

The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796 - 1917

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## Synopsis

### The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917

Throughout the nineteenth century the Russian Court Chapel Choir - the Court Kapella - with its rich, sonorous voices, virtuosic technique and strict discipline, enjoyed an enviable reputation. Its singers performed not only in liturgical services and official state ceremonies in the imperial churches, but also played an active role in the musical life of St. Petersburg outwith the court. The music school within the Kapella provided the singers with an excellent choral training as well as tuition in instrumental performance, harmony, orchestration and composition; indeed, until the second half of the nineteenth century it was the only institution to offer this level of musical education. The Court Kapella also played a vital role in the publication of music for the Orthodox Church at this time: from 1816 the director of the Kapella had the power to authorize or prohibit every edition, performance and publication of sacred music in Russia and, as a result, could significantly influence the development of sacred music.

This study deals with the period from 1796, the year in which Dmitry Bortnyansky was appointed director of the Kapella, until 1917 when the institution underwent such radical reorganization as to render it almost unrecognisable. The study is divided into three sections: the first deals with the structural organization of the Kapella as an educational establishment and focuses particularly on the development of the curriculum under a changing directorate; the second deals with the

structure of the liturgy used in the Russian Orthodox Church and the emergence and development of harmonized court chant; the third deals with the development of sacred vocal music in Russia during the period 1796-1917, and is illustrated by an examination of the music composed specifically for the use of the Court Kapella and its relationship with the liturgy which it enhanced.

Despite the wealth of documentation concerning the Court Kapella held in the archives of the Ministry of the Imperial Court in the State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg, there is no detailed study of this extremely complex subject which is of such great relevance to so many aspects of Russian musical life. Many of the most influential figures of the time were closely involved with the Kapella - for example Glinka, Balakirev, and Rimsky-Korsakov - but little research has been done on this area of their work. The educational importance of the institution has always been overshadowed by the achievements of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire, and the consequences of the monopoly exerted by the Kapella in the area of music publication have never been investigated. A survey of this topic is essential not only for our understanding of the inestimable wealth of Russian sacred music, but also for a comprehensive view of Russian musical life at this time.

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## Errata

- p.75 32. Does the Court Kapella have the exclusive right to train teachers of church music, and may people teach this singing who have not received a certificate from the Kapella, authorized by imperial decree in the ukaz of the Holy Synod of 26 May 1850, where it speaks only of parish and regimental choirmasters; this expression clearly indicates that this applies only to precentors of choirs singing in many parts, and certainly not to teachers of rural schools, where it would be unthinkable even to contemplate instruction in choral music in many parts (available only in specialist music schools), but where it is possible to teach strictly diatonic prayer chants in one part, as they are notated in the music books published by the Synod; this is why this church music is known as simple, to distinguish it from music in many parts, partesnyi and chromatic [styles].
- p.106 134. Липаев, И., <С. В. Смоленский (Из воспоминаний и переписки)> Русская музыкальная газета 37-8 (1915) стр.557  
Дальше мне идти некуда...все же болит мое сердце. Приходится чуть ли не дубинкой выколачивать тупость и невежество капеллистов. Они привыкли к конфетам Балакирева. Они приучены к подачкам незаслуженным. Я им их не мог дать. Мы на разных дорогах. Все пошло против меня.
- p.188 92b. Odoevsky, V. F., Mnenie Knyazya V. F. Odoevskago po voprosam, vzbuzhdennym Ministrom Prosveshcheniya po delu o tserkovnom penii [The opinion of Prince V. F. Odoevsky on the questions raised by the Minister of Education on the subject of church singing] (St. Petersburg, 1866) p.16

(Continued overleaf)

Glinki [State Academic Kapella named after M. I. Glinka], while inaccurate in places, is a competent basic history of the establishment but lacks the depth and detail which the subject demands, while A. Ershov's Stareishii russkii khor [The oldest Russian choir], the most recent history of the Kapella, merely skims the surface of the topic. Vladimir Morosan's excellent book Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia deals with the history of Russian choral music, both sacred and secular, from the earliest recorded times to the present day, but is in the nature of a general survey of the topic, with emphasis on performance practice. Due to the scope of the work it cannot deal with a single institution in great detail. I hope that with this work I have gone some way towards repairing this neglect.

All dates are given according to the Old Style or Julian calendar which was in use in Russia until 1918. During the eighteenth century this calendar lagged eleven days behind the New Style or Gregorian calendar used in western Europe. In the nineteenth century this difference increased to twelve days, and in the twentieth to thirteen days.

The transliteration system used is that used in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians with several adjustments: the letter 'ы' is transliterated as 'y', and 'ѣ' is transliterated as 'i'.

Where they occur in the main body of the text the names of Russian composers who are familiar to non-Russians are given in their familiar form. Where these names occur in the bibliography or footnotes, however, strict transliteration is observed. The names of Russian composers not familiar to non-Russians are also strictly transliterated.

In order to convey better the flavour of the original documents and pre-1918 publications quoted no attempt has been made in Appendix 15 to alter the texts in accordance with modern orthographical conventions: texts have been reproduced exactly, with no attempt to standardize spelling. The now obsolete letters 'ѣ' and 'ѥ', which are not available on a modern Russian typewriter keyboard are replaced with 'e' and 'w'.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own. In cases where an English translation of a Russian text exists I have, where possible, gone back to the original Russian publication to ensure that the quotation has not been taken out of context or mistranslated. Only on the rare occasions when I have been unable to obtain or locate the original Russian text have I reproduced an existing translation.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those organizations and individuals who have assisted and advised me in carrying out this work. Thanks to a postgraduate scholarship from the British Council I was able to spend a year working on primary sources held in archives in St. Petersburg and Moscow: without this opportunity a detailed study of this topic would certainly have been impossible. The willing co-operation of the staff of the Russian archives made my task there much more pleasant and was very greatly appreciated. Special thanks are due to the staff of the Central State Historical Archive (particularly to Serafima Igor'evna Barekhova), the State Public Library in St. Petersburg, the Leningrad State Institute of Theatre, Music and Cinematography, the State Lenin Library, the Central State Archive of Literature and Art, the State Central Theatre Museum, and the State

Central Theatre Museum of Musical Culture. I am very grateful to the director of the State Academic Kapella Professor Vladislav Aleksandrovich Chernushenko for his help and advice during my stay in St. Petersburg, and to Aleksandr Sergeevich Belonenko who supervised my year of study at the Leningrad Conservatoire.

Nearer home, I wish to thank the staff of the Inter-Library Loan office of Glasgow University for their assistance in locating materials. Particular thanks go to Dr. M. C. K. MacMahon for his assistance in obtaining funding for the project, and to the Rev. Dr. Gavin White and the Rev. David Ness who advised me on theological and liturgical matters. Above all, I wish to thank Dr. Stuart Campbell for the care and attention which he devoted to the project, for his advice and constant encouragement.

## Abbreviations

BL	British Library
col.	column
ed.khr.	<u>edinit'sa khraneniya</u> [file unit]
f.	<u>fond</u> [collection]
GBL	<u>Gosudarstvennaya biblioteka imeni V. I. Lenina</u> [State Library named after V. I. Lenin]
GPB	<u>Gosudarstvennaya publichnaya biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina</u> [State Public Library named after M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin]
GTSTMB	<u>Gosudarstvennyi tsentral'nyi teatral'nyi muzei imeni A. A. Bakhrushina</u> [State Central Theatre Museum named after A. A. Bakhrushin]
GTSMMK	<u>Gosudarstvennyi tsentral'nyi muzei muzykal'noi kul'tury imeni M. I. Glinki</u> [State Central Museum of Musical Culture named after M. I. Glinka]
LGITMIK	<u>Leningradskii gosudarstvennyi institut teatra, muzyki i kinematografii</u> [Leningrad State Institute of Theatre, Music and Cinematography]
MIC	Ministry of the Imperial Court [ <u>Ministerstva imperatorskogo dvora</u> ]
no.	number
op.	<u>opis'</u> [inventory]
p.	page
RMS	Russian Musical Society [ <u>Russkoe muzykal'noe obshchestvo</u> ]
TSGALI	<u>Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva</u> [Central State Archive of Literature and Art]
TSGIA	<u>Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv</u> [Central State Historical Archive]
vol.	volume

## Introduction

Of all areas of Russian music, sacred choral music has suffered the greatest neglect. There is no scholarly study of even the most influential and renowned choral establishment of the nineteenth century - the Court Chapel Choir or Kapella.

This study deals with the history of the Kapella between 1796, the year in which Dmitry Bortnyansky was appointed director of the Kapella, and 1917 when the institution underwent a radical reorganization following the overthrow of the Tsar. The study is divided into three sections, the first of which examines the role of the Kapella as an educational establishment. The music school within the Kapella provided the singers with an excellent choral training as well as tuition in instrumental performance, harmony, orchestration and composition; indeed, until the second half of the nineteenth century it was the only institution to offer this level of musical education. While the Theatre School, founded in 1738 by Vladimir Bibikov, offered tuition in drama, music, and singing as well as general subjects, it was principally concerned with training artists for the imperial theatres and did not provide training in either choral singing or choral conducting. Although the Academy of Arts, founded in 1757, began to offer music classes in 1764, little is known of their content and it is more than likely that this was simply an auxiliary subject to complement other arts subjects. In examining the educational significance of the Kapella I have focused particularly on the development of the curriculum of both choral and instrumental classes under a changing directorate.

The second section deals with the structure of the liturgy used in the Russian Orthodox Church and the development of harmonized court chant. Court chant first emerged at the end of the eighteenth century and comprised those chants, taken from various chant systems, which were commonly used in the imperial churches. Throughout the nineteenth century the directors of the Kapella not only compiled or oversaw the compilation of volumes of harmonized chant, but also passed legislation enforcing the adoption of these harmonizations in churches all over Russia.

The third section considers the role of the Kapella as a performing ensemble. The choristers' principal duty was to perform in liturgical services in the imperial churches: the large and small chapels of the Winter Palace, the chapels in the palaces of Peterhof and Tsarskoe Selo, the cathedral within the Peter and Paul Fortress, and the Anichkov Palace. The singers were required to participate in entertainments at the court - balls, masquerades, card parties and the like - and several of the singers always accompanied the Tsar on his travels. In addition to their official duties the choir also participated in the concert life of St. Petersburg outwith the court and were associated particularly with the Philharmonic Society and the Concert Society. The Court Kapella also played a vital role in the publication of music for the Orthodox Church at this time: from 1816 the directorate had the power to authorize or prohibit every edition, performance and publication of sacred music in Russia and, as a result, could significantly influence the development of sacred music in Russia. This monopoly will also be examined in the third section. Finally, this section examines the

development of sacred vocal music in Russia during the period 1796-1917, which is illustrated by an examination of the music composed specifically for the use of the Court Kapella and the relationship between this music and the liturgy which it enhanced.

Before embarking on any discussion of this subject it is necessary to tackle the problem of terminology. The term 'kapella', one of many German terms borrowed by the Russians for administrative and court functions, itself poses a number of questions: it is a term which has come into general use in a number of languages and has consequently acquired a variety of meanings. In English the term is commonly understood to refer to the actual place of worship - the building itself (the only exception being when used in the context of the Chapel Royal when it refers to the actual musicians). In German it is used to refer to the singers and organist of a church or, more frequently, the singers and instrumentalists of a court. Both English and German interpretations are too narrow to convey the sense of the Russian term. When used in this context the term 'kapella' embraced not only the building, but also the choristers, their conductors and the directorate, and also the educational establishment - teachers, private and external pupils and so on. As the English 'chapel' cannot convey this I have decided to retain the Russian term 'kapella'.

The term 'precentor' [regent] also requires some explanation. While in English cathedrals a precentor is generally a member of the clergy who has control over the music performed during services, and in Scotland is a layman who leads the congregational singing, in Russian practice the precentor rarely belongs to the clergy but is a trained

musician, responsible for rehearsing and conducting the choir.

The term 'penie' is also difficult to translate accurately: in different contexts it can mean either 'singing' or 'chant' and so both translations will be found in the text and accompanying notes.

Another Russian term which is frequently met in the text and footnotes is ukaz which I have left in its Russian form as there is no direct translation: in different contexts it can refer to a decree, order or instruction. Similarly prikaz, which is used interchangeably with ukaz, remains in its original form.

It is believed that the choir later known as the Court Kapella was founded in 1479 by Ivan III Grand Prince of Muscovy for the consecration of the Uspensky sobor [Cathedral of the Assumption] in the Kremlin. By this date Moscow had established itself as the political and ecclesiastical centre of Russia - the third Rome - and its new-found power was reflected in increased pomp and ceremony at the court. Initially known as the Khor gosudarevykh pevchikh d'yakov [Choir of the Sovereign Lord's Singing Clerks], the new choir sang in services in the Uspensky sobor and in entertainments and pageants at the court. Under Ivan III's successors the choir flourished. During the reign of Ivan IV, also known as Ivan the Terrible, the number of singers increased to thirty-five. Ivan took a keen personal interest in the choir and often performed with them himself. Little is known of the choir's activities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Certainly, as a result of the development of part singing in the middle of the seventeenth century, the choir was no longer comprised solely of adult singers - each year a number of trebles were recruited. During the seventeenth

century the number of singers increased: on Alexis Mikhailovich's accession to the throne in 1645 the choir consisted of between fifty and sixty singers and by end of the century this number had increased to seventy. It is believed that by the end of the seventeenth century the full choir was divided up into smaller ensembles which served the various imperial churches and private chapels of members of the royal family. This practice was to continue until 1917.

Peter the Great also took a great interest in the choir and ordered that recruiting expeditions be made to search out the best singers from all over Russia. In 1701 the choir was renamed the Court Choir [Pridvornyi khor] and two years later the singers were transferred from Moscow to the new capital of St. Petersburg. During the eighteenth century the number of singers fluctuated: during Peter's reign sixty singers were employed, but after his death numbers were drastically reduced to twenty. By 1752, however, numbers had substantially increased and the choir consisted of forty-eight men and fifty-two boys.

In 1763 Catherine I ascended the throne and the court choir underwent yet another administrative reorganization. At this time it was renamed the Imperatorskaya pridvornaya pevcheskaya kapella [Imperial Court Kapella - the word 'pevcheskaya' meaning 'singing' is ~~tautologous~~ in English and so I have systematically disregarded it in translation] and became a secular organization under the jurisdiction of court officials - the Ministry of the Imperial Court - rather than the ecclesiastical authorities. As part of this reform the post of director of the Court Kapella was created.

This study is largely based on documents held in the archive of the

Ministry of the Imperial Court in the Central State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, as a result of a fire in the archive in 1826, few documents prior to this date have survived. Thanks to Russian bureaucracy, however, a remarkable wealth of documentation concerning the period 1827-1917 has survived.

## Chapter 1: Administrative Structure and Educational Provision: 1796-1861

### i) The Court Kapella under the direction of D. S. Bortnyansky: 1796-1825

By the end of the nineteenth century the Court Kapella was firmly established as the most important musical establishment in Russia, and as director of the Kapella - the Tsar's personal choir and the only institution in Russia to offer a specialist musical education - Dmitry Stepanovich Bortnyansky was one of the outstanding and most influential figures in Russian musical life.

It may be said without exaggeration that Bortnyansky (1751-1825) devoted his whole life to service in the Court Kapella. Born in the Ukraine, he began his musical education in the preparatory choir school in his home town of Glukhov which trained young choristers for service at the imperial court, and in 1759 was sent to the Kapella in St. Petersburg where he studied singing and theory of music with teachers Mark Poltoratsky, Hermann Raupach and Joseph Starzer.<sup>1</sup> Bortnyansky's outstanding musical gifts were immediately recognised: he had an exceptionally fine treble voice and soon became a member of the select kamer-pevchie or chamber singers who frequently performed at dinners, balls, card-parties and other entertainments in the Winter Palace. He also participated in operatic productions given at court and in 1764 was assigned the part of Admeta, the leading male role in a production of Raupach's opera Alceste.<sup>2</sup> As one of the most talented choristers, he attended classes in theatre studies and languages - Italian, French and German - at the Cadet School (a school which prepared the sons of the

nobility for a military career), and on Baldassare Galuppi's arrival in St. Petersburg in 1763<sup>3</sup> studied composition, singing and harpsichord with the Italian master (see p.202).

On Galuppi's return to his homeland in 1768 he sent a petition to Catherine II, requesting that Bortnyansky be permitted to continue his musical education in Italy.<sup>4</sup> The Empress, who had noted and encouraged the young chorister's talent, granted his request and in 1769 Bortnyansky left Russia for Venice.<sup>5</sup> While in Italy he continued his studies with Galuppi and visited the main musical centres - Rome, Milan, Naples and Bologna. It was a fruitful period for composition and his works from this time include three operas, various motets and chamber works.<sup>6</sup>

In the spring of 1779 Bortnyansky received a letter from the Director of the Imperial Theatres, Ivan Perfil'evich Elagin, requesting that he return to St. Petersburg with all possible speed.<sup>7</sup> The timing and urgency of this letter, dated 10 April 1779, is puzzling. In her book Kompozitor D. Bortnyansky [The composer D. Bortnyansky] Marina Rytsareva suggests that the cause may have been the recent death of Maksim Berezovsky, another gifted young Russian composer who had been trained in the Court Kapella.<sup>8</sup> This seems unlikely. Berezovsky had died in March 1777, and one might have expected Bortnyansky to have been recalled earlier, had this been the cause. The answer to the riddle may be very simple: while the conditions governing Catherine's agreement for Bortnyansky's study in Italy are unknown, it is highly possible that the term agreed was ten years. Bortnyansky left St. Petersburg in 1769 and so the pre-arranged period would elapse in 1779. This hypothesis is

supported by the opening words of Elagin's letter: 'as ten years have already passed' [kak uzhe desyat' let proshlo].<sup>9</sup> Whatever the cause, Bortnyansky arrived back in St. Petersburg bearing the scores of his Italian works which he presented at court. These were greeted with great excitement and he was immediately appointed kapellmeister of the Court Kapella, a post which he held until Catherine's death in 1796.<sup>10</sup>

On the accession of Paul I Bortnyansky was promoted to the position of direktor vokal'noi muzyki i upravlyayushchii pridvornoj kapelly [Director of vocal music and administrator of the Court Kapella], the appointment dating from 11 November 1796.<sup>11</sup> He was one of very few court officials to retain a court appointment throughout the reigns of both Catherine and Paul. With Paul's accession to the throne the atmosphere of the court had changed dramatically. Paul was aware that Catherine had intended the throne to pass directly to his son Alexander on her death, and this knowledge had nurtured in him a deep hatred of Catherine herself and all that she represented. On his accession the majority of her favourites were immediately dismissed, yet Bortnyansky remained. While there is no doubt that replacing Bortnyansky with a kapellmeister of equal talent and experience would have been an exceptionally difficult task, a point which may well have influenced Paul in his decision, all the evidence suggests that Bortnyansky's position in the Kapella was never in any doubt. In addition to his post as kapellmeister in the Kapella he had held the position of kapellmeister at the court of the Tsarevich at Gatchina since 1784,<sup>12</sup> and had established a good relationship with Paul and his wife, the Grand Duchess Maria Fyodorovna, prior to Catherine's death: a number of

his chamber works had been written for the Grand Duchess who was a competent harpsichord player, and one of his operas had been written especially for the court at Gatchina (see p.204).

The task now facing Bortnyansky was not an easy one. The duties of the director of the Court Kapella included personal responsibility for the staff of the Kapella, superintendence of artistic, administrative and financial affairs in that institution, and the composition of sacred musical works for the imperial churches. When he took up his appointment in 1796 the Kapella was in a state of virtual collapse: the quality of the singers' voices was poor and they were lacking in technique, the standard of performance was low, there was little discipline amongst the choristers, and they received no systematic education.<sup>13</sup> Undismayed by this dismal state of affairs Bortnyansky set to work to create a polished, refined and well-disciplined choral ensemble, a goal towards which he continued to strive tirelessly until his death in 1825.

His first task was to carry out an examination of each individual singer, which resulted in the dismissal of eleven choristers who were considered unsatisfactory.<sup>14</sup> This was not the only cut to be made in the number of singers; on 30 September 1797 numbers were cut dramatically from eighty to twenty-four.<sup>15</sup> It has been suggested by some musicologists, including Vladimir Morosan, that Bortnyansky himself may have instigated this move in an attempt to stop the choir's involvement in secular court entertainments.<sup>16</sup> He argues that by reducing the numbers so drastically, participation in secular concerts and theatrical spectacles, in addition to the obligatory liturgical

services, would have been rendered impossible, while the singing in the chapel of the Winter Palace could still have been maintained. Such a move would also have given Bortnyansky the opportunity to rebuild the choir as he wished, with the very best choristers as its nucleus.

There are several flaws in this argument. Firstly, the choristers of the Kapella were often required to provide singing in two or more of the imperial churches simultaneously. It may be argued that with a full choir of twenty-four it would have been possible to create two ensembles of twelve singers; however, consideration of the choir's repertoire from this period proves that this number of singers would still have been inadequate. A very large number of the works performed by the choir at this time, a great many of them by Bortnyansky himself, are scored for double choir and make use of antiphonal effects and the juxtaposition of solo passages and sections for full choir. These would clearly have been impossible to perform with such limited resources, and it is very unlikely that Bortnyansky would have imposed such a restriction on himself. Neither is Morosan's view supported by the letter dated 2 January 1797 to Count Nikolai Sheremetev, Director of the Cadet School, in which Bortnyansky proposes that the choir be made up of forty-eight singers, which could be divided into two choirs of twenty-four, when necessary.<sup>17</sup> It seems more probable that the reduction in staff was simply part of Paul's general campaign to curb the extravagances of the court dating from Catherine's time. This reduced number of singers soon proved to be inadequate, however: in 1801 the numbers were increased to forty,<sup>18</sup> and by 1817 the basic choir consisted of twenty-four boys and twenty-four men, as Bortnyansky had wished.<sup>19</sup>

After his initial examination of the singers Bortnyansky tackled the problem of education. Many of the young singers came to the Kapella, as had Bortnyansky himself, from the preparatory school at Glukhov. Founded in 1738 with the exclusive purpose of training choristers for the Court Kapella, the school provided elementary training in both vocal and instrumental music. Ten boys were accepted each year and after two years of study were sent to St. Petersburg to serve in the Kapella. The curriculum of the school is outlined in an ukaz of 14 September 1738:

See to it that [the pupils] have the best voices, so that the aforementioned precentor might train them in Kievan and partesnyi [polyphonic] singing; moreover once knowledgeable foreign and Ukrainian masters have been sought out, let the students be also trained in string music, i.e. on the violin, gusli\* and bandura\* ... once they are trained in singing and in string music let them be sent, ten at a time, every year to the court of Her Imperial Majesty [Anna], and new ones recruited in their place.<sup>20</sup>

Soon after the young singers arrived at the Court Kapella they were required to perform in front of the Tsar<sup>21</sup> and, if they met with his approval, faced a demanding schedule: the choir rehearsed for three hours each day, working on music for the daily services and forthcoming concerts.<sup>22</sup> These rehearsals, the services themselves, concerts, and

\* an explanation of such Russian terms can be found in the glossary

the musical entertainments at court in which they were required to participate left them very little free time.

The education of these young choristers was entrusted to the adult singers: a chorister arriving in St. Petersburg would be placed in the charge of an experienced singer and would study the chants used in the Kapella, learning principally by imitation and repetition.<sup>23</sup> The same principle was used in general rehearsals: the choir was divided up not into treble, alto, tenor, and bass sections but into small groups comprising equal numbers of each voice, thus mixing youth with experience.<sup>24</sup> Each group was led by a precentor who would instruct them with the aid of a violin, a legacy of the many Italian musicians who had worked at the court in the eighteenth century. Only precentors who had themselves been trained in the Kapella were permitted to work with the choir and so the traditional teaching method continued in an unbroken line.<sup>25</sup> The young boys studied solfeggio and sight-reading and soloists were given individual voice-training. Examinations were held annually to assess the progress of each boy, and only those students who displayed a special aptitude received instruction in composition, harmony, and music theory.<sup>26</sup>

Bortnyansky was also anxious to establish a school within the Kapella to train the young singers in instrumental performance. All precentors already received tuition on the violin, on which they were required to be sufficiently proficient to lead and correct the singers during rehearsals, and it was Bortnyansky's intention to introduce tuition on viola, cello, and double bass to complement this existing tuition. Wind instruments were not to be introduced as it was widely

believed that playing woodwind or brass instruments would have a detrimental effect on the choristers' voices. Bortnyansky's plan was approved by the Ministry of the Imperial Court and instrumental classes opened on 18 January 1810.<sup>27</sup> His ambitions were short-lived however; due to lack of resources the classes were forced to close after only one year.<sup>28</sup>

While Bortnyansky firmly believed that every boy should receive an adequate education, he was opposed to providing each student with a specialized musical education when the majority would be employed in areas other than music. His attitude is evident from a report of 28 March 1825:

Teaching figured-bass to the young court singers is not only not useful, but can distract them from the studies necessary for their future duties.<sup>29</sup>

For this reason choristers received a general education in addition to their musical studies. Thus when a chorister's voice broke he could sit the examination for entry to the civil service, fourteenth grade, and gain employment as a clerk in a government office. Little information concerning these classes has survived. General education classes had been introduced as early as September 1766, when the young choristers studied French, Italian, history, geography, Russian, German, and arithmetic at the private boarding school run by Alexander Thomas Bousquet,<sup>30</sup> but it is likely that the curriculum underwent some changes in the years prior to Bortnyansky's appointment. In principle, the choristers were divided into three classes - junior, intermediate, and senior - and studied for two years in each.<sup>31</sup> It seems that instruction

in general subjects was somewhat haphazard, however, and that few boys reached the required standard for entry into the civil service. When Bortnyansky's successor in the Kapella, Fyodor L'vov, took up his appointment in 1826 one of his first objectives was to reform general classes, and he complained to the Ministry of the Imperial Court that many of the young choristers were simply thrown out onto the street with no means of supporting themselves as soon as their voices had broken.<sup>32</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that Bortnyansky, as a musician and composer, concerned himself principally with choral training and, as a result, the boys' general education was somewhat neglected.

Bortnyansky was not concerned solely with musical instruction in the Kapella: he was also anxious to improve the material circumstances of the singers. In 1796 the director had received a salary of one hundred and twenty rubles and choristers wages of sixty rubles with an additional sum of forty rubles for 'rations'.<sup>33</sup> There were frequent complaints regarding levels of pay in the Kapella and Bortnyansky received large numbers of petitions from singers begging financial assistance.<sup>34</sup> As a result of his efforts wages were increased on 18 March 1817 so that the very lowest rank of the youngest singers received a wage equal to that formerly paid to the director.<sup>35</sup> According to Gusin and Tkachev choristers were also awarded a rise in wages on 12 December 1807,<sup>36</sup> but I have found no documentary evidence to support this claim. On the contrary, in a letter to A. N. Golitsyn, Minister of the Imperial Court, dated 23 July 1816, Bortnyansky requested an increase in the choristers' wages because the pay scale agreed in 1801 was still in force.<sup>37</sup>

Even with the 1817 increase, choristers were still paid a meagre amount: the older singers struggled to support themselves and their families, and the salaries paid by the Ministry of the Imperial Court to the young choristers were paid directly into the Kapella's account. From this account money was taken for food, footwear, clothing and linen for the young singers, the lighting of rooms, hiring of cooks, laundresses, and other necessary expenses.<sup>38</sup> No records of these domestic expenditures were kept and on leaving the Kapella the young choristers received only a very small sum for immediate needs.

Living conditions for the young choristers were also very poor. From the 1760's the boys had been housed in a property on the Admiralty Canal rented from Lieutenant Vladimir Nashchokin and rehearsals had been held in the old Winter Palace.<sup>39</sup> On 15 October 1808, at Bortnyansky's instigation, the two houses at number 20 Naberezhnaya reki Moiki and 11 Bol'shaya konyushchennaya designed by the architects Yury Veldten, Franz Rusca and Ludovic Charlemange<sup>40</sup> were purchased for the Kapella by the Ministry of the Imperial Court. These were partially reconstructed and the choir moved in on 1 November 1810.<sup>41</sup> According to Fyodor L'vov's description of conditions in the Kapella in 1817, however:

The choristers' house was neglected and bare. There was no proper place for singing. There were neither decent beds nor proper bed-linen in the bedrooms.<sup>42</sup>

L'vov no doubt exaggerates the deficiencies of the previous regime in order that his own achievements might seem more remarkable. Yet had there been no truth in these allegations then L'vov's own reforms would have been unnecessary.

Bortnyansky was a highly gifted musician and under his direction the choir achieved that refined, beautifully-balanced sonority for which he had striven. While he did his utmost to improve the lot of the singers, he was not an experienced administrator: during his tenure no accounts were kept, there were no records of official correspondence, and financial affairs were handled in a haphazard fashion. Yet it is clear from the remarks of his contemporaries that the deficiencies of the Kapella were not attributed to any negligence or lack of humanity and compassion in the Director. Quite the contrary. In the words of Ivan Dolgoruky:

I studied singing with Signor Bortnyansky and I recall many rehearsals with pleasure ... He was an indulgent, kind, courteous ~~artist~~<sup>43</sup>

and by all accounts the choristers 'respected him as a father and loved him fervently'.<sup>44</sup>

The circumstances of his death then are perhaps particularly fitting. According to various sources, on 27 September 1825 Bortnyansky summoned the choir to his house and requested that they sing his favourite concerto for him - Vskuyu priskorbna esi dushe moya [My soul is filled with every sorrow]. When the performance ended he was found to be dead.<sup>45</sup>

ii) The Court Kapella under the direction of F. P. L'vov: 1826-1836

Following Bortnyansky's death, Dmitry Mikhailovich Dubyansky was appointed director of the Court Kapella on 15 October 1825.<sup>46</sup> Virtually nothing is known of him. His brother Fyodor, a composer and amateur violinist, often performed in the salons of St. Petersburg and, like Bortnyansky, was a member of the poet Gavriil Derzhavin's circle. It is likely, therefore, that Dmitry too moved in this society and was acquainted with his predecessor. The lack of information regarding Dubyansky is of little importance: the new director died on 12 December 1825, a mere three months after the death of Bortnyansky.<sup>47</sup>

On 20 March 1826 Fyodor Petrovich L'vov took up the directorship of the Kapella.<sup>48</sup> The reasons for this appointment are not entirely clear. L'vov (1766-1836) had enjoyed a good musical education, studying with private tutors and was, as Pougin asserts, a 'distinguished dilettante'.<sup>49</sup> Although he had little or no experience of choral direction or of church music, he was an accomplished amateur singer and often participated in musical evenings at the home of his uncle, Nikolai Aleksandrovich L'vov, now remembered principally for his work on Russian folk songs. There he mixed with leading figures from the literary world, Gavriil Derzhavin and Vasily Kapnist, with the artists Dmitry Levitsky and Vladimir Borovikovsky and, of course, with musicians such as Ivan Prach and Evstignei Fomin. He remained a close friend of Derzhavin in particular and himself wrote under the pseudonym 'Skhimnik' [a monk belonging to the strictest order of the Russian Orthodox Church].<sup>50</sup> Yet he remained at best a good amateur musician, and was

certainly not an artist of Bortnyansky's stature. A civil servant and privy councillor, L'vov had previously worked in the Ministry of Trade. He was close to the court, a friend of Count Aleksei Arakcheev, Minister of War and unofficial prime minister during Alexander's reign, and was known as a good administrator. At the time of his appointment to the Court Kapella he was already sixty years of age and it was probably his record of long, faithful service in the Ministry rather than his musical ability or experience which prompted the newly-crowned Nicholas I to place him at the head of this establishment.

Relatively little is known of the administrative and educational affairs of the Kapella at this time, although some information is contained in a report sent by Captain Paul Einbeck (1785-1845), Captain of the 2nd Prussian Guards, to King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia in 1829. The King, whose daughter Charlotte had married Nicholas I, wished to reorganize his own choir on the same lines as the Russian Court Kapella, and his envoy was instructed to travel to St. Petersburg and attend choir rehearsals, music classes and services. Einbeck visited the Kapella on 10 August 1829<sup>51</sup> and was deeply impressed by all he saw and heard, attributing the high standard of performance attained by the choir to the following:

1. All the singers had exceptionally fine voices;
2. All voices were trained according to the best Italian method;
3. All sections and soloists had a superb knowledge of their parts;
4. The Court Kapella, as a special government-supported

church choir, constituted a single artistic entity not affected by external circumstances, with the singers not having to devote their time to outside activities.<sup>52</sup>

This report should be examined more closely. Firstly Einbeck comments on the excellence of the individual voices. This cannot be doubted; many critics, both Russian and foreign, frequently praised the rich sonorities and clear tone of the singers in the highest terms (see Chapters 4 and 5). According to tradition, the majority of young choristers were recruited from the Ukraine, an area famous for producing excellent voices, and a great deal of time and money was spent on their selection. However a report from L'vov to the Minister of the Imperial Court dated 6 May 1832 (no.2667) describes the ever-increasing difficulty of obtaining the best choristers.<sup>53</sup> Parents were aware that living conditions in the Kapella were poor and that many boys left the Kapella with no means of financial support when their voices broke; naturally they were reluctant to abandon their children to such a fate. To remedy this situation L'vov proposed that the former choir school in Glukhov (see p.1) should be re-opened to prepare boys for service in the Kapella from an early age.<sup>54</sup> The exact closure date of the school is not known, but it had certainly ceased to exist by 1773 when a special class was formed at the secondary school in Khar'kov to train prospective choristers in vocal and instrumental music. In 1806, however, this class too was forced to close due to lack of resources.<sup>55</sup> L'vov's proposal for the re-opening of the school in Glukhov was rejected by the Ministry of the Imperial Court as financially unviable.

Einbeck then states that all choristers are trained according to

the best Italian method. According to tradition, the majority of singing teachers in the Kapella were themselves Italian or were former choristers of the Kapella who had been trained by Italian masters (see p.7), and during L'vov's tenure this tradition of voice-training continued. In a report to the Minister of the Imperial Court dated 27 March 1833 L'vov outlines the teaching programme followed by young choristers:

Pupils are divided into classes according to their abilities. In the junior class they study the musical alphabet. In the intermediate class they learn to read music and learn about rhythm. In the senior class they study expression and individual or solo singing.<sup>56</sup>

Choristers generally spent two years in each of the three classes and, in addition to the above, studied pronunciation and breath control. Lessons were held three times a week, according to a fixed timetable, while another three days were set aside for general rehearsals. The report of 27 March 1833 states:

The choir meets on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays for concert repertoire, teaching and revision - they study singing from 11am until 2pm, sometimes less. For general church repertoire and the chants set in four parts by Archpriest Turchaninov the choir meets on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at the same times.<sup>57</sup>

Rehearsals on Tuesdays and Thursdays, led by the senior singing teacher, were set aside principally for work on imminent concert programmes and

to sort out the balance between parts. On Saturday afternoons, when the choir worked on the music for the following Sunday, the rehearsal was open to the public so that the young boys might quickly accustom themselves to singing before an audience (see Chapter 4).<sup>58</sup>

Lastly Einbeck makes the point that the Kapella received financial support from the state and that choristers were therefore free to devote all their time to their art. This is an idealised view and undoubtedly one which the directorate of the Kapella was at pains to cultivate in the foreign envoy. While it is true that the singers were employed solely in the Kapella, Einbeck's statement implies that state subsidy freed both administration and choristers from financial worries. This is entirely misleading. Despite repeated pleas from L'vov to the Ministry there had been no increase in salaries since 1817,<sup>59</sup> and because of inflation the older singers, the majority of whom were married with families, were now substantially poorer than in Bortnyansky's time. Their duties - lessons, rehearsals, services, and concerts - left them very little free time, so that they were unable to find any employment outwith the Kapella to supplement their income. The desperate situation faced by many of them is evident from the file preserved on the singer A. Besplatov, which is described by Muzalevsky and contains petitions begging financial assistance and telling of the singer's struggle to support himself and his family in a dilapidated hovel on the outskirts of the city.<sup>60</sup>

It appears that the young choristers fared a little better. They too received the same wage as they had in 1817 but meticulous records were now kept of each boy's income and expenditure and the strict

supervision of their financial affairs was to their advantage. While money for food, clothing, and such necessities was still deducted from their salaries, careful records of this expenditure were kept and, now that affairs were supervised by a highly experienced administrator, the necessary expenses had decreased somewhat. We learn from L'vov's report to the Ministry of the Imperial Court of 27 March 1833 that:

The children's food costs less than before and is of better quality. They are dressed more neatly and sing [dressed] in a special uniform during public rehearsals ... Table linen, mattresses, flannelette blankets and a sufficient quantity of Flemish bed linen have also been acquired.<sup>61</sup>

L'vov studied the economic situation of the Kapella very seriously in the light of his experience in the Ministry of Trade and introduced an ordered system of record-keeping, described in the report cited above:

[Within the Kapella] administrative affairs are carried out with the necessary order. Records of incoming and outgoing documents have been established. There are books detailing financial income and expenditure and official correspondence. As there are still no specially-appointed officials for this work the Inspector and Governor carry out the work in their free time.<sup>62</sup>

L'vov achieved much through his insistence on careful and comprehensive book-keeping. However the financial affairs of the

Kapella were managed by the Ministry of the Imperial Court and ultimately the director could do little unless he received their financial backing. L'vov repeatedly complained to Tsar Nicholas, as for instance in this memorandum of 9 November 1826, that:

There are insufficient funds to give the young singers a decent education. The children are taught only to sing without any other education. The financial situation of the singers is difficult and the salaries are too small.<sup>63</sup>

The question of an all-round education for the young choristers was one which concerned L'vov greatly from the earliest days of his directorship and he was deeply conscious of the problems facing the choristers when they left the Kapella. Although the majority of choristers were recruited from the Ukraine (see p.220) they could not return to their homes and their families when their services were no longer required as they had very little money. Employment in St. Petersburg was scarce: even if a young chorister later proved to have a good tenor or bass voice vacancies for adult singers very rarely occurred in the Kapella itself, and the chances of obtaining work in one of the private chapels was very remote as these were generally made up of serfs from the nobleman's estate. The choristers were not trained for any other trade and without a general education could not obtain employment in the civil service. Thus they left the Kapella with no means of supporting themselves in the future.

Having given the matter careful consideration L'vov determined to approach the Minister of the Imperial Court regarding the necessity of

providing a broad general education for the young choristers. While general subjects had nominally formed part of the Kapella curriculum since Bortnyansky's time, in practice all emphasis was placed on voice-training at the expense of general subjects. In the report of 9 November 1826 L'vov writes:

I have encountered many deficiencies both in relation to the education of the young choristers, and in the economic affairs of this establishment ... there is inadequate means for decent teaching and supervision of the children ... If one considers that the only subject to be taught there is singing, this subject is completely satisfactory, but taking into account the fact that the sixty or so boys living in the building require some education, some preparation either for [military or civil] service or for work as free artists, then the situation of these children and internal control with regard to their maintenance and exercise demands due supervision and order.<sup>64</sup>

Despite L'vov's best efforts it was not until 1829 that his plans were adopted and the systematic teaching of general subjects introduced.<sup>65</sup> From this time the young choristers were divided into three classes according to age and ability, and were expected to spend two years in each - an arrangement similar to that adopted in the teaching of singing (see p.15). A timetable of lessons was drawn up with the boys in the first class studying reading, writing, catechism, Biblical history and basic arithmetic. In the second class they continued to study writing

and arithmetic and began to learn about Russian geography, ancient and Russian history, and Russian grammar, and in their last years studied world geography, history of the middle ages and recent times, algebra, geometry, French and Russian grammar.<sup>66</sup> The boys were instructed in these subjects by the inspector of the Kapella, Pyotr Belikov, and the governor, Ermolai Esakov, and were examined in each subject at four-monthly intervals.<sup>67</sup> The director of the Kapella was present at every exam.

This was more than sufficient to prepare the young choristers for work in the civil service. After six years in the Kapella the boys were appointed civil servants of the fourteenth grade and, following legislation passed on 1 October 1829,<sup>68</sup> could be appointed to positions in their chosen departments by prior agreement between L'vov and the authorities concerned.

These measures went some way towards alleviating the problem of future employment for the choristers but could not eradicate it completely. Boys chosen to sing in the Kapella were not selected on the basis of their scholastic ability: many were slow to learn and the periods set aside for lessons were liable to be disrupted by the musical demands made on them. After their voices had broken most were forced to leave the Kapella and so many did not complete the third class. Jobs in the civil service were highly sought-after and competition for vacancies was fierce. L'vov could do little more to improve the boys' prospects through general education, although he continued to press for the enforcement of the legislation passed on 1 October 1829. Instead he turned his attention to the sphere of musical education, in particular

to instrumental tuition.

As things were, few opportunities existed for older singers and six years of musical training were wasted when the young choristers left the Kapella. However L'vov believed that if it were possible to train the boys in orchestral playing as well as choral singing then they would have good prospects for employment in the theatre orchestras. In a petition dated 7 April 1834 L'vov presented his idea, together with draft regulations for the proposed class, to the Tsar through the Ministry of the Imperial Court:

Seeing that a large number of the young choristers, who have a pronounced talent for music, play the violin on their own in their free time and beg to be allowed to study this art; and considering that a new path would open up to them when they left the Kapella if the boys were properly instructed, and that the musical ability developing in many of them may be needed by the orchestras of the imperial theatres, I pluck up the courage to *beg humbly* that Your Majesty be pleased to establish a special class of instrumental music in the Kapella.<sup>69</sup>

This proposition met with the Tsar's approval; L'vov's draft proposal was adopted virtually unchanged and the Instrumental Class was established on the following basis, confirmed in a letter to L'vov from the Minister dated 12 April 1834 (no.1225):

It has been agreed:

1. To select thirty of the most talented and most

eager to study instrumental music (excepting wind instruments) from the available number of young choristers;

2. To hold the music class after lunch;
3. To appoint, at the discretion of the director, a talented and knowledgeable teacher to instruct the boys in playing all bowed [orchestral] instruments; the expense of hiring this teacher, which should not exceed the sum of twelve hundred rubles annually, to be deducted from the Kapella's account which is handled in the Treasury;
4. To buy musical instruments, i.e. violins, violas, cellos, and double basses, at the expense of the pupils selecting them for their studies. When a pupil leaves, his instrument will remain in the Kapella and the sum originally paid for its purchase will be returned to him from the economic sum;
5. To hold an annual examination to ascertain the progress of those studying instrumental music; a report to be sent to the Minister of the Imperial Court on the best pupils;
6. To appoint one of the older choristers studying instrumental music to the position of assistant music teacher with a salary of one thousand rubles. The teacher appointed will supervise the pupils'

daily exercises;

7. To expel from the class anyone who proves untalented, and to appoint another to his place;
8. If any of the most talented young singers do not have time to acquire a sure mastery of instrumental music because their voices are close to breaking, they may transfer to the Theatre School on condition that the Directorate [of the Theatre School] is in agreement and that there is a vacancy;
9. If a student has already reached the stage where he can read music fluently, even [when it contains] the most intricate complexities, and is expert in performance, then he may, if he so desires, be appointed to the orchestra of the imperial theatres with an appropriate salary on leaving the Kapella, on condition that the Directorate of the Imperial Theatres is in agreement.<sup>70</sup>

The class opened in the autumn of 1834 with thirty-one pupils: seventeen studying violin, six viola, five cello, and three double bass.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, however, the financial basis was unsound - the plan made no mention of payment for the necessary sheet music, instrumental accessories or the like, and the Kapella's budget was already insufficient to provide a decent standard of living for the choristers without the burden of another teacher to be salaried. After only two years the Instrumental Class was forced to close 'due to lack of resources'.<sup>72</sup>

L'vov would undoubtedly have fought this closure but with his illness and death at the end of that year there was no one to champion the cause. No students completed the course in this short period of time and so it is impossible to make a fair assessment of the musical value of the undertaking. However the previous existence of such a class, established by imperial decree according to a carefully drawn-up statute, was of great assistance to L'vov's son, Aleksei, when he later took over the directorship of the Kapella and wished to establish his own Instrumental Class (see p.35).

Fyodor L'vov's contribution to the Kapella is generally disregarded. Unlike Bortnyansky, he was not a particularly prominent musician and his name tends to be passed over. Yet he was an excellent administrator and brought his skill and experience to bear on all areas of Kapella life with much success. In addition to laying the foundations of instrumental and general classes, ordering economic affairs and official correspondence, he approved various building projects: the choristers' house was restored and a new concert hall was added. Both were refurnished and lamps were installed. Neither did he neglect more minor administrative matters: a book library and library of choral music were established and housed in specially-built cupboards, and scores were rewritten, bound and catalogued.<sup>73</sup> In the words of Aleksei L'vov:

Il appliqua toute son attention à l'éducation des enfants qui font partie du chœur, et qu'en administrateur remarquable, il mit un ordre parfait dans toutes les affaires courantes,<sup>74</sup>

and his appointment to the Kapella at this time was arguably of greater ultimate benefit to the institution than would have resulted from the appointment of a more talented choirmaster or composer.

iii) The Court Kapella under the direction of A. F. L'vov: 1837-1861

Following the death of Fyodor L'vov on 14 December 1836, the position of director of the Court Kapella passed to his son, Aleksei Fyodorovich L'vov. Born in 1798, the younger L'vov had received a military education, studying at the Engineering Institute, and had studied music at home with his father and various German tutors including Franz Böhm, Johann Müller and Johann Fuchs.<sup>75</sup> After graduating from the Institute with a gold medal, L'vov embarked on a military career, serving first in Novgorod under Count Arakcheev and then in St. Petersburg under Count Benkendorf, head of the Third Department of His Majesty's Own Chancery, the political police. These were both highly responsible and sought-after positions, offering brilliant prospects, and indicate the favour with which the young L'vov was already regarded in court circles. He won even greater imperial approval when he composed the hymn adopted as the Russian national anthem, which was first performed in the Tsar's presence on 11 November 1833.<sup>76</sup> The following year he was appointed personal adjutant to the Tsar, dealing with matters pertaining to the Emperor's travels abroad, and in this capacity made frequent visits to Western Europe, in particular to Prussia and Austria. Although he was an extremely talented violinist, as a member of the Tsar's suite it was considered unseemly for him to appear on the concert platform in Russia. It was, however, permissible for him to perform abroad and his skill was admired and respected by such composers as Mendelssohn, Schumann and Meyerbeer (see p.245).

During his father's illness in the closing months of 1836, the

Ministry of the Imperial Court requested that Aleksei assume the duties of director of the Court Kapella until Fyodor had made a full recovery.<sup>77</sup> On 2 January 1837, following the death of the elder L'vov, the position of acting director was made permanent.<sup>78</sup> For reasons that are not clear, however, he was not confirmed in the position of director until 21 February 1849, twelve years after the initial appointment.<sup>79</sup> There is no evidence to show that L'vov's position at the Kapella was ever under threat, or that he was on trial, so it is possible that this was simply an administrative oversight.

On 1 January 1837 Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka was appointed kapellmeister of the Kapella, a position created especially for him.<sup>80</sup> He had recently won the Tsar's favour with the production of his opera Zhizn' za tsarya [A Life for the Tsar], and the appointment to the Kapella was a token of this approval. No specific duties were assigned to the post, but in practice Glinka's duties included supervision of the other teachers, the teaching of secular works and solo singing. The terms of both appointments are given in an annotation to a memorandum from the Minister of the Imperial Court dated 27 December 1836:

His Majesty has decreed that Adjutant L'vov be appointed to fulfil the duties of director and that Titular Councillor Glinka be appointed as kapellmeister with a salary of 1500 rubles and board of 1000 rubles.<sup>81</sup>

At the time of L'vov's and Glinka's appointment to the Kapella the choristers received no systematic musical education and many, especially the boys, were musically illiterate. Preoccupied with administrative

affairs, Fyodor L'vov had paid little attention to choral training, leaving that to the singing teacher and his assistant and, as a result, the boys' musical education had been somewhat neglected.

Soon after taking up his new position, Aleksei L'vov subjected all the choristers to an examination which a number failed. Rather than dismiss the adult singers and engage others, as L'vov wished, Glinka undertook to teach them basic rudiments, and to correct their intonation. Initially rather sceptical, the singers were soon won over by Glinka's determination. He describes his methods in his Zapiski [Memoirs]:

When I appeared for the first time for their instruction with chalk in hand there were few volunteers to be found. The majority of the older singers stood off at some distance with a look of disbelief, and some of them even smiled. Without paying any attention to this, I got down to business so diligently, even cunningly, I might say, that after several lessons almost all the older singers ... came to my lectures ... My method of teaching consisted of the analysis of scales, the meaning of semitones, and therefore an understanding of the basis for the use of sharps and flats. I then wrote short two-part exercises (Sätze) on the blackboard, had them first analyse the exercise, then sing one part, then analyse and sing the other part, and finally sing it all together, as I tried to improve their ability

to listen and correct their intonation.<sup>82</sup>

According to Fatykhova, Glinka's work with the existing choristers was unsuccessful and did not alleviate the need to recruit new singers.<sup>83</sup> To substantiate this view she quotes a letter dated 15 February 1838 from the governer of the Kapella, Ermolai Esakov, to Glinka which states that the Tsar was displeased with the standard of singing.<sup>84</sup> If one reads further in this document, however, it becomes clear that the Tsar was not unhappy with the standard of the choir in general but was displeased by a poor performance resulting from the wrong starting note having been given during one particular service.<sup>85</sup> On the contrary, it would seem that Glinka's efforts met with considerable success. None of the existing singers were dismissed and in the first recruitment session following Glinka's appointment it was necessary to engage only two additional basses together with nineteen boys for training as choristers.<sup>86</sup> This would suggest that those singers already employed in the Kapella were now of an acceptable standard. In his Zapiski Glinka himself notes that:

My work with the choristers went rather well and I saw rapid progress in my pupils, who were already beginning to read music fluently.<sup>87</sup>

From the beginning of June various other measures were taken to raise the standard of singing in the choir: sectional rehearsals were held four times a week to work on the analysis of new pieces and on correcting intonation; the rehearsals held on Saturday afternoons were no longer open to the public - instead the choir was divided into those who sang in the Tsar's chapel and those who sang in the large chapel of

the Winter Palace, with each group working on the music to be sung the following day. At these rehearsals particular attention was paid to the balance of voices (see p.237), and the Tsar's favourite works were revised in case he should request them. More stringent rules were introduced regarding attendance of rehearsals: no exceptions were made for those with particularly good voices or those who had served in the choir for a long number of years - all singers were required to be present at every rehearsal without fail.<sup>88</sup> Judging by critical reviews of concerts given by the choir at this time these measures were tremendously successful (see Chapter 4).

L'vov's ambitions were not confined simply to raising the standard of the choir and, the new rehearsal schedule established, he turned his attention to the Precentors' Class. In a report to the Minister of the Imperial Court written in January 1846 he laments:

The most significant shortcoming in church music in Russia is the variety and irregularity in performance in various parishes and churches where choirmasters - being largely uneducated and not having the chance to hear how church music is performed in the Court Kapella - instruct choirs, each according to his own ideas, introducing more and more absurd mistakes, which are impossible to hear without deep sorrow.<sup>89</sup>

To remedy this it was L'vov's intention to establish a school within the Kapella to train not only the court choristers but also prospective precentors or choirmasters for church and regimental choirs: a move which, incidentally, would greatly strengthen the Kapella's influence

over the development of church music in general. The first step towards this goal was taken on 8 October 1837 when it was agreed that the class be reformed on the following basis:

1. Precentors' classes are open to all who wish to learn the precentor's trade;
2. Graduates of the Class receive a certificate conferring the right to teach church singing in choirs;
3. The Kapella singing teachers and their assistants teach in these classes;
4. Fees for instruction in this Class are: thirty rubles for the junior class, one hundred and fifty for the intermediate class and three hundred rubles for the senior class.<sup>90</sup>

For the next ten years the basis of the Precentors' Class remained unchanged while L'vov concentrated his attention on other areas of the Kapella's work, in particular the re-establishment of instrumental classes (see p.35). In the late 1840's, however, his attention again turned to the Precentors' Class. Since 1837, precentor's training had been available in the Kapella to all who wished to take advantage of it and had the financial means to do so. However L'vov was concerned not just with those who were anxious to obtain the necessary precentors' skills, but also with those already employed in churches and regimental choirs whose level of musical education was inadequate for their position and was such that they were unable to recognise their own shortcomings. He again approached the Ministry of the Imperial Court,

lamenting the sorry state of church singing in general and emphasizing the necessity of preparing skilled musicians to work with the choirs. As a result, on 11 December 1847 an ukaz (no.14040) was issued by the Holy Synod decreeing that only those singing teachers and precentors who held a certificate from the Court Kapella could follow the profession of precentor.<sup>91</sup> Diocesan bishops were instructed to send all precentors and experienced singers to study in the Kapella during the six winter months, leaving their choirs under the direction of the assistant choirmasters. In addition, these precentors were required to return to the Kapella every four years for re-examination on the chants of the church Obikhod\* and renewal of their certificates. Should they fail to attend these periodic examinations their certificates would be withdrawn.<sup>92</sup> Clearly a substantial number of churches initially ignored this new legislation as the decree was subsequently reaffirmed on 30 June 1849,<sup>93</sup> 26 May 1850,<sup>94</sup> and 21 September 1852.<sup>95</sup>

The certificates issued by the Kapella were divided into three classes according to the ability and level of training of the holder. A choirmaster holding a third-class certificate was permitted to teach simple church chant but was prohibited from teaching freely-composed works by contemporary composers and from composing music for the church himself. The holder of a second-class certificate was permitted to teach both simple chant and freely-composed works but was also forbidden to compose. The holder of a first-class certificate, in addition to teaching the ancient chants and freely-composed works, was permitted to

\*An explanation of Russian terms will be found in the glossary

compose music for liturgical use, although his compositions still had to be submitted to the Court Kapella for assessment and approval.<sup>96</sup> Should a precentor teach his choir material not approved by the Kapella directorate then his certification would be cancelled.

In 1848 the statute of the Precentors' Class was again revised. While the majority of students were choirmasters from larger parish churches or regimental choirs, the Class remained open to anyone wishing to receive a precentor's training who fulfilled the conditions of entry laid out in a report from L'vov to the Minister of the Imperial Court of 5 October 1848:

Aspiring students:

1. must be at least twenty-five years of age and have some understanding of music;
2. must be provided with respectable clothing, a violin and bow, a tuning fork and up to thirty rubles for the purchase of music;
3. they are required to attend the Kapella from 9am until 1pm every day. Maintenance and housing are not provided by the Kapella;
4. are required to pay the sum of thirty rubles for annual tuition on entry to the class;
5. it is possible for people of any faith and with the weakest of voices to enter the Precentors' Class if they have the mental capabilities necessary for their future appointment;
6. the length of time which the pupil is required to

spend in the Kapella will depend on his talent and diligence, and for this reason if, at the end of the year he has not passed the course, then he will be required to pay a further thirty rubles to extend his study for a year.<sup>97</sup>

Fees for those studying for the second and first-class certificates were one hundred and fifty rubles and three hundred rubles respectively.<sup>98</sup>

Little is known about the structure of the course or, indeed, whether there was in fact a structured course. It is most probable that, as in previous years, the student would simply work with one of the singing teachers or assistants until such times as he was considered ready to sit some form of examination. However, the probable contents of the preceptors' examination may be deduced from L'vov's booklet Q tserkovnykh khorakh where he lists the areas in which a choirmaster must be skilled:

To carry out his duties a choirmaster must know:

1. how to select different voice types for the choir;
2. the musical alphabet, the names of all the notes and intervals;
3. all scales or modes;
4. how to give the starting note with the aid of a tuning fork;
5. the correct and true pronunciation of words and sounds;
6. the table of chords;
7. correct and incorrect part-writing;

8. the division of notes into bars of different measure, and fluent reading of music;
9. it is useful to know [how to play] some musical instrument well enough, at least, to correct and lead the singers.<sup>99</sup>

In addition to the above, precentors were required to have a thorough knowledge of the church chants used at the imperial court.

Certificates could also be procured, at the director's discretion, by prospective precentors who had not studied in the Kapella itself, but who presented themselves for examination. Students were permitted to attend services in the imperial churches in order that they might hear the choir of the Kapella on a regular basis and by April 1859 one hundred and seventy two students had completed the course and received the appropriate certificates.<sup>100</sup>

L'vov's ambitions for the Kapella were not restricted to the sphere of choral music. On 3 November 1838 in a report to the Minister of the Imperial Court L'vov requested that the Instrumental Class, founded by his father, be re-established in the Kapella,<sup>101</sup> firstly 'to assist boys losing their voices to become musicians, as they had already received musical training as choristers', and secondly 'to stop the dependence on foreign musicians and their domination'.<sup>102</sup> This latter point was one on which L'vov held very strong views and which provided the principal motivation in his work with the Instrumental Class. For the most part the theatre orchestras in St. Petersburg and Moscow were made up of foreign musicians who, after ten years service, were entitled to a state pension for themselves and their families. This could be received

abroad and so many young foreign musicians with very little experience arrived in Russia, worked for exactly ten years, and then returned home to enjoy a considerable pension. L'vov was determined that native talent should be fostered and that Russian musicians take the place of these 'foreigners who cost the state dearly'.<sup>103</sup> In a report to the Minister of the Imperial Court he wrote:

On my appointment to the position of director of the Court Kapella I was persuaded of the benefits which could result from the establishment of a permanent class of instrumental music ... I decided to carry out an experiment and, having hired the best teachers of instrumental music, awaited results from my pupils. A period of eight months was sufficient to show that several of the young people possessed a talent exceeding all expectations ... Experience has proved the necessity [for the re-establishment] of instrumental classes and the compilation of a new statute, valid for a period of five years. Within five years there will be results and the [present] dependence on foreigners will decline.<sup>104</sup>

L'vov's draft regulations for the proposed Instrumental Class were approved by the Ministry on 7 January 1839,<sup>105</sup> and teaching began according to the following statute:

1. Between fifteen and twenty young choristers will be recruited for this class;
2. This recruitment takes place in accordance with the

- pupils' own wishes; equally the choice of instrument is left to the pupils themselves;
3. The director of the Kapella is required to select teachers for violin, cello, and double bass (the older singers may also study this last instrument), and to fix the hours of study in these classes;
  4. Those pupils whose voices break before they have completed their instrumental training present themselves for graduation according to the existing rules and do not lose the place awarded them. They are permitted to continue living in the building in order to continue their instrumental training and use their own money, taken from the sum set aside in the Treasury during their service as choristers, for food and clothing;
  5. The Kapellmeister of the Guards' regiment is required to select from the regiments the best of those musicians who have a further four or five years to serve; it is intended that they should enter the theatre orchestras on receiving their discharge. Two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, three horns, two trumpets, and one kettledrum are required - fourteen players in all. Should these musicians be killed then they will be replaced;
  6. They continue their duties in serving their

regiments and meet in the Court Kapella once a week for the general class;

7. Those musicians who have completed their period of service in the regiments but have not yet completed their training in the Instrumental Class are allowed to retain their [military] rank and continue to receive maintenance from the regiment for a short period, which should not exceed one year;
8. On completion of the full course in instrumental music each musician, whether from one of the regiments or from the choir of the Kapella, is awarded a certificate signed by the director and the teacher with whom he studied;
9. Certificates fall into three categories:
  - a) Certificate no.1 is awarded to those pupils who excel in the skills of orchestral musicianship, and allows them complete freedom in their choice of service and occupation. Those entering the [service of the] Theatre Directorate receive the annual salary of two thousand five hundred rubles and enjoy the rights of theatre artists;
  - b) On graduating from the Kapella musicians holding certificate no.2 enter the theatre orchestras with the annual salary of two thousand rubles, and those with certificate no.3 one thousand

five hundred rubles. They also enjoy the rights of theatre musicians;

10. Should two candidates of equal talent apply for one vacant position the Directorate is required always to show preference to the Russian or foreigner who holds a certificate from the Court Kapella;
11. Should the Directorate not require the services of any of these musicians then it is left to themselves to select a service or occupation;
12. The sum of five hundred rubles will be given to each pupil who completes his training and receives a certificate, for initial expenses.<sup>106</sup>

The Theatre Directorate, for its part, reserved the right to appoint only those pupils in whom it could find potential.<sup>107</sup>

Classes opened in February with thirty-one students: twelve violinists, four cellists, two double bass players, and thirteen wind players.<sup>108</sup> The young choristers lived up to L'vov's expectations of them and made rapid progress. In his Zapiski [Memoirs] he recalls the early days of the class:

I acquired everything necessary for the education of the pupils: I ordered instruments from Paris, well-made and of different sizes, and collected a large amount of music by the best composers, using about twelve thousand rubles from my own pocket. The ~~walter,~~ proceeded better than could have been anticipated.<sup>109</sup>

Indeed the pupils' initial progress was such that after fifteen months a new class was introduced enabling the boys to try out their efforts at composition under their own direction.<sup>110</sup>

Not all aspects of the new class were so satisfactory. According to the timetable drawn up by L'vov, the thirteen wind players recruited from the Guards' regiment were required to attend classes in the Kapella six days a week, from 12am until 2pm.<sup>111</sup> However Ferdinand Gaaze, Kapellmeister of the Guards' regiment, considered this excessive and was extremely reluctant to let his musicians spend so much time there. On 2 January 1842 the timetable was radically altered so that the regimental musicians spent only four hours a week in the Kapella, yet even this did not satisfy Gaaze who wished to reduce it by half again. On this point, however, L'vov was adamant: without at least two lessons each week no progress could be made.

The disagreement came to a head in October 1844. Returning from a trip abroad L'vov learned that none of the regimental musicians had attended lessons during his absence. As a result he demanded that they return their instruments to the Kapella and discontinue their studies there.<sup>112</sup> The incident was smoothed over: Gaaze alleged that he knew nothing of his musicians' truancy and agreed that they should receive four hours of instruction each week.

Otherwise the business of instrumental instruction went according to plan. By 1844 L'vov considered that the first students - three violinists, one oboist and one trumpeter - were ready to graduate, and requested that an examination be held in the presence of the Director of the Imperial Theatres, Aleksandr Gedeonov, and several of the leading

players from the opera orchestra. In his Zapiski L'vov recalls:

The exam went extremely well and, by general consent, the five musicians were appointed to the court orchestra. At that moment I was truly delighted to have laid the foundations of such a useful scheme. This moment paid me back for everything, for my labours, for my time, and for my expenses. My young people, seeing the first fruits of their labours, prepared to continue their studies with even greater zeal.<sup>113</sup>

The establishment of the Instrumental Class, however, had been energetically opposed by many influential figures including Gedeonov himself and the majority of the musicians from the opera orchestra whose positions would be threatened by Russian competition. With the backing of the orchestral musicians Gedeonov had succeeded in winning over the Minister of the Imperial Court, Prince Pyotr Volkonsky, and by exerting their joint influence the two effected the closure of the Instrumental Class on 16 January 1845, 'due to lack of resources'.<sup>114</sup> Although aware of the opposition to his innovation L'vov had underestimated the strength of feeling against him and had not in any way anticipated this, especially coming so soon after the success of the first graduation. In his Zapiski he describes his shock and distress on receiving the news:

One evening I received two documents at the same time: one was from the Director of Theatres confirming that the musicians whom I had presented for graduation had been accepted by the Directorate, and the other, also

delivered by the Director's messenger, was from the Minister informing me that His Majesty the Emperor had ordered that the Class be closed because of lack of resources. Reading this paper I did not believe my eyes; I couldn't hold back the tears, such injustice seemed impossible.<sup>115</sup>

It was evident from the joint delivery of these letters that Gedeonov and Prince Volkonsky had been working together and that it would be pointless for L'vov to seek aid in that quarter. Instead he approached Vladimir Ivanovich Panaev, Director of the Kantselyaria of the Imperial Court. Emphasizing that since the establishment of the Class he had done his best to obtain all the necessary equipment and, indeed, had paid for much of it himself, and drawing attention to the recent success of his students L'vov begged for his advice and assistance.<sup>116</sup> However, even with Panaev's support it proved impossible to overcome the plotting and intrigue of his opponents, and on 28 February 1845 L'vov reported to the Ministry that, in accordance with the order to close the Instrumental Class:

1. The regimental musicians have been ordered to cease attending the Kapella;
2. The teachers have been ordered to discontinue their classes;
3. Several of the pupils have already gone into service;
4. All instruments have been reclaimed from the pupils.<sup>117</sup>

Despite this setback L'vov refused to abandon his dream of a school of instrumental music within the Kapella and continued to press for the re-opening of the Instrumental Class, submitting various draft proposals to the Ministry, detailing expected costs and ideas on how it might be possible to meet these. He especially favoured the establishment of a 'Society of Musical Art' whose members would donate a small sum each year. The money received from this venture would be supplemented with the proceeds of a benefit concert to be given in Lent by artists from the Imperial theatres, students from the Kapella and the regimental musicians.<sup>118</sup>

Only after ten years of petitioning did L'vov see a glimmer of hope for his project: on 18 May 1855 he received a letter from the Minister of the Imperial Court informing him that the new Emperor, Alexander II, wished the Instrumental Class to re-open.<sup>119</sup> On 30 May he was requested to submit a new statute,<sup>120</sup> but another three years of correspondence between departments elapsed as draft regulations were submitted and revised. On 8 December 1857 L'vov, discouraged by the pace of events and doubtful of success, sent yet another draft statute to the Ministry accompanied by a letter emphasizing the need for action:

Every year it becomes more and more difficult to find jobs for pupils leaving the Kapella because of the numbers wishing to fill such positions [in the civil service] and because of limited resources.

Considering the responsibility of attending to the future of these boys taken from their parents into the care of the government, I cannot but heed the earnest

entreaties of many of them who beg to study instrumental music, having in mind to find themselves a means of existence either here in St. Petersburg or in one of the areas where music teachers are rare, and in many areas there are none at all.<sup>121</sup>

This statute (see Appendix 1) was approved on 11 February 1858,<sup>122</sup> and classes began in the autumn of that year.<sup>123</sup> There were few basic differences between this statute and that of the previous class: those completing the course received the same certificates and were, in the main, destined for the Imperial orchestras. However there were now provisions for private pupils to study in the Kapella and the financial basis of the class was set out in great detail. From this time instrumental instruction in the Kapella continued without interruption.

