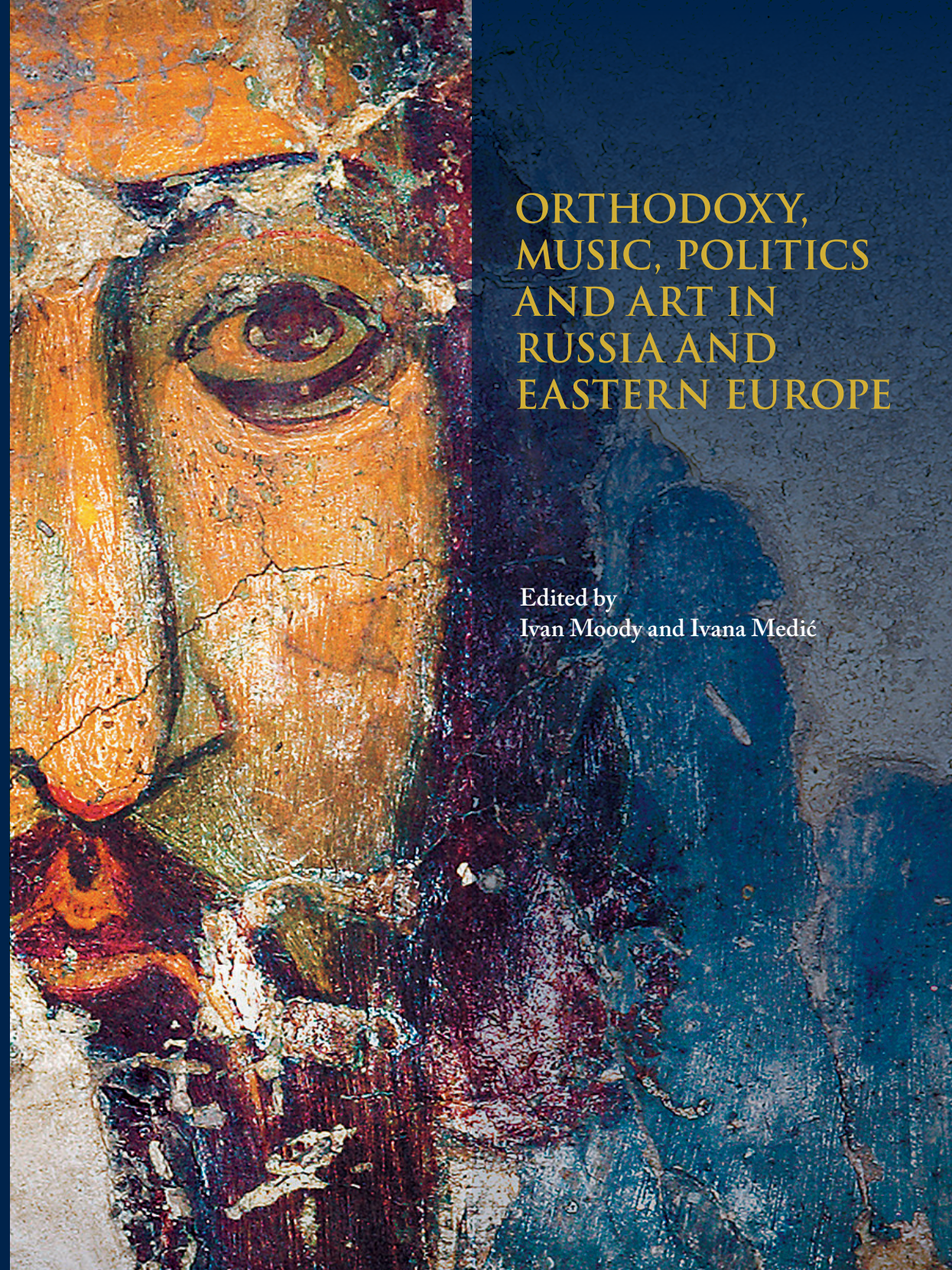The present volume originated in the conference and festival *Orthodoxy, Music, Politics and Art in Contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe* held at Goldsmiths, University of London, in March 2013, inspired and encouraged by the late Professor Alexander Ivashkin. In the meantime, the original papers, covering a broad range of topics, have been thoroughly revised and brought up to date, thus ensuring a unique assemblage of articles that shed light not only on each other, but far beyond, suggesting, it is hoped, ways in which these topics might continue to be addressed in the future.

Thus, in this collection, we move from Byzantine chant to the Russia of the Old Believers, figures of huge cultural significance such as Sergei Vasilenko and Stepan Smolensky, and the intersections between mediaeval Russia and film music in the work of Sergei Prokofiev. There are revelatory chapters dealing with music and its interconnections with Orthodoxy, politics and the other arts in Latvia, Serbia and Balkan Europe more generally, and, in the final section, ground-breaking approaches to the role of music in the films of Andrei Tarkovsky, and discussions of aspects of the music of Sofia Gubaidulina, Galina Ustvolskaya, Nikolai Korndorf and Vladimir Martynov.

Edited by Ivan Moody and Ivana Medić

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Goldsmiths
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Institute of Musicology
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Ivan Moody and Ivana Medić (eds.)

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EDITED BY IVAN MOODY AND IVANA MEDIĆ

Памяти Александра Васильевича Ивашкина (1948–2014)
In memoriam Alexander Vasilyevich Ivashkin (1948–2014)

(photo: Lina Prokofieff)

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Katya Ermolaeva is a musicologist, music editor and music educator specializing in Russian and Soviet music and American children's music. She received her Ph.D. on Sergei Prokofiev's opera *War and Peace* from the University of St Andrews / Royal Conservatoire of Scotland in 2018. She has presented her research in North America, the UK, and Russia and her critical edition of the uncensored, first version of *War and Peace* was premiered by the Welsh National Opera in 2018.

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Rachel Jeremiah-Foulds completed her PhD on the music of Galina Ustvolskaya in 2016, at the Centre for Russian Music, Goldsmiths, under the co-supervision of Alexander Ivashkin and Ivan Moody, and has subsequently continued her research on the spiritual aesthetics of contemporary Russian music. She is currently training for ordained ministry in the Anglican Church at Ripon College, Cuddesdon.

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Ivan Moody studied music and theology at the Universities of London, Joensuu and York. His compositions have been performed all over the world. As a musicologist he has specialized in music and spirituality, music from Russia and the Balkans, and music from the Mediterranean. He is a Researcher at CESEM – Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Universidade Nova, Lisbon, and Chairman of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music.

Gregory Myers is an independent musicologist, publisher and bibliographer residing in Vancouver. Specializing in the music of Russia and the Balkans, he researches, publishes and lectures on music in the mediaeval period and post-World War II. He has held research fellowships at the Moscow Conservatory, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Ohio State University, University of Illinois, Centre for Advanced Study in Sofia, and the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St John's, Minnesota.

Tatiana Soloviova is an Oxford-based Russian singer, scholar, music teacher and therapeutic coach. She has published articles on the church music of Sergei Rachmaninov, Sergei Smolensky and Arvo Pärt, and wrote the historical introduction for *Russian Sacred Music for Choirs* published by the Oxford University Press. Her book *Stepan Smolensky and the Golden Age of Russian Sacred Music* is available on Amazon.
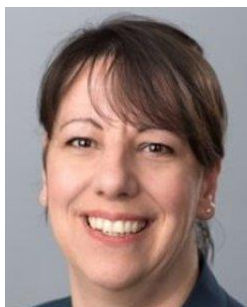
Tara Wilson is a British musicologist, who completed a PhD on Russian minimalist music at the Centre for Russian Music, Goldsmiths, University of London in 2015. Her research specialisms include Russian and post-Soviet music, minimalist music, as well as theory and analysis, notably in relation to post-structuralist methods and music semiotics. Having carried out post-doctoral research in Moscow, she is the author of several publications in the UK, Europe and Russia.

Foreword

This collection of essays is dedicated to Alexander Ivashkin (1948–2014), a long-standing Professor, Chair in Performance Studies, Director of the Centre for Russian Music, curator of the Alfred Schnittke Archive at Goldsmiths, University of London and a virtuoso cellist. The collection grew out of the Conference and Festival *Orthodoxy, Music, Politics and Art in Contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe*, held at Goldsmiths, University of London, 16–17 March 2013, and jointly organized with the University of Eastern Finland, by Alexander Ivashkin and Fr Ivan Moody, who was then Professor of Church Music at the UEF. The initiative, however, belonged to Alexander, with whom the possibility of such a project had been discussed over several years. The event was a tremendous success, but alas, Ivashkin's sudden illness and death on 31 January 2014 meant that he would not see the present publication, which has undergone a series of delays that have, in the end, in fact only enriched its content. As a Visiting Research Fellow with the Centre for Russian Music at Goldsmiths and a disciple of Ivashkin, Ivana Medić took over his role as a co-editor of the present volume, which also includes chapters from four of Ivashkin's former students: Elena Artamonova, Tatiana Soloviova, Rachel Jeremiah-Foulds and Tara Wilson. The book comprises shorter essays, as well as longer, thoroughly researched studies, covering a wide range of topics and dealing with both sacred and profane, Greek, Russian, Latvian, Bulgarian and Serbian music, inspired by the Orthodox tradition.

The central idea behind the event, and the subsequent publication, was always the exploration of connections between Orthodoxy, music, politics and art in the broadest sense, unhindered by specific ideological considerations or disciplinary straitjackets, but rather bringing together expertise from a number of related areas in such a way that every contribution might spread light on one or more of the others. Thus, while the emphasis in general is on Russia and Eastern Europe, we begin the volume with a contribution dealing with Byzantine chant. This has practical and symbolic significance: the Byzantine tradition lies at the heart of Orthodox musical practice, but, as Achilleas Chaldaeakes's paper shows, it has never been a tradition immune from the reality of that unfortunate phenomenon known as "Church politics". Nevertheless, it is the music that

survives, and the detailed analysis of Patriarch Athanasios's kalophonic heirmoi provides some intriguing possibilities for future scholarship and performance.

