

Contribution of the Latvian Brethren Congregations to the Musical Culture of the 18th Century: Preliminary Research Results, Basic Research Directions, and Perspectives

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The origins of Latvian national art music are most associated with the beginnings of the Jānis Cimze Vidzeme¹ Teachers' Seminary (also Zimse, 1814–1881) in 1839 in Valmiera/Wolmar (1839–1849) and later in Valka/Valk (1849–1881), as well as with the teachers whose activities laid the foundations for the subsequent growth of Latvian and Estonian professional music: choir music foremost, but also the tradition of organ-playing as well as the skill of playing the violin and wind instruments and the popularization of these instruments among Latvians.

According to the memoirs of Jānis Cimze, mixed choirs were already considered old-fashioned in Livonia by 1843 (Cimze 1874). They had started in parish schools. Cimze's memoirs reveal that as a child in 1822 he listened to multipart singing at a Bible festival and, in about 1830, he sang in a choir himself — Joseph Haydn's (*Seven Last Words of Our Saviour on the Cross*), as well as excerpts from George Frideric Handel's oratorios (*Ibid.*). Rauna/Ronneburg, where Jānis Gaiķe (also Gaiķis, 1796–1858) worked as a teacher, was a particularly important place for choral singing, as was Krimulda/Kremon. Choral scores circulated from Rauna to Dzērbene/Serben, both Piebalgas (Vecpiebalga/Alt-Pebalg and Jaunpiebalga/Neu-Pebalg), Straupe/Groß-Roop, Trikāta/Trikaten, Āraiši/Arrasch and Valmiera. Pēteris Inzelbergs (also Inselberg, 1806–1894), a teacher in Liezēre/Losern from 1829 onwards, recalls that, in the early 1820s, he sang four-part songs at Rubene/Papendorp School with teacher J. D. Apīnis, and also later at the Valmiera Kreutz School (Inselberg 1874). The choirs were small, initially performing in churches and mostly monophonic. But a decade later an organ was installed at the Liezēre Church and then six singers sang four-part harmonies. Inzelbergs added currently lesser-known composers such as Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1761–1817) (or Carl Adolf Kunzen, 1720–1781), Ludwig Erk (1807–1883) and David Hermann Engel (1816–1877) to the opuses of Joseph Haydn and Handel (*Ibid.*).

The most intensive singing practice, however, took place in schools where multipart singing was common. An article in an 1823 edition of *Latviešu Avīzes* (The Latvian Newspapers) mentions the consecration of the new Zeltiņi/Seltinghof Church, which featured the performance of a song with 'new music.' Musicians had led the procession to the new church, followed by 12 trained singers from

1 Latvian: *Vidzeme*; Estonian: *Liivimaa*; English: *Livonia*, German and Scandinavian languages: *Livland*; Russian: *Лифляндия / Līflyandiya*).

the Alūksne/Marienburg parish and, according to the correspondent, ‘a thousand voices harmonised well in song’ (*Latviešu Avīzes* 1823). Although the ‘thousand voices’ is most likely an exaggeration, the article points to the massed format of the singing.

The scores were mostly acquired and hand-copied. Teacher Pēteris Ulpe (1810–1884) recalls the 1830s: ‘There was not much printed music available back then. Much sweat was exerted and people’s eyesight deteriorated from the hand-copying process’ (Ulpe 1874). These and other testimonies raise a number of questions. Where did this passion for teaching and studying music and singing originate? Why is it that the majority of testimonies of choral singing originate in Livonia? (Although such testimonies are also abundant in Courland.) Why was multipart singing so popular even before Jānis Cimze became involved? Which Latvian teachers and music experts managed to lay the groundwork for choral singing among Latvians?

These questions are indirectly addressed in a number of research papers in the areas of history, literature, and book studies, analyzing the history of the Brethren movement in Latvia (Adamovičs 1963; Apinis 1987, 1982; Ceipe 1995, 2006; Dunsdorfs 1973; Grudule 2011; Harnack 1860; Johansons 1975; Kaudzīte 1877; Krēsliņš 2006; Krodznieks 1914; Sloka 1925–1927; Straube 2000, 2005, 2017; Strautiņa 2016; Štolls 2016; etc.). A more or less guiding principle in these studies is the concept of the special place music and singing holds in the lives of Brethren congregations. Livonia was the most active region and centre of Brethren congregations in the Baltics: this was where the culture of Brethren congregations was expressed most strikingly (an ecosystem of sorts), and these were the earliest choir movement centers in Latvia.

The aim of this publication is to seek answers to the aforementioned questions both by analyzing previous studies, publications, and sources and by presenting the results of the initial research from a musicological angle. The article will outline perspectives and directions for further research into the musical heritage of Brethren congregations.