Despite the educational reforms, conditions in the Kapella under L'vov's leadership were little better than they had been in his father's time. In addition to their musical training, choristers continued to receive a general education, based on the framework established by Fyodor L'vov, but the problems facing young choristers leaving the Kapella when their voice was breaking remained the same. The number of choristers appears to have dropped slightly under the direction of Aleksei L'vov. According to Lokshin, in the season 1836/7 the choir was composed of one hundred and three singers: forty-three adults and sixty boys.<sup>124</sup> In the letter to F.-J. Fétis, cited above, L'vov states that:

Toute la chapelle se compose: d'un directeur (A. L'voff), d'un inspecteur (P. Belikoff), de deux maîtres de chant, deux répétiteurs, deux dirigeants, un

gouverneur, un secrétaire, 40 grands chantres, 50  
garçons et 10 serviteurs.<sup>125</sup>

The letter to Fétis also provides information about the wages allocated to the choristers:

Les gages des grands chantres montent de 215 à 428 roubles argent à chacun par an (1712 francs), les gages des enfants de 115 à 143 roubles argent à chacun par an (460 francs). Ils sont tous logés dans un bâtiment de la Cour, et la Cour leur fournit tout, même les uniformes nécessaires pour leurs devoirs de service. Autre cela, ils ont des gratifications qui montent par an, pour les grands: jusqu'à 100r. argent, et pour les petits: à 50r. argent chacun.<sup>126</sup>

The atmosphere in which the boys lived and worked was neither comfortable nor pleasant: Aleksei maintained the emphasis on order and discipline, encouraged by Nicholas I, which had been a feature of the elder L'vov's tenure (see p.227) and, according to Vladimir Stasov, the Kapella inspector Pyotr Belikov treated the choristers with particular brutality. Stasov describes him as a crude person with no self-control who 'pulled the choristers' hair and ripped their ears until they bled, digging his nails into the ear with evident enjoyment'.<sup>127</sup> This may, however, be the result of some personal conflict between Stasov and either L'vov or Belikov. Certainly the reminiscences of Dmitry Roslyakov, a singer who entered the Kapella at the age of eleven in 1833, paint a different picture: Roslyakov remembers L'vov with respect and something like affection, telling how the director often sat down

with the young singers after their rehearsals and shared their modest meal.<sup>128</sup> While there is no doubt that L'vov was a strict disciplinarian, there is no evidence that he mistreated the boys. The regime in the Kapella reflected the current political climate. The Decembrist uprising of 1825 which marked the very beginning of Nicholas I's reign had strengthened his determination to fight revolution and he was constantly preoccupied with the possibility of subversion. He had an innate lack of trust in the gentry and surrounded himself with military men. This may in part explain his appointment of L'vov, who had had a military education and served both the Minister of War and the head of the political police (see p.26).

L'vov's personal relations with the Tsar were good. Nicholas was sponsor at his wedding in 1839, along with the Countess Benkendorf (wife of the head of the secret police), and was later godfather to his children.<sup>129</sup> The Tsar, Tsaritsa and Grand Dukes were frequently present at the musical evenings held at L'vov's home from 1840, in which the choir, the court orchestra and the most popular Italian opera singers participated. In 1834 the Tsar himself established musical evenings in the palace under L'vov's leadership. At these concerts, held twice a week, at which only members of the Royal household were present, the Tsar played the trumpet, the Tsaritsa the piano, Counts Matvei Viel'gorsky and Sergei Apraksin the cello and double bass respectively and L'vov, of course, the violin. Favoured singers from the Court Opera were invited on occasion, and the Tsar's children also took part.<sup>130</sup>

The Tsar's appointment of L'vov was a fortunate one: L'vov rigorously carried out the orders of the Ministry of the Imperial Court

and the police authorities to protect the Kapella from sedition. He paid a great deal of attention to the boys' religious education, and free-thinking was severely punished. For better surveillance the boys were divided into small groups which were led by one of the trusted senior singers, whose job it was to report on his young charges to the Governor of the Kapella who had overall responsibility for the young choristers' education and conduct.<sup>131</sup> Neither did L'vov shrink from taking active measures: during his time as director two singers were expelled - Orlovsky was exiled to Solovetsky Monastery for atheism (sic) and Kartushin sent to the army for free-thinking.<sup>132</sup>

Relations between the director and kapellmeister were not good. Although highly flattered by the Tsar's attention and attracted by the financial advantages of service in the Kapella, Glinka was anxious regarding the duties which would be required of him. While he wished to have full control over musical affairs in the Kapella he had no interest in economic or administrative questions and, before accepting the position, attempted to ascertain whether such matters would fall within his jurisdiction. In his Zapiski [Memoirs] he recalls:

I enquired what my duties would be and finding that I would be required to concern myself only with the artistic side, announced that I agreed to accept the position of kapellmeister of the Court Kapella ...

Panaev told me that the director would concern himself only with economic affairs, and to my question: who exactly was expected to be appointed? - answered either Prince Grigory Volkonsky, or Count Matvei

Yur'evich [Viel'gorsky].<sup>133</sup>

It appears that Count Viel'gorsky was also under the impression that he would be chosen to succeed Fyodor Petrovich. Describing a meeting with the Count on 22 December 1836 Glinka writes:

He greeted me with even greater cordiality than usual;  
we were both pleased to work together and began to  
plan possible improvements for the Kapella.<sup>134</sup>

It is clear that both men were completely unaware that Aleksei L'vov had been selected even before his father's death. Glinka and Viel'gorsky were on good terms and, his fears thus allayed, Glinka had no hesitation in accepting the post of Kapellmeister. His dismay on learning the truth is evident in a letter to his mother dated 2 January 1837:

Fate, which will not abide the complete happiness of  
mortals, has played a trick on me. On the death of  
the elder L'vov, his son, with whom I am not in  
complete harmony, has been appointed to his place.<sup>135</sup>

In the first months of their joint service relations between L'vov and Glinka appear to have been outwardly amiable, even cordial, yet it is generally accepted that L'vov was secretly envious of Glinka's talent and used various underhand means to undermine his position.

On 31 March 1838 it was agreed that Glinka be sent to the Ukraine for the annual recruitment of singers for the choir,<sup>136</sup> a move which Glinka was convinced was merely an excuse to get him out of the way. He thus made no attempt to hurry back to St. Petersburg and, having left on 28 April, did not return until the beginning of September, bringing with him twenty-one singers: twelve trebles, seven altos, and two basses, the

majority of whom he had acquired from the choir of the Bishop of Poltava in Pereyaslavl by rather underhand means. The tutors Palagin and Saranchin, who accompanied Glinka on the trip, had masqueraded as two merchants with a love of church singing, thus winning the Bishop's confidence. Established in this secure position they had listened to the choir on numerous occasions and selected the best voices, while Glinka remained hidden in the background. The young singers were then taken to Glinka without the Bishop's knowledge and persuaded to leave for St. Petersburg. The Bishop's choir was decimated.<sup>137</sup>

In a letter to his mother of 6 February 1839 Glinka told of his growing dissatisfaction with his work in the Kapella:

From Christmas right up until Lent my life has resembled that of a harried post-horse; service in the Kapella, at court, balls, dinners, suppers and concerts has not only taken away all my free time, but has often deprived me of the possibility of calming myself with the necessary repose at night.<sup>138</sup>

Shortly after this Glinka became ill and was visited by L'vov who politely admonished him for neglecting his duties:<sup>139</sup> naturally this did not have the desired effect - Glinka's reaction was to devote even less attention to his duties in the Kapella than before. On 1 September he was granted a month's leave of absence on the death of his brother,<sup>140</sup> and on his return found that he could tolerate the restrictive atmosphere of the Kapella no longer. However when he informed L'vov of his decision to resign, the director *persuaded* him to remain until the end of the year, when he would be eligible for promotion to the next

grade of the civil service.<sup>141</sup> On 7 December 1839 he sent a petition to the Tsar requesting his release from service 'because of ill health ... and domestic disorders'<sup>142</sup> and enclosed an official letter to L'vov explaining his decision:

Because of my weak physical condition and exhaustion from my prolonged suffering this past year [caused by the death of his brother and the infidelity of his wife] ... I do not have the strength to perform the duties required of me in my present position ... To these circumstances have been added my obligations to my family.<sup>143</sup>

A letter to L'vov from the Ministry of the Imperial Court (no.4190) dated 18 December confirmed that the request had been granted and that on his retiral Glinka would be promoted to the rank of Collegiate Assessor.<sup>144</sup>

Konstantin Bulgakov, a close friend of Glinka, describes his time at the Kapella thus:

This was the unhappiest period of Glinka's life. He wanted fervently to work with the singers and undertook his work with sincere earnestness ... I enjoyed hearing the fruits of his labours. He always said that it gave him great pleasure to be engaged with such a purpose, for he believed in that which rendered a service to the country ... However the ungifted and envious musician (although he was an excellent violinist) A. F. L'vov, tormented by his own

insignificance compared to Glinka's genius, began to practise various deceptions on Mikhail Ivanovich, whose nature was too noble to tolerate all this.<sup>145</sup>

Glinka does not appear to have been blameless in the affair. In a letter to his brother-in-law Viktor Fleury of 15 February 1845 he wrote of L'vov's opera Bianca e Gualtiero:

Je connais cet ouvrage d'écolier (j'ai l'habitude de nommer les choses par leur nom) et je sais à quoi m'en tenir. Je ne me propose point d'imiter m-r Lwoff en quoi que ce soit - et s'il envie les autres, moi, pour ma part, je ne lui envie ni son talent de compositeur, ni sa position sociaté ... Après mes deux opéras, dont l'originalité n'a pas même été contestée par mes ennemis, puis-je m'abaisser au triste rôle d'un imitateur de Donizetti, comme l'a fait m-r Lwoff? - Plutôt renoncer à l'art que je cultive depuis 30 ans, que de commettre une pareille absurdité.<sup>146</sup>

Expressing such views can hardly have endeared him to his superior at the Kapella.

Even on Glinka's death it seems that L'vov could not refrain from trying to downplay his achievements. At the suggestion of the playwright Nestor Kukol'nik, L'vov had sent a petition to the Ministry of the Imperial Court on 14 February requesting permission for a requiem mass to be performed in the Kapella in Glinka's memory.<sup>147</sup> Permission was granted and Kukol'nik himself prepared the text for the invitation cards which he then sent to L'vov for his approval. L'vov, however,

immediately cut and corrected the rather fulsome text so that it was reduced to a few curt lines.<sup>148</sup> Even the memorial service was not allowed to pass without incident. In a letter to Glinka's sister, Lyudmila Shestakova, dated 16 May 1857 the astronomer Vasily Engel'gardt, a close friend of Glinka, recalled that:

During the requiem service for Mikhail Ivanovich, L'vov learned that they wanted to deliver a eulogy, and he immediately went up to the altar to prevent it, saying that a eulogy was completely out of place, and that in any case it couldn't be delivered without his censoring it, besides he had left his glasses at home.<sup>149</sup>

Despite the brevity of Glinka's tenure, his work with the singers was of great value, helping to overcome the deficiencies of their previous musical education and to establish the foundations of a systematic and thorough method of choral training for choristers. Following his retirement the position of Kapellmeister, created especially for him, was abolished and the duties which he had carried out were again taken over by the singing teacher and his assistant.

L'vov's achievements in the realm of musical education were even more considerable. In training orchestral players for the imperial theatres and other institutions the Instrumental Class played an important role in reducing the dependence on foreign musicians, a cause soon to be furthered by the establishment of the Conservatoire (see p.70). At the same time, the instigation of the Precentors' Class, training choirmasters for churches and regimental choirs throughout

Russia, was to have a serious impact on the dissemination of the methodology of choir training used in the Kapella.

L'vov tendered his resignation on 6 June 1861 as a result of his increasing deafness.<sup>150</sup>

## Notes for Chapter 1

1. Biographical details can be found in Smolensky, S. V., 'Pamyati D. S. Bortnyanskogo' Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta 39 (1901) pp.917-25; Dobrokhotov, B. V., D. S. Bortnyansky (Moscow/Leningrad, 1950); Rytsareva, M., Kompozitor D. Bortnyansky [The composer D. Bortnyansky] (Leningrad, 1979)
2. Keldysh, Yu. V., Istoriya russkoi muzyki [History of Russian music] vol.3 (Moscow, 1985) p.164
3. Ibid., p.140
4. Rytsareva, M., Kompozitor D. Bortnyansky p.46
5. Keldysh, Yu. V., Istoriya russkoi muzyki vol.3 p.164
6. A complete list of Bortnyansky's compositions may be found in Appendix 9
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## Chapter 2: Administrative Structure and Educational Provision: 1861-1917

### i) The Court Kapella under the direction of N. I. Bakhmetev: 1861-1883

On 19 March 1861 Aleksei L'vov, finding his duties in the Kapella over-taxing as a result of his increasing deafness and the deterioration in his general health, obtained approval from the Ministry of the Imperial Court for the appointment of Nikolai Ivanovich Bakhmetev to the specially-created position of pomoshchnik direktora [assistant director].<sup>1</sup> Following L'vov's resignation on 24 June of that same year Bakhmetev was promoted to the position of direktor [director].<sup>2</sup>

Like his predecessor, Bakhmetev (1807-1891) had received a military education, graduating from the Cadet School in 1826 and serving in the Horseguards' regiment for two years before being transferred to a diplomatic post in Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> He was a talented amateur musician, having studied violin with Franz Böhm and theory and harmony with Karl Schwencke, and while in Constantinople had founded and led the first Turkish symphony orchestra, which was composed primarily of foreign envoys and diplomats. Resigning from military service in 1841 he retired to his estate in the Saratov region where he was elected Marshal of the Nobility, a post which involved managing the affairs of the aristocracy in the region and representing their interests in local government. At the same time he established an orchestra and chorus made up of serfs from his estate and himself conducted both ensembles. The ability of these serf-musicians must have been considerable for under Bakhmetev's direction the orchestra and chorus performed works

such as Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and Mozart's Don Giovanni.<sup>4</sup> While this work may have had some bearing on his future appointment to the Kapella, in all probability it was his administrative experience and his personal friendship with L'vov which were the deciding factors in the matter.

Curiously, although Bakhmetev's twenty-two year tenure was exceeded only by that of Bortnyansky, very little is known of administrative or musical affairs in the Kapella at this time. It is evident from the writings of Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov, who were appointed to the Kapella following his dismissal at the beginning of 1883, that the entire musical establishment was in a state of virtual collapse by the end of Bakhmetev's tenure (see p.79). He was found to have taken little or no interest in the musical life of the choir and, as a result, activities over and above their basic obligations were seriously curtailed: the choir's participation in secular concerts in St. Petersburg outwith the Kapella virtually ceased, and performances were restricted to services in the imperial churches (see Chapter 5).<sup>5</sup>

The Instrumental Class fared little better. Bakhmetev was content to allow the Class to proceed according to the guidelines drawn up by Aleksei L'vov in 1858 (see App.1); however, it was not yet sufficiently well-established that it could continue its work without the close supervision and personal interest of the director. As the Class had been founded only three years previously, the first intake of students had not yet graduated when L'vov retired and, as Bakhmetev was either unwilling or unable to provide the necessary support, the enthusiasm of staff and students alike rapidly weakened. On the reorganization of the

Kapella in 1883 it was found that pupils in the Instrumental Class had received no systematic or methodical training, they followed no fixed curriculum and, without supervision, the instructors had carried out their duties in an indifferent and slovenly manner.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the choristers' general education had been neglected while Bakhmetev concerned himself principally with administrative affairs.

The situation of the Precentors' Class was rather different. Like L'vov before him, Bakhmetev jealously guarded the Kapella's monopoly on both the publication of sacred music and the training of precentors for the Orthodox church; indeed his neglect of musical affairs appears in stark contrast to the vigour with which he protected these rights (see Chapter 5). It is therefore not surprising that he should have taken a keener interest in the training of students in the Precentors' Class than in the Instrumental Class or, indeed, in the choir itself. Under Bakhmetev's direction, the Kapella continued to issue the three classes of certificate awarded during L'vov's tenure (see p.32), and letters were frequently sent to churches throughout the country reinforcing the order that all prospective precentors must attend the course given in the Court Kapella and obtain the necessary certificate.<sup>7</sup> Few changes had been made in the regulations governing the Precentors' Class drawn up by Aleksei L'vov in October 1848 (see pp.33-4): under Bakhmetev's direction the minimum entry age had been lowered from twenty-five to eighteen and the daily period of study reduced by one hour - otherwise the existing conditions remained unaltered.<sup>8</sup> Students continued to be divided up into three classes, the curriculum of which is outlined in an undated announcement, signed by Bakhmetev:

In the junior class the pupil learns: how to give a choir the correct starting note, how to determine the tempo correctly, [he acquires] a firm knowledge of the simple church chant used in the imperial churches, and [learns] how to lead the choir in the performance of the newest compositions which are used in the imperial churches; [he learns] the rudimentary rules of harmony, how to correct mistakes and to play the violin as well as is necessary in order to give the singers the note. A diligent and talented pupil usually completes this course in one year. In the intermediate class the pupil, having completed all that is demanded in the junior class, continues to study the rules of harmony and reaches a level where he can set any given melody correctly in four-part harmony, and learns to rehearse the choir in the style of singing which is often met in the compositions of the most modern composers. In the senior class the pupil, having completed all that is demanded in the junior and intermediate class, continues to study the rules of harmony, reaching the stage where he can correctly compose music himself, and studies all voice types; in short he acquires all the skills necessary for an intelligent and useful precentor.<sup>9</sup>

This concurs with the little information available on the class established by L'vov in 1848. There is no evidence to suggest the

introduction of a more systematic structured curriculum under Bakhmetev's leadership; on the contrary, on Rimsky-Korsakov's appointment to the Kapella in 1883 he described the programme followed by intending precentors as 'vague and indefinite'.<sup>10</sup>

Bakhmetev's interest in the Precentors' Class was motivated not by any musical considerations but by his desire to obtain a greater measure of control over church music as a whole and thereby extend the power and influence of the Kapella. Despite his noted talent as a violinist and his compositional work (see p.275), he was described by the musicologist Vladimir Muzalevsky as 'more a tsarist official and administrator than a creative figure',<sup>11</sup> and this would appear to be a fair judgement: evidence to support this view can be found in his attitude towards music education in the Kapella, towards the choristers themselves, and particularly in his work as censor of sacred music which will be discussed in Chapter 5. It is therefore ironic that, despite Bakhmetev's efforts, it was his tenure which saw the overthrow of the Kapella's monopoly on the publication of sacred music (see Chapter 5) and the establishment of rival institutions providing a similar or higher standard of musical education.

On 17 October 1861 a statute was passed by the Ministry of the Imperial Court for the establishment of a Conservatoire patterned on western-European models under the auspices of and directed by the Russkoe muzykal'noe obshchestvo [Russian Musical Society],<sup>12</sup> and classes opened on 8 September 1862.<sup>13</sup> The new Conservatoire, under the protection of Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna and with Anton Rubinstein as its director, had as its aim 'the development of music education and the

taste for music in Russia and the encouragement of native talent'<sup>14</sup> and offered a broad curriculum of musical courses including performance on all orchestral instruments, piano and voice, composition, and harmony. Certain general subjects were also included - Russian language, history, geography, and literature.<sup>15</sup> The duration of the course was six years for instrumentalists or five years for singers, and admission was open to persons:

of both sexes and of all classes [of society] of at least fourteen years of age, who are able to read and write, and know the first four rules of arithmetic; in addition, some knowledge of music is required.<sup>16</sup>

The instrumental course on offer at the Conservatoire was easily superior to that offered by the Kapella: students followed a structured curriculum which far outshone the haphazard arrangements for pupils under Bakhmetev's direction. Choral training in the Conservatoire was another matter, however. While all students were required to study choral singing for at least one year and pupils of the Orthodox faith were also expected to study church music,<sup>17</sup> the choral class was not an unmitigated success. Indeed results were so poor that on those occasions when concert activities demanded the participation of the choir, Rubinstein resorted to hiring singers from the imperial theatres.<sup>18</sup>

It is not altogether surprising that the directorate of the Kapella should have regarded the establishment of the Conservatoire with suspicion and malevolence. Until 1862 the Kapella, despite its imperfections, had been the only institution in Russia to offer such a

comprehensive musical education and Bakhmetev believed, with good reason, that the Conservatoire would seriously undermine the Kapella's position. In particular, the granting of certificates to graduates of the Conservatoire was to create a great deal of antagonism between the two institutions for many years. Examinations in the Conservatoire were attended by government officials appointed by the Ministry of the Imperial Court and the title 'svobodnyi artist' [free artist] was conferred upon graduates.<sup>19</sup> This was a highly significant point. Prior to 1862 'professional' musicians were accorded no civic status, but were treated as servants belonging to the lowest class of society.<sup>20</sup> Skilled composers and performers such as Glinka and L'vov, who belonged to the upper strata of society, were regarded as 'dilettantes' and classed according to their social class, education and civil or military service grade or profession. Now, graduates of the Conservatoire were accorded the same status as other artists such as painters or sculptors, and enjoyed the same rights and privileges, such as exemption from poll tax and military service. A graduate of the Conservatoire, holding the title of 'free artist', who wished to find employment as a precentor was not, however, exempt from the ruling which stated that all precentors must hold a certificate from the Kapella. At the same time, graduates from the Kapella were still classed as civil servants and their status was therefore inferior to that of their counterparts from the Conservatoire. The dispute long remained unresolved and there is no evidence of any respite in the antagonism between the two directorates during Bakhmetev's tenure.

The year 1862 also saw the establishment in St. Petersburg of the

Besplatnaya muzykal'naya shkola [Free Music School] under the direction of Mily Balakirev and Gavriil Lomakin. The basis on which this School was established was very different from that of the Kapella or the Conservatoire. The Free Music School did not receive state funding and, as it was not regarded as an official teaching institution, was not empowered to award certificates: classes were simply regarded as 'musical gatherings' and as such came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs which was responsible for all meetings and assemblies,<sup>21</sup> rather than the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of the Imperial Court. While teaching began as early as 18 March 1862,<sup>22</sup> a permanent statute for the Free Music School was not approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs until 11 November 1867.<sup>23</sup>

Lomakin's principal aim in establishing the School was to further the development of Russian choral music through the training of singers and teachers of church music,<sup>24</sup> and thus the curriculum included subjects relevant for the preparation of precentors: vocal-training, choral singing, solfeggio, instruction on the violin and elementary music theory.<sup>25</sup> In his autobiography Lomakin recalls:

[I] had in mind and hoped to organize ... something like a nursery for teachers of religious and secular choral singing; Balakirev also had good intentions - to make of the school a centre for talented Russians and others.<sup>26</sup>

Despite the validity of his goal and his vast experience of choral direction Lomakin had little chance of realising his aim: the odds were firmly stacked against him. One serious problem was that his vision of

what might be achieved was not shared by his co-founder, Balakirev, who had no particular interest in choral music but saw the School principally as a vehicle for the promotion of the works of the young generation of Russian composers; he thus concentrated his attention on the School's orchestra. The two were continually pulling in opposite directions.

Realizing the futility of his work there, Lomakin gave up the directorship of the Free Music School on 28 January 1868, leaving it to Balakirev who held it until his retirement in 1874.<sup>27</sup> It then passed to Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, who held the post until 1881 when it passed back to Balakirev.<sup>28</sup> Like his mentor Balakirev, Rimsky-Korsakov was interested primarily in instrumental music at this time, and concerned himself with the School's orchestra rather than with choral training. While choral singing continued to form part of the curriculum, Aleksandr Rubets (1838-1913), a professor at the Conservatoire who also taught in the Free Music School, reported that under the direction of Rimsky-Korsakov and Balakirev:

little or no attention was paid to choral classes. If choral pieces appeared on a concert programme, it was only the repetition of pieces learned and performed under Lomakin.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, had the case been otherwise, it is unlikely that the outcome would have been different - a semi-official organization, run by musicians, such as the Free Music School could never seriously have hoped to challenge the bureaucratic might of the Kapella.

Although no single institution had emerged to rival the Kapella in

the training of precentors, the teaching of church music in establishments such as the Conservatoire and the Free Music School brought the issue into the public eye and led government officials, church authorities and musicians to question the Kapella's monopoly on the training of precentors for the Orthodox church. While the ukaz of 1847 stated that all precentors must hold certification from the Kapella, it did not rescind the right of ecclesiastical schools to teach church music and many of these schools continued to issue their own certificates.<sup>30</sup> In December 1865 a Temporary Commission was set up to consider the question of teaching sacred music in schools. The committee, chaired by Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, included Count Aleksandr Adlerberg (Minister of the Imperial Court), Bakhmetev, Alexander Golovnin (Minister of Education), Prince Vladimir Odoevsky, Count Dmitry Tol'stoi (Procurator of the Holy Synod) and Prince Dmitry Obolensky, who was involved in various censorship committees.<sup>31</sup>

The committee's conclusions were unsurprising. Bakhmetev was naturally anxious that the Kapella retain its monopoly on the granting of certificates to precentors, while Prince Vladimir Odoevsky considered this monopoly to be an abuse of the Kapella's power, asking:

Does the Court Kapella have the exclusive right to train teachers of church music? ... As the ukaz of the Holy Synod of 26 May 1850 speaks only of parish and regimental choirmasters, clearly the exclusive right of the Court Kapella is intended to apply only to large choirs singing in many parts.<sup>32</sup>

Odoevsky insisted that, as local schools continued to use the monophonic

chant books published by the Holy Synod in 1772 (see pp.140-1), it was neither necessary, nor indeed desirable, for instruction in church music to be provided by precentors who had been trained according to Italian vocal methods and were familiar with the concertos of Bortnyansky and L'vov. On the contrary, he argued that instruction should be given by parish priests who could explain the intricacies of the texts, rather than by precentors who had a thorough musical education but no religious training. To this end he insisted that musical education in the seminaries which trained priests should be improved.<sup>33</sup> Despite the warmth of Odoevsky's views, little seems to have come of the Committee's deliberations and the Kapella retained its monopoly on the training of precentors until the mid-1880's (see p.100).

Bakhmetev exerted a negative influence on affairs at the Kapella. The twenty years which he spent as head of the institution witnessed no improvements in the choristers' education or their living conditions but saw a curtailment in the concert activities of the choir. Classes for instrumentalists and precentors continued on a somewhat haphazard basis and compared unfavourably with those offered by newly-established institutions such as the Conservatoire. This was not a period of great prosperity or growth for the Kapella but one of stagnation. Better times lay ahead.

ii) The Court Kapella under the direction of M. A. Balakirev: 1883-1894

On the accession of Alexander III the Kapella, like so many other institutions, was subjected to a series of administrative reforms. From the beginning of 1883 it was granted independent status as an educational institution,<sup>34</sup> a move which loosened the rigid control exercised over the daily running of the Kapella by the Ministry of the Imperial Court: henceforth only certain financial decisions and ultimate approval of the statutes of the Instrumental and Precentors' Classes remained under the Ministry's jurisdiction.<sup>35</sup> There is no evidence to suggest the introduction of new constraints by any other bureaucratic body such as the Ministry of Education, which controlled the Conservatoire, or the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which controlled the Free Music School: the Kapella now assumed virtually total responsibility for its own daily management.

As part of the administrative reorganization, on 28 January 1883 Bakhmetev, now seventy-six years of age, was relieved of his duties in the Kapella<sup>36</sup> while Count Sergei Dmitrievich Sheremetev (1844-1918) was appointed to the newly-created post of nachal'nik [head].<sup>37</sup> I have found no evidence to support the view put forward by Milos Velimirović in his article on Russian and Slavonic church music in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians that Bakhmetev resigned his post in protest at the publication of Tchaikovsky's Liturgiya [Liturgy].<sup>38</sup> The resolution approving this publication was passed by the Senate on 4 May 1881 (see p.274) and we may assume that had this been the motive for his resignation Bakhmetev would not have procrastinated for three years

before making this move. In addition, the correspondence between Balakirev, Rimsky-Korsakov, and Vladimir Stasov clearly indicates that the question of Bakhmetev's competence and possible dismissal was under consideration in court circles early in 1882.<sup>39</sup> Bakhmetev, however, may well have taken refuge in such a pretext in order to save face when forced to resign.

The newly-created position of nachal'nik was a purely honorary one - Count Sheremetev was a military man, adjutant to the Tsarevich and, according to Rimsky-Korsakov, 'not even a dilettante in music'.<sup>40</sup> His principal duties in the Kapella were to oversee the general administration and to liaise with the Ministry of the Imperial Court, while decisions regarding musical education and artistic questions would be taken by the upravlyayushchii [director], a position equivalent to that of direktor which was now abolished, and the pomoshchnik upravlyayushchego [assistant director]. In February 1883 the latter positions were filled by Mily Alekseevich Balakirev (1837-1910) and Nikolai Andreevich Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908) respectively.

While Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov were among the most talented and most prominent musicians of the day, neither had much experience of church or choral music. In the summer of 1881 Balakirev had worked on a new harmonization of the liturgy which he intended for publication.<sup>41</sup> Although there is no evidence that the project came to fruition, nevertheless it was this work, together with the efforts made on his behalf by influential friends - in particular the Senator and State Controller Tertii Ivanovich Filippov (1826-1899), an ardent slavophile and amateur musician now best remembered for his collection of folk

songs - which resulted in his appointment to the Kapella on 3 February 1883.<sup>42</sup> In his turn, Balakirev proposed that Rimsky-Korsakov, who had held the position of Professor of Practical Composition and Instrumentation at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire since 1871,<sup>43</sup> be appointed as assistant director. Rimsky-Korsakov's appointment to the Kapella took effect from 23 February.<sup>44</sup>

The task awaiting them was both challenging and demanding. Their duties included full responsibility for the choir, superintendence of musical education in the Kapella, supervision of the choir's performance during services in the imperial churches, and the choice of repertoire. As a result of Bakhmetev's misguided leadership the standard of musical education was low, living conditions in the Kapella were poor, the choristers were shamelessly exploited, and many suffered material hardship. In his autobiography Letopis' moei muzykal'noi zhizni [Chronicle of my musical life] Rimsky-Korsakov described the fate of many of the young singers:

When their voices had broken, a sad fate befell a large number of the illiterate boys, who were beaten, badly brought up, and taught the violin, cello or piano any old how. They were provided with the little money that they had earned and thrown out of the Kapella to the four corners [of the earth], ignorant and unaccustomed to work. From their numbers came clerks, servants, provincial singers and, in the best of cases, ignorant precentors or petty officials. *Many sank without trace.*<sup>45</sup>

The first priority, therefore, was to improve the treatment afforded the

choristers, and to provide them with a musical training which would enable them to earn their living in this field after leaving the Kapella. With this in mind Rimsky-Korsakov set to work devising a statute which would lay out the regulations governing the admittance procedure for those wishing to study in the Court Kapella, the teaching of both general and musical subjects, and the rights and privileges accorded pupils on graduation. On the basis of this statute, Proekt ustava muzykal'nogo uchilishcha pri Pridvornoj Pevcheskoj Kapelly [Draft regulations of the Court Kapella Music School] (see App.2), drawn up during Rimsky-Korsakov's first summer at the Kapella, music classes began on 9 September.<sup>46</sup>

This statute differs in several respects from that introduced by L'vov and retained by Bakhmetev. Greater attention was now paid to the choristers' general education and prospective pupils were required to undergo a preliminary examination to assess their scholastic abilities. The three-year course was extended by a further two years, and from September 1883 a more comprehensive curriculum was introduced - students now studied Russian, arithmetic, Bible studies, French, geography, writing, drawing, history, algebra, geometry, physics, book-keeping, trigonometry and dance.<sup>47</sup> As a result of these changes the general education course available in the Kapella was now equivalent to that offered by a good secondary teaching establishment.

In addition to these general regulations Rimsky-Korsakov devised detailed and comprehensive programmes of study for pupils in both the Instrumental and Precentors' Classes. Until 1883 instrumental training in the Kapella had been restricted to a three-year course, but the new

statute - Pravila i podrobnaya programma instrumental'nogo klassa Pridvornoj Kapelly [Regulations and detailed programme of the Instrumental Class of the Court Kapella] - which came into effect from 1 September 1884, was based on a six-year period (see App.3).<sup>48</sup> An additional one-year preparatory class was formed for the youngest choristers because of the difficulty in determining a pupil's ability and inclination for a particular study at such an early age (boys were accepted into the Kapella at the age of nine or ten years). During the preparatory year choristers were treated with a greater degree of leniency: instrumental tuition was provided by the older students and it was possible for pupils to transfer from one instrument to another should they regret their original choice. If, however, during this year the pupil's progress or conduct should prove unsatisfactory he would be dismissed from the Kapella.<sup>49</sup> In a letter to the music critic Semyon Nikolaevich Kruglikov dated 13 June 1885 Rimsky-Korsakov described the young choristers' training prior to enrolment in the first instrumental class:

We treat young choristers as follows: in the first year of his stay a chorister of nine or ten studies neither an instrument nor theory, but simply becomes accustomed to singing in the choir. He learns a little about rhythms, intervals and so on, and learns the clef appropriate to his voice to a greater or lesser degree. After a year or six months, when the boy has settled in, they ask if he wants to study an instrument or suggest this idea to him; he chooses the instrument

himself: piano, violin, cello, or double bass. Then they hand him over to one of the older pupils for instruction; after some time he gives up studying, changes instrument, or begins to make progress. When this has been determined they hand him over to a professor. At the same time or a little later they place him in the elementary theory [class] for two years.<sup>50</sup>

According to the new statute, all students in the first and second classes followed an identical course with performance on piano, an orchestral string or wind instrument as their principal study. Compulsory subjects included elementary theory of music and solfeggio, piano (for those offering a string or wind instrument as their principal study), and orchestral and ensemble playing.

On entering the third class the student could choose to continue his specialization in instrumental performance or could elect instead to specialize in theory of music and preceptors' studies; those wishing to transfer to the Preceptors' Class would enter the first theoretical class in that programme. In addition to their principal study, students offering instrumental performance in their third and fourth year studied harmony and counterpoint, instrumentation, musical form, history, piano, and ensemble playing, and in the fifth and sixth class continued to study piano and ensemble playing. While the great majority of these students offered performance on one instrument as their principal study, it was possible for the more talented to offer two and, in exceptional cases, even three.<sup>51</sup> On graduation from the Class students were awarded

certificates conferring on them the title of 'performer and teacher'.<sup>52</sup>

While they continued to sing in the choir, pupils in the Instrumental Class studied only string instruments in order that their voices not be damaged. After their voices had broken, however, they could apply to the directorate of the Kapella for permission to offer performance on a wind instrument as their principal study.<sup>53</sup> In order to complete their training in the Instrumental Class those students who no longer sang in the choir received an annual stipend of two hundred and forty rubles from the Ministry of the Imperial Court, renewable for a maximum period of five years. In repayment, students were required to teach in the Kapella for three years after graduation from the Class: during this time they would be housed, fed, provided with a uniform, and would receive a salary of three hundred or two hundred and forty rubles, depending on whether they held a first or second-class certificate. Students would be relieved of this service only in case of illness or on repayment of the original sum.<sup>54</sup>

There can be no doubt that the young instrumentalists received an excellent training under the careful guidance of the director and his assistant. Indeed the initial success of the Class was so great that on 5 January 1884 the Tsar expressed the wish that henceforth the Kapella should train the musicians for the Court orchestra, which had been established on 30 August 1882.<sup>55</sup> Boris Asaf'ev, who was personally acquainted with many of the students studying in the Kapella's Instrumental Class at this time, asserts:

Whether occupying humble or important positions, they were always first-class musicians, strong in both the

theory and performance of music, with exceptionally trained [musical] ears.<sup>56</sup>

In the autumn of 1884 a pupils' string orchestra had been formed under Rimsky-Korsakov's supervision and from 20 September 1885 this orchestra was established on a permanent basis, to work in conjunction with the Instrumental Class.<sup>57</sup> This student orchestra not only trained the pupils in the discipline of ensemble playing but, as the orchestra gave several public concerts each year, provided them with valuable experience of performing before an audience (see Chapter 5).

Financial reasons demanded that the orchestra and, indeed, the Instrumental Class itself, be comprised only of string players in the months following its conception. Following a concert given by the pupils early in 1886, however, the Tsar himself expressed his wish that wind instruments be introduced. In a letter of 21 December 1887 to Nikolai Petrov, who worked in the Ministry of the Imperial Court, Balakirev recalled the incident:

During a visit to the Kapella on 13 February 1886 His Majesty the Emperor was pleased to listen to a concert given by the pupils of the Instrumental Class and the young choristers under the direction of the assistant director of the Kapella, State Councillor Rimsky-Korsakov, and having graciously approved both the choice of pieces and performance, was pleased to enquire: 'Why do you have only string instruments? You should also introduce wind'. As a result of His Majesty's will instruction on wind instruments was

introduced, initially on a very small scale as limited resources permitted, but from the summer of 1887 instruction on all wind instruments was introduced.<sup>58</sup>

Both Rimsky-Korsakov and Balakirev spent a great deal of time working with the orchestra and arranged various large symphonic works by composers such as Mendelssohn and Schumann for its more limited resources. According to Nikolai Aleksandrovich Sokolov, a pupil studying in the Kapella at this time:

The orchestra of the Kapella, in spite of its humble, uneven, student talent, was superbly trained by the director.<sup>59</sup>

Vladimir Yastrebtsev, biographer of Rimsky-Korsakov and a regular attender at the musical evenings held in the Kapella, also attested to the skill of the young instrumentalists:

Seeing these little boy performers, one imagined that one was in an enchanted fairy-tale country of Lilliputian artists. What a gentle tone, what purity and what expression.<sup>60</sup>

Indeed it would appear that the scale of their initial success led Balakirev, in his enthusiasm, to overestimate the capabilities of the young instrumentalists and, as a result, to make unreasonable demands on their performing skills. In a letter of 24 April 1889 Rimsky-Korsakov felt compelled to remonstrate with him on this point:

Note that the orchestra is already performing pieces of reasonable difficulty by Mendelssohn, Glinka and so on, but do not forget that they are, after all, pupils,

youths, and even children, and that their performance cannot be like that of an adult, mature orchestra.<sup>61</sup>

While Rimsky-Korsakov's contributions to instrumental music in the Court Kapella were of immense value, the most significant of his reforms was the establishment of a formal, structured teaching programme for the Precentors' Class. Although instruction in precentors' studies had been offered in the Kapella since 1848 (see p.33), neither L'vov nor Bakhmetev had devised any methodical programme for this class. In his Letopis' Rimsky-Korsakov describes the haphazard arrangements for prospective students:

Young men who wished to learn something and receive a precentor's diploma travelled to the Kapella, for the most part from the interior of Russia, and were assigned to one of the four teachers of sacred singing for training in the subtleties [of this art]. Having studied with the teacher and passed an examination according to some vague and indefinite programme, they received the desired certificate and set off for the four corners of the globe. The entire educational structure, both in the Instrumental Class and in the training of precentors, established by the author of God save the Tsar, L'vov, was good for nothing.<sup>62</sup>

The new statute, Programma regentskogo klassa pri Pridvornoi pevcheskoi kapelle [Programme of the precentors' class at the Court Kapella] (see App.4), was approved by the Ministry of the Imperial Court on 17 March 1884,<sup>63</sup> and in a letter to the Minister, Count Vorontsov-Dashkov, of 20

July 1885, Sheremetev emphasised the importance of the new Class:

The Precentors' Class at the Court Kapella gives us the opportunity of training teachers for the whole of Russia, and is therefore of much wider significance than it may seem. Good teachers of church singing are of no less use to the nation than good teachers in country schools.<sup>64</sup>

The new course was based on a five-year period of study and was similar in content to the course in music theory offered by the St. Petersburg Conservatoire. Unlike the Instrumental Class which trained only choristers from the Kapella itself, the Precentors' Class was also open to private pupils, who paid an annual tuition fee of one hundred rubles. Only those belonging to the Orthodox faith were admitted and no financial assistance was provided by the Kapella: candidates were required to provide their own violin, tuning-fork, textbooks and music.

Before admission to the Class prospective pupils were required to pass a preliminary examination: successful candidates were then accepted into the special one-year preparatory class where they studied elementary theory, harmony, solfeggio, church singing, violin, and piano. On successful completion of this course the student would be awarded the Attestat na zvanie pomoshchnika regenta [Certificate of assistant precentor] or, if he wished to continue his training, would be transferred to the first theoretical course. Choristers who chose, on completion of the two-year general education course undertaken by all pupils, to specialize in theory of music and precentors' studies rather than instrumental performance were also transferred to the first

theoretical course. From this point both choristers and private students followed the same course.

The first and second theoretical courses, each of one year's duration, together made up the intermediate class. Pupils in this class were instructed initially in harmony and counterpoint, solfeggio, piano, and violin, these studies being supplemented in the second year with church singing, choral conducting, score reading, and church regulations. Pupils successfully completing the intermediate class were awarded the Attestat na zvanie regenta [Certificate of precentor].

The third and fourth theoretical courses together comprised the senior class in which students continued to study piano, score reading, and conducting, finally adding counterpoint and fugue, practical composition, composition of church music, and the history of music and church singing. In addition to the above subjects, students in all classes were required to attend the choral class where the senior students gained experience in conducting and rehearsing sacred and secular works, the choir being made up of all pupils from the preparatory and theoretical courses. Older students were also permitted to try out their own arrangements and compositions. Students successfully completing the senior class would be awarded the Attestat na zvanie regenta i uchitelya teorii muzyki i tserkovnogo peniya [Certificate of precentor and teacher of theory of music and church singing].

Certificates were also awarded to external pupils who were admitted, at the director's discretion, to the final examinations along with the choristers and private pupils studying in the Kapella. Each

year approximately fifteen to twenty external pupils presented themselves for examination, while the average number of students in the first theoretical course was between twenty and twenty-five.<sup>65</sup> According to Andrei Rimsky-Korsakov, during the ten years of his father's work in the Kapella one hundred and twenty-six precentors graduated from the Precentors' Class: of these, thirteen were choir members, seventy-two were private students and forty-one were permitted to sit the examinations as external pupils.<sup>66</sup>

Despite the success of the Precentors' Class Rimsky-Korsakov was not completely satisfied with his original programme and in 1891 produced a revised statute.<sup>67</sup> His principal objection to the existing regulations was that pupils who had studied in the Kapella for only one year were entitled to a third-class certificate, conferring the title of 'assistant precentor'. Convinced that this period was insufficient for the adequate preparation of an assistant precentor, he approached Balakirev on 20 May 1891 with a proposal that the third-class certificate should be awarded on completion of two years of study.<sup>68</sup> All other proposed modifications were of a very minor nature. At this period the relationship between Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov, which had greatly deteriorated during their years of joint service in the Kapella, was at its most stormy and Balakirev appears to have paid little heed to his assistant's suggestions: I have been unable to find conclusive proof that the new document was approved by the Ministry of the Imperial Court or even that Balakirev sought this approval. As the 1900 reprint of the booklet containing the statute of the Precentors' Class gives the 1884 version and not the revised 1891 text, however, it seems probable that

Rimsky-Korsakov's revisions were ignored.<sup>69</sup>

The creation of the Precentors' Class and the expansion of the Instrumental Class demanded that Balakirev engage a larger teaching staff than had previously been required (instructors engaged by the Kapella during this period are listed in Appendix 7). Rimsky-Korsakov himself taught the Instrumental Class and, when Joseph Hunke retired from service in 1884, took over the class in harmony and counterpoint.<sup>70</sup> The teaching of harmony soon engrossed him to such an extent that he undertook the compilation of his own textbook on the subject, which was completed and published in the autumn of 1884 under the title Uchebnik garmonii: Kurs pridvornoj kapelly, vypusk pervyi. Garmonizatsiya akkordami v predelakh lada (Harmony textbook: Course taught at the Court Kapella vol.1. Harmonization within the confines of the mode).<sup>71</sup> A second volume was published together with the first in a single volume, under the title Uchebnik garmonii (Harmony textbook) in 1885.<sup>72</sup>

Despite his great achievements in this area, Rimsky-Korsakov's duties in the Kapella were not restricted solely to educational matters. His other activities are described by his pupil Nikolai Sokolov:

Nikolai Andreevich conducted the full student orchestra or worked with the orchestral groups, [and] arranged various pieces for pupil ensembles; as inspector he managed the budget for the purchase of music and the sale of Kapella publications ... oversaw the organization of the library, ordered, received, distributed and sent instruments for repair. He took a personal interest in the teachers, the pupils, whom he

regarded as his own children, and so on.<sup>73</sup>

Another of his pupils, Aleksandr Vyacheslavovich Ossovsky, also attests to the keen personal interest taken by Rimsky-Korsakov in his students:

He concerned himself with the all-round development of the boys, with raising the artistic qualifications of the adult singers, [and] with broadening their horizons, showing great humanity in his attitude towards them.<sup>74</sup>

Both Rimsky-Korsakov and Balakirev were anxious to rid the Kapella of the strict 'barrack-room'<sup>75</sup> atmosphere which had reigned there since the time of Fyodor L'vov, and to abolish the harsh treatment accorded the young choristers. Rimsky-Korsakov, in particular, concerned himself not only with his pupils' progress in instrumental performance and theoretical subjects, but also with their attitude towards their studies. He was anxious to foster a deep respect and love for music in his students, and his strivings to this end are evident from the earliest days of his appointment. In the Letopis' Rimsky-Korsakov describes his work during the summer months of 1883, while the choristers were staying in Peterhof:

I worked with the young singers doing whatever I could: teaching elementary piano, elementary theory and listening to their violin and 'cello lessons, if only to accustom them to some degree of regular study, to cultivate a serious attitude towards their musical futures and to awaken in them a desire and love for art.<sup>76</sup>

The same desire is evident in a letter from Rimsky-Korsakov to Balakirev

of 24 April 1889 in which he discusses his hopes for the Instrumental Class:

I set great store by the fact that the orchestral class would not only be useful but also, if possible, pleasant and enjoyable for the pupils.<sup>77</sup>

In his reminiscences Ossovsky describes the atmosphere which reigned in Rimsky-Korsakov's classes:

In Nikolai Andreevich's class strictness, discipline, straightforwardness and simplicity ruled ... Nikolai Andreevich not only provided us, his pupils, with an education but also brought us up. He regarded the duties of a teacher as those of a father, friend, nurse and servant.<sup>78</sup>

His efforts to create an atmosphere more conducive to study were soon rewarded - in a letter to Kruglikov dated 28 September 1883 Rimsky-Korsakov wrote:

The Kapella gives me great pleasure: a noble spirit has appeared there - the boys study willingly and all kinds of [punishments such as] standing in the corner, kneeling and so on have practically disappeared.<sup>79</sup>

While Rimsky-Korsakov was devoting himself to educational reforms, Balakirev tackled the problem of the choristers' living conditions. He was particularly anxious that a plan for the reconstruction of the Kapella buildings, which had been under discussion since 15 April 1883,<sup>80</sup> should be approved by the Ministry of the Imperial Court and his tireless promotion of this project at length met with success. Work on

the project, devised and directed by Leonid Benois, which included the construction of a new concert hall seating eight hundred, began on 6 September 1886 and was completed on 15 July 1889.<sup>81</sup> In the interim period the Kapella moved to a private house in Millionnaya Street, where precentors' classes were held in the stables and dormitories doubled as instrumental classes.<sup>82</sup>

Balakirev was also determined to improve the students' financial circumstances and continually petitioned the Ministry of the Imperial Court regarding the choristers' rights.<sup>83</sup> The budget of the Kapella was generally insufficient to maintain pupils in the Instrumental Class until the end of the training, so that unless they were able to support themselves, many, even the most talented, were forced to leave before completing their education. On 11 October 1883, fifty years after the first performance of Aleksei L'vov's Russian national anthem, Balakirev submitted a petition to the Ministry of the Imperial Court suggesting that a commemorative fund be set up for the benefit of these choristers.<sup>84</sup> He requested that the choir be permitted to give a concert in honour of the jubilee, the proceeds of which would form the basis of this fund, to be managed by the Head of the Kapella, Count Sheremetev. The Ministry gave its consent and the concert took place on 28 December 1883.<sup>85</sup> The first pupil to benefit from the new fund was the thirteen-year-old Vladimir Solnyshkin who appeared at the Kapella in November 1883 having made the journey on foot from Vladikavkaz in the Caucasus (a distance of two thousand kilometers!), his only possession a violin. Having heard him play, Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov resolved that he should stay and themselves supported him until the scholarship

could be arranged. Their faith was well rewarded - Solnyshkin graduated with a first-class certificate in 1887 and was later appointed to teach violin in the Kapella.<sup>86</sup>

In 1891 another fund was established for the benefit of pupils in the Precentors' Class when the son of Gavriil Lomakin, who had held the post of singing teacher in the Kapella from 1848 until 1861, donated the publishing rights for his father's works to the Kapella. With Balakirev's help, a 'Lomakin' fund of seven thousand rubles was created, providing scholarships for three prospective precentors.<sup>87</sup>

Like Rimsky-Korsakov, Balakirev took a personal interest in his young pupils: many of his former students later recalled how he would invite them to his home and play them the works of Chopin, Liszt or Schumann and emphasized the lasting impression made on them by his virtuosic performance.<sup>88</sup> On one occasion he performed the entire programme of one of Anton Rubinstein's concerts for pupils who were unable to attend the concert.<sup>89</sup> He personally assisted pupils with particular financial difficulties, not infrequently devoting the proceeds of his concert performances to their use, and helped in other small ways, renting a piano for one talented but impoverished student or purchasing a physics textbook for another.<sup>90</sup>

Despite their united aims for the Kapella and the similarity of their approach to educational and artistic questions, personal relations between Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov proved problematic from the outset. As early as 17 October 1884 Rimsky-Korsakov informed Kruglikov that 'Balakirev and I are increasingly distant, though we don't quarrel'.<sup>91</sup> While Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov continued to work

together in such close proximity matters were unlikely to improve, and over the following years their relationship deteriorated. For some time an outward display of friendship was maintained, but by 1889 even this was impossible. In a letter of 23 April 1889 Balakirev remonstrates with Rimsky-Korsakov following a public disagreement in the Kapella:

When we are alone then say whatever you wish, however you wish, but in the presence of the Kapella staff and particularly the boys, then for God's sake restrain yourself.<sup>92</sup>

By 1891 Rimsky-Korsakov described the relationship as openly 'hostile',<sup>93</sup> and this unpleasant working environment was one of the major contributing factors in his decision to retire from the Kapella in February 1893, by which time he would have completed ten years of service there. He explains this decision in the Letopis':

Relations with Balakirev had become so strained, affairs in the Kapella were managed in such a muddled fashion, I so disliked the entire staff of the Kapella, with the exception of the music teachers, the whole atmosphere of the Kapella was so steeped in gossip and partiality, that it was perfectly natural for me to want to get out; to all this can also be added my exhaustion at the time.<sup>94</sup>

Balakirev, however, suggested that he delay his resignation until the autumn as he was dismissing the inspector of general classes Aleksandr Nazimov, and wished Rimsky-Korsakov's support.<sup>95</sup> This, together with the illness of his daughter and the cost of sending her to the Crimea for a rest cure, persuaded Rimsky-Korsakov to reconsider and defer his

resignation until February 1895, by which time he would have completed a total of thirty-five years in state service and would be eligible for a larger pension.<sup>96</sup> At the same time, Rimsky-Korsakov's own health was deteriorating - he suffered from arterial sclerosis - and working in the Kapella was increasingly intolerable to him. In the event he was unable to continue his duties until 1895 and tendered his resignation on 27 November 1893, on grounds of illness.<sup>97</sup> In an attempt to curb the ensuing speculation and gossip he explained the reasons for his decision in a letter to Kruglikov of 16 December 1893:

They accuse Balakirev, suspect a quarrel and so on.  
The reasons for my retiral for everyone are as follows:  
I feel ill and run down; I have thirty-three years of service behind me, and retiring as I do because of illness, thirty-five in all, that entitles me to a decent pension and an additional allowance awarded me by the Emperor for twenty-five years of useful musical activity [2,000 rubles]: I want to free myself from the excessive duties of service in order to have free time for composition, in which I want to indulge without overwork. Don't these reasons seem sufficient? Now for you I will add that service with Balakirev in the devout, sanctimonious Kapella - which some rather suspicious characters have entered recently - is unbearable. [This is a reference to Konstantin Brazhnikov who was appointed inspector of the Kapella in February 1893.] My relations with Balakirev are not

good, as you know, so naturally I always feel irritated,  
which is both unpleasant and harmful for me.<sup>98</sup>

The court order approving his application for retiral was signed on 19 January 1894,<sup>99</sup> and the vacant post was filled by Sergei Mikhailovich Lyapunov (1859-1924), a graduate of the Moscow Conservatoire who had studied with Tchaikovsky, Taneev, and later Balakirev.<sup>100</sup>

On 20 December 1894 Balakirev also retired from the Kapella because of illness,<sup>101</sup> and was awarded a pension of three thousand rubles, only half the sum due to him, following a ruling by the Ministry of the Imperial Court on his alleged 'irrational' economic reorganization of Kapella affairs.<sup>102</sup>

Following Balakirev's retiral Rimsky-Korsakov was approached by the Minister of the Imperial Court, Count Vorontsov-Dashkov, who offered him the directorship of the Kapella. The Minister hinted that he was aware of the personal reasons behind Korsakov's resignation, and that he appreciated the difficulties of working with Balakirev.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, Rimsky-Korsakov declined and from 21 December 1894 the duties of the director were carried out by the inspector of general classes in the Kapella, Konstantin Brazhnikov.<sup>104</sup>

iii) The Court Kapella on the eve of revolution: 1895-1917

On 30 March 1895 the position of director of the Kapella was filled by Anton Stepanovich Arensky (1861-1906), a graduate of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire who had studied composition with Rimsky-Korsakov and harmony with Yuly Johannson,<sup>105</sup> and had himself taught harmony and counterpoint at the Moscow Conservatoire since 1882. In 1889 he had been appointed to the advisory council of the Synod School of Church Music and from 1888 held the directorship of the Russian Choral Society, founded by Karl Al'brekht in 1878; he thus had considerable experience of choral work prior to taking up the appointment at the Kapella.<sup>106</sup>

While Arensky's musical ability and artistic leadership left nothing to be desired, in other respects the appointment was unsuccessful. Count Sheremetev had resigned on 1 January 1895<sup>107</sup> and the vacant post had not been filled: thus all economic and administrative affairs as well as educational and musical matters now came under the jurisdiction of the director. Arensky, however, took little interest in administrative or financial questions and these matters were largely neglected. While he did make an attempt to improve the stipend awarded to students in the Instrumental Class, which was still insufficient for their requirements, his efforts were unsuccessful.<sup>108</sup> In addition, he suffered from tuberculosis which necessitated spending a great deal of time at health resorts, and his frequent absences from St. Petersburg naturally had a detrimental effect on the regulation of Kapella affairs.

Neither was Arensky anxious to introduce any educational reforms of his own, but was content to follow the path laid out by Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov. His principal interest was the Instrumental Class and, in particular, the student orchestra. Open rehearsals were introduced for the young instrumentalists along the lines of those held by the choir, in order that they might gain experience of playing before an audience,<sup>109</sup> and Arensky frequently took advantage of these to experiment with his own compositions. Like the Instrumental Class, the Precentors' Class proceeded according to the statute drawn up in 1884.

The effects caused by Arensky's absences from the Kapella were less detrimental to education than to the administration of the establishment. Under Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov's direction a competent teaching staff had been built up, the majority of whom were still engaged in the Kapella during Arensky's tenure (see App.7). In addition, the programmes for both musical and general classes were well established by 1895, and did not require such close supervision. Nevertheless, the appointment of Arensky in 1896 may be regarded as a sign of the beginning of the Kapella's decline.

A number of factors were to contribute to this decline, the first being the series of unsuccessful appointments made by the Ministry of the Imperial Court over the following years. The composer and pianist Fyodor Akimenko, who studied and then taught in the Kapella, aptly described Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov's tenure as the 'golden period'.<sup>110</sup> Never again was the establishment to be led by figures who combined such outstanding musical talent with a deep commitment to education and to their pupils. Subsequent directors lacked either their

musicality or their dedication and humanity, and in most cases their tenure was of such short duration as to render any significant work in the Kapella impossible.

Another important factor was the introduction in 1886 of a similar teaching programme by a rival institution. In this year the statute of the Moscow Synod School, which had originally opened on 15 October 1830, was revised.<sup>111</sup> While the School had previously provided choristers from the Synod choir with a four-year training equivalent to that of an elementary school,<sup>112</sup> the new curriculum was very similar to that offered by the Kapella. There were slight differences: less emphasis was placed on instrumental performance in the Synod School, while choristers there were expected to have a thorough knowledge of the unison chants in the 1772 Synod publications, and to be familiar with kryuk notation.<sup>113</sup> As in the Kapella, young choristers in the Synod School were first assigned to an experienced singer who taught and rehearsed with them, thus gaining practical experience in teaching the basics of church singing.<sup>114</sup>

The course instituted in 1886 was intended only for the youngest choristers and was based on a nine-year period, with an additional preparatory class similar to that established by Rimsky-Korsakov.<sup>115</sup> The Synod choir accepted boys aged seven or eight, and choristers remained in the School until the age of seventeen or eighteen. A five-year course for the adult singers of the Synod choir was introduced on 4 November 1889.<sup>116</sup> Whereas the Precentors' Class in the Kapella was not restricted to members of the choir, the Synod accepted only its own choristers. Thus in addition to their studies all pupils were required

to sing in the Uspensky Cathedral, in the Synod Church of the Twelve Apostles and for all services held in the presence of the imperial family when they visited Moscow.

The years of decline for the Kapella were those of rapid growth for the Synod School. This was largely due to the experience and enthusiasm of the staff involved in the School in its early years: the Supervisory Council set up to superintend musical education included Pyotr Tchaikovsky, Father Dmitry Razumovsky, Professor of church music at the Moscow Conservatoire, and Nikolai Gubert, Director of the Moscow Conservatoire,<sup>117</sup> while teachers included such prominent church musicians as Vasily Metallov, Pavel Chesnokov, Vasily Orlov and Aleksandr Kastal'sky.<sup>118</sup> As a result of both its geographical location and its affiliation with the church rather than a government Ministry the links binding it to the court were much looser than those of the Kapella, and thus the School was largely unaffected by the many repressive bureaucratic measures which so inhibited the work of its counterpart in St. Petersburg.

As one might have expected, relations between the two establishments were hostile. As early as 11 November 1886 Count Sheremetev complained to the Minister of the Imperial Court that choristers in the Synod School received larger stipends than those in the Kapella, and were awarded a higher grade of certificate:

The Court Kapella, as the personal choir of His Imperial Majesty, cannot be set lower than any other choir in Russia; in addition the Court Kapella is the only sacred music establishment to which the special

imperial ukaz grants the [following] powers:

1. supervision of precentors of all church choirs throughout Russia ... not excepting even the Synod choir;
2. the granting of certificates to precentors to [enable them to] instruct choirs;
3. censorship of all sacred compositions.<sup>119</sup>

Relations deteriorated still further in 1896 when the Synod School announced its intention to grant certificates to those precentors completing the course offered by the School,<sup>120</sup> and the rivalry between the institutions was to continue until the revolution.

On 6 May 1901 the Ministry of the Imperial Court accepted Arensky's resignation,<sup>121</sup> and in a reappraisal of Kapella affairs carried out at the time of his departure it was deemed inadvisable, in the light of his mismanagement, for the future director of the establishment to hold responsibility for both musical and administrative affairs. As a result, the vacant position of nachal'nik was offered to Count Aleksandr Dmitrievich Sheremetev (1859-1931) who took up the position on 6 May 1901.<sup>122</sup>

Like so many of those appointed to the Kapella administration, Sheremetev was a military man who had studied at the Cadet School before serving first in the cavalry, then as adjutant to various military leaders. He was also a talented conductor and composer: his compositions were to include a Requiem for choir, soloists and orchestra in memory of Rimsky-Korsakov, a Fantasia for orchestra, and a number of sacred choral works. In 1882 he founded a symphony orchestra, and two

years later re-established the choir founded by his ancestor Count Pyotr Sheremetev in the 1750's. From 1898 both choir and orchestra gave free public concerts, and in 1900 he established a series of 'Popular Symphonic Concerts', which he himself conducted. At his instigation the Muzykal'noe istoricheskoe obshchestvo [Musical Historical Society] was formed in 1910, the activities of which included a series of free public lectures on the history of music, free musical theory lessons, and concerts given by his own choir and orchestra. Sheremetev was to hold the position as head of the Kapella until 1917.<sup>123</sup>

At the time of Arensky's resignation the directorship of the Kapella was offered to Stepan Vasil'evich Smolensky (1848-1909) who also took up his appointment on 6 May 1901.<sup>124</sup> Smolensky was a graduate of the faculties of jurisprudence and philology of Kazan University and had studied violin and piano with private tutors. From the early 1870's he made a study of ancient church chant, publishing a survey of znamennyi chant, a catalogue of the musical manuscripts deposited in the library of the Solovetsky monastery, and a method of church singing. In 1889 he settled in Moscow, taking up the post of Professor of history of church music at the Conservatoire after the death of Dmitry Razumovsky, and at the same time took over the direction of both the Synod choir and the Synod School of Church Music, a position which he had declined in 1886.<sup>125</sup> His success in these appointments, in particular his achievements at the Synod School, drew him to the attention of the court and led to his appointment to the Kapella.

It soon became apparent that Arensky had neglected not only administrative and educational affairs but also the choir itself, the

quality of which had deteriorated as a result. Although Balakirev had not himself conducted the choir, he had attended rehearsals regularly, assisting and advising the instructors. Arensky, on the other hand, had delegated all responsibility for choral training to the singing teachers and his inattention had resulted in a decline in the standard of performance. In a letter to Count Sheremetev of 20 July 1901 Smolensky described the inadequacies of the singers:

My observations of the basses and tenors of the Court Kapella have fully convinced me of a serious decline and of the complete ignorance of these singers, not only in correct intonation, but even, shameful to say, of the music itself, of the simplest scales, the easiest intervals, even of the Obikhod.<sup>126</sup>

Although traditionally only precentors who had themselves been trained in the Kapella were permitted to work with the choir, Smolensky obtained the consent of the Ministry of the Imperial Court for the recruitment of several of his former pupils from the Synod school - Aleksandr Chesnokov, Pavel Tolstyakov and Mikhail Klimov - to undertake choral training,<sup>127</sup> and he himself devoted his attention not to the Instrumental Class, as his predecessors had done, but to the Precentors' Class.

During his brief tenure, Smolensky introduced no educational reforms, but followed the statute drawn up for the Precentors' Class by Rimsky-Korsakov, as Arensky had done. However it seems likely that greater emphasis fell on subjects which had previously been regarded as of secondary importance. In an article published in the journal

Regentskoe i khorovoe delo in 1915 Smolensky tackled the question of what a precentor should know:

Apart from a clear practical knowledge of the order of service, the use of the chant books, how to find the place easily and not lose his presence of mind, he must know all the eight-tone chants in their proper harmonic arrangements and all the pieces included in the choir's repertoire extremely well. This excellent knowledge must be combined with a clear understanding of the harmonic structure of all these compositions.<sup>128</sup>

It seems probable, therefore, that Smolensky paid greater attention to the teaching of church history and church regulations than his predecessors, who were familiar principally with secular institutions.

Like that of the Precentors' Class, the programme of the Instrumental Class remained unaltered, although a change was made in the financial basis of the class: from 1 March 1902 all pupils of the Instrumental Class were maintained using funds from the Treasury of the Ministry of the Imperial Court, rather than from the Kapella's own funds.<sup>129</sup> It is clear from the correspondence between Smolensky and Sheremetev that the Kapella's budget had long been insufficient for the needs of the Instrumental Class: in a letter of 30 November 1901 Smolensky complained that the wind instruments used in the Class were old and hindered progress.<sup>130</sup> In reply Sheremetev sent thirteen instruments from his own orchestra for the pupils' use.<sup>131</sup> As the number of students attending this class was continually increasing (see App.8), the new measure was of great benefit to the Kapella.

Had Smolensky's tenure been of longer duration it is probable that, with his experience from the Synod School, he would have accomplished a great deal in the Kapella. As a result of the stifling bureaucratic atmosphere, however, Smolensky held the directorship for only two years. The close links between court and Kapella and the interference of the Ministry of the Imperial Court in the running of affairs greatly oppressed him, and he could not reconcile himself with the backstabbing, deviousness and favouritism of the court officials. Lyudmila Korabel'nikova states that a disagreement with Count Aleksandr Sheremetev was the cause of his departure.<sup>132</sup> I have, however, found no evidence to support this view. In a letter to Mamont Dal'sky of 5 June 1902, a year after taking up the appointment, Smolensky writes:

My new position is very difficult owing to the amount of meanness, intrigue and every kind of spite.<sup>133</sup>

In his reminiscences of Smolensky the violinist and trombonist Ivan Lipaev recalls a conversation which paints a similar picture:

I have nowhere further to go ... Everything pains my heart ... It is scarcely possible to beat out the dullness and ignorance of the Kapella staff <sup>even</sup> with a truncheon. They are used to the sweets of Balakirev. They are trained to expect unmerited crumbs. I cannot give them to them. We are on different paths.

Everything goes against me.<sup>134</sup>

There is no mention of any break with Sheremetev.

Smolensky left the Kapella on 17 August 1903<sup>135</sup> and in the following weeks the Kapella underwent yet another administrative

reorganization.<sup>136</sup> In view of the increasingly unsettled political situation it was feared that the Kapella might become infiltrated with revolutionary ideas and, to combat this, it was deemed necessary to strengthen the administration. From 15 August 1903 it was decreed that all organizational and administrative questions would be dealt with by the nachal'nik [head]. The post of upravlyayushchii [director] was abolished and that of pomoshchnik nachal'nika [assistant head] was created. To him was entrusted the daily supervision of affairs and responsibility for all musical and educational matters. The title pomoshchnik upravlyayushchego [assistant director] was also abolished, and that of inspektor [inspector] used in its stead, a change which did not affect the duties attached to the post.<sup>137</sup> The actual rehearsal and conducting of the choir was entrusted to the singing teachers and their assistants.

From 1904 until 1906 the post of assistant head of the Kapella was held by Nikolai Semenovich Klenovsky (1857-1915), a graduate of Moscow conservatoire, who had studied composition with Tchaikovsky. Having occupied the posts of conductor at the Bol'shoi Theatre in Moscow (1883-93) and director of the Conservatoire in Tbilisi (1893-1902), Klenovsky first entered the service of the Kapella in February 1902 when he was offered the post of assistant director.<sup>138</sup>

There is no evidence of educational or administrative innovations during Klenovsky's tenure, and it would appear that teaching methods and choral training continued as before. The increasing instability of the political situation was reflected in the closed, repressive atmosphere of the Kapella; creativity was stifled and musical affairs stagnated.

Frequent changes in the administration effectively destroyed the possibility of creating the stability necessary for the further development of musical education and of the choir itself.