From the Byzantine world we move to that of Russia. Elena Artamonova sheds new light on the figure of Sergei Vasilenko, whose investigations into the music and culture of the Old Believers make of him far more than the marginal figure he has often been assumed to be. Though far better known, Stepan Smolensky is still an under-appreciated figure in the West, and Tatiana Soloviova's chapter places his work within the context of the rediscovery of early sacred chant in Russia. He too was interested in the chant of the Old Believers, but whereas Vasilenko's approach was decidedly that of a composer, Smolensky's was that of what we would now call a musicologist. This detailed contextualization of his work brings that to the fore, whilst always bearing in mind the deep influence he had on younger Russian composers of the period. Mediaeval Russian chant might, on the other hand, be little associated with the music of Prokofiev in most people's minds, but Katya Ermolaeva's thorough discussion shows just how far the technical details of the characteristic trichord permeated the music he wrote for Eisenstein's film *Ivan the Terrible*.

The four subsequent chapters deal with music in other countries of Eastern Europe. Jūlija Jonāne provides an overview of the way in which Russian Orthodox musical traditions have influenced the composition of sacred music in contemporary Latvia, a country that was of course annexed by the Soviet Union, but is also distinguished by its multi-confessional nature. Predrag Đoković and Ivana Medić discuss different aspects of music in Serbia: Đoković gives a presentation not only of the situation of sacred music during the Communist period in the country, but a discussion of the consequences of this for Serbian musical culture in recent years. Medić, on the other hand, provides more than a glimmer of light in her discussion of the influence of Orthodox church music used by Serbian composers in their piano music. Ivan Moody's chapter is placed more or less at the centre of the book as an attempt to give a wide-ranging account of the intersections of politics, modernism, religion and music in Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia.

The last section of the book brings together five chapters dealing with various aspects of contemporary Russian music. Paulo Eustachi takes us on a personal journey through the Orthodox-inflected world of Tarkovsky and other film directors, particularly in terms of the music they chose for their films. Boris Belge discusses the importance of the role of religion in the music of Sofia Gubaidulina, and Rachel Jeremiah-Foulds undertakes a similar task for a very different composer, Galina Ustvolskaya. The work of the enigmatic Russian-Canadian composer Nikolai Korndorf, and in particular his early setting of texts from the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, is examined in detail by Gregory Myers, and Tara Wilson gives a fascinating

account of the role of Russian Orthodoxy in the music of the maverick composer Vladimir Martynov.

We are grateful to Dr Tamsin Alexander, Lecturer at Goldsmiths and Head of the Centre for Russian Music, as well as Dr Gavin Dixon, who secured the collaboration between Goldsmiths and the Institute of Musicology SASA on the present volume. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia provided funds necessary for the preparation and publication of this book. We would also like to thank our colleagues at CESEM – Universidade Nova, Lisbon and the Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade, and last but not least, our outstanding peer reviewers – one of whom, Dr Dimitrije Stefanović (1929–2020), Fellow of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and one of the foremost experts in Orthodox church music is no longer amongst us, but his legacy lives on.

<div style="text-align:right">

Ivana Medić and Ivan Moody
Belgrade / Lisbon, October 2020

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Achilleas G. Chaldaeakes

Reflections of Ecclesiastical Policy in Sacred Music: The Case of Patriarch Athanasios V

Historical Aspects

Reflections of any ecclesiastical policy upon the creation of sacred music as a whole is something given in Eastern chant, especially in the field of Byzantine Music, the music of the Eastern Orthodox Church. In the present chapter, I shall focus on the case of Patriarch Athanasios V,[1] and endeavour to analyse this specific phenomenon.

The Patriarch of Constantinople Athanasios V (whose last name was Margounius) is an exceptionally important figure in the Church, well known in the relevant historical research.[2] He was a Cretan; historians described him as "a wise man, whose outstanding success was scandalous for the clergymen of the time; he would read European books, he translated into Greek

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[1] Cf. Achilleas Chaldaeakes, «Ἀθανάσιος Μαργούνιος, ὁ ἀπὸ Τορνόβου καὶ Ἀνδριανουπόλεως Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (ὁ Ε΄)», s.v., *Μεγάλη Ὀρθόδοξη Χριστιανικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* 1, 2010, 297–299; Idem, "A Patriarch's Chant. Athanasios V", in a booklet published by *Cappella Romana* (Alexander Lingas founder and artistic director), 23rd Season: 2013/4, for two concerts given under Achilleas Chaldaeakes, as guest conductor, on Friday 8 November 2013 at St. Mary's Cathedral, Portland, Oregon & Saturday 9 November 2013 at St. Demetrios Greek Orthodox Church, Seattle, Washington.

[2] Germanus, Bishop of Sardes and Pisidia, *Συμβολὴ εἰς τοὺς πατριαρχικοὺς καταλόγους Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τῆς Ἁλώσεως καὶ ἐξῆς*, Part II (1702-1936), Konstantinople, 1938, 12–15; M. J. Gedeon, «Ὁ Πατριάρχης Ἀθανάσιος Ε΄», in *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν* 3, 1940, 193–205; Tasos Ath. Gritsopoulos, «Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Ε΄», s.v. *θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* 1, 1962, 520–521; M. Manousakas, «Νέες εἰδήσεις γιὰ τὸν Κρητικὸ οἰκουμενικὸ πατριάρχη Ἀθανάσιο Ε΄ τὸ Μαργούνιο (1709–1711)», in *Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Γεωργίου Κουρμούλη*, Athens, 1988, 451–468.

the *Thesaurus Liguarum Orientalium* of Meninski and encouraged people to-wards education;"[3] moreover, he is reported as "an expert in Greek, Latin and Arabic dialects, while being a perfect musician."[4]

It seems that after a brief stay in an Arabic-speaking area (probably in Egypt or Palestine, or possibly somewhere near the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, where – logically – he learnt the Arabic language) he resided in a region in Constantinople, where he acquired a richer education (not only in Greek but also in Latin studies) and gradually rose to ecclesiastical office.[5]

Historical sources prove that since 1687 Athanasios V was been the Bishop of Tarnovo, but one should note that he held that position even earlier than that;[6] in 1686 he was already mentioned as Bishop of Tarnovo, in a composition of his, anthologized in a codex written by the monk of Iviron Monastery in Mount Athos, Kosmas the so-called Macedonian, the composition being a *polychronion* to Serpanos, Master of the Ougrovlachia region.[7]

He served in the said Metropolis until 1692, when he was transferred to the Metropolis of Adrianople, after he succeeded Bishop Klemes, who had

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[3] K. M. Koumas, *Ἱστορίαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀπανθισθεῖσαι καὶ τὰ νεώτερα ἐξ ἀρίστων Γερμανῶν ἱστοριογράφων ἐλευθέρως μεταφρασθεῖσαι.* Vol. X. Vienna-Austria, Anton v. Haykul, 1831, 394; ["*Ἀθανάσιος Ε΄, μητροπολίτης Ἀνδριανουπόλεως, ἀνὴρ σοφός, εἰδήμων ὄχι μόνον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Λατινικῆς καὶ ἄλλων Εὐρωπαϊκῶν γλωσσῶν, καὶ τῆς Ἀραβικῆς προσέτι, διεδέχθη τὸν Κυπριανόν. Ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ἔξοχος προκοπή του ἦτο σκάνδαλον εἰς τοὺς τότε κληρικούς. Ἀνεγίνωσκε βιβλία Εὐρωπαϊκά, ἐμετάφραζε εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ γλῶσσαν τὸ τετράγλωσσον λεξικὸν τοῦ Μενινσκίου· ἐπαρακίνει τὸ γένος εἰς τὴν παιδείαν. Τοιαῦτα σφάλματα ἐκίνησαν τὴν γλῶσσαν τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἢ ὑποκριτῶν νὰ τὸν κηρύξουν αἱρετικὸν καὶ νὰ τὸν κρημνίσωσιν ἀπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν καθέδραν"*]; cf. Gedeon, op. cit., 193.

[4] George Vendotis, *Προσθήκη τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Μελετίου Μητροπολίτου Ἀθηνῶν, πρὸς ἐξακολούθησιν τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν τόμων, ἐρανισθεῖσα μετὰ μεγάλης προσοχῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἐκ διαφόρων ἀξιολόγων συγγραφέων εὑρισκομένων ἐν τῇ περιφήμῳ Κ.Β. Βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς Βιέννης εἰς τὴν ἁπλῆν ἡμῶν διάλεκτον παρὰ Γεωργίου Βενδότη τοῦ ἐκ Ζακύνθου, νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπιταγῇ μὲν καὶ δαψιλεῖ δαπάνῃ τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου Εὐγενεστάτου καὶ Γαληνοτάτου Πρίγκηπος καὶ Ἡγεμόνος πάσης Οὑγγροβλαχίας κυρίου κυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Κωνσταντίνου Μορούζη Βοεβόδα ᾧ καὶ προσεφωνήθη, ἐπιστασίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀκριβεῖ ἐπιμελείᾳ Πολυζώη Λαμπανιτζιώτη τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, τόμος Δ΄, περιέχων τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ συμβάντα ἀπὸ τοὺς χιλίους ἑπτακοσίους χρόνους τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Γεννήσεως ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον, δηλ. ὅλου τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος.* Vienna-Austria: George Vendotis Editions, 1795, 5 ["*Ἀθανάσιος Ἀνδριανουπόλεως, ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος, εἰδήμων τῆς τε Ἑλληνικῆς, Λατινικῆς καὶ Ἀραβικῆς διαλέκτου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ ἦν τέλειος"*]; cf. Gedeon, ibid.

[5] Cf. Manousakas, op. cit., 466–467.

[6] Ibid.: 451–455.

