before the battle:

“Oh, Holy Mother of God, help me! If I defeat him, I will build a church in honor of you”. And, having said that, he struck him on the ground, and, having removed the knife, struck him in the throat with a knife, and there was slaughtered [...] And when he returned to Tmutarakan, he laid the church of the Holy Mother of God and erected it, which is still up to this day Tmutarakan. (Махновець 1989: 85)

The next mention of the assistance of the Mother of God in the war dates back to 1085, when Volodymyr Monomakh, along with his father and his brothers, fought against the Cumans near the town of White Tower. The battle was successful and the princes and their army thanked God and the Holy Mother of God for their help.

After the Battle of the Ruthenian Army against the Cumans on the Sula River in 1107, the Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavych (1050–1113) returned to Kyiv and came to the Pechersk Monastery, since he had the custom before and after the military campaigns, to pray to the holy Mother of God and the Tomb of Theodosius of Pechersk:

Sviatopolk then came to a morning prayer in the Pechersk Monastery of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God, and the brother kissed him [with] great joy, that our enemies were defeated by the prayers of the Holy Mother of God and the great Theodosius, our father. For such a custom was Sviatopolk: when he was going to war or somewhere else. (Махновець 1989: 162)

The same happened with Sviatopolk and during the Ruthenian-Cumans Wars in 1110 and 1111.

The tradition to pray to the Mother of God before the fight was preserved among the Rurik and later. In 1147, Seversk Prince Sviatoslav Olgovych (1106/1107–1164) during the Civil War also prayed to the Mother of God.

In 1169, the Prince Mykhailo Yuriiiovych (approx. 1145/1153–1176), after defeating the Cumans, thanked God and the Mother of God. That same year, the same prince saved Christians from the Cumans' captivity and people in thankfulness, prayed to the Lord and the Mother of God, who, incidentally, was called “the Rescuer of the Christian race”.

In 1170, the Prince Mstyslav Iziaslavych (1125–1170), after defeating Andrei Bogolyubsky's protagonist, Hlib Yuriiovich, for the possession of Kyiv, went to the Cumans, who helped the latter. The Prince relied on “God's help and the prayer of the Mother of God”.

In 1184, another Ruthenian war against Cumans took place. At the head of the Ruthenian army was Pereiaslav Prince Volodymyr Hlibovych (approx. 1158–1187). The

victory of the Ruthenian army in the battle was helped by “God's wrath and the Holy Mother of God”.

In 1179, the Novgorod Prince Mstyslav Rostyslavovych (approx. 1143–1180), who was only a year old prince in Novgorod, also relied on the help of the Holy Mother of God before the war against the miracles.

In 1231, Danylo Halytsky prayed to God, the Mother of God, and Archangel Michael before the battle against the Hungarian army. In 1247, the prince returned to Chełm, after the battle on the side of the Hungarian king Bela IV (1206–1270), against the Czech army, behind the land of Austria and Styria. In honor of this event in the churches of the Holy Mother of God and John Chrysostom in Chełm, the city community glorified “God, the Holy Mother of God, and John Chrysostom”. Later, in 1258, Danylo Halytsky and his subjects glorified “God and the holy martyr of the Mother of God” for defeating the Lithuanian king Mindaugas I (approx. 1203–1263).

They prayed and thanked the Mother of God for protection from attackers and for protecting the monasteries, and cities. In 1167, Kyiv was seized and robbed by the Chernihiv, Smolensk, and Suzdal princes, amongst others, but due to the prayers to the Mother of God, the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra was not burned down.

The same happened in 1237, when Danylo Halytsky besieged Zvenyhorod, but the “miraculous icon of the Mother of God” saved the city from occupation.

From these examples, it is obvious that in the Kievan Rus' the Mother of God was perceived as a defender who guarded during the battle and from mortal danger. The Mother of God cult in its development was not limited to churches and prayers. There are testimonies preserved of singing the liturgical Mother of God chants in the field, in front of the lined up troop, immediately before a battle.