Early in 1906 the position of assistant head was offered to the music critic and composer Nikolai Feopemtovich Solov'ev (1846-1916).<sup>139</sup> From 1874 Solov'ev had taught theory of music at the Conservatoire in St. Petersburg, having himself studied there with Nikolai Zarembo, and was appointed Professor of Composition at the Conservatoire in 1885, a post which he held until 1909.<sup>140</sup> Solov'ev was a close friend of Aleksandr Sheremetev and the two had worked together in the organization of concerts of folk-music.<sup>141</sup> Many of his critical articles, principally operatic reviews, were published in the journals Muzykal'nyi sezon, Muzykal'nyi mir and Novoe Vremya.<sup>142</sup>

Solov'ev's tenure as assistant head of the Kapella saw various changes in the statute and programme of the Precentors' Class, the most significant of which being the closure of the Class to private pupils in 1907.<sup>143</sup> As early as 1903 legislation had been introduced which required all those entering the Kapella to produce a certificate attesting to their political reliability.<sup>144</sup> Following the unsuccessful uprising in 1905 fear of sedition had reached new levels among court officials, and the Kapella, notorious for its severe, repressive regime and claustrophobic atmosphere was an ideal breeding ground for suspicion and distrust. In a letter to the Minister of the Imperial Court dated 23 May 1907 (no.462) Sheremetev expressed the fears of the administration:

Pupils from the choir study in the Precentors' Class

together with private pupils. These private pupils are accepted into the Class without any consideration of their trustworthiness and spend a great deal of time outwith the supervision of the Kapella administration. In these circumstances an element dangerous in its political attitude may penetrate amongst the pupils of the Kapella, especially in the present anxious times.<sup>145</sup>

In the current political climate, such a warning was unlikely to go unheeded. The resolution to close the doors of the Kapella to private students was quickly passed and henceforth the Kapella, like the Synod School, would allow only its own choristers to receive musical training. In accordance with this decision a temporary statute was drawn up, laying out the conditions of study in the class:

1. From September 1907 acceptance of private pupils to all courses of the Precentors' Class is discontinued;
2. Pupils studying in the Class during the academic year 1906/7 have the right to complete their precentors' education and take the examinations for certificates of all classes, on the conditions and according to the rules set out in the imperially-sanctioned Statute of the Precentors' Class of 17 March 1884;
3. Pupils of the Precentors' Class remaining [in the Kapella] to complete their education do not have the right to repeat a year in any course and, in case of failing the transfer examinations to the

- next course, must leave the Precentors' Class;
4. The teaching programme for pupils completing their precentors' education remains the same as was the case in the 1884 Statute of this Class;
  5. A pupil pays 100 rubles a year for training, payments are made six months in advance;
  6. Pupils must have their own violin and accessories, tuning-fork, text-books and music necessary for the course;
  7. Pupils are expected to carry out all disciplinary rules drawn up by the directorate of the Kapella;
  8. Pupils completing their training and attaining not less than 4 in their principal subjects (according to the five-mark system, where 5 is the highest mark) and not less than 3 in their other subjects are awarded certificates of three classes from the Court Kapella: a) students completing the preparatory class - third-class certificate and title 'assistant precentor'; b) students completing the preparatory, first and second (theoretical) courses - second-class certificate and title 'precentor', and c) students completing the full course - first-class certificate and title 'teacher of church singing and theory of music'.<sup>146</sup>

The prohibition of private students was included in the new Statute which was drawn up the following year and granted imperial approval on 4

October 1908 (see App.5).<sup>147</sup> While the basic structure of the Precentors' Class was not altered by this document, conditions differed slightly from those set out in the 1884 Statute. The duration of the full Precentors' Class was now reduced to four years, pupils having already completed the two-year general class obligatory for all young choristers. On graduation certificates were awarded as before. Graduates wishing to open private precentors' classes, however, had to apply to the Kapella for a special certificate attesting to their ability to teach this subject. External students, aged sixteen years or over, were permitted to sit the final examinations at the discretion of the administration, and on payment of the sum of twenty rubles.

Simultaneously, the programme of the Precentors' Class was subjected to minor revisions. Methods of voice training and basic teaching skills were introduced into the curriculum, the omission of which had drawn criticism for Rimsky-Korsakov's teaching programme.<sup>148</sup> According to the reminiscences of his pupil Nikolai Cherepnin:

Professor Solov'ev was very cordial in his relations with his pupils, worked very meticulously in class, but he had little of that internal enthusiasm which always transfers itself to the pupil, and his teaching was somewhat official.<sup>149</sup>

On 16 March 1912 Solov'ev resigned and Khristofor Nikolaevich Grozdov was promoted from inspector, a post which he had held since 1904, to assistant head.<sup>150</sup> This period of the Kapella's history is of little interest. The growing uncertainty of the political climate had led to the curtailment of Kapella activities: an atmosphere of suspicion and

mistrust reigned, and the choristers were subjected to even closer scrutiny by the Tsarist police. Such conditions did not favour artistic development or foster creativity.

Following the events of 1917 the Kapella could no longer exist in its former state: to the end it had remained the personal choir of the Tsar and, with the removal of Nicholas II, the reason for its very existence was gone. That an establishment which had enjoyed such a close relationship with the imperial court should have survived at all is indeed remarkable, and its continued existence should be attributed to Lenin's Commissar for Education, Anatoly Lunacharsky, who supported the work of the Kapella, describing it as 'the pearl of pre-revolutionary choral art' and saving it from probable destruction.<sup>151</sup>

Over the next five years the Kapella was to exist under a variety of titles: on 3 August 1918 it was renamed the Petrogradskaya narodnaya khorovaya akademiya [Petrograd people's choral academy];<sup>152</sup> on 1 July 1922 it became the Gosudarstvennaya kapella [State Kapella],<sup>153</sup> and then on 19 October 1922 became the Gosudarstvennaya akademicheskaya kapella [State Academic Kapella].<sup>154</sup> To mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Glinka's birth on 27 May 1954 it was finally named the Gosudarstvennaya akademicheskaya kapella imeni M. I. Glinka [State Kapella named after M. I. Glinka], the name by which it is still known today.<sup>155</sup>

Notes for Chapter 2

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8. TSGIA f.1109 op.1 ed.khr.138 p.1 Announcement
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27. Ibid., p.131
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### Chapter 3: The Development of Court Chant in Historical and Liturgical Context

#### i) Musical elements in the liturgy of the Russian Orthodox Church

According to the accepted legend the foundation of the Russian Orthodox Church dates back to the year 988 when the people of Kievan Rus' officially adopted the Byzantine form of Christianity on the orders of the Grand Duke Vladimir Svyatoslavich. From this date the Russian church became a metropolitanate of the Church of Constantinople, with its leaders elected by the authorities in the mother church.<sup>1</sup> It is clear from the earliest surviving manuscripts, dating from the late eleventh century, that in embracing the new religion the Russians adopted both the rituals and service-books of the Byzantine rite, translating them into their current language, now known as Old Slavonic or Church Slavonic, with little or no alteration.<sup>2</sup> Liturgical practices changed little over the centuries and, discounting various insignificant regional differences, the same liturgy and offices are used throughout the Eastern Orthodox Church, both Greek and Russian, to this day.

The Orthodox liturgical year is organized according to a series of cycles - annual, weekly, and daily - which commemorate events in the life of Christ, the Virgin Mary and various saints. The calendar followed is the Old Style or Julian calendar which was in general use in Russia until 1918: in the eighteenth century this calendar lagged eleven days behind the Gregorian calendar used in western Europe, in the nineteenth century the difference increased to twelve days, and in the

twentieth to thirteen days. The annual liturgical cycle comprises a series of Great and Lesser Feasts, the most important of which is Paskha or Easter. This is a movable feast, falling on a different date each year, and so its position in the church calendar determines the dates of several of the other principal feasts of the Orthodox year, the Great Feasts of Our Lord: Palm Sunday, the Ascension, and Pentecost. The remaining Great Feasts of Our Lord - the Elevation of the Cross (14 September), the Nativity of Christ (25 December), the Theophany (the baptism of Christ - 6 January), and the Transfiguration (6 August) - are immovable. Next in importance are the Feasts of the Mother of God: the Annunciation (25 March), the Nativity of the Mother of God (8 September), the Presentation of the Mother of God in the Temple (21 November), the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple (the Purification - 2 February), and the Assumption (the Dormition - 15 August), all of which are also immovable.<sup>3</sup>

The liturgy is also governed by the weekly cycle in which each day celebrates a particular saint or event: Sunday commemorates the Resurrection; Monday - the angelic host; Tuesday - St. John the Baptist; Wednesday - Mary and the cross; Thursday - St. Nicholas; Friday - the cross; Saturday - the saints and the dead.<sup>4</sup> Particular hymns are appointed for each day in accordance with this cycle.

Of the nine offices in the liturgical day only three are of musical significance: Velikaya vechernya [Vespers], Utrenya [Matins] and Bozhestvennaya liturgiya [Divine Liturgy]. On Saturday evenings and on the eves of major feasts Vespers and Matins are celebrated together in a service known as Vsenoshchnoe bdenie, the All-Night Vigil. Each of

these services contains extended musical elements which will be examined below. While in larger cathedrals or monasteries sections of the remaining offices (Compline, Nocturn, First Hour, Third Hour, Sixth Hour, Ninth Hour) may be chanted, in general the greater part of their text is simply intoned by the officiating priest.

The liturgical day begins at sunset in the Orthodox Church and so the first office is Vespers. As in other Christian rites, most notably that of the Roman Catholic Church, the elements of the service can be divided into the Ordinaries, which are unchanging, and the Propers, which are determined according to the liturgical calendar. Musically, all these services are comprised of a series of extended canticles, psalms, graduals, troparia or short hymns, and brief responses. In the schemes which follow I have included only the more extended musical elements and have omitted the short responses such as 'Lord have mercy' which frequently punctuate the prayers read by the priest or deacon.<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that there is a discrepancy in the numbering of the psalms as they are presented in the Russian psalter and in the Authorized Version: in the Russian psalter the ninth and tenth psalms (AV) are combined as Psalm 9, and Psalm 147 (AV) is divided into Psalms 146 and 147, therefore appropriate adjustment must be made. In citing the psalms the number given first is that of the Russian psalter and the number in brackets corresponds with that given in the Authorized Version and the Book of Common Prayer.

#### Musical elements in the office of Vespers

Psalm 103 (104): Blagoslovi, dushe moya, Gospoda [Praise the Lord, O my

soul]

Antiphon: Blazhen muzh [Blessed is the man] (portions of Psalms 1 and 2)

Psalms 140, 141 (141, 142): Polozhi, Gospodi, okhranu ustam moim [Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth]

Canticles appointed for the day

Hymn to the Mother of God

Hymn: Svete tikhii [O peaceful light]

Gradual appointed for the day

Canticles appointed for the day

Song of Simeon: Nyne otpushchaeshi raba Tvoego [Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart]

The Lord's Prayer: Otche nash [Our Father]

Troparion: Bogoroditse Devo, raduisya [Rejoice, O Virgin Mother of God], or hymn appointed for the feast

#### Musical elements in the office of Matins

Psalm 3 (3): Gospodi! kak umnozhlis' vragi moi [Lord, how are they increased that trouble me]

Psalm 37 (38): Gospodi! ne v yarosti Tvoei oblichai menya [Put me not to rebuke, O Lord]

Psalm 62 (63): Bozhe! Ty Bog moi [O God, thou art my God]

Psalm 87 (88): Gospodi, Bozhe spaseniya moego [O Lord God of my salvation]

Psalm 102 (103): Blagoslovi, dushe moya, Gospoda [Praise the Lord, O my soul]

Psalm 142 (143): Gospodi! uslysh' molitvu moyu [O Lord, hear my prayer]

Troparion: Bog Gospod' [God is the Lord]

Hymns appointed for the day

Verses from psalms 134, 135 (135, 136): Khvalite imya Gospodne [Praise the name of the Lord]

Troparion: Blagosloven esi, Gospodi [Blessed art Thou, O Lord]

Antiphon: Ot yunosti moeya [From my youth]

Graduals appointed for the day

Prokimen: Voskresenie Khristogo videvshe [Having beheld the Resurrection]

Psalm 50 (51): Pomilui mya, Bozhe [Have mercy on me O God]

Canticles appointed for the day

Magnificat: Velichit dusha moya Gospoda [My soul doth magnify the Lord]

Great Doxology: Slava v vyshnykh Bogu [Glory to God in the highest]

Troparia appointed for the day

Gradual: Mnogiya leta [Many years]

The most important service in the Orthodox Church is that of Divine Liturgy. This term refers only to the Eucharist itself - equivalent to the Eucharist in the Roman Catholic Church - and comprises the anaphora or prayers of consecration read at the altar during the singing of the opening psalms, followed by the communion itself and the dismissal.<sup>6</sup>

There are three liturgies in use within the Russian Orthodox Church. The first is the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom which is used on ordinary feasts, on Sundays, and on weekdays. The second is the Liturgy of St. Vasily the Great which is celebrated ten times each year: Christmas, Epiphany, the Feast of St. Vasily (1 January), on all the

Sundays in Lent (with the exception of Palm Sunday), on Thursday of Holy Week, on Easter Eve and on other major feasts.<sup>7</sup> While the structure of this liturgy differs little from that of St. John Chrysostom, the initial anaphora are much longer, necessitating a more extended setting of the psalms.<sup>8</sup> The third liturgy used is the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Host, attributed to St. Gregory the Great of Rome, which takes the form of the Vespers service followed by the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, omitting those verses which occur between the offertory and the Lord's prayer.<sup>9</sup> This third liturgy is celebrated on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent and on the first three days of Holy Week when no consecration of bread and wine takes place but communion is given from elements consecrated on the previous Sunday.<sup>10</sup>

Structurally the liturgy falls into three sections: the Office of Preparation, the Liturgy of the Word, and the Eucharist. Of these, only the second and third involve musical elements. While the anaphora and a number of the verses differ in each of the three liturgies used, the musical structure of each is virtually identical, and the service is more constant than Vespers or Matins, being less dependent on the annual and weekly cycles.

#### Musical elements in the office of Divine Liturgy

Psalm 102 (103): Blagoslovi, dushe moya, Gospoda [Bless the Lord, O my soul]

Psalm 145 (146): Khvali, dushe moya, Gospoda [Praise the Lord, O my soul]

Hymn of Justinian: Edinorodnyi Syne [Only-begotten Son]

Antiphon: Vo Tsarstvii Tvoem pomyani nas [In thy kingdom remember us  
Lord]

Antiphons appointed for the day

Hymn: Priidite, poklonimsya [Come let us worship]

Troparia and kondaki appointed for the day

Trisagion: Svyatyi Bozhe, Svyatyi Krepkii [Holy God, Holy and Strong]

Prokimni appointed for the day

Song of the Cherubim: Izhe Kheruvimy [Those who are the cherubim]

Credo: Veruyu [I believe]

Anaphora: Milost' mira [Peace of the world]; Dostoino i pravedno [It is  
meet and right]; Svyat, Svyat, Svyat Gospod' [Holy, holy, holy Lord];  
Tebe poem [We praise thee]; Dostoino est' [Meet it is]; O Tebe  
raduetsya, Blagodatnaya, vsyakaya tvar' [Every creature rejoices in  
you, Mother of God]

The Lord's Prayer: Otche nash [Our Father]

Communion anthem: Khvalite Gospoda s nebes [Praise the Lord from Heaven]

Troparion: Blagosloven Gryadyi [Blessed is the sinner]

Troparion: Da ispolnyatsya usta nasha [Let our mouths be filled]

Psalm 33 (34): Blagoslovlyu Gospoda [I will always give thanks unto the  
Lord]

Gradual: Mnogiya leta [Many years]

While the above-mentioned elements are those most commonly given a more extended musical treatment, it must be noted that services varied extensively in their musical content. It was not unusual for one of the most important antiphons to be recited on a single note, or a short,

insignificant response to be given an extremely elaborate setting with no liturgical justification.

ii) A brief history of church chant: 988-1796

It is now generally accepted that in 988 the Slavs adopted not only the liturgy and ritual of the Eastern Orthodox Church but also many of the Byzantine chants, which were introduced by Greek and Bulgarian singers.<sup>11</sup> This is supported by the fact that the neumatic notation found in the earliest extant Russian musical manuscripts is very closely related to an early stage of the Coislin system of the Byzantine neumatic notation, a Palestinian system which was used until the late twelfth century.<sup>12</sup> Special schools were soon established in Russian monasteries to instruct singers in the performance of this neumatic notation, and under Russian influence the Byzantine chant quickly acquired a Slavonic character. As the Russian Orthodox Church developed a sense of its own identity, the new Slavonic characteristics became more pronounced. Links with Byzantium gradually loosened and in 1448 the Russian church became autocephalous, its metropolitans no longer elected by church leaders in Constantinople but by a council of Russian hierarchs.<sup>13</sup> Thus direct ties with Byzantium were effectively severed.

As Byzantine influence waned, the neumatic notation continued to develop and the modified system acquired the Russian name znamennyi notation, derived from the word znamya meaning 'sign'. Appearing in chant books as early as the twelfth century, znamennyi chant is the oldest of the various bodies of chant used in the Russian Orthodox Church, and the melodies thus notated are very similar to those of the Greek rite.<sup>14</sup> The znamennyi chants adhere to the system of osmoglasie or eight tones, equivalent to the Byzantine oktoechos. These tones, or

glasy, are neither modes nor scales but collections of melodic formulae called pop evki. Each tone comprises a number of pop evki or melodic patterns of varying length which can be grouped into three categories: intonations, reciting tones, and cadences. Pop evki from each of these categories, appropriate to the particular tone, are then combined to create the composed chant melody. All eight tones are contained in the liturgical scale (see ex.1).

Ex.1: Liturgical scale



The correlation between the Byzantine osmoglasie and the eight modes used in the western church is evident: each system has finals on D, E, F and G and has both authentic and plagal forms. The numbering of the modes or tones within each system differs, however: in the western system authentic and plagal forms alternate, whereas in that of Byzantium the four authentic forms precede the four plagal.

In the Russian Orthodox Church, as in all Eastern Christian churches, an eight-week tone cycle is used, each tone being set for one week. The cycle of tones governs only certain musical elements within the daily services, namely the troparia or hymns for the day, the kontakia - poetic narrative elaborations on Biblical texts, stikhera or canticles, prokimena or graduals, and alleluias. Each of these categories of hymn thus has eight melodies which change from week to

week, beginning with a Tone 1 melody on the second Sunday after Pentecost and ending with a Tone 8 melody on the fifth Sunday of Lent.<sup>15</sup> Every major feast is also associated with a particular tone which overrules the usual tone for the week.

During the fifteenth century the definitive order of service was established and, for the first time, znamennyi chants used in churches throughout the country were gathered together and ordered to form the first Obikhod - a collection of the most important and most commonly used znamennyi melodies, set out in accordance with the liturgical calendar.<sup>16</sup> Until the end of the sixteenth century these chants changed very little. Chant melodies dating from this time tend to be largely syllabic, recitative patterns on a single note, although melismas of more than three notes are occasionally found on key liturgical words or at cadences. Melodic motion is generally conjunct and leaps greater than a third are relatively rare.

Several other categories of chant were commonly used in the Russian Orthodox Church in addition to the znamennyi chant. In 1441 we find the first mention in the chronicles of demestvennyi chant, a name derived from the Russian demestvennik meaning 'precentor'.<sup>17</sup> Unlike the older znamennyi form these chants did not follow the system of osmoglasie (and so did not appear in the Obikhod) and thus had a much greater degree of melodic freedom. Here the vocal writing is virtuosic: melodic intricacies combine with considerable rhythmic complexity and richly-ornamented extended melismas. The intricacy and brilliance of this chant has led scholars to the conclusion that it was intended not for unison choral performance like the znamennyi chant, but for performance

by trained soloists. It is most probable, therefore, that it would have been heard only in the larger cathedrals which could boast trained singers.

Another important category is that of Kievan chant, a regional variant of znamennyi chant, which developed in the late sixteenth century as a result of the political supremacy of Poland and Lithuania in western Russia following the 1569 Treaty of Lublin. Greatly influenced by Roman Catholic church music (both Poland and Lithuania were predominantly Roman Catholic countries), this chant displays characteristics commonly seen in western-European sacred music of the time: use is made of contrasting sections, and alternation between recitative passages and sections of more melodic writing is typical. Melodically and rhythmically more simple than the demestvennyi melodies, this variant is nevertheless more complex than the original znamennyi chant.

Other principal categories of chant used in Orthodox services include Greek and Bulgarian chants transcribed from the performance of foreign singers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These syllabic chants are very simple both melodically and rhythmically and, like the znamennyi chants, were probably intended for choral unison performance. The Kievan, Bulgarian and Greek chants were all based on the eight-tone system.

By the end of the sixteenth century znamennyi chant had undergone a series of changes. The meaning of the neumatic notation had altered so radically that it now bore very little resemblance to that of Byzantium: neumes were no longer simply a memory aid for singers, indicating only

relative pitch, but now referred to specific modes, fixed pitches, and set melodic patterns.<sup>18</sup> Current trends in performance practice lent themselves to certain abuses. Singers at this time increasingly adopted the habit of inserting elaborate, highly melismatic passages (fity) into the original syllabic chants in order to highlight certain words,<sup>19</sup> and by the end of the sixteenth century this practice had produced an entirely new and distinctive category of melismatic chant known as bol'shoi znamennyi or 'great' znamennyi to distinguish it from the original mal'yi or 'little' znamennyi chant, which was often little more than a recitative pattern on a single note. While in itself this elaboration and embellishment of the traditional melodies had no detrimental effect on their musical value, the trend was to result in a serious abuse of the liturgical chant. Naturally, as the inserted fity became increasingly complex and protracted, the duration of the service gradually lengthened and, to compensate for this, singers adopted the practice of beginning each hymn before the preceding one had ended.<sup>20</sup> Leaving the musical effects aside, the resultant overlap made a nonsense of the liturgical text so that it was impossible for the listener to follow the words of the prayers.

The other principal abuse during the late sixteenth century was the widespread practice of khonomiya - the transliteration of mute letters into the vowels 'e' and 'o' - which evolved as a result of the placing of neumatic signs not only above voiced vowels and syllables but also over unvoiced letters such as hard and soft signs.<sup>21</sup> Like the overlapping of chants, the new pronunciation caused the distortion of words which led to calls for a reform of text and music.

The seventeenth century was a period of transition for Russian church chant and witnessed several important reforms. In 1651 a pamphlet was written and published by the monk Euphrosinius entitled Skazanie o razlichnykh eresekh i khulenikh na Gospoda Bog i na Prechistuyu Bogoroditsu, soderzhimyykh ot nevideniya v znamennykh knigakh [An account of various heresies and blasphemies against the Lord our God and the Blessed Virgin, which are maintained from ignorance in the znamennyi books].<sup>22</sup> This pamphlet, in which Euphrosinius denounces the abuses which had grown up in the preceding hundred years, in particular the corruption of text, was welcomed by many including the highly influential Patriarch Nikon. Nikon strongly favoured a reform of the old liturgical books and of the church ritual, and at his instigation a commission was set up in the 1660's to 'correct' the existing notated chants. The commission, headed by the theorist Aleksandr Mezenets, achieved a great deal: the practice of khonomiya was banned, the melodies were altered to fit the revised pronunciation, and great care was taken to preserve the original neumatic notation. In addition, an Azbuka znamennago peniya [Handbook of znamennyi chant] was compiled to explain this notation to the singers.<sup>23</sup>

Anti-reform feeling was equally intense, and a great many priests and believers regarded the alteration of the ancient books and ritual as a secularization of the sacred rites, a blasphemy induced by the heretical Roman Catholics. Despite the strength of their feeling these adherents to the old practices, or Old Believers [Staroobryadtsy] as they were known, could not match the power of the Patriarch and a large number were sent into exile in northern Russia, taking with them the

chants in their original form.

For the next hundred years revised chant melodies continued to circulate in manuscript copies. The earliest printed volumes of chant date from the late eighteenth century and were published by the Holy Governing Synod - an ecclesiastical administrative body run by state officials appointed by the Tsar, created on the abolition of the Patriarchate by Peter the Great in 1721.<sup>24</sup> Around 1767 a clerk in the Moscow Synodal Typography, Stepan Ivanovich Byshkovsky, submitted a petition to the Synod requesting permission to publish a series of volumes of liturgical chant.<sup>25</sup> Although permission was initially refused, Byshkovsky continued to argue his case and his efforts were at length successful: on 15 June 1769 an ukaz was issued by the Synod approving the publication of four volumes of chant.<sup>26</sup>

In compiling the new chant books Byshkovsky collaborated with a number of the senior priests and singers of the Synod choir who continued to perform the chants as notated in the musical manuscripts from the time of Aleksandr Mezenets.<sup>27</sup> Unlike the Kapella in St. Petersburg, the Synod choir had not come under the direction of foreign musicians during the eighteenth century and thus had preserved the ancient traditions to a much greater extent. The four volumes, which presented the chant melodies in square-note or Kievan notation in c-clef on a five-line staff, were published between the summer of 1770 and June 1772 under the following titles:

1. Obikhod notnago peniya [Obikhod in musical notation];
2. Oktoikh notnago peniya [Oktoikh in musical notation];
3. Irmologii notnago peniya [Hiermologion in musical notation];

#### 4. Prazdniki notnago peniya [Feasts in musical notation].

Collectively the Synod chant books contained melodies for the entire liturgical year. In the Obikhod the most important znamennyi chants were laid out in accordance with the daily sequence of services, beginning with Vespers and ending with Divine Liturgy. This volume included not only the znamennyi chants for the Ordinary and portions of the Propers for a number of the major feasts but also a small number of Kievan and Greek chants. The longer canticles, graduals, and many hymns for Sunday services were presented in the Oktoikh or Book of Eight Tones. This collection included eight sets of the kanons and hymns sung during Vespers, Compline, Nocturn and Matins for each day in the week. The Irmologii [Hiermologion] contained a large number of irmosy - brief canticles found within the kanons - set to some of the oldest znamennyi chants. The chants for the nine great immovable feasts were to be found in the Prazdniki.

In addition to their importance in bringing together all the chants for the liturgical year, these new publications were of immense value in several other respects. Since the schism within the Church in the 1660's the old chants had been largely neglected, and sacred music was dominated by Polish and Italian musical forms (see Chapter 4). Many churches lacked a choir of sufficient size and skill to perform the complex Italianate concertos which were heard in the imperial churches and gladly hailed the publication of a body of chant intended for unison choral performance which was within their capabilities. With the publication of the Synod books interest in the old chants was rekindled.

The Synod publications thus rapidly established themselves as the

authoritative and definitive collection of chants for the liturgical year: within a short time copies could be found in virtually every church. These books were to form the basis for the numerous chant harmonizations of the nineteenth century which will be discussed later in this chapter.

### iii) Bortnyansky and Court Chant

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the emergence of a new category of church chant - pridvornyi or 'court' chant. This body of chant, which originated in the Court Kapella, comprised a collection of simplified and abbreviated melodies from the other chant systems, principally znamennyi, Kievan, and Greek. In this new form, almost all melodic elaboration was eliminated and chants were performed in basic improvised harmony, forming a kind of chordal recitative. Through the publication and enforced adoption of volumes of harmonized chant, the Kapella was to play a leading role in the promotion of the ancient church melodies, both in their own right and as the basis for polyphonic church music, throughout the nineteenth century. The new pridvornyi chant was to form the basis for these publications.

The first of the Kapella publications dates from the early nineteenth century. It seems probable that prior to this new publication the chants used in the Kapella were passed on from generation to generation according to an oral tradition. In memoirs and correspondence of the period there is no mention of singers using the Synod publications, although the director and singing teachers were undoubtedly aware of this important edition. In 1814, Dmitry Bortnyansky was commissioned by Alexander I to compile a setting of the liturgy for use in the imperial churches.<sup>28</sup> The result was a volume entitled Prostoe penie bozhestvennoi liturgii zlatoustago izdrevle poedinomu predaniyu upotrebyaemoe pri Vysochaishem dvore [Simple chant for the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom traditionally used at the

Imperial Court from the earliest times]. Bortnyansky's liturgy, a two-part setting of the chants most commonly sung in the imperial churches, was first published in August 1814 when the firm of H. J. Dal'mas in St. Petersburg produced one hundred and thirty eight copies for use at the court.<sup>29</sup> The following year a further three thousand six hundred were published at the treasury's expense in the military printing house under the direction of Vasily Pyadyshev,<sup>30</sup> and were distributed around the parishes in accordance with an order passed by the Synod on 26 July 1815.<sup>31</sup>

Bortnyansky's setting is for alto and bass, with the original chant melody carried in the alto line. Both lines occasionally divide. Two distinct styles are represented: liturgical recitative, where long stretches of text, most often prayers of intercession for the members of the imperial family, are recited on a single note, and syllabic chant which is musically rather more interesting. Melodic motion in the syllabic chant is basically conjunct and there are few leaps larger than a third. There is no use of counterpoint. Harmonically very simple, the voices move in parallel thirds or sixths for much of the time, with the bass playing a functional role at cadences. The only accidentals which are found are the occasional flattened B's which occur in the liturgical scale (see p.135). The chants are barred, although the time signature is constantly changing, and rhythms are very simple. <sup>The</sup> text is pronounced simultaneously by alto and bass throughout, with melismas occurring only towards cadences or in 'alleluia' sections.

In addition to the two-part setting of the liturgy, many scholars have attributed to Bortnyansky a proposal to publish a body of the

ancient liturgical chants in kryuk notation (sometimes known as 'hook' notation). On 25 April 1878 Prince Pyotr Petrovich Vyazemsky presented a paper to the annual meeting of the Obshchestvo lyubitelei drevnei pis'mennosti [Society of Lovers of Ancient Literature] regarding the Proekt ob otpechatanii drevnego rossiiskogo kryukovogo peniya [Project for the printing of ancient Russian chant in kryuk notation] which had been given to him by Kachenovsky, choirmaster of the Institute of Navigation and a former pupil of Bortnyansky.<sup>32</sup> The Proekt was later published as a supplement to the Minutes of the meeting.<sup>33</sup> This document is probably the earliest to put forward the idea of ancient chant as a basis for contemporary composition. The author asserts that the publication of such chants in their original kryuk notation is necessary for a variety of reasons:

1. To provide a more comprehensive picture of the history of the Orthodox church;
2. To provide a useful and worthy source for singers;
3. In order to correct distortions in the ancient chant melodies. The text would be set in accordance with the pattern of stress, and bar-lines could be inserted, without altering the rhythm, in order to make the chants more accessible. The chant could then serve as the basis for native counterpoint;
4. To provide a clearer explanation of kryuk notation;
5. To provide an inexhaustible source for contemporary composers. As the ancient Slavonic language formed the basis of Russian poetry, so the ancient chants would form the basis of modern church composition;

6. To act as a unifying element in Russian church music.<sup>34</sup>

Since its first appearance in 1878 there has been a great deal of controversy concerning the attribution of the project to Bortnyansky. Those convinced of Bortnyansky's authorship included Stepan Smolensky who contended that there was simply no-one else with the requisite musical knowledge and insight for the task at that time.<sup>35</sup> This view was shared by musicologists such as Metallov and Preobrazhensky, who insisted that there was no question of the Proekt having been written by anyone other than Bortnyansky:

Such ideas in the first quarter of our century could belong only to a limited number of people possessing the gift of foresight and embracing the full concept and meaning of church singing.<sup>36</sup>

There were numerous opponents of the attribution to Bortnyansky, however, including such influential figures as Dmitry Razumovsky and Vladimir Stasov, and this opposing view has been upheld by recent Soviet musicologists. In her study on his life and works, Marina Rytsareva states that the rather pompous and florid linguistic style used in the project is uncharacteristic of Bortnyansky.<sup>37</sup> She also asserts that it was not in his nature to spend time canvassing for public approval: he would simply have got on with using the ancient chants in his own compositions.<sup>38</sup> She does allow the likelihood that the real author was personally acquainted with Bortnyansky, however, and had heard him express the ideas which form the basis of the project. A possible candidate in her view is Pyotr Turchaninov (see p.154).<sup>39</sup>

In some respects this seems a plausible explanation. The literary

style of the project is certainly somewhat strange as it consists of passages from Rousseau's Dictionnaire de musique in a rather heavy translation and 'original' passages in a rather uneducated style. Bortnyansky had a fluent command of French and was a member of the highest intellectual circles. It is also true that in his capacity as director of Russia's foremost institution of church music, with sole control over the censorship and publication of all new sacred works, he had no need to seek public approval for his actions but could simply suppress all new compositions which he considered to be in a style unsuited to Russian worship.

There is no doubt that few, if any, other musicians of the time had a musical talent or vision in any way comparable to that of Bortnyansky, and the increasing use of chant in his later compositions indicates his growing interest in ancient melody as a basis for contemporary composition. However there is no evidence that the idea originated with Bortnyansky, as Rytsareva suggests. Clearly, the Proekt was written by someone who felt very strongly about the need to preserve these ancient chants in their original form and in their original notation. While Bortnyansky was aware of the potential of church chant as a source of inspiration for new works, the faithful preservation of these melodies was certainly not a priority for him: if by altering the original chant a more lyrical melody would be achieved, then an alteration would be made. Neither is there any evidence that Bortnyansky ever demonstrated an interest in kryuk notation and, as the relatively recent square notation of the Synod publications was not preserved in his 1814 setting of the liturgy, it is very unlikely that he would suddenly have

advocated, indeed insisted upon, a return to an even earlier form.

In his article 'Sochinenie, pripisyvaemoe Bortnyanskomu' [A work attributed to Bortnyansky] Vladimir Stasov supports the view, also held by Razumovsky and, he claimed, Aleksei L'vov and Pyotr Belikov, who had seen a copy of the manuscript in the Kapella, that the author of the project was one Alyakritsky, a singer formerly employed in the Kapella.<sup>40</sup> According to this theory, Alyakritsky was approached by a group of Old Believers who desperately wished to promote their views on the necessity of a return to ancient chant and kryuk notation but were unable to get their work published. This group proposed that Alyakritsky should write the article for them and pass it off as the work of Bortnyansky. By attributing the project to the influential director of the Kapella the Old Believers were assured that it would receive serious consideration.

The views expressed in the project are certainly in accordance with those of the Old Believers; unfortunately, however, any information about Alyakritsky contained in the archives of the Kapella which might have resolved the question was destroyed in the fire of 1826. In any event the Proekt itself was not realised and the question of authorship remains unanswered.

iv) F. P. L'vov and Court Chant

While recognizing the potential of church chant as a basis for contemporary composition and as a unifying element in Russian sacred music, Bortnyansky's championship of the ancient melodies was in no way a rejection of his inherent Italianate style. His successor at the Kapella, Fyodor L'vov, on the other hand, was vehemently opposed to the domination of church music by Italian composers such as Sarti and Galuppi (see Chapter 4), and actively campaigned for a return to the 'pious simplicity' of the old Russian chants, which could be presented in simple chordal arrangements.<sup>41</sup> His opinions are set out in his work O penii v Rossii [Concerning singing in Russia], published in St. Petersburg in 1834:

Italian singing ... by its array of musical sounds leads a sensitive person into sweet unconsciousness. Greek [chant] on the other hand, leaves a person in possession of himself and inclines him towards prayer ... Without exception, sacred melodies must be short and fixed invariably, so that they become rooted in the memory ... they must be simple and inspired with heart-warming fire, in order to inflame the heart and elevate the soul!<sup>42</sup>

In an article on church music published in the newspaper Severnaya pchela [The Northern Bee] in 1831 L'vov described the inadequacies of the Italianate style of composition in the context of Russian worship in greater detail:

1. Russians are accustomed to the everyday church singing and, as church chant is known to everyone through basic education, so the majority of people standing in church know the prayer and its chant and, from experience, follow the voices and the words of the prayer which are not distorted by the unexpected musical changes of the Italian style;
2. Even in the best performances the use of Italian music in churches is improper because this music is not comprehended by the common people, and the people cannot distinguish any everyday prayer in this singing; many of the common people have left the church, no longer finding in it that singing to which they have been accustomed from infancy;
3. It is clear that Italian music, being more varied in its harmonic structure, often degenerates into a theatrical style, captivating the educated listener with its charm and leading him *unawittingly* from the reverence and the spirit of the prayer, and repelling the uneducated [listener]. Greek chant, on the other hand, by its simplicity, grandeur, and smoothness elevates the emotions of man to prayer, awakening him to the outpouring of the spirit, and does not repel the uneducated [listener] who is accustomed to the everyday chant.<sup>43</sup>

It is clear from these passages that in advocating a return to the

ancient chants as the basis for church composition L'vov's principal concern was that the intricacies of the music should not distract the listener from the liturgical texts. The brevity and familiarity of the chants would ensure that the listener did not pay undue attention to the melodic and harmonic turns but would concentrate on the words of the prayer.

On taking up his appointment as director of the Kapella, L'vov rapidly became aware that funding received from the Ministry of the Imperial Court was insufficient for the needs of the establishment, resulting in serious deficiencies in the programme of education and in the standard of living of the young choristers (see p.18).<sup>44</sup> In an attempt to solve this financial problem and, at the same time, to strike a significant blow against the domination of the Italian musical style, L'vov submitted a proposal to the Ministry of the Imperial Court for the compilation and publication of a four-part harmonization of the cycle of ancient chant for the liturgical year.<sup>45</sup> With the support of the Ministry the new harmonized chant could be adopted in churches throughout Russia, and profits resulting from the sale of the chant books could be used to benefit the Kapella's choristers. L'vov stressed the advantages of this plan in his proposal to the Ministry, dated 9 November 1826:

These measures ~~comprise~~ the teaching of our ancient church singing, the priceless relics of which are preserved in the church music books. From the accompanying memorandum the great necessity of ordering the znamennyi, demestvennyi, Kievan and other chants

accepted in our churches and harmonizing them in four parts is evident; this superb music, a rich source which we [Russians] alone possess, belongs directly to our worship, and by gradual cultivation and purification [it] may be used in places where church music is used and provide a special adornment of piety. In addition it may provide means for the [support of] the young singers, and for the preservation of the full choir without any burden to the Treasury.<sup>46</sup>

L'vov then goes on to provide a detailed list of measures to be taken for the execution of his plan:

[It is necessary:]

1. To find a talented and experienced precentor who is able to harmonize the old chants under L'vov's direction;
2. To entrust to him the teaching of this chant in the Kapella;
3. To pay him the sum of one thousand six hundred rubles each year (equivalent to the teacher of Italian music) [in addition to the singing teacher and his assistant who were responsible for instructing the choristers in choral singing a teacher of solo singing was employed in the Kapella];
4. To entrust the selection of this teacher to the director;

5. That the teaching of Italian singing should continue as before;
6. That the teacher harmonize the entire cycle of church chant;
7. To publish those harmonizations approved by the director;
8. That each book be published periodically and sent to the parishes, sacred academies, seminaries, cathedrals and churches, monasteries, schools, regiments, etc.;
9. That the sum thus raised be used for the Kapella;
10. That the director compile a new statute;
11. That half the sum raised be reserved for the cost of paying for the next edition, unless there are mitigating circumstances.<sup>47</sup>

For the post of precentor L'vov selected Pyotr Ivanovich Turchaninov (1779-1856), a Ukrainian who had sung in the private choir of General Levanidov in Kiev as a boy, later studying music with Sarti and Vedel'. Ordained as a priest in 1803, Turchaninov had been appointed precentor of the choir of the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg the following year.<sup>48</sup> Turchaninov's nomination was rapidly approved and a report from the Ministry of the Imperial Court of 26 February 1827 confirmed that:

Pyotr Turchaninov has been appointed to the Court Kapella to set the ancient church chants in harmonic order and to instruct the singers in these [chants]:

in consequence of this appointment he will receive an annual salary of 1600 rubles.<sup>49</sup>

Following his appointment to the Kapella a committee chaired by Turchaninov was set up to study all the church music used at court, to correct errors in the chant melodies, checking them against those in the 1772 publications, to provide harmonizations, and to correct the pronunciation where necessary.<sup>50</sup> In a letter to Turchaninov of 9 April 1827 L'vov lists his chosen committee: Pavlovsky (assistant singing teacher), leaders of the left and right klirosy [choir stalls] G. N. Stotsky and E. Markov, and the singers S. Yarotsky, P. Makushin, and E. F. Khrapko. All had served in the Kapella for a considerable period and were well acquainted with the manner in which chants were sung there.<sup>51</sup> The inspector of the Kapella, Pyotr Belikov, was also closely involved in this work; his record of service lists a payment of one thousand rubles awarded to him in 1830 by imperial decree 'for labours on the edition of books of sacred music'.<sup>52</sup>

The committee started work on 9 August 1827, and by 19 April 1828 had established a Reestr prostogo tserkovnogo pesnopeniya [Register of simple church chant], a list of the single-line chants which would comprise the new Obikhod. Work on the harmonization of these chants was completed soon after this.<sup>53</sup> On completion of the work L'vov received funding for its publication from the Komissiya dukhovnykh uchilishch [Commission of religious schools], but on 8 June 1828 the Ministry of the Imperial Court ordered that the book not be printed, the money was returned and Turchaninov dismissed.<sup>54</sup> The reasons for this are unclear. Evidently it was the result of yet another intrigue involving officials

from the Kapella and the court; in his autobiography Turchaninov refers to the envy and malice of his ill-wishers in connection with his dismissal but no names are given.<sup>55</sup> For over a year no progress was made. Then on 26 August 1829 L'vov received notification of an imperial decree sanctioning the publication of the music in the printing-house of the military headquarters.<sup>56</sup> The approval of the Commission of religious schools was obtained on 21 May 1830.<sup>57</sup>

Entitled Krug prostago tserkovnago peniya izdavna upotrebyaemogo pri Vysochaishem dvore [Cycle of simple church chant used at the Imperial Court since ancient times] the new publication contained chants for the All-night Vigil and each of the three liturgies, hymns and canticles for Christmas, troparia, antiphons, and graduals. These were notated on two staves and were set for two voices - alto and bass - with each part occasionally dividing, so that as many as five parts were heard, especially at cadences. Unlike the settings by Bortnyansky, they are not regularly barred and there are no time-signatures. In other respects, however, L'vov's arrangements are very similar to those of his predecessor: the simple rhythmic structure, syllabic setting of the text, conjunct melodic movement and functional bass are all highly reminiscent of the earlier publication. As in the previous edition there was no use of counterpoint and very little indication of the required tempi or dynamic levels.

Why the Krug should have been set in two parts is something of a mystery: it is clear from his proposal to the Ministry of the Imperial Court of 9 November 1826 that L'vov originally intended compiling a four-part setting. While the work was carried out at considerable speed

and completed within a year, a further two years elapsed before publication - surely sufficient time to complete the four-part harmonization of the chants. In practice, however, it would seem that when performed by a choir of sufficient size the chants were sung in four-part harmonization with the sopranos and tenors simply improvising more or less appropriate lines. The resultant harmonization was therefore utterly dependant on the inherent musicality of the singers. According to Aleksei L'vov:

In a full choir sopranos and tenors sing at will, causing such disparity that the same chant is performed at different speeds, causing a certain embarrassment; also the tenors, not having a fixed line, indulge in various florid outbursts which are completely inappropriate to church music.<sup>58</sup>

The following year, 1831, a companion volume was published - the Pannikhida izdavna upotrebyaemaya pri Vysochaishem dvore [Requiem used at the Imperial Court since ancient times]. This was the first four-part setting of the ancient chant and was scored for treble, alto, tenor and bass, with the chant melody carried by the alto. In this work, as in the Krug prostago tserkovnago peniya the parts often divide at cadences and up to seven parts are heard. Bar-lines occur only at the ends of phrases and there are no time signatures. The arrangements are chordal throughout, there is no use of counterpoint, and syllabic writing prevails. Harmonically the settings are basically diatonic and the harmonic rhythm is very slow. There are few accidentals, but those which do occur are outwith the liturgical scale. Again there are no

tempo indications or dynamics and only one crescendo and diminuendo is marked.

Although L'vov's publications were adopted for use in the imperial churches they received a great deal of criticism from various quarters, including both musicians and clergy. The Krug prostago tserkovnago peniya was deficient in many ways: it did not contain chants for the entire liturgical year and many important chants were omitted or abridged - for example it contained no irmosy. Despite the fact that the melodies had been 'corrected' many did not correspond exactly to those contained in the 1772 Synod publications, which were regarded as the authoritative source, and various errors were found in the texts. In addition, a report from the Holy Synod of 1835 states that the great majority of churches were unable to use the four-part harmonizations of the Pannikhida because they did not have the necessary number of singers. According to the German historian A. fon Dommer:

These books are important for the history of church singing in that they show in what unskilled hands church music was left in those days. These books are full of all kinds of errors: in the first place, the title does not conform with the contents as much of importance in our church service is omitted, in the second place many deviations from the church performance are admitted.<sup>59</sup>

The theorist and composer Yuri Arnol'd criticized not the fidelity of the melodies to the Synod publications but the musical worth of the harmonizations as a whole:

I could not help but notice that Turchaninov strictly adhered to the melody of the Obikhod published by the Holy Synod, which he entrusted to the alto in the main, so that the soprano voice proved to be a real 'descant', that is a second voice. On account of the melodic and harmonic turns and, in particular, in the skill of the natural part-writing, of course I was involuntarily forced to acknowledge the superiority of Bortnyansky over Turchaninov, in whose arrangements only a dilettante knowledge and understanding were clearly seen.<sup>60</sup>

This is a fair judgement: while the settings of Turchaninov certainly lack the melodic fluidity found in Bortnyansky's works, one cannot deny that they demonstrate a greater degree of fidelity to the chant melodies of the 1772 Synod books than do those of Bortnyansky.

v) A. F. L'vov and Court Chant

Like his father, Aleksei L'vov rejected the italianate church style and sought to make sacred music more accessible to the listener through the harmonization of ancient chant melodies. A great deal of his work in the Kapella was concerned with the four-part harmonization of the chants contained in the 1772 Synod publications, with the preservation of chants still passed on according to the oral tradition, and with bringing a greater degree of uniformity to the annual liturgical cycle.

From his earliest days at the Kapella L'vov had shown an interest in the harmonization of church chant: shortly after his appointment, in July 1837, he approved the publication of the Liturgiya Ioanna Zlatoustago prostogo napeva upotreblyaemago pri Vysochaishem dvore [Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in simple chant used at the Imperial Court] by Stepan Gribovich, a singing teacher employed in the Kapella from 1805 until 1843.<sup>61</sup> Another setting sanctioned by L'vov was completed in 1844 by the Kapella's singing teacher Pavel Maksimovich Vorotnikov.<sup>62</sup> After graduating from the Cadet School, Vorotnikov (1810-1876) had held the position of director of the military choirs and amateur orchestras in Elizavetgrad before taking up the appointment as singing teacher in the Court Kapella in 1843.<sup>63</sup> His setting, a four-part harmonization of the 1830 Krug prostago tserkovnago peniya, was published in St. Petersburg in 1845 under the title Prostoe tserkovnoe penie, pri Vysochaishem dvore upotreblyaemoe [Simple church chant, used at the Imperial Court].<sup>64</sup> On 23 August 1846, however, this volume was recalled and L'vov received an instruction (no.1769) from the Minister

of the Imperial Court, Count Adlerberg, 'to harmonize all the sacred works sung in court churches during all services throughout the year'.<sup>65</sup> At the same time all parishes were ordered to send scores of all unpublished three and four-part chant arrangements to the Kapella.<sup>66</sup> This work was to occupy L'vov for the duration of his tenure at the Court Kapella, and over the next fifteen years eleven volumes of chant were published under his supervision:

1. Polnyi obikhod [Complete obikhod] vol.1 (1846);
2. " " " " vol.2 (1846);
3. Kratkii irmologii [Short hiermologion] (1846/7);
4. Obikhod notnogo tserkovnogo peniya [Obikhod of church chant] vol.1 (1848);
5. " " " " " " " " " " vol.2 (1848);
6. Sokrashchennyi irmologii znamennogo napeva [Abridged hiermologion of znamennyi chant] (1848);
7. Oktoikh notnogo peniya znamennago napeva [Oktoikh in znamennyi chant] (1849);
8. Utrenya grecheskogo napeva [Morning service in Greek chant] (1850);
9. Irmosy vseya velikiya chetyredesyatnitsy i Strastnyya sedmitsy (iz triodi postnoi) sokrashchennago grecheskago napeva [Hymns for Lent and Holy Week in abridged Greek chant] (1852).
10. Voskresnye utrennie antifony grecheskogo raspeva [Antiphons for Sunday morning service in Greek chant] (1859);
11. Irmosy voskresnye, gospodskim, bogorodichnym i inym prazdnikam grecheskago napeva [Hymns for Sunday service, to the Lord, to the

Mother of God, and for feasts in Greek chant] (1859).

Collectively, these books contained the chants for all services throughout the liturgical year. The first volume of the Obikhod contained chants for Matins and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Host, as well as antiphons and irmosy for the major feasts. The second volume contained chants for the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, the requiem service, Vespers, antiphons and graduals for various feasts, and so on.

In compiling these volumes L'vov concerned himself not only with the accurate presentation of the original chant melody in a suitable harmonization, but also paid particular attention to the relationship between rhythm and text. He later set out his ideas on this subject in the pamphlet O svobodnom ili nesimmetrichnom ritme [Regarding free or asymmetrical rhythm] which was published in St. Petersburg in 1858. Here, before embarking on his subject in detail, L'vov presents his view of the true purpose of sacred music, asserting that the highest aim of church singing is:

To give clearer expression to the words of prayer. It is clear that such singing must not only obey the meaning of the prayer absolutely and submit to its meaning; but the music must submit to the rhythm of the words, in no way distorting them.<sup>67</sup>

He then divides the chants used in the imperial churches into two distinct categories:

- 1) Chants composed before the beginning of the eighteenth century, transcribed from kryuk notation and published in the 1772 Synod chant books. Based on the system of church modes, the only accidentals

which occur in these melodies are occasional flattened b's;

- 2) Chants dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These are regularly barred and, as they are not based on the eight church modes, do contain accidentals.<sup>68</sup>

Having compared the rhythmic structure of both categories of chant and examined the extent to which each fulfilled the aim of church singing, L'vov concluded that chants written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contained several fundamental flaws. As these chants were regularly barred, the text had to be adapted to fit a rigid scheme: certain words and phrases were repeated without liturgical justification, there were frequent changes in stress, certain syllables were prolonged, and the voices did not pronounce the words simultaneously so that it became almost impossible for the listener to follow the words of the prayer. In the pre-1700 chants, on the other hand, 'the ancient Fathers of music fitted the music to the words and not the words to the music'.<sup>69</sup> Thus, he concluded, it was possible to trace the current inadequacies in church singing back to the introduction of uniform or 'square' barring.

As a result of his investigations into the relationship between text and rhythm, L'vov insisted that the new chant harmonizations being prepared in the Kapella conform to certain conditions. The rhythm of the melodies as presented in the 1772 Synod publications should be preserved but transcribed into modern notation. Rhythms should not be uniform but should conform to the natural stresses of the words, which should be pronounced by all singers simultaneously. The harmonizations should have no time-signatures, and bar-lines should appear only between

distinct musical phrases and to mark sections of text, as in the Synod chant books:

I consider it best to divide the line according to the divisions in the text, placing the bar-lines at those points where they will also serve as points of rest for the singers.<sup>70</sup>

The resulting harmonizations, according to L'vov, would fittingly reflect the spirit of the prayer, which would be perfectly intelligible to the listener:

Anyone who understands the importance of the prayer and follows the words attentively during the singing cannot fail to be delighted, hearing it accompanied by simple, fitting harmony, with the words pronounced clearly by each singer simultaneously and with the musical rhythm following the natural rhythm of the words. The simple, clean lines of the prayer should not be decorated with trills, <sup>trills</sup> or other such mannerisms...The language of our prayers has a special character, and the character of the singing must reflect this.<sup>71</sup>

Although the new publications were prepared according to his detailed instructions, it is difficult to ascertain how much of the work was carried out by L'vov himself: in all probability most of the actual harmonization was done by his colleagues in the Kapella - Vorotnikov, Lomakin and Belikov. Following his work on the 1844 setting (see p.160), Vorotnikov was certainly closely involved in the compilation and harmonization of the chants for the 1846 Obikhod and, following the

publication of this work, L'vov requested that he undertake the preparation of the projected Oktoikh.<sup>72</sup> It is unlikely, however, that Vorotnikov made any significant contribution to this volume: as a result of serious illness he left the Kapella on 10 August 1848, just two months after work on the Oktoikh began.<sup>73</sup> Prior to taking up his appointment as singing teacher in the Kapella Gavriil Yakimovich Lomakin (1811-1885) had been employed in the private choir of Count Dmitry Sheremetev, first as chorister and later as teacher of singing.<sup>74</sup> Although he was not appointed to the Kapella until 1848, and so could not have collaborated on the two-volume Obikhod, he was certainly involved in later publications.<sup>75</sup> The role played by the inspector, Pyotr Belikov, in the compilation of the chant volumes is unclear. Belikov had taught Russian language and mathematics at the Boarding-School for the Nobility in Tsarskoe Selo prior to his appointment to the Kapella in 1829,<sup>76</sup> but he was also something of a scholar of znamennyi chant and had assisted in the publication of the 1830 Krug prostago tserkovnago peniya (see p.155). According to the musicologist Yury Goryainov, Belikov was responsible for the final editing of the harmonizations.<sup>77</sup>

Typically, in L'vov's Zapiski [Memoirs] there is no discussion of the actual role played by his assistants Vorotnikov and Belikov, and no mention whatsoever is made of Lomakin. While accepting all credit for the publications, he is quick to blame Vorotnikov for any errors that they might contain, insisting that the singing teacher played through the finished chant settings at the piano and assured L'vov that they were notated exactly as they were performed by the choir.<sup>78</sup>

In St. Petersburg the new harmonizations were enthusiastically greeted by public and clergy alike: Metropolitan Anton gave the works his blessing without hesitation. While the clergy in the capital readily accepted the new publications (due in some measure, perhaps, to their close proximity to the court), in Moscow L'vov's harmonizations received a very different reception. Many of the leading churchmen, including Filaret, Metropolitan of Moscow from 1826 until his death in 1867,<sup>79</sup> had strong objections to the work for a variety of reasons. Most importantly, they insisted, the chant melodies were inaccurately presented or distorted and were often obscured by the rich, chromatic harmonies. In a letter to L'vov dated 3 February 1850 Filaret expressed his reservations:

In several places the church chant is clearly heard within the harmony of the newly-set four-part church singing, and is easily recognised by those familiar with church singing; in several places, however, it is overshadowed by the harmony and is not so clearly heard or easily recognised.<sup>80</sup>

The harmonic language of L'vov's settings is typical of the German chorale of the time: he makes full use of chromaticism, dissonance, chords of the seventh, modulation to remote keys, interrupted cadences, and so on. The chant is contained in the alto line, the treble often moving in parallel a sixth above. The bass is functional while the tenor fills out the chord. The settings are chordal throughout and there is no use of counterpoint. The texture is particularly dense with much doubling of parts which L'vov explains in his Zapiski:

Harmony in four voice parts does not achieve that fullness, that organlike effect, which we hear in the [improvised] performance of plain chant [in harmony]. As I entered into a detailed analysis of the reasons for this, I discovered that according to long-accepted tradition the aforementioned four-part harmony in the court choir has further divisions, which stem from our ancient church music, and are quite essential to the proper performance of church music which is not supported by any instruments ... [The parts are laid out thus:] the melody is carried by the high basses (baritones), together with the [first] descants (which serves as a very useful means of supporting the inexperienced boys and ensuring the exact mastery of the melodies). The second descants sing with the first tenor; the alto with the second tenor; the second bass ... is not doubled. In this distribution the harmony presents itself exactly in the manner we are accustomed to hearing it in court churches.<sup>81</sup>

Scholars such as Odoevsky and Razumovsky shared Filaret's reservations about the new publications. While commending L'vov for his rejection of the rigid, four-square rhythms of earlier settings Odoevsky regretted that he had not also rejected the harmonic language of contemporary western Europe and turned instead to modal harmonies. In a letter of 26 February 1866 he writes:

In the ancient modes of church music there are neither

chords of the seventh, nor minor nor major scales, in other words, they lack that support with whose help what we know as dramatic music was formed. It could scarcely be otherwise; if somehow something incommensurable, something infinite has to be expressed by means of music alone, but by such music as does not admit any elements recalling everyday life, everyday joys and sorrows, can so-called sacred music achieve its goal if the layman hears the same thing in church as he hears in the street or the theatre? Eliminate sacred music entirely - that is a different matter, but when you write music which you call sacred do not impart to it those elements which eliminate its sacredness, or we cannot laugh at the Italians for singing arias from Figaro in church.<sup>82</sup>

S. P. Orlov, too, expressed reservations about the suitability of this harmonic language:

L'vov fit primer l'harmonie, utilisant à cette fin tous les moyens: chromatisme, dissonances, modulations dans des tons éloignés, fausses cadences. etc., en un mot il utilisa tout ce qu'il y avait dans la pratique musicale allemande du temps, mais se trouvait en contradiction frappante avec la caractère des mélodies ecclésiastiques russes.<sup>83</sup>

Neither did the clergy consider that the new arrangements fully captured the essence of the Orthodox service. In the words of Filaret:

The court music has its own acknowledged merit and reputation. But one who knows and loves the ancient church music can say that [although] some parts of the court music have retained their closeness to the spirit and character of the ancient church music, others have undergone change at the hands of the arrangers, and not for the better.<sup>84</sup>

This view was shared not only by members of the clergy but also by many musicians including Yuri Arnol'd who, nevertheless, considered L'vov's harmonizations to be of some religious value:

Although it is impossible to say that these arrangements, and equally L'vov's independent sacred canticles, fully conform with the spirit of our ancient church singing, it is also impossible to deny that they are full of truly religious spirit. The harmonization of these chants is always sonorous and in keeping with the texts but, of course, it is founded on the general European and not the specialized ancient Russian church style.<sup>85</sup>

Antonin Preobrazhensky, too, points out the value of L'vov's work:

For its time this edition was of great moment as the absence of an exemplary, detailed exposition of the common chants caused inaccuracy in the singing of church choirs, and the filling in of this gap was beyond the powers both of individuals and of any establishment other than the Kapella.<sup>86</sup>

Aware of the substantial influence exerted by Filaret, L'vov was extremely anxious to obtain his approval and support. In 1849 he was commissioned to harmonize the Simonovsky chant - a chant always scored for alto, two tenors and bass, which had emerged in the 1820's and was first used in the Simonov monastery<sup>87</sup> - and travelled to Moscow to examine manuscripts in the Simonov and Don monasteries and the Uspensky Cathedral.<sup>88</sup> At the same time he took advantage of the visit to acquaint the Moscow clergy and the more influential merchants with his harmonizations, which were performed at the musical evenings held by L'vov every Tuesday,<sup>89</sup> and to persuade Filaret of the value of this work. While the new harmonizations enjoyed some success with the merchants, the clergy proved a much more unsympathetic audience. From the Zapiski we learn that:

These obstinate boors could not reconcile themselves to the idea that the order of church singing is established not by them but by people who do not belong to the clergy. The archimandrite Feofan of the Don Monastery in particular, a cunning person, evil, arrogant and immoral, a boor in every sense of the word, who unfortunately imagines that he can write music which grants honour and glory to Russia (this is his own expression), created and still creates various kinds of unpleasantness for me, in the knowledge that the music which he has written would be found unsatisfactory on assessment by the director of the Court Kapella. Feofan incited like-minded monks and

priests and the Metropolitan Filaret who, having no knowledge of musical art, did not know whom to believe.<sup>90</sup>

Despite these setbacks, L'vov never tired in his campaign to enforce the adoption of his chant harmonizations throughout Russia, and was quick to use his influence with the Tsar to promote his cause. On the publication of his new setting of the Obikhod in 1848 copies were sent by imperial decree to all dioceses with the order that it be used exclusively when any members of the imperial family were present.<sup>91</sup> Like the earlier publications, however, L'vov's harmonizations demanded a choir of reasonable size and ability, and in many smaller or provincial churches performance was simply not feasible. In addition, the church authorities resented the way in which the Kapella enforced the adoption of the new chant books. Many who were not wholly opposed to the Kapella publication, such as Odoevsky, nevertheless saw the measures taken by L'vov as an abuse of the Kapella's influence - an attempt to impose his own harmonizations on as many ecclesiastical establishments as possible with no regard for their musical quality or suitability, and so the rift between the Kapella and the Church widened.

vi) N. I. Bakhmetev and Court Chant

The 1860's saw the growth of scholarly interest in the ancient liturgical chants, not as the basis for contemporary composition, but for their own historical value. The most influential of the early musicologists working on the chants was Father Dmitry Vasil'evich Razumovsky (1818-1889) whose three-volume work Tserkovnoe penie v Rossii [Church singing in Russia], published in Moscow between 1867 and 1869, was the first scholarly study of liturgical chant in Russia. The first of the three volumes dealt with early Christian liturgical singing, the second with Russian chant, and the third with polyphonic music in the Russian Orthodox Church. From 1866 until his death in 1886 Razumovsky held the chair of History and Theory of Russian Church Singing at the Moscow Conservatoire and, through his teaching and the publication of his research, he was to influence a new generation of musicologists, the most prominent among them Stepan Smolensky.

Other figures associated with this movement towards a historical view of liturgical chant included Vladimir Stasov, Gavriil Lomakin and Prince Vladimir Odoevsky. Odoevsky had long advocated a return to the ancient melodies contained in the Synod chant books of 1772, which he insisted should be performed either in unison or in very simple harmonizations:

Any dissonance or chromaticism in our church singing would be the greatest mistake and would distort completely all the originality of our church chants and their strict, always majestic and calm character.

we have one treasure which can be relied on as an accurate source of our ancient church melodies: the five books published by the Holy Synod since 1772. Their contents match various other ancient sources almost exactly, suggesting continuity going back to the twelfth century. This Synod edition is the only means of preserving our ancient church music.<sup>92b</sup>

Odoevsky's views were shared by Nikolai Mikhailovich Potulov (1810-1873), a civil servant who had studied in the Synod School, and in 1873 Potulov's Rukovodstvo k prakticheskomu izucheniyu drevnego peniya pravoslavnoi Rossiiskoi tserkvei [Handbook for the practical study of the ancient chant of the Orthodox Russian church] was published.<sup>93</sup>

Potulov also compiled his own harmonization of the Obikhod which turned away from the rich, chromatic harmonies, dissonances and modulations found in the Kapella publications and used only the simplest harmonic language. Firmly opposing Bakhmetev's view that all compositional technique should be employed in pursuing the highest artistic goals, he presented the melodies of the 1772 Synod publications in simple strict chordal settings, harmonizing each note of the original chant with consonant triads in root position. On 17 January 1865 Odoevsky approached Bakhmetev on Potulov's behalf regarding the proposed publication of this new harmonization and was assured that the director had no objections.<sup>94</sup> On 7 May, however, Potulov learned that the work had not been approved by the Kapella and that publication would not be permitted.<sup>95</sup> Both men were naturally outraged at this volte-face on the part of the Kapella's directorate. In an article published in 1866

Odoevsky insisted that the monopoly of the Court Kapella did not extend to harmonizations of the ancient chants:

As the Metropolitan of Moscow has explained in an exemplary fashion, this monopoly rests on nothing more than a confusion of ideas.

Arrangements or works published by the Court Kapella and printed in Italian notation are the property of the Court Kapella. Publications of unison chants printed in ecclesiastical notation with the blessing of the Holy Synod are the property of the Holy Synod, which alone should (or should not) allow their reproduction in the same form as that in which they are now printed. But a harmonization or setting in two, three, four or more parts of those same monophonic melodies must be the common property of all Orthodox.<sup>96</sup>

Odoevsky believed, with some justification, that in refusing permission for the publication of works such as that of Potulov, the Kapella was abusing the power invested in it, taking advantage of its powers of censorship to enforce the general adoption of its own publications at the expense of all others. He maintained that the Kapella was working 'in a completely opposite and false direction' to that necessary for a true understanding of the ancient chants:<sup>97</sup>

Until now research into the monuments of ancient chant and the publication of the monuments themselves in this country have been stopped principally by the barriers of censorship, monopoly and inviolability of the Court

Kapella. We have few scholarly investigations in this field, and not a single monument has been published; even now attempts at harmonization in a historical style are forbidden by the Kapella ... The government should not obstruct Razumovsky and Potulov by erecting barriers.<sup>98</sup>

Potulov's volume of harmonized chant was finally published in 1876, ten years after its completion, and was greeted with a mixed reception. The harmonic austerity of Potulov's setting found favour with many churchmen, including Father Razumovsky:

The strict character in the progression of the accompanying voices may convey the very strongest impression on the soul of all in church during the reverential and exact performance of experienced singers.<sup>99</sup>

While the spiritual character of the work was praised by the clergy, many church musicians found fault with the harmonizations on artistic grounds. According to Metallov:

These works, with their strict and narrow conception of chordal harmony which admits no passing notes, were harmonically limited and artistically unsatisfactory with regard to the smoothness, freedom and beauty of the part-writing.<sup>100</sup>

Although three further volumes followed, Potulov's chants never gained widespread popularity.

Not content with prohibiting the works of others, Bakhmetev took

more active measures to gain control over the body of chant which played such an important role in the Orthodox service: in the late 1860's he embarked on his own harmonization of the chants. The resulting two-volume Obikhod notnogo tserkovnogo peniya pri Vysochaishem Dvore upotrebyaemyi [Obikhod of church singing used at the Imperial Court] was published in 1869 and was basically a revision of the setting by Aleksei L'vov.<sup>101</sup> The first volume contained chants for Vespers and Matins with Sunday Propers from the Oktoikh, and the second - chants for Divine Liturgy with propers for the major feasts, and the requiem service. While preserving the rhythmic structure of the earlier publication, Bakhmetev's harmonizations are even more chromatic than those by L'vov, with heavy doublings in the bass. The alto and tenor lines often divide toward cadences, the treble more rarely divides.

Once approved by the Holy Synod, the new publication was rapidly adopted as the standard chant book. Like his predecessor, Bakhmetev took full advantage of his influence as director of the Court Kapella in order to secure the necessary legislation for its universal adoption, and in 1882 succeeded in obtaining an injunction for the withdrawal of the earlier publication by L'vov. This measure was announced on 2 January 1882:

As a result of my humble report His Majesty the Tsar has been pleased to observe that as the existing Obikhod of church singing used at the imperial court by imperial decree of Tsar Nicholas I, set in four parts under the direction of former director of the Court Kapella A. F. L'vov was compiled without relation to

the sequence of services and omitted necessary prayers, whereas the revised, augmented and corrected Obikhod in two volumes, compiled under the supervision of director of the Kapella N. I. Bakhmetev, contains services taken from various books: vespers, morning service, Divine Liturgy, prayers, the service for Lent, and others ... the first edition, compiled under the direction of former director L'vov, filled with mistakes, is withdrawn from use and all performance from it is forbidden.<sup>102</sup>

vii) Church Chant in the Kapella: 1883-1917

Following their appointment to the Kapella in February 1883 both Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov, full of enthusiasm for their new positions, developed an interest in ancient church chant. While neither had previously evinced any inclination to compose for the church, Balakirev did have some experience of working with liturgical chant: as early as October 1870 he had approached Bakhmetev with a proposal to reissue the square-note books published by the Synod in 1772 in modern notation and treble clef in order to make it more accessible.<sup>103</sup> Bakhmetev, in turn, submitted the idea to the Synod where it was enthusiastically supported by Razumovsky and won general approval.<sup>104</sup> Despite the attention which such a publication would have attracted, I have found no evidence that his plans came to fruition. Given this lack of documentation and the fact that the collection of chants in treble clef published by the Kapella in 1909 makes no mention of a predecessor, it is almost certain that this project was not realized.