Latvian Brethren Congregation Activities as Reflected in Latvian Musicology

The musical traditions of Brethren congregations have been practically ignored in Latvian music historiography. Volume I of *Latvian Music History* mentions

‘the struggle of the Lutheran church with the Moravian Brethren congregations that passionately denounced secular songs and folk music instruments, practicing instead in their gatherings the multipart singing of sacral songs’ (Vītolīņš, Krasinska 1972: 122).

The same source mentions that the Latvian Brethren congregations already started printing hymnals in the eighteenth century, and, in the 1830s, the Brethren congregations in Livonia

began using the book of choral melodies, published in 1831 in Gnadau, titled *Auszug aus dem bisher in den evangel. Brüder-Gemeinden gebräuchlichen Choral-Buche mit ausgeschriebenen Stimmen der Choral-Melodien* and consisting of 223 songs in four-part harmony (sans Latvian texts). The authors go on to say that

‘the questions of the development of singing in the Latvian Brethren congregations require additional, dedicated research to evaluate the role of the Brethren congregations in the development of Latvian choral singing’ (Ibid.: 122).

Half a century has passed since then, but in Latvian musicology circles to date there has not been an interest in the music of this Protestant-inspired religious and social movement. This is partly due to the legacy of the Soviet occupation and the consequences of that regime — the negative attitude towards religion in general and towards specific religious movements — and partly due to the negative attitude rooted in Latvian music folklore studies towards anything that replaced or overshadowed the foundations and forms of traditional ethnic music. Folklore collectors are quite justified in their opinion that where Herrnhutism had taken root, there is no point searching for ancient Latvian folklore, and ‘Latvianness’ has been reduced to imitations of German (‘foreign’) musical sources. This ignores a musical tradition that has been created and developed over several centuries, and which functions in society as part of a strong and massed religious-national movement.

The musical legacy of the Brethren is only briefly touched upon in a publication by musicologist Joachim Braun (Brauns 1958: 130–132), which analyzes Latvian and Czech musical connections, as well as in an article by musicologist Zane Gailīte, analyzing the contribution of Juris Neikens, a Latvian song festival organizer and Lutheran priest with a Herrnhutic background (Gailīte 2008). The basic tenets of this specific musical tradition are outlined in a publication by historian Gvido Straube (Straube 2017: 9–13). The content of Herrnhutian hymnals has been examined by literary historian Māra Grudule (Grudule 2011: 133–148).

Pietism and the Beginnings of Brethren Congregation Activities in Latvia

As early as the seventeenth century, an Enlightenment movement called Pietism became popular in Latvia, emerging as a form of religious opposition of the German middle classes to orthodox Old Lutheranism. It reached its peak in the first half of the eighteenth century; however, it continued in Latvian literature and publishing until the end of the century and developed a new concept of the individual (Apinis 1987: 23). Pietism regarded man and the world as manifestations of the Divine spirit, emphasizing the value of the individual and the significance of individual good deeds. The Pietists’ requirement for individual personal growth was a new principle: They cultivated moral perfection and religious meditation and

sought to make the believer experience his faith in a deeply personal way. The Pietists added an introduction to the Bible, published in Königsberg in 1739, intended for the residents of Livonia and Courland. The introduction was a program and methodology for cultivating the emotions that urged to not only ‘consider’ God’s words, but also ‘to enjoy how sweet they are’ (Apinis 1991: 75). Pietism founded a new movement; however, the real coup was achieved by its more radical form, Herrnhutism: a new religious-philosophical and social movement that was looked upon favorably by Pietist priests. Internal opposition within the Lutheran church and nobility led to ambivalent attitudes towards both Pietism and Herrnhutism, but both had a considerable number of followers in Latvia.

The Brethren congregation movement came to Livonia from Germany — in the 1720s the *Unitas Fratrum*, *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* (Moravian Church, Moravian Brethren) became active in this area. Its founder and first leader, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf (1700–1760), continued the Protestant tradition of the Taborite Brethren from Bohemia, as well as the ideas of Pietism, popular in many parts of Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century. One of the main objectives of the movement was to do missionary work in regions where Christianity had not yet been fully established, including the ‘diaspora,’ as it was called by the Herrnhutians — people from the Baltic region, Latvians and Estonians. After the Great Northern War (1700–1721), converting the Russian-conquered Baltic provinces of Livonia and Estonia became the mission’s objectives.

The first mission in 1729 led to Livonia, then Barbados in the Caribbean, Greenland, North America (where a colony was established), Suriname in South America, and finally, Africa, both to the Copts in Egypt and to South Africa.

The foundation for Brethren congregations in Livonia was laid by a Baltic German noblewoman of Swedish descent, a General’s widow, Magdalene Elisabeth von Hallart (1683–1750), in Valmiera — she maintained close ties with Count Zinzendorf. In a short period of time following her decree, a compound of several buildings was erected in Valmiermuiža/Wolmarshof which became the centre of the Brethren congregation and was named Jērakalns (*Hill of the Lamb*), in accordance with Herrnhutian traditions. A Latvian teachers’ seminary operated here (1738–1749) under the leadership of German brother Magnus Friedrich Buntebarth (1717–1750), who quickly mastered the Latvian language. The compound also hosted gatherings for Latvian peasants, agape meals, meetings of the leadership of the Brethren church movement, and meetings of the organizers and leaders of the Latvian movement (Adamovičs 1963: 520–540, Straube 2005: 12).