[7] See Codex No. 970 of Iviron Monastery in Mount Athos (*Papadike*), ff. 225ʳ–226ᵛ: *Μητροπολίτου Τουρνόβου κυρίου Ἀθανασίου, εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην Οὑγγροβλαχίας· ἦχος δ΄ Πολυχρόνιον ποιῆσαι;* cf. Gr. Th. Stathes, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς – Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκητῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους.* Vol. III, Athens, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, 1993, 727; Konstantinos Karagounes, *Ἡ παράδοση καὶ ἐξήγηση τοῦ μέλους τῶν Χερουβικῶν τῆς βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς μελοποιίας,* Athens, Institute of Byzantine Musicology–Studies 7, 2003, 383.

abdicated.[8] He served as Bishop of Adrianople until 1709, when he was elected Patriarch of Constantinople (either on 27 or 28 May 1709[9]), succeeding his predecessor Cyprianos, characteristically described by himself in one of his epistles (written on 28 May 1709) which were addressed to Chrysanthos, Patriarch of Jerusalem.[10]

In the aforementioned letter by Athanasios, one can clearly understand that the political authority of that period intervened in his life; at first sight, this intervention seems irrelevant to his musical activity, although later it would define not only the rest of his life but also the specific aspects of his work. The story, according to the letter, is as follows: the patriarchal Synod elected Cyril, Bishop of Cyzikus as a successor to Cyprianos. When this news was broken to the Vizier Çorlulu Ali-Pasha (who was descended from Tiroloi of Thrace), a son-in-law of Sultan Mustapha II, the Vizier refused to observe this Synodic resolution and imposed Athanasios, Bishop of Adrianople, as a successor to the former Patriarch.[11]

Athanasios's patriarchal reign was rich in activities; there are many Acta of Church Canon Law and many other epistles he sent while he was Patriarch;[12] and to quote historians again, "… on account of the intense and severe way he began to rule, he was envied and slandered to the Vizier as a money lover and an innovator in our religion [….] and although he had

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[8]   Manousakas, op. cit., 455–460.

[9]   Gedeon, op. cit., 195.

[10]   Ibid., 199–200 ["Ἀποβληθέντος καὶ γὰρ τοῦ προχρηματίσαντος πατριάρχου κὺρ Κυπριανοῦ, δι' ἀγωγῆς κινηθείσης κατ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἠδικήθησαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ βήματος, ἐνώπιον τοῦ ὑπερτάτου ἐπιτρόπου, οὗ τῇ προσταγῇ συμπαρέστημεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπαξάπαντες οἱ συναδελφοὶ ἀρχιερεῖς, οἵτινες ἐρωτηθέντες ἐξείπομεν τὴν κατάστασιν ἐκείνου, ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει, κἀντεῦθεν καὶ ἀποβληθέντος, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐγένετο σκέψις κοινὴ καὶ συνοδικὴ εἰς ἐκλογὴν ἑτέρου προσώπου, τοῦ ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς οἰκουμενικῆς ταύτης καθέδρας, καὶ ἐξελέγη εἰς τοῦτο ὁ συναδελφὸς ἅγιος Κυζίκου κὺρ Κύριλλος· εἶθ' οὕτω προσήλθομεν μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἱερότητος, προσκλήσει καὶ ἐπιταγῇ τῆς αὐθεντικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀπαξάπαντες, ἐπὶ τὸ φορέσαι δηλαδὴ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἱερότητα τὸ εἰθισμένον βασιλικὸν ἔνδυμα. Συμπαραστάντων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ αὖθις βήματος, καὶ τὸν ἐκλεγέντα ἀναγγειλάντων, ἐκεῖ ἠρωτήθημεν περὶ τούτου, περιβλεψάμενος καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον πάντας ἡμᾶς ὁ ὑπέρτατος ἐπίτροπος, κύκλῳ, προστάξει τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑψηλότητος, τὴν στάσιν εἰληφότας, ἀπεκρίνατο ἀποφηνάμενος ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον', τὸν προρρηθέντα δηλονότι, 'ἐξελέξασθε, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συγκατανεύω· οὗτος καὶ γὰρ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἐγγυησάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ, οὐκ ἦλθον δηλοποιῆσαί μοι ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἐκεῖνος πολιτεύεται. Τοίνυν (προσέφη) ἐγὼ ἢ τοῦτον (ἕνα ὄντα τῶν συναδελφῶν ἀρχιερέων), ἢ τοῦτον (τὴν ἐμὴν δηλονότι ἐλαχιστότητα) λέγω γενέσθαι πατριάρχην. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτον (ἐμὲ δηλονότι) ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ἐγκρίνω'. Ἐμοῦ δὲ παραιτουμένου καὶ μὴ κατανεύοντος, παροτρυνόντων δὲ καὶ συναναγκαζόντων με τῶν συναδελφῶν ἀρχιερέων, ἡ περιβολὴ ἐπεγένετό μοι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἱματίου, ἑκόντι ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπηκολούθησεν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἡ νενομισμένη μετάθεσις μετὰ παρρησίας αὐτάρκους (…) Ὁ ἔφορος τῶν ἁπάντων Θεός, ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἄρρητον αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν καὶ ἄκραν ἀγαθότητα ἐπενεγκών μοι τὸ τηλικοῦτον θειότατον ἀξίωμα παρὰ προσδοκίαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, γένοιτό μοι φύλαξ καὶ ὁδηγός…"]; cf. Germanus, op. cit., 12; Manousakas, op. cit., 461.

[11]   Gedeon, op. cit., 200; cf. Germanus, op. cit., 13–14.

[12]   Gedeon, op. cit., 195–200; Manousakas, op. cit., 461–466.

many followers, he was unexpectedly stripped of the patriarchal rank…;"[13] he was defrocked on 4 December 1711, while on 6 December his deposition was read in all the churches of Constantinople;[14] according to this document, "Athanasios became Patriarch not by canonical Church status but through pre-selection, whilst somebody else had already been chosen and appointed."[15] This quotation refers to the original election of Cyril, an election which the Vizier of that time invalidated in favour of Athanasios. Cyril succeeded Athanasios to the patriarchal throne (as Cyril IV: 1711–13). Thus, the Patriarch of Constantinople Cyprianos, during his second patriarchal rein (1713–14), set Athanasios free of all charges and ordered his innocence to be proclaimed to the churches of Constantinople.[16]

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13 Vendotis, op. cit., 5 ["Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ μὲ σφοδρότητα καὶ αὐστηρότητα ἄρχισε νὰ διοικῇ, ἐφθονήθη, καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς τὸν Βεζύρην, ὡς ἐραστὴς χρημάτων, καὶ νεωτερίζον εἰς τὰ τῆς θρησκείας ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σπουδὴ αὐτοῦ ἦν ἡ τῶν Φράγκων βίβλων ἀνάπτυξις, ἐμετέφραζε τότε τὸ τετράγλωσσον Λεξικὸν τοῦ Μενίσκη εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον. Ὅθεν ἀνελπίστως μ᾽ ὅλον ὁποῦ εἶχεν καὶ πολλοὺς συμβοηθοὺς ἐξάγεται τοῦ θρόνου, ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἐπατριάρχευσεν ἔτος ἕν, καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας"]; cf. Gedeon, op. cit., 193–134. See also Germanus, op. cit., 12–13.

14 Gedeon, op. cit., 198. Germanus, estimates that Athanasios was unfrocked "*during the three first days of December 1711*": Germanus, op. cit., 14.

15 Germanus, op. cit., 13 ["Ἐπειδὴ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ χρηματίσας πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀθανάσιος, **οὐ διὰ τῆς θύρας κατὰ τὴν κανονικὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἀλλ᾽ ἀλλαχόθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσῆλθεν** εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν αὐλὴν τῶν λογικῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θρεμμάτων, εἶτα ἐγκρατὴς ὁπωσδήπως γενόμενος τῆς πατριαρχικῆς ἀξίας καὶ προστασίας τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ θρόνου, **καίπερ ἄλλου προελεγέντος καὶ προσκληθέντος** κοινῇ ἐκλογῇ καὶ προσκλήσει, συγκαταθέσει τε καὶ κατανεύσει τῆς ἱερᾶς τῶν ἀρχιερέων συνόδου καὶ ὁμηγύρεως, παντός τε τοῦ κλήρου τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς τοῦ χριστωνύμου πληρώματος, οὐκ ἐπολιτεύθη κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπορεύθη τῆς νενομισμένης ὁδοῦ καὶ τῶν ὅρων ἐξεκυλίσθη τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ποιμαντορίας (...) σκέψεως τοίνυν συνοδικῶς γενομένης καὶ τρόπον τῆς ἀποβολῆς τούτου ἐπιζητούσης κατὰ δίκαιον τρόπον καὶ εὔλογον, ἔγνωσται τοῦτον μὲν τὸν ὁπωσδήπως, παρὰ τὸ εἰκός, χρηματίσαντα πατριάρχην Ἀθανάσιον (...) ἐκβληθῆναι τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῆς πατριαρχικῆς ἀξίας ἐξωσθῆναι, εἰς ἣν καὶ παρὰ κανόνας εἰσέφρυσεν, ὡς διείληπται, ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ πρόσωπον ἕτερον ἐκλεχθῆναι, καίτοι προεκλελεγμένον ὑπάρχον, καὶ ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ θρόνου καὶ διοικῆσαι τοῦτον προσφόρως καὶ συμφερόντως καὶ τοῦ χριστωνύμου πληρώματος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι νομίμως τε καὶ κανονικῶς κατὰ τὸ πρέπον καὶ δίκαιον· τούτου χάριν οἱ ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ ταύτῃ τῶν πόλεων ἀρχιερεῖς, γνώμῃ καὶ διασκέψει κοινῇ γράφοντες ἀποφαινόμεθα συνοδικῶς ἵνα ὁ χρηματίσας οὗτος παρὰ κανόνας πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀθανάσιος, ὡς ὑπεύθυνος καὶ αὐτοκατάκριτος, καθῃρημένος εἴη τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς καὶ ἀξίας καὶ ἀπόβλητος τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ θρόνου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως..."].