According to Edward Garden, in 1881 Balakirev was commissioned to edit a new harmonization of the liturgy.<sup>105</sup> From unpublished letters from Anatoly Lyadov to the composer Ivan Pomazansky of 21 May and to Vera Lyadova of 27 July 1881 it is evident that Balakirev approached Lyadov in the early 1880's with the proposal that they collaborate on the new publication of the Obikhod,<sup>106</sup> a fact which is corroborated by a letter from Balakirev to Vladimir Stasov of 14 July 1881.<sup>107</sup> This project was also unsuccessful: although Lyadov initially agreed to the proposal he very rapidly lost interest in the work and soon abandoned

it.<sup>108</sup> It is not clear whether Balakirev continued with the work.

In May 1883 the Kapella visited Moscow for the coronation of Alexander III and Rimsky-Korsakov took advantage of his free time there to visit Father Razumovsky and to go to the Don Monastery, Uspensky Cathedral, and Troitse-Sergievsky Lavra, where he heard the ancient chant performed in liturgical context.<sup>109</sup> Inspired by this experience, on his return to St. Petersburg he began work on a new harmonization of the Obikhod which he mentions in a letter to Kruglikov of 5 July 1883:

I sit composing the Obikhod ... At present the entire Vespers is ready in single line form and is now to be harmonized.<sup>110</sup>

His initial enthusiasm was soon curbed, however, as complications arose. Balakirev had originally endorsed the compilation of the entire Obikhod in single line form, but after the Vespers service had been completed in this format he then decided that it would be better to omit a large portion of the znamennyi chant, which could be published separately later, and to include only the more commonly used Kievan and Greek chants. This change having been effected, he again revised his opinion, now insisting that the compilation of a single-line version would not be worthwhile and that Rimsky-Korsakov should harmonize all the chants immediately.<sup>111</sup> These frequent vacillations quickly dispelled the novelty of the work and dampened Rimsky-Korsakov's enthusiasm. In a letter to Kruglikov of 14 January 1884 he writes:

I'm not composing anything and the Obikhod was abandoned long ago; it's such dry and boring work.<sup>112</sup>

The following year, however, his interest was rekindled to some

extent and he returned to the harmonization of the Vespers service, now in collaboration with the singing teachers employed in the Kapella, S. A. Smirnov, A. A. Kopylov, E. S. Azeev, F. A. Syrbulov, and the piano instructor M. R. Shchiglev.<sup>113</sup> According to Morosan, Balakirev was also involved,<sup>114</sup> but I have found no evidence to support this either in his correspondence or in Rimsky-Korsakov's reminiscences.

The new four-part harmonization was published in 1888 under the title Penie pri Vsenoshchnom Bdenii drevnikh napevov [The singing of ancient chants during the All-Night Vigil]. Rimsky-Korsakov's intention was to preserve the chant melodies intact and he constantly referred to the 1772 Synod publications for verification.<sup>115</sup> Rejecting the chromatic harmonies adopted by L'vov and Bakhmetev he strove instead for a simpler, modal harmonic structure using only the notes of the liturgical scale, and turned to Potulov's harmonizations and the writings of Razumovsky for inspiration.<sup>116</sup> The harmonic language used was praised by many of those with an interest in the ancient chants. Metallov, for example, writes:

For the first time, though not to any great extent, this book employs contrapuntal elaboration of the liturgical melodies, as more in keeping with their freely flowing character; by so doing, it brings forward the very best method of harmonization.<sup>117</sup>

While the new publication was enthusiastically greeted by musicians and churchmen alike, it did not take the place of the edition by Bakhmetev. Almost every church already owned and worked from the 1869 edition and artistic considerations did not outweigh the financial

disadvantages and inconvenience involved in changing to the new chant book. Rimsky-Korsakov certainly had no wish to enforce the adoption of his harmonizations through legislation as his predecessor had done.

Following Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov's retreat in the mid 1890's, the Kapella's involvement in the publication and promotion of harmonized chant virtually ceased. Their successors, with the exception of Smolensky, had little or no interest in the ancient liturgical chants and, as with the training of precentors (see pp.99-101), the centre of activity shifted to the Moscow Synod School, the base for the younger generation of composer-musicologists who had studied with Father Razumovsky. While Smolensky was extremely knowledgeable and experienced in the field of liturgical chant, his tenure at the Kapella was too short for anything of significance to be achieved during his time there.

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## Chapter 4: Concert Activities and Repertoire: 1796-1861

### i) 1796-1825

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, and particularly during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-96), the choir of the Imperial Court Kapella [Imperatorskaya Pridvornaya Kapella], as it was then known, was required to perform not only in liturgical services in the imperial churches but also in many secular musical entertainments at the court. The singers were expected to participate in masquerades, pageants, balls, receptions, card parties, dinners, and concerts, where they performed Italian arias and Russian folk-songs, and in operatic productions given in the imperial palaces.<sup>1</sup>

The tradition of court opera had been established as early as 1736 by the Italian composer Francesco Araja (1709-1770) who brought his opera troupe to Russia at the invitation of Empress Anna,<sup>2</sup> and remained in St. Petersburg as court Kapellmeister until 1759.<sup>3</sup> For financial reasons Araja's troupe had included only operatic soloists and instrumentalists and, as many of the currently fashionable Italian operas required chorus, additional singers had to be found. These were recruited from the Court Kapella. It is possible that the singers from the Kapella took part in operatic productions as early as 1736; certainly they performed in the opera-seria Miloserdie Tita (La Clemenza di Tito) by the prolific German composer Johann Adolf Hasse, given on 29 May 1742 to celebrate the coronation of the Empress Elizabeth,<sup>4</sup> and on this occasion the choristers performed their role so well that they were

henceforth invited to participate in all operatic productions requiring chorus.<sup>5</sup> As such performances rapidly became a regular feature of court life, the Russian choristers mastered the Italian operatic style to such an extent that they no longer formed part of the chorus, but were assigned the leading roles and, according to a contemporary, Jacob von Stählin (1709-1785), their skill was such that they were unsurpassed by even the best Italian singers.<sup>6</sup> Indeed their success was so great that on 12 July 1782 Catherine issued a decree making their participation in operatic productions at court mandatory.<sup>7</sup>

Following his appointment as director of the Kapella in 1796, one of Dmitry Bortnyansky's first objectives was to reduce the large number of secular duties which made such severe demands on the choristers' rehearsal schedule, greatly reducing the amount of time available for the preparation of sacred music. His efforts met with some success: in 1800 the choir was released from the enforced participation in operatic productions, and was granted independence from the Direktsiya teatral'nykh zrelishch i muzyki [Directorate of theatrical productions and music] which controlled theatre and concert activities in the capital.<sup>8</sup> In the same year a special opera chorus was formed and, as a result, the Kapella's participation in other court entertainments also diminished.<sup>9</sup>

The Kapella's involvement in secular concerts did not end there, however. While Bortnyansky obviously wished to devote more time to sacred music and to curb the more inappropriate operatic tendencies which had corrupted the singers' liturgical performance, this was probably not his sole motivation in reducing the number of court

obligations. Musical entertainments at the court were generally the responsibility of the court kapellmeister rather than the director of the Kapella, who was responsible only for liturgical performances; by reducing these duties, therefore, Bortnyansky effectively assumed sole control over the singers and, by simultaneously expanding the choir's concert activities outwith the court, broadened the Kapella's sphere of influence.

In the closing decades of the eighteenth century the great majority of performances given by the Kapella had taken place within the confines of the court and were therefore accessible only to the imperial household and to favoured members of the nobility and clergy, who often maintained their own private choirs modelled on that of the court. Public concert performances by the Kapella at this time were rare although the choir did take part in several concerts given by the first Russian concert society - the Muzykal'nyi Klub [Musical Club] - which was founded in 1772.<sup>10</sup> These concerts, which continued until 1777 and were attended principally by members of the nobility, included performances of Pergolesi's Stabat Mater, Jommelli's La passione di Gesù Cristo, the setting of the Salve Regina by Hasse and Graun's Te Deum.<sup>11</sup>

The Kapella's involvement in public concerts in St. Petersburg began in earnest in 1802 with the establishment of the Sankt-Peterburgskoe filarmonicheskoe obshchestvo [St. Petersburg Philharmonic Society].<sup>12</sup> The aim of this society was two-fold: its primary concern was to raise capital to assist the widows and orphans of musicians - indeed it was founded under the title Kassa muzykal'nykh vdov i sirot [Benefit fund for the widows and orphans of musicians], and was renamed

the Philharmonic Society on 20 February 1805;<sup>13</sup> its secondary aim was to popularize choral and symphonic music, in particular the German classical repertory, and one of the most important concerts given by the Philharmonic Society during the period 1802-1825 was the world première of Beethoven's Missa Solemnis which took place on 26 March 1824<sup>14</sup>. Throughout the period 1802-1850 the choir of the Kapella, together with orchestral musicians from the imperial theatres, participated in the great majority of the Society's concerts which were given during the Lenten season in the Engel'gardt Hall: each year up to three concerts were given, often with an additional concert in December. While Bortnyansky never conducted these concerts himself (conductors included Guillaume-Alexis Paris, Karl Al'brekht and Ludwig Maurer), he was consulted on artistic matters such as choice of repertoire, and was elected an honorary member of the Society in 1815.<sup>15</sup> Several musicians from the Kapella were numbered among the directors of the Society - the cellist Daniel Bachmann, composer Anton Bullandt, musicians Nikolai Pomorsky, Johann Massner and Franz Mikhel' - and honorary directors included such prominent figures as Counts Stroganov and Naryshkin, Count Yu. M. Viel'gorsky, the court banker Baron A. A. Ral' and F. P. Adelung, the director of the German theatre.<sup>16</sup>

The Philharmonic Society did not provide the only platform for the Kapella - from 1815 the choristers also participated in an annual benefit concert for war veterans given in the Bol'shoi Theatre in St. Petersburg on 19 March to commemorate the entry of Russian troops into Paris.<sup>17</sup> On such occasions the choir of the Kapella was frequently joined in the performance of large-scale choral works by the choir of

the Smol'nyi Institute (a school for daughters of the nobility) and the Cadet School (which provided a military education for sons of the nobility), both of which Bortnyansky also directed.<sup>18</sup> From 1817 the Kapella also took part in charity concerts given by the Women's Patriotic Society.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to these 'official' concerts, members of the public were permitted to attend rehearsals of sacred works which were being prepared for performance in the imperial churches. These rehearsals (known as proby), held in the Kapella every Saturday afternoon, allowed the younger boys to become accustomed to public performance, and soon came to be regarded as one of the highlights of musical life in the city.

According to contemporary commentary Bortnyansky achieved outstanding results in his work with the choir: the choristers are alleged to have produced a remarkably even, gentle sound with an unusual purity of pitch and great expression. The dilettante and memoirist Ivan Dolgoruky wrote of them:

What gentle voices! What music! What expression on the face of each of them! Each not only takes up the music and raises his voice. He feels strong emotion, raises himself up, delight animates his features.<sup>20</sup>

With a sense of national pride the poet and dilettante musician Nikolai Gorchakov stated that:

There is not one state in Europe which has such a large and full Kapella, as we do now.<sup>21</sup>

While Jacob von Stählin also agreed that:

It seems impossible to imagine a more perfect or splendid choir than the choir of the imperial court chapel, founded by the Empress Elizabeth.<sup>22</sup>

Foreign musicians were also very favourably impressed by the choir: after attending one of the Saturday proby whilst touring St. Petersburg in 1823 the renowned Italian singer Angelica Catalani expressed her delight with the singing of the choristers of the Court Kapella in a letter to Bortnyansky, in which she assured him that she had been 'moved to tears' by their singing.<sup>23</sup>

Bortnyansky's tenure as director of the Court Kapella witnessed the first attempts to rid church singing of the inappropriate secular practices which continued to influence liturgical performance practice. During the second half of the eighteenth century the stylistic barrier between music for the church and for the theatre had crumbled; the choral concertos sung during communion differed little from the fashionable, often virtuosic, operatic ensembles of the day. Often the text of these concertos and the musical style were equally unsuited to religious worship; poetry on a sacred theme was often used in place of the appropriate psalm text, while some composers even went so far as to set their chosen religious text to an existing operatic aria or chorus.

S. P. Orlov described the practice:

Ce chant, qui semblerait devoir être inacceptable pour l'église, y pénétra pourtant bientôt, propagé par les chapelles seigneuriales qui se multipliaient. Les gens du peuple imitaient les savants maîtres italiens, et dépassaient toutes les bornes. On chanta 'Tebe poem'

sur un motif de l'air du prêtre dans l'opéra Veztalka [La vestale] de Spontini; 'L'hymne des chérubins' fut tiré de l'opéra de Weber Freischutz etc.; les assistants oubliaient même qu'ils étaient à l'église et applaudissaient en criant 'bis'.<sup>24</sup>

Preobrazhensky also tells of the text of the Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim] being set to the chorus 'Vollendet ist das grosse Werk' from Haydn's Die Schöpfung, and that of O vsepetaya mati [O perfect mother] to the Chorus of Priestesses from Gluck's Iphigenia in Tauride.<sup>25</sup>

Musicians and clergy alike were vehement in their opposition to this practice: in his work Istoricheskoe rassuzhdenie voobshche o drevnem khristianskom bogoslužebnom penii i osobenno o penii rossiiskoi tserkvi [Historical dissertation about ancient Christian liturgical singing in general and about the singing of the Russian Church in particular], published in 1799, Metropolitan Evgeny Bolkhovitinov expressed his dissatisfaction:

Generally speaking, it is not the music which is adapted to the sacred words, but instead, the words are merely added to the music and often in a contrived manner. Apparently, they wanted more to impress their audience with concert-like euphony than to touch their hearts with pious melody, and often during such compositions the church resembles more an Italian opera than the house of worthy prayer to the Almighty.<sup>26</sup>

It was not until Catherine's death in 1796 that this secularization of liturgical music could be curbed. Having little interest or ear for

music but impressed by the showy virtuosity of the choral concertos, she had endorsed the theatrical Italian style both at court and in the imperial churches and, indeed, went so far as to lament the fact that instruments were not permitted in Orthodox worship.<sup>27</sup> Following Paul's accession, however, the whole atmosphere of the court altered dramatically. The tastes and values which had predominated in Catherine's time were now frowned upon: the foreign influences which had pervaded life at court were regarded as frivolous, and the extravagances of the former regime were curtailed.

Paul had a special interest in church music which, as heir to the throne, he had studied with Archimandrite Palton and, in an attempt to curb the excessive virtuosity of the fashionable choral concertos, he insisted that only true liturgical works be performed in the imperial churches: an ukaz (no.17960) was passed by the Holy Synod on 10 May 1797 banning the performance of concertos on non-liturgical texts and stipulating that only a communion hymn or a psalm be sung during the sacrament.<sup>28</sup> This was followed on 22 December 1804 by a further ukaz (no.4853) passed by the Holy Synod on the orders of Paul's successor, Alexander I, which placed the responsibility for ensuring that singing in churches and theological seminaries was performed correctly on the shoulders of the diocesan hierarchs.<sup>29</sup> In cases where they could not supervise directly the hierarchs were to be represented by the fathers superior in the monasteries, and by officiating priests in the parish churches.

Another practice which had survived since the mid-eighteenth century prompted the issue in 1824 of an ukaz forbidding men and women

to sing together in church.<sup>30</sup> Due to the expense of constantly training trebles who would stay in their choirs for only a short time, landowners who maintained private chapels often cut the hair of their women serfs, dressed them in male attire and had them sing in chapel.<sup>31</sup> While the Orthodox Church had at no time prohibited women from singing in liturgical services, men and women were required to stand apart during the service. In a mixed choir both sexes were required to stand together in the klirosy or choir-stalls and this could not be tolerated.

By far the most important and far-reaching legislation introduced during Bortnyansky's directorship of the Kapella, however, was the issue on 14 February 1816 of the ukaz by the Holy Synod which granted the director of the Court Kapella the power of censorship over all new sacred compositions. A copy of this ukaz is found in the imperial injunctions communicated to the Holy Synod by Prince Nikolai Golitsyn:

His Majesty the Emperor, on learning that in many churches they sing music which is not in accordance with the kind of singing which may be acceptable in churches, has supremely commanded: that all manuscript notebooks be removed from use, and henceforth are strictly forbidden; and everything sung in churches must be from printed music, and must consist either of the compositions of the director of the Court Kapella State Councillor Bortnyansky or of other famous composers; but the compositions of the latter must be printed only with the approval of Bortnyansky.<sup>32</sup>

Before 1816, in large and small churches alike, precentors composed

sacred pieces which were circulated in manuscript form and performed in liturgical services. Many of these precentors had received a very limited musical education and had little natural talent, so that their compositions were frequently of a very low musical standard. The introduction of censorship by a knowledgeable and experienced composer and choirmaster such as Bortnyansky ensured that a reasonable standard of composition was maintained. Again the responsibility for ensuring that only those works which had been approved were performed was laid on the eparkhial hierarchs. These new powers of censorship applied not only to sacred pieces but also to works composed for ceremonial occasions, and were supplemented by powers of surveillance over the musical activities of church choirs, the choirs of educational establishments and guards regiments.<sup>33</sup>

As a result of this new legislation the director of the Court Kapella was now one of the most powerful musical figures in Russia. Unlike his successors, however, Bortnyansky never abused his power of censorship or exploited it to further his own ends. Indeed, from 1816 until his death in 1825 he published none of his own compositions, a fact which Razumovsky,<sup>34</sup> Dobrokhotov,<sup>35</sup> and others cite as proof of Bortnyansky's modesty in relation to his own works. This is a rather questionable interpretation. By 1816 Bortnyansky was already sixty-five years of age, his position as head of the Court Kapella was an extremely demanding one and would have left little time for the preparation of compositions for publication. At the same time, the choir's repertoire was made up almost exclusively of Bortnyansky's own compositions: few works by other composers were performed in the imperial churches, a fact

which rather undermines Razumovsky's theory - if Bortnyansky considered his compositions unfit for publication, he would hardly have considered them fit for performance in the presence of the imperial family.

Furthermore, there is substantial evidence that Bortnyansky, towards the end of his life, had plans to publish a complete collection of his works and entrusted the preparation, edition, and publication of his compositions to Pyotr Turchaninov, who at that time held the position of singing teacher in the Kapella.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps because the work was not completed during Bortnyansky's lifetime the significance of this fact has been underestimated.

Bortnyansky's compositional style was greatly influenced by the foreign musicians who were employed at the court. His teachers at the Kapella included the German composer Hermann Raupach (1728-1778) who was engaged as harpsichordist and Kapellmeister from 1755 until 1762, and again from 1768 until 1778,<sup>37</sup> and the Austrian composer and violinist Joseph Starzer (1726-1787) who was engaged as composer of ballet music in 1758, later holding various court appointments including Konzertmeister, deputy Kapellmeister and Kapellmeister.<sup>38</sup> In addition to his formal studies with these teachers, Bortnyansky acquired a knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian folk-songs and Italian arias as a result of performing in concerts and entertainments at court with the kamer-pevchie (see p.1). As one of the most talented choristers, he was involved in operatic productions and studied dramatic acting at the Cadet School where he would also have become familiar with military music.<sup>39</sup> His early musical education can thus be said to have been fairly comprehensive.

The greatest creative influence in the cultivation of Bortnyansky's musical talent in his years as chorister of the Kapella, however, was that of the Italian composer Baldassare Galuppi. In 1763 Galuppi (1706-1785) received an invitation from the Empress Catherine to take up the position of Kapellmeister in the Court Kapella and, obtaining three years leave of absence from his post as maestro di capella at St. Mark's in Venice, he arrived in St. Petersburg on 22 September 1765.<sup>40</sup> His work at the court was varied: in addition to his duties in the Kapella he staged a number of Italian operas and composed incidental music for various court functions. He was greatly impressed by the singing of the Kapella choir (on hearing them for the first time he reputedly exclaimed 'Un si magnifico coro mai non ho sentito in Italia')<sup>41</sup> and during his stay in Russia wrote approximately fifteen works for the Orthodox church - principally concertos for four-part choir using Russian texts, the best-known of which are Slava i nyne, Edinorodnyi syn [Glory, Only-begotten Son], Plotiyu usnuv [When thou didst fall asleep in the flesh], Blagoobraznyi Iosif [The noble Joseph], Uslyshit Tya Gospod' [The Lord hear thee], Gotovo serdtse moe, Bozhe [O God, my heart is ready] and Sudi Gospodi [Judge, O Lord].<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, few of Galuppi's sacred works have survived; indeed almost all the concertos of this period are lost.

The choral concertos written in the second half of the eighteenth century by both visiting foreigners and the few prominent Russian musicians were greatly influenced by the Italian style. Throughout the reigns of both Elizabeth and Catherine the Italians dominated Russian music in general: court appointments were held by Tommaso Traetta (1768-

75), Vincenzo Manfredini (1737-99), Giovanni Paisiello (June 1776-84), Giuseppe Sarti (1784-1802), Domenico Cimarosa (1787-91), Vincenzo Martini (1788-94), Francisco Torelli (1780-83) and, of course, Galuppi.<sup>43</sup> Many of these foreign musicians tried their hand at composition for the Orthodox church, experimenting with the choral concerto in particular. The flexibility of form of the choral concerto - three or four contrasting movements, the last of which was generally a fugue - imposed few restrictions and offered great creative possibilities. In the hands of the Italians who were primarily operatic composers, however, much of the religious meaning was lost: the concerto's significance as a devotional work was largely ignored and it was viewed principally as a vehicle through which to exploit the skills of the singers; the vocal writing was highly elaborate, and every conceivable decoration was included - trills, glissandi, bravura passages - all designed to display the voice to best advantage. Melody was of supreme importance while harmony merited little attention. It was concertos of this type which Bortnyansky would have performed in the Kapella in his early years as chorister.

During his stay in St. Petersburg Galuppi took particular notice of Bortnyansky and at the end of his visit requested that his young pupil accompany him back to Italy in order to complete his musical education (see p.2). Bortnyansky was to spend the next ten years there.

The years abroad were to prove fruitful for composition. While still a chorister Bortnyansky had already displayed an interest in the composition of sacred music, and while in Italy he wrote several works for the Catholic church: Ave Maria for soprano, alto, horn and strings

(1774/5), Salve Regina for alto, oboe, horn and strings (1776), Dextera Domini, a setting of the Gloria for unaccompanied choir and the Invitation de la prière à la Sainte Vierge.<sup>44</sup> Another work which dates from this time is the so-called 'German mass' for unaccompanied choir - a German-language setting, not of the mass, but of various sacred texts, principally psalms, which Bortnyansky wrote for the Protestant church while passing through Vienna on his way to Italy.<sup>45</sup> This work is worthy of particular note as Bortnyansky here uses an ancient Kievan chant melody as the basis for one of the movements - a practice which featured prominently in his later works. It is interesting to note that these works were all written for denominations other than his own: only after his return to Russia in 1779 did Bortnyansky begin to compose for the Orthodox church.

Bortnyansky was one of the few Russian composers of the time to work in a great variety of genres: in these early years he produced operas, instrumental works, chamber music, and romances in addition to the above-mentioned choral works. While abroad, he had written three successful Italian operas: Creonte (Venice, 1776), Quinto Fabio (Modena, 1777) and Alcide (Venice, 1778).<sup>46</sup> Following his return to Russia he was not only appointed kapellmeister to the Court Kapella, but also kapellmeister and composer to the court of the Tsarevich Paul Petrovich and the Grand Duchess Maria Fyodorovna. In this capacity he composed four French comic operas to libretti by F. G. Lafermiere: Don Carlos, La fete du seigneur (1786) and Le fils rival ou La moderne Stratonice (1787), all performed in the theatre in the imperial palace at Pavlovsk, and Le Faucon (1786) performed in the palace at Gatchina.<sup>47</sup> Other works

written for the Grand Duke and Duchess include a three movement Sinfonie concertante (1790) scored for bassoon, harp, piano, two violins, viola da gamba and cello, a Quintet in C major (1787) for piano, harp, violin, viola da gamba and cello, a Concerto for harpsichord and orchestra, and various pieces for solo harpsichord, including sonatas, rondos and capriccios, many of which remain unpublished. These early instrumental works are typical of the pre-classical style - light, elegant, well-proportioned works which reflect his familiarity with the works of contemporary Italian masters, such as Sarti and Tartini.

From the time of his appointment as director of the Court Kapella in 1796, however, Bortnyansky devoted himself entirely to the composition of sacred music.<sup>48</sup> A number of his sacred works date from the 1780's. These are mostly concertos or short compositions for four and eight-part choir, and include a setting of the Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim], which was advertised in the newspaper Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti [St. Petersburg Gazette] in 1782 (this setting was one of the first sacred works to be printed in Russia using modern notation)<sup>49</sup>, and Da ispravitsya molitva moya [O Lord hear my prayer], published in 1783 but now lost.<sup>50</sup> Advertisements from newspapers such as the Moskovskie vedomosti [Moscow Gazette] suggest that by the mid-1790's a large number of Bortnyansky's concertos were well-known and readily available in print.<sup>51</sup>

It is clear from early catalogues such as that of Khristofor Gene, a St. Petersburg merchant who specialized in the sale of sacred music in manuscript form, that the majority of Bortnyansky's concertos were written in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first

decade of the nineteenth<sup>52</sup> and, although several of these concertos are lost, a significant number have survived: Tchaikovsky's edition of the 'complete' works of Bortnyansky, published by Jurgenson in the 1880's, contains thirty-five concertos for four-part choir and ten for double choir.<sup>53</sup> Few autographs survive, however, and it is impossible to provide accurate dates for individual compositions.

It is in the choral concertos that the characteristic traits of Bortnyansky's style are best displayed. Like the concertos of Galuppi, Bortnyansky's works follow the pattern of three or four contrasting movements, the last of which is almost always a fugue or fugato. Great variety is found in the grouping of voices, as solo sections and ensembles of two, three, and four voices contrast with tutti passages. Recitative and arioso style constantly alternate and the virtuosic vocal demands, coloratura writing, melodic decoration, fast passage work and cantilena are all a legacy of his Italian masters. Even in the early concertos, however, there are already signs of Bortnyansky's own musical personality, which can be seen in the occasional use of old chant melodies and hints of traditional Russian folk-song in the melodic idiom.

The concerto Slava vo vyshnykh Bogu [Glory to God in the highest], written to be performed on Christmas Day, is typical of the form (see ex.2). Structurally it falls into the pattern A-B-C-A', with each movement following on from its predecessor without a break. The first movement, in 4/4, firmly establishes the key of G major; the harmonic movement is very slow, playing on the tonic and dominant chords. Bortnyansky's use of paired voices is well demonstrated: alto/tenor,

soprano/alto and tenor/bass pairings are heard throughout, and there is much parallel movement in thirds and sixths. By contrast, the second movement, in 3/4, is slower, more reflective and is scored for solo voices. The tonal centre has now moved to C major and chordal sections are contrasted with contrapuntal passages. In the third movement, a lively fugato in E minor which displays that short-winded pseudo-imitation which is typical of European court music of the late eighteenth century, the time signature is now 2/4 and solo voices are contrasted with tutti sections. The final movement, returns us to the opening section, suitably altered to accommodate the closing 'alleluia'.

Ex.2: D. S. Bortnyansky - Slava vo vyshnykh Bogu [Glory to God in the highest]

The musical score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature is E major (one sharp) and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: "Slava vo vyshnykh Bogu, Slava vo vyshnykh Bogu, Slava vo vyshnykh Bogu". The score includes a piano introduction and accompaniment for the vocal parts.

Bo - gu

Bo - gu , Sa - va vo vsh - nikh Bo - gu ,

Sa - va vo vsh - nikh Bo - gu , Sa - va vo vsh - nikh

da - va vo vsh - nikh Bo - gu , i na zem - li

Bo - gu i na zem - li mir , i na zem - li

vo vsh - nikh Bo - gu

mir, sa - va vo vsh - nikh, vo vsh - nikh Bo - gu , i na zem -

mir,

mir

i na zem-li mir, sla-va vo vsh-nikh, vo vsh-nikh  
 li, i na zem-li mir, sla-va vo vsh-nikh  
 Sla-va vo vsh-nikh, vo vsh-nikh  
 vo vsh-nikh

Bo-gu, i na zem-li mir, i na zem-li mir, vo vsh-nikh Bo-gu,  
 Bo-gu ; na zem-li mir, vo vsh-nikh Bo-gu,  
 Bo-gu, i na zem-li, i na zem-li mir, i na zem-  
 Bo-gu i na zem-li mir

vo vsh-nikh Bo-gu i na zem-li mir, i na zem-  
 vo vsh-nikh Bo-gu, i na zem-li mir, i na zem-  
 li mir i na zem-li mir i na zem-li mir, na zem-

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li mir, vo vsh - nykh bo - gu

- li mir, *mp* Sla - va vo vsh - niykh bo - gu, i na zem - li

li mir, *mp* Sla - va vo vsh - nykh bo - gu, i na zem - li

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Solo

i na zem - li mir. *p*

mir, na zem - li mir. *p* Dnes' vos - pri - em - let

mir, na zem - li mir. *p*

35

vi - fle - eu, vos - pri - em - let, vos - pri - em - let

*Solo* vos - pri - em - let

vos - pri - em - let

vos - pri - em - let

Vi - fle - em, se - dya - sha - go pi - se dya - sha - go

*Tutti*

se - dya - sha - go pri - sno, sno, se - dya - sha - go pri - sno, pri - sno so ot - zem, dnes' vos - pi - sha - go pri - sno,

*Tutti*

em - let, se - dya - sha - go pis - no, does' pri - em - let, se - dya - sha - go

*Tutti*

se - dya - sha - go pris - no so ot - sem, dnes' an -  
dnes'

dnes an - ge - li mila - den - tsa  
ge - li mila - den - tsa, mila - den - tsa rogh - den - na -  
an - ge - li mila - den - tsa, mila - den - tsa

go, dnes' an - ge - li mila - den tsa, mila - den - tsa rogh -  
mila - den - tsa rogh - den - na - go

dnes' an - ge - li mila

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring four staves with vocal lines and lyrics in Cyrillic. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are: den - na - go. na - den - ta vzh - den - na - go. den - ta vzh - den - na - go.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, featuring three staves with vocal lines and lyrics in Cyrillic. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are: lep - no sla - vo - slo vyat, sla - vo - slo. bo - go lep - no sla - vo -

Handwritten musical score for the third system, featuring four staves with vocal lines and lyrics in Cyrillic. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are: bo - go lep - no sla - vo - slo - vyat. vyat, bo - go lep - no slo - vyat, sla - vo - slo. lep - no sla - vo - slo - vyat, bo - go

Handwritten musical score system 1, measures 1-4. The system consists of four staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "bo - go - lep - no" (measure 1), "sla - vo - slo -" (measure 2), "lep - no" (measure 3), and "sla" (measure 4). The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "sla - vo - slo -" (measure 1), "sla - vo - slo -" (measure 2), "sla" (measure 3), and "sla" (measure 4). The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "lep - no" (measure 1), "sla - vo - slo -" (measure 2), "sla" (measure 3), and "sla" (measure 4). The fourth staff is a bass line with lyrics: "bo - go" (measure 4). The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Handwritten musical score system 2, measures 5-8. The system consists of four staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "lep - no" (measure 5), "sla - vo -" (measure 6), "slo" (measure 7), and "slo" (measure 8). The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "vo - slo" (measure 5), "slo" (measure 6), "slo" (measure 7), and "slo" (measure 8). The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "vo - slo" (measure 5), "slo" (measure 6), "slo" (measure 7), and "slo" (measure 8). The fourth staff is a bass line with lyrics: "lep - no" (measure 5), "sla - vo -" (measure 6), "slo" (measure 7), and "slo" (measure 8). The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Handwritten musical score system 3, measures 9-12. The system consists of four staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "lep - no" (measure 9), "sla - vo" (measure 10), "slo -" (measure 11), "slo -" (measure 12). The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "sla - vo" (measure 9), "slo -" (measure 10), "slo -" (measure 11), "slo -" (measure 12). The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "sla - vo" (measure 9), "slo -" (measure 10), "slo -" (measure 11), "slo -" (measure 12). The fourth staff is a bass line with lyrics: "lep" (measure 9), "no" (measure 10), "slo" (measure 11), "slo" (measure 12). The key signature has one sharp (F#).

75

lep - no sla - vo - do - vyat, sla - vo - do - vyat, bo - go -

lep - no sla - vo do - vyat, bo - go -

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sla - va vo vysh - nykh bo - gu sla - va vo

bo - gu, sla - va vo vysh - nykh bo - gu,

sla - va

95

vysk - nykh Bo - gu,  
 aa - va vo vysk - nykh Bo - gu, sla - va vo vysk - nykh

100

Bo - gu, sla - va vo vysk - nykh Bo - gu,  
 sla - va vo vysk - nykh Bo - gu i na zem - li

i na zem - li mir, sla - va vo vysk - nykh, vo vysk - nykh

105

Bo - gu, i na zem - li mir, i na zem - li mir, vche - lo -

ve - tsakh bla - go - vo - le - ni - e, bla - go - vo - le - ni -

110

e vche - lo - ve - tsakh bla - go - vo - le - ni - e, bla - go - vo -

Handwritten musical score for a double choir, first system. It consists of four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics "ke - ni - e, bla - go - vo - ie" are written under the vocal staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and slurs.

Handwritten musical score for a double choir, second system. It continues from the first system with four staves. The lyrics "3. - e" are visible under the vocal staves. The score includes musical notations such as notes, rests, and slurs.

The concertos for double choir are written in the same style but, as one might expect, exploit the antiphonal possibilities to a greater degree. More elaborate solo sections with more fragmented lines contrast with the simpler tutti sections, where the parts often divide further so that more than eight parts can be heard and the bass is doubled an octave lower at key points and some cadences. The phrase structure is regular and the concertos are conventionally barred, with all directions written in Italian. While the text setting is largely syllabic and there are relatively few elaborate melismas, there is much

repetition of words and phrases, and the meaning is further obscured as the voices pronounce the text at differing speeds.

While the concertos were written mainly in the last decade of the 18th century, Bortnyansky's settings of the Te Deum belong to the first decade of the nineteenth.<sup>54</sup> The settings - ten for four-part choir and four for double choir - are similar in style to the concertos. They are grandiose, large-scale works, written for important occasions such as New Year and Easter, and may have been written as a result of the ban on the performance of concertos during Orthodox worship (see p.198): the text of the Te Deum would have been acceptable to Alexander, while Bortnyansky could continue to write in the same musical style.

The trios, scored for two descants and alto, tend to be very simple in form as, for example in the setting Da ispravitsya molitva moya [O Lord hear my prayer] which consists of two sections, each of which is repeated. The two trebles move in parallel thirds or sixths throughout, over a harmonically simple functional alto line. Although the piece is vertically conceived and the text-setting is, on the whole, syllabic, sections of text are often repeated. Settings of the Kheruvimskaya [Song of the cherubim] were also simple in form: these generally conformed to the pattern A-A-A', where the second A was performed by solo voices, and the final A' section (the alleluia) is a loud tutti.

In addition to the 'free' compositions Bortnyansky also arranged many of the ancient liturgical chants. These arrangements can be divided into two categories:

1. harmonizations of ancient chants in which the rhythm of the music is governed entirely by the rhythm of the words;

2. arrangements in which the chant is not necessarily presented exactly as in the original but forms the basis of a new melody.

The first category - the chant harmonizations - has already been discussed in Chapter 3. In those arrangements belonging to the second category both the melody and rhythm of the original chant are frequently altered. In the 1790's and early 1800's historical accuracy was not yet an issue and complete fidelity to the original was regarded as expendable when weighed against other musical considerations. In cases where a faithful reproduction of the chant would distort either the form or the harmonic structure accuracy was sacrificed to achieve the desired effect: note lengths were altered as the melodies were adapted to fit a symmetrical phrase structure and cadences were added in the middle of lines. While there are a few cases in which the chant melody is faithfully reproduced (e.g. in the arrangements Slava i nyne, Edinorodnyi syne), the great majority fall into this category - often only the basic outline of the original melody can be identified.

Many of the chants used by Bortnyansky in his arrangements were Kievan. Due to the recruitment of singers from the Ukraine, and in particular from the school in Glukhov, there were a great number of Ukrainians working in the Kapella both as choristers and teachers and many would already be familiar with these native chants. As new works continued to be learnt aurally, this may have been a significant factor for Bortnyansky in his choice of chant melodies. Having himself studied in the preparatory school in Glukhov he may have taken particular pleasure in setting those chants which he had sung there as a boy.

Bortnyansky has been severely criticized for his dependance on the

Italian style of his teachers. According to the critic Nikolai Kashkin:

Bortnyansky was no doubt talented, but his talent was not especially strong and was almost devoid of independence. In spite of his long stay in Italy, he was not a good contrapuntalist and had a rather superficial command of contrapuntal technique. He was completely subordinate to the influence of his Italian teachers in his manner of composition.<sup>55</sup>

Yuri Arnol'd states that:

Bortnyansky inclined to the melodic-lyrical style, reminiscent of the Neapolitan style or the style of Durante so much that in the compositions of Bortnyansky we sometimes even meet the hymns of Durante himself.<sup>56</sup>

While Prince Vladimir Odoevsky agrees that:

It is possible to indicate in the operas of Galuppi whole passages transferred by his pupil Bortnyansky to our church singing.<sup>57</sup>

Glinka, too, found the harmonic language of the Italian style cloying and, in a play on the form of Russian names, referred to him as Sakhar Medovich Patokin [Mr Sugar Honey Treacle].<sup>58</sup>

In a more reasonable tone Stepan Smolensky noted:

Now, more than one hundred years later, after the experience of recent times, it is already difficult to say that these arrangements by Bortnyansky are wholly Russian.<sup>59</sup>

Preobrazhensky states that Bortnyansky was regarded as a first-class

composer only because there was no-one to place beside him: had he lived at another time he would never have attained the position he did.<sup>60</sup>

This is unfair criticism. The majority of these critiques were written retrospectively, at a time when there was a much greater diversity of musical style. Bortnyansky had received his musical education at the hands of the Italians, culminating in his own visit to their country in the 1770's, and had grown up in an atmosphere in which the Italian style prevailed. It would have been highly remarkable had his music not strongly reflected their influence. In addition, the characteristics later condemned as 'Italian' were common in much western European music at this time. The Italian influence in Russian church music occurred at a time when Italian music, especially opera, was fashionable all over Europe and dominated western music in general, and a feature of this style was its use of stock harmonic and melodic formulae.

One aspect of his work which clearly demonstrates Bortnyansky's own musical personality is his treatment of the text. Perhaps as a result of his own faith and the fact that he was setting his native language the text is rather clearer in Bortnyansky's concertos than in those of his Italian masters and predecessors. While the treatment of the text is still rather free in places - there is still a great deal of repetition of words and phrases, and the various voices frequently pronounce different sections of the text simultaneously so that it is sometimes rather difficult for the listener to follow the words - more attention is given to the correct placement of stress. There is also a much greater striving to capture the meaning and spirit of the text.

According to the Nikolai Gorchakov, writing in 1808:

This venerable man does not cease to enrich singing with his most outstanding compositions, the most recent of which are even more wonderful and accomplished. With considerable art he is able to represent sacred songs of various meanings with particular music, and even many words with particular notes according to their meaning; that is, in his concertos the music is fitted to the words, and not the words to the music, as can be seen in many composers of church music.<sup>61</sup>

Bortnyansky's ideas were, in fact, remarkably far ahead of their time. Even if the Proekt discussed in Chapter 3 is not his work, the compositions and arrangements of church chants belonging to the later years of his life, together with the two-part setting of chants of 1815 clearly demonstrate a move away from the style of his teachers towards an independent Russian style. Naturally such a well-established tradition could not be eradicated overnight, especially by a composer brought up on its tenets. Bortnyansky should not be criticized for his dependence on his teachers, but should be credited for taking the initial steps away from the accepted style. Fyodor L'vov was one of the few Russian musicians to appreciate this point:

Bortnyansky had to divert listeners from the flowery decorations in which foreign artists dressed our church music, to replace the wonderful charms of sound, the magnificent splendour of the concerto with only sincere delights and to charm the heart and excite the

senses with simple and pure singing. It was impossible to execute this change suddenly because we had already grown to love this foreign splendour.<sup>62</sup>

Berlioz too, who held a high opinion of Bortnyansky's works, appreciated the importance of the changes which he instigated:

Dans toutes ces oeuvres, on trouve un véritable sentiment religieux, souvent une sorte de mysticisme, qui plonge l'auditeur en de profondes extases, une rare expérience du groupement des masses vocales, une prodigieuse entente des nuances, une harmonie sonore, et, chose surprenante, une incroyable liberté dans la disposition des parties, un mépris souverain des règles respectées par ses prédécesseurs comme par ses contemporains, et surtout par les Italiens dont il est censé le disciple.<sup>63</sup>

ii) 1826-1836

The tenure of Fyodor L'vov witnessed few changes in the concert activities of the Kapella. While Muzalevsky states that under L'vov's direction the Kapella restricted itself almost exclusively to the performance of religious music,<sup>64</sup> I have found no evidence to suggest a curtailment of their public appearances. On the contrary, the proby or open rehearsals held in the Kapella on Saturday afternoons remained a feature of musical life in the capital throughout this period, and the choir continued to participate in the concerts of the Philharmonic Society and in the annual benefit concert for war veterans.

Performances were given in association with other organizations on a less regular basis; for example musicians from the Kapella occasionally participated in concerts given by the Obshchestvo lyubitelei muzyki [Society of Music Lovers], founded by Count M. Yu. Viel'gorsky, D. L. Naryshkin, A. I. Pashkov and K. V. Nessel'rode, which gave its first concert on 12 February 1828.<sup>65</sup> These charity concerts, generally given in the Engel'gardt hall, were established with the aim of cultivating public taste for classical music and their programmes contained both symphonic works and operatic excerpts.<sup>66</sup>

The standard of performance of the choir remained extremely high during this period and contemporary reports, like that of the Prussian envoy, Captain Einbeck, attest to the beauty of tone and expression of the choristers:

The seven octavists among the twenty-two basses serve as the foundation of the choir; the tenors have

beautiful, mellow voices, the altos are weak and gentle, while the sopranos' voices are sweet and buzzing. The balance within the ensemble is such that the bass is the loudest, the tenor - somewhat softer, the alto - still softer, and the soprano - the softest. Fortes, pianos, and all dynamic nuances in general are executed for the most part by the male voices; the top voices act in a very restrained fashion, only to heighten the effect somewhat.<sup>67</sup>

This was no doubt a legacy of Bortnyansky's skilful leadership as L'vov took little part in the musical training of the singers, delegating all such preparation to the Kapella's singing teachers. It is clear from the writings of Glinka and Aleksei L'vov, however, that the standard of performance fell sharply towards the end of Fyodor L'vov's tenure, due no doubt to the lack of surveillance by the ailing director and the resulting negligence of the singing teachers.

The role of the Kapella in the censorship of new compositions for the Orthodox church continued to develop throughout L'vov's tenure. Although the ukaz of 1816 had specifically named Bortnyansky as censor, on his appointment to the Kapella in 1826 L'vov assumed all the responsibilities of his predecessor,<sup>68</sup> and over the next ten years the powers of censorship and surveillance wielded by the director were to acquire an even greater significance. Following the death of Alexander I and the accession of Nicholas I in 1825 the censorship of all printed material was carried out with increased vigour. The new regime was one of militarism and bureaucracy and the official doctrine, in the phrase

coined by Minister of Education Count Sergei Uvarov, was that of 'Orthodoxy, autocracy and official nationality'<sup>69</sup>. The Decembrist uprising of 1825, occurring at the very outset of Nicholas's reign, instilled in him a pathological fear of revolution and hardened his determination to eliminate all seditious elements. The staff of the Kapella, in common with all government employees, were subjected to rigorous investigation by the Tsarist police - the Third Department of His Majesty's Own Chancery<sup>70</sup> - and even musical notation was suspected of concealing subversive messages in code.<sup>71</sup>

While composers were required to submit all new sacred compositions to the Kapella so that their 'musical literacy' might be assessed, few new works were approved for publication. There are two principal reasons for this. Firstly, Fyodor L'vov was a loyal servant of the Tsar and the work of anyone considered 'politically incorrect' would be rejected immediately. L'vov decisions were not made solely on political grounds, however; his strong opposition to the Italian influence in Russian church music and deeply held belief that such music destroyed the spirit of Orthodox worship (see p.150) meant that those composers who embraced the Italian style had their works rejected. The new generation of composers who would use the ancient liturgical chant as the basis for sacred compositions was only just emerging and as yet there was no new style to replace the florid italianate concerto. L'vov himself was not a composer and so the works of Bortnyansky continued to form the basis of all services and sacred concerts given by the choir of the Kapella.

111) 1837-1861

Following his appointment as director of the Court Kapella in January 1837 Aleksei L'vov effected various changes to the choir's concert activities. It is evident from the writings of Glinka, who took up the position of kapellmeister at the same time, that the performing standard of the choir had dropped in recent years (see p.28),<sup>72</sup> and in June 1837 the public rehearsals held on Saturday afternoons ceased while measures were taken to improve matters.<sup>73</sup> Much of this work was undertaken by Glinka himself and under his tuition the choristers made such rapid improvement that no alteration to the established concert schedule was necessary. Indeed, their commitments grew during this period. In addition to their usual duties in the chapels of the Winter Palace and the Mariinsky and Konstantinov Palaces, the choir continued to perform in the annual benefit concert for war veterans, and two further charity concerts were established on a regular basis. Details of these concerts are found in a memorandum from the Ministry of the Imperial Court to Aleksei L'vov of 7 November 1838:

By imperial decree:

1. The Court Kapella will undertake to prepare itself to give three concerts each year, which will normally be given during Lent, for the benefit of war veterans, the Women's Patriotic Society and the widows and orphans of musicians;
2. The first concert involving the Court Kapella, for the benefit of the widows and orphans, may simply be

a repetition of another of the aforementioned concerts;

3. In order that the court choristers might perform the works selected for the aforementioned three concerts with the perfection which may be demanded of them, you must certainly be involved in the selection of pieces.<sup>74</sup>

The most significant development during this period, however, was the establishment in March 1850 of a Concert Society within the Kapella. The new society, founded by L'vov, generally gave three concerts each year in which the Kapella and the orchestra of the Imperial Opera were joined by the best vocal and instrumental soloists, who were:

permitted to sing or play in these evenings only if, in the opinion of the Director of the Kapella choir, their talents merited this.<sup>75</sup>

Like that of the Philharmonic Society the aim of the Concert Society was two-fold: the performance of classical works 'to the highest possible perfection', and the raising of capital 'to be used to help widows and orphans of artists and for the development of art'.<sup>76</sup> The concerts, which took place on the Friday evenings of the second, fourth and sixth weeks of Lent, were held in the Kapella's own concert hall and were jointly directed by Aleksei L'vov, the composer and violinist Ludwig Maurer, who at that time was conductor at the French theatre, and Karl Al'brekht.<sup>77</sup>

In the first concert, given on 17 March 1850,<sup>78</sup> Beethoven's Symphony no.4, a chorus from Handel's Judas Maccabeus, Beethoven's

Fantasia for piano and orchestra and the finale to part one of Die Schöpfung by Haydn were performed. Other works performed in the opening season included Beethoven's third and seventh symphonies, the overture to Euryanthe by Weber, Mendelssohn's music for Sommernachtstraum, and choruses from Mozart's Die Zauberflöte.<sup>79</sup> Over the next thirty years concert repertoire included almost all the symphonies, overtures, piano and violin concertos of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Liszt, Weber and Cherubini. Excerpts from the oratorios of Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Berlioz frequently appeared in the programmes, together with scenes from the operas of Gluck. According to Wilhelm von Lenz:

Une symphonie (de preference de Beethoven), deux ouvertures, un ou deux choeurs, d'ordinaire de musique religieuse, chantés par les chantres de la Chapelle Impériale; tel est, invariablement, le budget en apparence maigre, riche à millions dans la sphère des idées, de la société qui représente le resultat des progrès que le goût et une culture bien inspirée de l'art ont faits chez nous.<sup>80</sup>

The concerts rapidly established themselves as the highlight of the St. Petersburg concert season. The standard of performance was extremely high - two or three thorough rehearsals were held for each concert<sup>81</sup> and only the best artists were invited to perform (Balakirev began his career as a concert pianist when he performed Beethoven's fifth piano concerto in the second concert of the 1858 season).<sup>82</sup> In an article published in the journal Muzykal'nyi i teatral'nyi vestnik in 1856 Vladimir Stasov wrote:

From the very beginning of the founding of the Concert Society, from the very first concerts, given by them in 1850, these concerts occupied the very highest place in the opinion and respect of our public. It would not have entered anyone's head to compare them with the other concerts heard here - so striking is the difference between them and all the rest of our concerts.<sup>83</sup>

The reputation of these concerts was further enhanced by their exclusiveness. The small auditorium combined with high ticket prices (ten rubles for three concerts, while admission to the Russian opera cost only half a ruble)<sup>84</sup> ensured a select audience: Grand Dukes, Duchesses and, indeed, the Tsar himself attended the concerts, while the rest of the audience was largely made up of L'vov's personal acquaintance, members of the aristocracy, military and civil officials.<sup>85</sup>

Critical reaction was extremely favourable. Prominent musical figures such as Serov and Stasov wrote highly complimentary reviews and the high standard of performance from the well-rehearsed musicians earned the Society a wide reputation as a highly serious musical organization. The lawyer Dmitry Stasov, who acted as the society's chief administrator, wrote of their concerts:

It was here, for the first time in our lives, that we began to hear really good, fine orchestral playing of the works of genius of Beethoven and others. In the very first concert we heard the Fantasia for piano,

orchestra and choir by Beethoven (op.80); the piano part was performed by Ant[on] Avg[ustovich] Gerke and he played beautifully. In this concert the Fourth Concerto in G major by Beethoven and a chorus from Handel's Judas Maccabeus were performed. The performance was outstanding; the public, sympathetic in the highest degree, was enthralled, and the impression on all listening was so strong that never before have I experienced such from music. I did not know how to wait for the next concert, and in it they performed all the music for A Midsummer Night's Dream and the seventh symphony by Beethoven. In the third concert they performed the fifth symphony in C minor and the Scherzo from the third symphony. L'vov was a fervent admirer and worshipper of Beethoven, and thus in every concert without fail they played something by Beethoven.<sup>86</sup>

Few works by Russian composers were included in the concert programmes, however. Dmitry Stasov, who assisted with selection of repertoire in addition to his administrative duties and recommended to L'vov such works as a scene from Iphigenia in Tauride and choruses from Gluck's Orfeo and Handel's Jephtha, was particularly anxious to promote the works of Glinka. It was only after considerable efforts on his part and that of his brother, however, that L'vov would consider a performance of the 'Persian chorus' from Ruslan and Lyudmila which was eventually included in the final concert of 1858.<sup>87</sup> Dmitry Stasov tells

of his difficulties in his Muzykal'nye vospominaniya [Musical Reminiscences]:

This was very difficult to secure as A. F. L'vov simply envied or was jealous of Glinka and slighted him from his great eminence, not considering him to be sufficiently worthy that anything of Glinka's should appear in 'his' Concert Society together with the works of Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Weber. Glinka, in his turn, despised [L'vov] as a composer and praised him only as an excellent performer.<sup>88</sup>

During the thirteen years following L'vov's appointment to the Kapella, the choir continued its association with the Philharmonic Society. It is perhaps noting that Aleksei L'vov had been the first Russian composer to have his work performed by that organization: on 19 March 1834 A. E. Varlamov conducted the choir in a performance of L'vov's three psalm settings and the national hymn Bozhe tsarya khрани [God save the Tsar].<sup>89</sup> Following the establishment of the Concert Society, however, the choir's participation in Philharmonic Society concerts became less frequent, ceasing altogether in 1853. As a result, public interest in the Philharmonic Society plummeted and their concerts became more irregular; in some seasons three concerts would be given, in others none.<sup>90</sup>

The first decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a substantial increase in both the number of public concerts given during the Lenten season and the number of established concert societies, such as the University Concerts, established by Karl Schubert in 1842 and the

Simfonicheskoe obshchestvo [Symphonic Society], founded by Counts Mikhail and Matvei Viel'gorsky and A. A. Gerke in 1841. During the 1840's the Kapella occasionally participated in the concerts of the Symphonic Society, which had been formed with the aim of promoting symphonic music and encouraging native musical talent. Under the direction of L'vov and Maurer musicians from the opera orchestras were recruited for the three annual concerts and pupils from the Instrumental Class of the Kapella were also permitted to take part.<sup>91</sup>

In 1851 the Symphonic Society ceased to exist. In the late 1850's, however, the Society was revived under the new title Russkoe muzykal'noe obshchestvo [Russian Musical Society]. The aim of the new society - 'the development of musical education and the taste for music in Russia and the encouragement of native talent'<sup>92</sup> - was rather different from that of its predecessor and the scope of its activities was considerably wider. The reason for the revival, however, was not artistic but political: as a result of the repressive political atmosphere the administrative difficulties involved in the establishment of an entirely new institution were formidable. Even for an established society every meeting was classed as an 'assembly' which required prior permission from the Police Department and, from 7 March 1854, every public concert had to be approved by the Directorate of the Imperial Theatres.<sup>93</sup> It was therefore easier to revive an existing group which already had government approval than to form a completely new society.

For various reasons relations between the Russian Musical Society, which gave its first concert on 17 November 1858,<sup>94</sup> and the Kapella were strained, if not hostile, from the very beginning. L'vov, who had not

been asked to join the Society's administrative board, considered himself slighted and expressly forbade his singers any involvement in the Society's activities.<sup>95</sup> He may well have taken some pleasure in the reaction of the leading music critics to the newly established Society: contemporary reviews compared the Society's work unfavourably with that of the Kapella, although it is likely that here again personal motives may have coloured their judgements. Certainly Aleksandr Serov, who criticized the first concerts of the Russian Musical Society while extolling performances given by the Kapella's Concert Society, may well have been motivated by personal antagonism towards the Society and its directors: like L'vov, he considered himself snubbed by Anton Rubinstein and his colleagues and even ten years later complained that he was 'left aside completely, passed by without even an observance of the formal proprieties by the founders of the Russian Musical Society'.<sup>96</sup> It would appear that their criticism was not wholly without foundation, however: Rubinstein himself was unhappy with the Society's hundred-strong choir, and found the ladies, in particular, more concerned with their dress than with their music.<sup>97</sup>

In addition to these secular activities the choristers of the Kapella also gave occasional concerts of sacred music. On 10 March 1844 a series of weekly sacred concerts was introduced, although it is not clear whether this continued for any length of time:<sup>98</sup> at least three concerts were given during 1845, but there is no record of regular sacred concerts until 22 March 1858.<sup>99</sup>

While L'vov accepted all the credit for the excellent standard of performance achieved by the choristers, all preparatory work for the

public concerts was, in fact, carried out by Gavriil Lomakin, who held the post of singing teacher in the Kapella for twelve years. Typically, the ambitious L'vov kept the repetiteur in the shade: he invariably conducted the choir personally in important concerts and rarely acknowledged Lomakin's role.

The tradition of learning the notes with the aid of the violin continued as, according to the singing teacher Pavel Vorotnikov:

The violin has all the necessary qualities for supporting singing [at rehearsals]. Under an [expert] bow it can produce sounds quite similar to the human voice and, by the same token, becomes a good model for singing'.<sup>100</sup>

Despite the efforts of Prince Odoevsky to persuade L'vov that only a tuning-fork should be used at rehearsals in order to train the singers to pitch accurately and confidently, this practice continued until the 1880's when, under the direction of Balakirev, the violin was replaced by the piano.<sup>101</sup>

Relations between Lomakin and L'vov were not always cordial as the two men had rather different views on what constituted an ideal choral sound: Lomakin considered that sacred music should be full of expression and emotion, a view which had been advocated by Bortnyansky,<sup>102</sup> whereas L'vov insisted that sacred music should be performed in a calm and even manner.<sup>103</sup> On hearing a performance given by the excellent choir of Dmitry Sheremetev - one of the finest private choirs of the nineteenth century - and directed by Lomakin, he remarked only that 'one should not sing church music with such expression'.<sup>104</sup> Both men did

agree, however, on the importance of blending the voices, and much time was spent on this during rehearsals. As L'vov noted in his book Q tserkovnykh khorakh [On church choirs]:

[It is necessary] during general rehearsals to take care that no single voice in the choir overpowers another, for choral singing is only perfect when the listener, hearing all the voices, can distinguish none in particular.<sup>105</sup>

Judging from contemporary reports it would appear that, in the 1840's and '50's at least, the performing style of the choristers of the Kapella combined the best features of both schools of thought. The nuances of shading and warmth of feeling advocated by Lomakin combined with the academic correctness demanded by L'vov to produce a choir which was honoured and respected throughout Europe, and the writings of both Russian and foreign musicians attest to the skill of the singers. Vladimir Stasov speaks of their 'miraculous' voices<sup>106</sup> and describes the choir as 'a vast and superb organ of living human voices'.<sup>107</sup> In his review of the very first concert given by the Concert Society on 17 March 1850 he writes:

Where now is there such a choir as the choir of the Russian Court Kapella, under the direction of A. F. L'vov? The reputation of this choir is already well established in our time and of course, new proofs on my part are unnecessary. Anyone who travels to Russia from foreign lands ... is bound to hear our court choir, exactly as in Rome he would be bound to see St.

Peter's church, in Florence the Pitti Gallery or in London the marbles of the Parthenon. Not to know, not to hear this choir in St. Petersburg means to pass by one of the most perfect displays of musical art.<sup>108</sup>

The publicist and music critic Aleksandr Ulybyshev attributed their success to the work of Aleksei L'vov:

Thanks to the unremitting labours and deep knowledge of its celebrated director, the choir of Russian court choristers produces pure, noble church singing at such a level of perfection, that greater success seems impossible.<sup>109</sup>

Many foreign musicians were particularly impressed by the rich sonorous tone of the choristers. In an article in France musicale in July 1840 Adolphe Adam, who lived in St. Petersburg from 1839-40, wrote:

The singers of the Imperial Chapel ... have consequently acquired an extraordinary facility for singing unaccompanied with a justness of intonation of which one can have no idea. But what gives their performances the sense of peculiar strangeness is the character of the bass voices, which extend from low A (three lines beneath the bass stave) to middle C, and produce an incredible effect by doubling the ordinary basses at the interval of an octave below them ... The first time I heard this splendid chapel choir I was stirred with such emotion as I have never felt before. From the very first bars of the piece I began to shed

tears; then, when the music quickened up and the thundering voices launched the whole artillery of their lungs, I found myself trembling and covered with a cold sweat. The most tremendous orchestra in the world could never give rise to this curious sensation, which was entirely different from any that I had supposed it possible for music to convey. The tenor voices are far from being as perfect as the bass, but are nevertheless very satisfactory. The sopranos are vigorous, and there are some pretty children's voices among the soloists.<sup>110</sup>

Robert Schumann, too, was greatly impressed by the bass voices. Following his visit to St. Petersburg in 1844 he noted in his diary that:

The choir of the Kapella is the most wonderful choir we have ever heard: the basses at times remind one of the low sounds of the organ, and the trebles have a magical sound, better than the very best female voices... temporarily they sound like voices from another world. The most delicate nuances and shadings are studied to the limit, at times even too studied and detailed.<sup>111</sup>

Possibly the most ardent of the Kapella's champions was Hector Berlioz who attended performances during his stay in St. Petersburg in 1847 and later recorded his impressions:

Le chœur de la chapelle de l'empereur de Russie,  
composé de quatre-vingts chanteurs, hommes et enfants,

exécutant des morceaux à quatre, six et huit parties réelles, tantôt d'une allure assez vive et compliqués de tous les artifices du style fugué, tantôt d'une expression calme et séraphique, d'un mouvement extrêmement lent, et exigeant en conséquence une pose de voix et un art de la soutenir fort rares, me paraît au-dessus de tout ce qui existe en ce genre en Europe. On y trouve des voix graves, inconnues chez nous, qui descendent jusqu'au contre-la, au-dessus des portées, clef de fa. Comparer l'exécution chorale de la chapelle Sixtine de Rome avec celle de ces chantres merveilleux, c'est opposer la pauvre petite troupe de racleurs d'un théâtre italien du troisième ordre à l'orchestre du Conservatoire de Paris.

... S.A.I. madame la grande-duchesse de Leuchtenberg m'ayant fait un jour, à Saint-Pétersbourg, l'honneur de m'inviter à entendre une messe chantée à mon intention dans la chapelle du palais, j'ai pu juger de l'étonnante assurance avec laquelle ces choristes, ainsi livrés à eux-mêmes, passent brusquement d'une tonalité à une autre, d'un mouvement lent à un mouvement vif, et exécutent jusqu'à des recitatifs et des psalmodies non mesurées avec un ensemble imperturbable. Les quatre-vingts chantres, revêtus de leur riche costume, étaient disposés en deux groupes égaux debout de chaque côté de l'autel, en face l'un de

l'autre. Les basses occupaient les rangs les plus éloignés du centre, devant eux étaient les ténors, et devant ceux-ci les enfants soprani et contralti. Tous, immobiles, les yeux baissés, attendaient dans le plus profond silence le moment de commencer leur chant, et à un signe, fait sans doute par l'un des chefs d'attaque, signe imperceptible pour le spectateur, et sans que personne eût donné le ton ni déterminé le mouvement, ils entonnèrent un des plus vastes concerts à huit voix de Bortniansky. Il y avait dans ce tissu d'harmonie des enchevêtrements de parties qui semblent impossibles, des soupirs, de vagues murmures comme on en entend parfois en revê, et de temps en temps de ces accents qui, par leur intensité, ressemblent à des cris, saisissent le coeur à l'improviste, oppressent la poitrine et suspendent la respiration. Puis tout s'éteignait dans un decrescendo incommensurable, vapoureux, céleste; on eût dit un choeur d'anges partant de la terre et se perdant peu à peu dans les hauteurs de l'empyrée.<sup>112</sup>

On the death of Fyodor L'vov the power of censorship over all sacred compositions intended for use in Orthodox worship passed to Aleksei as the new director of the Court Kapella. Under his leadership the role of the Kapella as a censorship body was to acquire an even greater significance. The political climate in the 1840's and '50's was very highly charged: as revolutionary movements sprang up all over

Europe Nicholas I, already fearful of the possibility of insurrection, became completely obsessed by his fear of revolution in Russia. The destabiling events in Europe caused him to implement a more restrictive regime and as a result censorship in general became much more severe.

From Nicholas' point of view, L'vov was the ideal person to have at the head of such an important institution as the Kapella: he came from a family of loyal court officials and was completely trustworthy, carried out the Tsar's orders to the letter and did not hesitate to have injunctions enforced by the police if necessary. L'vov was also extremely ambitious and undoubtedly regarded his position as censor of sacred music not only as a means of ensuring that only compositions of a high musical standard be performed in the Orthodox church, but also as an opportunity to ingratiate himself further in the Tsar's favour and to obtain greater control over the development of church music throughout Russia. He was quick to use his influence at court to have legislation reinforcing his powers passed by the Ministry of the Imperial Court, and on 4 September 1846 the following clause was written into the Imperial codex of laws:

New church music compositions shall not be introduced anywhere in Orthodox churches without the prior approval of the director of the Court Kapella, while those approved shall be used only in printed form and with the permission of the Holy Synod.<sup>113</sup>

It seems probable that his reasons for this were two-fold. Firstly, works which had not been approved by the Kapella continued to be performed during worship. These works circulated in manuscript form

and, as this practice undermined L'vov's authority, it had to be stopped. The second, perhaps more compelling, reason was that the ukaz of 1816 had not granted the powers of censorship to the director of the Court Kapella, but had specifically named Bortnyansky (see p.199), a fact which caused certain members of the clergy to question the right of Fyodor and Aleksei L'vov to take this power upon themselves.<sup>114</sup> The new ukaz made it clear that this power belonged to whoever held the position of director of the Court Kapella and effectively silenced the opposition.