The seminary began preparing teachers among local peasants to teach the local children, recruiting them not only from Livonia but also from Courland. Nobility and clergy sent the most talented young Latvian men to Valmiermuiža to become teachers, providing the necessary financial support and books, and at the same time established schools for peasant children (in 1740 alone, in manors in Mārsnēni/Marzenhof, Liepa /Lindenhof, Kūdums/Kudum, Jaunmuiža / Adsel Neuohof, Anciems/Autzem, Rozula/Rosula, and elsewhere). From 15 pupils in 1739, the number of Latvian seminarians increased to over 100 by 1742 (Straube 2000: 58).

The materials preserved in the Latvian State Historical Archive — mostly documents of church visitations² — show that the first teachers from the parishes of Āraiši and Cēsis/Wenden) started working in 1739/1740 — Salenieku (Salniešu) Miķelis taught in schools in Kūdums and Ungurmuiža/Orellen, as well as Grestes (Grošu) Miķelis at the manor school in Anciems. Among the first teachers mentioned were also Gavēņu Andžs from the Cēsis Castle district, Daukšu Jānis from Priekuļi/Freudenberg, Staļa Juris from Jaunrauna/Ronneburg-Neuhof. By 1739, approximately 3,000 people had joined the Herrnhutians in Livonia — both men and women — and the number of adherents to the faith was growing (Straube 2000: 59). ‘The fire’ spread to the neighboring parishes of Cēsis, Trikāta, Rauna, and Smiltene/Smilten, too. The most impressive revival took place among the Latvians of Kaugurmuiža/Kaugershof, where the whole forest resounded in song and everyone was praying for God’s mercy. ‘The fire’ spread even further, to parts of Courland and the Lithuanian border (Straube 2000: 54).

The Valmiermuiža compound had the capacity to accommodate several thousand people who flooded Jērakalns each weekend. To overcome innate Latvian shyness and insecurity, joint German and Latvian agape meals were organized in order to promote friendships and sing songs together. The Herrnhutian tradition of mutual reconciliation and humility was the washing of each others’ feet, as described in the New Testament. These were entirely new experiences for Latvian peasants. The ‘awakened’ Latvians began to mission among their own countrymen, telling them that Christ was not only a God of the Germans but also the Savior of the Latvian people, that he loved the needy in the world, that he had been one himself once, just like the Latvians were, and that all men and nations were equal before God without distinction between high and low (Adamovičs 1963, Straube 2000 *et al.*).

Latvian self-organization began in 1742 with landowners taking the lead, joined by the less-wealthy commoners. The hierarchy of the congregation strictly prescribed the status and role of its members in three groups — ‘the ones who are moved’ or, in other words, those still waiting (the majority), ‘the awakened’, and, the highest group, ‘the forgiven.’ The division of duties in a group included the elder, the elder’s assistants, and those who served. Social mobility was possible — via a ballot it was possible to ascend to a higher social standing. There was also gender division in the congregation. Since women were also active members of the congregation, the choirs were mixed — this explains why mixed choirs were a ‘common thing’ in Livonia. The emancipation of women was concomitant with the activities of Brethren congregations. The organizing of various events was a part of the congregation’s objectives, and these were organized frequently. Over time, children were also involved in singing — children’s choirs became regular participants in Herrnhutian events. Herrnhutians valued communication and fellowship; therefore, letter-writing became popular, as well as singing at gatherings. Aleksejs Apīnis has pointed out that the writings of the Brethren contain hundreds of self-composed songs — dialogues between man and Jesus about his feelings in a markedly private tone — a most striking expression of the Herrnhutian ‘religion of the heart,’ where the relationship with God is characterized by the feeling that Jesus is not *the* Lord but ‘one’s friend’ (Apīnis 1987: 15–35, Grudule 2011: 134–135).

2 The State Historical Archive of Latvia. LVVA 233 f., 237 f.

At the Valmiermuiža Seminary, along with other modern teaching methodology programs that were based on the principles of the founder of contemporary pedagogy, Moravian Brother Komensky, musical upbringing had a special role. Since Latvians had not yet developed their singing skills, according to Buntebarth, the German brother Magnus Friedrich taught them to read musical scores so that they could hold their voices correctly. The autobiography of a Herrnhutian named Skangaļu Jēkabs (1722–1801) reflects his deep awe of singing and organ-playing at Jērakalns, where Buntebarth seemed to enter the prayer hall like a fair angel, bringing to his brothers the Latvian translations of the hymns. Buntebarth himself also recalled that his translations were received in the congregation with great devoutness. The musicality of their singing was praised in numerous reports (Philipp 2011: 24).