16 See: Ibid., 14, where a part of the aforementioned synodical epistle of Athanasios's innocence, probably the one read to the Churches of Constantinople, an epistle without any date, found in patriarchal archives, is also published ["Ἐπειδὴ τοιγαροῦν προλαβόντος ἐπὶ τῆς πατριαρχείας τοῦ κὺρ Κυρίλλου καθαίρεσις ἐγράφη καὶ ἐξεφωνήθη ἀναγνωσθεῖσα κατὰ τοῦ παναγιωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου πατριάρχου πρῴην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κὺρ Ἀθανασίου, ἥτις οὐ κατὰ τὰς νενομισμένας περιστάσεις ἐχρημάτισεν, αἵτινες ἀποφαίνονται καὶ διορίζουσιν ἅπαντα ἐπίσκοπον μὴ καταδικάζεσθαι (...) ἀλλὰ (...) παρὰ κανόνας πάντως καὶ κατὰ πάθος, ὡς ἔχειν, τοῦ τότε πατριαρχεύοντος προὔχώρησεν ἡ καθαίρεσις (...), ὥστε παράλογος καὶ ἔξω τῆς κανονικῆς διατάξεως οὖσα οὐκ ἔχει τὸ κῦρος, καὶ ἀκολούθως ἀθῶος καὶ ἀνεύθυνος εὑρίσκεται ἡ αὐτοῦ παναγιότης προφανῶς· ἀνθ᾽ ὅτου ἐπαναλαβούσης, θεοῦ ἐλέει καὶ χάριτι, τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος τὸν ἀποστολικὸν οἰκουμενικὸν θρόνον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης συνοδικῶς προβληθείσης, ἔγνωσται δεόντως καὶ ἐγγράφως ἀνασκευασθῆναι τὴν παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα συντελεσθεῖσαν καθαίρεσιν τῆς

After that, Athanasios seems to have spent time in repose in Constantinople; in 1716 (2 August) Patriarch Jeremiah wrote in one of his epistles that "Athanasios rests and I hope his holiness too will also rule […] he is my friend; we meet often as friends and we live together very peacefully;"[17] in 1718 Athanasios is also recognized as one of the signatories (together with the said Jeremiah and the aforementioned Cyril IV) of a document for the defrocking of Evthymios, Bishop of Tyre and Sidon.[18] His last epistle – as far as is known – is addressed to Chrysanthos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 28 May 1721.[19] Athanasios died in Constantinople; the exact date of his death is still unknown to us; however, taking into consideration all the above historical testimonies, it can be determined that he lived between the middle of the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th century approximately.[20]

Musicological Points

Athanasios is today also known as a complete and perfect musician; his musical education is clearly indicated through various testimonies located in musicological sources. I would, firstly, point out his reference to the "alphabetical catalogue of those who flourished in this kind of music [i.e. Greek sacred music] at various times", a catalogue originally written (between 1743-1749) by Cyril Marmarinos, Bishop of Tenos and afterwards copied by

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αὐτοῦ παναγιότητος· τούτου χάριν γράφομεν καὶ ἀποφαινόμεθα συνοδικῶς ἵνα τῆς προεκδοθείσης καὶ ἐκφωνηθείσης κατὰ τοῦ κὺρ Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου καθαιρέσεως ἀκύρου τε καὶ ἀνισχύρου οὔσης καὶ ἀντ᾿ οὐδενὸς λογιζομένης, ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὰς κανονικὰς διατάξεις τελεσθείσης, ὁ διαληφθεὶς παναγιώτατος καὶ λογιώτατος πατριάρχης πρῴην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κὺρ Ἀθανάσιος, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφός, ἀθῶος καὶ ἀνεύθυνος καὶ ἀνέγκλητος ὤν οὕτω καὶ παρὰ πάντων λογίζηται καὶ γινώσκηται, ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν καὶ εὐλάβειαν παρὰ πάντων τὴν ἀνήκουσαν τῇ πατριαρχικῇ αὐτοῦ ἀξίᾳ καὶ ἐνεργῶν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον, ἀκωλύτως τὰ ἀρχιερατικὰ κατὰ τὴν πατριαρχικὴν αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν, ὅτε δεήσει, εἰδήσει τοῦ κατὰ τόπον προϊσταμένου· ὅθεν εἰς ἔνδειξιν ἀπελύθη καὶ ἡ παροῦσα συνοδικὴ ἀθώωσις τῆς αὐτοῦ παναγιότητος"]. Gedeon notes that the one who set Athanasios free of all charges and ordered his innocence to be read to the Churches of Constantinople (on December 6th 1713) was the Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril IV; he is also adding that they both co-conducted a service on December 26th 1713: Gedeon, op. cit., 198–199.

[17] Gedeon, op. cit., 199 ["*...ὁ κὺρ Ἀθανάσιος ἡσυχάζει καὶ ἐλπίζομεν νὰ κυβερνηθῇ καὶ ἡ παναγιότης του (...) φίλον τὸν ἔχομεν καὶ ἀνταμωνόμεθα συχνάκις ὡς φίλοι καὶ εἰρηνικῶς μάλα διάγομεν...*"].

[18] Ibid.

[19] Penelope Stathi, *Χρύσανθος Νοταρᾶς Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων. Πρόδρομος τοῦ Νεοελληνικοῦ Διαφωτισμοῦ*, Athens, 1999, 259.

[20] Manousakas estimates that Athanasios was born around 1655-60 and probably died in 1739; see Manousakas, op. cit., 466; it has to be noted that last date is also mentioned in Germanos, op. cit., 15.

both Nikephoros Kantouniares of Chios and Chrysanthos of Madytos,[21] in which he is described as "Athanasios Patriarch of Constantinople, disciple of Balasios."[22]

Athanasios's apprenticeship to the priest Balasios, which definitely took place in Constantinople (where Balasios lived and was active during the last three quarters of the 17th century) is a fact of great importance; his musical education might have been completed (in parallel with the rest of his grammatical studies, as well as with any other form of his progression up the ecclesiastical hierarchy) while his teacher Balasios was young and powerful, widely and honourably known in Constantinople as a man of letters and an excellent musician.

Moreover, other men from Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical circles who served at the Great Church of Christ were also students of Balasios; for instance, a hieromonk from Rhodes, known as Joakeim Salabases, who later became Bishop of Byzies, must, obviously, have been a fellow student of Athanasios;[23] yet another well-known student of Balasios, not only in musical but also in grammatical education (the latter held at the Patriarchal School of Constantinople), was also Chrysanthos the so-called Notaras, who

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[21] Achilleas Chaldaeakes, "'All master composers of Greek ecclesiastic music': An initial step on a new History of Greek sacral music", in *10th International Music Theory Conference; Vilnius, October 20–22, 2010; Principles of Music Composing: Sacred Music,* Vilnius, Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre – Lithuanian Composers' Union, 2010, 126–137.

[22] See Codex No. 305 of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens (autograph of Cyril Marmarinos, A.D. 1749), f. 86[r]: *"Ἀθανάσιος Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, μαθητὴς Μπαλασίου"*; cf. Codex No. 1427 of Vatopedio Monastery in Mount Athos (autograph of Nikephoros Kantouniares, A.D. 1810), 659: *"Ἀθανάσιος Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, μαθητὴς Παλασίου"* & Chrysanthos from Madytos, Archbishop of Dirraxion, *θεωρητικὸν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς,* Trieste, Michele Weis, 1832, XXXIII: *"Ἀθανάσιος Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, μαθητὴς Βαλασίου"* (cf. Katy Romanou, *Great Theory of Music by Chrysanthos of Madytos,* New Rochelle, New York, The Axion Estin Foundation, 2010, 233–234).

[23] Achilleas Chaldaeakes, "Иоаким Салабасис [Алабасис, Родосский (Линдосский)], митр. Визийский", s.v., *Православная энциклопедия* 23, 2010, 188–189; Idem, «Ἰωακεὶμ ὁ Σαλαμπάσης, μητρ. Βιζύης», s.v., *Μεγάλη Ὀρθόδοξη Χριστιανικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* 9, 2013, 142–145. It should be noted that the said Joakeim, amongst his oeuvre, has also composed a series of six Cherubic Hymns, which – according to a reference found in Codex No. Θ 153 of Great Laura Monastery in Mount Athos – were specifically composed "at the request of Athanasios, Bishop of Adrianople" [*"δι' αἰτήσεως Ἀθανασίου Ἀνδριανουπόλεως"*]; see Sophronios Eystratiades, «Θρᾷκες μουσικοί», in *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 12, 1936, 67, where it is clarified that "said Athanasios is a well-educated man from Adrianople, who succeeded the Cretan with the same name" [*"ὁ Ἀθανάσιος οὗτος εἶναι ὁ Ἀνδριανουπολίτης λογιώτατος Ἀθανάσιος, ὁ τὸν ὁμώνυμον Κρῆτα διαδεχθείς"*]; nevertheless, it would be interesting if any further research could support the possibility to assume that Athanasios Margounius is actually hidden under such a reference.

later became Patriarch of Jerusalem,[24] whom Athanasios himself, in some of their correspondence, describes as a brother and friend since childhood.[25]

Most specifically, Athanasios's musical activity is mainly based upon a handwritten musical codex of his, the only one known so far, Codex No. 1282 of the Monastery of Sinai (a book containing John Kladas's Akathistos Hymn melodies);[26] the manuscript is signed on f. 119[r] with the following note: "the present Oikoi were written by me, Athanasios Margounius from Crete, Bishop of Tarnovo, while being held in prison on account of the spitefulness of Patriarch Dionysios, in the year 1687 on the 1st day of June."[27]

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[24]　Manousakas, op. cit., 467, where (cf. note No. 68) Manousakas wonders if someone, "Athanasios, probably hierodeacon and musician (whose student was Mr Manuel, not the one from Kastoria)" [*"Ἀθανάσιος ὁ καὶ πιθανῶς διάκονος καὶ μουσικὸς (οὗ μαθητὴς ἦν ὁ κυρίτζη Μανωλάκης, οὐχὶ ὁ ἐκ Καστορίας"*], who is mentioned, in 1681, as a fellow student of Chysanthos in the same school (see M. J. Gedeon, *Χρονικὰ τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀκαδημίας. Ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις περὶ τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆς 1454–1830.* Konstantinople: Ecumenical Patriarchate Editions, 1883, 119), is actually identified as Athanasios Margounius; it has to be noted that there is also a similar and interesting reference recorded, though an anonym student of the latter Athanasios (who, additionally, appears herein as a teacher of Byzantine music), where he is referred to as an hiero-deacon as well; see Codex No. 328 of Xeropotamos Monastery in Mount Athos (*Anthology*, written between the end of 17th and the beginning of 18th century), f. 156[r]: *Ποίημα **τοῦ ἡμετέρου διδασκάλου κυρίου Ἀθανασίου ἱεροδιακόνου**· ἦχος δ΄ Πολυχρόνιον ποιῆσαι* [cf. Karagounes, op. cit., 385]; one can also find in that same codex the *"explanatory"* Trisagion of Athanasios (ff. 42[v]–43[v]), while its (anonym) scribe is also identified as a student of priest Balasios (f. 154[r]).

[25]　Manousakas, op. cit., 460, where two epistles of Athanasios, addressed to said Chrysanthos, are mentioned; the first one from 28 April 1707 (where their *"common habits since a young age"* [*"ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἀναμεταξύ τους συνήθεια"*] are pointed out) and the second from 17 November 1707 (where their *"fraternal disposition since childhood"* [*"παιδιόθεν ἀδελφικὴ διάθεσις"*] is also underlined).