Despite L'vov's efforts, this new ukaz proved insufficient to deter the performance of non-approved works and, on a trip to Moscow in 1850 for the inspection of church choirs, he became aware that, the 1846 ukaz notwithstanding, churches still did not use the Kapella publications. As a result, further ukazy were issued by the Synod on 26 May 1850<sup>115</sup> and 21 September 1852<sup>116</sup> re-inforcing the Tsar's order that non-approved works should not be performed during worship. Legislation was also introduced against the singing of concertos during the liturgy. On 19 April 1850 an ukaz (no.8988) was issued by the Holy Synod which forbade:

the singing of the most recent musical compositions,  
either printed or in manuscript, which go by the name  
of concertos during Divine Liturgy in place of festival  
verses.<sup>117</sup>

'Responsibility for all consequences of the performance of the chosen sacred music' was laid upon the church hierarchs in an ukaz of 15 December 1852.<sup>118</sup>

A letter from Count Sergei Sheremetev to the Ministry of the

Imperial Court dated 20 January 1884 refers to an ukaz of 6 April 1853 (no.1283), introduced following a performance of L'vov's Stabat Mater given in Russian translation on 2 March 1852, which forbade the inclusion of psalms and hymns used in the Orthodox church in concerts of secular music. Henceforth only liturgical music of other faiths was permitted and even then never in Russian translation.<sup>119</sup> According to the same ukaz it was also forbidden for sacred concerts to be given in theatres. A further ukaz of 14 May 1853 (no.1958), however, stated that this rule did not apply to the public concerts for the benefit of widows and orphans, on condition that the sacred pieces were not performed in the same programme with secular works or sacred works of other faiths.<sup>120</sup>

The censorship of sacred music played a negative role in the development of church music in Russia at this time. The only criterion appeared to be the personal taste of the director, and censorship was so intimidating that those not directly connected with the Kapella did not even attempt to submit works. In March 1850 the list of works approved for performance contained only the compositions of Bortnyansky, Aleksei L'vov, a single work by Maxim Berezovsky - Veruyu [I believe], a work by the Kapella teacher Makarov - Angel vopiyashe [The angel sings], and several works by Stepan Gribovich - Plotiyu usnuv [Having fallen asleep in the flesh], Telo Khristogo [The body of Christ] and the Pannikhida [Requiem].<sup>121</sup> Significantly, with the exception of L'vov himself, no recent composers were represented: Makarov and Berezovsky were contemporaries of Bortnyansky, and Gribovich was appointed to the post of singing teacher in 1823. The only new works approved during the

period 1837-61 were the compositions of L'vov himself and a single work by the singing teacher Pavel Vorotnikov.<sup>122</sup>

Despite his anxiety to loosen the stranglehold of foreign musicians in the Russian orchestras and to train a new generation of native instrumentalists and preceptors, L'vov's personal musical outlook and taste were western European, and he was an ardent germanophile, embracing the principles of German Romanticism. This is not surprising: in his youth he had studied music with private tutors who were predominantly Germans and Austrians, with Kayzer, with the Austrian Franz Böhm, Sheinur, I. G. Müller and the German pianist and composer Karl Zeuner (1775-1841).<sup>123</sup> During his early years in imperial service he made many trips to Germany and Austria as part of the Tsar's suite and in 1840 took leave in order to travel independently. During this time he visited Leipzig, Berlin, Paris and London, studied composition with Spontini and met Mendelssohn, Schumann, Bériot, Meyerbeer, Cherubini and Liszt. Although he played in the most fashionable salons in St. Petersburg, including the musical evenings with the imperial household in the Winter Palace (see p.46), and in the renowned string quartet with Vsevolod Maurer, A. Vil'de and Matvei Viel'gorsky,<sup>124</sup> as a member of the Tsar's retinue L'vov was unable to perform on the concert platform in Russia. The trip abroad, which was undertaken as a private citizen, however, provided an opportunity for him to perform at the Gewandhaus, where his skill as a solo violinist greatly impressed Schumann.<sup>125</sup>

L'vov composed a number of works in various genres including a series of pieces for violin: a Concerto ('Concert dans le mode d'une

scene dramatique', probably inspired by Spohr's 'Gesangszene') which was written in 1840 and first performed in that year in the Leipzig Gewandhaus under the direction of Felix Mendelssohn, two Fantasias for solo violin, orchestra and chorus, studies, duets, and a set of twenty-four capriccios (c.1850). The capriccios, written for violin and piano, were first published in 1859 as part of L'vov's work Sovety nachinayushchemu igrat' na skripke [Advice to those beginning to play the violin], and provide an excellent example of the composer's style in writing for his own instrument. Working through the cycle of keys, they exploit the full range of the violin and are technically extremely demanding, featuring fast passage work, extensive double and triple stopping, two-part work, and a very high degree of rhythmic complexity. L'vov's works also include three unsuccessful operas - Bianca e Gualtiero (1843), Undina (1847) and Starosta Boris Petrovich (1847) - the most successful of which received only eight performances,<sup>126</sup> the operetta Varvara, Yaroslavskaya kruzhevnitsa [Varvara, the Yaroslav lace-maker] (1848), an orchestral overture ending with the hymn for chorus (1850) which was later re-orchestrated by Balakirev, a divertissement, and several simple lyrical romances. His orchestration of Pergolesi's Stabat mater, which was performed by the Philharmonic Society in 1831, earned him the honorary title 'Composer of Bologna Academy',<sup>127</sup> and his own setting of the text, published in Vienna in 1851 and dedicated to the Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, received several performances both in St. Petersburg and in Austria, where it met with considerable critical success.<sup>128</sup>

L'vov also composed a considerable number of liturgical works for

unaccompanied choir, thirty-eight of which were collected and published in St. Petersburg by the firm of Ershov around 1855.<sup>129</sup> These pieces are scored for various combinations of voices, from three parts to full double choir, and, like the works of Bortnyansky, comprise 'free' compositions and chant arrangements.

The free compositions clearly show the strong influence exerted on L'vov by the German Romantic tradition. Unlike the works of Bortnyansky these compositions are vertically conceived, with harmony rather than melody playing the central role. Harmonically they are considerably more complex than the works of Bortnyansky and demonstrate a much greater use of chromaticism, particularly of chords of the seventh. Rhythmically the compositions are very free, with much attention paid to the setting of the text. Many demonstrate the principles laid out in L'vov's work O svobodnom ili nesimmetrichnom ritme, discussed in Chapter 3, and at least seventeen of his works - twelve free compositions and five chant arrangements - are unbarred. Unfortunately few autographs survive and it is impossible to provide accurate dates for any of his sacred works.

These 'free' compositions include five concertos, including Prikloni Gospodi ukho tvoe [O Lord incline thine ear] and Uslyshi, Gospodi glas moi [O Lord hear my prayer] which Anatoly Preobrazhensky described as:

the most excellent compositions among L'vov's sacred-musical output.<sup>130</sup>

The great majority of his works, however, are short pieces - settings of psalm texts or hymns, which can be used in worship at any time, or

antiphons for a particular feast or Sunday of the liturgical year.

One of his most popular works, which indeed has remained in the repertoire of many Orthodox choirs to this day, is Vecheri Tvoeya tainyya [Of thy mystical supper], a slow-moving, elegiac piece in four parts to be sung in place of the Kheruvimskaya on Thursday of Holy week (see Example 3). Basically chordal, the work does demonstrate some use of chromatic harmony, but more characteristic is L'vov's use of passing and auxiliary notes not as melodic decoration but to ornament the harmonic structure. Both melodically and rhythmically the work is very simple. Melody is of secondary importance and movement tends to be conjunct. There are few melismas, with the exception of the 'alleluia', and there is no repetition of words or phrases. The text is pronounced in each voice simultaneously and, as a result of the emphasis on text setting which reflects natural speech pattern, phrase lengths are highly irregular.

Ex.3: A. F. L'vov - Vecheri Tvoeya tainyya [Of thy mystical supper]

The musical score is written for four staves. The first staff is the vocal line, starting with a piano (pp) dynamic. The second staff contains the lyrics: "Be - ce - ru Tvo - e - a Taii - - Hbi - a". The third and fourth staves are accompaniment. The score features a melisma "Taii" with a fermata and a slur over it, and a five-measure phrase "Hbi - a" with a slur and a "5" above it. The piece ends with a fermata on the final note of the vocal line.

госць, Сы-не Бо-жии, при-кас-ши-ка мѣ при-и-ши : не-бо тра-

зѣи то-умъ тѣи-му по-бѣи, ми вос-за-ми-а ту гѣи, и-ко и-с-сѣ-га,

то и-ко раз-дѣи-мъхъ и-с-сѣ-га-о

25

Ta ; no - mu mu-ma, to - no - ga, to zap - etu-u em.

Rit mosso 30

Au - ue - uy - ur, au - ue - uy - ur

35

au - ue - uy



The image shows a musical score for a setting of "Our Father" (Otche nash). It consists of four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment staff. The lyrics are: "au - u - y - wa, au - u, y - - - wa." The music is written in F major and 4/4 time. The vocal lines are highly chromatic, with many passing notes. The piano accompaniment provides a harmonic foundation with chords and moving lines.

Another work which is notable for its use of chromatic passing notes is the setting of Otche nash [Our Father]. Here again the text is pronounced simultaneously in all voices, and there is no repetition of words or phrases. Basically chordal, both alto and tenor lines divide so that at times as many as six voices are heard. The harmonic language is richly chromatic and movement is, on the whole, conjunct.

L'vov's second setting of the Kheruvimskaya [Song of the cherubim], in F major, shows a slightly different style. In this work, which L'vov dedicated to the Berlin Domchor in appreciation of their skilful performance of his works,<sup>131</sup> the opening chordal section, which is repeated twice, contrasts with the faster, more contrapuntal closing section. The text-setting is less syllabic and there is some repetition of words or phrases.

Johann von Gardner describes L'vov as the founder of the so-called St. Petersburg school of church composition, the characteristics of which he summarises as follows:

1. Classical four-part harmony, both in free

- compositions and in arrangements of prescribed chants ...;
2. The choir is regarded as a single-character instrument (such as the organ or harmonium), and not as an ensemble of different timbres ...;
  3. In arrangements the basic melody (cantus firmus) is found in the upper voice ...;
  4. The use of only the major and harmonic minor [modes];
  5. The use of chromaticism, [chords of the 7th, etc.] even in chant harmonizations;
  6. No deviation from the correct four-part choral approach is permitted (the doubling of voice parts is not taken into account); if the melody of the original [chant] does not permit a correct harmonization, it may simply be altered.<sup>132</sup>

Indeed Orlov attributes the whole German style to L'vov:

Après le règne de la musique italienne qui dura un siècle (1735-1835), l'influence allemande s'exerça un demi-siècle (1835-1885) sur les choeurs ecclésiastiques russes, et cela de par l'action de quelques personnes seulement; on peut même dire d'une seule personne, l'auteur de l'hymne national russe, Alexis Fedorovic Lvov.<sup>133</sup>

L'vov's compositions were highly regarded both at home and abroad. Both Stasov and Serov valued his work highly and in an article in

Severnaya pchela reviewing a concert given on 15 March 1850 the writer and theatre director Rafail Zotov wrote that:

The crown of the whole concert was of course the three pieces composed by our national composer

A. F. L'vov.<sup>134</sup>

This seems unremarkable until one considers that the programme for this concert included the first performances of Glinka's Kamarinskaya, Jota Aragonesa and Recuerdos de Castilla besides music by Dargomyzhsky, Alyab'ev and Rubinstein.

L'vov's works were not only known throughout Russia at this time but were also familiar to foreign composers such as Berlioz and Mendelssohn, both of whom had a high opinion of his sacred works. Berlioz described him as 'a composer of rare talent'<sup>135</sup>, while in a letter to L'vov dated 3 August 1840 Mendelssohn says of the psalm settings:

Maintenant il faut aussi que je vous exprime tout le plaisir que m'ont fait les belles compositions que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer. Les Psaumes, si pleins de sentiment et d'expression, d'originalité et en même temps de simplicité me sont devenus bien chers et en les lisant et les relisant je crois être parvenu à former une idée plus exacte de votre célèbre chœur de la Chapelle Impériale, qu'il ne m'a été possible après tant de descriptions détaillés, que j'en ai entendu et lu. L'idée de Récitatifs accompagnés par le chœur est très heureuse et l'effet de cette voix seule supportée

par les autres doit être merveilleuse. J'aime aussi les unissons des Basses que vous employez quelque fois, et ces terminaisons en diminuant qui font si bien avec une bonne exécution, puis les entrées de fugue vers la fin - enfin le tout m'a fait le plus grand plaisir et je vous en remercie bien sincèrement.<sup>136</sup>

L'vov's position as director of the Court Kapella enabled him to dominate Russian church music throughout the 1840's and '50's with relative ease. The introduction of new legislation combined with existing censorship procedures to ensure that the compositions of L'vov and his circle were universally adopted while composers who were perhaps more talented than the director eschewed the composition of liturgical works, knowing that they would never be approved for performance.

Following his appointment as kapellmeister in January 1837 Mikhail Glinka also composed several pieces for the choristers of the Kapella, the most successful of which was his setting of the Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim]. Completed at the beginning of June 1837 and later published by Jurgenson,<sup>137</sup> this six-part setting makes much use of sustained passing, auxiliary and suspended dissonances. It is basically syllabic. Glinka, however, was not pleased with the work, considering it a failure, and other works begun at this time were left incomplete: sketches and fragments include the first thirteen bars of a four-part setting of Otche nash [Our Father], the beginning of a chorale-like setting of Prikloni, Gospodi ukho tvoya [O Lord incline thine ear], and of a four-part fugue Khvalya prizovu Gospoda [I call unto the Lord with praise].<sup>138</sup>

Shortly before his death in 1857 Glinka's interest in sacred music was rekindled. In 1856 he moved to Berlin where he began to study harmony with Siegfried Dehn and both the four-part Ekteniya pervaya [First ekteniya] scored for alto, two tenors and bass, and the three-part Da ispravitsya molitva moya [Hear my prayer], a setting of a Greek chant for two tenors and bass date from this time.<sup>139</sup> It is possible that, had he lived, Glinka's contribution to liturgical music would have been highly significant. In the words of Prince Odоеvsky, on hearing of Glinka's death:

Thinking about this irreplaceable loss, one cannot help but be reminded that with his death also died, perhaps, an entirely new period in our church music, for which Glinka was preparing himself.<sup>140</sup>

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## Chapter 5: Concert Activity and Repertoire 1861-1917

### 1) 1861-1883

Under the leadership of Nikolai Bakhmetev the choir's participation in public concerts in St. Petersburg virtually ceased. The association between the Kapella and the Philharmonic Society had ended in 1850 with the founding of the Concert Society by Aleksei L'vov, and Bakhmetev had no interest in re-establishing old ties. In the years following the break with the Kapella the Philharmonic Society had suffered a sharp drop in popularity. By the 1860's its activities had significantly declined and its importance in the concert-giving world had considerably diminished: concerts were given sporadically and were not of the high standard previously expected of the association.<sup>1</sup> In an article in the journal Biblioteka dlya chteniya in February 1861 the critic Aleksandr Serov, while applauding its aim, lamented what he saw as the Society's loss of musical integrity in the following play on words:

At one time there was a Philharmonic Society - now only its shadow remains: little by little, through its exclusive, indefatigable and long-standing care for widows and orphans it has become the Philanthropic Society.<sup>2</sup>

Neither did Bakhmetev show any particular interest in the activities of the Kapella's own Concert Society: throughout the 1870's concerts were given on a very irregular basis and were directed not by Bakhmetev but by Eduard Napravnik.<sup>3</sup> In 1882 these concerts ceased altogether.<sup>4</sup>

Now, the only concerts in which the singers of the Kapella regularly participated were those given annually in aid of war veterans and the Red Cross. They did, however, occasionally perform in concerts given by other musical associations and in concerts marking events of particular significance: the choir took part in the concert given by the Russian Musical Society under the direction of Richard Wagner on 19 February 1863, when the programme included the first performance in Russia of choruses from Der fliegende Holländer and Tannhäuser.<sup>5</sup> In 1872 the choir again participated in a series of concerts given by the Russian Musical Society, this time under the direction of Eduard Napravnik, in which Sarti's Miserere, Bortnyansky's Te Deum, Liszt's Die Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth and choruses from Auber's opera La muette de Portici were performed.<sup>6</sup> One of the most important commemorative concerts during this period was that given in the Kapella on 17 January 1862 to mark the twenty-five year tenure of Aleksei L'vov.<sup>7</sup> The programme on this occasion consisted solely of L'vov's own works, including the national hymn Bozhe Tsarya khрани [God save the Tsar], the Overture and Cavatina from the opera Undina, the Concert Overture, and an aria from the Stabat mater.<sup>8</sup>

Competition from other concert societies was fierce in the 1860's, '70's and '80's: the large and well-trained choir of the Free Music School, established by Balakirev and Lomakin in 1862, regularly gave public concerts (see p.72)<sup>9</sup> as did the choir directed by Aleksandr Arkhangel'sky, founded in 1880,<sup>10</sup> and the private choir of Count Dmitry Sheremetev.<sup>11</sup> Another rival was the Russian Choral Society founded in 1877 in Moscow by Karl Al'brekht and Ivan Popov.<sup>12</sup> This society, later

directed by Anton Arensky, had links with both the Moscow Conservatoire and the Philharmonic Society and regularly performed in concerts given by the Russian Musical Society.<sup>13</sup>

Like his predecessor, Bakhmetev jealously guarded the Kapella's monopoly on the publication of sacred music. Indeed, censorship at this time was so severe that it was generally accepted as pointless for composers who had no direct connection with the Kapella to submit their works. Among the few compositions approved during Bakhmetev's tenure were two pieces by the singing teacher Stepan Smirnov, which were passed in 1862,<sup>14</sup> a single work by Dmitry Borshch, also passed in 1862,<sup>15</sup> and Stepan Vishnevsky's setting of the liturgy, approved in 1865.<sup>16</sup> A number of works by Maksim Vinogradov were approved in 1870 and 1882, while Pavel Vorotnikov had a number of his compositions approved in 1871.<sup>17</sup> While both Vinogradov and Vorotnikov were employed in the Kapella, nothing is known of either Borshch or Vishnevsky. Like L'vov, Bakhmetev was not slow to press for legislation enforcing his powers: on 12 September 1869 an ukaz was issued reinforcing that of 1846 which stated that only those pieces approved by the Kapella could be performed during Orthodox worship,<sup>18</sup> and he regularly sent letters to all churches demanding that precentors obtained certificates from the Kapella (see p.68) and used the Kapella's own edition of the Obikhod.<sup>19</sup>

Bakhmetev was also anxious to uphold existing legislation on the performance of sacred music. Following a proposal by the Russian Musical Society for a concert of sacred works by Russian composers under the direction of Lomakin, he sent a report to the Ministry of the Imperial Court (no.40) dated 26 January 1879 protesting that sacred

concerts could only be given in a foreign language.<sup>20</sup> He also maintained that sacred compositions could not be performed in Russian in public concerts and quoted an ukaz issued on 6 April 1853 (no.1283) which stated that psalms and prayers used in the Orthodox Church could not be included in sacred concerts.<sup>21</sup> A further ukaz of 14 May 1853 (no.1958) had conceded that this did not apply to the open rehearsals given in aid of widows and orphans of Kapella singers, although even then sacred compositions must not be mixed with secular pieces or religious works belonging to other Christian denominations (see p.244).<sup>22</sup>

The Kapella's stranglehold on all new sacred compositions continued to arouse the anger of the Synod and also of musicians and composers such as Prince Odoevsky who maintained that the director's power was being used:

Not to safeguard the integrity or quality of such publications, but rather to impose a particular style of church music on as many ecclesiastical establishments as possible, thus strengthening the Kapella's power and income.<sup>23</sup>

Despite Bakhmetev's tireless vigilance he was increasingly unable to quash the growing animosity and resentment engendered by the existing censorship regime, and it was during his tenure in the Kapella that the monopoly was finally overturned.

The culmination of the row came in 1879 with the publication of Tchaikovsky's setting of the liturgy. In February 1878 Tchaikovsky had written to his publisher, Jürgenson, asking if it would be possible to

publish small-scale sacred works or even a setting of the full liturgy.<sup>24</sup> In his answering letter Jürgenson explained the situation but added that, should Tchaikovsky wish to compose any sacred works, it would of course be possible to publish them abroad. Tchaikovsky was obviously shocked to learn of the Kapella's monopoly and in a letter to Madame von Meck early in 1878 he wrote:

Did you know that the composition of music for the Church is the monopoly of the Imperial Kapella; that it is forbidden to publish or sing in churches anything which is not included in the list of compositions published by the Kapella itself which jealously guards this monopoly and flatly refuses to approve new attempts to set sacred texts?<sup>25</sup>

Jürgenson's letter did nothing to dampen Tchaikovsky's enthusiasm for this new idea - if anything the challenge it presented merely strengthened his determination. The idea of setting the liturgy itself particularly attracted him:

The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is, in my view, one of the greatest of artistic works. If you follow the service attentively, going carefully into the meaning of every act of the ritual, then it is impossible, when attending our Orthodox service, not to be moved by the spirit. I also love very much the All-Night Vigil. To direct myself on Saturday to some small ancient church, to stand in the semi-darkness filled with the smoke of incense, to delve deeply within myself in search of a

reply to the eternal questions: to what purpose, when,  
whither, why?<sup>26</sup>

Despite Jurgenson's warning he set to work, and by 6 August his setting of the liturgy was complete.<sup>27</sup>

When a work was submitted to the Kapella for approval the criterion on which it was assessed was its suitability for performance within the context of a religious service. Tchaikovsky, on Jürgenson's advice, did not request approval for liturgical performance but merely submitted the new work to the Moscow Office of Sacred Censorship. This office approved works solely on the fidelity of their texts to the versions prescribed by the Holy Synod. As Tchaikovsky had adhered strictly to the approved version his work was passed for publication on 25 September 1878<sup>28</sup> (not early October as David Brown states) and was in print by the end of the year.<sup>29</sup>

As one might have expected, Bakhmetev wasted no time in confiscating all copies of Tchaikovsky's work on the grounds that it had not been submitted to the Kapella for approval. At the same time he insisted that, had the work been submitted, it would have been rejected on the grounds that the chants were written in operatic style, and did not reflect the spirit of Orthodox worship.<sup>30</sup> Tchaikovsky and his publisher Jürgenson were prepared to fight, however, and instigated legal proceedings against the Kapella director (it may be noted that Jürgenson's lawyer was Dmitry Stasov, who had earlier been involved in the work of the Concert Society - see p.231).<sup>31</sup> The case dragged on for two years until, on 4 May 1881, the Senate ruled in favour of Jürgenson: neither the Moscow Office of Sacred Censorship nor the Court Kapella

could legally prohibit the publication or concert performance of a sacred composition simply on grounds of musical style. The Senate's verdict stated that:

In general, sacred musical compositions may be performed by private individuals in their homes [and], for the purpose of musical education and study of church and [other] sacred music, may be read through by musicians; such a reading, as well as performance [presumably public performance], is permitted by law; therefore the review and approval of all sacred musical compositions in general shall reside with the [Office of] Sacred Censorship, just as musical compositions that are not sacred in nature are subject to the [Office of] Secular Censorship.<sup>32</sup>

This ruling was in accordance with an ukaz issued by the Holy Synod on 23 December 1880:

The latest of the more important ukazy of the Holy Synod (23 December 1880) establishes categorically that the Sacred Censorship Committee, in case of presentation by the author only for authorization for the printing and publication of any sacred musical publication, and not also for approval for use in worship, has not only the right but also the duty to admit the work to its own inspection, and may authorize printing and publication without any preliminary permission from the director of the Court Kapella.<sup>33</sup>

The Senate ruling on Tchaikovsky's liturgy, which was regarded as a test case, was the first crucially important step in the overthrow of the Kapella's monopoly on the publication of sacred works. Prior to this, works by mediocre musicians with the right connections had been adopted for general use, while the most talented composers had often veered away from church composition in the knowledge that their works would never be heard or published. On the negative side, however, the road was now clear for those untalented precentors whose works would previously have been rejected on musical grounds, and also for publishers who rushed into print vast quantities of sacred music, irrespective of quality.

Bakhmetev's own compositional style was very similar to that of Aleksei L'vov. Like his predecessor, Bakhmetev had studied privately with German tutors, including Shwenke, Shrentser, and the violinist Franz Böhm, and he was greatly influenced by the ideas found in the music of contemporary German composers, such as Mendelssohn and Brahms.<sup>34</sup> Although he was not a particularly prolific composer various genres are represented among his compositions, which include a Symphony in G minor, a string quartet in D major, a Concerto for violin, a number of works for both piano and violin, and several Russian and French romances.<sup>35</sup> His compositional output also included fifty-two sacred pieces for the Russian Orthodox Church, written expressly for the choir of the Kapella.<sup>36</sup>

These sacred works, which include ten settings of the Te Deum and various psalms and hymns, are now virtually forgotten and even during Bakhmetev's lifetime never achieved a widespread popularity. This was

largely due to the complexity of their harmonic language which Nikolai Kompaneisky described as:

The pointless heaping up of harmonic effects and  
dissonant chords with suspensions.<sup>37</sup>

The opening bars of Bakhmetev's Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim] no.7 with their multiple division of parts are sufficient to prove his point (see example 4).

Ex.4: N. I. Bakhmetev - Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim] no.7

Adagio molto

The image shows a musical score for the beginning of 'Kheruvimskaya' by Bakhmetev. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has four staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The Soprano and Tenor parts have lyrics: 'u - xe xe - py - tu - - - uhi, Tai - no,'. The piano accompaniment is in the bass staff. The second system has four staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The Soprano and Tenor parts have lyrics: 'Tai - no os - pa - sy - b - ke.' The piano accompaniment is in the bass staff. The score is marked 'Adagio molto' and features complex harmonic structures with multiple divisions of parts.

ii) 1883-1895

Although the choir had long since abandoned its association with the Philharmonic Society and the Kapella's own Concert Society had ceased to exist in 1882,<sup>38</sup> under the leadership of Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov the choristers continued to perform in public concerts in and around St. Petersburg. Benefit concerts for the Red Cross were given regularly in the concert hall of the Kapella and the traditional benefit concert for war veterans held on 19 March in the Mariinsky Theatre, with which the choir had long been associated, continued to be one of the highlights of the concert season: concerts of particular note at this time included performances of Berlioz' Requiem with a combined choir and orchestra of four hundred musicians in 1889, and of Beethoven's Mass in C with a choir and orchestra of six hundred in 1893.<sup>39</sup> According to the reminiscences of Vasily Zolotarev, public performances by the choir at this time continued to draw large audiences:

In general the Kapella served exclusively church services at court. But twice a year it performed in concerts with secular music too. Thus, for example, every year the Kapella participated in the combined concert for war veterans. These concerts were very popular and the public attended gladly.<sup>40</sup>

In his article 'Nikolai Andreevich Rimsky-Korsakov v Pevcheskoi kapelle' [Nikolai Andreevich Rimsky-Korsakov in the Court Kapella] Zolotarev describes another event:

At that time a ceremony was held each year to celebrate

St. Alexander's day. In honour of Alexander Nevsky [this was held] in the Alexander Nevsky Monastery, [an institution] also renowned for its choir and, by <sup>long-</sup>standing tradition, both choirs took part: the full choir of the Kapella under [the direction of] Smirnov on the right kliros, and the Monastery choir with [Grigory] L'vovsky (the famous precentor and composer of sacred works) on the left. The result was a distinctive "contest of singers", which drew a large number of musical amateurs and experts in choral singing - the "fans". Both sides prepared long and hard for this day.<sup>41</sup>

The choir of the Kapella also participated in occasional concerts given to mark particular events of special significance. On 25 November 1892 a concert was given in the Kapella to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the first performance of Glinka's opera Ruslan i Lyudmila [Ruslan and Ludmila].<sup>42</sup> In honour of the occasion the programme consisted solely of Glinka's works, including excerpts from the operas Ruslan i Lyudmila and Zhizn' za tsarya [A life for the Tsar], Kamarinskaya and Souvenir d'une nuit d'été à Madrid. Both the choir and orchestra of the Kapella took part; the choir under the direction of Evstafii Azeev, and the orchestra under that of Fyodor Akimenko.<sup>43</sup>

The reason for the relatively small number of public concerts given by the Kapella at this time was an administrative one. On 21 February 1892 Count Sheremetev himself questioned Balakirev on this topic and was informed that the Kapella could give concerts only with the approval of

the Ministry of the Imperial Court and the Minister responsible, Nikolai Petrov, answered correspondence only after several months.<sup>44</sup>

While he did have some experience of choral conducting, having directed the concerts of the Russian Musical Society from 1867-69<sup>45</sup> and worked with the choir of the Free Music School from 1868-74,<sup>46</sup> Balakirev did not himself conduct the choir in public concerts: this was left to the singing teachers Stepan Smirnov, Evstafii Azeev and Aleksandr Kopylov. According to his pupils Vasilii Zolotarev and Pallady Bogdanov, however, he did attend rehearsals regularly, aiding and advising the choirmasters.<sup>47</sup> The principal singing teacher at this time was Stepan Smirnov, a former chorister and one of the first graduates of the Instrumental Class, who was first appointed to the Kapella on 18 July 1867, and promoted to senior teacher in 1878.<sup>48</sup> Smirnov was a highly experienced choirmaster who, from 1878 until 1903, conducted the choir of the Kapella in the great majority of their public concert performances. According to all reports, Smirnov's work with the singers achieved outstanding results, and an article written early in the 1900's lamented that:

With the death of Smirnov the miraculous pianissimo of the Chapel choir also died.<sup>49</sup>

The orchestra of the Instrumental Class also gave concerts in the Kapella. These concerts, or musical evenings as they were called, given under the direction of Eduard Napravnik, Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov, improved the financial standing of the Class and, at the same time, raised its profile. Repertoire included a number of symphonies by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, orchestral works by Liszt, Wagner, and

Glinka, as well as orchestral arrangements by Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov, written specially for the Class.<sup>50</sup>

According to the Senate ruling on the Bakhmetev/Tchaikovsky case in 1880 the director of the Kapella retained the power of censorship over sacred music intended for performance in a liturgical setting (see p.274). In his book Stareishii russkii khor [The oldest Russian choir] Muzalevsky states that the role of the Kapella as a censorship body continued to grow under Balakirev's leadership.<sup>51</sup> This view is borne out by the many copies, held in the Historical Archive in St. Petersburg, of letters rejecting works submitted to the Kapella by hopeful composers. It is clear, however, that these works were now assessed solely on their musical value, and not according to the political or personal agenda of the director. Balakirev took a firm stand, refusing to compromise his own high artistic values, and steadfastly rejected any works which did not meet his artistic criteria. He demanded that all new works display an excellent grasp of harmony, and replied to one hopeful composer that:

The observance of the rules of harmony must be as well-known to competent musicians as the observance of grammatical rules to literate people.<sup>52</sup>

Rimsky-Korsakov took little part in either the censorship of new works or the continual power struggles between the officials of the court, the Kapella, and the church. He had no interest in the political wranglings of the various departments and, unlike his predecessors L'vov and Bakhmetev, was not prepared to exploit his power for personal gain or advancement. Nikolai Kompaneisky described his attitude in his

article 'Znachenie N. A. Rimskogo-Korsakova v russkoi tserkovnoi muzyke'  
[The significance of N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov in Russian church music]  
published in 1908:

During this period [from the time of Bortnyansky to that of Rimsky-Korsakov] only the sacred works of directors of the Kapella or those rivals who did not endanger their fame - precentors Turchaninov, Lomakin, Vorotnikov and others who harmonized distorted melodies - were printed ... Rimsky-Korsakov's opinion on the monopoly is shown by the following words [contained] in a letter to myself: 'I am always inclined to stand against any censorship and this includes [the censorship of] sacred music'. These were not mere words. When the question of censorship of sacred music arose Rimsky-Korsakov put his signature to one of the first protests presented to the Synod by composers.<sup>53</sup>

Prior to their appointment to the Kapella neither Balakirev nor Rimsky-Korsakov had shown any particular interest in writing for the Orthodox church. Both, however, composed and arranged a number of sacred works in the early years of their tenure.

Shortly after taking up his appointment Balakirev composed several small-scale sacred works and arranged a number of chant melodies for the choir of the Kapella. The earliest of these works - a set of six sacred pieces in four parts - date from 1883, although they did not appear in print until 1900 when they were published by Gutkheil' under the title Sbornik tserkovnykh sochinenii i perelozhenii [Collection of church

compositions and arrangements].<sup>54</sup> Some of these works, such as the four-part So svyatymi upokoi [Rest with the holy ones], are chordal throughout, making use of very simple harmonic progressions. Others, such as the setting of Da vozraduetsya dusha tvoya [Rejoice o my soul] for eight-part choir, are in ternary form, beginning and ending in homophonic style, with a contrasting contrapuntal middle section which generally makes use of imitation (see example 5).

Ex.5: M. A. Balakirev: Da vozraduetsya dusha tvoya [Rejoice O my soul]

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves labeled S (Soprano), A (Alto), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The music is homophonic. The lyrics for the Soprano part are: "Da voz-rad-ya du-sha tvoya re-joice o my soul".

The second system of the musical score continues the four-part setting. It begins with a measure marked with a '5' above the staff. The tempo marking "[Un poco più mosso]" is placed above the staff. The lyrics for the Soprano part are: "o - sue - te, do - tu - spu - sy cna". The lyrics for the Alto part are: "- ga. o - sue - te, o - sue - te do - tu - spu - sy cna -".

10

ce - mu - a

o - sue - te

o - sue - te

so - tu

tu - sy - na -

15

ce - mu - a

u o - gen - go - to te - ce - mu - a, te -

ce - mu - a

u o - gen - go - to te -

u o - gen - go - to te -

20

rit .....

ce - mu - a

te - ce - mu - a

ce - mu - a

te - ce - mu - a

te - ce - mu - a

te - ce - mu - a

Tempo 1

25

Da tog - pa - gy - et - ce sy - ya to - e o bo - no - ge.

30

o - ko me - hu - sy tog - no - mu - tu te - hu.

35

o - ko me - hu - sy tog - no - mu - tu te - hu.

Handwritten musical score system 1. It consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The second and third staves contain vocal lines with lyrics in Cyrillic: "u r - ko, u. r - ko ne - tec -". The bottom staff is a bass clef. The music is in a simple, folk-like style.

Handwritten musical score system 2. It consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The second and third staves contain vocal lines with lyrics in Cyrillic: "u r - ko ne - te - oty y - kpa - cu -". The bottom staff is a bass clef. The music continues with similar notation to the first system.

Handwritten musical score system 3. It consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The second and third staves contain vocal lines with lyrics in Cyrillic: "u r - ko ne - te - oty y - kpa - cu -". The bottom staff is a bass clef. This system includes dynamic markings such as *mf* and *ff*, and a hairpin crescendo symbol. The number "45" is written above the second measure of the top staff.

Musical score for the first system, featuring vocal lines and piano accompaniment in D major. The lyrics are "У - кра - и на - го - ро -". The score includes a "Rit....." marking above the final measure.

Musical score for the second system, continuing the vocal and piano parts. The lyrics are "ss) pp)". The piano part features a prominent bass line.

Musical score for the third system, starting with a "Tempo 1" marking. The lyrics are "Да тог па - сы-ет-ца сы-ча то-е о ро-е - но-ге."

Another of Balakirev's early compositions was the setting of Khristos voskrese [Christ is risen] for trebles and altos. This was based on a traditional Orthodox melody and was sung at ceremonies held in the Kapella in the presence of the Tsar.<sup>55</sup> Like the six pieces dating from 1883 it was not published during Balakirev's tenure at the Kapella and, indeed, was not available in print until 1906.<sup>56</sup> The only work which was published between 1883 and 1894 was a setting of Dostoino est' [Meet it is] which was published by the Kapella in 1888.<sup>57</sup>

In the summer and autumn of 1887 Balakirev was again occupied with the composition of sacred music for the Kapella, although whether this was through choice or necessity is unclear. In a letter to Vladimir Stasov of 11 August 1887 he writes:

This summer I am having no luck at all with my various affairs and, on top of everything else I have to write sacred pieces for publication by the Kapella on these texts which do not have music.<sup>58</sup>

At the same time he was busy putting the finishing touches to his Penie pri arkhiereiskom sluzhenii [Chant for a service conducted by a senior member of the clergy] prior to publication. Unfortunately, however, this work has not yet come to light.<sup>59</sup>

Prior to his appointment to the Kapella Balakirev had had little experience of liturgical composition and his sacred works were not a complete success. According to Alfred J. Swan:

All he [Balakirev] knew [of the church modes] was the artificial Italo-German atmosphere of L'vov and the Court Kapella, and for this he naturally had no use

whatsoever.<sup>60</sup>

While the harmonic language of his compositions and arrangements is somewhat simpler than that of his predecessors, eschewing the rich chromatic harmonies of L'vov and Bakhmetev, it did not capture the modality of the ancient church melodies. His use of contrasting homophonic and contrapuntal sections, rather than providing a structured form, merely made the compositions appear disjointed.

In addition to his sacred compositions and arrangements Balakirev also made a number of arrangements of secular works by other composers for the singers of the Kapella. In the mid-1880's he arranged Glinka's Venetsianskaya noch' [Venetian Night], Nochnoi smotr [The Night Review], and Kolybel'naya pesnya [Lullaby], all of which were published in 1900.<sup>61</sup> Dedicated to the singing teacher Evstafii Azeev, Venetian Night in particular achieved a greater popularity in this new form than in the original. He also combined two mazurkas by Chopin (op.6 no.4 in Eb major and op.11 no.4 in Ab major) to form a single choral work with words by Aleksei Khomyakov, published in 1898.<sup>62</sup> Both the Mazurka and the setting of Venetian Night were first performed in the benefit concert for war veterans given in the Mariinsky Theatre on 19 March 1887.<sup>63</sup>

In the early years of his tenure at the Kapella Rimsky-Korsakov too composed a number of pieces for the choristers. The trip to Moscow for the coronation of Alexander III in April and May 1883 particularly inspired him and, as early as 14 April 1883, he wrote to Kruglikov informing him that he had already completed ten church psalms.<sup>64</sup> The enthusiasm continued undiminished after his return to St. Petersburg: on

17 May 1883 he completed the eight-part psalm Kto est' sei tsar' slavy [Who is this King of glory] written, at Balakirev's request, for the consecration of the Church of the Saviour on 26th May,<sup>65</sup> and on 18 July he completed a setting of the psalm Tebe boga khvalim [We praise Thee O God] for double choir, based on a Greek chant.<sup>66</sup>

Balakirev, however, was obviously unimpressed by Rimsky-Korsakov's experiments in this unfamiliar genre. In a letter to Kruglikov of 28 July 1883 Rimsky-Korsakov complained:

He [Balakirev] gave orders that my setting of Dostoino est' [Meet it is] and two settings of the Khvalite [Praise God] be learned in the Kapella, but he can't have liked them much because they sang and then abandoned them and I never even heard my own things. I've recently arranged the dogmatik in Tone 1 (znamennyi chant) and not too badly it seems, I don't think anyone had arranged it yet. In addition I've written Tebe Boga khvalim [We praise thee O God] to a Tone 3 Greek melody - it's also for double choir, and seems to have turned out rather well.<sup>67</sup>

This was not oversensitivity or paranoia on Rimsky-Korsakov's part: on the same date, 28 July 1883, Kruglikov recorded Balakirev's opinion of Rimsky-Korsakov's sacred works in his diary:

The Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim] in F major is wonderful and, frankly, is his [Rimsky-Korsakov's] only success to date. In the summer he wrote more of them; but they are all unimportant - each one is simply worse

than the next.<sup>68</sup>

Balakirev's attitude did not discourage Rimsky-Korsakov, however.

In a letter to Kruglikov dated 23 February 1884 he wrote:

I'm preparing several sacred pieces for publication. As pure music they are bad, but as applied music I think that they are suitable and that I show the true Orthodox church style: not foreign (like Bortnyansky) and not pedantically historical (like Potulov, Razumovsky, Odoevsky and other 'semi-musicians' who harmonize ancient chants intended to be sung in unison, in note against note settings).<sup>69</sup>

The sacred pieces to which he referred were the eight settings from the liturgy, now known as op.22, which included two settings of the Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim], Veruyu [I believe], Milost' mira [Peace of the world], Tebe poem [We sing to Thee], Dostoino est' [Meet it is], Otche nash [Our Father] and Khvalite Gospoda s nebes [Praise the Lord from heaven]. These compositions were approved by Balakirev on 18 May 1884 and were published by the Kapella in June of that year, together with several works by the singing teacher Evstafii Azeev, in a collection entitled Sobranie muzykal'no-dukhovnykh sochinenii Rimskogo-Korsakova i Azeeva [Collection of musical sacred compositions by Rimsky-Korsakov and Azeev].<sup>70</sup> The popularity which this first set of compositions soon achieved is described in a letter to the composer from Kruglikov dated 5 November 1884:

The sacred compositions by yourself and Azeev are widely used in Moscow. Church choirs who perform them

notify the papers that in such and such a church the new sacred works of Korsakov or Azeev will be sung by such and such a choir. Never before have such notices appeared about some church service or other.<sup>71</sup>

On 30 January 1886 Balakirev gave his approval for the publication of Rimsky-Korsakov's Sobranie dukhovno-muzykal'nykh perelozhenii [Collection of sacred musical arrangements], now known as op.22b.<sup>72</sup> The eight pieces which make up this collection are all settings of ancient liturgical melodies, principally Kievan chants. Writing in the Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta in 1908, Nikolai Kompaneisky emphasized the importance of these works:

[Rimsky-Korsakov's works] ... are of great significance as they laid down the foundation of the current trend in church music. All the pieces in this series are written on melodies borrowed from church music books, mainly of Kievan chant. They take the usual ancient musical form, the chants are performed by the kanonarkh and golovshchik, gradually the other voices enter contrapuntally as the chant is taken up by the whole choir. The individual parts are interrupted either by the whole choir or by the singing of a single voice, solo. The various textures and layering of vocal colours give this church singing something of the colour of a Russian folk chorus. In particular the character of folk song is emphasized by voices moving in parallel.<sup>73</sup>

This practice, common in Russian folk-song, where a single voice sings the first line of the chant and is then joined by the other parts is clearly demonstrated in the arrangement Chertog Tvoi vizhdu [I enter Thy hall] (see Example 6). This arrangement is also a good example of Rimsky-Korsakov's use of a harmonic idiom more often associated with folk-song: the harmonic language is based on simple triads, although chords of the seventh and chromaticisms are occasionally admitted. Movement is basically conjunct and leaps larger than a third are rare. The octave doublings, including the bass, towards the end of the piece are also particularly typical of Russian folk song.

Ex.6: N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov - Chertog Tvoi vizhdu [I enter thy hall]

The musical score is arranged for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The Tenor part has the lyrics: "Чер - тогъ Твой виж - ду Спа - се мой". The Bass part has the lyrics: "у - кра - шен - ный" and "у - кра - шен - ный и". The score includes dynamic markings like *p* and *pp*, and performance instructions like "(одинъ.)", "(всѣ.)", and "о. стев."

*cres.*

деж - - - ды не и - - мамъ да

*cres.*

о - деж - - ды не и - - мамъ да

*cres.*

*r*

вни - ду вѣонь, про - свѣ - ти о - дѣ - я - ні - е

*r*

про - свѣ - ти  
(всѣ.)

*r*

вни - ду вѣонь, про - свѣ - ти о - дѣ - я - ні - е  
(всѣ.)

*r*

*r*

ду - ши мо - е - я свѣ - то - дав - - - че

*r*

свѣ - то - дав - - - че

*r*

ду - ши мо - е - я свѣ - то - дав - - - че

*r*

свѣ - - - то - дав - - - че

и спа - си мя.

и спа - си мя.

*p*

Nikolai Kashkin also valued Rimsky-Korsakov's work highly:

While engaged at the Court Kapella, Rimsky-Korsakov wrote rather a lot of church music, and moreover, several [of his] compositions in this genre served as point of departure for a new movement in this field.<sup>74</sup>

While the arrangements do not always present the chant melodies exactly as they appeared in their original form, Rimsky-Korsakov came closer to capturing the spirit of the ancient melodies than either his predecessors or Balakirev.

Like Balakirev, Rimsky-Korsakov also arranged various works by other composers for the student orchestra and various chamber ensembles within the Kapella: these arrangements included the sextet from Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor for string orchestra; Glinka's Four variations on a chorale for string quartet; a chorus from Meyerbeer's Le Prophète for orchestra; the first movement from Mozart's Symphony in G

minor; the 'Dance of the Sylphs' from Berlioz' La Damnation de Faust; Chopin's Polonaise in A for wind band; Isabella's aria from Meyerbeer's Robert le Diable; Schubert's March in D op. 51; and three numbers from Glinka's opera Ruslan and Lyudmila - the entractes from Acts 2 and 5 and Chernomor's march.<sup>75</sup> These arrangements were frequently performed in the musical evenings given in the concert hall of the Kapella by the students of the Instrumental Class. Often the choir, too, participated in these evenings, performing secular choral works such as the chorus of elves from Weber's Oberon, the chorus of reapers from Liszt's Prometheus, the chorus of sailors and spinners from Wagner's Der fliegende Holländer, the chorus of elves from Mendelssohn's Sommernachtstraum, the Persian chorus from Glinka's Ruslan and Lyudmila, choruses from Dargomizhsky's Rogdana, and the chorus of nymphs from Schumann's Das Paradies und die Peri.<sup>76</sup>

Like the works of Balakirev, the great majority of Rimsky-Korsakov's sacred compositions were written especially for the singers of the Kapella and were published only after his death. The great majority of these choral works were written during the three years immediately following his appointment to the Kapella: after their initial forays in the style the enthusiasm of both Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov flagged and their energies were directed principally to the business of administration and teaching in the Kapella.

iii) 1895-1901

During the tenure of Anton Arensky the concert activities of the Kapella continued to flourish. The long-established benefit concerts for war veterans continued and from 1889-1902 the choir and orchestra of the Kapella also participated in concerts for the Red Cross. Each year, during the winter season, the choir gave two or three concerts to raise funds to assist students in the Instrumental Class suffering financial difficulties and also to assist the widows and orphans of choristers from the Kapella.<sup>77</sup> In addition, choir rehearsals on Saturday afternoons were open to the public and similar open rehearsals were introduced for the orchestra of the Instrumental Class (see p.99).<sup>78</sup>

Other concerts of particular note given at this time include that given to mark the centenary of Pushkin's birth in 1799.<sup>79</sup> Both the orchestra and choir of the Kapella participated, along with the choir of the Mariinsky Theatre, in a performance of Arensky's Bakhchisaraiskii fontan [The fountain of Bakhchisarai] and Anchar, and Cui's Vakkhicheskaya pesn' [Bacchic song], given in the former Tauride Palace.<sup>80</sup>

During Arensky's tenure the choir was generally divided up into three smaller ensembles: the largest ensemble (eighteen trebles, twelve altos, six tenors and ten basses) sang in the small chapel of the Winter Palace, while most of the other singers (twelve trebles, seven altos, three tenors and five basses) sang in the chapel of Maria Fedorovna. The remaining tenors and basses performed in the large chapel of the Winter Palace.<sup>81</sup> Arensky himself paid little attention to the choir,

concentrating on the work of the Instrumental Class and the student orchestra (see p.99). As a result of the excellent choral training provided during the tenure of Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov, however, in the year following Arensky's appointment the standard of performance continued to be high. A review by Ivan Lipaev of the concert given on 24 May 1896 under the direction of Stepan Smirnov noted:

The unusual mellowness of sound, the excellent intonation, and the compactness of ensemble.<sup>82</sup>

He also remarked on the singers' diction which he described as 'gentle, but clear' while, on the negative side, he noted slides in the tenor section and the excessive prominence of the deep basses.

As Arensky continued to neglect the choir standards began to drop. Following a concert given later that same year Stepan Smolensky wrote:

We were indeed very unpleasantly surprised by what we heard and saw at the Imperial Court Kapella. The constricted children's voices, the hoarseness of the octavists, insufficient purity of intonation, and an insufficient range in all types of nuances, surprised us no less unpleasantly than the works we heard performed (common chants).<sup>83</sup>

Under Arensky's leadership the censorship of all sacred compositions intended for liturgical performance continued. Sacred works submitted to the Kapella for approval were examined by a special censorship committee, consisting of teachers Aleksandr Kopylov, Evstafii Azeev, Sergei Lyapunov, Vladimir Popkov, Anatoly Lyadov and Stepan Smirnov, which then advised Arensky of its findings.<sup>84</sup> As in

Balakirev's time, a high musical standard was demanded and the most common reason for rejection was incorrect harmonization or presentation of the chant.<sup>85</sup>

During his tenure as director of the Kapella Arensky himself composed a number of works for the Orthodox church (see Appendix 14). These works were written in a somewhat secular style and owed little to contemporary thinking on the treatment of ancient chant melodies. They resembled neither the recent experiments in the genre by Rimsky-Korsakov, nor the earlier harmonizations of Aleksei L'vov. As a result they were harshly criticized by musicians and clergy who found them completely lacking in religious feeling. According to the composer and priest Mikhail Lisitsyn, however, Arensky's compositions met with a warm reception from the more far-sighted musical critics. Lisitsyn himself averred that from the artistic point of view Arensky's works represented a valuable addition to the literature of sacred music.<sup>86</sup>

iv) 1901-1917

In the years leading up to the revolution of 1905 and in the years of reaction concert activities in the Kapella were severely curtailed. As a result of the unsettled political situation and the atmosphere of fear and suspicion which reigned at the imperial court the Kapella as a whole became increasingly introspective. Links with outside institutions and societies were broken and the choir increasingly performed only in the imperial churches and palaces or in the Kapella itself.

It is clear from contemporary press reviews that although the choir gave very few public concerts at this time, the singers did, however, continue to participate in occasional celebrations to mark events of particular importance. One such event was the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Bortnyansky's birth, which was celebrated on 28 September 1901.<sup>87</sup> To commemorate this significant date a special liturgy was said in church, followed by a requiem service held at Bortnyansky's graveside. A commemorative concert was given in the Kapella in the evening.<sup>88</sup>

It appears that, with the curtailment of their concert activities, the performing standard of the choir dropped slightly at this time. Upon taking over the directorship of the Kapella in 1901 Smolensky found the choristers' technique to be quite unsatisfactory:

The [choir of the] Kapella turned out to be thoroughly incapable of making crescendos and diminuendos even in the course of a single measure (in adagio tempo), to say nothing of more subtle nuances; a pianissimo was

out of the question.<sup>89</sup>

His efforts to redeem the situation, particularly his appointment of several new members of staff - Aleksandr Chesnokov, Pavel Tolstyakov and Maksim Klimov - seem to have borne fruit. In a review of a concert given in the Kapella on 29 January 1902 Nikolai Kompaneisky wrote:

It cannot go unremarked that a certain refinement may be observed in the performance of the Kapella. The singing is more fluent, more assured, and the voices, especially the tenors, sound lighter. Evidently the singers do not restrict themselves to learning their parts, but also train their voices in the art of singing.<sup>90</sup>

Following Smolensky's resignation the post of assistant head of the Kapella was offered to Nikolai Klenovsky, who held the position until 1906. Klenovsky had studied composition with Tchaikovsky at the Moscow Conservatoire and his works include three ballets, four cantatas, and a number of orchestral pieces.<sup>91</sup> However, it appears that he did not write for the choir of the Kapella. I have found no indication of any changes made to the concert life of the Kapella under Klenovsky's leadership: it would appear that he was content merely to maintain the status quo.

With the appointment of Nikolai Solov'ev as assistant head of the Kapella in 1906 the standard of performance appears to have risen dramatically. Solov'ev intensified the study of solfeggio, held regular daily rehearsals, and worked doggedly on the singers' intonation.<sup>92</sup> His efforts would appear to have produced results. In a review in the

newspaper Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti [St. Petersburg Gazette] of the sacred concert given by the choir on 7 November 1907 A. K-v writes:

The transitions from the gentlest piano to a thunderous forte are startling. The intricate contrapuntal combinations of the newest authors are communicated remarkably exactly even by the little sopranos, from whom it would be impossible to expect this. The choir has begun to sing even better: the hands of the new assistant head of the Kapella, N. F. Solov'ev, proclaim themselves everywhere.<sup>93</sup>

And in a review of 13 February 1908, this time in the Birzhevie vedomosti [Stock-Exchange Gazette] he writes:

It was necessary to wonder at the art with which these children sang their difficult parts. The young conductor M. Bogdanov showed himself to be a master. From the time that Count Sheremetev and Professor N. F. Solov'ev came as head of the Kapella, its choir has become unrecognizable: what richness of nuance, what strength, for example in the basses!<sup>94</sup>

This improvement seems to have continued. In a review in the newspaper Teatr i sport [Theatre and sport] of 17 December 1910 we read:

Is it necessary to repeat for the hundredth time that nowhere is there a choir equal to that of the Imperial Court. It is not for nothing that foreigners speak of it with true and sincere delight. The truth of this was easy to see in yesterday's concert. The high

standard of the singing left a deep impression and there is nothing with which to compare it.<sup>95</sup>

Under Solov'ev's leadership the choir continued to perform in occasional concerts given to mark particular events and anniversaries. On 20 December 1908 a concert was given in the Mariinsky Theatre to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Russian national hymn, Bozhe tsarya khrani.<sup>96</sup> Works by Aleksei L'vov and Glinka were performed by artists of the imperial theatres, together with the choir and orchestra of the Kapella conducted by Gugo Varlikh. The first half of the programme consisted of compositions by L'vov: extracts from the opera Undina, a chorus from the Stabat Mater, the Overture and extracts from the opera Russkii muzhichok, and the second Fantasia on Russian Songs, while extracts from Glinka's opera Zhizn' za tsarya [A life for the Tsar] made up the second half.<sup>97</sup>

While Solov'ev studied composition with Zarembo at St. Petersburg Conservatoire, where he was later professor of composition, and wrote three operas, a cantata, and a symphonic picture, it is not clear whether or not he composed any sacred music.

In the years immediately preceding the October Revolution the choir of the Court Kapella rarely performed outside the imperial churches: public concerts were given only two or three times each year. Although the singers' technique continued to be of a very high standard, their performance was allegedly cold, mechanical, and impassive: all personal expression had been destroyed. In a review dating from 1916 we read:

A spirit of formalism, inhibition, and required servitude seems to have permeated all the performers,

beginning with the conductor [Maksim Klimov]. Not a spark of lively reaction to the religious ideas [embodied in the words] ... not a drop of sympathy towards the works being performed. There is much vociferation [gromoglasie], but no nuances of timbre, no flexibility of rhythm, no beautiful choral piano, no gentle pianissimo. The sopranos are weak, lacking brilliance; the altos are coarse and strident; neither is in balance with the blaring basses and 'sweetly singing' tenors. Is it really necessary for tenors in a church choir to emphasize their characteristic emotional timbre and attempt to emulate an operatic manner?! How spiritless and 'official' are all these mechanical climaxes and crescendos, the howls of the tenors, the deafening shouts of the basses, and the timidity of the boys at the slightest moments of challenge! While from the conductor there emanates only a formal, abrupt succession of tempos, nuances ... and the chilling reign of meter.<sup>98</sup>

Notes for Chapter 5

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## Conclusion

It is clear that the significance of the Kapella has been greatly underestimated in the years following its downfall. Anti-religious Soviet propaganda, the oppression of the Orthodox Church by the Soviet authorities, the suppression of sacred music, and the virtual impossibility of gaining access to sources have all combined to create a yawning gap in our knowledge of the development of sacred music in Russia during the nineteenth century.

It is difficult to overestimate the role of the Kapella: its power affected so many aspects of Russian musical life. The skill of the choristers is attested to in the most glowing terms by musicians such as Berlioz and Schumann, who were surely exacting judges, and its contribution to the concert life of St. Petersburg, both through open rehearsals and concert performances with associations such as the Philharmonic Society, undoubtedly played a significant role in the popularization of both sacred and secular choral music.

The importance of the Kapella in the development of music education in Russia should not be overshadowed by the achievements of later institutions. Until the 1880's the Kapella alone offered a specialized choral training and as all precentors were required by law to attend these classes the high standard demanded of them had a highly beneficial and far-reaching effect on the standard of performance of church choirs throughout Russia. Initial attempts by Fyodor and Aleksei L'vov to create a musical academy within the Kapella to teach instrumental music failed due to financial problems and the intrigues of their rivals, not because of any flaw in their conception, and while the instrumental

curriculum established by Aleksei L'vov in 1858 was somewhat neglected during Bakhmetev's tenure, it was later revised and expanded by Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov to rival the instrumental tuition offered by the conservatoires.

The legislation entrusting the directors of the Kapella with power of censorship over sacred music produced a mixed result. While Bortnyansky used his powers to ensure that only compositions of the very highest standard were performed during worship, his successors abused this power to varying degrees. Both L'vovs - father and son - did judge works submitted to them on musical merit, but they were also aware of political considerations and of the opportunity which this power afforded them to further their own careers and to influence the future development of sacred music. Musical considerations became less and less important until it became pointless for anyone not connected with the Kapella to submit their works. This meant that composers who otherwise might have made a considerable contribution to Russian liturgical music simply ignored the form, knowing that any sacred compositions which they might produce would never be published or performed.

The activities of the Kapella in the promotion of ancient Orthodox liturgical chant melodies, both as the basis for contemporary composition and in their own right, played a vital role in the general resurgence of interest in these melodies: volumes of chant melodies harmonized in two and four parts were issued and reissued by its directors throughout the nineteenth century, and through the introduction of legislation were adopted for general use in churches throughout Russia. The interest

which was rekindled by these publications was reflected in the growing use of sacred chant melodies in secular music. Notable examples of this can be found particularly in the works of the five composers comprising the 'Mighty Handful' - Balakirev, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin, Mussorgsky, Cui - and their followers: chant melodies permeate operas such as Rimsky-Korsakov's Skazanie o nevidimom grade Kitezhe i deve Fevronii [The legend of the invisible city of Kitezhe and the maiden Fevroniya] and Mussorgsky's Khovanshchina, as well as instrumental pieces such as Arensky's String Quartet op.35 in memory of Tchaikovsky, two movements of which are based on motifs from the requiem service.

A number of factors contributed to the decline of the Court Kapella. In the early years of the twentieth century frequent changes in the administration of the establishment destroyed the sense of tradition and continuity. The close relationship between the Kapella and the imperial court meant that the atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust which pervaded the court also affected the choristers, and so first-class musicians were replaced by politically-acceptable administrators who could not provide the necessary musical leadership. At the same time other establishments such as the Synod School and the St. Petersburg Conservatoire were growing in power and, due to the inability or unwillingness of the Kapella to move with the times, the new generation of young composers turned to other institutions and, in particular, to Moscow and the Synod School where their work was welcomed.

It is important, however, that later developments do not diminish the significance of the Kapella in our estimation. Perhaps without such a powerful predecessor the achievements of establishments such as the

Conservatoire and the Synod School would have been less great.

Appendix 1: Proposed statute for the Instrumental Class, submitted by  
A. F. L'vov to the Minister of the Imperial Court  
on 24 March 1857.

## The School of Instrumental Music at the Court Kapella

### I Personnel of the school

1. A School of Instrumental Music for thirty pupils is established in the Court Kapella;
2. This number of pupils is made up of fifteen young choristers studying string instruments and fifteen soldiers' sons from the Guards' regiments studying wind instruments;
3. The management of the School comprises the director and his assistant, both appointed by the Minister of the Imperial Court, the former chosen by the Emperor and the latter by the director;
4. The School has six teachers who are appointed and dismissed by the director and who are employed on the basis of a written contract which sets out their salary, either for a fixed period of time or by the hour. (Their salary is taken from the sum set aside in the State Treasury for the School's maintenance);
5. Young choristers are recruited to the School by the director of the Kapella and in accordance with the choristers' own wishes; soldiers' sons are appointed by agreement between the director of the School and the directorate of the Guards' regiment and the Grenadiers' corps; pupils study performance on all stringed and wind instruments, piano, and the rules of harmony and counterpoint. No payment is made;

### II Duties, rights and responsibilities of the staff of the School

6. The director of the School has complete authority and manages it on this basis:
  - a) he manages the School's expenditure - the buying of instruments, music, and all necessary equipment for the school, with appropriate accounts forwarded to the Ministry of the Imperial Court;

- b) he allocates times for classes, general rehearsals, exams and so on, and takes control of scholastic affairs in general;
  - c) he appoints and dismisses teachers and pupils on the above/below stated basis;
7. The assistant director is at the disposal of the director and carries out all his instructions in the School;
  8. The teachers are present in the School at the appointed hours and work with the pupils for the agreed period; they are also required to be present at general rehearsals, exams and meetings, and to sign the certificates of those pupils leaving the School;
  9. Regarding pension, teachers of Russian and foreign descent who hold no other position enjoy the rights and privileges accorded artists of the imperial theatres;
  10. The order of accountability follows the order of subordination: thus for any carelessness or disorder in the School the director answers to the Ministry of the Imperial Court, the assistant director to the director; teachers not fulfilling their obligations are liable, at the discretion of the director, for a monetary fine or dismissal from the School;

### III Pupils

#### A) General rules

11. The aim of the School is the teaching of instrumental music, with no concern [for any other area] of the pupils' education. Thus they receive neither food nor clothing from the School, with the exception of young singers from the Court Kapella, living in the Kapella itself, whose voices have broken but who have not yet completed their instrumental training. For the continuation of their training these last are permitted to continue living in the choristers' building if they wish, but for food and clothing each uses the sum saved during his service as chorister, held in the Treasury;
12. Soldiers' sons who do not live in the School itself arrive for their tuition at the hours appointed by the director and continue [their studies] there for as long as is deemed necessary;

13. During their training all pupils are at the disposal of the director and unquestioningly carry out all his instructions;
14. No pupil who, by birth, has the right to enter state service deprives himself of this right on entry to the School. Thus in cases of injury or other causes hindering the continuation of study in the School they are not deprived of the possibility of earning their living through other types of work;
15. Pupils may be expelled from the School before completing their studies for three reasons:
  - a) lack of ability;
  - b) carelessness or laziness, where corrective measures are not successful;
  - c) incurable illness, injury or home circumstances demanding special attention;

The validity of these reasons remains under the personal jurisdiction of the director who takes full responsibility in these circumstances;

16. The period of tuition in the School is determined by the director according to the kind of instrument which each pupil plays and on his progress;
- B) Pupils from the Choir of the Kapella and private pupils
17. Each pupil from the Choir of the Kapella pays a sum of fifty rubles on entry to the School and each subsequent year for his annual tuition. This sum is deposited in one of the credit establishments by the School Directorate and on graduation the sum is returned to the pupil together with the growth percentage;
  18. A pupil leaving the School or expelled from it before completing his studies foregoes the right to the above-mentioned sum, which is then used for the benefit of the School. However if the pupil leaves due to incurable illness, injury or family reasons deserving of special attention then the money deposited will be returned to him;
  19. Pupils are provided with their chosen instrument and on graduation return these to the School in fitting condition; in case of loss the instrument must be replaced with another of similar value, and any

- damage repaired at the pupil's own expense;
20. On successfully completing the course and receiving the certificate pupils from the Choir of the Kapella enjoy the full rights of theatre artists and may apply to take up service in the Department of the Imperial Theatres. In case of rejection they may enter another service, if they have the right by birth to do so, or may choose another kind of life and work according to their own wishes. Those whose voices have broken but who have not yet completed their instrumental training may put themselves forward for graduation on the usual basis;
  21. To enter the Department of the Imperial Theatres a graduate from the Instrumental School presents himself at the theatre office of his choice where he joins the number of candidates applying for a present or future vacancy. If his acceptance is deferred for a short time then he may continue his studies in the School in this expectation;
  22. Should two candidates of equal ability apply for one vacant position then the Theatre Directorate is obliged always to show preference to the applicant holding the certificate of the Instrumental Class. The director of the School and the teachers appointed by him may be present at these auditions;
  23. The certificates awarded on graduation are divided into three grades according to the success of each pupil. Should these pupils then enter the service of the Department of the Imperial theatres they are entitled to receive the following salaries:  
certificate no.1 - one thousand rubles;  
certificate no.2 - six hundred rubles;  
certificate no.3 - five hundred rubles;
  24. A student completing the course and receiving one of the three certificates if accepted into the service of the Department of the Imperial Theatres or another institution, will be given the sum of one hundred and fifty rubles for initial expenses;
  25. In addition, each student awarded the first-class certificate will be given the instrument on which he studied, with the inscription 'for excellent progress';

C) Soldiers' sons from the Guards' regiment

26. Soldiers' sons from the Guards' regiments are accepted into the Instrumental School by agreement between the director [of the Kapella] and the administration of the Guards' regiments and the Grenadiers' Institute. They must be between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years;
27. Soldiers' sons continue to receive lodging, board, and uniform allowance from the regiment, but are provided with instruments by the School;
28. Soldiers' sons completing the full course may also go into service in the Department of the Imperial Theatres in accordance with articles 21, 22 and 23 or, failing that, return to their regiments. In the first instance they are exempt from military service and then join the ranks of the regimental musicians with duties corresponding to their talent and standard. On return to the regiment the period of time spent studying in the School is added to the total number of years service;
29. The rules laid down for pupils from the Choir regarding the levels of certificates, financial assistance on graduation from the School, and the presentation of instruments to pupils awarded the first-class certificate also apply to soldiers' sons.

A. F. L'vov

Appendix 2: [Draft regulations of the Music School of the Court Kapella,  
later ratified by the Ministry of the Imperial Court.  
Compiled by N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov]  
St. Petersburg, summer 1883

#### Aim of the Music School

1. The Music School of the Court Kapella aims to provide a complete musical [education] and elementary general education for young choristers, and also to train musically-educated teachers and precentors in order to raise the standard of church singing in Russia;

#### Administration of the Music School

2. The head [nachal'nik] of the Court Kapella also holds the position of head [popechitel'] of the Music School;
3. The director [upravlyayushchii] of the Court Kapella also holds the position of director [direktor] of the Music School;
4. The position of inspector [inspektor] of music classes in the School is entrusted to the assistant director [pomoshchnik upravlyayushchego] of the Court Kapella;
5. The inspector [inspektor] of general classes in the School, with a salary of 900 rubles a year, is appointed with the approval of the Minister of the Imperial Court by the head of the Kapella from among the graduates of higher education institutions or those entering the teaching profession. With regard to pension, he enjoys the rights conferred by academic service, and in post and uniform his rank is that of the sixth class [civil service grade];
6. Teachers of all musical and general subjects are selected by the inspectors with the agreement of the director of the School;

#### Pupils and admission

7. All new choristers are divided into general classes in accordance with the level of their previous education; this is determined by examination, held before the beginning of the academic year\*;  
\*In selecting young choristers the Court Kapella accepts only those

who are literate.