### **Battle blessing with the liturgical songs to the Mother of God**

The first recorded episode concerning the singing of liturgical chants dedicated to the Mother of God before the troops occurred in 1111, which took place on the eve of the battle against the Cumans. The Prince Volodymyr Vsevolodovych Monomakh ordered his priests to go before the Ruthenian soldiers and sing the troparius and kontakion of the Holy Cross, as well as the canon of the Holy Mother of God:

And thence [moving], they passed many years [and] on Tuesday, the sixth Sunday of fasting, came to the Don. And they clothed them in armour, and sheltered the regiments, and went to the city of Sharukan. And the Prince Volodymyr, going in front of the army, ordered his priests to sing tropers, and kontakions of the cross of honest, and the canon of the Holy Mother of God. (Махновець 1989: 166)

This testimony should be considered one of the key links between the cult of the Mother of God in the Kievan Rus' and the emergence of the musical score of the "*Bogurodzica*" song in 1407.

Songs and prayers dedicated to the Mother of God existed not only in the form of liturgical texts. In 1289, after the death of Volodymyr's Prince Volodymyr Vasylykovich, the Mother of God was declared the protector of the whole city. This happened in an unusual way. There was a paraphrase of the text of the Stikhera on the Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God:

And your glorious city, Volodymyr, is surrounded by grandeur, like a crown. [I] handed your people and the city of the holy and glorious, and soon to help the Christians of the Holy Mother of God, and the blessing that his Archangel [Gabriel] gave the Virgin, will be to this city. To her, because he said: "Rejoice, happy, the Lord is with you!" And to the city: "Rejoice, blessed city, the Lord is with you!" (Махновець 1989: 446)

The oldest surviving example of a poetic appeal to the Mother of God, free from liturgical practice, belongs to the same Prince of Kyiv Volodymyr Monomakh, whose army sang the kontakion of the Mother of God before battle. This prayer is preserved in the "tutorials" of the Prince and dates back to 1099:

Oh, Mistress, the Mother of God! Take away from my poor heart my pride, my courage, so that I will not rise to the vanity of this world. (Махновець 1989: 456)

The last two examples prove the possibility of creating a prayer free from the canons with an appeal to the Mother of God. This practice is successfully implemented in the *Bogurodzica*.

### **The *Bogurodzica* song in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania**

It is obvious that the Mother of God cult in the Kievan Rus' was developed and widespread, especially in the princely environment. So, it is not surprising that when the Lithuanian princes began to conquer the Ruthenian territories, the Mother of God cult spread to them.

It is certainly not known when the Lithuanian princes adopted the tradition of singing the *Bogurodzica*. We know only that this happened with the participation of Władysław II Jagiełło's ancestors, because in the "Chronicles" by Jan Długosz the song is called a paternal. In the following section I analyze how this might have come to occur.

We know about the ancestors of King Jagiełło from the very beginning of the existence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, that is, from the time of Mindaugas I. However, it is hard to believe the fact that the pagan and, for

a certain time, the Catholic Mindaugas I introduced at court the cult of the Mother of God and the Ruthenian military *Bogurodzica*. This idea seems extremely unreliable. Although since then the ties with the Ruthenian principality became increasingly close, it seems more logical to associate the appearance of the Mother of God cult with a much later time, namely from the 1320s and 1330s, when Volyn and Kyiv Regions were conquered. Their conqueror was the founder of the Gediminids dynasty, "the King of Lithuanians and Ruthenia" – Gediminas, the grandfather of Władysław II Jagiełło. Gediminas was not baptized and had no kinship with the Ruthenian princes. Instead, at that time, the *Bogurodzica* could be heard in the midst of Ruthenian soldiers who fought on the side of Gediminas, as well as among his vassals, the Ruthenian princes, but it is unlikely that the Grand Duke made this Christian song the main military song. But precisely at this time, the preconditions for the spread of the Mother of God cult began to emerge in Lithuania.