[26]　Dimitrios Balageorgos and Flora Kritikou, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς–Σινᾶ. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων στὴν βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ.* Vol. I, Athens, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, 2008, 294–295; cf. Manuel Hadjigiakoumes, *Χειρόγραφα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς (1453–1820). Συμβολὴ στὴν ἔρευνα τοῦ νέου ἑλληνισμοῦ*, Athens, National Bank of Greece, 1980, 148–189; Manousakas, op. cit., 451. Another renowned work of Athanasios is a non-musical manuscript, which was written much later, during the time he was anointed Bishop of Adrianople, the late Codex No. 67 of Great Cave Monastery in Peloponnese (which included works of Neilos Kavasilas), signed – at f. 300[v] – as follows: *1699, Sunday 25 December, this manuscript was completed by me, the humble Bishop of Adrianople, Athanasios Margounius the Cretan* [: *1699, Δεκεμβρίου 25, ἡμέρα Κυριακή, ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἀνδριανουπόλεως Ἀθανασίου Μαργωνίου τοῦ Κρητός*]; see N. A. Vees, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου.* Vol. I, Athens, 1915, 66–67; Manousakas, op. cit., 452.

[27]　Balageorgos and Kritikou, op. cit., 294. Cf. V. N. Benesevic, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur.* Vol. III. 1. St. Petersburg 1917 [= Hildesheim 1965], 16; Hadjigiakoumes, op. cit., 148; Manousakas, op. cit., 451; the Greek version of the above-mentioned colophon is as follows: *οἱ παρόντες οἶκοι ἐγράφθησαν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀθανασίου, μητροπολίτου Τορνόβου,*

The testimonies gathered from this colophon are clearly of the utmost importance, as they reveal primarily and clearly not only his origin (Cretan) but chiefly the last name of Athanasios, i.e. Margounius; additionally, the hardships that Athanasios suffered "on account of Patriarch Dionysios's spitefulness" become evident in this indirect way; specifically, mention should be made of Patriarch Dionysios IV, the so-called Mouselimes († 1696), who was elected Patriarch five times; he persecuted Athanasios, for reasons still unknown today, during his fourth patriarchal rein (March 1686–12 October 1687)].[28]

In any case, Athanasios appears, circa 1687, as a musician of great mastery, a fact that allows us to presume that he successfully completed his musical studies several years earlier. In particular, the above-mentioned autograph musical codex, understandably, constitutes a brilliant example of his musical skills in general as well as a clear reflection of his broader musicality. Nevertheless, as expected, (given that the Codex comprises exclusively the Akathistos Hymn by John Kladas) compositions by Athanasios himself, which are known to us from a multitude of other musical sources, are missing from this specific manuscript.

Athanasios's oeuvre cannot be dated far from the time that was obviously active, as seen in this handwritten codex. It seems that his output had already been completed by the end of the 17th century, not only during his musical apprenticeship in Constantinople and his gradual ascent in the Church hierarchy, but also, mainly, while he served as Bishop of Tarnovo[29] (less, however, while he served as Bishop of Adrianople) and of course during his confinement on Mount Sinai; thus, it has been long ascertained that "Athanasios's oeuvre (such as for instance, his well-known kalophonic heirmoi, especially if we take into consideration their text) owes its formation to the hardships he had suffered during his confinement on Mount Sinai."[30] Finally, his oeuvre became widespread after the beginning of the 18th century, increasing his worldwide fame as Patriarch of Constantinople.

Athanasios's oeuvre includes some distinctive hymns of the Divine Liturgy (some of them transcribed into the New Method of Byzantine notation

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μαργουνίου τοῦ Κρητός· ὄντος μου εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπὸ ἐθελοκακίαν τοῦ πατριάρχου διονυσίου σερ ὀγλὰν· 1687 Ἰουνίου αη.

28 Manousakas, op. cit., 451–452.

29 Cf. *ibid.*: 455.

30 Hadjigiakoumes, op. cit., 148 ["*τὸ χφ ἔχει γραφτῆ προφανῶς στὸ Σινᾶ. Ἡ παραμονὴ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου ἐκεῖ ἐξηγεῖ καὶ τὴ σύνθεση τοῦ πολυελέου Ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα τὸν Κύριον (...) Τὸ ἴδιο ἰσχύει καὶ γιὰ ἕναν πολυχρονισμὸ στὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Σιναίου Νικηφόρο (...) Δὲν ἀποκλείεται ἀκόμη οἱ (...) γνωστοὶ καλοφωνικοὶ εἱρμοὶ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου, ἂν λάβη κανεὶς ὑπόψη τὸ κείμενό τους, νὰ ὀφείλουν τὴ σύνθεσή τους στὸν ἐμπερίστατο χρόνο τοῦ περιορισμοῦ του στὸ Σινᾶ*"].

by both Chourmouzios Chartophylax and Gregory Protoplsaltes);[31] a series of polychronia, composed in the fourth mode (polychronia are hymns dedicated to express wishes for long life to the Church Authorities; those of Athanasios are dedicated to the Archbishop of Sinai [Ioannikios],[32] the Bishop of Bursa [Gerasimos],[33] the Bishop of Nicomedia [Parthenios], the Exarch of Thessaloniki [Neophytos], the Master of Ougrovlachia [Konstantinos], and also generally to any bishop or other authority); one Cherubic Hymn composed in the first mode,[34] and two Sunday Communion Hymns, composed in the first and the first plagal modes.[35] Moreover, his composition upon the

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[31] Analytical details concerning Athanasios's oeuvre can be generally found in the following specific references: Eustratiades, op. cit., 48–49; Manuel Hadjigiakoumes, *Μουσικὰ χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453–1832).* Vol. I. Athens, 1975, 263-264; Eugenius Gerzmanus, *Manuscripta Graeca Musica Petropolitana. Catalogus.* Vol. I, *Bibliotheca Publica Rossica*, St. Petersburg, "Glagol", 1996, 574–575; Idem, *Manuscripta Graeca Musica Petropolitana. Catalogus.* Vol. II, *Bibliotheca Rossicae Academiae Scientiarum. Archivus Academiae Scientiarum. Bibliotheca Universitatis. Hermitage*, St. Petersburg, 1999, 433.

[32] Note that in Codex No. 1016 of Panteleimon Monastery in Mount Athos (*Anastasimatarion-Anthology*, A.D. 1728), f. 150ᵛ, the same musical composition (*Polychronion* to Ioannikios, Archbishop of Sinai) is recorded by an unknown student of Athanasios (who, once more, appears under his capacity of both Bishop of Tarnovo and teacher of Byzantine Music): *Τὸ παρόν, ποίημα **τοῦ ἡμετέρου διδασκάλου** κὺρ Ἀθανασίου Τουρνόβου· ἦχος δ' Πολυχρόνιον ποιῆσαι* [cf. Karagounes, op. cit., 385].

[33] One can find the musical text of this specific *polychronion* to the Bishop of Bursa Gerasimos, taken from Codex No. 704 of the Collection of the Holy Sepulchre, kept at the National Library of Greece (second volume of *Papadike*, dedicated to compositions for Matins, an autograph of Chourmouzios Chartophylax in around 1827), ff. 283ᵛ–286ʳ at the end of this chapter *[= musical example 1]*; the score is electronically re-written according to the mentioned exegesis of Chourmouzios, with the necessary performing additions of rhythmical indications and the so-called *isokratema*. All musical examples are available in the online repository DAIS SANU: <https://dais.sanu.ac.rs/handle/123456789/10042>

[34] Cf. Karagounes, op. cit., 385–386. I have recently made a transcription of this specific Cherubic Hymn into the New Method notational system, taking into consideration the prototype musical text as it is notated in Codex No. 7 of Melpo Merlier Collection, known now as Codex No. 3469 of the National Library of Greece (*Anthology*, written by Dimitrios Lotos from Chios island in 1805), ff. 198ᵛ–199ʳ *[= facsimile 1]*; one can find the relevant musical text at the end of this chapter *[= musical example 2]*. For a live recording of the same Cherubic Hymn (taken during a concert of the Choir Cappella Romana, under my direction, in Portland, Oregon, USA, on 8 November 2013) see: <https://www.mixcloud.com/achilleas-chaldaiakis/χερουβικό-ηχ-α-_αθανασίου-πατριάρχου_εξήγηση-αχιλλέως-γ-χαλδαιάκη/>

[35] One can find the musical text of one of the above-mentioned Sunday Communion Hymns, that of first mode, taken from Codex No. 705 of the Collection of the Holy Sepulchre, kept at the National Library of Greece (third volume of *Papadike*, dedicated to Divine Liturgy compositions, autograph of Chourmouzios Chartohylax in 1829), ff. 89ᵛ-90ᵛ, at the end of this chapter *[= musical example 3]*; the score is electronically re-written according to the mentioned exegesis of Chourmouzios, with the necessary performing additions of rhythmical indications and the so-called *isokratema*; the same composition was also recently published in: Dimitrios Persynakis (ed.), *Κοινωνικὰ παλαιῶν διδασκάλων, ἤτοι Κοινωνικὰ μελισθέντα ὑπὸ παλαιῶν διδασκάλων καὶ ἐξηγηθέντα ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς εἰς τὴν νέαν γραφὴν*

so-called *Ekloge* (chosen from various psalms verses sung during Matins instead of the so-called *Polyeleos* Psalm), in the present case a composition dedicated to the feast of St Catherine, is of great musicological importance;[36] it was composed by Athanasios at the special request of Nikephoros, the Archbishop of Sinai, in five modes (i.e. in almost all eight Byzantine Music modes, except the so-called chromatic modes [second and second plagal] and the first plagal mode [which, obviously, was skipped because it is nearly identical to the first mode]); the composition consists of sixteen verses; specifically, and in a purely symbolical way, four of them are composed in the first mode, three in the third mode, four in the fourth mode, two in the third plagal mode, the so-called *Varys*, and finally three in the fourth plagal mode; it is also noteworthy that by observing the psalm verses that Athanasios chose in order to create this composition, one can also understand the state of his mind while composing it during his period of confinement in Mount Sinai: "I waited patiently for the Lord; and he attended to me, and hearkened to my supplication. And he brought me up out of a pit of misery, and from miry clay: and he set my feet on a rock, and ordered my goings aright. Many bullocks have compassed me: fat bulls have beset me round. They have opened their mouth against me, as a ravening and roaring lion. Arise, O Lord, prevent them, and cast them down: deliver my soul from the ungodly: [draw] thy sword, because of the enemies of thine hand."