8. Only those wishing to study music are accepted and the distribution of pupils into musical classes also takes place before the beginning of the academic year. The inspector of musical classes advises them in the choice of speciality - study of a particular instrument or theory of music and preceptors' studies - according to ability;
9. The Music School also accepts private pupils belonging to the Orthodox faith, of at least fourteen years of age, specializing in theory of music and preceptors' studies;
10. When they reach the appointed age, all pupils of the Music School are conscripted to fulfil their military service like everyone else: however, if they wish to complete their musical education at the Music School their enlistment is postponed: for young choristers - until the age of 22, and for private pupils...;

#### Teaching and examinations

11. The academic year begins in September and lasts until 1 June;
12. In both music and general departments examinations for promotion to a higher class and for graduation are held at the end of the academic year;
13. Outsiders are permitted to sit the exams on the authorization of the director of the School; they may also sit them at the director's invitation;
14. Evaluation of a pupil's progress and conduct is carried out according to a five-point system [5-excellent, 4-good, 3-satisfactory, 2-unsatisfactory, 1-weak]. Satisfactory marks are considered to be:
  - a) General subjects: not less than 3 in any subject, and not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  over all;
  - b) Musical subjects: principal subjects - not less than 4;  
compulsory subjects - not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ;

#### Musical classes and their programmes

15. The School has six music classes;
16. Musical subjects are divided into [two categories] - principal and

compulsory;

a) Principal or special subjects are:

- 1) Theory of music and preceptors' studies (harmony, counterpoint, musical form, instrumentation, composition and church singing);
- 2) Piano, violin, cello, double bass, flute, or another orchestral string or wind instrument [woodwind or brass];

b) Compulsory subjects are:

- 1) Elementary theory of music and solfeggio;
- 2) Harmony and counterpoint;
- 3) Instrumentation;
- 4) History of music: general and church;
- 5) Piano (for those not studying piano as a principal subject);
- 6) Violin (for those choosing theory of music and preceptors' studies as their specialization);
- 7) Ensemble playing;
- 8) Principles of solo singing;
- 9) Choral direction and score reading;

17. On entering the first and second music classes each pupil specializes in performance on his chosen instrument, and on transfer to the third class may exchange his former specialization for the study of the theory of music and preceptors' studies, if he so desires;

18. In the first and second classes:

- a) Principal subject - performance on a chosen instrument;
- b) Compulsory subject - elementary theory of music and solfeggio;

19. For those choosing instrumental performance as their specialization, in the third and fourth classes:

- a) Principal subject - performance on a chosen instrument;
- b) Compulsory subjects - piano, harmony, counterpoint, solfeggio and ensemble playing;

In the fifth and sixth classes:

- a) Principal subject - performance on a chosen instrument;
- b) Compulsory subjects - musical form and instrumentation, history of music and ensemble playing;

20. For those choosing theory of music and preceptors' studies as their

specialization, in the third and fourth classes:

a) Principal subjects - harmony, counterpoint, solfeggio and church singing;

b) Compulsory subjects - piano, violin and ensemble playing;

In the fifth and sixth classes:

a) Principal subjects - counterpoint, musical form, instrumentation, composition and church singing;

b) Compulsory subjects - piano, violin, ensemble playing, principles of solo singing, history of music in general and church music in particular, score reading and choral direction;

#### General classes and their programme

21. The School has five general classes;

22. The course comprises the following subjects:

1) Bible studies 2) Russian language and literature 3) Arithmetic  
4) Algebra 5) Geometry 6) Trigonometry 7) Physics 8) History,  
Russian and general 9) Geography, Russian and general 10) French  
11) Calligraphy 12) Drawing 13) Book-keeping and commercial  
economy. Pupils also study dancing;

23. The contents and size of each class are laid out in the programme below;

#### Rights and privileges of graduates of the general course

24. Young singers successfully completing the general class in the School, i.e. those achieving a mark of not less than 3 in any subject and not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  over all, enjoy the rights and privileges of graduates of the Department of the Ministry of Public Education course, 2nd class, on entering military service (and are ranked 12th grade);

25. Young singers completing the course but not satisfying the above-mentioned conditions, who successfully complete the first three classes, enjoy the rights and privileges of a graduate of the Department of the Ministry of Public Education course, 3rd class, when entering military service;

Rights and privileges of graduates of the performance course

26. Students successfully completing the full course of general subjects and also the full performance course together with all the necessary compulsory musical subjects and achieving a mark of not less than 4 in the principal study and not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in each compulsory subject receive the Diplom na zvanie Svobodnogo khudozhnika [Diploma of Free Artist] and enjoy all the rights and privileges of a graduate of the Department of the Ministry of Public Education course, 1st class, on entering military service;
27. Pupils who complete at least the first three general classes and also successfully complete the full performance course, i.e. attain not less than 4 in the principal subject, but of the compulsory subjects take elementary theory of music and solfeggio and attain not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , receive a certificate of the musical subjects passed, but this does not increase their rights and privileges as laid out in paragraphs 24 and 25;

Rights and privileges of graduates of the course in music theory and precentors' studies

28. Young singers successfully completing the full course of general subjects and the full course of theory of music and precentors' studies, i.e. obtaining not less than 4 in the principal subject and not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in all compulsory subjects, receive the Diplom na zvanie Svobodnogo khudozhnika, uchitelya muzyki i tserkovnogo peniya [Diploma of Free Artist, teacher of music and church singing] and enjoy the rights and privileges of a graduate of the Department of the Ministry of Public Education course, 1st class, on entering military service;
29. Young singers successfully completing the first three general classes, attaining at least 3 in every subject, and also successfully completing the first four classes in theory of music and precentors' studies, receive the Attestat na zvanie regenta [Certificate of precentor]; on entering military service they enjoy the rights and privileges of a graduate of the Department of the Ministry of Public Education course, 2nd class;

- Private pupils specializing in music theory and precentors' studies
30. Anyone wishing to enter [the Kapella] as a private pupil specializing in theory of music and precentors' studies submits an application to the head of the Kapella and thereupon his musical abilities and knowledge are put to a preliminary test;
  31. The full course of theory of music and precentors' studies for a private pupil consists of five classes, the first of which is a preliminary class, held for them alone, and the others the third, fourth, fifth and sixth classes of the programme for specialization in theory of music and precentors' studies.  
Principal subjects in the preparatory class are: elementary theory of music including harmony and church singing;  
In the junior course: compulsory subject - elementary study of piano;
  32. Anyone wishing to enter the preparatory class has to produce evidence of completion of the general course of the first three classes of a grammar school, modern (non-classical) secondary school, the Cadet School [a military school for children of the nobility] or six-class municipal and ecclesiastical school, or must pass the exam set for the first three classes of the Music School. Musical knowledge required for entrance to the preparatory musical class includes knowledge of treble and bass clefs, rhythm, some familiarity with church singing and elementary knowledge of the violin (reading from vocal parts). Those passing the entrance exam may be admitted directly into the fourth musical class;
  33. Private pupils must have their own violin with accessories and tuning-fork; they must also acquire the text-books and music used during the course at their own expense;
  34. The annual tuition fee of 100 rubles may be paid in two instalments of fifty rubles, payable by 1 September and by 1 January;
  35. The academic year in the preparatory class begins on - . Later than - private pupils cannot be admitted;

Rights and privileges of private pupils on graduation

36. Private pupils who successfully complete the full course of the

preparatory musical class receive the Attestat na zvanie regentskogo pomoshchnika [Certificate of assistant precentor];

37. Private pupils who successfully complete the third and fourth classes of the Music School, specializing in music theory and precentors' studies, receive the Svidetel'stvo na zvanie regenta [Certificate of precentor]; on entering military service they enjoy the rights and privileges set out in paragraph 29;
38. Private pupils producing evidence of completion of the six classes of a grammar school, modern (non-classical) secondary school, the Cadet School, four classes of the ecclesiastical seminary or passing the exam set for the full course of musical classes specializing in music theory and precentors' studies receive the Diplom na zvanie svobodnogo khudozhnika, uchitelya muzyki i tserkovnogo penie [Diploma of Free Artist, teacher of music and church singing; on entering military service they enjoy the rights and privileges set out in paragraph 28;

External students admitted to the final examination

39. External students who do not study in the Kapella but who submit evidence of completion of the courses laid out in paragraphs 31 and 38 are also admitted to the final examinations, and receive accordingly the Diplom, Attestat or Svidetel'stvo laid out in paragraphs 28, 29 and 36, and also in paragraphs 26 and 27, on condition of payment for use of the Music School, for the Attestat and Svidetel'stvo - 15 rubles, and for the Diplom - 30 rubles.

Appendix 3: Regulations and detailed programme of the Instrumental Class of the Court Kapella, compiled by the assistant director of the Court Kapella N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov, 1883

Contents:

- I Subjects of musical education.
- II Course procedure. Preparatory class.
- III Examinations and marks.
- IV Certificates.
- V Programmes.

I Subjects of musical education

1. Musical subjects taught in the Instrumental Class of the Kapella fall into two categories:
  - a) Principal subjects;
  - b) Compulsory subjects;
2. Principal subjects are those which comprise the pupil's specialization: the pupil chooses his principal subject in accordance with his own wishes and is guided by the Kapella authorities. Principal subjects are:
  - 1) Study of a stringed instrument (violin, viola, cello, double bass). Six-year course. See programme A;
  - 2) Study of piano. Six-year course. See programme A;
  - 3) Theory of music and precentors' studies (harmony and counterpoint, musical form, composition of secular and church music, church singing and instrumentation). See programme of the Precentors' Class;
3. Compulsory subjects are those which must be studied by every pupil, regardless of his principal subject. Compulsory subjects are:
  - A) For all students of the Instrumental Class, regardless of specialization:
    - 1) Theory of music and solfeggio (elementary course). Two-year course. See programme B;
    - 2) Orchestral and ensemble playing. Four-year course. See programme C;

B) For those studying a stringed instrument as their principal subject:

- 1) Theory and history of music (general education course). Two-year course. See programme E;
- 2) Study of piano. Three-year course. See programme B. In addition, violinists are required to study viola;

C) For those studying piano as their principal subject:

- 1) Theory and history of music (general education course). Two-year course. See programme E;

D) For those studying theory of music and precentors' studies:

- 1) History of music. One-year course;
- 2) Church, choral, and solo singing;
- 3) Score reading, choral and orchestral conducting;
- 4) Piano. Three-year course;
- 5) Violin. Three-year course.

## II Course procedure and the preparatory class

4. The full duration of the principal subject course of each specialization in the Instrumental Class should be six years. This six-year course is divided into two departments: junior (three years) and senior (three years). Each pupil in the Instrumental Class can spend one year more or less than the six-year period in the Instrumental Class with the agreement of the Kapella authorities who assess his progress in his particular specialization;
5. Since it is very difficult to determine conclusively a boy's ability and inclination for a particular specialization at an early age (from ten to twelve years), young choristers of this age who wish to study music make up a special preparatory class under the direction of the older pupils; here it is intended that it be possible to transfer from one instrument to another if the extent of a pupil's ability is unclear, and also that the complete removal of a pupil be possible should his abilities and diligence prove to be unsatisfactory;
6. At the beginning of their musical education none of the young choristers is allowed to specialize in theory of music and precentors' studies but chooses piano or a stringed instrument as

his principal study. He is permitted to choose this specialization only on successful completion of the course on elementary theory and solfeggio, which is compulsory for everyone, and then his study of piano or a stringed instrument becomes a compulsory rather than a principal subject. His two-year course in elementary theory and solfeggio, together with the four year course in theory of music and precentors' studies (first, second, third and fourth theoretical courses, see programme for the Precentors' Class), makes up his full six-year course (not including the preparatory class), equivalent to the courses of pupils with other specializations;

7. Pupils in the Instrumental Class may be permitted to choose two simultaneous specializations (this is not, however, permitted in the preparatory class);
8. In theoretical subjects, in case of insufficient progress, pupils are given the right to spend one year over the allotted period for the full course in a given subject;
9. The teaching of compulsory subjects is carried out in accordance with the following rules:
  - 1) On transfer from the preparatory class to the Instrumental Class a pupil is immediately enrolled in the elementary theory and solfeggio class;
  - 2) On completing the course in elementary theory and solfeggio, if a pupil wishes to continue his theoretical studies in the general education, theory and history of music class, he is immediately enrolled in the compulsory piano class;
  - 3) A pupil having completed half of the general education course in music theory and history (one year) can, if he so wishes, be transferred to specialization in theory of music and precentors' studies but, of course, to the first theoretical course;
  - 4) In a case of special progress in the compulsory study of piano and violin, a pupil may, with the agreement of the directorate, be given the right to continue study in these subjects with his former teacher after the expiry of the fixed three-year course and sitting the final exam;

### III Examinations and marks

10. Examinations are held for verification, promotion and graduation;
  - a) Exams for verification are held once or twice a year (once at the end of the academic year is compulsory) by the head of the Instrumental Class together with the teachers of individual subjects;
  - b) Exams for promotion from junior to senior department in theoretical subjects in the two-year course are held at the end of the academic year by the head of the Instrumental Class who may invite one of the teachers from the Instrumental Class to assist him if necessary;
  - c) Exams for promotion from the junior department to senior in principal subjects: performance on piano or a stringed instrument;
  - d) Exams for graduation in all principal and compulsory subjects are held by a specially appointed committee, consisting of teachers from the Instrumental Class under the chairmanship of the head of the Court Kapella and, in the absence of the director of the Kapella or his assistant or the head of the Instrumental Class, external musicians may also be invited at the discretion of the Kapella authorities;
11. To determine the final mark the average of the average mark awarded by individual members of the committee and the annual mark awarded by the teacher (which remains unknown to the members of the committee) is taken;
12. In principal subjects the satisfactory mark is considered to be not less than 4, and in compulsory subjects - not less than 3. In subjects with several sections a pupil must score not less than 3 in each section, otherwise if the average is 3 the mark is considered unsatisfactory;

### IV Certificates

13. Certificates presented on completion of the course in piano or one of the stringed instruments are divided into three classes:
  - a) The first-class certificate (Diplom) is presented to a pupil who

completes the full course of the principal study, attaining not less than 4 in the final exam and, in addition, completes the prescribed compulsory subjects for his specialization, attaining not less than 3 in each;

- b) The second-class certificate (Attestat) is presented to a pupil who completes the full course of the principal study, attaining not less than 4 in the final exam and, in the compulsory subjects, completing theory of music and solfeggio (elementary class), attaining not less than 3 in each section;
- c) The third-class certificate (Udostoverenie) is presented to a pupil who has completed at least the three-year course of the junior department for his principal study in the Instrumental Class, not including the preparatory class, attaining not less than 4 in the exam for promotion to the senior department and, in addition, completes elementary theory and solfeggio (elementary course), attaining not less than 3. The third-class certificate is only presented to those pupils who, for some reason, are unable to continue their musical education at the Kapella;

14. Certificates presented on completion of the course specializing in theory of music and precentors' studies are divided into three classes:

- a) The first-class certificate (Diplom na zvanie uchitelya teorii muzyki i tserkovnogo peniya) [Diploma of teacher of music theory and church singing];
- b) The second-class certificate (Attestat na zvanie regenta) [Certificate of precentor];
- c) The third-class certificate (Udostoverenie na zvanie regentskogo pomoshchnika) [Certificate of assistant precentor];

#### V Programmes

A) Study of piano, violin, viola, cello and double bass

Six-year course, excluding preparatory class

Principal subject

Required in the final examination:

- a) Performance of a solo piece with orchestral accompaniment;

- b) Performance of a solo piece, learned without the help of a professor, chosen by the pupil himself, but with the agreement of the teacher;
  - c) Sight-reading and transposition;
  - d) Ensemble playing (pianists) and quartet playing (string players);
- In addition:
- e) For violinists: viola;
  - For cellists: realization of figured bass;
  - For pianists: sight-reading the piano part of a trio, quartet, etc., and accompanying an instrument or voice.

### B) Study of piano

#### Three-year course

Compulsory subject for those offering a stringed instrument as principal study

Required in the final exam:

- a) Performance of a solo piece of average difficulty;
- b) Playing at sight of simple pieces, individually and in four-hand arrangements;
- c) Accompanying an instrument or voice in a piece of relative difficulty.

### C) Theory of music and solfeggio

#### Elementary course. Two years

Compulsory subject for all students, without exception

1. Notational system. G, F and C clefs. Names of the octaves;
2. Measure. Grouping. Beating time. Syncopation. Slurs;
3. Tones and semitones;
4. Scales. Construction of a major diatonic scale. Key signatures. Construction of minor scales: natural, harmonic and melodic. Accidentals;
5. Chromatic scale;
6. Determining the pitch of a melody or piece;
7. Transposition to another pitch;
8. Enharmonicism;
9. Intervals: perfect, major, minor, augmented and diminished;

10. Intervals on degrees of the major and minor harmonic scales;
11. Treatment of intervals;
12. Resolution of dissonances;
13. Decoration of melodies: appoggiatura, turn, trill, mordent;
14. Musical abbreviations and signs;
15. Formation of chords. Triads and their treatment: study of triads on degrees of the major and minor harmonic scales. Dominant 7th and its resolution;

Required in the final exam:

- a) Oral tests: explanation of all the above, sound knowledge of scales, intervals and resolutions; ability to build each triad and dominant 7th in any inversion; sound knowledge of the resolution of the dominant 7th in major and minor;
- b) Written tasks: grouping notes and construction of a bar of any simple or complex rhythm;
- c) Solfeggio: singing scales from different degrees; singing intervals, triads and dominant 7ths; distinguishing intervals and triads by ear; singing at sight in treble and bass clef, maintaining the rhythm.

#### D) Ensemble, quartet and orchestral playing

##### Five-year course

Compulsory subject for all students, without exception;

#### a) For string players:

For students in the junior department:

- 1) Performance of duets and easy ensembles, also easy orchestral pieces;

For students in the senior department:

- 2) orchestral playing, quartet and chamber music;

#### b) For pianists:

For students in the junior department:

- 1) Playing four-hand arrangements;

For students in the senior department:

- 2) playing trios, quartets, etc., and pieces with orchestra;

#### c) For those specializing in theory of music and preceptors' studies:

- 1) Playing four-hand arrangements;

- 2) Accompanying an instrument or voice;
- 3) Score reading (from score of wind parts) at the piano or harmonium in the orchestral class;
- 4) Performance of violin duets;
- 5) Ensemble playing on violin from the score of sacred works;
- 6) Orchestral playing.

E) Theory and history of music

General education course. Two years

- A) Harmony and counterpoint    B) Instrumentation    C) Musical Form  
D) History

Compulsory subjects:

A) Harmony and counterpoint:

- 1) Chords and their treatment;
- 2) Movement of parts, four-part compositions, doublings, arrangements and melodic positions of chords;
- 3) Combinations of principal triads. Treatment of triads;
- 4) Cadences: full, half and complex;
- 5) Dominant 7th, resolved on the tonic triad and its treatment;
- 6) Chord of the 7th, augmented and diminished;
- 7) Triads and chord of 7th - second stage. Their role in cadences;
- 8) Other secondary triads and chords of the 7th. Sequences;
- 9) Pitch relations and modulations to close pitches;
- 10) Modulation plan;
- 11) Suspensions, passing notes, embellishing notes and anticipations;
- 12) Chromatically altered chords;
- 13) Enharmonicism;
- 14) Melodic, harmonic and rhythmic figuration;
- 15) Figured bass;
- 16) Simple, double, etc. counterpoint;
- 17) Imitation, canon and fugue;

Required in the final exam:

- a) Oral test: explanation of all the above;
- b) Written task: figured bass, harmony, modulation;

- c) Practical: playing various cadences and short modulations (piano);
- d) Solfeggio: singing in all clefs. Distinguishing and singing chords. Writing down a simple melodic and harmonic excerpt from dictation.

## B) Instrumentation

### a) Preparatory studies:

- 1) Keys;
- 2) Transposition: in another octave, another clef and another pitch;
- 3) Two-part and three-part writing on one system;

### b) Orchestral score:

- 4) Groups of instruments: bowed, woodwind, brass, percussion.  
Independent instruments: harp, piano and organ;
- 5) Understanding scores;
- 6) Listing orchestral parts, making up a score from sectional parts, copying and transposition;

### c) Instrumentation and arrangement:

- 7) Arranging string quartet and orchestral parts for piano;
- 8) Transferring from one instrument to another;
- 9) Arranging works for orchestra;

### d) Vocal works:

- 10) Choral voices. Orchestral accompaniment;

### e) Conducting and performance:

- 11) Nuances of strength and speed. Fermata. Cadences. Conducting.

Required in the final exam:

- a) Oral test: explanation of all the above;
- b) Written tasks: piano reductions, rewriting for another instrument, etc.

## C) Musical form

### a) Elementary forms:

- 1) Motif, half-phrase and phrase;
- 2) Two-part and three-part forms;

### b) Complex forms:

- 3) Song with trio. Dances. Marches;
- 4) Variations;

- 5) Rondo and sonata form. Introduction, themes, working out, coda;
- c) Higher forms (instrumental):
  - 6) Overture. Complex sonata. Chamber music. Symphony. Fantasia;
- d) Higher forms (vocal):
  - 7) Romance, recitative, aria, opera, cantata, oratorio, mass.

Required in the final exam:

Oral test: Explanation of all the above and analysis of a musical work with regard to form and harmony.

D) History of music

- a) Music of the ancient world and the first centuries of Christianity. The development of counterpoint. Netherlands and Italian schools. The beginning of opera and instrumental music;
- b) Music from the time of Bach, Handel and Gluck:
  - 1) Oratorio;
  - 2) Development of the symphony and chamber music;
  - 3) Development of opera in France, Italy and Germany;
  - 4) Development of piano music;
  - 5) Development of virtuoso music for strings;
  - 6) Russian music;
  - 7) Music publishing;

Required in the final exam:

Oral test: Explanation of all the above.

Appendix 4: Statute of the Precentors' Class of the Court Kapella

1. Persons belonging to the Orthodox faith who wish to receive a precentor's training are accepted into the Precentors' Class as private pupils. They may belong to any [social] class, but must be at least fourteen years of age, have completed at least two years of schooling, must have some aural ability and be able to read music in treble clef;
2. Entrance examinations and admission to the Precentors' Class take place each year from 1-10 September. Studies continue until May, when examinations are held for progression and graduation. Applications for admission to the Class must be sent to the head of the Kapella by 1 September. Certificates from educational establishments (see paragraph 1) are to be submitted on application or, subsequently, on receiving a certificate on completion of the precentors' course;
3. The full course is of five years' duration, the first year of which is intended as a preparatory course and the following four years as theoretical courses;
4. The following subjects are taught in the preparatory course: elementary theory of music; harmony; solfeggio (sight-reading); church singing, and basic tuition on violin and piano;
5. In the first and second theoretical courses one year is spent on each of the following:
  - a) Principal subjects: harmony, solfeggio and church singing;
  - b) Compulsory subjects: piano and violin, playing from vocal parts, choral direction and church regulations;
6. In the third and fourth theoretical courses one year is spent on each of the following:
  - a) Principal subjects: counterpoint and fugue;
  - b) Compulsory subjects: practical composition of church music, general history of music and the history of church music in Russia, piano, score-reading and choral direction;
7. A knowledge of the subjects taught in the preparatory course is required for admittance to the first and second theoretical courses;

- for admittance to the third and fourth theoretical courses, a knowledge of the subjects taught in the first and second courses is required;
8. Private pupils in the Precentors' Class must have their own violin and accessories, a tuning-fork, and the necessary textbooks and music for the course;
  9. The sum of one hundred rubles a year is charged for study in the Precentors' Class, of which the sum of fifty rubles is payable by 1 September, and fifty rubles by 15 January;
  10. Three classes of certificate are awarded by the Court Kapella to pupils who satisfactorily pass the examinations and attain not less than 4 (on the five-point system) in their principal study, and not less than 3 in their other subjects:
    - a) students completing the preparatory course are awarded a third-class certificate and the title 'assistant precentor';
    - b) students completing the preparatory course and the first and second theoretical courses are awarded a second-class certificate and the title 'precentor';
    - c) students completing the full course are awarded a first-class certificate and the title 'teacher of church singing and theory of music';
  11. Those who have not studied in the Kapella but meet the criteria for admission (see paragraph 1) are permitted to take the examinations for these certificates from 15 September until 15 May, if they so wish:
    - a) those presenting themselves for examination from 1-15 May (within the examination period of the Precentors' Class) pay 25 rubles for a first-class certificate, 20 rubles for a second-class certificate and 15 rubles for a third-class certificate;
    - b) those presenting themselves for examination between 15 September and 1 May pay the above fees for taking the examination, which said fees are not returned on failure in the examination;
    - c) those failing the examination are accepted for re-examination only in the following academic year and on the same conditions outlined above;

12. Pupils in the Precentors' Class are required to abide by all the disciplinary rules laid down by the directorate of the Kapella.

Appendix 5: Programme of the Precentors' Class of the Court Kapella  
Compiled by the assistant director of the Court Kapella  
N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov 1883

Preparatory class

Elementary theory of music and harmony

Principal subject - 2 lessons a week

- 1) Notational system. Keys;
  - 2) Bars, grouping;
  - 3) Tones and semitones;
  - 4) Diatonic scales: major and minor (natural, harmonic and melodic);
  - 5) Chromatic scale;
  - 6) Intervals and their subdivisions;
  - 7) Intervals on degrees of the major and minor harmonic scales;
  - 8) Resolution of dissonances;
  - 9) Determining the pitch of a melody or piece;
  - 10) Decoration of a melody: appoggiatura, turn, trill, mordent;
  - 11) Musical abbreviations and signs;
  - 12) Italian musical terminology;
  - 13) Formation of chords: triads and their use. Triads on degrees of the major and minor harmonic scale;
  - 14) Chords of the 7th and their use. Dominant 7th. Chord of the 9th;
  - 15) Suspensions, passing and auxiliary notes, cadences and modulations;
- Final exam leading to the rank of precentor or promotion to the first theoretical course requires:
- a) Oral tests;
  - b) Written tasks: grouping of notes and construction of bars of any simple or complex rhythm, transposition etc.;
  - c) (for graduands) Short analysis of the easiest harmonic examples.
- Graduating mark - 4

Solfeggio

Principal subject - 2 lessons per week

Practical course

Final exam leading to the rank of assistant precentor or promotion to

the first theoretical course:

- a) Singing of scales beginning on various degrees;
- b) Singing of intervals, triads in root position and dominant 7th in root position with resolution;
- c) Rhythmically secure and fluent singing of examples in various clefs, of average difficulty. Beating time;
- d) Distinguishing intervals and triads by ear.

Graduating mark - 4

### Church singing

Junior department (Principal subject)

1 lesson per week

- 1) Short survey of the liturgy. Titles of church chants;
- 2) Learning the chants of the Court Obikhod from memory (to Gospodi vozzvakh, Bog, gospod', songs of praise and prokimny);
- 3) Singing canticles and so on to a given melody from the Court Obikhod. Division of chants into lines;
- 4) The structure of the choir and methods of positioning the parts;
- 5) Principal precentors' methods, conducting measured and unmeasured psalms, giving the note and so on.

Graduating mark - 4

### Piano

Compulsory subject (Practical course)

2 lessons per week

Final exam leading to the rank of assistant precentor requires:

- a) Performance of major and minor scales, including up to three sharps or flats, in octaves, in slow motion. Performance of an easy study (e.g. from the elementary studies of Berens);
- b) Sight-reading a chorale or sacred piece in slow tempo (in a piano arrangement).

Graduating mark - 3

## Violin

### Compulsory subject

2 lessons per week and, during the second half of the year, a special hour of reading music in the clefs used in the Court Obikhod.

### Practical course

Final exam leading to rank of assistant precentor requires:

- a) Performance of a study of elementary difficulty;
- b) Performance (in arpeggios) of triads and dominant 7th chords in all keys of up to four sharps or flats;
- c) Sight-reading (from various clefs) a vocal line from the score of the Court Obikhod or such like.

Graduating mark - 3

### First and second theoretical (precentors') courses

#### Harmony and counterpoint

Principal subject - 2 lessons per week

#### First theoretical course

- 1) Chords and their use;
- 2) Part-writing and 4-part composition;
- 3) Triads on the principal degrees of the scale and their use;
- 4) Cadences;
- 5) Triads on the secondary degrees of the scale and their use.  
Sequences;
- 6) Dominant 7th;
- 7) Minor and diminished 7th;
- 8) Secondary chords of the 7th and their combinations. Sequences;
- 9) Chord of the 9th;
- 10) Modulation to the six related pitches;
- 11) Chorale;

Exam for promotion to the second theoretical course requires:

- a) Oral tests;
- b) Written tasks: 1) chordal harmonization of a chorale (without passing-notes or suspensions);  
2) modulation exercise (moving to a closely related key and back).

## Second theoretical course

- 12) Modulation plan. Modulation to all remote keys according to the plan;
- 13) Pedal points;
- 14) Suspensions;
- 15) Diatonic and chromatic passing notes;
- 16) Auxiliary notes;
- 17) Use of suspensions and passing notes in harmonizing chorales;
- 18) Anticipation, unprepared suspensions etc.;
- 19) False sequences;
- 20) Enharmonicism and its use in modulation;
- 21) Simple and complex counterpoint, imitation, canon and fugue;
- 22) Harmonization of Orthodox church chants;
- 23) The simplest musical forms: half-phrases, phrases, two-part and three- part forms;

Final exam leading to the rank of precentor and promotion to the third theoretical course requires:

- a) Oral tests and harmonic analysis;
- b) Playing modulations on the piano;
- c) Written tasks: 1) harmonization of a chorale, with passing notes and suspensions;  
2) modulation to one of the distant keys (gradual);  
3) short enharmonic modulation.

Graduating mark - 4

Transfer mark -  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , and not less than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in the written tasks

## Solfeggio

First and second theoretical courses

Principal subject

1-2 lessons per week

Practical course, including voice leading and vocal registers.

The exam for promotion to the second theoretical course is for verification only. Final exam leading to the rank of precentor or promotion to the third theoretical course requires:

- a) Fluent and rhythmic solfeggio in all clefs;

- b) Solfeggio in two and three parts;
- c) Sight-reading examples with text;
- d) Recognising and singing every kind of chord;
- e) Dictation of melodic and harmonic examples.

Graduation mark - 4

Transfer mark - 4½

Church singing  
Senior department

Second theoretical course - 1 lesson per week

- 1) Chant notation;
- 2) Study of the harmonization of the chants in the Court Obikhod;
- 3) Familiarity with znammenyi, Greek and Bulgarian chants in the chant books;
- 4) Familiarity with the Obikhod - the new Kapella publication [presumably the Bakhmetev edition];
- 5) Performance (on piano) of melodies in the harmonizations found in the Court Obikhod;
- 6) Arrangement of sacred four-part works for three parts, from double choir to single choir and so on;

Final exam leading to the rank of precentor or promotion to the third theoretical course requires:

- a) Sight-reading chant notation;
- b) Memorization of the greatest possible number of chants from the chant books;
- c) Written tasks: 1) Harmonization from memory (approximate) of a given melody from the Court Obikhod;  
2) Arrangement of a four-part piece for three voices;
- d) To play on the piano and sing any canticle, trope, song of praise or prokimen, having only the text of the psalm in front of him.

Graduating and promotion mark - 4

Piano

(Compulsory subject) - First and second theoretical course

2 lessons per week - Practical course

Final exam leading to the rank of precentor requires:

- a) Performance of all scales and arpeggios;
- b) Performance of a study by Berens or Czerny and a piece of relative difficulty (a sonata by Haydn, Kuhnau, etc.);
- c) Accompaniment of an instrument or voice in a piece of relative difficulty (a romance by Glinka, short violin piece, etc.);
- d) Sight-reading arrangements of Orthodox sacred pieces for piano, such as the concertos of Bortnyansky.

Graduating mark - 3

Promotion mark - 3½

### Violin

Compulsory course - First and second theoretical course

2 lessons per week - Practical course

Exam for promotion from first to second theoretical course is for verification only. Final exam leading to the rank of precentor and promotion to the third theoretical course requires:

- a) Performance of all scales, triads and dominant 7th arpeggios (all positions);
- b) Performance of a study by Keiser or a study of relative difficulty by Kreutzer (all positions);
- c) Sight-reading and transposition.

Graduating mark - 3

Promotion mark - 3½

### Score reading

Compulsory subject - only in the second half of the second theoretical course

1 lesson a week on violin and 1 lesson on piano

Practical course

Final exam leading to the rank of precentor and promotion to the third theoretical course requires:

- a) Piano: sight-reading an easy four-part sacred piece (in various clefs) in slow tempo;
- b) Violin: fluent and rhythmic performance of parts from the score of a

sacred piece, in various clefs (e.g. a concerto by Bortnyansky), with sudden transitions from one voice to another without pauses.

Graduating and transfer mark - 3

#### Choral conducting

Compulsory subject - second theoretical course

Exercises in choral class - Practical course

Final exam leading to the rank of precentor and promotion to the third theoretical course requires:

- a) Conducting the choir in several canticles with solos, and anthems in various set glasy;
- b) Conducting a sacred piece and teaching a sacred piece arranged by the candidate himself (see exam in church singing);
- c) Teaching and conducting a short secular choral piece.

Graduating and promotion mark - 3

#### Church regulations

Compulsory subject - second theoretical course

1 lesson per week

- 1) Sunday vespers and matins;
- 2) Masses: John Chrysostom, Vasily the Great, Presanctified Host; Ecclesiastical service;
- 3) Prayers: [prayers of] thanksgiving and to the saints;
- 4) The requiem service;

Final exam leading to the rank of precentor and promotion to the third theoretical course requires:

Oral tests.

Graduating and promotion mark - 3

#### Choral class

Preparatory, first and second theoretical courses

Practical exercises - 1 lesson per week

Attendance at the choral class is compulsory for all students of the preparatory, first and second classes without exception; a pupil who misses choral class cannot be allowed to pass other subjects of the

Pecentors' Class. The aim of the choral class is to train pupils of the second theoretical course in conducting and rehearsing sacred and secular pieces and to give them the opportunity to try out their own arrangements (students of the third and fourth theoretical courses may also try out their compositions). Pupils of the preparatory and first theoretical class and senior pupils who are free from conducting make up the choir. The choral class, under the direction of one of the older pupils, participates in domestic worship in the performance class (prayers, vespers, etc.).

### Third and fourth theoretical (teachers' courses)

#### Counterpoint and fugue

Principal subject - third and fourth theoretical courses

1 or 2 lessons per week

- a) Simple strict and free counterpoint (two, three, four, five and many parts);
- b) Imitation;
- c) Double, triple and quadruple counterpoint;
- d) Contrapuntal treatment of a chorale or other given melody;
- e) Simple two, three and four-part fugue; five-part fugue;
- f) Double fugue and fugue with chorale;
- g) Different types of canon;
- h) Vocal fugue;

Exam for promotion from the third to the fourth theoretical course is for verification only.

Final exam leading to the rank of teacher of church singing and music theory requires:

Written tasks: four-part simple or double fugue.

Graduating mark - 4

#### Practical composition

Compulsory subject - third and fourth theoretical courses

1-2 lessons per week - Practical course

Analysis of musical forms and exercises in composition and instrumentation.

Exam for transfer to the fourth theoretical course is for verification only.

Final exam leading to the rank of teacher of church singing and music theory requires:

Presentation of a short composition for choir and orchestra (hymn, song, short cantata, etc.), written without assistance from a teacher.

Graduating mark - 3

#### Composition of church music

Compulsory subject - Fourth theoretical course

1 lesson per week - Practical course

Analysis and exercises in the composition of Orthodox church music.

Final exam leading to the rank of teacher of church singing and music theory requires:

Presentation of a large composition for choir in contrapuntal style (concerto, related to the communion verses, etc.), written without any assistance from a teacher.

Graduating mark - 3

#### History of foreign and Russian music and church singing

Third and fourth theoretical courses

Compulsory subject

- 1) Music up to Christian times;
- 2) Church and folk music of the first centuries of Christianity;
- 3) Origin and development of counterpoint;
- 4) Era of the origin and development of opera;
- 5) Development of music from the middle of the eighteenth century until the present day;
- 6) History of folk and secular music in Russia;
- 7) History of church singing: a) in the eastern church in the first centuries of Christianity;  
b) in the Russian church;
- 8) Working knowledge of the basics of kryuk notation;

Final exam leading to the rank of teacher of church singing and music theory requires:

Oral tests on all the above.

Graduating mark - 3

### Piano

#### Compulsory subject

Third and fourth theoretical courses - 2 lessons per week

Practical course with exercises in sight-reading and transposition.

Final exam leading to the rank of teacher of church singing and music theory requires:

- a) Performance of a study and piece;
- b) Accompaniment of a solo instrument or voice;
- c) Sight-reading;
- d) Transposition at sight.

Graduating mark - 3½

### Score reading and conducting

#### Compulsory subject

Third and fourth theoretical courses

Exercises take place in the choral class and orchestral class of the Court Kapella. Exercises in orchestral playing, conducting and score reading under the direction of a professor are compulsory for pupils in the third and fourth class; it is also compulsory to try out exercises in composition.

Final exam leading to the rank of teacher of church music and music theory requires:

To teach and conduct a secular exam composition for choir and orchestra, and a sacred composition for choir.

Graduating mark - 3

Appendix 6: Statute of the Precentors' Class of the Court Kapella,  
imperiallly sanctioned on 4 October 1908

1. The aim of the Precentors' Class is to train pupils of the Court Kapella as musically-educated precentors for Orthodox church choirs and as teachers of choral singing;
2. Only pupils from the Choir of the Court Kapella may study in the Precentors' Class;
3. The Precentors' Class is maintained by a sum annually received from the Ministry of the Imperial Court;
4. The Precentors' Class consists of three courses: the first is a two-year course, the second and third are both one-year courses. The number of pupils in each class is determined with the approval of the Minister of the Imperial Court;
5. The following subjects are taught in the Precentors' Class:
  - a) Fundamental subjects: harmony, counterpoint, canon, fugue, musical forms and encyclopedia, history of music, Orthodox church singing, and church regulations;
  - b) Supplementary subjects: piano, violin, voice training, and choral singing;
6. Detailed programmes of all classes and courses and the conditions governing the promotion to higher classes are sanctioned by the Minister of the Imperial Court;
7. Pupils who successfully complete the course and pass the required examinations are awarded certificates of three classes: pupils completing the first course are awarded a third-class certificate and the title 'assistant precentor'; pupils completing the second course are awarded a second-class certificate and the title 'precentor'; pupils completing the third course are awarded a first-class certificate and the title 'teacher of church singing and theory of music';  
NB. Pupils who complete the Precentors' Class with first or second-class certificates and wish to open private precentors' courses equivalent to the programmes which they have studied, may apply to the Court Kapella for a special certificate attesting to their

- ability to teach precentors' studies.
8. A certificate is awarded only when the pupil leaves the Kapella, not before, or, alternatively, when he reaches the age of sixteen. If more than a year elapses between the pupil graduating from the class and leaving the Kapella then the pupil must repeat the examination before receiving his certificate;
  9. Pupils in the Precentors' Class who complete the course and obtain one of the three certificates are entitled, when they leave the Kapella, to receive a sum from the Ministry of the Imperial Court for initial expenses, as long as this sum has not already been used in payment for their completion of the Instrumental Class: pupils holding a first-class certificate receive one hundred rubles; a second-class certificate - seventy-five rubles; and a third-class certificate - fifty rubles;
  10. With the approval of the Kapella administration, individuals of the Orthodox faith, sixteen years of age or over, who are not studying in the Precentors' Class of the Court Kapella, are permitted to sit the Kapella examinations and, should they pass the examination, are entitled to receive the appropriate certificate;  
NB. Examination of private students at the Kapella takes place each year at a time appointed by the Kapella administration and advertised in advance.
  11. Regarding the above paragraph, a private student pays the sum of twenty rubles for permission to sit the examination.

Minister of the Imperial Court Baron Frederiks

Appendix 7: Teaching and administrative staff employed in the Court  
Kapella during the period 1796-1917

This information has been gathered from a large number of files held in TSGIA and GPB, including staff lists, records of service, and official correspondence. Unfortunately the list is incomplete and in some cases only the dates of appointment or retiral are available but, as no directory of staff was maintained, it is impossible to provide a comprehensive picture.

Nachal'nik [Head]

Sheremetev, S. D.	1883 - 1895
Sheremetev, A. D.	1901 - 1917

Direktor [Director]

Bortnyansky, D. S.	1796 - 1825
Dubyansky, D. M.	1825 - 1825
L'vov, F. P.	1826 - 1836
L'vov, A. F.	1837 - 1861
Bakhmetev, N. I.	1861 - 1883
*Balakirev, M. A.	1883 - 1894
Brazhnikov, K. P.	1894 - 1895
Arensky, A. S.	1895 - 1901
Smolensky, S. V.	1901 - 1903
**Klenovsky, N. S.	1903 - 1906
Solov'ev, N. F.	1906 - 1912
Grozdov, Kh. N.	1912 - 1917

\* From this time the post of direktor was replaced by that of upravlyayushchii [director].

\*\* From this time the post of upravlyayushchii was replaced by that of pomoshchnik nachal'nika [assistant head]. The change of title did not affect the duties assigned to that official.

Inspektor [Inspector]

Tolstoy, N. Ya.	1811 - 1828
Belikov, P. E.	1829 - 1858
Oreus, N. I.	1858 - 1859
Strannolyubsky, V. V.	1859 - 1861
Somov, N. I.	1864 - 1875
Dudyshkin, Ya. P.	1875 - 1880
Karaulov, N. I.	1880 - 1883
*Rimsky-Korsakov, N. A.	1883 - 1894
Lyapunov, S. M.	1894 - 1902
Klenovsky, N. S.	1902 - 1903
Grozlov, Kh. N.	1904 - 1912
Sokolov, N. A.	1912 - 1921

\* From this time the post of pomoshchnik upravlyayushchego was created and combined with that of inspektor.

Assistant singing teachers

Gribovich, S. G.	1805 - 1823
Limitsky, F. M.	1827 - 1839
Grankin, I.	1828 - 1836
Varlamov, A. E.	1829 - 1831
Palagin, D. N.	1834 - 1839
Chudnovsky, A. I.	1839 - 1862
Malyshev, G. G.	1840 - 1850
Labetsky, P. P.	1849 - 1861
Rozhnov, A. I.	1850 - 1859
Sokolov, N. I.	1859 - ?
Dvoretzky, I. S.	1861 - 1868
Smirnov, S. A.	1867 - 1871
Polovinkin, I. D.	1868 - 1875
Azeev, E. S.	1875 - 1883
Syrbulov, F. A.	1878 - 1886
Kopylov, A. A.	1883 - ?
Popov, V. I.	1890 - 1892

Assistant singing teachers (cont.)

Popkov, V. I.	1894 - 1902
Vargin, K. K.	1897 - 1900
Chesnokov, A. G.	1902 - 1915
Tolstyakov, P. N.	1902 - 1904
Klimov, M. G.	1902 - 1903
Bogdanov, P. A.	1904 - 1906
Noskov, D. G.	1906 - 1913
Klimov, M. G.	1907 - 1913
Pavlovsky,	- 1827 -

Singing teachers

Timchenko, Ya.	1796 - 1808
Kozlovsky, P.	1797 - 1801
Makarov, F. F.	1801 - 1821
Kudlai, N. P.	1808 - 1823
Brezhinsky, S. G.	1818 - ?
Gribovich, S. G.	1823 - 1843
Turchaninov, P. I.	1827 - 1833
Rubini, D. G. B.	1831 - 1841
Palagin, D. N.	1839 - 1850
Vorotnikov, P. M.	1843 - 1848
Lomakin, G. Ya.	1848 - 1861
Malyshev, G. G.	1850 - 1859
Rozhnov, A. I.	1859 - 1878
L'vov, L. F.	1861 - 1862
Labetsky, P. P.	1861 - 1862
Chudnovsky, A. I.	1862 - 1868
Picciolli, A.	1862 - 1869
Krupitsky, V. G.	1870 - ?
Polovinkin, I. D.	1875 - 1879
Kavalli, I. I.	1868 - 1883
Smirnov, S. A.	1871 - 1903
Azeev, E. S.	1883 - 1902

Singing teachers (cont.)

Syrbulov, F. A.	1886 - 1900
Bragin, K. A.	1898 - 1908
Kedrov, N. N.	1902 - ?
Sofronov, V. S.	1902 - ?
Klimov, M. G.	1903 - 1905
Bogdanov, P. A.	1906 - 1913
Klimov, M. G.	1913 - 1917
Pashkevich, V. A.	c.1840 - ?
Rybasov,	c.1840 - ?
Facciotti	- 1841 -
Drobish'	- 1834 -

Violin

Bohm,	1839 - 1844
Peredery, I. V.	1857 - 1911
Maurer, V. V.	1858 - 1869
Kremenetsky, M. F.	1858 - 1893
Maurer, V. V.	1858 - 1869
Latyshev, P. I.	1859 - 1880
Krasnokutsky, P. A.	1884 - 1900
Shtaak, K. F.	1891 - 1896
Borisov, D. A.	1892 - 1894
Solnyshkin, V.	1893 - 1898
Zolotarev, V. A.	1894 - ?
Akimenko, F. S.	1895 - 1902
Vargin, K. K.	1896 - 1902
Anikin, E. A.	1897 - 1920
Sivov, V. D.	1898 - 1903
Mikhailov, P. V.	1899 - 1903
Kryuger, E. E.	1900 - 1922
Kamensky, B. S.	1901 - 1903
Mikhailovsky, B. A.	1905 - 1917
Maurer, L. W.	1839 - 1844
Palagin, D. N.	1837 -

Violin (cont.)

Drobish, F.	c.1796 - ?
Romberg,	1839 - ?

Viola

Krasnokutsky, P. A.	1884 - 1900
Kornilov, S. V.	1898 - 1919

Cello

Drobish, F.	c.1796 - ?
Meingardt,	1839 - 1844
Knekht,	? - 1844
Markus, K. K.	1858 - 1901
Elpidov, M. P.	1893 - 1907
Piorkovsky, L. I.	1904 - 1922
Gaaze, L. M.	1906 - 1908

Double Bass

Memel',	1839 - 1844
Ferrero, G. O.	1858 - 1877
Zhdanov, V. A.	1877 - 1908
Slovachevsky, M. S.	1891 - 1922

Flute

Chiardi, Ts.	1858 - 1871
Vatershtad, F. I.	1887 - 1896
Semenov, A. N.	1896 - 1919

Oboe

Brod,	1845 - ?
Lebedev, I. F.	1887 - 1914
Amosov, G. I.	? - ?

### Clarinet

Drobish, F. D.	1834 - 1836
Nidman, K. A.	1858 - ?
Kavallini, E.	1862 - ?
Fishman,	1887 - 1893
Arkad'ev, P. A.	1893 - 1918

### Bassoon

Platsatka, I. K.	1887 - 1914
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### Horn

Shollar, F. F.	1886 - 1922
Franke, A. K.	1887 - 1895

### Trumpet

Sadovsky, K. K.	1887 - 1900
Armsgeimer, I. I.	1900 - 1922
Belkin, S. S.	1887 - 1919

### Trombone

Belkin, S. S.	1887 - 1919
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### Piano

Drobish, F.	1834 - 1836
Promberger,	1858 - 1870
Kanille, F. A.	1858 - 1862
Rybasov, I. O.	1872 - 1877
Gol'dshtein, E. Yu.	1877 - 1883
Kopylov, A. A.	1883 - ?
Reikhart, A. V.	1884 - 1902
Popkov, V. I.	1890 - 1902
Shtaak, K. F.	1891 - 1896
Gorbunov, A. Ya.	1891 - 1919
Shchiglev, M. R.	1892 - 1902
Vargin, K. K.	1892 - 1902

Piano (cont.)

Komarova, E. Ya.	1903 - 1922
Poletika, A. I.	1906 - 1919
Abutkov, A. B.	1907 - 1913
Nozdrin, N. D.	1908 - ?

Harp

Shollar, F. F.	1886 - 1922
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Percussion

Semenov, A. N.	1896 - 1919
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Harmony

Gabertsetel', I. K.	1859 - 1862
Bertol'd, K. F.	1862 - 1864
Hunke, I. K.	1864 - 1883
Shchiglev, M. R.	1883 - 1902
Rimsky-Korsakov, N. A.	1884 - 1885
Lyadov, A. K.	1885 - 1902
Vishnevsky, I. A.	1892 - 1899
Sokolov, N. A.	1892 - 1922
Abutkov, A. V.	1907 - 1913

Theory

Grankin	c.1832 - ?
Linitzky	c.1832 - ?
Ferrero	c.1860 - ?
Hunke, I. K.	1864 - 1883
Kopylov, A. A.	1872 - 1897
Syrbulov, F. A.	1878 - ?
Lyadov, A. K.	1884 - 1900
Sokolov, N. A.	1886 - 1922
Vyshnevsky, I. A.	1892 - 1899
Lyapunov, S. M.	1894 - 1902
Akimenko, F. S.	1895 - 1902

Theory (cont.)

Stepanov, K. P.	1895 - 1907
Barmotin, S. A.	1898 - 1902
Cherepnin, N. N.	1898 - 1900
Stepanov, V. I.	1899 - 1907
Chesnokov, A. G.	1901 - ?
Tolstyakov, P. N.	1901 - ?

Solfeggio

Lyadov, A. K.	1885 - 1920
Shchiglev, M. R.	1892 - 1902
Vishnevsky, I. A.	1892 - 1899
Stepanov, K. P.	1895 - 1907

Quartet class

Krasnokutsky, P. A.	1899 - 1900
Aloiz, V. F.	1900 - 1918

Orchestral class

Rimsky-Korsakov, N. A.	1883 - 1893
Krasnokutsky, P. A.	1893 - 1894
Markus, K. K.	1894 - 1901
Cherepnin, N. N.	1898 - 1900
Vladimirov, M. V.	1901 - 1917

Music history

Puzyrevsky, A. I.	1899 - 1907
Preobrazhensky, A. V.,	1902 -

Composition

Lyapunov, S. M.	1894 - 1902
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Appendix 8: Concerts given by the St. Petersburg Philharmonic Society  
in conjunction with the Court Kapella

Date	Composer	Title
24.03.1802	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
31.03.1802	"	" "
09.03.1803	"	<u>Die Jahreszeiten</u>
16.03.1803	"	" "
06.04.1804	"	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
15.03.1805	"	" "
23.03.1805	Mozart	Requiem
30.03.1805	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
21.12.1805	Himmel	<u>Te Deum</u>
28.02.1806	Haydn	<u>Die Jahreszeiten</u>
21.03.1806	Handel	<u>Messiah</u>
23.12.1806	Sarti	<u>Te Deum</u>
06.03.1807	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
27.03.1807	Mozart	<u>Davidde penitente</u>
	A. J. Romberg	<u>Te Deum</u>
05.03.1808	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
18.03.1808	Mozart	<u>Ave verum corpus</u>
	Haydn	<u>Te Deum</u>
18.02.1809	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
18.03.1809	"	<u>Die Jahreszeiten</u>
22.12.1809	"	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
16.03.1810	"	<u>Die Jahreszeiten</u>
31.03.1810	Cherubini	Mass no.1
22.12.1810	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
23.02.1811	"	" "
16.03.1811	Cherubini	Mass no.1
22.12.1811	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
08.04.1812	T. von Ferguson	Oratorio
06.03.1813	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>

Date	Composer	Title
27.03.1813	Beethoven	<u>Christus am Oehlberge</u>
	Himmel	<u>Vater unser</u>
21.12.1813	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
19.02.1814	Handel	<u>Messiah</u>
12.03.1814	Beethoven	<u>Christus am Oehlberge</u>
	A. J. Romberg	<u>Das Lied von der Glocke</u>
21.12.1814	Himmel	<u>Vater Unser</u>
	A. J. Romberg	<u>Te Deum</u>
	J. S. Bach	Mass in B minor: Sanctus
08.03.1815	Mozart	<u>Davidde penitente</u>
01.04.1815	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
22.12.1815	"	<u>Die Jahreszeiten</u>
01.03.1816	"	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
23.12.1816	"	" "
15.02.1817	H. Müller	<u>Der Erzengel Michael</u>
08.03.1817	Mozart	<u>Davidde penitente</u>
	Beethoven	<u>Christus am Oehlberge</u>
22.12.1817	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
07.03.1818	A. Feuchtnner	<u>Te Deum</u>
28.03.1818	H. Müller	<u>Der Erzengel Michael</u>
05.03.1819	Pergolesi	<u>Stabat Mater</u>
20.03.1819	Mozart	<u>Davidde penitente</u>
	Beethoven	<u>Christus am Oehlberge</u>
21.12.1819	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
19.02.1820	Cherubini	Requiem
	Mozart	<u>Davidde penitente</u>
17.03.1820	Haydn	<u>Die Jahreszeiten</u>
22.12.1820	Beethoven	<u>Christus am Oehlberge</u>
	Mozart	<u>Davidde penitente</u>
28.02.1821	Graun	<u>Der Tod Jesu</u>
22.12.1821	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
23.02.1822	Graun	<u>Der Tod Jesu</u>
21.12.1822	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>

Date	Composer	Title
31.03.1823	Mozart	Requiem
	Mozart	<u>Davidde penitente</u>
26.03.1824	Beethoven	<u>Missa solennis</u>
26.02.1825	Hummel	Mass
	A. J. Romberg	Psalm 110
31.03.1826	Mozart	Requiem
08.04.1826	I. G. Müller	Benefit concert for widow of I. G. Müller
	D. A. Shelikhov	
24.04.1826	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
02.03.1827	Cherubini	Mass no.2
23.03.1827	"	" "
22.02.1828	Mozart	Requiem
14.03.1828	Cherubini	Mass
.03.1828	Rossini	<u>Moses</u>
19.12.1828	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
27.03.1829	"	" "
24.03.1830	A. J. Romberg	Psalm 110
	Mozart	<u>Davidde penitente</u>
11.03.1831	J. Fuchs	<u>Bog [God]</u>
09.04.1831		Benefit
09.03.1832	Cherubini	Mass no.1
23.03.1832	Mozart	Requiem
	Fux	<u>Ave verum corpus</u>
	Haydn	Finale to Part 1 of <u>Die Schöpfung</u>
01.03.1833	Beethoven	Mass in C
15.03.1833	Cherubini	Mass no.4
25.03.1833	Beethoven	Mass in C
17.03.1834	A. F. L'vov	Three Psalms
	"	<u>Bozhe Tsarya khрани</u> [God save the Tsar]
19.03.1834	Pergolesi	<u>Stabat Mater</u>

Date	Composer	Title
09.04.1834	Cherubini	Mass no.2
16.03.1835	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
29.03.1835	L'vov	Benefit
	Weber	
	Meyerbeer	
10.04.1835	"	
22.02.1836	Mendelssohn	Psalm 36
	Haydn	'Spring & Summer' from <u>Die Jahreszeiten</u>
07.03.1836	"	'Autumn & Winter' from <u>Die Jahreszeiten</u>
	Beethoven	Symphony no.9
13.03.1837	Beethoven	<u>Christus am Oehlberge</u>
23/7.03.1837	E. Fesca	Psalm 103
26.02.1838	F. Schneider	<u>Das Weltgericht</u>
12.03.1838	Mozart	Requiem
14.03.1838	Mendelssohn	<u>St. Paul</u>
23.02.1839	Cherubini	Requiem
09.03.1839	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
06.03.1840	S. Neukomm	Psalms 45 & 46
27.03.1840	J. Elsner	<u>Triumph des Evangeliums</u>
09.03.1841	Berlioz	Requiem
11.03.1842	Fuchs J.	<u>Pyotr Velikii</u> [Peter the Great]
	Graun	<u>Der Tod Jesu</u>
28.03.1842	"	"
25.04.1842	Rossini	<u>Stabat Mater</u>
30.04.1842	"	" "
06.03.1843	Sarti	Requiem
02.04.1843	-	Charity concert
19.02.1844	S. Neukomm	Psalms 45 & 46
	Beethoven	<u>Meeresstille und gluckliche Fahrt</u>

Date	Composer	Title
04.03.1844	"	Symphony no.9
10.03.1845	Mozart	Requiem
27.02.1846	F. David	<u>Le Désert</u>
27.03.1846	"	" "
17.02.1847	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung</u>
1848	Mendelssohn	<u>Elijah</u>
4.02.1849	Mozart	Requiem
29.03.1850	Cherubini	Mass no.2
05.03.1851	Mendelssohn	<u>Athalia</u>
02.03.1852	A. F. L'vov	<u>Bozhe Tsarya khrani</u>
	"	<u>Stabat Mater</u>
	Haydn	<u>Die Schöpfung part 1</u>
14.03.1853	Mozart	Requiem

Appendix 9: Sacred Compositions by D. S. Bortnyansky

\* Numbering used is that found in P. I. Tchaikovsky's Polnoe sobranie sochinenii D. S. Bortnyanskago [Complete collection of the works of D. S. Bortnyansky] vols.1-10 (Moscow, 1881-2)

I Works for three solo voices with choir

1. Is polla eti [Hail to thee]
2. Da ispravitsya molitva moya no.1 [Let my prayer rise]
3. " " " " no.2 " " " "
4. " " " " no.3 " " " "
5. " " " " no.4 " " " "
6. Arkhangel'skii glas [The archangel's voice] (znamennyi chant)
7. Voskresni, Bozhe [Let God arise]
8. Nadezhda i predstatel'stvo [Hope and protection]
9. Three-part liturgy including: Slava i nyne, Edinorodnyi Syne [Glory now and forever, only-begotten Son]; Gospodi pomilui [Lord have mercy]; Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim]; Veruyu [I believe]; Tebe poem [We sing to thee]; Dostoino est' [Meet it is]; Otche nash [Our Father]; Khvalite Gospoda s nebes [Praise the Lord from heaven]
- Blagoslovi, dushe moya, Gospoda [Bless the Lord O my soul]<sup>7</sup>
- Blazhen tot, kto sebya [Blessed is he]<sup>2</sup>
- K komu pribegnu inomu [I run to him]<sup>2</sup>

II Works for four-part choir

10. Slava i nyne, Edinorodnyi Syne [Glory now and forever, Only-begotten son] (Kievan chant)
11. Kheruvimskaya no.1 [Song of the Cherubim]
12. " no.2 " " " "
13. " no.3 " " " "
14. " no.4 " " " "
15. " no.5 " " " "
16. " no.6 " " " "
17. " no.7 " " " "
18. Dostoino est' [Meet it is]



Son]

40. Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim]
41. Nyne sily nebesnyya [Now the heavenly hosts] (Kievan chant)
42. Vkusite i vidite [O taste and see]
43. Vecheri Tvoeya tainyya [Of thy mystical supper]
44. Da molchit vsyakaya plot' cheloveka [Let all mortal flesh keep silence]
45. Tvoryai angely svoya dukhi [Creating the souls of angels]
46. V pamyat' vechnuyu [To the eternal memory] no.1
47. " " " " " " " " no.2
48. Vo vsyu zemlyu izyde veshchanie ikh [In all the lands] no.1
49. " " " " " " " " " " no.2
50. Raduitesya, pravednii, o Gospodne [Rejoice, ye righteous, in the Lord]
51. Yavisya blagodat' Bozhiya no.1 [Present yourself before the grace of God]
52. " " " " no.2
53. " " " " no.3
54. " " " " no.4
- Slava Otsu i synu [Glory to the Father and the Son] (Kievan chant)<sup>3</sup>
- Blagovestikh pravdu [The bells ring out the truth]<sup>2</sup>
- Dnes' Khristos na Iordan priide [This day Christ came to Jordan]<sup>4</sup>
- O pashkha veliya [Of holy Easter]<sup>2</sup>

#### IV Works for four-part choir

55. Tebe, Boga, khvalim [We praise thee O God] no.1
56. " " " " " " " " no.2
57. " " " " " " " " no.3
58. " " " " " " " " no.4

#### V Works for double choir

59. Tebe, Boga, khvalim [We praise thee O God] no.1
60. " " " " " " " " no.2
61. " " " " " " " " no.3
62. " " " " " " " " no.4

63. " " " " " " " " no.5  
 64. " " " " " " " " no.6  
 65. " " " " " " " " no.7  
 66. " " " " " " " " no.8  
 67. " " " " " " " " no.9  
 68. " " " " " " " " no.10

VI Concertos for four-part choir

69. Vospoite Gospodevi pesn' novu [Sing unto the Lord a new song]  
 70. Torzhestvuite dnes', vsi lyubyashchii Siona [Triumph this day, all ye who love Sion]  
 71. Gospodi, siloyu Tvoeyu vozveselitsya Tsar' [The King shall joy in thy strength, O Lord]  
 72. Voskliknite Gospodevi, vsya zemlya [Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands]  
 73. Uslyshit tya Gospod' v den' pechali [The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble]  
 74. Slava v vyshnysh Bogu [Glory to God in the highest]  
 75. Priidite, vozraduemsya Gospodevi [O come let us rejoice in the Lord]  
 76. Milosti Tvoya, vo vek vospoyu [I will sing of the mercies of the Lord for ever]  
 77. Sei den', ego zhe sotvoril Gospod' [This is the day which the Lord hath made]  
 78. Poite Bogu nashemu, poite [Sing praises to God, sing praises]  
 79. Blagosloven Gospod', yako uslysha glas [Blessed is the Lord for He hast given ear unto my voice]  
 80. Bozhe, pesn' novu vospoyu Tebe [I will sing a new song unto Thee O God]  
 81. Raduitesya Bogu, Pomoshchniku nashemu [Sing unto God our strength]  
 82. Otrygnu serdtse moe slovo blago [My heart is enflamed with the good word]  
 83. Priidite, vospoim, lyudie [Come, O ye people, let us sing]  
 84. Voznesu Tya, Bozhe moi, Tsaryu moi [I will exalt thee! O my God]  
 85. Kol' vozlyublenna seleniya Tvoya, Gospodi! [How amiable are Thy inharbitance, O Lord]

86. Blago est' ispovedatisya Gospodevi [It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord]
87. Reche Gospod' Gospodevi moemu [The Lord said unto my Lord]
88. Na Tya, Gospodi, upovakh [In Thee, O Lord, do I put my trust]
89. Zhivyi v pomoshchi Vyshnyago [He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High]
90. Gospod' prosveshchenie moe [The light of Christ illuminates us all]
91. Blazheni lyudie, vedushchii voskliknovenie [Blessed are the people that know the joyful sound]
92. Vozvedokh ochi moi v gory [I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills]
93. Ne umolchim nikogda, Bogoroditse [We, unworthy, shall never cease glorifying the power, O Mother of God]
94. Gospodi Bozhe Izrailev [O Lord, God of Israel]
95. Glasom moim ko Gospodu vozzvakh [I have cried to the Lord with my voice]
96. Blazhen muzh, boisia Boga [Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord]
97. Voskhvalyu imya Boga moego s pesniyu [I will praise the name of God with a song]
98. Uslyshi, Bozhe, glas moi [Hear my voice, O God]
99. Vsi yazytsy, vospleshchite rukami [O clap your hands all ye people]
100. Skazhi mi, Gospodi, konchinu moyu [O Lord, let me know mine end]
101. Vskuyu priskorbna esi, dusha moyaya? [Why art Thou lamentable, O my soul?]
102. Da voskresnet Bog [Let God arise]
103. Gospodi, kto obitaet v zhilishche Tvoem? [Lord, who shall abide in Thy tabernacle?]
- Chashchu spasenie [The cup of salvation I will take]<sup>8</sup>
- Na tya, Gospodi, upovakh [To thee, Lord, our hopes]<sup>2</sup>
- Nadeyushchiisya na Gospoda [He that trusts in the Lord]<sup>7</sup>
- Blazhen muzh [Blessed is the man]<sup>2</sup>
- Bozhe, sud Tvoi tsarevi dazhd' [O God, give thy judgement]<sup>5</sup>
- Gotovo serdtse moe, Bozhe [My heart is ready, God]<sup>9</sup>
- Raduitesya, lyudie i veselitsa [Rejoice people and be glad]<sup>8</sup>

VI Concertos for double choir

104. Ispovemsya Tebe, Gospodi, vsem serdtsem moim [We will confess thee, O Lord]
105. Khvalite, otrotsy, khvalite Gospoda [Praise the Lord, ye young ones]
106. Priidite i vidite dela Bozhiya [O come and see the works of God]
107. Kto vzydet na goru Gospodnyu? [Who will ascend the hill of the Lord]
108. Nebesa povedayut slavu Bozhiyu [The heavens declare the glory of God]
109. Kto bog velii, yako Bog nash [Who is so great a god as our God?]
110. Slava v vyshnykh Bogu [Glory to God in the highest]
111. Vospoite, lyudie, bogolepno v Sione [Sing people in Sion]
112. Se nyne blagoslovite Gospoda [Bless the Lord this day]
113. Utverditsya serdtse moe o Gospode [My heart is secure in the Lord]

Miscellaneous

- Concerto - Bogootets ubo David (6 parts)<sup>4</sup>
  - Svyatyi Bozhe [Holy God]<sup>6</sup>
  - So svyatymi upokoi [With the holy prophets]<sup>6</sup>
  - Vechnaya pamyat' [Eternal memory]<sup>6</sup>
  - Slava i nyne, Deva dnes' (Greek chant)<sup>9</sup>
  - Slava i nyne, priidite ublazhim (Bulgarian chant)<sup>2</sup>
  - Slava i nyne (Gerasimov chant)<sup>2</sup>
1. F[addei] B[ulgarin], 'Deistvitel'nyi statskii sovetnik Dmitry Stepanovich Bortnyansky' [State Concillor Dmitry Stepanovich Bortnyansky] Severnaya pchela 118 (1825) pp.5-6
  2. TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.2673
  3. Contained in Sobranie chetyregolosnykh i trexgolosnykh dukhovnykh pesnei [Collection of four-part and three-part sacred songs] (St. Petersburg, 1834)
  4. Rytsareva, M., Kompozitor D. S. Bortnyansky [The composer D. S. Bortnyansky] (Leningrad, 1979) p.245
  5. Contained in Sobranie chetyregolosnykh dukhovnykh pesnei

- upotreblyaemykh pri Vysochaishem Dvore [Collection of four-part sacred songs used at the imperial court] (St Petersburg, 1834)
6. Contained in Recueil de Chants Religieux Russes a capella (Paris, n.d.)
  7. TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.1106 p.204 Concert programme 15 December 1865
  8. Moskovskoe vedomstvo 98 (1795) Advertisement
  9. TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.1689 p.1 List of repertoire 1895-97

Appendix 10: Sacred Compositions by A. F. L'vov

i) Concertos

Glagoly moya vnushi [Inspire my words]<sup>1</sup>

Gospodi vo svete litsa Tvoego poidem [Lord in the radiance of your face]<sup>1</sup>

Prikloni Gospodi, ukho Tvoe [O Lord incline thine ear]<sup>1</sup>

Uslyshi Gospodi molitvu moyu [Hear my prayer O Lord]<sup>1</sup>

Vozlyublyu Tya Gospodi [I love thee O Lord]<sup>1</sup>

ii) Sacred works for three, four and eight-part choir

Arkhangel'skii glas [The archangel's voice]<sup>2</sup>

Blagoobraznyi Iosif [The noble Joseph]<sup>4</sup>

Blagosloven gryadyi [Blessed is he that cometh]<sup>1</sup>

Blagoslovi dushe moya Gospoda [Praise my soul, O Lord] (Greek chant)<sup>2</sup>

Da ispolnyatsya usta nasha [Let our mouths be filled] (Kievan chant)<sup>6</sup>

Da ispravitsya molitva moya [O Lord hear my prayer] (Kievan chant)<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " " " " " 2

Da molchit vsyakaya plot' [Let all mortal flesh keep silence]<sup>1</sup>

Da vozraduetsya dusha moya [Rejoice O my soul]<sup>2</sup>

Dostoino est' no.1 [Meet it is]<sup>1</sup>

" " no.2 " " " 1

" " no.3 " " " 2

" " no.4 " " " 5

Is polla eti [Hail to thee]<sup>3</sup>

Kheruvimskaya no.1 [Song of the Cherubim]<sup>1</sup>

" no.2 " " " " 1

" no.3 " " " " 2

" no.4 " " " " 2

Kheruvimskaya " " " " (arr.)<sup>7</sup>

Khvalite imya Gospodne [Praise the name of the Lord]<sup>1</sup>

Milost' mira [Peace of the world] (Yaroslav chant)<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " " (TTB)<sup>1</sup>

Nyne otpushchaeshi raba Tvoego [Now lettest thou thy servant]<sup>1</sup>

Nyne sily nebesnaya [Now the heavenly hosts]<sup>2</sup>

Otche nash no.1 [Our Father]<sup>1</sup>

" " no.2 " " 1

Penie na liturgii sovershaemoi Arkhiereem [Chant for the liturgy for the ordination of an archbishop]<sup>1</sup>

Postimsya postom [We observe the fast]<sup>1</sup>

Postyashchesya bratie [Fasting brothers]<sup>1</sup>

Prechistomu Tvoemu obrazu [To thy pure image]<sup>1</sup>

Predlozhiv tainuyu post trapezy [Having offered the mystic repast]<sup>1</sup>

Predstoyashche krestu [To the impending cross]<sup>1</sup>

Priide post [Come Lent]<sup>1</sup>

Priidite vseмирное uspenie [Come universal death]<sup>2</sup>

Prizri na ny, vsepetaya [Watch over us, all-perfect one]<sup>2</sup>

Slava otsu i synu [Glory to the Father and the Son]<sup>6</sup>

Slava v vyshnykh Bogu [Glory to God in the highest]<sup>1</sup>

Stikhira na rozhdestvo Khristogo [Canticles on the birth of Christ]