Contacts between the Ruthenian principality and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania greatly intensified during the reign of Gediminas' children who inherited his estate. Most of his seven sons were closely associated with the Ruthenian lands. They were baptized according to the Orthodox rite, they permanently lived in Ruthenian cities, had Ruthenian wives, Ruthenian troops, Ruthenian servants and Ruthenian courtiers, and among them there were musicians.

Narimantas (approx. 1300–1348) – Duke of Polotsk and Pinsk was baptized according to the Orthodox rite and received the name of Hlib. Karijotas (approx. 1300–1360) – the Duke of Navhrudak and Vaūkavysk, was also baptized as an Orthodox Christian and received the name Mykhailo. Liubartas (approx. 1300–1384) had the orthodox name of Dmytro and twice married the Ruthenian princesses. He was the last ruler of the united Principality of Galicia–Volhynia. Jaunutis (approx. 1300–1366) had the orthodox name of Ivan. The most influential sons of Gediminas were Kęstutis (approx. 1297–1382) and Algirdas (approx. 1296–1377), who jointly ruled the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1349, both sons agreed on the redistribution of state responsibilities. Algirdas had to focus on eastern politics, and Kęstutis had to defend the western borders of the Duchy.

In the end, Algirdas concentrated his efforts in the Ruthenian direction. He was also baptized as an Orthodox Christian, although he was buried under the pagan rite. Two of his wives were Ruthenian. During his reign, the Ruthenian language became the principal language of the Chancery of the Grand Duke (yet some other languages were used there as well). In the newly captured Vilnius, in 1346, he began to build one of the most ancient Orthodox churches – the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God. There is a hypothesis that Algirdas built it for his Ruthenian wife, but it is quite possible that the



prince imitated the ancient Ruthenian tradition when the Church of the Mother of God was the main church of the city and of the entire principality. After building it, Algirdas expressed his rights to the inheritance of the Kievan Rus'. Perhaps, even then Algirdas planned to place the cathedral in this church.

Although Kęstutis concentrated mainly on military-political issues in the west of the Duchy, he could have also promoted the cult of the Mother of God, and along with it the *Bogurodzica*, because it could have deprived the Crusaders of ideological motivation for aggression in the predominantly pagan Lithuanian population. A similar political trick of Kęstutis and Algirdas was to be in talks with the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charlemagne IV, of Luxembourg (1316–1378), when the brothers agreed to be baptized along with the entire Lithuanian nation. The cult of the Mother of God was not just consonant with the cult of the Mother of God in the Teutonic Order; it was a symbolically equivalent. The Teutonic Order was named in honor of St. Mary, which is reflected in its official name – *Ordo domus Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum Ierosolimitanorum*. In 1309, the capital of the Order was the city of Malbork (Marienburg), whose name, in German, literally translates as “The Castle of Mary”.

According to available historical sources, it seems that the sons of Kęstutis and Algirdas – Vytautas and Władysław II Jagiełło were even more zealous adherents of the cult of the Mother of God.

The future Polish king Władysław II Jagiełło was the beloved son of Algirdas, whom latter left the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The mother of Jagiełło, like the two wives of the Polish king, was a Ruthenian Princess. The Ruthenian courtiers were discussed in the previous sections.

Vytautas was also married to a Ruthenian Princess. Researchers note that Vytautas consistently spread the cult of the Mother of God. This is reflected in the large number of churches dedicated to it (Gudavičius 2005: 233). Even the date of his unsuccessful coronation in 1430 he appointed the day of the Feast of the Assumption of the Mother of God, and subsequently transferred it to the next Mother of God celebration – the Nativity of the Holy Mother of God (Gudavičius 2005: 272–273). In the end, under the protectorate of Vytautas, in 1416 the residence of the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv and Lithuania moved from Kyiv to Vilnius in the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God. Thus, Algirdas's stewardship was implemented.

