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THE LITURGICAL TEXTS OF LUCAS LOSSIUS IN MARTYNAS MAŽVYDAS HYMNAL

Anotacija

Martyno Mažvydo rašytinis palikimas rodo, kad autorius buvo gerai susipažinęs su Luko Losijaus knyga *Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica Sacra* (1553) ir ja naudojosi liturginiame gyvenime. Šiame straipsnyje aptariami M. Mažvydo išversti L. Losijaus liturginiai tekstai, atskleidžiamas jų poveikis Rytų Prūsijos lietuviškai kalbančių parapijų liturginiam gyvenimui. Straipsnyje taip pat parodoma, kokiame pamaldų kontekste lietuviškai kalbančios parapijos naudojosi šiais liturginiais elementais.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: liuteronai, M. Mažvydas, giesmynas.

Abstract

The liturgical writings of Martynas Mažvydas provide important indications that he knew and made good use of the music and texts published by Lucas Lossius in his 1553 "Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica Sacra". This article examines several examples of Mažvydas's translations from the Psalmodia and indicates that these texts came to be significant liturgical contributions to the liturgical life of Lithuanian language congregations. The context of his use of Lossius's material is also described.

KEY WORDS: Lutherans, Mažvydas, hymnal.

The first major work produced in the Lithuanian language was Martynas Mažvydas's hymnal "Gesmes Chriksczoniskas" which appeared in two volumes – the first 1566 and the second in 1570. It was a book to be used week by week by members of his parish congregation in Ragnit (Lith. Ragainė) and by the school children in his Latin school. It was more than simply a hymnal, it combined resources which in later days would be found in separate books for use by choirs often under the title Cantica sacra. The Prussian Lithuanian Lutherans would not get their own Cantica sacra until Jonas Bretkūnas produced his "Kantionalas nekuru Giesmiu" in 1589. From that point forward the congregation had its hymnal and the choir had its own book of liturgical music for Matins, Vespers and the Mass.

What Mažvydas produced was limited in scope. He concentrated his attention on the divine services at which parishioners who had no knowledge of Latin would ordinarily attend. This would include ordinary Sundays which began with first vespers on Saturday, Sunday Matins, the Mass, and Sunday Vespers, as well as the same services on feast days. So it was that Mažvydas noted in the title of his first volume that it would cover the season of advent and Christmas tide, that is the period from Christmas until Candlemas (February 2) ("Gesmes Chriksczoniskas gedomas Bassniczosu per Aduenta ir Kaledas ik Gramniczu"). The second volume which is understood to have been finally compiled and edited by his cousin Baltramiejus Vilentas, who succeeded him as pastor in Ragnit, noted in the title that it covered the period from Easter and Pentecost, until Advent ("Gesmes Chriksczoniskas gedomas bassniczosu per Welikas ir Sekminias ik Aduenta"). In addition this second volume included also elements of Mass non festal days of the church year and the offices of matins and vespers during the same period.

Guido Michelini's article "Martyno Mažvydo Gesmes Chriksczoniskas ir Luko Losijaus Psalmodia" published in the year 2000 and his book "Martyno Mažvydo raštai ir jų šaltiniai" published the same year provide valuable guidance which lead one to understand the systematic nature of Mažvydas's use of the material available to him. Michelini has uncovered 24 liturgical elements including Introits, Responsories, Antiphons, Intonations, Sequences, and hymns which he may have their source in the first 1553 edition of Lucas Lossius's "Psalmodia, hoc est, cantica sacra veteris ec-

clesiæ selecta."¹ The purpose of this short article is to indicate Mažvydas's rational in translating for the use of his Lithuanian people these particular liturgical pieces in their parish worship.