One can also date to this period, perhaps even later, another musical undertaking of Athanasios, which was destined to ensure that his name would be celebrated throughout the history of Byzantine music: the exegesis (that is, a more detailed version) of a Trisagion, known as the "Athenian."[37] This

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παρὰ Χουρμουζίου Χαρτοφύλακος, ἐκ τοῦ χειρογράφου 705 Μετοχίου Παναγίου Τάφου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 1829. Vol. II. Athens, 2018, 15–21. For a live recording of the same Communion Hymn (taken during a concert of the Choir Masters of the Psaltic Art, under my direction, in Athens, Greece, on 13 May 2015) see: <https://www.pemptousia.gr/video/i-ma%CE%90stores-tis-psaltikis-technis/>

36   Achilleas Chaldaeakes, Ὁ πολυέλεος στὴν βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιία, Athens, Institute of Byzantine Musicology–Studies 5, 2003, 452–453, 539–553; Idem, «Ἐκλογή-Ἐκλογές», s.v., Μεγάλη Ὀρθόδοξη Χριστιανικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία 6, 2012, 509–510; cf. also: Idem, «Πρόλογος», in the musical edition (of St. Kyprianos and Justine Monastery in Athens) Δοσιθέου μοναχοῦ, Κατουνακιώτου, Ἐκλογὴ Πολυελέων, Athens, 2015, 5–10. I have recently made a transcription of this specific *ekloge* into the New Method notational system, taking into consideration the prototype musical text as it is written in Codex No. 2611 found in the National Library of Greece (*Papadike*, written during the 18th century), ff. 155ᵛ–159ʳ [= *facsimile 2*]; one can find the relevant musical text at the end of this chapter [= *musical example 4*]. For a live recording of the same *Ekloge* (taken during a concert of the Choir Masters of the Psaltic Art, under my direction, in Athens, Greece, on 24 November 2013) see: <https://www.mixcloud.com/achilleas-chaldaiakis/εκλογή-εις-την-αγ-αικατερίναν_αθανασίου-πατριάρχου_εξήγηση-αχιλλέως-χαλδαιάκη/>

37   See respectively Codex No. Suppl. Gr. 1135 of the National Library of Paris (*Anthology*, written around 1730–1750), ff. 159ʳ–162ᵛ (Τρισάγιον νεκρώσιμον, ἐξηγήθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ

is the second time chronologically (following the attempt, in 1670, of the teacher of Athanasios, priest Balasios, whom Athanasios clearly follows faithfully), that such an undertaking was made, of crucial importance for the general nature and evolution of Byzantine musical notation.

Athanasios's Kalophonic Heirmoi

Finally, I would like to draw attention to Athanasios's two kalophonic heir-moi, composed in the fourth plagal mode; they are already published (according to an exegesis into the New Method made by Gregory Protopsaltes) in an important well-known musical edition;[38] their text is taken from two

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κὺρ Ἀθανασίου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τοῦ ποτε Τουρνόβου καὶ Ἀνδριανουπόλεως· ἦχος πλ. β΄ Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός) & Codex No. 987 of Iviron Monastery in Mount Athos (*Papadike*, written after 1731), ff. 268ᵛ–269ʳ (*Ἐξήγησις Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιερέως· ἦχος πλ. β΄ Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός [= facsimile 3]*). Cf. Hadjigiakoumes, *Χειρόγραφα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς…*, op. cit., 40, 91 (note 169); Stathes, op. cit., 834.

[38] *Εἱρμολόγιον Καλοφωνικόν, μελοποιηθὲν παρὰ διαφόρων ποιητῶν παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων διδασκάλων, μεταφρασθὲν δὲ εἰς τὴν νέαν τῆς μουσικῆς μέθοδον καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας διορθωθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς τῶν τριῶν διδασκάλων τῆς ῥηθείσης μεθόδου Γρηγορίου Πρωτοψάλτου τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδοθὲν εἰς τύπον παρὰ Θεοδώρου Π.Παράσχου Φωκέως, ἐπιστασίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀναλώμασι δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου καὶ τῶν φιλομούσων συνδρομητῶν*, Konstantinople, Kastrus Editions in Galatas, 1835, 166–169; there, both kalophonic heirmoi (the only published examples of Athanasios's oeuvre so far [except the aforementioned (see above, note 35) recent publication of his *Sunday* Communion Hymn]) are attributed to Athanasios, *Patriarch of Jerusalem*; this confusion and misunderstanding concerning the real identity of the said Athanasios is usual, even in the relevant manuscript tradition; see, for example, the manuscript version of the same book (*Kalophonic Heirmologion*), an autograph of Gregory Protopsaltes himself, written in 1817, kept in the K. A. Psachos Collection, Archive of Gregory Protopsaltes, Folder No. II, ff. 89ᵛ–91ʳ *[= facsimile 4]*. About the first composition cf. also Manuel Hadjigiakoumes, *Μνημεῖα καὶ Σύμμεικτα Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς. Ἐκδοτικὲς σειρές, Κείμενα καὶ σχολιασμοί (1999–2010)*, Athens, Centre of Researches and Publications, 2011, 197–198; in addition, one can also listen to a recording of the same composition at Hadjigiakoumes's two following CDs: *Μνημεῖα Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς. Σῶμα δεύτερο. Καλοφωνικοὶ Εἱρμοί (17ος-18ος-19ος αἰ.). 6th CD. Εἱρμοὶ Μπαλασίου-Ἀθανασίου Πατριάρχου-Μπερεκέτη-Ἰωάννου πρωτοψάλτου-Πέτρου Πελοποννησίου (17ος-18ος αἰ.). Ψάλλει ὁ πατὴρ Διονύσιος Φιρφιρῆς († 1990), πρωτοψάλτης Πρωτάτου Ἁγίου Ὄρους*, Athens, Centre of Researches and Publications, 2007 (track 4: sung by Fr Dyonisios Firfiris) and *Μνημεῖα Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς. Σῶμα δεύτερο. Καλοφωνικοὶ Εἱρμοί (17ος–18ος–19ος αἰ.). 11th CD. Εἱρμοὶ Γερμανοῦ-Μπαλασίου-Ἀθανασίου Πατριάρχου-Μπερεκέτη (17ος αἰ.). Ψάλλει ὁ Λεωνίδας Σφῆκας († 2000), πρωτοψάλτης Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, Centre of Researches and Publications, 2007 (track 5: sung by Leonidas Sfikas). The musical texts of both compositions are also re-published at the end of this chapter, taken from the mentioned edition; their scores are electronically re-written according to the mentioned exegesis of Gregory Protopsaltes, with the necessary performing additions of rhythmical indications and the so-called *isokratema*; at the same place, one can also see a transcription of the musical text of both aforementioned kalophonic heirmoi into staff notation *[musical examples 5–8]*.

very characteristic troparia of the service of the Great Canon of Supplication to the most Holy Mother of God, found especially in its sixth and eighth Odes:

1st Kalophonic Heirmos: based on the text of the 4th troparion of the 6th Ode of the Great Canon of Supplication to the most Holy Mother of God
Ἐκύκλωσαν, αἱ τοῦ βίου με ζάλαι, ὥσπερ μέλισσαι κηρίον Παρθένε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν κατασχοῦσαι καρδίαν, κατατιτρώσκουσι βέλει τῶν θλίψεων· ἀλλ' εὕροιμί σε βοηθόν, καὶ διώκτην, καὶ ῥύστην πανάχραντε.
The turmoils of this life encircle me like unto bees about a honeycomb, O Virgin, and they have seized and now hold my heart captive, and I am pierced with the stings of afflictions, Maiden; yet be, O all-holy one, my defender and helper and rescuer.

2nd Kalophonic Heirmos: based on the text of the 2nd troparion of the 8th Ode of the Great Canon of Supplication to the most Holy Mother of God
Περιστάσεις καὶ θλίψεις καὶ ἀνάγκαι, εὑροσάν με Ἁγνή, καὶ συμφοραὶ τοῦ βίου, καὶ πειρασμοί με πάντοθεν ἐκύκλωσαν· ἀλλὰ πρόστηθί μοι, καὶ ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, τῇ κραταιᾷ σου σκέπη.
Times of sorrows, necessity, and trouble, and misfortunes in life have found me, O pure Maiden; and from all sides temptations have encircled me; but be my ally, and protect me under your almighty shelter.

More precisely, by observing Athanasios's melody based on a specific text, one can easily see how the sense of the "ecclesiastical policy" mentioned above (and especially the "consequences" of that policy) is reflected in his musical creation; I refer here to the above-mentioned hardships that Athanasios suffered "on account of Patriarch Dionysios's spitefulness"; both of Athanasios's compositions are a great example of this phenomenon. There are some very interesting parts of these compositions – from both a strictly musicological or a wider structural point of view; some, in which chromatic melodic passages are used, based especially on relevant words from the text as a whole; see, for example, the second kalophonic heirmos, in its initial musical phrase, how the word "sorrows" is set (Figure 1):

Figure 1. Second kalophonic heirmos: "sorrows"

One may also observe the very same phenomenon in the first kalophonic heirmos, in its initial musical phrase again, where a chromatic motive is used (a motive which appears twice, both times through an identical melodic construction), now based on the words "turmoils" and "honeycomb" in the sentence "The turmoils of this life encircle me like unto bees about a honeycomb, O Virgin" (Figures 2 and 3):

Figure 2. First kalophonic heirmos: "turmoils of this life"

Figure 3. First kalophonic heirmos: "honeycomb, o Virgin"

In addition, the final cadence of both compositions is on the note G; this is something very unusual and untypical for the fourth plagal mode, i.e. the mode according to which both compositions are written; the final cadence for the fourth plagal mode ought to be on the note C; nevertheless, Athanasios seems to prefer to conclude both compositions on the mode's fifth (Figures 4 and 5):

Figure 4. First kalophonic heirmos: "Yet be, O all-holy One, my rescuer":