In the end, it is still possible to search for, and supplement the list of things and phenomena that promoted the spread of the cult of the Mother of God in the courts of the Lithuanian Princes and look carefully at its footprints, but the research presented here seems sufficient to claim that the *Bogurodzica* came to Poland from the Kievan Rus', via Lithuania.

## Conclusions

The Mother of God cult started to consolidate in the Kievan Rus' from the beginning of its official Christianization, which was first embodied in the appearance of the main churches named in her honor. This tradition was founded by the first Christian Prince of Kyiv – Volodymyr Svyatoslavych, most likely under the influence of his wife Anna Porfirogennet, sister of the Byzantine emperor Basil II, the Bulgar Slayer. It is with the name of Anna that the chronicle tradition links the spread of education, culture and church building in the Kievan Rus'. In this regard, the Byzantine nature of the appearance of the cult of the Mother of God should be emphasized. It is known for certain that the churches of the Mother of God were the most frequented religious sites in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Tmutarakan, Pereiaslav, Smolensk, Volodymyr, Galich, Chelm, Suzdal and Volodymyr on Klyazma and, possibly, in other cities of the Kievan Rus'. The church of the Mother of God became diocesan. Here the Princes on the throne were crowned and ordained. The churches of the Mother of God also became princely and royal tombs. Even in the small cities, churches were most often built in honor of the Mother of God. The name of the Mother of God was taken by the first Ruthenian monasteries, in particular, in Kyiv and Chernihiv. The churches and monasteries contained icons of the Mother of God, to which they prayed for various reasons, but especially in connection with mortal danger. Often, before and after battles, the Ruthenian princes appealed for the patronage and protection of the Mother of God. Immediately before the battle, in the field, the princes ordered the priests to go in front of the troops and sing liturgical chants dedicated to the Mother of God. Over time, the liturgical chants might have changed and acquired the form of a military song. The song was intended to unite the Ruthenian army and protect it.

After the conquest of Ruthenian lands by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the cult of the Mother of God started to spread among the Lithuanians. The spread of the divine cult contributed to the cult of the Mother of God in the Teutonic Order. The most exposed to this influence were the representatives of the Gediminids dynasty, who had strong family and cultural ties with the Ruthenian secular and church elites. Among other things, numerous Ruthenian musicians served in the courts of Grand Dukes of Lithuania. Since the time of the transfer of Władysław II Jagiełło to the Polish kingdom, along with the court, from Vilnius to Krakow, Ruthenian musicians have also moved. The Ruthenian musicians formed the royal musical chapel. It is with this last event that the creation of the *Bogurodzica* in 1407 should be associated. The thesis of a possible lack of professionalism, and ignorance of Ruthenian musicians with Western European musical practice does not stand up to criticism, because before the first record of the

*Bogurodzica* appeared, Ruthenian musicians travelled to the Teutonic Order Townships and the Grand Master's Court, where they had the opportunity to get acquainted with music from all corners of Medieval Europe. Conversely, musicians from the court of the Grand Master travelled to the court of the Grand Duke of Lithuania. So, there was a cultural exchange. In the end, they could have travelled to the royal court in Krakow, because the first Ruthenian musicians arrived there long before 1407.

In general, with the founding of the royal Jagiellonian dynasty, the Polish kingdom began to appropriate Ruthenian culture, including those belonging to the Mother of God cult, such as icons, wall paintings and, eventually, the *Bogurodzica*. Most of the attractions associated with this song come from Poland. In the end, due to Władysław II Jagiełło and his Ruthenian musicians, the *Bogurodzica* became the property of the Polish culture.