(arr.)<sup>3</sup>

Svete tikhii [O gladsome radiance]<sup>1</sup>

Svyshe prorotsy [The prophets from above]<sup>1</sup>

" " (TTB)<sup>1</sup>

Tebe odehyshchagosya svetom [Who clothest thyself in light]<sup>1</sup>

Uyazvennuyu moyu dushu [My wounded soul]<sup>1</sup>

Vecheri tvoeya tainyya [Of thy mystical supper]<sup>1</sup>

Vizhd' moyu skorb' i bolezni [Having beheld my sorrow and illness]<sup>2</sup>

Vizhd' tvoya prebezzakonnaya dela [Having beheld your unlawful act]<sup>4</sup>

Vsechestnoe vozderzhanie [Sanctified abstinence]<sup>1</sup>

Vskuyu univayushi [To all who are cast down]<sup>1</sup>

Vzbrannoi vovodi no.1 [Chosen by the Lord of Hosts] (Kievan chant)<sup>1</sup>

" " no.2 " " " " " " 1

Zhelayushche bozhestvennaya paskhi prichastititsya [To take the sacrament of Holy Easter]<sup>1</sup>

1. Cited in the catalogue of L'vov's musical compositions held in GPB f.124 P. L. Vaksel' ed.khr.2591

2. Cited in Lisitsyn, M. A., Obzor dukhovno-muzykal'noi literatury [Survey of sacred musical literature] (St. Petersburg, 1901)

3. Contained in the collection Dukhovnyya sochineniya A. L'vova [Sacred compositions by A. L'vov] published by Ershov (St. Petersburg, c.1855)
4. Cited in a concert programme of 15 January 1904, TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.2907 p.13
5. Cited in TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.2889
6. Contained in the collection Stikhira v velikuyu subbotu na zautreni vo vremya tselovaniya plashchanitsy [Stikhera for Matins on Great Saturday to be sung during the kissing of the shroud of Christ] (n.p., n.d.)
7. Contained in TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.1689 p.1 List of the choir's repertoire May 1895-97

Appendix 11: Sacred Compositions by N. I. Bakhmetev

- Angel vopiyashe [The angel cries out]<sup>1</sup>  
Blazheni yazhe izbral [He has chosen the blessed]<sup>2</sup>  
Bozhe moi ne udalisya ot mene [My God do not leave me] (concerto)<sup>3</sup>  
Da ispravitsya molitva moya [O Lord hear my prayer]<sup>4</sup>  
Da voskresnet Bog [God is arisen]<sup>1</sup>  
Dostoino est' [Meet it is] no.1<sup>4</sup>  
" " " " " no.2<sup>4</sup>  
Dukh Tvoi Blagii [Thy blessed spirit]<sup>3</sup>  
Egda slavnyi uchenitsy [Thy glorious disciples]<sup>5</sup>  
Gospodi shto sya umnozhisha [Lord who in increasing]<sup>6</sup>  
Gospodi vo svete litsa Tvoego poidem [Lord in the radiance of your  
face]<sup>6</sup>  
Gospodi vozlyubikh [Lord, those who love thee]<sup>7</sup>  
Kheruvimskaya [Song of the cherubim] no.1<sup>4</sup>  
" " " " " no.2<sup>4</sup>  
" " " " " no.3<sup>4</sup>  
" " " " " no.4<sup>4</sup>  
" " " " " no.5<sup>4</sup>  
" " " " " no.6<sup>8</sup>  
" " " " " no.7<sup>8</sup>  
" " " " " no.8<sup>8</sup>  
" " " " " no.9<sup>8</sup>  
Khristos voskrese [Christ is risen]<sup>1</sup>  
Khvalite Gospoda s nebes [Praise God from heaven]<sup>6</sup>  
Milost' mira [A mercy of peace]<sup>4</sup>  
Nyne sily nebesnyya [Now the heavenly host]<sup>4</sup>  
Otche nash [Our Father]<sup>4</sup>  
Pod tvoeyu milost'yu [By your peace]<sup>4</sup>  
Pomoshchnik i pokrovitel' [Helper and protector]<sup>9</sup>  
Simvol very [A symbol of faith]<sup>10</sup>  
Tebe Boga khvalim [We praise thee O Lord] (concerto for 2 choirs)<sup>8</sup>  
" " " " " " " " " no.1<sup>8</sup>  
" " " " " " " " " no.2<sup>8</sup>

"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	no.3 <sup>s</sup>
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	no.4 <sup>s</sup>
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	no.5 <sup>s</sup>
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	no.6 <sup>s</sup>
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	no.7 <sup>s</sup>
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	no.8 <sup>s</sup>
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	no.9 <sup>s</sup>
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	no.10 <sup>s</sup>

Tebe poem [We sing to thee]<sup>4</sup>

Telo Khristovo priimite [Take the body of Christ]<sup>1</sup>

Vecheri tvoeya tainyya [Of thy mystical supper]<sup>6</sup>

Veruyu [I believe]<sup>4</sup>

Vzyde Bog [Confer O God]<sup>3</sup>

29 Prichastnykh stikh [29 communion verses]<sup>3</sup>

1. Contained in Sbornik tserkovnykh pesnopenii [Collection of church chants] (Paris, n.d.) published by Bessel
2. TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.2889 List of approved works
3. Cited in Lisitsyn, M. A., Obzor dukhovno-muzykal'noi literatury [Survey of sacred musical literature] (St. Petersburg, 1901)
4. Cited in GBL f.380 k.9 ed.khr.1
5. Included in concert programme of 15 January 1912 TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.2673 p.627
6. Cited in GPB f.805 op.1 ed.khr.32 Bakhmetev, N. I.: Materialy
7. Included in concert programme of 4 December 1864 TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.1106 p.188
8. Cited in Il'insky, A. A., Biografii kompozitorov s IV-XX vek [Biographies of composers from the 4th-11th centuries] (Moscow, 1924)
9. Included in concert programme 14 February 1864 TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.1106 p.76
10. TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.1357a p.10 Letter from N. I. Bakhmetev to K. P. Pobedonosev no.2553 22 May 1880

Appendix 12: Sacred Compositions by M. A. Balakirev

Angel vopiyashe [The angel cries out]<sup>1</sup>

Da molchit vsyakaya plot' [Let all mortal flesh keep silence] (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

Da vozraduetsya dusha [Rejoice O my soul]<sup>2</sup>

Dnes' izhe na razumnykh prestolyakh [Today it is on mindful altars]  
(arr.)<sup>3</sup>

Dostoino est' [Meet it is] no.1 (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim] (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

Khristos voskrese [Christ is risen] (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

" " " " " 4

" " " " " 5

So svyatymi upokoi [With the holy prophets]<sup>2</sup>

Svyshe prorotsy [The prophets from above]<sup>2</sup>

1. Cited in Lyapunova, A. S., M. A. Balakirev: Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva [M. A. Balakirev: Chronicle of his life and work] (Leningrad, 1967) p.419

2. Cited in Timofeev, G., 'M. A. Balakirev' Russkaya mysl' 7 (1912) p.72

3. GPB f.41 op.1 ed.khr.259 Autograph

4. GPB f.41 op.1 ed.khr.261 Autograph

5. GPB f.41 op.1 ed.khr.262 Manuscript copy

Appendix 13: Sacred Compositions by N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov

Chashu spaseniya [The cup of salvation] (arr.)<sup>1</sup>

Chertog tvoi vizhdu, Spase moi [I enter thy hall, my Saviour] (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

Da molchit vsyakaya plot' [Let all mortal flesh keep silence] (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

Dostoino est' [Meet it is] no.1<sup>3</sup>

" " " " " no.2<sup>1</sup>

Irmosy Kanona na utreni v Velikuyu Subbotu [Irmosy of the morning kanon  
for Great Saturday]<sup>4</sup>

Kheruvimskaya [Song of the Cherubim] no.1<sup>3</sup>

" " " " " no.2<sup>3</sup>

" " " " " no.3

" " " " " no.4<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " no.5<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " no.6<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

Khvalite Gospoda s nebes [Praise God from heaven]<sup>3</sup>

" " " " " " " " no.1 (arr.)<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " " " " no.2 (arr.)<sup>1</sup>

Krestu tvoemu [Before thy cross] (Kievan chant)<sup>1</sup>

Kto est' sei tsar' slavy [Who is the King of Glory]<sup>1</sup>

Milost' mira [A mercy of peace]<sup>3</sup>

Na rekakh Vavilonskikh [By the rivers of Babylon] (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

Otche nash [Our Father]<sup>3</sup>

Raduitesya pravednii [Rejoice ye righteous] no.1 (arr.)<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " no.2 (arr.)<sup>1</sup>

Se zhenikh gryadet [See the bridegroom cometh] (arr.)<sup>2</sup>

Spasenie sodelal esi [You have created salvation]<sup>1</sup>

Tebe Boga khvalim [We praise thee O Lord]<sup>1</sup>

Tebe poem [We sing to thee] no.1<sup>3</sup>

" " " " " " no.2<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " " no.3<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " " no.4<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " " no.5 (arr.)<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " " no.6 (arr.)<sup>1</sup>

Tvoryai Angely svoya dukha [The Angelic Host] (arr.)<sup>1</sup>  
V pamyat' vechnyu [The memory of the righteous] (arr.)<sup>1</sup>  
Veruyu [I believe]<sup>3</sup>  
Vo vsyu zemlyu [In all the earth] (arr.)<sup>1</sup>  
Voskresnyi prichastnyi stikh (arr.)<sup>2</sup>  
Vsemirnuyu slavu [Glory to the whole world]<sup>3</sup>  
Vzyde Bog [Arise O God]<sup>1</sup>  
Znamenasya na nas svet litsa [Bestow on us the light of your  
countenance] (arr.)<sup>1</sup>

1. Contained in Sobranie dukhovno-muzykal'nykh sochinenii i pereložhenii N. A. Rimskogo-Korsakova dlya smeshannogo khora [Collection of sacred musical compositions and arrangements for mixed choir by N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov] edited by E. S. Azeev (St. Petersburg, 1915)
2. Contained in Rimsky-Korsakov, N. A., Sobranie dukhovno-muzykal'nykh pereložhenii [Collection of sacred musical arrangements] (St. Petersburg, 1886)
3. Contained in Rimsky-Korsakov, N. A., Sobranie dukhovno-muzykal'nykh sochinenii [Collection of sacred musical compositions] (St. Petersburg, 1884)
4. Published in St. Petersburg by Schmidt, no date given

Appendix 14: Sacred Compositions by A. S. Arensky

Kheruvimskaya [Song of the cherubim] no. 1<sup>1</sup>

" " " " " no. 2<sup>2</sup>

" " " " " no. 3<sup>3</sup>

Khvalite Gospoda s nebes [Praise God from heaven]<sup>1</sup>

Khristos voskrese [Christ is risen]<sup>1</sup>

Otche nash [Our Father]<sup>1</sup>

Tebe poem [We sing to thee]<sup>1</sup>

1. Cited in TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.1667 p.71 Letter from the Kantselyariya of the Synod to A. S. Arensky 8 January 1897 no.117
2. Cited in TSGIA f.499 op.1 ed.khr.1667 p.128 Letter from the Kantselyariya of the Synod to A. S. Arensky 5 December 1897 no.7454
3. Approved by the Office of Sacred Censorship on 17 March 1903 and published by Jurgenson

## Appendix 15: Russian language texts quoted in translation

### Chapter 1

29. Гусин, И. Л. и Ткачев, Д. В., Государственная академическая капелла имени М. И. Глинки (Ленинград, 1957) стр.28:  
Учение малолетних придворных певчих генералбасу не только не полезно, но может отвлечь от нужнейших познаний, приличных будущему состоянию их должностей.
42. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.297 л.3:  
Певческий дом был без всякого призора, и мебели, не было даже приличного места для пения, в спальнях не было ни порядочных кроватей, ни постельного приличного белья.
43. Локшин, Д. Л., Ленинградская государственная академическая капелла имени М. И. Глинки (Москва, 1955) стр.8:  
Я обучался петь у г. Бортнянского и при имени его я с удовольствием воображаю многие репетиции ... Он был артист снисходительный, добрый, любезный.
52. Гарднер, И., <Алексей Федорович Львов> Православный путь (1970) стр.124-34:  
1) Все певцы обладают исключительно хорошими голосами;  
2) Все голоса поставлены по лучшей итальянской методе;  
3) Как весь ансамбль, так и соло, партии великолепно выучены;  
4) Как находящийся на государственной службе специально в качестве церковных певчих, хор Капеллы образует одно целое и не зависит от разных случайностей, а певцы не посвящают своей деятельности посторонним делам.
56. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.297 л.3:  
Ученики разделены на классы по способностям. В младшем классе учат музыкальной азбуке. В среднем чтению нот, и разчету в мере. В старшем выражению и пению отдельному, или соло.

57. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.297 л.4:

Хор встречается по вторникам, четвергам и субботе для концертного репертуара, обучения и ревизии – они изучают пение с II ч. до 2 ч., иногда меньше. Для генерального церковного репертуара и изучения напевов, положенных в четырехголосную гармонию Архиепископу Турчанинову, хор встречается по понедельникам, среде и пятнице, в те же времени.

61. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.297 л.5:

Детской стол дешевле прежнего и лучше; одеты они опрятнее и во время публичных проб поют в собственном платье. Столовое белье, тюфяки, подушки, байковое одеяло, и весьма достаточное количество постельного белья фламского полотна также приобретены.

62. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.297 л.6:

Установлен в производстве дел надлежащий порядок. Заведены Входящая и Исходящая журналы. Приходная и расходная книги. Должностная переписка и проч(ее). Поелику же особым чиновников на сей предмет определенных не умеется, то в свободное от должности время Инспектор и Губернер занимают сим делом.

63. Локшин, Д. Л., Замечательные русские хоры и их дирижеры (Москва, 1963) стр.22:

Нет достаточных средств к приличному обучению малолетних певчих. Дети обучаются только пению, не получая никакого образования. Положение певчих тяжелое, оклады небольшие.

64. ЦГИА ф.472 оп.І ед.хр.3 л.І:

Я ... встретил многие недостатки как в отношении воспитания малолетних певчих, так и в отношении хозяйственной части сего заведения ... нет достаточных средств к приличному обучению и к надлежащему за детьми надзору ... Если ограничить предмет сего заведения одним пением, сей предмет удовлетворен в полной мере, но буде принять в уважение что до 60 малолетних в Корпусе живущих детей требуют некоторого образования, некоторого приуготовления их или к службе или к каждому либо свободному художеству, что самое помещение

сих детей и внутренняя распорядка относительно содержания и упражнений их требуют должного надзора и порядка.

69. ЦГИА ф.1109 оп.1 ед.хр.59 л.33:

Усматривая, что большая часть малолетних пр(идворных) певчих, имея решительную способность к музыке, в свободные часы играют сами собою и без всякого почти руководства на скрипках и просят приказать их учить сему искусству; соображая при том, что если мальчики сим порядочно выучены будут, тогда откроется им новый путь при выпуске их из певческой капеллы за спадением с голосов, и во многих из них развоятся музыкальные способности, в которых оркестры Императорских театров могут иметь нужду, я осмеливаюсь исправивать соизволения Ваше Святлость а учредить в певческой капелле особый класс Инструментальной музыки.

70. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр.2925 л.3:

Разрешает:

1. Из наличного числа малолетних певчих избрать до 30 и более, способнейших и желающих учиться Инструментальной (кроме духовой) музыке;
2. Класс музыки назначить после обеда;
3. По усмотрению Вашему, нанять способного и знающего учителя, с тем, чтобы он обучал малолетних играть на всех инструментах, где употребляется смычок; расход он наняем сего учителя, который однако же не должен превышать 1,200 рублей в год, производить на счет экономической суммы Певческой капеллы, в Сохранной Казне обращающейся;
4. Музыкальные инструменты, как то: скрипки, альты, виолончелы и контрабасы, купить на счет каждого ученика, избравшаго для упражнений своих тот или другой инструмент. По увольнении же такого ученика, инструмент его оставлять в Капелле, а ему выдать из общей экономической суммы ту сумму, которая была при покупке заплачена за оный;
5. Ежегодно производить испытание в успехах обучающихся музыке, и представлять Министру Императорского Двора об отличившихся;

6. По выборе из больших Придворных Певчих одного, занимающагось Инструментальною музыкою, назначить его Помощником учителя музыки, с производством ему за сие не большаго жалованья, из 1,000 руб(лей), на учителей по штату определенных, с тем, чтобы он ежедневно наблюдал за упражнением учащихся;
7. Оказавшихся по времени неспособными из сего класса выключать, и убыльня места замещать другими;
8. Если некоторые из способнейших малолетних певчих, будучи близки к спадению с голоса, не успеют утвердиться в инструментальной музыке, таковых по спадении с голоса переводить в театральную школу, с согласия Начальства оной, если выпущенный певчий того пожелает, а в Школе будет ваканция;
9. Если же учащийся дойдет уже до того, что будет тверд, как в свободном чтении нот в самом трудном их сложении, так и в самом исполнении искусен, такового при выпуске из Капелли, буде пожелает, назначать в Оркестры Императорских Театров, с приличным жалованьем по мере искусства его, разумея в таком случае, когда Директора Театров изъявят на принятие оного свое согласие.

81. Орлова, А. А., Летопись жизни и творчества М. И. Глинки (Ленинград, 1978) стр.114:

Высочайше повелено назначить флигель адъютанта Львова исправляющим должность директора, а титулярного советника Глинку капельмейстером с жалованьем 1500 р. и столовых 1000 р.

82. Глинка, М. И., Записки (Москва, 1988) стр.75:

Когда в первый раз явился я для преподавания с мелом в руке, мало нашлось охотников; большая часть больших певчих стояла поодаль с видом недоверчивым, и даже некоторые из них усмехались. Я, не обращая на то внимания, причялся за дело так усердно и, скажу даже, ловко, что после нескольких уроков все почти большие певчие ... приходили ко мне на лекции. Мой способ преподавания состоял в разборе скалы, означения полутонов, следственно, изыскания причины употребления знаков повышения и понижения; впоследствии писал я на доске двухголосные короткие задачи (Σάτζε), заставляя сперва сделать

разбор, потом спеть одну, потом разобрать и спеть другую партию, потом всех вместе, стараясь образовать слух учеников моих и выверить голоса их.

87. Глинка, М. И., Записки стр.77:

Мои занятия с певчими шли весьма успешно, и я видел быстрые успехи учеников моих, которые начали уже разбирать ноты довольно свободно.

89. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.293І л.І:

Самый значительный в церковной музыке недостаток в России есть разнообразие и неправильность в исполнении оной в разных епархиях, где регенты будучи большего частью люди не образованные и не имеющие случая слышать как исполняют церковную музыку в Придворной певческой капеллы, обучают хоры каждый по своему разумению и вовлекаясь более и более в грубые ошибки, водворяют в несравненное наше церковное пение такая несообразности, которая без особенного сожаления слышать не возможно.

90. ГПБ ф.І3:

1. Рег(ентские) кл(ассы) открыты для всех желающих обучаться регентскому делу;
2. Окончившим классы выдается аттестат на право обучать певческие хоры церковному пению;
3. Преподавателями в классах состоят учителя пения и их помощники;
4. Плата за обучение в классах: младш(ем) – 30 р(ублей); среднем 150 р(ублей); высшем – 300 р(ублей) в год (эта плата идет на содержание преподавателей).

97. ЦГИА ф.ІІ09 оп.І ед.хр.59 л.ІІ0:

Студенты должны быть:

1. не моложе 25 лет и иметь о церковной музыке хотя некоторое понятие;
2. должны быть снабжены приличною одеждою, скрипкою со смычком, камертоном и деньгами до 30 руб(лей) сер(ебром) на покупку нот;
3. в капелле они обязаны находиться ежедневно от 9 ч(асов) утром до

часа пополудни. Продовольствие и квартиры их от капелли не зависят;

4. каждый ученик при поступлении в класс регентов вносит за свое годовичное обучение 30 руб(лей) сер(ебром);
5. в класс регентов могут поступать люди всякого сословия и с голосами самыми слабыми, но имеющие умственные способности для своего будущего назначения;
6. время, которое ученик должен пробыть в Капелле, будет зависеть от его способности и старания; а поэтому если по истечении года он еще не кончит меньшого курса, то обязан вновь внести 30 руб(лей) сер(ебром) за продолжение учения еще на год.

99. Львов, А. Ф., О церковных хорах (Ст. Петербург, 1853) стр.5-6:

Регент, для надлежащего исполнения своей обязанности, должен знать:

1. выбирать разнородные голоса для поступления в хоре;
2. гамму, или азбуку, всех нот и их наименованиями и интервалами;
3. все тоны, или лады;
4. переносить умственно данный тон на другой посредством камертона;
5. способ правильного и верного произношения слов и звуков;
6. таблицу аккордов;
7. правильное и неправильное последование тонов;
8. разделение нот на такты разного размера, и свободное чтение нот;
9. небезполезно знать употребление какого либо музыкального инструмента, по крайней мере столько, сколько нужно для поверки и руководства поющих.

I04. ЦГИА ф.И109 оп.1 ед.хр.59 л.35:

По назначении меня в должность директора Придворной певческой капеллы, убежденный в пользе, какая произойти может от учреждения прочного класса инструментальной музыки ... я решился на самом деле сделать опыт, и взяв лучших учителей инструментальной струнной музыки, ожидать, какие через некоторое время окажутся успехи в учащихся. Восемь месяцев достаточно были для удостоверения, что молодые люди, и некоторые из них оказали способности превосходящие всякие ожидания. Просьба обратить внимание: опыт показал

необходимость инструментальных классов и составление нового проекта, рассчитанного на 5 лет. Через 5 лет будут результаты и отпадет необходимость в иностранцах.

106. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр.2927 л.4:

1. Для сего класса назначается из числа малолетних певчих от 15 до 20 человек;
2. Такое назначение делается по собственному желанию воспитанников, равно предоставляется им самим избрание инструмента, к которому каждый более чувствует способности;
3. Директор Капелли обязан избрать по одному учителю для скрипки, виолончеля и контрабаса (на сем последнем инструменте могут учиться и большие певчие) и назначить часы для учений в сем классе;
4. Те из учеников, которые спадут с голосов, не окончив еще инструментального учения, представляются к выпуску на прежних правилах, не лишаясь званий, коих они удостоятся, а для продолжения учения инструментального дозволяется им оставаться на жительстве в Корпусе, с тем, чтобы на стол их и одежду употреблялись у каждого собственная экономическая сумма, сберегаемая из определенного от казны содержания во время служения их певчими;
5. Капельмейстеру Гвардейского Корпуса поставляется в обязанность избрать из лучших музыкантов Гвардейских полков тех, которые остается дослуживать в полках от 4 до 5 лет, предназначая их, по получении отставки, к помещению в Театральные оркестры, и именно для двух флейт, двух гобоев, двух кларинетов, двух фаготов, трех волторн, двух труб и одной литавры, всего 14 человек. В случае убыли сих музыкантов, она пополняется таким же образом;
6. Продолжая обязанности свой по службе в полках, они собираются в Корпусе Придворной певческой капелли один раз в неделю для общаго класса;
7. Тем из сих музыкантов, которые, дослужив срок в полках, не окончат еще учения в инструментальном классе Корпуса, дозволяется сохранять их звание и пользоваться содержанием в

полку еще некоторое время, но не более одного года;

8. Каждый музыкант, как из полковых, так и из учеников Капелли, окончив полное учение инструментальной музыки, снабжается аттестатом, за подписанием Директора и того учителя, у которого он учился;
9. Аттестаты сии трожого рода:
  - а) Аттестат под №1, выдается тому из учеников, который талантом своим превзойдет достоинство оркестренно музыканта, а предоставляет ему совершенную свободу в избрании образа службе и занятий. Таковыя поступают в Театральныя Дирекции, буде оныя пожелают, с жалованием по 2500 рублей в год, и пользуются правами Театральных артистов;
  - б) Все прочие музыканты, по выходе из Корпуса, поступают в Театральные оркестры с жалованием по Аттестату под №2 2000 рублей в год, а по аттестату под №3 1500 рублей и также пользуются правами Театральных артистов;
10. Дирекциям поставляется в обязанность, при двух кандидатах одинакого таланта, на одно вакантное место, всегда предпочитать стороинему или иностранцу того, который имеет аттестат Придворной Капелли;
11. Ежели Дирекции в некоторого из сих музыкантов, надобности иметь не будут, то им предоставляется избрать под службе и занятий по их собственному выборы;
12. Каждому воспитаннику, кончившему ученье и получившему аттестат, выдается при выпуске по 500 р(ублей) ассигнациями на первоначальное обзаведение.

109. Львов, А. Ф., <Записки> Русский архив 5 (1884) стр.80:

(Я) завел все, что нужно для полезного образования учеников: выписал из Парижа инструменты, правильно сделанные и разной величины, собрал множество нот знаменитых сочинителей, употребил на все это до 12 тысяч р(ублей) ассиг(нациях) собственных денег. Дело шло лучше чем ожидать было можно.

II3. Львов, А. Ф., <Записки> стр.80:

Экзамен был отличный, и пять музыкантов по общему одобрению назначены в придворный оркестр. В эту минуту я был истинно в восторге, положив основание делу столь полезному; эта минута вознаградила меня за все: за труды, за время, за расходы. Мои молодые люди, видя первые плоды своих трудов, готовились еще с большим рвением продолжать занятия.

II5. Львов, А. Ф., <Записки> стр.80:

В один вечер и в один час получаю две бумаги: одну от директора театров, что представленные мною к выпуску музыканты в дирекцию приняты, и другую и тем же посланным директором от министра, что Государь Император, за неимением свободных сумм, приказал класс закрыть. Читая эту бумагу, я не верил глазам моим; я не мог воздержаться слез, такая несправедливость казалась мне невозможной.

II7. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.59 л.70:

1. Полковым музыкантам приказано больше не ходить в класс;
2. Учителям прекратить их уроки;
3. Из числа учеников, занимавшихся музыкою, некоторый приисланы служебныя места;
4. Инструменты вообще от всех музыкантов отобрали и в надлежащем порядке находятся в Капелли.

I2I. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.І054а л.І:

Ежегодно более и более затруднения приискывать им служебныя места, как по множеству желающих занять оныя, так по ограниченности предлагаемого содержания, и считая обязанностию озаботиться будущностию малолетних ввыпьемых их родителями попечению Правительства, я немог обратитъ внимания на убедительныя просьбы многих из них, которые просят обучаться инструментальной музыке, имея в виду чрез то свободнее снискивать себе средства к существованию, или здесь в С.Петербурге, или в одной из внутренних губерний где учителя музыки весьма редки, а во многих губерниях и во все их нет.

122. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр.1122 л.52:

Положение о школе инструментальной музыки при Придворной Певческой Капелле.

I Состав школы и порядок определения в оную

1. При Придворной Певческой Капелле и в доме ея, учреждается школа инструментальной музыки на 30 учеников;
2. В число учеников полагаются: 15 из малолетних Придворных певчих для игранья на струнных инструментах и 15 из кантонистов Гвардейских полков, готовящихся в музыканты, для игранья на духовых инструментах;
3. Управление школы составляют: Директор и его Помощник, оба назначаются Министром Императорского Двора, первый по непосредственному его избранию и Высочайшему Государя Императора утверждению; а последний по избранию Директора;
4. При школе состоят 6 учителей, избираемых и увольняемых ея Директором, по письменным с ними условиям, в которых определяется и плата им, в известные сроки, или по часам. Плата их производится из отпускаемых Государственным Казначейством на содержание школы ежегодно 3,500 рублей серебр(ом) к которым в первый год имеет быть прибавлено, для начального обзаведения, еще единовременно 2747 руб(лей) серебром;
5. Ученики в школу определяются: из малолетних Придворных певчих по назначению Директора Певческой Капелли и по собственном малолетних желанию; и из кантонистов, по соглашению Директора школы с Начальником Штаба Гвардейских и Гренадерского Корпусов;

II Обязанности права и ответственность чинов школы

6. Директор школы есть полный ея хозяин и распорядитель и на сем основании:
  - а) Распоряжает отпускаемыми на школу суммами, покупкою инструментов, нот и всего для школы необходимого, с надлежащего в том отчетности, пред в Министром Императорского Двора,
  - б) Распределяет время для классов, общих проб, экзаменов и

- прочие и руководствует всего вообще учебною частью,
- в) Принимает и увольняет учителей и учеников на изложенных выше ниже основаниях;
7. Помощник Директора, состоя в полном распоряжении Директора, исполняет по школе все от него порученное;
  8. Учителя являются в школу в назначенные им дни и часы и занимаются с учениками положенное время; при чем обязаны также находиться на общих пробах, экзаменах и совещаниях и подписывать, вместе с Директором, аттестаты выпускаемых из школы учеников;
  9. Учителя школы как из русских подданных, так и из иностранцев, буде они не состоят в какой либо иной службе, пользуются, относительно пенсий, правами и преимуществами артистов Императорских Театров;
  10. Порядок ответственности следует порядку подчинения, и таким образом за всякую неисправность или беспорядок по школе, Директор отвечает к Министру Императорского Двора; а Помощник Директору; Учителя же за неисполнение их обязанностей подвергаются, по усмотрению Директора, или денежным штрафам, или увольнению их от школы;

### III Об учениках

- А) Положения общия
11. Цель школы есть единственное преподавание ученикам ея инструментальной музыки, без всякого другого участия в их воспитании, и потому они неимеют от школы ни помещения, ни стола и одеяния, исключая учеников из малолетних Придворных певчих, живущих в самой капелле, и тех из них, которые спадут с голосов, не окончив еще курса инструментального учения. Сим последним, для продолжения такового учения, также дозволяется, буде пожелают, оставаться на жительстве в Певческом Корпусе, с тем чтобы на стол их и одежды употреблялась собственная каждого экономическая сумма, сберегаемая из определенного от казны, во время служения их певчими содержания;
  12. Ученики из кантонистов, не живущие в самой школе для обучения

- их, приходят в определенные Директором часы и остаются в ней сколько им признано будет нужным;
- I3. Все ученики, во время обучения их в школе, находятся в полном распоряжении Директора и беспрекословно исполняют все его приказания;
  - I4. Никто из учеников, имеющих по своему происхождению право на службу коронную, чрез поступление в школу не лишается сего права, дабы в случае увечья или других причин, препятствующих продолжению его занятий в школе, не оставаться без возможности снискивать себе пропитание другими трудами;
  - I5. Причины к увольнению учеников из школы прежде окончания их образования, могут быть троякого рода: а) дознанная на опыте неспособность; б) неисправность или леность, если приняты против сего исправительныя меры останутся безуспешными и в) не излечимыя болезни, увечье или наконец домашния заслуживающия особенного внимания обстоятельства. Степень уважительности сих причин предоставляется личному усмотрению и разрешению Директора, который в подобных случаях несет и всю за сие ответственность;
  - I6. Срок обучения в школе определяется Директором по роду инструментов, на которых кто играет, и по мере успехов каждого ученика; увольнение же прежде окончания полного курса, следует тому же порядку, какой по ст.5 и определен для принятия в школу;
  - I7. Каждый ученик из Придворных певчих; как при поступлении его в школу так и потом ежегодно вносит за каждый года вперед по 50 руб(лей) сер(ебром) которые тогда же обращаются Начальством школы в одно из кредитных установлений и, по окончании тем учеником полного курса, выдаются ему обратно с наросшими процентами;
  - I8. Ученик, оставивший школу или уволенный из нея прежде окончания курса, лишается права на получение обратно упомянутого вноса, который в таком случае остается в пользу школы. Но если он уволен по неизлечимой болезни, увечью, или домашним, заслуживающим особого внимания обстоятельствам, то внесенныя им деньги возвращаются ему на общем основании;

19. Ученики, снабжаются теми инструментами, на которых обучаться намерены, с обязанностию, при выпуске или увольнении их из школы; сдать сие инструменты обратно в должной исправности, а в случае утраты заменить оные другими одинакового достоинства; поврежденные же исправить на свой счет, или на суммы вносимыя каждым при поступлении в школу;
20. Ученики из малолетних придворных певчих по успешном окончании ими в школе полного курса и получении в том аттестата, пользуются все вообще правами Театральных артистов и могут просить об определении их в ведомство Императорских Театров, а в случае отказа в том, вступать в другую службу, если по происхождению своему имеют на то право, или избрать другой род жизни и занятия по собственному их желанию. Те из них которые спадут с голосов, неокончив еще курса инструментального учения, представляются к выпуску на основании общих для сих певчих правил;
21. Для поступления в ведомство Императорских Театров, окончивший курс в инструментальной школе, является в одну из Театральных Контор по его избранию, где и вносится в число кандидатов на имеющиеся или впред могущия открыться вакансии. Если прием его будет на некоторое время отложен, то он может в ожидании сего, продолжать занятия свой в школе, но уже безсрочно и без вноса денег требуемых по статье 17й от учеников;
22. При двух, на одно вакантное место кандидатах одинакового достоинства, театральным Дирекциям поставляется в обязанность всегда предпочитать стороннему, или иностранцу, того, который имеет аттестат инструментальной школы: При испытаниях по сему предмету имеют находиться Директор школы и назначенные им учителя;
23. Аттестаты, выдаваемые при выпуске учеников разделяются соразмерно успехам каждого на три степени. В случае поступления потом сих учеников в ведомство Императорских Театров, означенные аттестаты присвоят им право на жалованье: №1 по 100 р(ублей), №2 по 600 р(ублей) и №3 по 500 р(ублей) сереб(ром);
24. Каждому такому ученику, кончившему курс с получением аттестата

одной из трех степеней, если он будет принять в ведомство Императорских Театров, или в другое казенное учреждение, выдается при выпуске единовременно на первоначальное обзаведение 150 руб(лей) сер(ебром) из Кабинета Его Императорского Величества;

25. Ученикам удостоенным аттестата №I, выдаются сверх того в собственность, по особому каждый раз разрешению Министра Императорского Двора, те инструменты, на которых они играли в школе с надписью на них <за отличные успехи>;
- Б) Об учениках из кантонистов Гвардейских полков
26. Кантонисты Гвардейских полков избираемые в Инструментальную школу по согласшению Директора ея Начальником Штаба и Гренадерского Корпусов, должны быть не моложе 14и не старше 18ти лет;
27. Помещение, пищу и обмундировку кантонисты сие продолжают получать от полка, а инструментами снабжаются от школы в которой обучение их производится совершенно отдельно от их полков их товарищей, на указываемых Директором основаниях;
28. Окончившие полный курс укеники из кантонистов, или также определяются в ведомство Императорских Театров порядком в статьях 2I, 22 и 23 предписанным, или при отказе в том, возвращаются в полки. В первом случае они исключаются из военной службы, а в последнем поступают в число полковых музыкантов, с занятием, по сношению Директора школы с полковым Командирами, соответственных таланту и степени образования каждого мест. При таком возвращении в полк, время обучения ученика в школе, причисляется к летам его службы;
29. Правила, постановленныя для учеников из Придворных певчих, о степенях аттестатов, о денежном вспомоществовании при выпуске из школы и о выдаче в собственность по аттестатам №I, инструментов, распространяются и на учеников из кантонистов.

24 марта 1857

Гофмейстер Львов

133. Глинка, М. И., Записки стр.74:

Я расспросил, в чем должна была состоять моя обязанность, и узнав, что я только должен буду заниматься единственно искусственной частью, объявил, что соглашаюсь принять звание капельмейстера придворной капеллы ... Панаев объяснил мне, что директор должен будет заведывать единственно хозяйственной частью, а на вопрос мой: кого уменно предполагают назначить? отвечал что или князя Григория Волконского, или графа Матвея Юрьевича.

134. Глинка, М. И. Записки стр.74:

Он принял меня радушеее обыкновенного; мы оба радовались служить вместе и заранее помышляли о возможных улучшениях придворной капеллы.

135. Орлова, А. А., Летопись жизни и творчества М. И. Глинки т. I стр.116:

Но судьба, не терпя совершенного счастья смертных, подшутила надо много. По смерти старика Львова заступает его место ... сын его, с которым мы не совсем в ладу.

138. Орлова, А. А., Летопись жизни и творчества М. И. Глинки т. I стр.162:

От рождество и до поста жизнь моя походила на существование разгонной почтовой лошади, служба в корпусе, во дворце, балы, обеды, ужины и концерты отнимали у меня не токмо все свободное время, но часто лишали возможности успокоить себя нужным отдохновением ночью.

143. Орлова, А. А., Летопись жизни и творчества М. И. Глинки т. I стр.172:

Слабое мое сложение, изнуренное долговременными страданиями нынешнего года ... в настоящем положении не в силах я отправлять возложенных на меня по службе обязанностей ... К сим обстоятельствам присоединилась и кровная обязанность.

145. Орлова, А. А., Летопись жизни и творчества М. И. Глинки т. I  
стр.173:

Это – несчастнейшая эпоха в жизни Глинки; он пламенно желал заняться певчими и принялся за дело с душевным рвением ... я наслаждался, слушая плоды его занятий он всегда говорил, что ему большое наслаждение заниматься этим предметом, ибо уповает на то, что окажет услугу отечеству ... Но бездарный и завистливый музыкант (хотя и отличный скрипач) А. Ф. Львов, терзаемый своей ничтожностью перед светлым гением Глинки ... начал делать ... разные пакости Михаиле Ивановичу, который был слишком благородных чувств, чтобы все это терпеть.

9. ЦГИА ф.ИИ09 оп.І ед.хр.І38 л.І:

В меньшем курсе ученик обучается: правильно задавать тон, правильно определять темп, твердо знать простой церковный напев, употребляемый в церквях при Высочайшем Дворе, и руководствовать хором при пении новейшего сочинения молитв, которыя в Придворных церквях употребляются; иметь сведения в начальных правилах гармонии, для поправления случающихся в нотах ошибок, играть на скрипке, сколько нужно для подания тона поющим. Старательный и способный ученик курс этот обыкновенно оканчивает в один год. В среднем курсе ученик, окончив все, что требуется в меньшем, продолжает обучаться правилам гармонии, и достигает той степени знания, на основании котораго может положить в правильную четырехголосную гармонию всякую данную мелодию, и получает полное сведение, как готовить каждого певчаго особо к хорному о тому одиночному пению, какое нередко встречается в церковных нотах новейших сочинителей. В высшем курсе ученик, окончив требуемое в меньшем и среднем курсах, продолжает обучаться правилам гармонии, достигает той степени знания, на основании котораго может сам правильно сочинять музыку, и получает подробныя сведения о всех изгибах человеческого голоса, одним словом приобретает все, что нужно для ученаго и вполне полезнаго регента.

10. Римский Корсаков, Н. А., Летопись моей музыкальной жизни (Ст. Петербург, 1909) стр.234:

Позанявшись у учителя и сдавъ экзамень по весьма шаткой и неопределенной программе, они получали желаемый аттестатъ.

11. Музалевский, В., Старейший русский хор (Москва, Ленинград, 1938) стр.27:

Он был больше царским чиновником и администратором, чем творческой фигурой.

16. Крюков, А. Н., Из истории Ленинградской Консерватории (Ленинград, 1964) стр.13:

Поступать в училище могут лица обоего пола всех сословий не моложе 14 лет, умеющие читать и писать и знающие первые четыре правила арифметики; сверх того, требуется знание нот.

32. Одоевский, В. Ф., Мнение Князя В. Ф. Одоевского по вопросам, возбужденным Министром народного просвещения по делу о церковном пении (Ст. Петербург, 1866) стр. I:

Принадлежит ли единственно Капелле право образовывать учителей церковнаго пения, и могут ли учить сему пению лица, не получившие аттестата изъ Капеллы, разрешается буквою и разумомъ Высочайшихъ повелений, помещенныхъ въ указе Св. Синода, от 26 мая 1850г. где говорится лишь объ епархиальныхъ и полковыхъ регентахъ; это выражение ясно указываетъ на то, что здесь имелись въ виду регенты многочисленныхъ хоровъ, а отнюдь не учителя народныхъ школъ, где было бы немыслимо даже и предполагать обучение хорально многоголосной музыке (доступной лишь специальнымъ музыкальнымъ училищамъ), а где возможно учить пению молитвъ лишь въ одинъ голосъ, и постоянно въ диатонической гамме, какъ оне написаны въ нотныхъ книгахъ, издаваемыхъ отъ Синода; это церковное пение потому и называется простымъ, въ отличие отъ многоголоснаго, партеснаго, хроматическаго.

40. Римский Корсаков, Н. А., Летопись моей музыкальной жизни стр. 231: Даже и не диллетантъ въ музыкальномъ искусстве.

45. Римский Корсаков, Н. А., Летопись моей музыкальной жизни стр. 232: Безграмотныхъ же мальчиковъ, забитыхъ и невоспитанныхъ, кое какъ обучаемыхъ скрипке, виолончели или фортепяно, при спадении съ голоса большею частью постигала печальная участь. Ихъ увольняли изъ капеллы, снабдивъ некоторой выслуженной ими суммой денегъ, на все четыре стороны, невежественныхъ и неприученныхъ къ труду. Изъ нихъ выходили писцы, прислуга, провинциальные певчие, а въ лучшихъ случаяхъ невежественные регента или мелькие чиновники. Многие спивались и пропадали.

46. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр.1496а л.19-32:

(Проект устава музыкального училища при Придворной Певческой Капелле)

Петербург, лето 1883г.

Цель Муз(ыкального) училища

1. Музыкальное училище при Придворной капелле имеет целью доставить малолетним певчим полное музыкальное и элементарное научное образование и, сверх того, сформировать музыкально образованных учителей и регентов для поднятия уровня церковного пения в России;

Управление Муз(ыкальным) училищем

2. Начальник Придворной капеллы есть в то же время попечитель Музыкального училища;
3. Управляющий Капеллы есть директор М(узыкального училища);
4. Должность инспектора музыкальных классов Училища возлагается на помощника управляющего Придв(орной) капеллы;
5. Инспектор научных классов Училища назначается начальником Капеллы (и утверждается Мин(истром) имп(ераторского) дв(ора)), со содержанием в 900 р(ублей) в год, из числа лиц, окончивших курс в высшем учебном заведении или заявивших себя на педагогическом поприще. Он пользуется по пенсии правами учебной службы, а по должности и по мундиру состоит в 4-м классе;
6. Преподаватели всех музыкальных и научных предметов приглашаются инспекторами с согласия директора Училища и занимаются по найму;

Об учениках и приеме

7. Все вновь прибывающие малолетние певчие распределяются по научным классам сообразно степени приобретенных ими ранее познаний: распределение это совершается по экзамену, производимому перед началом учебного года;  
Прим(ечание): При наборе малолетних певчих Придворная капелла принимает только грамотных.
8. Распределение учеников по музыкальным классам производится тоже перед началом учебного года, причем принимаются заявившие желание

обучаться музыке. В выборе же специальности теории музыки и регентского дела ими руководит инспектор музыкальных классов, сообразно с их способностями;

9. Для прохождения специальности теории музыки и регентского дела Музыкальное училище принимает также и вольноприходящих учеников православного вероисповедания, не моложе 14 лет;
10. Все состоящие учениками Музыкал(ьного) училища по достижении ими определенного на то возраста призываются к исполнению воинской повинности наравне с прочими, но поступление их на службу в войска по вынужденному жребию в случае заявленного ими желаниа отсрочивается для окончания музыкального образования в Училище: для учеников из малолетних певчих — до 22 х летнего возраста, а для вольноприходящих...

#### Обучение и экзамены

11. Учебный курс начинается с сентября и продолжается до I-го июня;
12. Переводные и выпускные испытания как по музыкальному, так и по научному отделу производятся в конце учебного года;
13. Для присутствия на экзаменах допускаются, с разрешения директором Училища, и посторонние лица; таковые же могут быть и нарочно для этого приглашаемы директором Училища;
14. Оценка учебных успехов и поведения производятся по пятибалльной системе. Удовлетворительными баллами считаются:
  - а) по научным предметам из каждого — не менее 3, а в общем выводе — не менее 3.5 баллов;
  - б) по музык(альным) предметам из главного — не менее 4х, а из обязательных — не менее 3.5 баллов;

#### О музыкальных классах и программе их

15. Музыкальных классов в Училище шесть;
16. Музыкальные предметы разделяются на главные и обязательные;
  - а) Главные или специальные предметы суть:
    - 1) Теории музыки и регентское дело (гармония, контрапункт, изучение музыкальных форм, инструментовка, сочинение и церковное пение), и

- 2) Игра на фортепьяно, скрипке, виолончели, контрабасе, флейте или на одном из прочих струнных и духовых инструментов оркестра;
- б) Предметы обязательные суть:
- 1) Элементарная теория музыки и сольфеджио;
  - 2) Гармония и понятия о контрапункте;
  - 3) Инструментовка;
  - 4) История музыки (всеобщей) и церковной;
  - 5) Игра на фортепьяно (для учеников, не обучающихся (игра на) фортепьяно как главному предмету);
  - 6) Игра на скрипке (для посвятивших себя специальности теории музыки и регентского дела), а также
  - 7) Совместная игра;
  - 8) Правила сольного пения и
  - 9) Управление хором и чтение партитур;
17. Поступая в 1-й и 2-й музыкальные классы, каждый ученик избирает своей специальностью игру на каком либо из музыкальных инструментов а при переходе в 3-й музыкальный класс, по желанию, может переменить свой прежний главный предмет на специальность изучения теории музыки и регентского дела;
18. В 1-м и 2-м классах проходятся:
- а) главный предмет — игра на избранном музыкальном инструменте;
  - б) обязательный предмет — элементарная теория музыки и сольфеджио;
19. Для избравших своею специальностью игру на одном из инструментов в 3-м и 4-м классах проходятся:
- а) главный предмет — игра на избранном музыкальном инструменте;
  - б) обязательные предметы — игра на фортепьяно, гармония, с понятиями о контрапункте, сольфеджио и совместная игра (на музыкальных инструментах);
- В 5-м и 6-м классах проходятся:
- а) главный предмет — игра на избранном инструменте;
  - б) обязательные предметы — понятие о музыкальных формах и инструментовке, история музыки и совместная игра;
20. Для избравших своею специальностью теорию музыки и регентское

дело в 3-м и 4-м класс(ах) проходятся:

а) главные предметы — гармония, с понятиями о контрапункте, сольфеджио и церковное пение;

б) обязательные предметы — игра на фортепьяно и скрипке и совместная игра;

В 5-м и 6-м классах проходятся:

а) главные предметы — контрапункт, изучение музыкальных форм, инструментовка, сочинение и церковное пение;

б) обязательные предметы — игра на фортепьяно и скрипке, совместная игра, правила сольного пения, история музыки вообще и церковной (в частности), чтение партитур и управление хором;

#### 0 научных классах и их программе

21. Научных классов в Училище пять;

22. Учебный курс составляют следующие предметы:

I) Закон божий; 2) Русский язык и словесность; 3) Арифметика;

4) Алгебра; 5) Геометрия; 6) Физика; 7) История России и

всеобщая; 8) География России и всеобщая; 9) Французский язык;

10) Чистописание; II) Рисование; 12) Бухгалтерия, с понятиями

о коммерческой экономии; 13) Тригонометрия;

кроме того, ученики обучаются танцем;

23. Содержание и объем каждого из учебных предметов по классам определяется нижеследующей программой;

Права и преимущества окончивших курс научных предметов

24. Ученики из малолетних певчих, окончившие с успехом курс в научных классах Училища, то есть получившие по каждому предмету не менее 3-х баллов, а в общем выводе не менее 3.5 баллов, пользуются по отбыванию воинской повинности (и относительно вступления на государственную службу всеми правами и преимуществами лиц, окончивших курс в учебных заведениях ведомства Министерства народ(ного) просвещения второго разряда (и считаются в I2 классе);

25. Ученики из мал(олетных) певч(их), окончившие курс, но не

удовлетворившие упомянутым выше (см. 24) условиям, а также окончившие с успехом курс первых трех классов, пользуются правами и преимуществами по отбыванию воинской повинности и относительно вступления на государственную службу лиц, окончивших курс по учебным заведениям Ведомства Министерства народного просвещения третьего разряда;

Права и преимущества окончивших курс игры на одном из  
музыкальных инструментов

26. Ученики, окончившие с успехом полный курс научных предметов (см. 24), а также полный курс игры на одном из музыкальных инструментов вместе со всеми следуемыми обязательными музыкальными предметами и получившие из главного предмета не менее 4-х баллов, а из каждого из обязательных не менее 3.5 баллов, получают Диплом на звание Свободного художника, пользуются всеми правами и преимуществами по отбыванию воинской повинности лиц, окончивших курс в учебных заведениях Ведомства Министерства народного просвещения первого разряда;
27. Ученики, окончившие курс по крайней мере трех первых научных классов, а также окончившие с успехом полный курс игры на одном из музыкальных инструментов, то есть получившие из главного предмета не менее 4-х баллов, а из обязательных музыкальных предметов прошедшие лишь элементарную теорию музыки и сольфеджио и получившие не менее 3.5 баллов, получают свидетельства о пройденных ими музыкальных предметах, которые к их правам и преимуществам, означенным в №24 и 25, ничего не прибавляют;

Права и преимущества окончивших курс теории музыки и  
регентского дела

28. Ученики из малолетних певчих, окончившие с успехом полный курс научных предметов (см. 24), а также окончившие полный курс теории музыки и регентского дела, то есть получившие из главных предметов не менее 4-х баллов, а из всех обязательных не менее 3.5 баллов, получают диплом на звание Свободного художника, Учителя музыки и церковного пения, пользуются правами и

преимуществами по отбыванию воинской повинности лиц, окончивших курс в учеб(ных) заведениях ведомства Министерства народ(ного) просв(ещения) первого разряда;

29. Ученики из малолетних певчих, окончившие с успехом курс трех первых научных классов (см. №25), а также окончившие с успехом курс первых четырех классов по специальности теории музыки и регентского дела, получают аттестат на звание регента; по отбыванию воинской повинности пользуются правами (и) преимуществами лиц, окончивших курс в учебн(ых) завед(ениях) ведомства Министерства народ(ного) просв(ещения) второго разряда;

0 вольноприходящих учениках по специальности теории музыки  
и регентского дело

30. Желаящий поступить вольноприходящим учеником по специальности теории музыки и регентского дела подает о том прошение на простой бумаге на имя начальника Капеллы, а затем подвергается предварительному испытанию в своих музыкальных способностях и познаниях;
31. Желаящий поступить в подготовительный класс должен представить свидетельство об окончании им научного курса в объеме первых классов гимназии, реальных училищ, кадетских корпусов или в объеме шестиклассных городских и духовных училищ или выдержать экзамен их по программе первых трех научных классов Музыкального училища при Придворной капелле. Музыкальные познания, требующиеся для поступления в подготовительный музыкальный класс, суть: знание нот в скрипичном в басовом ключ(ах) и (знание) размера, некоторое знакомство с церковным пением и первоначальная степень игры на скрипке (с голосовых певческих партий). Выдержавшие же экзамен из проходимого в подготовительном музы(кальном) классе могут быть принимаемы прямо в 4-й музыкальный класс;
32. Полный курс теории музыки и регентского дела для вольноприходящего ученика состоит из пяти классов, из которых первый есть особо имеющийся для них при Музыкальном училище

приготовительный класс, а прочие четыре суть 3, 4, 5 и 6 классы Музык(ального) училища, с учебною программю специальности теории музыки и регентского дела (см. №20). Главные предметы, проходимые в подготовительном классе, суть: элементарная теория музыки с понятиями о Гармонии и церковное пение низшего курса; обязательный предмет – игра на фортепьяно в первоначальной степени;

33. Вольноприходящие ученики должны иметь свои скрипки с принадлежностями и камертон; а также должны приобретать на свой счет учебники и ноты, потребные при прохождении курса;
34. Плата сто рублей в год за обучение может быть вносима и с рассрочкою 50 руб(лей) к I-му сентября, и 50 руб(лей) к I-му января;
35. Учебный год в подготовительном классе начинается ... Позже ... вольноприходящие принимаемы быть не могут;

Права и преимущества окончивших курс вольноприходящих учеников

36. Ученики из вольноприходящих, окончившие с успехом полный курс Музыкального подготовительного класса, получают свидетельство на звание регентского помощника;
37. Ученики из вольноприходящих, окончившие с успехом курс 3-го и 4-го классов Музыкального училища по специальности теории музыки и регентского дела, получают аттестат на звание регента; по отбыванию воинской повинности пользуется правами и преимуществами, означенными в №29 настоящего Устава;
38. Ученики из вольноприходящих, представившие свидетельство об окончании курса в объеме шести классов гимназий, реальных училищ, кадетских корпусов, четырех классов духовных семинарий или выдержавшие экзамен по программе полного курса научных классов Музыкального училища при Придворной капелле, притом окончившие полный курс музыкальных классов по специальности теории музыки (и) регентского дела, получают диплом на звание Свободного художника, учителя музыки и церковного пения; по отбыванию воинской повинности пользуются правами и преимуществами, означенными в №28 настоящего Устава;

0 посторонних лицах, допускаемых к выпускному экзамену

39. К выпускным испытаниям допускаются также и посторонние лица, не учившиеся в Придворной капелле, представившие при этом свидетельства об окончании курса в уч(ебных) заведениях в объеме, означенном в №31 и 38, причем получают соответственно своим познаниям диплом, аттестаты и свидетельства, означенные в №28, 29 и 36, а также в №26 и 27, под условием вноса в пользу Музыкального училища за свидетельство или аттестат 15 рублей, а за диплом 30 рублей.

48. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр.1496а л.41-9:

Правила и подробная программа  
инструментального класса  
Придворной Капеллы  
составленные помощником управляющего Придворною  
капеллю Н. Р. Корсаковым  
1883

Содержание.

1. Предметы музыкального образования;
2. Порядок прохождения курса. Приготовит(ельный) класс;
3. Испытания и отметки;
4. Свидетельства;
5. Программы.

I) Предметы музыкального образования

1. Музыкальные предметы, преподаваемые в Инструментальном классе Придворной капеллы, разделяются на два отдела:
  - а) главные предметы, и
  - б) обязательные предметы;
2. Главные предметы суть те, которые составляют специальность ученика; ученик избирает себе главный предмет по собственному желанию, в чем отчасти его руководит начальство Капеллы;  
Главные предметы суть:
  1. Игра на одном из смычковых инструментов (скрипке, альте, виолончели, контрабасе). 6-летний курс. См. Программу А;

2. Игра на фортепьяно. 6-летний курс. См. Программу А;
3. Теория музыки и регентское дело (гармония и контрапункт, изучение музыкальных форм, сочинение светской и церковной музыки, церковное пение и инструментовка. См. Программу регентского класса Придворной капеллы;

Примеч(ание): Сообразно с обстоятельствами, впоследствии может быть введено обучение игре на духовых инструментах, арфе и т.д.

3. Обязательные предметы суть те, изучение которых обязательно для каждого ученика, избравшего себе какой бы то ни было главный предмет.

Обязательные предметы суть:

А) Для всех учеников инструмент(ального) класса, без различия специальностей:

1) Теории музыки и сольфеджио (элементарный курс). 2-хгодовой курс. См. Программу В;

2) Оркестровая и совместная игра. 4-хгод(ичный) курс. См. Программу Г.

Б) Для изучающих в качестве главного предмета игру на одном из смычковых инструментов:

1) Теория и история музыки (общеобразовательный курс). 2-хгодовой. См. Программу Д;

2) Игра на фортепьяно. 3-хгод(ичный) курс. См. Программу Б. Сверх того, для скрипачей обязательна игра на альте.

В) Для изучения в качестве главного предмета игру на фортепьяно:

1) Теория и история музыки (общеобразовательный курс). 2-хгодовой. См. Программу Д.

Г) Для изучающих в качестве главного предмета теорию музыки и регентское дело:

1) История музыки. Одногод(ичный) курс;

2) Церковное хоровое и сольного пение. Одногод(ичный) курс;

3) Чтение партитур и управление хором и оркестром;

4) Игра на фортепьяно. 3-хгод(ичный) курс;

5) Игра на скрипке. 3-хгод(ичный) курс;

## 2) Порядок прохождения курса и Приготовительный класс

4. Для полного прохождения курса по главному предмету каждой специальности в инструментальном классе полагается 6 лет. Этот 6-летний курс подразделяется на два отделения: низшее (3 года) и высшее (3 года). Каждый ученик Инструментального класса, с разрешения начальства Капеллы, которое соображается с успехами и родом его специальности, может пробыть в Инструментальном классе одним годом более или одним годом менее шестилетнего срока;
5. Так как в раннем возрасте (от 10 до 12 лет) весьма трудно определить окончательно способности мальчика и склонности его к той или другой специальности, то малолетние певчие этого возраста, изъявившие желание заниматься музыкой, образуют особый подготовительный класс, в котором занимаются под руководством старших учеников; при этом предполагается возможность перехода с одного инструмента на другой, ввиду иногда неясно выразившихся способностей, а также полное устранение ученика, если способности его и прилежание окажется неудовлетворительными. По истечении одного или двух лет, когда ученик достаточно подготовлен и способности его ясно определились, он переводится в собственно инструментальный класс для прохождения 6-летнего курса под руководством профессоров и преподавателей.
6. При начале музыкального образования никто из малолетних учеников не принимается на специальность теории музыки и регентского дела, а избирает своим главным предметом игру на одном из смычковых инструментов или фортепьяно. Только по успешном окончании обязательного для всех курса элементарной теории музыки и сольфеджио (см. №3) он может быть допущен к избранию себе упомянутой специальности, и тогда изучаемый им смычковый инструмент или фортепьяно становятся для него предметом не главным, а обязательным. Пройденный им 2-хгодичный курс элементарной теории и сольфеджио, вместе с четырьмя годами курса специальной теории музыки и регентского дела (I, 2, 3 и 4 теоретические курсы, см. программу регентского класса), составит для чего в общей сложности полный шестилетний курс (не считая подготовительного класса), наравне с курсом учеников других

специальностей (см. №4);

7. Ученикам инструментального класса не запрещается избирать себе две специальности одновременно, что, однако, не допускается в подготовительном классе;
8. По предметам теоретического образования каждому ученику, в случае недостаточных успехов, предоставляется право пробыть одним годом более того срока, который назначен для прохождения полного курса по данному предмету;
9. Преподавание обязательных предметов производится с соблюдением следующих правил:
  - 1) При переводе из подготовительного класса в инструментальный ученик немедленно зачисляется в класс элементарной теории музыки и сольфеджио;
  - 2) По окончании курса элементарной теории музыки и сольфеджио, если ученик пожелает продолжать свое теоретическое образование прохождением общеобразовательного курса теории и истории музыки, он немедленно зачисляется в обязательный класс фортепьянной игры;
  - 3) Ученик, прошедший половину общеобразовательного курса теории и истории музыки (I-й год), может если того пожелает, быть переведен на специальность теории музыки и регентского дела, но не иначе как в I-й теоретический курс;
  - 4) В случае особых успехов по предметам обязательной фортепьянной и скрипичной игры, по прошествии установленного 3-годового курса для этих предметов и выдержании окончательного испытания, ученику, с разрешения начальства, предоставляется право продолжать занятия по этим предметам под руководством прежнего преподавателя.

### 3) Испытания и отметки

10. Испытания бывают поверочные, переводные и окончательные.
  - а) Поверочные испытания, от одного до двух раз в год (один раз обязательно в конце учебного года), производятся заведующим инструментальным классом совместно с преподавающим по каждому предмету;

- б) Переводные из низшего отделения в высшее по теоретическим предметам двухгодичного курса производятся в конце учебного года заведующим Инструментальным классом, который, смотря по надобности, приглашает в помощь себе одного из лиц, преподающих в инструментальном классе;
  - в) Переводные из низшего отделения в высшее по главным предметам: игры на фортепьяно или смычковых инструментах, а также;
  - г) Окончательные испытания по всем главным и обязательным предметам производятся особо назначаемой Комиссией, составленной из лиц, преподающих в инструментальном классе под председательством начальника Придворной капеллы, а в отсутствие управляющего Капеллою или его помощника, или заведующего инструментальным классом к этим испытаниям могут быть приглашены и посторонние музыканты, по усмотрению начальства Капеллы;
- II. Для вывода окончательного балла берется средний вывод между средним баллом всей Комиссии и годичной отметкой преподающего, которая (до этого) остается неизвестной членам Комиссии;  
Примечание: Отметки производятся по пятибалльной системе: 5 – отл(ично), 4 – хор(ошо), 3 – достат(очно), 2 – посредств(енно), 1 – слабо.
- I2. Удовлетворительной отметкой считается по главным предметам не ниже 4, а по обязательным предметам не ниже 3. По предметам, имеющим несколько отделов, ученик должен иметь не менее 3-х баллов по каждому отделу; в противном случае, если бы в среднем выводе и получилось 3, отметка не считается удовлетворительной.

#### 4) Свидетельства

- I3. Свидетельства, выдаваемые за окончание курса по специальности игры на фортепьяно или (на) одном из смычковых инструментов, бывают 3-х разрядов;
- а) Свидетельство I-го разряда (диплом) выдается ученику, окончившему полный курс по главному предмету и получившему на окончательном испытании не менее 4-х б(аллов), и, сверх того,

- окончившему обязательные предметы, установленные программой для его специальности, и получившему по каждому не менее 3-х;
- б) Свидетельство 2-го разряда (аттестат) выдается ученику, окончившему полный курс по главному предмету и получившему на окончательном испытании не менее 4-х б(аллов), а из обязательных предметов окончившему теорию музыки и сольфеджио (элементарный курс) и получившему не менее 3-х по каждому отделу;
  - в) Свидетельство 3-го разряда (удостоверение) выдается ученику, прошедшему по крайней мере 3-годовалый курс низшего отделения по главному предмету в инструментальном классе, не считая подготовительного класса, и получившему на переходном испытании в высшее отделение не менее 4 баллов, и, сверх того, окончившему элементарную теорию и сольфеджио (элементарный курс) и получившему не менее 3-х б(аллов);
- Свидетельство 3-го разряда выдается лишь тем ученикам, которые по каким либо обстоятельствам не могут продолжать дальнейшее свое музыкальное образование в Капелле.
14. Свидетельства, выдаваемые за окончание курса по специальности теории музыки и регентского дела, бывают 3-х разрядов:
- а) Свидетельство 1-го разряда (диплом) на звание учителя теории музыки и церковного пения;
  - б) Свидетельство 2-го разряда (аттестат) на звание регента;
  - в) Свидетельство 3-го разряда (удостоверение) на звание регентского помощника.

## 5) Программы

### А

Игра на фортепьяно, скрипке, альте, виолончели и контрабасе.

(Шестилетний курс, не считая подготовительного класса)

Главный предмет

На окончательном испытании требуется:

- а) Исполнение пьесы (соло) с сопровождением оркестра;
- б) Исполнение пьесы (соло), разученной без участия профессора, по

собственному выбору ученика, но по соглашению с преподающим;  
в) Чтение нот с листа и переложение в другие строи;  
г) Совместная для (пианистов) и квартетная (для смычковых) игра;  
Сверх того:

д) Для скрипачек: игра на альте;

Для виолончелистов: исполнение на виолончели гармонии по цифрованному басу;

Для пианистов: чтение с листа фортепьянной партии в трио, квартете и т.д. и сопровождения инструмента или голоса.

## Б

### Игра на фортепьяно (Трехгодичный курс)

Обязательный предмет для изучающих специально игру на одном из смычковых инструментов.

На окончательном испытании требуется:

- а) Исполнение пьесы (соло) средней трудности;
- б) Чтение с листа нетрудных пьес, отдельно н в 4 руки;
- в) Сопровождение инструмента или голоса (в пьесе) относительной трудности.

## В

### Теории музыки и сольфеджио Элементарный курс (Двухгодичный)

Предмет обязательный для всех учеников, без исключения.

- 1) Нотная система. Ключи Соль, Фа, До. Названия октав;
- 2) Размер. Группировка. Обозначение рукою такта. Синкопы.  
Лигатура;
- 3) Тоны и полутоны;
- 4) Гаммы. Устройство мажорной диатонической гаммы. Ключевые знаки.  
Устройство минорных гамм: натуральной, гармонической и мелодической. Случайные знаки;
- 5) Хроматическая гамма;
- 6) Определение строя мелодии или пьесы;
- 7) Переложение в другой строй;

- 8) Энгармонизм;
- 9) Интервалы: чистые, большие, малые, увеличенные и уменьшенные;
- 10) Интервалы на ступенях мажорной и минорной гармонической гаммы;
- 11) Обращение интервалов;
- 12) Разрешение диссонансов;
- 13) Украшения мелодии: форшлаг, группетто, трель, мордан (мордент);
- 14) Знаки сокращения нотописания;
- 15) Образование аккорда. Трезвучия и их обращения, изучение трезвучий по ступеням мажорной и минорной гармонической гаммы. Доминантсептаккорд и его разрешение.

На окончательном экзамене требуется:

- а) Изустные ответы: объяснение всего пройденного, твердое знание гамм, интервалов и разрешений; умение строить всякое трезвучие и домин(ант)септаккорды на любом из тонов его составляющих; твердое знание разрешения доминантсептаккорда в мажоре и миноре;
- б) Письменные задачи: группировка нот и устройство такта, любого простого о сложного размера;
- в) По сольфеджио: пение гамм от различных ступеней; пение интервалов, трезвучий и домин(ант)септаккордов; угадывание интервалов и трезвучий по слуху; пение с листа в скрипичном и басов(ом) ключах, с соблюдением размера.

## Г

Совместная, квартетная и оркестровая игра

(5-летний курс)

Обязательный предмет для всех учеников, без исключения.

- а) Для смычковых инструментов

Для учеников низшего отделения:

- 1) Исполнение дуэтов и легких ансамблей, а также легких оркестровых пьес;

Для учеников высшего отделения:

- 2) Оркестровая игра, квартетная и камерная музыка;

Примечание: В случае особых успехов ученика, могут быть допущены исключения и ученик низшего отделения может быть назначен заведующим Инструментальным классом к участию в оркестровой игре с учениками

высшего отделения.

б) Для пианистов:

Для учеников низшего отделения:

1) Игра в 4 руки;

Для учеников высшего отделения:

2) Игра трио, квартетов и проч., а также пьес с оркестром;

в) Для специалистов по теории музыки и регентскому делу:

На фортепьяно:

1) Игра в 4 руки;

2) Сопровождение инструмента или голоса на фортепьяно;

3) Игра по партитуре партий духовых инструментов на фортепьяно или фисгармонике в оркестровом классе;

На скрипке:

4) Исполнение скрипичных дуэтов;

5) Совместная игра на скрипках по партитуре духовных сочинений;

6) Оркестровая игра.

## Д

### Теория и история музыки

#### Общеобразовательный курс (2-годовалый)

- А) Гармония и контрапункт, Б) Инструментовка,  
В) Изучение музыкальных форм, Г) История музыки.