1. Liturgical Life in the Church and School at Ragnit

When Mažvydas was ordained and began his service as priest in the Ragnit parish he took upon himself certain important responsibilities. In the addition to the work of catechesis the hearing of confessions, the consoling and last communion of the sick and dying, he was responsible for all liturgical services in the congregation. Ragnit was a unique parish. The vast majority of his parishioners were, as he described them, "rudem plebeculam" or "barbarae gentis," i. e., an unruly mob or barbarous people.2 They were uneducated, simple folk who spoke only Lithuanian. Mažvydas claimed that he himself was not knowledgeable in German when he asked that the duke send him to Ragnit rather than Labiau (Lith. Labguva).3 This is likely an indication that Germans were few and far between in Ragnit and the services were held in Lithuanian only. Among his responsibilities was the organization and management of a Latin school. So one finds in Ragnit the presence of a second language – Latin. Luther and the Lutheran church orders were all specific in stating that Latin should continue to be used, especially for the sake of the young who needed to learn it. On Sunday when the community gathered for worship the services would necessarily need to be in Lithuanian so that the people could understand what was being said and sung. On week days when most of the Lithuanians were at work Martins and Vespers were attended by the school children, and these services were mostly in Latin, as the Prussian church order of 1544 ("Ordenung vom eusserlichen Gotsdienst und artickel der Ceremonien, wie es jnn den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs zu Preussen gehalten wirt") and 1558 ("Kirchen Ordnung Wie es im Hertzogthumb Preussen, beydes mit Lehr vnd Ceremonien, sampt andern, so zu Fürderung vnd Erhaltung des Predigampts,

Michelini G. Martyno Mažvydo Gesmes Chriksczoniskas ir Luko Losijaus Psalmodia. Archivum Lithuanicum 2. Vilnius: Petro ofsetas, 2000, 61–74.

² Martynas Mažvydas. Katekizmas ir kiti raštai. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1993, 192; Martynas Mažvydas. Pirmoji lietuviška knyga. Vilnius: Vaga, 1974, 274.

³ Martynas Mažvydas. Pirmoji lietuviška knyga. Vilnius: Vaga, 1974, 253.

Christlicher Zucht, vnd guter Ordnung, von nöten, gehalten wird") directed. Occasionally parents would bring the children to school and fetch them at the end of the school day. On these occasions they too might attend the daily offices. This would necessitate the inclusion of some Lithuanian elements of those services which might otherwise be sung or said in Latin. On Saturday Vespers and at the First Vespers of feast days there would be a greater attendance of people who spoke only Lithuanian since these services were almost followed immediately with the private confession for those who intended to commune the next day. In such situations Vespers would need to be a Lithuanian language service, as would be also Matins on Sundays and feast days, and the Mass and Sunday Vespers. It is for these occasions that Mažvydas prepared his Lithuanian hymnal. For the week day Latin services resources were readily available and he did make use of them. What was needed for Lithuanian-speaking people would need to be provided by him.

The provisions for Latin services at Matins and Vespers were well established long before Mažvydas arrived on the scene. It was set down the church order of 1544, which simply build upon directives established already in the articles on ceremonies of 1525 ("Artickel der Ceremonien und anderen Kirchen Ordnung").

The pattern was set by the Königsberg churches. Matins was to be begin with the traditional versicles, "Domine, labia mea aperies" and "Deus in adiutorium meum intende," and their responses were to be intoned in Latin. This was to be followed by two or three Psalms (according to their length) from Psalm 1 through Psalm 109 (according to the Hebrew numbering) with an appropriate antiphon in Latin. Then came the reading of a chapter of the Old Testament (from the Books of Moses and the Prophets) and a summary of it in German. This was to be followed by a Responsory in Latin or German, a German versicle and response, and a German Collect, according to the day's propria, and a final blessing. On Sunday morning an admonition addressed to the communicants might also be included, and after it the singing of the "Te Deum laudamus" and Luther's version of Jan Huss's Bohemian hymn "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland."

Vespers began with the intoning of "Deus in adiutorium meum intende" and its response and the Gloria Patri. Then followed one, two, or three Psalms, beginning with Psalm 110 ("Dixit Dominus") – so far all in Latin.