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## Santrauka

Lenkijos muzikos istoriografijoje giesmė „Bogurodzica“ suvokiama ne tik kaip seniausias penkline užfiksuotas paminklas šios šalies giesmių kultūrai, bet ir kaip Lenkijos kultūros paveldas. Su šia giesme lūpose Karaliaus Vladislovo II Jogailos vedama suvienytoji kariuomenė įveikė Teutonų ordiną Žalgirio mūšyje 1410 m. Šio kūrinio studijoms skirtų šaltinių jau yra apie 400. Ir vis dėlto lenkų mokslininkai atkakliai nenorėjo pastebėti, kad „Bogurodzicos“ branduolys yra senoji rusėnų natūra.

Straipsnyje įrodoma, kad senųjų rusėnų prigimtis pirmineje giesmės versijoje atpažįstama muzikos, istorijos ir kultūros kontekstuose. Tyrimas pirmiausia pristato pagrindines rašytines „Bogurodzicos“ apraiškas XV–XVI a. Jų aranžuotės ir apibūdinimas pasižymi gausiomis įvairiomis charakteristikomis, kurios leidžia lengviau laviruoti tarp daugybės kitų giesmių ir jų istorinių kontekstų. Pridedami komentarai leidžia įvairiais aspektais tyrinėti senąsias giesmės ištakas.

Analizuojant „Bogurodzicos“ pavadinimą ir žodinių tekstą, straipsnyje remiamasi ukrainiečių lingvisto Vasylo Schurato atradimais: XX a. pradžioje jis įrodė, kad visas slėpingas lingvistines „Bogurodzicos“ dėlionės išsprendžia tik 1407 m. lotyniškam tekstui pritaikyta senoji rusėnų transkripcija. Giesmės pavadinimas taip pat nėra būdingas lenkų kalbai – jis buvo plačiai naudojamas Kijevo Rusijoje.

Giesmės „Bogurodzica“ siužetinė linija kilo iš Bizantijos ir buvo suformuota pagrindu idėjos, kad žmoniją apsaugos Dievo Motina ir Jonas Krikštytojas. Lenkų mokslininkai ignoravo senųjų rusėnų įtaką šiam siužetui, stiprindami lenkiškosios kultūros paminklus. Analogiškai buvo nepaisoma fakto, kad Kijevo Rusijoje būta nepalyginti daugiau ikonų, Šventosios Trejybės ikonostatų ir bizantiškosios legendos parafrazių.

Straipsnyje kritikuojamas požiūris, kad „Bogurodzicos“ giesmės melodijos ištakos slypi lenkų kultūroje – siūloma alternatyva šiai teorijai, priskirianti kūrinio kilmę senajai rusėnų muzikai.

Vėliau straipsnyje analizuojamas Vladislovo II Jogailos karališkojo dvaro muzikantų sąrašas. Karaliui atvykus į dvarą iš Krokuvos, drauge su dvariškiais iš Vilniaus atvyko ir rusėnų muzikantai. Net pirminėje informacijoje apie karališkąją koplyčią išskirtinai minimi tik iš senųjų rusėnų kilę muzikantai. Ši informacija susilpnina lenkų mokslininkų teiginius, kad „Bogurodzicos“ užrašymo metu 1407 m. rusėnų muzikantams nepakako profesinės kompetencijos.

Tyrime analizuojami Vladislovo II Jogailos pusbrolio, Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Vytauto dvaro muzikantai. Kai kurie jų greičiausiai buvo kilę iš rusėnų. Vytauto muzikantai keliavo į Teutonų ordino didžiojo magistro rūmus, ir atvirksčiai – magistro rūmų muzikantai keliaudavo iš Malborko į Vilnių. Tokie kontaktai galėjo plėtotis ir anksčiau – jie suteikė rusėnų muzikantams galimybę susipažinti su toliau pažengusiomis muzikos tendencijomis, nes riteriai ir muzikantai iš visos Europos keliavo į Teutonų ordino valdas. Šie faktai galutinai paneigia teiginį, kad rusėnų muzikantai negalėjo atlikti „Bogurodzicos“ giesmės.