Figure 5. Second kalophonic heirmos: "under your almighty shelter"
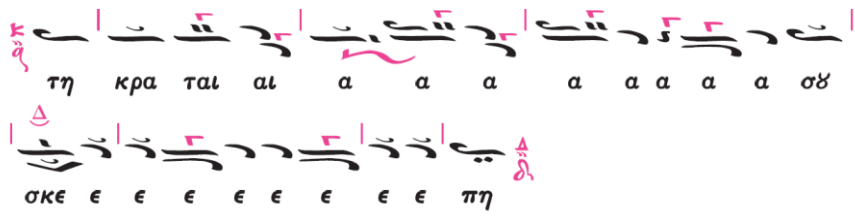
It should be noted that the aforementioned final cadence (consisting specifically of a melodic motive based on the mode's upper *pentachord* [G–d]), is specifically made through a musical phrase which one could also easily perform in the frame of the mode's lower pentachord (i.e. from C to G); the melody of the last musical cadence, for instance, is also found (at another point of the same second kalophonic heirmos) developed, alternatively, within the lower pentachord [C–G] of the same mode (Figures 6 and 7):

Figure 6. Second kalophonic heirmos: "under your almighty shelter" (G)
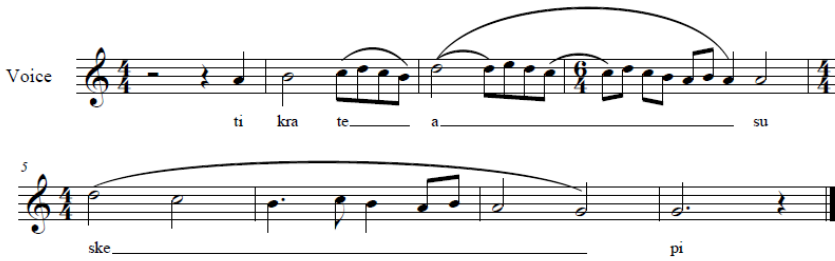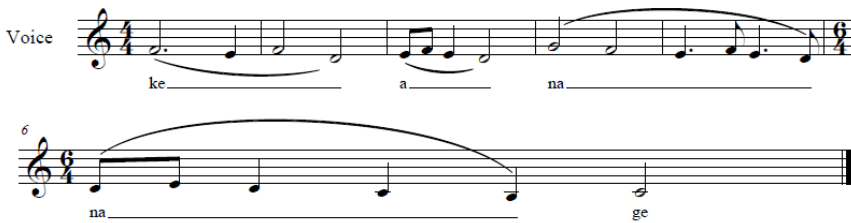
Figure 7. Second kalophonic heirmos: "and necessities" (C)

In addition, by observing both kalophonic heirmoi, one may immediately understand that there are also some other identical musical motives developed either on the mode's low [C–G] or high [G–d] pentachord (Figures 8 and 9):

Figure 8. Second kalophonic heirmos: "have found me" (C)

Figure 9. First kalophonic heirmos: "and defender" (G)

Thus, in accordance to the above observations, I came to wonder about the composer's real intentions regarding those parts of his compositions. The following musical phrase, for example, which is the aforementioned final cadence of the first kalophonic heirmos, is repeated almost three times within the same composition (Figures 10, 11, 12):

Figure 10. First kalophonic heirmos: "yet be, O all-holy One, my rescuer" (G)

Figure 11. First kalophonic heirmos; "the stings of afflictions" (G)

Figure 12. First kalophonic heirmos; "they have seized and now hold" (G)

Would it be possible to perform it, either all three times or even, alternatively (according to the above-mentioned relevant examples), once, within the mode's lower pentachord (instead of the high one)? One may easily see how normally and harmoniously this musical phrase sounds while being developed within the mode's lower pentachord (Figures 13, 14, 15):

Figure 13. First kalophonic heirmos: "yet be, O all-holy One, my rescuer" (C)

Figure 14. First kalophonic heirmos: "the stings of afflictions" (C)

Figure 15. First kalophonic heirmos: "they have seized and now hold" (C)

In my opinion, similar queries also arise, for instance, about the possible approach to performing the following very characteristic musical phrases of the second kalophonic heirmos; they have been developed within the first mode's higher pentachord [a–e] (Figures 16, 17):

Figure 16. Second kalophonic heirmos: "O pure Maiden" (a)

Figure 17. Second kalophonic heirmos: "and protect me" (a)

But one also could easily perform them within the same mode's lower pentachord [D–a] (Figures 18, 19):

Figure 18. Second kalophonic heirmos: "O pure Maiden" (D)

Figure 19. Second kalophonic heirmos: "and protect me" (D)
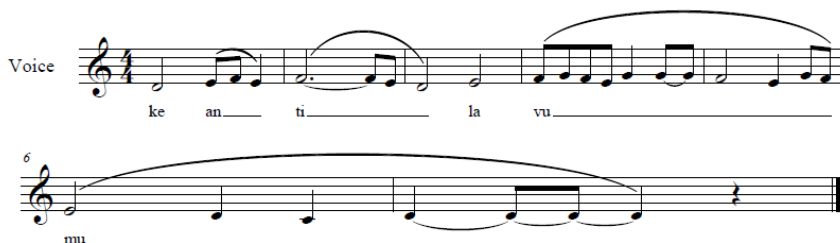
Based on the above observations, I have recently presented an innovative academic proposal, according to which these parts of Athanasios's compositions could possibly be (polyphonically) performed in parallel fifths, i.e. using the technique of organum;[39] this would be an interesting, to say the least, possibility, a new and groundbreaking performance technique for Byzantine music tradition *[see musical examples 9–10]*[40].

To conclude, I would say that the above "transposition" of the concluding cadence of both his compositions to a higher register (i.e. a fifth up: developed specifically on the pentachord G to d, instead of the usual C to G) seems to be a choice that Athanasios made deliberately. If we consider both the text on which those final cadences are based as well as Athanasios's decision to end both of them on their fifth (a phenomenon which undoubtedly creates a sense of "musical expectation" that could lead us also to a "philosophical anticipation"), I would observe that a "hidden message" lies in this point; Athanasios, a composer whose life was then full of *sorrows, necessities, troubles, misfortunes,* etc., hid a "mystical prayer" in his music; the mystical prayer of a human being who is looking up while asking for God's help; a prayer addressed to his *All-holy one, defender and helper and rescuer*; a prayer that is nothing less than a "message of hope", a message of the greatest importance today…

[see musical example 1]

Comments on the Kratema unit of the polychronion to the Bishop of Bursa

Part of the unit of the so-called *kratema* of this specific composition is of great musicological importance. One may see below a separate score of it,

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[39] Cf. Heinrich Husmann, "The Practice of Organum in the Liturgical Singing of the Syrian Churches of the near and Middle East", in J. LaRue (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: a Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, New York, 1966, 435–439.

[40] Such an effort has already been undertaken by me, as guest conductor of the well-known vocal ensemble Cappella Romana (founded by Alexander Lingas), during two concerts (dedicated to Athanasios, under the title "*A Patriarch's Chant*") that took place in Portland OR and Seattle WA, USA, in 2013, on 8 and 9 November; cf. Chaldaeakes, "A Patriarch's Chant. Athanasios V", op. cit.

that is a score which includes only the mentioned *kratema* part (with the addition of a relevant initial intonation formula, i.e. an *apechema*) along with a relevant transcription of it in the staff notation *[see musical examples 11–12]*.

I would also like to point out the very interesting melodic structure of the same *kratema*. In the following table one may follow Athanasios's musical thoughts (divided into eleven parts) while composing it; the numbers indicate individual bars of the above score, while (capital and lowercase) Latin letters indicate respectively the tonal bases of the relevant musical motives used by the composer (Table 1):

Table 1.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
4-7 E	13-17 G	46-49 G	58-61 F	79-80 c	95-96 G	97-103 c	130-132 c	151 c	154 d	166-171 a
7-10 D	18-21 C	49-52 G	62-65 E	81-82 b	149-150 G	104-110 b	133-135 b	152 b	155 c	172-177 G
10-12 C	22-25 G		66-70 D	83-84 a	164-165 G	111-115 c	136-138 c	153 b	156 b	177-182 F
	26-29 C			85 G		116-122 b	139-141 b	157 a		182-186 E
	30-33 c					123-127 a	142-145 a			187-192 D
	34-37 G									192-196 C
	38-41 c									
	42-46 G									

[see musical examples 2-4]

Comments on Ekloge

The etymology of the word *ekloge* is surely obvious; it describes the act of the selection of psalmic verses in order to form a new cohesive composition (poetic at first and subsequently melodic), a composition dedicated to a specific festive celebration. One should clarify from the outset that in the Byzantine and, in particular, in the corresponding post-Byzantine tradition, this *ekloge* procedure is undertaken in a twofold manner: as the selection of psalmic verses taken, on the one hand, from a single Psalm of David, or, on the other hand, from several different Psalms; this latter procedure is mainly used when the composition is destined for the celebration of a highly festive theme, the content of which cannot be associated with one Psalm only, but with a compilation of appropriate verses from different Psalms.

In the first scenario, one can find all the melodic compositions from the 18th century on, which are composed using 44th Psalm (*Logon Agathon*); the first such composition was composed by Peter Bereketes; it is a composition which also establishes (not only by the selection of these specific verses from the 44th Psalm, but also by the imposition of non-psalmic poetic texts – in praise of the Mother of God – on each one of the selected verses) the general formula used afterwards for the composition of similar compositions. By way of exception (that is to say unlike contemporary similar *Polyeleos* compositions) the *Polyeleos Douloi Kyrion* (*O ye Servants of the Lord*)

composed by Jacob the Protopsaltes, using selected verses taken from the 134th Psalm, "the *Polyeleos* Psalm", as specifically witnessed in the relevant source records, belongs also in that same category.

In the second case, one can find newer compositions (written from the 19th century and later) of the *ekloge*, poems for Sunday and Marian feasts or for celebrations of Saints; the exact poetic content of these compositions (i.e. as per the selection of specific verses from Psalms of David) was considered as a given among post-Byzantine composers: they were taken from the specific (homonymous) book that was written at an earlier time by the scholar Nikephoros Blemmydes; this book of proved to be quite popular in the monastic community in general, which is apparent not only from its older, richly handwritten and printed versions, but also from its wider use nowadays during monastic services.