Learning musical notation and score-reading for singing made a radical impact on Latvian singing, as evidenced by church visitation documents before and after teachers trained at Jērakalns started working in their respective churches. In 1742/1743, the Livonian Church Visitation Commission concluded that the singing skills of peasants had improved so much that they were able to prepare multipart songs (Straube 2005: 14).

In many Latvian literary sources and autobiographies, the first impressions that authors have from their childhood and youth about the Moravian Church are connected with singing.

The ideology of Brethren congregations and its emphasis on the importance of moral and emotional lives also determined the use of appropriate music material, which was stylistically part of the sentimentalism movement.

The leaders of Brethren congregations addressed their congregation members as if they were children, using diminutives and nature allegories; in this aspect the expressivity of Herrnhutian songs had significant similarities with Latvian folklore. Meanwhile, tears, Jesus' blood, the naturalism or aestheticization of suffering, jubilant joy, exalted expression, affects, an eroticized perception of Jesus and his life, a religious experience that is likened to a sexual act — these aspects point to the presence of Baroque elements in the texts of Brethren congregations (Apīnis 1987: 18–19, Grudule 2011: 137–138).

Brethren congregations also encouraged the playing of instruments: An organ was accessible at the Jērakalns compound, and violin and wind instruments were taught there. The organ accompanied chorales sung by the congregation and the choir. Instrumental skills were also required at school and were developed alongside vocals (Straube 2005: 14 *et. al.*).

The Use of Music

As previously mentioned, music had a significant role in both the religious and everyday life of the Herrnhutians, encompassing several forms of musical practice and cultivating its own

ideology and aesthetics. Music was perceived as a gift from the Holy Spirit to be used by the congregation as a means of communication and education — part of the religious routine (and the whole rhythm of life). Single-voice and multipart singing became the focal genre. However, singing with instrumental accompaniment and cantatas were considered the highest forms of musical expression. Instrumental musicianship was widely practiced — primarily organ music, but also keyboards (clavichord, harpsichord), guitar, zither, lute, harp, and wind instruments such as the French horn, bassoon, and trumpet. Herrnhutian congregations (especially in Germany) established baroque orchestras (*Collegium musicum*) as well as organist and singing (music) teachers' institutes (Wehrend 1995: 33–51).

Stylistically, the musical legacy of eighteenth-century Brethren congregations falls within the transitional period between the Baroque and Classical styles — as the Pre-Classical period (until 1750), in which Baroque expression and stylistic elements play an equally important role as the elements of Classicism with predominantly homophonic harmonic structures (Wehrend 1995: 27). In the context of the Latvian and Estonian musical milieu, it could be said that this was an adaptation of the contemporary Western style of art music.

Among the Herrnhutians there were a number of distinguished music personalities and composers: Carl Otto Eberhard (1711–1757), Johan Michael Graff (1714–1785), Christian Gregor (1723–1801), Johann Daniel Grimm (1719–1760), Johann Friedrich Hempel (1716–17??), Philipp Heinrich Molther (1714–1780), Friedrich Wenzel Neißer (1716–1777), Ludolph Ernst Schlicht (1714–1769), Johann Friedrich Schmidt (1722–1756), Johann Friedrich Bonneval de La Trobe (1769–1845) — the latter also worked in Rīga for a brief period of time, subsequently spending his life in Dorpat (Tartu). At the same time, the Brethren equally accepted and highly regarded musicians from outside the Herrnhutian movement: Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710–1784), Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), Carl Philipp Stamitz (also Karel Stamic; 1745–1801), Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805), and others. The names of these composers often appear in nineteenth-century Livonia, especially in school and church repertoires.

Johann Daniel Grimm (1719–1760), a composer, theorist, and teacher from Herrnhut, developed the foundations and aesthetics of music tuition for Brethren congregations. In 1753, he wrote in his manual that the education of the congregation must include the teaching of notes and intervals, scales (circle of fifths), harmony, general bass, timbre (or the understanding of meter and rhythm), instrument performance (especially clavichord), music history, an introduction to musical genres, and sound systems (Grimm 1753; Wehrend 1995: 71). Numerous German Brethren sources (lesson plans) reflect the activities that formed the basis of daily music-making: the so-called 'singing lesson' (*Singstunde*, singing of songs), liturgy, 'singing choir' (*Sängerchor*, choral singing), *Collegium musicum* practice, music lessons at school and elsewhere — in church, at school, and at home (Wehrend 1995: 72).