Tekste susitelkiama į „Bogurodzicos“ ištakas – ji kildinama iš Riurikų dinastijos krikščioniškųjų kunigaikščių aplinkos. Nuo pat Kijevo apkrikštijimo pradžios šioje aplinkoje pradėtas diegti Dievo Motinos kultas. Tai pirmiausia pasireiškė pagrindinių Dievo Motinos vardu pavadintų šventyklų statyba tose vietose, kur gyvavo senoji rusėnų tauta, jų miestuose ir šalia vienuolynų. Čia buvo karūnuoti ir į sostą pasodinti kunigaikščiai. Dievo Motinos šventyklos tapo kunigaikščių ir karalių kapavietėmis.

Taip pat tyrime pristatomos Dievo Motinos maldos, kurios buvo paplitusios daugelyje karų. Išliko daugybė nuorodų į kovų maldas, kurios egzistavo karališkojoje rusėnų aplinkoje. Iš šių pavyzdžių akivaizdu, kad Kijevo Rusijoje Dievo Motina buvo suvokiama kaip gynėja nuo mirtino pavojaus. Straipsnyje taip pat gilinamasi į Dievo Motinai skirtą liturginį giedojimą, kuris būdavo atliekamas tiesiog kovos lauke, priešais karui išsirikiavusius priešininkus. Tai liudija epizodas iš 1111 m., vykęs prieš karą su kumanais. Kunigaikštis Vladimiras Vsevolodičius Monomachas nurodė savo šventikams eiti į karo lauką, susitikti akis į akį su rusėnų armija ir giedoti Šventojo Kryžiaus kontaktonus ir



Šventosios Dievo Motinos kanoną. Šios tradicijos pagrindu galiausiai susiformavo karo giesmė „Bogurodzica“.

Galiausiai straipsnyje bandoma nustatyti tikslų laiką, kada „Bogurodzica“ pasirodė Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje. Rusėnų valdovų ir Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės ryšiai gerokai suintensyvėjo valdant Gedimino palikuonims, kurie paveldėjo jo padalytą nuosavybę. Dauguma iš septynių Gedimino sūnų buvo susiję su rusėnų žemėmis. Jie buvo pakrikštyti pagal ortodoksų papročius, gyveno rusėnų miestuose, turėjo rusėnes žmonas, kariaunas, tarnus ir dvariškius, tarp jų buvo ir muzikantų. Valdant Lietuvos didžiajam kunigaikščiui Algirdui įvyko radikalių pokyčių: rusėnų kalba tapo oficialiąja Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kalba. 1346 m. jis pradėjo statyti vieną seniausių ortodoksų bažnyčių Vilniuje – Vilniaus Dievo Motinos Ėmimo į Dangų katedrą. Savaime suprantama,

kad kunigaikštis nusilenkė senajai rusėnų tradicijai, kai Dievo Motinos Bažnyčia buvo svarbiausia miesto ir visos kunigaikštystės šventovė. Po katedros konstrukcijos Algirdas išreiškė teisę paveldėti Kijevo Rusią. Nors jo brolis, Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis Kęstutis labiausiai buvo susitelkęs į Vakarų karinę-politinę kryptį, vis dėlto jis turėjo galimybę skleisti žinią apie Dievo Motinos kultą drauge su „Bogurodzica“ – toks veiksmas galėjo sumažinti ideologinę kryžiuočių motyvaciją agresyviai elgtis su pagoniška Lietuvos populiacija. Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis Vytautas ir Karalius Vladislovas II Jogaila buvo ištikimi Dievo Motinos kulto sekėjai – tai liudija daugybė iškalbingų įrodymų.

Taigi giesmės „Bogurodzica“ kelias plėtėsi, vingiuodamas iš Kijevo į kitus rusėnų miestus, galiausiai pasiekdamas Vilnių, tuomet Krokuvą ir kitus Lenkijos miestus.