Then one of the schoolboys would read a lection – again from the Old Testament, this time from the historical and wisdom literature, together with a summary as at Matins, both in German. According to the church order this summary was to be a short explanation of the reading – longer explanations belonged in the sermon! This was followed by the *Magnificat*, sung in German. Then the office was concluded with the usual versicle and collect, as at Matins. It was noted that on Saturday Vespers in Königsberg the school children were to sing "*Lucis Creator optime*," and on Sunday "O lux beata Trinitas." On the chief feasts the proper responsories should be sung: "Verbum caro factum est" at Christmas, "Stetit angelus" at Easter, and at Pentecost the responsory Apparuerunt. Appropriate hymns were also to be sung.⁴

Only in towns without Latin schools the daily services were to be exclusively in German, and in smaller villages and rural churches the same.

Mažvydas was under obligation to follow the directives set down in the church order. It is not known what materials may have been readily available to assist Mažvydas in conducting these offices. Michelini suggests that the "Psalterium Translationis veteris, Correctum" of 1529. Johannes Spanenberg's "Cantiones ecclesiasticae / Kjrchengesenge Deudsch" of 1543, the first volume of which was in Latin, might have been available. There might also have been other smaller collections available to him. The most important source was not published until 1553 during Mažvydas fourth year in Ragnit. It was the "Psalmodia, hoc est, cantica sacra veteris ecclesiæ selecta" of Lucas Lossius published in Nürnberg. The Psalmodia would prove to be the most widely influential collection of Latin liturgical choral music used in Lutheran churches in the 16th century. It is regarded as very accurately reflecting medieval liturgical practice.

2. The Psalmodia of Lucas Lossius

Lucas Lossius, the complier of *Psalmodia*, studied Latin and Greek at Göttingen, Lüneburg, and Leipzig, and attended the University of Wittenberg from 1530 to 1532. There he came to the particular attention of

⁴ Richter A. L. Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts. Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Rechts und der Verfassung der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland. Leipzig: Ernst Julius Günther, 1871, 68–69.

Michelini G. Martyno Mažvydo raštai ir jų šaltiniai. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų institutas, 2000, 14.

Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon. It was as a result of their recommendation that at the completion of his studies he returned to Lüneburg to serve as a copyist under the ecclesiastical superintendent Urbanus Rhegius, one of the earliest advocates of the Lutheran Reformation. In 1533 he joined the faculty of the Johanneum gymnasium, and in 1542 he was made vice-rector under Rector Johannes Bathelius. He served there as teacher of Latin, Greek, and catechesis. He served as cantor in the school and church as well.

As cantor, Lossius held an important position which survived in Lutheran Churches. As such he was responsible for catechizations and for the preparation and performance of all liturgical music. The cantor also served as the chief singer and director of the choirs and other musical ensembles.

Lossius wrote a number of books related to the study of Latin and Greek grammar for the benefit of his pupils, and in connection with his work as Cantor he produced a Latin language catechetical textbook, "Catechismus hoc est christianae doctrinae methodus" (Frankfurt, 1553). His most important work was "Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica Sacra Veteris Ecclesiae Selecta," a two volume work, the first volume of which was published in Nuremberg in 1553. A second revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1561. Subsequent editions appeared in 1569, 1579, 1580, and 1595.6

The appearance of the new *Psalmodia* of Lucas Lossius would prove to be of immense value to Mažvydas. He was able to make use of its Latin antiphons, responsories, collects, hymns, and Psalms in the school services and translate what he wished to use with the congregation (especially when parents brought their children to school and stayed for the daily office). The 1553 edition of the *Psalmodia* had in it six German hymns and thirty Latin hymns, corrected where necessary, for use in Advent, Christmas and Epiphany, and Easter, along with a few hymns for frequent use – among them "*Veni creator Spiritus*," always appropriate, and "*O lux beata trinitas*" and "*Te lucis ante terminum*," traditionally. A musical setting of the Litany, often used on Wednesdays and Fridays, as well as the "*Venite exultemus*" (the introductory Psalm at Matins) and the "*Te Deum laudamus*" were both included associated with Vespers and Compline. A *Magnificat* was included for use at Vespers. Forty one responsories were

⁶ The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church. Volume II. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965, 1343–1344.

included, along with an abundance of appropriate responsories. For the Mass Introits, Alleluias, and sequences hymns were given, as well as a *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, the Nicene Creed (*Patrem*) and proper Prefaces.