To date, research of written music sources of the Herrnhutians in Livonia has found evidence of the widespread practice of singing, the singing of choral music, and efforts to

provide and advance the role of a musical education as well as the instrumental traditions of playing the organ, violin, and wind instruments. Rare examples of iconographic materials provide evidence of this, including a page from a handwritten manuscript, *Krusta skolas grāmata* (The Book of the School of the Cross, 1797)³, by Latvian author Juris Natanaēls Ramanis (1742 or 1743–approx. 1801). Ramanis was a teacher in Krimulda, forced to leave for unknown reasons. He is later mentioned as a teacher in Bērzaune/Bersohn, Cesvaine/Sesswegen, Dzelzava/Selsau. Born circa 1743, he took over his deceased father’s teaching position. According to both Edgars Ceske and Aleksejs Apinis, Ramanis was not a Herrnhutian himself, but his works were recognized by the Herrnhutians and found their way into their writings (Ceske 1995: 15–17, Apinis 1987:51). The book contains religious prose and 18 songs — song lyrics and notes on which melodies should be used for singing them. The manuscript contains illustrations — 22 in total, mostly of Biblical scenes. The morning song illustration depicts a room with a kokle on the wall and a trumpet on the wardrobe. An example of a song from the book, *Viena dziesma no Bibeles tiem svētiem dieva rakstiem* (One Song from the Bible, God’s Holy Scriptures):

<p>Tā kokle man par žēlošan’, Tā stabule par raudāšan’ Iekš manām prieka dienām No dieva tapus’ dota man.</p>	<p>The kokle for my lament, The flute for my crying, On my days of joy, Were given unto me by God.</p>
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The Latvian traditional instrument, the kokle, takes on a dual or even contradictory role here, if we perceive the Herrnhutian musical tradition as opposed to traditional music. Like the Lutheran Church, the Herrnhutians also turned against Latvian ‘silly songs’ (*blēņu dziesmas*), aiming to eradicate from peasant life the specific folklore which was connected with ancient customs or eroticism. In this case, the semantics of the kokle — and its status as a sacred instrument in Latvian traditional music — is incorporated and accepted in the context of Christianity.

In numerous sources, including the autobiographies of Herrnhutians and persons associated with them, the playing of instruments (the organ, violin and others) is mentioned. The first professional musician of Latvian origin, whose name can be found in the lexicon of Baltic German historians Johann Friedrich von Recke (1764–1846) and Karl Eduard von Napiersky (1793–1864) (Recke, Napiersky, 1829: 8), is also believed to be connected with Brethren congregations. Miķelis Gailis (also Gail, Mikkel; 1749–1827) was born in Skulte/Adiamünde with an extraordinary desire to learn. He worked as a servant on a farm, learned to read and write in German and in Latvian, and

3 LU Academic Library, Manuscripts and Rare Books Section, R Ms 1065.

was particularly fond of reading the Holy Scriptures. From 1782 to 1810, he worked in Skulte as a teacher. He was a verger and head singer at Matīši / St. Matthäi and Skulte churches and was skilled in mechanical works. He was self-taught in clock and piano repairs; he built a small organ. With support from the Pietist-minded pastor Friedrich Bernhard Blaufuß (1697–1756), Gailis's book, *Dr. Mārtin Luterus mācības, visiem par labu* (Dr. Mahrtn Lutherus' Teachings for the Benefit of Everyone), was printed in 1793. The book contained Blaufuß's interpretations of Luther's sermons in an abridged format. This publication is a typical popularizer of the idea of human inner rebirth. Gailis emphasized that the reader must reflect on himself — moreover, not just with one's mind but also with one's heart (knowledge and faith are nothing without love). Miķelis Gailis was renowned as an avid reader. According to Aleksejs Apīnis, not only was literacy surprising for that time, but the large print runs of books were also unusual. In 1735, the pastor in Skulte (before the birth of Miķelis Gailis) wrote that he did not know two households in the Skulte district where every single peasant was not skilled in reading and would not be able to, despite their own naivety, uplift themselves by reading the word of God (Apīnis 1991:112).

The limited information available on Gailis as a writer, musician, and instrument-builder is nevertheless very significant, as it confirms several trends of his era: influenced by the Enlightenment and inspired by the ideologies of Pietism and Herrnhutism, many Latvians became educated. Some were self-taught: the education system was developing and promoting literacy, encouraging self-development and self-initiative. The frame of this ideology facilitated the formation of a Latvian intelligentsia, with a central teacher and expert in choral singing and music tuition. And lastly, Gailis' personality reflects the instrument-building traditions characteristic of that era in Latvia — according to Grauzdiņa, such self-taught organ builders emerged in Livonia, also building instruments for local needs and for individual households (Grauzdiņa 1987: 58–59).