#### Обязательные предметы

##### А) Гармония и контрапункт

- 1) Общие понятия об аккордах и обращениях;
- 2) Общие понятия о движении голосов, четырехголосном сложении, удвоениях, расположении и мелодическом положении аккордов;
- 3) Сочетания главных трезвучий. Обращения трезвучий;
- 4) Кадансы: полный, половинный и сложные (двух форм);
- 5) Доминантсептаккорд, разрешающийся в тоническое трезвучие и его обращения;
- 6) Септаккорды уменьшенный и малый;
- 7) Трезвучие и септаккорд II ступ(ени). Участие его в кадансах;
- 8) Прочие побочные трезвучия и септаккорды. Секвенции;

- 9) Сродство строев и модуляция в близкие строи;
- I0) Модуляционный план. Органный пункт;
- II) Задержания, проходящие, прекращающиеся тоны и предъём;
- I2) Хроматически видоизмененные аккорды;
- I3) Энгармонизм;
- I4) Фигурация мелодическая, гармоническая и ритмическая;
- I5) Цифровка;
- I6) Общие понятия и простом, двойном и т.д. контрапункте;
- I7) Общие понятия об имитациях, каноне и фуге.

На окончательном экзамене требуется:

- а) Изустные ответы: объяснение всего пройденного;
- б) Письменные задачи: задачи по цифрованному басу, гармонизация, модуляция;
- в) Практика: играть на фортепьяно различные кадансы и краткие модуляции;
- г) Сольфеджио: пение с листа во всех употребительных ключах. Угадывать и петь аккорды. Записать под диктовку несложный мелодический и гармонический отрывок.

#### Б) Инструментовка

- а) Приготовительные занятия
  - I) Ключи;
  - 2) Транспонировка: в другую октаву, в другой ключ и в другой строй;
  - 3) Двух и трехголосное письмо на одной системе;
- б) Оркестровая партитура
  - 4) Группы инструментов: смычковые, деревянные духовые, медные духовые, ударные. Самостоятельные инструменты: арфа, фортепьяно и орган;
  - 5) Понимание партитуры;
  - 6) Росписка оркестровых партий, составление партитуры с отдельных партий, переписка с транспонировкой;
- в) Инструментовка и переложение
  - 7) Переложения с квартета и оркестра на фортепьяно;
  - 8) Переложение с одних инструментов на другие;

- 9) Положение сочинения на оркестр;
  - г) Вокальные произведения
  - 10) Понятия о голосах и составе хора. Оркестровое сопровождение;
  - д) Дирижирование и исполнение
  - 11) Оттенки силы и скорости. Фермата. Каденции. Дирижовка.
- На окончательном испытании требуется:
- а) Изустные ответы: объяснение всего пройденного;
  - б) Письменные задачи: задачи по переложению с оркестра на фортепьяно, с одних инструментов на другие и т.д.

#### В) Изучение музыкальных форм

- а) Элементарные формы:
    - 1) Мотив, предложение, период;
    - 2) Двух и трехколенный склад;
  - б) Сложные формы:
    - 3) Песня с трио. Танцы, марши;
    - 4) Вариации;
    - 5) Рондо и сонатная форма. Интродукция. Темпы. Разработка. Кода;
  - в) Высшие формы (инструментальные):
    - 6) Увертюра. Сложная соната. Камерная музыка. Симфония. Фантазия;
  - г) Высшие формы (вокальные):
    - 7) Романс. Речитатив. Ария. Опера. Кантата. Оратория. Месса.
- На окончательном экзамене требуется:
- Изустные ответы: объяснение пройденного и разбор музыкальных произведений по отношению к складу и гармонии.

#### Г) История музыки

(по сокращенной программе)

- А) Музыка древнего мира и первых веков христианства. Эпоха развития контрапункта. Нидерландская и итальянская школы. Начало оперы и инструментальной музыки.
- Б) Музыка со времен Баха, Генделя и Глюка;
  - 1) Оратория;
  - 2) Развитие симфонии и камерной музыки;

- 3) Развитие оперы во Франции, Италии и Германии;
  - 4) Развитие фортепьянной музыки;
  - 5) Развитие виртуозной музыки смычковых инструментов;
  - 6) Русская музыка;
  - 7) Издательская деятельность;
- (Объяснения производятся преимущественно в сопровождении примеров).

На окончательном испытании требуется:

Изустные ответы: объяснение всего пройденного.

Примеч(ание): Преподавание отделов: гармонии и контрапункта, Форм и инструментовки ведется параллельно в течение всего 2-годового курса. История музыки относится ко второму году.

50. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплева, И. А., Н. А. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинений: Литературные произведения и переписка (Москва, 1981) т.8а стр.149:

С мальчиками певчими мы поступаем так: принятый в певчие лет 9 или 10-ти в 1-й год своего пребывания не учится ни на каком инструменте, ни теории, а просто приучается петь в хоре, причем получает отрывочные сведения о размерах, интервалах и т.д. и выучивает более или менее твердо ключ, подходящий к его голосу. Когда через год или полтора мальчик попросится, спрашивают, желает ли он учиться на инструменте, или подсказывают ему эту мысль; он выбирает себе инструмент: фортепиано, скрипку, cello или Basso. Тогда его отдают на обучение одному из старших учеников; через несколько времени он или бросает учиться, или меняет инструмент, или начинает делать успехи. Когда это определится, его отдают профессору. Одновременно или немного погодя его сажают в элементарную теорию на 2 года.

56. Федорова, Ф., М. А. Балакирев (Москва, Ленинград, 1951) стр.65:  
Это всегда были первоклассные музыканты на малых и крупных постах, сильные в сочетании теории и практики музыки, с великолепно организованным слухом.

58. ГПБ ф.15 л.32:

Государь император при посещении Капеллы 13 февраля прошедшего

1886г. изволил слушать концерт, исполненный учениками Инструментального класса и малолетними придворными певчими под управлением помощника управляющего Капеллою статской советника Римского Корсакова, и милостиво одобрил как самый выбор пьес, так и исполнение их, изволил выразить: "Отчего у вас одни только струнные инструменты? Следует завести и духовые." Вследствие таковой воли его величества немедленно было введено обучение на духовых инструментах первоначально в очень малых размерах насколько позволяло прежнее тесное помещение, а с лета настоящего 1887 года введено обучение на всех духовых инструментах.

59. Соколов, Н. А., <Воспоминания о Н. А. Римском Корсакове> Русская музыкальная газета 4I (1908) стр.869:  
Капелльский оркестръ, несмотря на скромныя, неровныя, ученическия силы, былъ превосходно вышколенъ своимъ руководителемъ.
60. Фрид, Е. Л., Милий Алексеевич Балакирев: Воспоминания и письма (Ленинград, 1962) стр.386:  
Видя этих мальчуганов исполнителей, думалось, что находишься в зачарованной, сказочной стране лилипутов артистов. Какой мягкий тон, какая чистота и какая экспрессия!
61. Ляпунова, А. С., Н. А. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинений: литературные произведения и переписка т.5 (Москва, 1963) стр.172:  
Заметьте, что оркестр уже исполняет пьесы значительной трудности, как Мендельсон, Бетховен, Глинка и т.д., но не забудьте, что они, все такие, ученики, юноши и даже дети и что их исполнение не может быть таково, как исполнение оркестра взрослого и возмужалого.
62. Римский Корсаков, Н. А., Летопись моей музыкальной жизни стр.234:  
Молодые люди, желавшие кое чему научиться и получить регентский аттестатъ, приезжая большею частью изнутри России въ капеллу, назначались для обучения премудростямъ к одному изъ четырехъ учителей духовнаго пения. Позанявшись у учителя и сдавъ экзаменъ по весьма шаткой и неопределенной программе, они получали желаемый

аттестать и отправлялись на все четыре стороны. Весь строй учебного дела, как по инструментальному классу, так и по регентской специальности, установленный автором <Боже Царя храни> Львовым никуда не годился.

63. ЦГИА ф.499 оп. I ед. хр. 2948 л. 26:

Программа Регентского Класа При Придворной Певческой Капелле  
составленная помощником управляющего Придворною капеллою  
Н. А. Римским Корсаковым  
1883 год

Приготовительный курс  
Элементарная теория музыки и понятия о гармонии  
(Главный предмет)  
2 урока в неделю

- I) Нотная система. Ключи;
- 2) Размеры и группировка;
- 3) Тоны и полутоны;
- 4) Диатонические гаммы: мажорные и минорные (натуральные, гармонические и мелодические);
- 5) Хроматическая гамма; Энгармонизм;
- 6) Интервалы и их подразделение;
- 7) Интервалы на ступенях мажорной и минорной гармонической гаммы;
- 8) Разрешение диссонансов;
- 9) Определение строя мелодии или пьесы;
- I0) Украшения мелодии: форшлаг, группетто, трель, мордан (мордент);
- II) Знаки сокращения нотописания;
- I2) Итальянская музыкальная терминология;
- I3) Образование аккорда: трезвучия и их обращения. Трезвучия на ступенях мажорной и минорной гармонической гаммы;
- I4) Септаккорды и их обращения. Доминантсептаккорд. Нонаккорд;
- I5) Понятия о задержаниях, проходящих и вспомогательных нотах, кадансах и модуляциях.

На выпускном экзамене для получения звания регентского помощника или на переводном в I-й теоретический курс требуется:

- А) Изустные ответы;
  - Б) Письменные задачи: группировка нот и устройство тактов любого простого или сложного размеров, транспонировка и т.д.
  - В) (Для выпускных) Краткий разбор легчайших гармонических примеров.
- Выпускной балл 4.

#### Сольфеджио

(Главный предмет)

2 урока в неделю

Курс практический

На выпускном экзамене для получения звания регентского помощника или на переводном в I-й теоретический курс требуется:

- А) Пение гамм, начиная с различных ступеней;
- Б) Пение интервалов, трезвучий в основном виде и доминантсептаккорда в основном виде, с разрешением,
- В) Ритмически твердое и беглое пение в ключах примеров средней трудности с дирижированием рукою;
- Г) Угадывание интервалов и трезвучий по слуху. Задавание (тона) по камертону.

Выпускной балл 4.

#### Церковное пение

(Курс) младшего отделения

(Главный предмет)

I урок в неделю

- 1) Краткий обзор богослужения. Названия церковных песнопений;
- 2) Изучение на память напевов придворного Обихода (на <Господи воззвах>, на <Бог, Господь>, величание и прокимны);
- 3) Способы разпевания стихир и проч. на данную гласовую мелодию по придворному Обиходу. Деление напевов на строки;
- 4) Общие понятия о составе певческих хоров и о способах положения гармонии на хор;
- 5) Понятия о главнейших регентских приемах, дирижировке размеренных и неразмеренных песнопений, задавание тона и проч.;

На выпускном экзамене для получения звания регентского помощника или

на переводном в старшее отделение требуется:

- А) Изустные ответы;
- Б) Твердое знание на память гласовых мелодий придворного Обихода;
- В) Письменные задачи: распеть (расписать) стихиру и т.д.;

Выпускной балл 4.

Примечание: Лица, поступающие прямо в I-й теоретический курс, обязательно проходят курс младшего отделения церковного пения в течение I-го теоретического курса.

Игра на фортепьяно  
(Предмет обязательный)

2 урока в неделю

Курс практический

На выпускном экзамене для получения звания регентского помощника требуется:

- А) Исполнение мажорных и минорных гамм, включительно до трех ключевых знаков, в октавах, в нескором движении. Исполнение легкого этюда (напр(имер), из первоначальных этюдов Беренс);
- Б) Чтение, в медленном темпе, с листа, хорала или духовной пьесы (по фортепьянному переложению);

Выпускной балл 3.

Примечание: Для переходящих в I-й теоретический курс экзамен только поверочный.

Игра на скрипке  
(Предмет обязательный)

2 урока в неделю и во втором полугодии особый час для чтения нот в  
ключаях по придворному Обиходу

Курс практический

На выпускном экзамене на получение звания регентского помощника требуется:

- А) Исполнение этюда первоначальной трудности;
- Б) Исполнение (арпеджио) трезвучий и доминантсептаккордов во всех строях не свыше 4-х ключевых знаков;
- В) Чтение с листа (в ключах) по голосовой партии из партитуры

придворного Обихода или т.д.

Выпускной балл 3.

Примечание: Для переходящих в I-й теоретический курс экзамен только поверочный.

Хоровой класс

(См. I-й и 2-й теоретические курсы)

I-й и 2-й теоретические (регентские) курсы

Гармония и понятия о контрапункте

(Главный предмет)

2 урока в неделю

I-й теоретический курс

- 1) Аккорды и обращения;
- 2) Движение голосов и 4-голосное сложение;
- 3) Трезвучия главных ступеней и их сочетания;
- 4) Кадансы;
- 5) Трезвучия побочных ступеней и их сочетания. Секвенции;
- 6) Доминантсептаккорд;
- 7) Малый и уменьшенный септаккорды;
- 8) Побочные септаккорды и их сочетания. Секвенции;
- 9) Нонаккорд;
- 10) Модуляция в шесть близких строев;
- II) Хорал;

На переводном экзамене во 2-й теоретический курс требуется:

- A) Изустные ответы, с примерами на доске;
- Б) Письменные задачи: 1) гармонизация хорала аккордами (без проходящих и задержаний) и  
2) модуляционная задача (переход в один из близких строев и обратно).

2 й теоретический курс

- I2) Модуляционный план. Модуляция по плану во все отдаленные строи;
- I3) Органный пункт и выдержанные тоны;
- I4) Задержания;
- I5) Диатонические и хроматические проходящие ноты;

- 16) Вспомогательные ноты;
- 17) Применение задержаний и проходящих в гармонизации хорала;
- 18) Предъяем, неприготовленные задержания и проч.;
- 19) Ложные последовательности;
- 20) Энгармонизм и применение его к модуляции;
- 21) Общие понятия о контрапункте простом и сложном, имитации, каноне и фуге;
- 22) Гармонизация православных церковных песнопений;
- 23) Общие понятия о простейших музыкальных формах: предложении, периоде, ходе, 2-х и 3 коленном складе;

На выпускном экзамене на звание регента и на переводном в 3-й теоретический курс требуется:

- А) Изустные ответы, с примерами на доске, и гармонический разбор;
- Б) Игра модуляций на фортепьяно;
- В) Письменные задачи: 1) гармонизация хорала, с проходящими и задержаниями;
  - 2) модуляция в один из отдаленных строев (постепенная), и
  - 3) краткая энгармоническая модуляция.

Выпускной балл 4

Переводной балл 4.5, и притом не менее 4.5 за письменную задачу.

Примечание: Высокий переводный балл (4.5) установлен ввиду строгости требований о (наличии) гармонических сведений и способностей у ученика, желающего проходить курс контрапункта и фуга. Сверх того, лица, желающие перейти в 3-й теоретический курс и имеющие установленный балл 4.5, по прошествии летних вакансий, при начале занятий 3-го теоретического курса, вновь подвергаются испытанию по письменному экзамену из гармонии, с условием получить вновь не менее 4.5 баллов, без чего в 3-й теоретический курс они приняты быть не могут.

#### Сольфеджио

I-й и 2-й теоретические курсы

(Главный предмет)

I — 2 уроки в неделю

Курс практический, со включением понятий о постановке голоса и (о) голосовых регистрах.

Для перехода во 2-й теоретический курс экзамен только проверочный.

На выпускном экзамене на звание регента или на переходом в 3-й теоретический курс требуется:

- А) Беглое и ритмическое сольфеджирование во всех ключах;
- Б) Сольфеджирование в 2 и 3 голоса;
- В) Пение с листа примеров с текстом;
- Г) Угадывание по слуху и пение всевозможных аккордов;
- Д) Записывание под диктовку мелодических и гармонических примеров.

Выпускной балл 4.

Переводной балл 4.5.

Примечание: Вторичного экзамена при начале 3-го теоретического курса не полагается.

#### Церковное пение

(Предмет) старшего отделения

2-й теоретический курс

I урок в неделю

- 1) Цефавутный ключ. Упражнение в сольфеджировании по цефавутному ключу;
- 2) Изучение гармонизации гласовых напевов придворного Обихода;
- 3) Знакомство с роспевами малым и большим Знаменным, Греческим и Болгарским по цефавутным книгам;
- 4) Ознакомление с Обиходом нового издания Придворной капеллы;
- 5) Игра на фортепьяно гласовых мелодий, с гармонизацией придворного Обихода;
- 6) Переложения духовных 4-голосных пьес на 3 голоса, со смешанного хора на однородный и т.д.

На выпускном экзамене для получения звания регента или на переводном в 3-й теоретический курс требуется:

- А) Пение с листа по цефавутному ключу;
- Б) Знание наизусть возможно большего числа гласовых напевов по цефавутным книгам;
- Б) Письменные задачи: I) гармонизовать на память (хотя бы

приблизительно) данную гласовую мелодию из придворного Обихода;

2) переложить 4-голосную пьесу на 3 голоса;

Г) Выграть на фортепьяно и спеть любую стихирю, тропарь, величание или прокимен на заданный глас, имея перед глазами только текст песнопения;

Выпускной и переводной балл 4.

**Игра на фортепьяно  
(Обязательный предмет)**

**I-й и 2-й теоретические курсы**

**2 урока в неделю**

**Курс практический**

Для перехода из I-го теоретического курса во 2-й экзамен только поверочный.

На выпускном экзамене на получение звание регента требуется:

А) Исполнение всех гамм и арпеджий;

Б) Исполнение этюда Беренса или Черни и пьес относительной трудности (сонаты Гайдна, Кулау и т.д.);

В) Сопровождение на фортепьяно инструмента или голоса относительной трудности (романсы Глинки, небольшие скрипичные пьесы и т.д.);

Г) Чтение с листа переложений для фортепьяно православных духовных пьес, вроде концертов Бортнянского и т.д.

Выпускной балл 3.

Переводной в 3-й теоретический курс 3.5.

**Игра на скрипке  
(Предмет обязательный)**

**I-й и 2-й теоретические курсы**

**2 уроки в неделю**

**Курс практический**

Для перехода во 2-й теоретический курс экзамен только поверочный.

На выпускном экзамене для получения звания регента и на переходном в 3-й теоретический курс требуется:

А) Исполнение всех гамм и всех трезвучий и доминантсептаккордов

арпеджио (все позиции);

Б) Исполнение этюда Кейзера или относительно нетрудного этюда Крейцера (все позиции);

В) Чтение нот с транспонировкой;

Выпускной балл 3.

Переводной в 3-й теоретический курс 3.5.

#### Чтение партитур

(Обязательный предмет)

(Проходится) во второе полугодие 2-го теоретического курса

I урок в неделю на скрипке и I урок (на) фортепьяно

Курс практический

На выпускном экзамене на получение звание регента и на переходном в 3-й теоретический курс требуется:

А) По фортепьяно; чтение с листа нетрудной 4-голосной партитуры духовной пьесы (в ключах) в медленном темпе;

Б) По скрипке: беглая и ритмическая игра голосов (из) партитуры в ключах духовной пьесы (например, концерта Бортнянского), с внезапными переходами из одного голоса в другой, без остановок.

Выпускной и переводной балл 3.

#### Управление хором

(Обязательный предмет)

2-й теоретический курс

Упражнения в хоровом классе (См. ниже Хоровой класс)

Курс практический

На выпускном экзамене на получение звания регента и на переводном в 3-й теоретический курс требуется:

А) Продиржировать хором несколько стихир с запевами и тропарей на заданные различные гласы.

Б) Продиржировать нотную духовную пьесу и разучить собственное переложение духовной пьесы (см. экзамен по церковному пению).

В) Разучить и продиржировать небольшую светскую хоровую пьесу.

Выпускной и переводной балл 3.

Церковный устав  
(Предмет обязательный)  
2-й теоретический курс  
I урок в неделю

- 1) Воскресная всенощная;
- 2) Обедни: Иоанна Златоуста, Василия Великого и Преждеосвященная; архиерейская служба;
- 3) Молебны: благодарственный и святому;
- 4) Панихида;

На выпускном экзамене на звание регента и на переводном в 3-й теоретический курс требуется:

Изустные ответы.

Выпускной и переводной балл 3.

Хоровой класс  
Приготовительный, I-й и 2-й теоретические курсы  
Практические упражнения  
I урок в неделю

Для всех учеников подготовительного, I-го и 2-го теоретических курсов посещение хорового класса обязательно без исключений; ученик, пропускающий хоровой класс, не может быть допущен к прохождению прочих предметов регентского класса. Хоровой класс имеет целью упражнять учеников 2-го теоретического курса в дирижировке и разучивании церковных и светских пьес и доставить им возможность пробовать свои переложения (а для учеников 3-го и 4-го теоретического курсов и сочинения) в голосах. При этом ученики подготовительного и I-го теоретического курсов и свободные от дирижировки старшие ученики составляют хор. В случае домашнего богослужения в регентском классе (молебна, всенощного бдения и проч.), участвует хоровой класс под управлением одного из учеников.

3-й и 4-й теоретические (Учительские) курсы  
Контрапункт и fuga  
(Главный предмет)

3-й и 4-й теоретические курсы

I – 2 урока в неделю

- А) Простой строгий и свободный контрапункт (2-х, 3-х, 4-х, 5-ти и многоголосный);
- Б) Подражания (имитации);
- В) Двойной, тройной и четверной контрапункт;
- Г) Контрапунктическое сопровождение хорала или другой данной мелодии;
- Д) Простая 2-х, 3-х и 4-хголосная fuga. 5-голосная fuga. Фугато;
- Е) Двойная fuga и fuga с хоралом;
- Ж) Каноны различных родов;
- З) Вокальная fuga;

Примечание: Занятия упомянутыми отделами распределяются в течение двух учебных лет по усмотрению преподающего.

Экзамен для перехода из 3-го в 4-й теоретический курс только поверочный.

На выпускном экзамене на звание учителя церковного пения и теории музыки требуется:

Письменная задача: 4-голосная простая или двойная fuga.

Выпускной балл 4.

Практическое сочинение  
(Обязательный предмет)

3-й и 4-й теоретические курсы

I – 2 урока в неделю

Курс практический

Разбор музыкальных форм и упражнения в сочинении и инструментовке.

Примечание: Занятия располагаются по усмотрению преподающего

Экзамен для перехода в 4-й теоретический курс только поверочный.

На выпускном экзамене для получения звания учителя церковного пения и теории музыки требуется:

Представление небольшого сочинения для хора и оркестра (гимна, песни, небольшой кантаты и т.д.), написанного без помощи преподающего.

Выпускной балл 3.

Сочинение церковной музыки

(Обязательный предмет)

4-й теоретический курс

I урок в неделю

Курс практический

Разбор и упражнения в сочинении православной церковной музыки.

На выпускном экзамене на звание учителя церковного пения и теории музыки требуется:

Представление большего сочинения для хора с применением контрапунктического стиля (концерта, причастного стиха и т.д.), написанного без помощи преподающего.

Выпускной балл 3.

История всеобщей и русской музыки и церковного пения

3-й и 4-й теоретические курсы

(Предмет обязательный)

- 1) Музыка до христианской эры;
- 2) Церковная и народная музыка первых веков христианства;
- 3) Происхождение и развитие контрапункта;
- 4) Эпоха возникновения и развития оперы;
- 5) Развитие музыки с половины 18-го века до нашего времени;
- 6) История народной и светской музыки в России;
- 7) История церковного пения: а) в церкви восточной (в первые века христианства) и б) в церкви русской;
- 8) Практическое знакомство с основами крюковой семиографии.

На выпускном экзамене для получения звания учителя церковного пения и теории музыки требуется:

Изустные ответы по всему пройденному.

Выпускной балл 3.

Игра на фортепьяно

(Предмет обязательный)

3-й и 4-й теоретические курсы

Курс практический, с упражнениями в чтении нот и транспонировке.

На выпускном экзамене на звание учитель церковного пения и теории

музыки требуется:

- А) Исполнение этюда и пьесы;
- Б) Сопровождение инструмента соло или голоса;
- В) Чтение нот с листа;
- Г) Транспонировка с листа;

Выпускной балл 3.5

Чтение партитур и дирижировка (дирижирование)  
(Обязательные предметы)

3-й и 4-й теоретические курсы

Упражнения в хоровом классе и в оркестром классе Придворной капеллы, где присутствие учеников 3-го и 4-го курсов обязательно для упражнений в оркестровой игре, дирижировании и чтении партитур под руководством профессора, а также для пробы упражнений в сочинении. На выпускном экзамене на звание учителя церковного пения и теории музыки требуется:

Разучить и продирижировать экзаменное светское сочинение с хором и оркестром, а духовное с хором.

Выпускной балл 3.

64. Локшин, Д. Л., Замечательные русские хоры и их дирижеры (Москва, 1963) стр.30:

Регентский класс при Придворной капелле дает возможность приготовить учителей на всю Россию, а потому значение регентского класса гораздо шире, чем оно может казаться. Хороший учитель церковного пения принесет народу не менее пользы, чем хороший учитель в сельской школе.

73. Соколов, Н. А., <Воспоминания о Н. А. Римском Корсакове> Русская музыкальная газета 4I (1908) стр.866:

Н. А. дирижировалъ оркестромъ учащихся въ полномъ его составе, или занимался съ одною изъ оркестровыхъ группъ; перекладывалъ различныя пьесы для ученическихъ ансамблей; проверял как инспекторъ наличность нотныхъ суммъ, а также издаваемыхъ Капеллою и поступавшихъ въ продажу нот; хлопоталъ надъ упорядочениемъ библиотеки; выписывалъ,

заказывалъ, принималъ, распределялъ и отдавалъ въ починку инструменты; велъ личныя сношения съ преподающими, съ воспитанниками, которыхъ онъ зналъ какъ родныхъ детей, съ поставщиками и т.д.

74. Локшин, Д. Л., Замечательные русские хоры и их дирижеры стр.28-9:  
Он заботался о разностороннем развитии мальчиков учеников, о поднятии художественной квалификации взрослых хористов, о расширении их кругозора, выказывая в своем отношении к тем и другим черты высокой гуманности.
76. Римский Корсаков, Н. А., Летопись моеи музыкальной жизни стр.233-4:  
Я занимался съ малолетними певчими чемъ только могъ: первоначальной игрой на фортепяно, элементарной теорией, прослушиваньемъ ихъ скрипичныхъ и виолончельныхъ уроковъ, лишь бы приучить ихъ къ сколько нибудь правильнымъ занятиямъ, къ серьезному взгляду на ихъ музыкальную будущность и возбудить въ нихъ охоту и любовь къ искусству.
77. Ляпунова, А. С., Н. А. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинении: литературные произведения и переписка т.5 стр.173:  
Я ужасно дорожу тем, чтоб оркестровый класс был бы не только полезен, но и по возможности приятен ученикам, и что они его любят.
78. Кремлев, Ю., А. Оссовский: Воспоминания. Исследования (Ленинград, 1968) стр.26:  
В классе Николая Андреевича царила строгость, дисциплина, прямота и простота ... Николай Андреевич не только давал нам, своим ученикам, образования, но и воспитывал. Он смотрел на обязанности учителя как обязанности отца, друга, няньки, слуга.
79. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплева, И. А., Н. А. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинении: литературные произведения и переписка т.8а стр.119:  
Капелла меня радует: в ней заботится благородный дух; мальчики

учатся охотно, всякие постановки в угол, на колена и т.д. почти совершенно исчезают.

91. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплева, И. А., Н. А. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинении: литературные произведения и переписка т.8а стр.138:

С Балакиревым мы все более и более далеки, хотя и не ссоримся.

92. Ляпунова, А. С., Н. А. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинении: литературные произведения и переписка т.5 стр.172:

Когда мы с Вами вдвоем, то говорите, что хотите и как хотите, но раз между нами находятся капельские и, в особенности, мальчики, то, бога ради, воздержитесь.

94. Римский Корсаков, Н. А., Летопись моей музыкальной жизни стр.294:

Отношения съ Балакиревымъ стали такъ натянуты, дело въ Капелле велось такъ безтолково, весь составъ служащихъ по капелле, за исключениемъ музыкальныхъ преподавателей, мне такъ не нравился, вся капельская атмосфера была такъ пропитана сплетней и лицепрятиемъ, что было весьма естественно съ моей стороны желать уйти оттуда; ко всему этому присоединилось и мое тогдашнее утомление.

98. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплева, И. А., Н. А. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинении: литературные произведения и переписка т.8а стр.221-2:

Обвиняют Балакирева, подозревают ссору и т.д. Причины моего выхода для всех следующие: я чувствую себя нездоровым и переутомленным; имею за собой 33 года службы, а выходя по болезни, и всех 35, что дает мне порядочную до(ба)вочное содержание, дарованное мне гос(ударем) имп(ератором) за 25 летие полезной музыкальной деятельности; я желаю освободить себя от излишков занятия службой, чтобы иметь свободное время для сочинения, которым желаю заниматься без переутомления. Кажется, причины достаточные? Теперь для вас прибавлю, что служба с Балакиревым в богомольной ханжествующей Капелле, в которую нынче вступили некоторые весьма подозрительные

личности, для меня невыносима. Отношения мои с Балакиревым никуда не годятся, как вам известно, поэтому естественно и то, что я нахожусь вечно в раздражении, что мне и неприятно и вредно.

II9. ЦГИА ф.468 оп.42 ед.хр.42 л.1:

Придворная капелла как собственный Его Императорского Величества певческий хор, не может быть поставлен ниже какого бы то ни было певческого в России хора; и кроме того, Придворная капелла есть единственное духовно музыкальное учреждение которому силою особых Высочайших повелений предоставлено:

- 1) наблюдение за регентами всех архиерейских певческих хоров по всей России, по сношению с Епархиальным начальством, не исключая и Синодального хора;
- 2) выдача регентам аттестатов на обычение певческих хоров и,
- 3) цензура всех духовно музыкальных сочинениях.

I26. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр.2673 л.604:

Мои наблюдения над составом басов и теноров хора Придворной Капеллы привели меня к полному убеждению о совершенном упадке и совершенном незнании этими певцами не только того что называется постановкою голоса, но даже, стыдно доложить, и самых нот, самых простых гамм, самых нетрудных интервалов, даже певческого обихода.

I28. Смоленский, С. В., <Заветы С. В. Смоленского регенту церковного хора> Регентское и хоровое дело I2 (1915) стр.217:

Кроме чисто практических знаний порядка богослужения, умения обращаться с церковными книгами, умения находчиво ориентироваться и не терять присутствия духа, надо отлично знать все осмогласные напевы в их местной гармонической редакции и все пьесы, входящая в репертуар хора. Это отличное знание должно быть осмыслено ясным пониманием гармонического построения всех этих сочинений.

I33. ЦГИА ф.1109 оп.1 ед.хр.104 л.2:

Новое мое место очень трудным по массе подлости интриг и всякой

злости Питерских самолюбивых музыку с те, более же того от невеества и гни избалованных певчих.

I34. Липаев, И., <С. В. Смоленский (Из воспоминаний и переписки)>  
Русская музыкальная газета 37-8 (1915) стр.557:

Дальше мне идти некуда...все же болит мое сердце. Они привыкли к конфетам Балакирева. Они приучены к подачкам незаслуженным. Я их не мог дать. Мы на разных дорогах. Все пошло против меня.

I45. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.2866 л.І:

Воспитаники Капеллы обучаются в Регентском классе совместно с приходящими его учениками. Эти посторонние ученики принимаются в классе без всяких сведений о их благонадежности и проводят большую часть времени вне надзора начальства капеллы. При таких условиях в среду воспитанников Капеллы может проникнуть, особенно в настоящее тревожное время, опасный в политическом отношении элемент.

I46. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.2838 л.І0:

1. С сентября 1907 года прием посторонних учеников на все курсы Регентских классов прекращается;
2. Ученикам, состоявшим в этих классах в 1906-7 учебном году предоставляется право докончить свое регентское образование и держать экзамены на свидетельства всех разрядов, на условиях и по правилам, изложенным в Высочайше утвержденном 17 марта 1884 года Положении о Регентском классе;
3. Оставшиеся для окончания своего образования ученики Регентского класса не имеют права оставаться на повторительный год в одном и том же курсе, и, в случае невыдержания переходных испытаний на следующий курс, должны оставить Регентский класс;
4. Программа преподавания для доканчивающих свое регентское образование учеников остается та же, каковая была установлена Положениям 1884 года о сем классе;
5. За свое обучение ученики вносят 100 руб. в год, с уплатою по полугодно вперед;
6. Ученики должны иметь свои скрипки с принадлежностями, камертон,

- учебники и ноты, необходимые для прохождения курса;
7. Ученики обязаны исполнять все дисциплинарные правила, установленные Начальством Капеллы;
  8. Ученикам, выдержавшим испытание и получившим их главных предметов не менее 4 (при пяти балльной системе), а из прочих предметов не менее 3 выдаются от Придворной Капеллы свидетельства трех разрядов:
    - а) ученикам, прошедшим подготовительный курс, свидетельство 3 го разряда на звание регентского помощника;
    - б) ученикам, прошедшим подготовительный, первый и второй (теоретические) курсы, свидетельство 2-го разряда на звание регента, и
    - в) прошедшим полный курс свидетельство I-го разряда на звание учителя церковного пения и теории музыки.

147. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр 1496а л.62:

Высочайше утвержденное 4го Октября 1908 года Положение о Регентских классах Придворной капеллы:

1. Регентские классы имеют целью подготовить из воспитанников Придворной Певческой Капеллы музыкально образованных регентов для православных церковных хоров и преподавателей хорового пения;
2. В регентских классах обучаются исключительно воспитанники Придворной Капеллы;
3. Регентские классы содержатся на счет сумм, ежегодно отпускаемых из средств Министерства Императорского Двора;
4. Регентские классы состоят из трех классов: первого с двухгодичным курсом, второго у третьяго с одногодичным курсом каждый. Комплект учеников каждого класса определяется с утверждения Министерства Императорского Двора;
5. В регентских классах преподаются нижеследующие предметы:
  - А) Основные: гармония, контрпункт, канон, fuga, музыкальные формы и энциклопедия, история музыки, православное церковное пение и Церковный Устав;
  - Б) Добавочные: игра на фортепиано и скрипке, постановка голоса и

хоровое пение;

6. Подробныя программы для всех классов и курсов и условия перевода в высше классы утверждаются Министром Императорского Двора по представлению Придворной Капеллы;

7. Ученики, удовлетворительно прошедшие курс и выдержавшие установленныя испытания, приобретают право на получение аттестатов трех разрядов:

окончившие первый класс: аттестата 3-го разряда на звание помощника регента,

" второй " : " 2-го " " " регента,

" третий " : " 1-го " " " учителя церковного пения и теории музыки,

Примечание. Лица, окончившия регентские классы с аттестатом 1-го или 2-го разряда и желающия открыть частные регентские курсы в объеме пройденной ими программы, могут обращаться в Придворному Капеллу с ходатайствами о выдаче им также особых свидетельств, удостоверяющих должную их подготовку к обучению регентскому делу;

8. Аттестат выдается только по выходе воспитанника из Капеллы и не ранее, как по достижении им 16-ти летнего возраста. Если между окончанием класса, дающаго права на аттестат одного из разрядов выходом ученика из Капеллы пройдет более года, то для получения аттестата ученик должен подвергнуться поверочному экзамену по программе соответствующаго класса;

9. Ученики регентских классов, окончившие курс с аттестатом одного из трех разрядов, при выходе из Капеллы имеют право на получение из средств Министерства Императорского Двора единовременно на первоначальное обзаведение, если притом они не воспользовались денежными выдачами за окончание инструментальнаго класса в одинаковом или большем размере:

получившие аттестат 1-го разряда...100р.

" " 2-го " ...75р.

" " 3-го " ...50р.

10. Посторонния лица, православнаго исповедания, не моложе 16 лет,

не обучавшиеся в регентских классах Придворной капеллы, допускаются, с разрешения начальства Капеллы, к испытаниям при Капелле в объеме программ сих классов с правом, в случае выдержания испытаний, на назначаемые начальством Капеллы и своевременно объявляемые во всеобщее сведение;

- II. С означенных в предыдущем параграфе лиц взимается за производство испытаний плата в пользу экзаменаторов в размере 20 руб(лей) с каждого лица.

М.И.Д. Барон Фредерикс

- I49. Черепнин, Н. Н., Воспоминания музыканта (Ленинград, 1976) стр.26: Профессор Соловьев был очень сердечный в его отношениях с учениками его, очень тщательно работал в классе, но у него очень мало этого внутреннего энтузиазма, который всегда передаваться ученику, и его преподавание был немного официально.

36. Преображенский, А. В., <Д. С. Бортнянский 1751 1825г.> Русская музыкальная газета 40 (1900) стр.912:

Такия мысли в первой четверти нашего столетия могли быть достоянием только весьма немногих лиц, обладавших даром провидения и обнимавших своею мыслию дело церковного пения во всей его полноте и значении.

43. Львов, Ф. П., <Церковная музыка> Северная пчела 97 (1831) стр.4:

1. К обыкновенному Церковному пению Россияне привыкли, и как в простом воспитании напев церковных стихов известен каждому, то большая часть людей, в церкви стоящих, зная молитву и напев оной, по навыку следуют за голосом и за словами молитвы, которая не развлекается неожиданными музыкальными переменами Итальянского стиля;

2. Употребление Итальянской музыки в церквах, и при лучшем исполнении, неудобно с той стороны, что музыка сия простому народу непонятна, и народ ни какой обыкновенной молитвы в сем пении отличить не может; многие из простых людей от церкви отстали, не находя уже в оной того пения, к которому они привыкли с младенчества;

3. При некоторой разборчивости в музыкальных произведениях праметно, что Итальянская музыка, будучи разнообразнее в своих гармонических оборотах, часто бадает в стиль театральный, и прелестью своею увлекая знающего слушателя, выводит его невольню из благоговения и из духа молитвы, а не знающего отвращает. Греческая же, напротив того, простотою своею, величием и плавностию, возвишая чубствующаго человека к молитве, побуждает его к излиянию духа в оной, а незнающаго и к обыкновенному пению привыкшаго, не отбращает.

46. ЦГИА Ф.472 оп.1 ед.хр.3 л.3:

Мера сие состоит в образовании стариннаго нашего церковного пения, брагоценные остатки онаго сохронялись у нас в нотных церковных книгах. Из прилагаемой у сего записки видно сколько необходимо

привести в правила, и в четырех голосный состав, знаменный, демественный, киевский, и другие распевы, принятые в нашей Церкви, в том уважении, что превосходная музыка сия непосредственно принадлежить нашему Богослужению, и что богатый источник у нас одних и есть, при постепенной разработке и по мере очищения, польется во все те места, где Церковное пение употребляется, и составить особенное украшение благочестию, а с сим вместе откоются средства и к воспитанию малолетних певчих, и к сохранению всего полного хора, без всякаго казне отягощения.

49. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.І ед.хр.292І л.І7:

Петр Турчанинов определен был к Придворной Певческой Капелле для приведения в гармонический порядок древняго церковнаго песнопения и для обучения оному певчих, и что в следствие сего о производстве ему назначеннаго жалованья по І600 руб(лей) в год.

58. Львов, А. Ф., <Записки> Русский архив 5 (1884) стр.85:

При полных хорах, сопраны и теноры поются произвольно и, приличняя разность, с которой исполняется в разных местах один и тот же напев, представляют и то неудобство, что теноры, не имея положительных для них нот, дозволяют себе разныя кудрявыя выходки, вовсе при церковной музыке неуместныя.

59. Доммер, А. фон, Руководство к изучению истории музыки (Москва, 1884) стр.577:

Книги эти важны для историка церковнаго пения тем, что показывают, в каких неумелых руках находилось церковное пение в эту эпоху. Книги эти полны всяких недостатков: во первых, название не соответствует содержанию, так как в них многое важное из нашего церковнаго богослужения пропущено, во вторых, допущены отступления от способа исполнения церковных напевов.

60. Арнольд, Ю. А., Воспоминания Юрия Арнольда (Москва, 1892) стр.37:

Я не мог не заметить, что Турчанинов довольно строго придерживался мелодий изданнаго Святейшим Синодом <Нотного обихода>, которая,

большую часть, он поручал альту, так что сопранный голос оказывался у него настоящим "дискантом", т.е. вторящим голосом. На счет мелодических и гармонических же оборот и, в особенности, в умении естественного голосоведения, конечно, я невольно должен был признавать первенство Бортнянского над Турчаниновым, в переложениях которого явно выказалось дилетантическое только знание и понимание.

67. Львов, А. Ф., 0 свободном или несимметричном ритме (Ст. Петербург, 1858) стр.6:

Дать слову молитвы наиболее явственное выражение. Ясно, что такое пение не только должно совершенно сообразоваться с значением молитвы, которую оно сопровождает, и подчиняться смыслу ея; но и самые нотные знаки должны вполне подчиняться ритму словъ, отнюдь не искажая ихъ.

70. Львов, А. Ф., 0 свободном или несимметричном ритме стр.12:

Я полагаю, что лучше всего ставить вертикально разделы по частямъ и отделамъ какъ словъ, такъ и нотъ въ ихъ совокупности, что и послужитъ для поющихъ точками опоры.

71. Львов, А. Ф., 0 свободном или несимметричном ритме стр.13:

Кто понимаетъ важность молитвы и внимательно следитъ во время пения за словами ея, тотъ не можетъ не ощущать великаго наслаждения, слыша ея въ сопровождении простой и приличной гармонии, при исполнении которой все голоса произносятъ речь въ одно время, следовательно явственно, и въ размере тактовъ сообразуются съ естественными ударениями словъ. Ни трели, ни рулады, ни другия какия либо вычуры не должны украшать церковнаго пения, въ простыхъ и чистыхъ звукахъ котораго возносится молитва ... Языкъ молитвъ нашихъ имеетъ особенный характеръ: ему долженъ соответствовать и характер пения.

80. ГПБ ф.446 ед.хр.66 л.1:

В гармонии новопреложенного четвероголосного Церковнаго пения, Церковный напев и некоторых частяхъ ясно слышен и привыкшим к

церковному пению слухом удобно узнается, а в некоторых частях не так ясно слышен и как бы затмевается гармонией, и не легко узнается.

81. Львов, А. Ф., <Записки> Русский архив 5 (1884) стр.84:

Четырехголосная гармония не составляет той полноты, того органного эффекта, который мы слышим при исполнении простаго напева. Вошед в подробнейшее рассмотрение сему причин, я увидел, что, по принятому с давняго времени обычаю, вышесказанная четырехголосная гармония в хоре придворном имеет еще подразделения, исключительно нашей древней церковной музыке принадлежащая и весьма способствующая к исправному исполнению церковной музыки, которая не поддерживается никакими инструментами.

Высокий бас поет коренной напев вместе с сопрано и тем служит весьма полезною поддержкою неопытности мальчиков и точному приему напевов; второй сопрано поет с первым тенором, второй тенор с альтом, а низкий бас ... остается неудвоенным. Сим составом гармония является точно в том виде, как мы ее слышим в придворных церквах.

84. Разумовский, Д. В., Церковное пение в России т.2 (Москва, 1868) стр.248:

Придворное пение имеет свое признанное достоинство и свою славу. Однако любящий и знающий древнее церковное пение может сказать, что некоторыя части придворнаго пения сохранили близость к духу и характеру древняго церковнаго пения, а некоторыя от перелагателей изменения не к лучшему.

85. Арнольд, Ю. А., Воспоминания Юрия Арнольда стр.71:

Хотя нельзя сказать, чтобы эти переложения, равно как и самостоятельные духовные кантики Львова, вполне соответствовали духу древняго нашего церковнаго пения, но нельзя также и отрицать, что они исполнены истинно религиознаго духа. Гармонизация этих песнопений всегда полнозвучна и сообразна с текстами, но, конечно, основана на общеевропейском, а не на специально древне русском церковном стиле.

86. Преображенский, А. В., Алексей Федорович Львов (Ст. Петербург, 1908):

Для своего времени это издание было целым событием, так как отсутствие подобного образцового изложения обычных напевов вносило беспорядочность в пение церковных хоров, а восполнение его было не под силу не только отдельным лицам, но и каким либо другим, кроме Капеллы, учреждениям.

90. Львов, А. Ф., <Записки> стр.97:

Эти упрямые невежи не могли помириться с мыслью, что порядок церковнаго пения совершается не ими, а лицом духовенству не принадлежащим. Особенно архимандрит Донскаго монастыря Феофан, человек хитрый, злой, самолюбивый и безнравственный, невежа во всей силе слова и к несчастью сам воображавший, что может писать ноты и что оне составят честь и славу России (это его собственное выражение), делал и делает мне разныя неприятности, превидя, что ноты, им писанныя, при рассмотрении их директором Придворной Певческой Капеллы, будут найдены негодными. Феофан подстрекал подобных себе монахов и попов, а те митрополита Филарета, который, будучи чужд всякаго познания в музыкальном искусстве, не знал, кому верить.

92. Металлов, В. М., Очерк истории православнаго церковнаго пения в России стр.116:

Всякий диссонанс, всякий хроматизм был бы величайшей ошибкой и искажил бы вполне всю самобытность наших церковных напевов и их строгий, всегда величественный и спокойный характер.

96. Одоевский, В. Ф. Мнение Князя В. Ф. Одоевскаго по вопросам, возбужденным Министром Просвещения по делу о церковном пении (Ст. Петербург, 1866) стр.7:

Эта монополия, как превосходно разъяснено Высокопреосвященнейшим Митрополитом Московским, ни на чем не основана кроме как на смешении понятий. Переложения или сочинения, изданные Капеллою под различными названиями и напечатанныя италиянскою нотою несомненно

составляют ее собственность, на правах авторской собственности, не более; но, издания напечатанные церковными нотами, в один голос, по благословию Св. Синода ... суть собственность Синода, и от него одного может зависеть дать, или не дать дозволение кому бы то ни было повторить сии издания в том виде, как они напечатаны. Но гармонизация или положение на 2, 3, 4 и более голосов сих самых одноголосных напевов должна, кажется, быть общим достоянием всех православных.

99. Металлов, В. М., Очерки истории православного церковного пения в России стр.118:

Строгий характер в ходе сопровождающих голосов, при благоговейном и точном исполнении опытными певцами, может производить самое сильное впечатление на душу всякаго, молитвенно предстоящаго в храме.

102. ГТМБ Ф.486 ед.хр.657 л.1:

Государь Император из всеподданнейшаго доклада рапорта моего усмотреть изволил, что как до сих пор существовавший обиход нотнаго церковнаго пения при Высочайшем Дворе употребляемый по Высочайшему повелению Государя Императора Николая Первого, положенный на четыре голоса под руководством бывшаго Директора Придворной Капеллы А. Ф. Львова был составлен без всякой системы последовательности служб, не заключал в себе необходимых молитв и пересмотренный, дополненный и исправленный обиход во вторых частях, под руководством Директора Капеллы Н. И. Бахметева, в состав котораго вошли разбросанныя в разных книгах службы употребляемая: во всенощном бдении, утрени, Литургии, молебне, в великом посту и другия не внесенныя ни в какия книги, и за сим первое издание, под руководством бывшаго Директора Львова наполненное ошибками, из употребления изъемлется и исполнения по нем запрещается.

110. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплева, И. А., Н. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинений: Литературные произведения и переписка т.8а (Москва, 1981) стр.116:

Сижу за составлением Обихода, окруженный всякими Потуловыми,

Разумовскими и изданиями св(ятейшего) синода. В настоящую минуту вся всеобщая готова в одногласном виде и будет теперь гармонизоваться.

II2. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплеба, И. А., Н. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинений: Литературные произведения и переписка т.8а стр.125:

Я ничего не пишу и Обиход давно уже бросил: и так то уж скучная и сухая работа.

## Chapter 4

20. Локшин, Д. Л., Замечательные русские хоры и их дирижеры (Москва, 1963) стр.21:

Какие нежные голоса! Какая музыка! Какое выражение лица у каждого из них! Всякий не ноту только берет и не голос возвышает. Он в это время чувствует, восхищается, восторг одушевляет его черты.

21. Горчаков, Н., Опыт вокальной или певческой музыки в России (Москва, 1808) стр.40:

Ни одно Государство в Европе не имеет таких полных и многочисленных певческих Капеллой, какия есть теперь у нас.

22. Штелин, Я., Музыка и балет в России X III века (Ленинград, 1935) стр.58:

Кажется нельзя себе представить хор совершеннее и великолепнее, чем хор императорской придворной капеллы, основанный императрицей Елизаветой.

32. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр.2673 л.402:

Государь Император известясь, что в многих церквах поют по нотам не соответственно тому роду пения, какое может быть принято в церквах, Высочайше повелел: дабы впредь неводить в употребление тетрадей рукописных, кой отныне строжайше запрещаются, но все, что ни поется в церквах по нотам, должно быть печатное и состоять или из собственных сочинений Директора Придворного Певческого хора Действительного Статского Советника Бортнянского или и других известных сочинителей но сих последних, сочинения непременно должны печатаемы быть с одобрения Г. Бортнянского.

55. Кашкин, Н. Д., Очерки истории русской музыки (Москва, 1908) стр.52:  
Бортнянский несомненно был талантлив, но его талант был не особенно крупный и почти лишенный самостоятельность. Несмотря на долговременное пребывания в Италии, он не был хорошим контрапунктистом и владел контрапунктической техникой довольно поверхностно. В своей манере сочинения он совершенно подчинился влиянию своих итальянских учителей.
56. Преображенский, А. В., Культовая музыка в России (Ленинград, 1924) стр.77:  
Бортнянский склонен к мелодически лирическому стилю, напоминающему неаполитанскую школу, или стиль Дуранте до того, что в сочинениях Бортнянского иногда встречаются даже мотивы самого Дуранте.
57. Преображенский, А. В., Культовая музыка в России стр.77:  
Можно указать в операх Галуппи целые места, перенесенные его учеником Бортнянским в наше церковное песнопение.
59. Смоленский, С. В., <Памяти Д. С. Бортнянского> Русская музыкальная газета 39 (1901) стр.922:  
Теперь, через 100 слишком лет, после опытов последнего времени, трудно уже говорить, что эти переложения Бортнянского могут назваться вполне русскими.
61. Горчаков, Н., Опыт вокальной или певческой музыки в России (Москва, 1808) стр.26-7:  
Сей почтенный муж не престаёт обогащать пение превосходнейшими своими сочинениями, из коих в недавнее время вышедшие более прекрасны и совершенны. Он с великим искусством умеет изображать священные песни разнаго содержания особенною музыкою, и даже многия слова особенными тонами, по приличию их смысла; то есть в концертах его музыка принаровлена к словам, а не слова к музыке, как это приметить можно во многих сочинителях пения.

62. Фатыхова, Э. А., Деятельность русских композиторов первой половины XIX-го века в Придворной певческой капелле Дисс. Ленинградская Консерватория (1989) стр.7:

Бортнянский должен был отклонить слушателей от витиеватых украшений, коими иностранные артисты одевали нашу церковную музыку, чудесные очарования слуха заменить одним наслаждением сердечным и, следовательно, вместо пышной роскоши концертной услаждать сердца и возбуждать чувства простым и чистым пением. Этой перемены нельзя было произвести вдруг и потому что иноземную роскошь вообще тогда уже полюбили и с нею сдружились.

74. Орлова, А. А., Летопись жизни и творчества М. И. Глинки (Ленинград, 1978) стр.156:

О высочайшем повелении:

1. Придворному хору постановить в обязанность приготавливаться ежегодно к трем концертам, которые обыкновенно даются в течение великаго поста в пользу инвалидов, женского патриотического общества и музыкантских вдов и сирот;
2. I й концерт в пользу музыкантских вдов и сирот с участием придворного хора может быть только повторением одного из означенных концертов;
3. Дабы назначаемые для вышеупомянутых трех концертов пьесы придворные певчие могли исполнять с тем совершенством, какого можно от них требовать, то в выборе пьес вам непременно участвовать.

75. Гусин, И. Л. и Ткачев, Д. В., Государственная академическая капелла (Ленинград, 1957) стр.31:

Коим дозволялось петь или играть в этих вечерах, если по усмотрению директора придворной Певческой капеллы таланты их будет того заслуживать.

83. Гусин, И. Л. и Ткачев, Д. В., Государственная академическая капелла стр.32:

С самого начала основания Концертного общества, с самых же первых

концертов, данных им в 1850 году, концерты эти заняли самое высшее место во мнении и уважении нашей публики. Никому не пришло бы и в голову сравнивать их с которым бы то ни было из концертов, слышанных здесь, так разительна разница их от всех остальных наших концертов.

86. Стасов, Д. В., <Музыкальные воспоминания (1840-60х годов)> Русская музыкальная газета 12 (1909) стр.321:

И вот тут то мы, можно сказать, в первый раз в жизни начали слышать действительно хорошее, тонкое оркестровое исполнение гениальных вещей Бетховена и других авторов. В первом же концерте услышали <Фантазию> для ф(орте)п(иано) с оркестром и хором Бетховена (ор.80), ф(орте)п(иано) партию исполнял Ант. Авг. Герке и играл прекрасно. В этом же концерте были исполнены: 4-ая симфония В-дур Бетховена и хор из <Judas Maccabeus > Генделя. Исполнение было превосходное; публика, в высшей степени сочувствующая, была наэлектризована, и впечатление всего слышанного было такое сильное, какого я прежде еще никогда от музыки не испытывал. Следующего концерта не знал как дожидаться, а в нем исполняли всю музыку к <Bismarckstraum> с хорами и 7-ю симфонию Бетховена. А в 3-м концерте 5-ю симфонию с-молл и скерцо из 3-й симфоний. Львов был страстный поклонник и обожатель Бетховена, а потому в каждом концерте непременно исполняли что нибудь из Бетховена.

88. Стасов, Д. В., <Музыкальные воспоминания (1840-60х годов)> стр.321:

Этого последняго было очень трудно добиться, так как А. Ф. Львов просто завидовал или ревновал Глинку и третировал его с высоты величия, не считал довольно достойным, чтобы что нибудь Глинки появлялось в "его" Концертном Обществе наряду с Бетховеном, Мендельсоном и Вебером, а Глинка, в свою очередь, презирал его, как автора, и хвалил только, как отличного исполнителя.

104. Никольская Береговская, К., Развитие школы хорового пения в России (Москва, 1974) стр.39:

Не должно петь церковное пение с таким выражением.

105. Львов, А. Ф., О церковных хорах (Ст. Петербург, 1853) стр.7:  
При общей спевке наблюдать, чтобы ни один из голосов, хор составляющих, не пересиливал другаго; ибо хорное пение тогда только совершенно, когда слушатель, слыша всех певчих, не различит никого особенно.
108. Стасов, В. В., Статьи о музыке т. I (Москва, 1974) стр.74:  
Где есть нынче такой хор, как хор Придворной русской калеллы, состоящей под управлением А. Ф. Львова? Репутация этого хора довольно уже утверждена в наше время и, конечно, всего менее нуждается в новых доказательствах с моей стороны. Кто из чужих краев едет в Россию, знает, что ему, в числе самых замечательнейших редкостей нашего отечества, не имеющих себе подобных в остальной Европе, следует стараться узнать наш придворный хор, точно так, как в Риме ему следовало бы увидеть церковь св. Петра, или во Флоренции галерею Питти, или в Лондоне мраморы Парфенона. Не узнать, не услышать этого хора в Петербурге значит пропустить без внимания, без изучения одно из совершеннейших проявлений музыкального искусства.
109. ГПБ ф.446 ед.хр.17 л.1:  
Деведенный неусыпными трудами и глубокими познаниями знаменитого своего директора до той степени усовершенствования, за которой дальнейшие успехи кажутся уже невозможными, хор русских придворных певчих является в наше время почти единственным представителем чистого, высокого, истинно церковного пения.
- III. Голубовский, И. В., Музыкальный Ленинград (Ленинград, 1958) стр.154:  
Капелла – самый прекрасный хор, который нам когда либо приходилось слышать: басы временами напоминают низкие звуки органа, а дисканты звучат волшебно, лучше самых прекрасных женских голосов. Тончайшие нюансы и оттенки заучены предельно, порой даже слишком изящно и детально.

II3. ЦГИА ф.499 оп.1 ед.хр.2673 л.57:

Нигде в православных церквах не вводить новых духовно музыкальных сочинений, без предварительного одобрения оных Директором Придворной певческой капеллы, одобрения же им употреблять не иначе, как в печатных экземплярах и притом с разрешения Святейшаго Синода.

II7. ЦГИА ф.468 оп.42 ед.хр.2085 л.3:

Не допускать пения в церквах, во время Божественной Литургии, вместо причастного стиха, музыкальных произведений новейшаго времени, печатных или рукописных, которыя существуют под названием концертов.

I30. Преображенский, А. В., Культовая музыка в России стр.93:

<Приклони, господи, ушко твое> и <Услыши, господи, молитву мою> капитальнейшие нумера в дукчовно музыкальном творчестве Львова.

I32. Гарднер, Й. вон, <Алехей Феодорович Львов> Православный путь стр.193-4:

1. Классическая четырехголосная гармония, как в свободных сочинениях, так и в переложениях ... уставных напевов;
2. Хор поминается как однохарактерный инструмент (орган, фисгармония), а не как ансамбл различных тембров ...;
3. В переложениях основная мелодия (кантус фирмус) находится в верхнем голос ...;
4. Применение исключительно мажора и гармонического минора ...;
5. Применение хроматизмов, даже в некоторых переложениях уставных напевов ...;
6. Никаких уклонений от правильного четырехголоснаго хоральнаго склада не допускается (удвоения голосовых партий не в счет); если мелодия в подлинник не допускает правильльной гармонизации, она может быть слегка изменена.

## Chapter 5

2. Серов, А. Н., Статьи о музыке т.5 (Москва, 1989) стр.149:

Было когда то Филармоническое обшество (теперь осталась только тень его: мало помалу, через исключительные, неусыпные и долголетние попечения о своих вдовах и сиротах оно превратилось в Филантропическое.

33. ЦГИА Ф.1119 оп.1 ед.хр.76 стр.7:

Последный из более существенных указов Св. Синода (23 декабря 1880г.) устанавливает с полной твердостью, что Духовно цензурный Комитет, в случае представления автором только для разрешения к напечатанию и выпуску в свет какого либо дух(овно) муз(ыкального произ(ведения), а не для одобрения вместе с ними к употреблению при богослужении имеет не только право, но и обязанность признать сочинение к своему рассмотрению и может разрешать к напечатанию и выпуску в свет без всякого предварительного на то дозволения Директора Придворной певческой капелле.

37. Компанейский, Н. И., <Значение Н. А. Римского Корсакова в русской церковной музыки> Русская музыкальная газета 39-40 (1908) стр.840: Безцельное нагромождение гармонических эффектов и диссонирующих аккордов.

40. Золотарев, В., <Николай Андреевич Римский Корсаков в певческой капелле> Советская музыка 9 (1948) стр.54:

Вообще то хор капеллы обслуживал исключительно церковные службы при дворе. Но раза два в году он выступал и в концертах со <светкой> музыкой. Так, например, ежегодно хор капеллы участвовал в сводном концерте в пользу инвалидов. Эти концерты были очень популярны и охотно посещались публикой.

41. Золотарев, В., <Николай Андреевич Римский Корсаков в певческой капелле> стр.55:

В ту пору ежегодно торжественно праздновался день святого

Александра. В честь Александра Невского в Александро Невской лавре, также славившейся своим хором, по установившейся традиции выступали оба хора: наш в полном составе во главе со Смирновым — на правом клиросе, и лаврский с Львовским (известным регентом и духовным композитором) — на левом. Получалось своеобразное <состязание певцов>, привлекавшее к себе многочисленных любителей и знатоков хорового пения, своего рода — <болельщиков>. *Обе стороны задолго и тщательно готовились к этому дню.*

49. Гусин, И. Л. и Ткачев, Д. В., Государственная академическая капелла имени М. И. Глинки (Ленинград, 1957) стр.58 :

Со смертью Смирнова умерло чудесное пианиссимо хора капеллы.

52. Музалевский, В. М., Старейший русский хор (Ленинград Москва, 1938) стр.32 :

Соблюдение правил гармонии должно быть столь же известно грамотным музыкантам, как грамматическое правило грамотным людям.

53. Компанейский, Н. И., <Значение Н. А. Римского Корсакова в русской церковной музыки> стр.838 :

В этот период печатались духовно музыкальные сочинения только г.г. директоров капеллы или неопасных для их славы конкурентов из регентов перелагателей: Турчанинова, Ломакина, Воротникова и прочих подбирателей аккордов к искаженным мелодиям ... Взгляд Р. Корсакова на монополию вполне обрисован, в письме его ко мне, следующими словами: <Я всегда остаюсь склонным возставать против какой либо цензуры и в том числе против духовно музыкальной.> И это было сказано не для красного словца. Когда был поднят вопрос о цензуре нот со словами духовного содержания, установленной тайно духовным ведомством, то Р. Корсаков подписался одним из первых под протестом поданным композиторами в Св. Правит. Синод.

58. Ляпунова, А. С., М. А. Балакирев и В. В. Стасов. Переписка т.2 (Москва, 1970) стр.II7:

Нынешнее лето мне совсем не везет за разными делами, и вместо дела я

принужден был это время писать духовные пьесы для издания капеллы на те тексты, на которые не хватило музыки.

67. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплева, И. А., Н. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинении: литературные произведения и переписка т.8а (Москва, 1981) стр.117-8:

Он велел разучить мое <Достойно> да два <Хвалите>, но, должно быть, что то ему это мало нравится, потому что пели да и бросили, а я так и не слышал своих вещей. Недавно переложил я догматик I-го гласа (знаменного распева) и, кажись, недурно, как, думаю, еще никто не перекладывал, сверх того написал <Тебе бога хвалим> на мелодию 3-го греческого гласа – двухорный тоже, кажись, довольно порядочно вышел.

68. Ляпунова, А. С., Милий Алексеевич Балакирев: Летопись жизни и творчество (Ленинград, 1967) стр.264 :

<Херувимская> Ф дур прекрасная и, в сущности, пока единственная ему удавшаяся. Летом он их много написал; но так бсе неважно – просто одна хуже другой.

69. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплева, И. А., Н. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинении: литературные произведения и переписка т.8а стр.130 :

Я готовлю к изданию несколько духовных пьес. Как музыка чистая они нехороши, но как прикладная, думаю, что годятся и укажут настоящий церковный православный стиль: не заграничный (Бортняского) и не книжно исторический (Потулов, Разумовский, Одоевский и прочих полумузыкантов), путающийся в гармонизации ноты против ноты знаменного распева, созданного для унисона.

71. Зорина, А. П. и Коноплева, И. А., Н. Римский Корсаков. Полное собрание сочинении: литературные произведения и переписка т.8а стр.140 :

Духовные сочинения Ваши и Азеева пошли в Москве в ход. Хоры, исполняющие их в церквах, предпосылают в газетах заметки, что в

Такой то, мол, церкви, таким то хором спюют новые духовные сочинения Корсакова или Азеева. Никогда еще до сих пор не бывало таких извещений о той или другой церковной службе.

73. Компанейский, Н. И., <Значение Н. А. Римского Корсакова в русской церковной музыке> стр.840:  
(Сочинения Римского Корсакова) ... имеют громадное значение, т.к. положили основу современному направлению церковной музыки. Все сочинения этой серии написаны на мелодии, заимствованные из нотных церковных книг, преимущественно Киевского роспева. В них введена обычная старинная музыкальная форма, запевы исполняемые канонархом или головщиком, присоединение прочих голосов контрапунктически постепенно, или подхватом массою. Отдельные партии прерываются, либо хоровою массою, либо пением одним голосом, соло. Различная степени сгущения и наслоения голосовых красок сообщают этим церковным песням колорит чисто русского народного хора. В особенности подчеркивается характер массоваго простецкаго народного пения параллелизмом голосов.
74. Кашкин, Н. Д., Очерки истории русской музыки (Москва, 1908) стр.155:  
Состоя на службе в Придворной капелле, Римский Корсаков написал довольно много церковной музыки, причем, некоторыя из сочинений этого рода послужили исходной точкой для новаго движения в этой области.
90. Компанейский, Н., <Концерт придворной певческой капеллы> Русская музыкальная газета 5 (1902) стр.145:  
Нельзя обойти молчанием, что в исполнении капеллы наблюдается усовершенствование. Пение сделалось как то свободнее, увереннее и голоса звучат, в особенности тенора, светлее. Повидимому, певцы не ограничиваются только разучиванием партий, но и упражняют свой голос в искусстве пения.
93. А. К., <Концерт певческой капеллы> Санкт Петербургские ведомости 9 ноября 1907 №249 стр.3:

Поражают переходы о нежнейшаго *piano* к грозному *forte* .

Запутанныя контрапунктические сочетания новейших авторов передаются удивительно точно даже маленькими сопранистами, от которых никак нельзя было ожидать этого. Хор стал петь еще лучше: рука новаго управляющаго капеллоу Н. Ф. Соловьева сказывается везде.

94. А. Кв., <Концерт певческой капеллы> Биржовие ведомости 13 февраля 1908 №10351 стр.5:

Нужно было удивляться, с каким искусством эти малыши ... пели свои нелегкия партия. Молодой дирижер г. Богданов выказал себя мастером. ... С тех пор, как граф А. Д. Шереметев и профессор Н. Ф. Соловьев стали во главе капеллы, хор ея стал неузнаваем: какое богатство аттенков, какая сила, например, в басах!

95. А. М. <Духовный концерт в Придворной певческой капелле> Театр и спорт 106 (1910) стр.250 :

Нужно ли повторять в сотный раз, что хора равнаго хору П. П. Капеллы, нет нигде? Не даром иностранцы с таким, на этот раз действительно искренным, восторгом отзываются о нем. В этой истине можно было легко увидеться во вчерашнем его концерт. Редкостное пение оставило в высокой степени глубокое впечатление, ни с чем несравнимое.

## Glossary

antiphon - a hymn sung by two choirs in alternation

bandura - a Russian stringed folk instrument, similar to the lute

dogmatiki - hymns, often dedicated to the Virgin Mary, containing key Orthodox doctrinal points in poetic form

gusli - a Russian stringed folk instrument, similar to the psaltery

irmos - the opening stanza of a kanon or hymn, almost always a syllabic setting of the text

kanon - a series of verses based on nine Biblical canticles which is sung to a short pattern melody

kondaki - collect hymns

kontakion - a poem, usually twenty to thirty stanzas in length, based on the biblical text appointed for the day sung to a single melody

napev - a melody belonging to a particular chant group

obikhod - a collection of the most important and most commonly used chant melodies, set out in accordance with the liturgical calendar

popevki - melodic formulae which serve as the building blocks for znammenyi chant

prichasten - a communion hymn, usually consisting of a verse from a psalm followed by an 'alleluia'

prokimen - one or two verses taken from a psalm which are sung immediately before the reading of the Holy Scripture

raspev - technically a chant system, although the terms raspev and napev are generally used interchangeably

stikheron - a poetic verse, eight to twelve lines in length, proper to a given feast, which is inserted between the verses of a psalm or hymn

troparion - a single-verse hymn, based on the liturgical theme for the day, commonly sung as a choral refrain between the verses of a psalm which are sung by a soloist

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--- , Vecheri tvoeya tainyya [Of thy mystical supper] (St. Petersburg,  
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