Lossius's *Psalmodia* was the most widely influential collection of liturgical choral music used in Lutheran churches in the 16th century, and recent scholarship indicates that the psalm tones as they were transcribed in the *Psalmodia* reflected medieval practice more correctly than did the authoritative "*Directorium chori ad usum omniu ecclesiarum*, cathedralium et collegiatarum" of 1589 by Giovanni Guidetti.

Mažvydas would heavily lean upon *Psalmodia* because of its comprehensive inclusion of the liturgical elements which he needed for the Latin services. All he would need in addition to it was the Psalter, the bible, and a book of collects, although Lossius included some of the collects for major feats.

3. The Lithuanian Liturgical Services in the Ragnit Parish Church

There was no printed order of liturgical service in Lithuanian, but the congregations were expected to follow the directives of the Prussian church order. What the church order said should be done in German, pastors in Lithuanian-speaking parishes would need to do in Lithuanian. Here Mažvydas broke new ground. He had already included some chants and hymns in his catechism of 1547, and in 1549 he published the "Te Deum laudamus" in a Lithuanian translation for use at Matins. He also translated the Paraphrasis and the Verba consecrationis along with the concluding portion of the Mass. These must have been done early, but they did not appear in print until Bretkūnas "Giesmes Duchaunas" of 1589.

More needed to be done. Mažvydas set for himself the task of preparing a hymnal, the published edition of which he himself would never see. In preparing it he was able to make use of Latin, Polish, and German with which he had now become better acquainted. It is not the purpose of this study to list the source which Mažvydas used. Prominent among them however, was the *Psalmodia* of Lossius. He found a rich source of liturgical material useable in the Lithuanian language services. All that was required of him was to translate the material into Lithuanian and adjust the Gregorian melodies to fit the Lithuanian texts.

He gave particular attention to Sundays and feast days, because it was at services on these days that most people who knew only Lithuanian would be present. Penitents and those intending to commune would be expected to attend Vespers on Saturdays and the Eve of feasts. For their benefit the school children would sing in Lithuanian and with the passing of time the worshippers would themselves learn the melodies and words. It was for this purpose that he translated the Advent Vespers (1) "Ateik atpirktoyau szmoniu" (Lat. "Veni Redemptor gentium") and (2) "Sutwertoiau Pone szwaisdziu" (Lat. "Conditor alme syderum"). Included also were a responsorium (3) "Eiket ing wissa swieta" (Lat. "Ite in orbem universum") for first Vesper on the Ascension as well as an antiphon (4) "Wirai Galileas ko weisdite ing dangu" (Lat. "Viri Galilaei, quid aspicitis in coelum") for use with the psalms and an antiphon (5) "Asch żengiu Tewopi mana" (Lat. "Ascendo ad patrem meum") to precede and follow the (6) "Paduksinki duschia mana wieschpati" (Lat. "Magnificat anima mea Dominum") which he also translated. An antiphon (7) "Dwasse schwenta ateiki" (Lat. "Veni sancte spiritus") is included for use at First Vespers on Pentecost Eve as well as a hymn (8) "Ziwats schwentuiu / grassumas Angelu" (Lat. "Vita sanctorum decus angelorum") for use on Easter Eve. Another hymn (9) "Awinelis Pona Diewa" (Lat. "Ad Coenam agni providi") for Second Easter Vespers and a hymn (10) "Schwentes schos linksmibe" (Lat. "Festum nunc celebre") for the Ascension Vigil.⁷

For Sunday morning Matins the Song of Zachariah, the (11) "Paschlow-intas wieschpatis Diewas Israela" (Lat. "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel") is included. Also included is an antiphon (12) "Slussiket Ponui su baime" (Lat. "Servite Domino, in Timore") for use with the psalms on Sunday.⁸

For the Mass Introits included are the Introit for Advent IV (13) ("Rassuket dangus isch aukschta" (Lat. "Rorate coeeli desuper")), the Introit for Christmas (14) ("Bernelis gimes est mumus") (Lat. "Puer natus est nobis"), Easter (15) ("Priekelausi ir dabar su tawimi essmi") (Lat. "Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum")), Ascension (16) ("Wirai Galileas / kam besistebite" (Lat.