The existence of various instrumental ensembles in Livonia is another specific issue to be looked into. There is evidence of larger orchestras playing in Herrnhutism centers in Germany, formed by professionals and self-taught musicians (Wehrend 1995: 75–77). Instrumental and vocal instrumental ensembles of various sizes and types were widely popular in the households of the nobility, as well as among the Brethren. Zinzendorf himself had mastered the clavichord, and his wife was a lutist. Ensembles with all the aforementioned instruments, including wind instrument 'choirs,' played in Herrnhut and in other centers. We can assume that in Livonia, too, instrumental music was played at home in the houses of Pietist landowners and priests, given that among them were educated intellectuals and very wealthy individuals, such as the Herrnhutian benefactor, lieutenant-general, church warden, and owner of the Ungurmuiža/Orellen manor, Johann Balthasar von Campenhausen (1689–1758). In 1744, he founded a new manor school in Lenči/Lenzenhof, aspiring to continue the tradition of the closed Valmiermuiža teachers' seminary (Johansons 1975: 148). The status of this nobleman and his environment could have been conducive to home musicianship as well; however, the topic of whether it was prevalent in the houses of the wealthy and the priests in Livonia requires further research.

Hymnals

The hymnals of the earliest period of Brethren congregation activities were published from 1501 onwards in Czech, Polish, and German. The hymnals of the Herrnhutians or renewed Brethren congregations, however, appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century. Initially they were collections written and compiled by Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf himself, from 1725/1726 onwards.

Garīgu dziesmu grāmata (The Book of Spiritual Songs), consisting of ‘the essential old and new songs’ as well as lesser-known melodies (Volume I in 1704 and II in 1714), compiled by the musical leader of the Halle school of Pietists, Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670–1739), gained importance within Herrnhutian congregations of both Germany and Livonia. A number of publications by the Herrnhutians themselves followed: *Gesang-Buch der Gemeine in Herrn-Huth. Zu finden im Weysen-Hause 1735*, and its second edition in 1737, contained 1000 songs, 472 of which originated from Freylinghausen’s volume. It was followed by *Christliches Gesang-Buch, der Evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen von 1735 zum drittenmal aufgelegt und durchaus revidirt* in 1741, 1743, and 1751, as well as the song collections *Ein Kleines Gesang-Büchlein, Zum Gebrauch der Pilger*, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1736 with 264 songs, and *Hirten Lieder Von Betlehem. Zum Gebrauch Vor alles wass arm ist, Was klein und gering ist*, published in 1742 with 360 songs. The so-called *London Books* are also worth noting — *Etwas vom Liebe Mosis*, published in 1753 at Westminster Abbey and containing 2168 songs, and *Das Evangelischen Lied-er-Buch* of 1754 with 1096 songs.

In 1739, Latvian Brethren congregations started publishing their own song books. The first one was published with the financial support of General Hallart’s widow, printed in Königsberg and titled *Kādas izlasītas garīgas jaukas dziesmas* (A Selection of Nice Spiritual Songs), translated and arranged by Magnus Friedrich Buntebarth, and published together with two revised, printed Bibles. According to information available from the *Archiv der Brüder Unität Herrnhut*, the number of published song books by the Brethren congregation in the Latvian language in the eighteenth century reached seven (eight, according to the author’s sources); the same number of books was printed throughout the following century, and only three were published in the twentieth century (Kröger 2011: 187–200). The first song book contains only 30 songs — lyrics with suggestions on which melodies should be used from the German volumes, mainly from the publication by Freylinghausen. However, it contains three songs the source of which has not been hitherto identified. We can assume that these are original compositions, confirming that the new songs were creative works from Livonia.

The second, supplemented edition was printed in Reval (Tallinn) in 1742 — *Kādas izlasītas garīgas jaukas dziesmas, otrā reizi driķētas un no jauna pavairotas tām pēc savu mūžīgu izglābšanu meklēdamām dvēselēm par labu* (A Selection of Nice Spiritual Songs, Printed for the Second Time and Copied Anew for the Benefit of the Souls that Seek Eternal Salvation), or the so-called *Ort Book* (titled after its price — one ort, or 30 kopecks in silver). This book

already contained 234 songs, and 41 of these had no German original titles indicated, hypothetically also making them original compositions.

The next publication, *Common Prayer*, was printed in Marienborn circa 1747 and included liturgies and 14 litanies; its two addenda contained the translations of 50 songs authored by Buntebarth and corrected by Skangaļu Jēkabs (1722–1801) (Grudule 2011: 137). The book was commonly known as *Cērpulis* (from the first letters of the English title) and included lyrics to 93 new songs.

In 1755, the book *Kādas izlasītas garīgas jaukas dziesmiņas visām pēc savu mūžīgu glābšanu kānām dvēselēm* (A Selection of Nice Spiritual Songs for Souls Seeking Eternal Salvation) was printed in Barby, borrowing unnumbered songs from the German *Kleinen Brüdergesangbuch*, translated by Peter Hesse. It also had liturgies as appendices. The volume titled *Viens krājums no jaukām litānijām, svētku un amata dziesmiņām tāpat vecām, kā arī jaunām* (One Volume of Nice Litanies, Festive and Labour Songs, Old as well as New) was printed in the same place in Barby in 1759 — a supplement to Hesse's book, compiled together with his co-worker, German Baltic theologian and Herrnhutian Friedrich Justin von Bruining (1707–1774).

In the late eighteenth century, several books were published by the Kurzeme-born Herrnhutian leader, theologian, doctor, and deputy director of the Livonian Herrnhutians Georg Heinrich Loskiel (1740–1814). The first one was titled *Garīgas dziesmas Dievam par godu un slavai* (Spiritual Hymns Honoring and Praising God) — also called the *Petersburg Book* or *Dabler Book* (*Dāldera grāmata*) — and printed in Petersburg in 1790. The volume of over 500 pages contains 400 hymns; moreover, Loskiel was not only the publisher of these songs, but also their author or co-author. *Liturģijas jeb slavas dziesmas un lūgšanas, piesaukšanas un aizlūgšanas* (Liturgies or Hymns of Praise, Prayer, Invocation, and Intercession) and *Simts garīgas dziesmiņas* (One Hundred Spiritual Songs) were printed in 1797 in Barby with an introduction by Loskiel (publisher and author).

In 1780, the song books by Pietist Freylinghausen were criticized by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803):

‘A certain pious German school has weakened and ruined the church songs. It adjusted the songs to chamber singing with sweet and weak melodies, full of tender feelings and little jokes. Here the church song lost all its majesty and became a playful weakling.’
(Kümmerle 1888: 435).

However, the songs of this tender style gained acceptance throughout the Baltic region. The Pietist, later Herrnhutian ideology, which emphasized the importance of one's moral and emotional life, also determined the use of appropriate musical material that conformed stylistically with the direction of sentimentalism.

Since the entire lives of the Brethren were perceived as a service to God, the repertoire permeated all aspects of their life. Similar to the tradition of singing whilst working, which was

widespread among Latvian peasants, the Herrnhutians practiced a similar approach and made the hardships of work easier by singing (Hahn, Reichel 1977: 227). Thus, songs intended for various situations of daily life were often sung in Brethren congregations (Straube 2017: 12).

Reception

The books quickly found their target audience, as opportunities for basic education contributed to high literacy rates — in this respect, the Latvian population (with the exception of Latgale/Inflanty) was among the most educated in Europe (Krēšlīņš 2006: 402). The literacy rate among peasants in Livonia, where Brethren congregations were dominant, was around 75% in 1780, and already over 90% in 1800 (Apīnis 1991: 110). Similar rates were evident in the Herrnhutian districts of Estonia. Literacy in itself did not open the doors to higher education, as it was not available in Latvian — German was dominant at the higher levels — however, it stimulated an unusually wide array of handwritten literature, a large part of it comprising of transcribed song lyrics.

The new way of teaching became popular among Latvians not only due to its democratic nature, but also because of the new, contemporary language of music, which often differed in its sentimental character from the basic repertoire of Lutheran hymnals. The to-and-froing between Brethren congregations and the Lutheran church also contributed to the migration of repertoire, as the Herrnhutian songs were occasionally also sung in the official Lutheran church. Clergy attitudes towards the Brethren varied from church to church. Priests responded favorably to the Brethren's deep Christian faith and their aspiration towards virtue; however, at the same time many churches had become half-empty.

Yet the movement was responsible not only for emptying the Lutheran churches. The popularity of the songs of the new Brethren congregations gradually led people to turn away from their own folklore, which had been handed down from generation to generation yet was now considered undesirable among the Herrnhutians. It was the district of Livonia that proved to be the poorest region for folk heritage in the second half of the nineteenth century, as traditional heritage had largely been replaced by the musical repertoire of Brethren congregations.

Concluding Remarks

All of the aforementioned sources, as well as the numerous hand-written songs in the Latvian language, still require substantial musicological evaluation (see the digitalized corpus of Herrnhutian hymns in the Latvian National Library collection, the Latvian State Historical

Archive, and other sources — for example, in 1782 Kalnieša Jēkabs authored several handwritten books of songs from Aloja/Allendorf or Puiķele/Puikeln, located now in the National History Museum of Latvia collection⁴). The number of collections and individual records reaches into the thousands. The transcripts also often contain indications of the song melodies to be used with the lyrics, and sometimes sheet music, usually anonymous, is included. It is clear that this is multi-layered musical material, since alongside completely new songs is the repertoire of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and in many cases Lutheran chorale melodies are included with the lyrics. It cannot be ruled out that some traditional music elements have found their way into this cultural ecosystem, as Herrnhutian lyrics sometimes share similarities with traditional texts (folk songs) in their use of diminutives and allegories of nature. In their music-making, the Brethren may have used traditional musical instruments (e.g., kokles).

Answering the questions raised at the beginning of the article, one can argue that the rapid uptake of the Herrnhutian movement in Vidzeme (Livonia), which became widespread, determined the religious, social, and ideological identity of a large part of the Latvian population. It contributed to the education and literacy level of peasants, as well as to the improvement of singing and instrument-playing skills. It is important to emphasize the role of the Wolmarshof Teachers' Seminary in training musically educated teachers. We can find similar manifestations of the musical life in Vidzeme in other Brethren congregation centers, for instance, in Herrnhut, with the differences that professional music-making skills had not yet taken root in the Latvian environment, *Collegium musicum* orchestras were absent, and there were not yet any local professional composers. At the same time, singing had become established at the center of religious life, hymnals were published, and polyphonic singing was also mastered. It is in hymnals that we can also look for expressions of creativity. The first Latvian intellectuals who were self-taught, such as Miķelis Gailis, gained a certain influence in the life of their society.