Martynas Mažvydas. Katekizmas ir kiti raštai. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1993, 152–154, 175–177, 293–295, 285–286, 297, 484–489, 309–310, 258–260, 260–263, 283–285. Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica Sacra... Noribergae: Gabriel Hayn, 1553, 3–4, 5–6, 136, 144, 341–342, 145–146, 107–108, 115–116, 136–137.

Martynas Mažvydas. Katekizmas ir kiti raštai. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1993, 541–544, 503. Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica Sacra... Noribergae: Gabriel Hayn, 1553, 338–340, 301.

"Viri Galilaei, quid admiramini"), (17) Pentecost ("Dwasse wieschpaties priepile" (Lat. "Spiritus Domini replevit")), and Holy Trinity Sunday (18) ("Paslowinta buki schwenta Traice") (Lat. "Benedicta sit sancta trinitas"). These Introits were to be chanted throughout the entire season. He also translated the (19) "Kyrie wersmie geribes" (Lat. "Kyrie fons bonitatis") which since its first publication in Wittenberg 1541 had become very popular in Lutheran churches. Included also is the response (20) "Ir ant szemes pakaius żmonems" (Lat. "Et in terra pax hominibus") and the Laudamus which followed the intonation of the Gloria in excelsis Deo. Included also is the sequence hymn (21) "Dekawokem nu mes wissi" (Lat. "Grates nunc omnes reddamus") for Christmas Day and two settings of the Benedicamus Domino, one - (22) "Schlowe giedokem Ponui musu" (Lat. "Benedicamus Domino") for Paschaltide and one - (23) "Schlowe giedokem wieschpatiy" (Lat. "Benedicamus Domino") for days of the apostles. Also included is the hymn (24) "Garba / schlowe ir czestis buki tau" (Lat. "Gloria, laus et honor tibi sit") to be sung after the Benedicamus on Palm Sunday.9

All of these liturgical elements came from Lossius, indeed it appears that almost all the liturgical elements found in the *Gesmes* were from the *Psalmodia*.

Although Mažvydas attempted to follow the course of the church year in so far as possible, it is evident that he translated his material piece by piece to fit coming occasions as a part of his program of providing *proprium* and *ordinarium* in the Lithuanian language as needed. It appears that he did not follow a general program or schedule. It was necessity as he understood it which ruled.

The particular value of his *Gesmes* as Mažvydas saw it is reflected in his preface to volume one, directed to the clergy of the Lithuanian-speaking parishes. He put this work in their hands, he wrote, so that the Lithuanian churches would have spiritual songs and selected canticles with true and wholesome celestial doctrine which sing of the mercy of God, the Kingdom of Christ, and his birth and its effects. It's purpose, he stated, was to awaken the minds of young and old alike, that the church's liturgical

Martynas Mažvydas. Katekizmas ir kiti raštai. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1993, 171–173, 209–211, 251–254, 298–300, 314–316, 321–323, 213–215, 402–407, 218–219, 491, 492, 159–163; Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica Sacra... Noribergae: Gabriel Hayn, 1553, 9–10, 16–17, 103–104, 140, 152, 162–163, 257–259, 263–264, 18, 256, 254, 70–71.

worship and arouse then to take hold of God's blessings and move them to prayer and faith. ¹⁰

Conclusions

It was the in fulfilment of his duties to provide liturgical worship for his people that moved Mažvydas to make use of the work of Lucas Lossius. Nowhere in his writings does the name of Lossius appear but his debt to the pastor, teacher, and cantor of Lüneburg is indeed evident.