Taking all of this into account, future research will address such issues as (1) the interception and manifestation of Herrnhutian ideology and musical aesthetics in the Latvian environment, (2) the analysis of musical sources (and local manifestations in the Latvian repertoire), (3) the search for points of contact between Czech-German-Latvian-Estonian musical cultures in the Herrnhutian repertoire, (4) the reception of the music of Brethren congregations among their contemporaries, (5) an insight into some of the more well-known Brethren personalities and the reflection of their musical interests and skills in historical sources.

4 CVVM VN 13579.

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Latviešu brāļu draudžu devums 18. gadsimta mūzikas kultūrā: pirmie pētniecības rezultāti, pamatvirzieni un perspektīvas

Ilze Šarkovska-Liepiņa

Atslēgvārdi: mūzikas vēsture, Morāvijas brāļi, hernhūtieši, priekšklasīcisms, dziesmu grāmatas

Rakstā tiek aplūkota latviešu brāļu draudžu muzikālā darbība 18. gadsimtā, kā arī atspoguļoti pirmie hernhūtiešu mūzikas mantojuma pētniecības rezultāti muzikoloģijā. Tiek aplūkota brāļu draudžu tradīcijas pārtvere latviešu vidē, aizsākoties pirmajām misijām Vidzemē 1729. gadā. Par nozīmīgu muzikālās izglītības centru kļūst Valmiermuižas skolotāju seminārs (1738–1749) vācbrāļa Magnusa Frīdriha Buntebarta (*Magnus Friedrich Buntebarth*, 1717–1750) vadībā. Seminārā tiek sagatavoti skolotāji no latviešu zemnieku vides, ievadot viņus arī mūzikas mācībā, nošu raksta apguvē un dziedāšanā. Paralēli Valmiermuižā notiek pat vairāku tūkstošu cilvēku lielas reliģiskās sanāksmes ar dziedāšanu, pulcējot vietējos iedzīvotājus no tuvākas un tālākas apkārtnes. Nošu raksta apguve un dziedāšana pēc notīm radikāli ietekmē latviešu dziedāšanas prasmes, ko pārliecinoši demonstrē baznīcu vizitāciju dokumenti periodā pirms un pēc tam, kad attiecīgajā draudzē sākuši darboties Jērakalna sagatavotie skolotāji. Brāļu draudzes veicinājušas arī instrumentu spēli – Jērakalna kompleksā bijušas pieejamas ērģeles, apgūta vijolspēle un pušamistrumentu spēles prasmes. Hernhūtiešu centros noturētās tā dēvētās “dziedāšanas stundas”, “dziedāšanas kori” (kordziedāšana), *Collegium musicum* prakse, mūzikas nodarbības skolā, draudzē un mājas apstākļos demonstrē visai plašu mūzikas žanrisko spektru. Līdz ar izglītības un pašizglītības veicināšanu no hernhūtiešu vides izaug muzikāli izglītotas personības, kā, piemēram, Miķelis Gailis (1749–1827).

Liela nozīme repertuāra veidošanā ir Johana Anastāzija Freilinghauzena (*Freylinghausen, Johann Anastasius*, 1670–1739) sastādītajai “Garīgu dziesmu grāmatai” (Halle, I sējums – 1704, II – 1714). No 1739. gada uzsākta latviešu brāļu draudžu dziesmu grāmatu izdošana – 18. gs. iznāk astoņas dziesmu grāmatas latviešu valodā, no kurām pazīstamākās ir “Kādas izlasītas garīgas dziesmas” (Kēnigsbergā, 1739), t. s. “Orta grāmata” (“Kādas izlasītas garīgas jaukas dziesmas”, 1742), kā arī

“Common Preyer” jeb t. s. “Cērpulis” (1747). 18. gs. beigās dienasgaismu ierauga Kurzemē dzimušā hernhūtiešu līdera, teologa un ārsta, Vidzemes hernhūtiešu priekšnieka palīga Georga Heinriha Loskīla (*Georg Heinrich Loskiel*, 1740–1814) grāmatas (1790, 1797). Tūkstošiem dziesmu, galvenokārt dziesmu tekstu, uzglabātas rokrakstos.

Hernhūtiešu mācība kļūst pievilcīga latviešu vidē, lielā mērā pateicoties jaunajai, laikmetīgajai, ar sentimentālismu saistītajai priekšklasicisma mūzikas valodai. Tās adaptācija nozīmē rietumu mūzikas valodas pārnesi latviešu sabiedrībā.