The results of Mažvydas's efforts gave to the Lithuanian people an important book in their own native tongue – a hymnal and cantional arranged according to the church year. It served as a sort of embryonic agenda to be use by its pastors, and a choir to be used by choirs of school children who assisted the pastor in leading congregational worship.

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Charles Evanson

LUKO LOSIJAUS LITURGINIAI TEKSTAI MARTYNO MAŽVYDO GIESMYNE

Santrauka

Martyno Mažvydo 1566 ir 1570 m. parengtas giesmynas *Gesmes Chriksczoniska*s apėmė ne tik giesmes, bet ir chorui skirtus liturginius

¹⁰ Martynas Mažvydas. Katekizmas ir kiti raštai. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1993, 150-151.

tekstus (lietuvių kalba), kurie XVI a. buvo paprastai publikuojami atskiru leidiniu, lotyniškai populiariai vadintu *Cantica sacra*. Pirmąją tokią knygą, skirtą liturgijos choriniam giedojimui, 1589 m. išleido Jonas Bretkūnas pavadinimu *Kantionalas nekuru Giesmiu*. Joje J. Bretkūnas perspausdino didelę dalį medžiagos iš M. Mažvydo giesmyno.

M. Mažvydas giesmes ir liturginius tekstus sistemino pagal bažnytinių metų laikotarpi. Knyga buvo skirta lietuviškai kalbantiems parapijiečiams, kurie melsdavosi bažnyčioje šeštadienio vakarinėse ir sekmadienio rytinėse pamaldose, mišiose bei sekmadienio vakarinėse pamaldose. Tokios pamaldos būdavo laikomos lietuvių kalba. Rytmetinėse ir vakarinėse pamaldose dažniausiai melsdavosi kunigas ar mokytojas ir parapijos lotyniškosios mokyklos mokiniai. Jos būdavo laikomos lotynų kalba, tačiau jei tokiose pamaldose dalyvaudavo šios kalbos nemokantys parapijos nariai, tuomet, kaip nurodė M. Mažvydas, choras diel żmoniu Lietuwiskai tur giedoti. M. Mažvydas giesmyne paskelbė ryto ir vakaro pamaldų tvarką, atsižvelgdamas į 1544 m. Prūsijos bažnytinius nuostatus, ir pateikė chorui skirtus būtiniausius liturginius elementus. Kadangi choras giedojo ir sekmadienio mišiose, giesmyne M. Mažvydas taip pat nurodė pagrindines mišių dalis lietuvių kalba. Taigi lietuviškasis giesmynas dažniausiai buvo pasitelkiamas pamaldose šeštadienio popietę ir sekmadienį. Kitomis savaitės dienomis mokyklos mokiniai pamaldose naudojosi įvairiomis liturginėmis knygomis lotynų kalba. Iš jų bene populiariausia tuo metu buvo 1553 m. Luko Losijaus Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica Sacra.

Guido Michelini išskiria 24 M. Mažvydo giesmyne publikuotus tekstus, kurie turi reikšmingų sutapimų su L. Losijaus *Psalmodia*, ir mano, kad rengdamas giesmyną M. Mažvydas naudojosi šia knyga. Sutikdamas su jo nuomone, šio straipsnio autorius parodo, kad 10 iš M. Mažvydo verstų liturginių tekstų buvo skirti vakarinėms pamaldoms, 2 – rytmetinėms ir 12 – mišioms. M. Mažvydas taip pat pateikė papildomų šioms apeigoms būtinų tekstų iš kitų šaltinių, tačiau liturginiu požiūriu didžiausią įtaką šioms pamaldoms padarė 1553 m. L. Losijaus giesmynas (kancionalas). Remdamasis šiuo giesmynu M. Mažvydas į lietuvių kalbą išvertė tokius svarbius liturginius tekstus, kaip versikulai ir responsorijos, antifonos, įžanginiai priegiesmiai (introitai), sekvencijos, Marijos giesmė *Magnificat*, Zacharijo giesmė *Benedictus*, bei kelias kitas liturgines giesmes.