Nevertheless, there are two examples of the earliest compositions of *ekloge* in that same category, the poetic structure of which does not emanate from the aforementioned collection of Blemmydes: the first example dates back to the 14th century and – even though it comprises poems by different composers – is mainly attributed to Christophoros Mystakon; the second dates from the 18th century and is the composition of the Ecumenical Patriarch Athanasios V (former Bishop of Tarnovo and Adrianople) under discussion; this composition is extremely interesting (and widespread), an *ekloge* chanted "for St Catherine and the feasts of other Saints", which is composed in particular by the following verses, selected – for the praise of the festive theme – from the Psalms of David mentioned below:

Psalm 39, 2:	*Ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα τὸν Κύριον, καὶ προσέσχε μοι καὶ εἰσήκουσε τῆς δεήσεώς μου*
	I waited patiently for the Lord; and he attended to me, and hearkened to my supplication
Psalm 39, 3b:	*Καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ πέτραν τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ κατεύθυνε τὰ διαβήματά μου*
	And he brought me up out of a pit of misery, and from miry clay: and he set my feet on a rock, and ordered my goings aright
Psalm 21, 13:	*Περιεκύκλωσάν με μόσχοι πολλοί, ταῦροι πίονες περιέσχον με*
	Many bullocks have compassed me: fat bulls have beset me round
	Ἤνοιξαν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν, ὡς λέων ἁρπάζων καὶ ὠρυόμενος

Psalm 21, 14:	They have opened their mouth against me, as a ravening and roaring lion
Psalm 16, 13:	Ἀνάστηθι, Κύριε, πρόφθασον αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑποσκέλισον αὐτούς, ῥῦσαι τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπὸ ἀσεβοῦς, ῥομφαίαν σου ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν τῆς χειρός σου
	Arise, O Lord, prevent them, and cast them down: deliver my soul from the ungodly: [draw] thy sword, because of the enemies of thine hand
Psalm 138, 18b:	Ἐξηγέρθην καὶ ἔτι εἰμὶ μετὰ σοῦ <εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα>
	I awake, and am still with thee <to the ages>
Psalm 90, 13:	Ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα
	Thou shalt tread on the asp and basilisk: and thou shalt trample on the lion and dragon
Psalm 65, 20:	Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὃς οὐκ ἀπέστησε τὴν προσευχήν μου καὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
	Blessed be God, who has no turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from me
Psalm 117, 10:	Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκύκλωσάν με, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου ἠμυνάμην αὐτούς
	All nations compassed me about: but in the name of the Lord I repulsed them
Psalm 118, 98–99:	Ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου ἐσόφισάς με [...], ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς διδάσκοντάς με συνῆκα
	Thou hast made me wiser than mine enemies [...] I have more understanding than all my teachers
Psalm 118, 46:	<Διὰ τοῦτο> ἐλάλουν ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις σου ἐναντίον βασιλέων καὶ οὐκ ἠσχυνόμην
	And I spoke of thy testimonies before kings, and was not ashamed
Psalm 106, 27:	Ἐταράχθησαν, ἐσαλεύθησαν ὡς ὁ μεθύων, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν κατεπόθη
	They are troubled, they stagger as a drunkard, and all their wisdom is swallowed up
Psalm 105, 12:	Καὶ ἐπίστευσαν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ᾖσαν τὴν αἴνεσιν αὐτοῦ
	Then they believed his words, and celebrated his praise

Psalm 106, 6:	Καὶ ἐκέκραξαν πρὸς Κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν αὐτῶν ἐρρύσατο αὐτούς
	Then they cried to the Lord in their affliction, and he delivered them out of their distresses
Psalm 96, 7:	Αἰσχυνθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς, οἱ ἐγκαυχώμενοι ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν
	Let all that worship graven images be ashamed, who boast of their idols

As illustrated, there are fifteen psalmic verses in total, taken from eleven Psalms (which are, in an ascending order, the following: 16, 21, 39, 65, 90, 96, 105, 106, 117, 118 and 138 [the total number of psalmic verses is clearly the result of the above-mentioned eleven Psalms, by selecting two (and not one, as it is the case for the remaining Psalms) verses from four Psalms, in particular from Psalm 21 (verses 13 and 14), 39 (verses 2 and 3), 106 (verses 6 and 27) and 118 (verses 46 and 98–99)]. When Patriarch Athanasios undertook the musical elaboration of the above-mentioned fifteen psalmic verses, he formed a rather longer musical composition, comprising sixteen verses in total (this extended version [from the existing fifteen verses to sixteen] is obviously made by dividing psalmic verses 16, 13 and 65, 20 on the one hand and on the other by combining in one verse the psalmic verses 106, 6 and 96, 7), which is structured as follows:

1.	Ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα τὸν Κύριον, καὶ προσέσχε μοι καὶ εἰσήκουσε τῆς δεήσεώς μου
	I waited patiently for the Lord; and he attended to me, and hearkened to my supplication
2.	Καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ πέτραν τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ κατεύθυνε τὰ διαβήματά μου
	And he brought me up out of a pit of misery, and from miry clay: and he set my feet on a rock, and ordered my goings aright
3.	Περιεκύκλωσάν με μόσχοι πολλοί, ταῦροι πίονες περιέσχον με
	Many bullocks have compassed me: fat bulls have beset me round
4.	Ἤνοιξαν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν, ὡς λέων ἁρπάζων καὶ ὠρυόμενος
	They have opened their mouth against me, as a ravening and roaring lion
5.	Ἀνάστηθι, Κύριε, πρόφθασον αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑποσκέλισον αὐτούς
	Arise, O Lord, prevent them, and cast them down

6.	*Ῥῦσαι τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπὸ ἀσεβοῦς, ῥομφαίαν σου ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν τῆς χειρός σου*
	Deliver my soul from the ungodly: [draw] thy sword, because of the enemies of thine hand
7.	*Ἐξηγέρθην καὶ ἔτι εἰμὶ μετὰ σοῦ <εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα>*
	I awake, and am still with thee <to the ages>
8.	*Ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα*
	Thou shalt tread on the asp and basilisk: and thou shalt trample on the lion and dragon
9.	*Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὃς οὐκ ἀπέστησε τὴν προσευχήν μου*
	Blessed be God, who has no turned away my prayer
10.	*καὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*
	nor his mercy from me
11.	*Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκύκλωσάν με, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου ἠμυνάμην αὐτούς*
	All nations compassed me about: but in the name of the Lord I repulsed them
12.	*Ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου ἐσόφισάς με, ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς διδάσκοντάς με συνῆκα*
	Thou hast made me wiser than mine enemies, I have more understanding than all my teachers
13.	*Διὰ τοῦτο ἐλάλουν ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις σου ἐναντίον βασιλέων καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχυνόμην*
	And I spoke of thy testimonies before kings, and was not ashamed
14.	*Ἐταράχθησαν, ἐσαλεύθησαν ὡς ὁ μεθύων, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν κατεπόθη*
	They are troubled, they stagger as a drunkard, and all their wisdom is swallowed up
15.	*Καὶ ἐπίστευσαν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ᾖσαν τὴν αἴνεσιν αὐτοῦ*
	Then they believed his words, and celebrated his praise
16.	*Καὶ ἐκέκραξαν πρὸς Κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν αὐτῶν ἐρρύσατο αὐτούς. Αἰσχυνθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς, οἱ ἐγκαυχώμενοι ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν*
	Then they cried to the Lord in their affliction, and he delivered them out of their distresses. Let all that worship graven images be ashamed, who boast of their idols

The melodic arrangement of this composition – using the aforementioned morphological structure of poetic content – is particularly interesting, as has already been described above; specifically, it is composed in five modes (first, third, fourth, *Varys* and fourth plagal) and is therefore layered equally, one for each of these modes.[41]

[see musical examples Nos. 5–10]

Musical Examples

Available in the online repository DAIS:

<https://dais.sanu.ac.rs/handle/123456789/10042>

Musical example 1: *Polychronion* to the Bishop of Bursa Gerasimos, composed in the fourth mode (C.H.S.-N.L.G. 704, ff. 283ᵛ-286ʳ)

Musical example 2: *Cherubic Hymn*, composed in the first mode, transcribed into the New Method notational system by Achilleas Chaldaeakes

Musical example 3: *Communion Hymn*, composed in the first mode (C.H.S.-N.L.G. 705, ff. 89ᵛ-90ᵛ)

Musical example 4: *Ekloge* dedicated to the feast of St Catherine, transcribed into the New Method notational system by Achilleas Chaldaeakes

Musical example 5: Kalophonic Heirmos, *The turmoils of this life encircle me*, composed in the fourth plagal mode

Musical example 6: Kalophonic Heirmos, *Times of sorrows*, composed in the fourth plagal mode

Musical example 7: Kalophonic Heirmos, *The turmoils of this life encircle me*, composed in the fourth plagal mode (transcription into the staff notation)

Musical example 8: Kalophonic Heirmos, *Times of sorrows*, composed in the fourth plagal mode (transcription into the staff notation)

Musical example 9: Kalophonic Heirmos, *The turmoils of this life encircle me*, composed in the fourth plagal mode, "polyphonically" transcribed into the staff notation by Achilleas Chaldaeakes

Musical example 10: Kalophonic Heirmos, *Times of sorrows*, composed in the fourth plagal mode, "polyphonically" transcribed into the staff notation by Achilleas Chaldaeakes

Musical example 11: *Kratema* unit of the *Polychronion* to the Bishop of Bursa Gerasimos, composed in the fourth mode

Musical example 12: *Kratema* unit of the *Polychronion* to the Bishop of Bursa Gerasimos, composed in the fourth mode (transcription into the staff notation)

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[41] Additional details concerning Ekloge can be generally found in the following references: Achilleas Chaldaeakes, *Ὁ πολυέλεος στὴν βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιία...*, op. cit., 119–123, 385, 430–435, 480–483, 536–553, 911–923; cf. Idem, «Ἀπὸ τὸ Τυπικὸ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ὄρθρου: ἡ ἐπιβολὴ ἐξωψαλμικῶν ποιητικῶν κειμένων στὸν ψαλμὸ τοῦ πολυελέου», in *Πολυφωνία* 11, 2007, 66–88; Idem, "From the Ritual of the Matins Service: The insertion of poetic texts in the chant of the Polyeleos", in *Muzikologija/Musicology* 11, 2011, 75–101; Idem, «Λόγον ἀγαθόν», in *Ἀνατολῆς τὸ Περιήχημα* 1, 2014, 283–342.

Facsimiles

Facsimile 1 (a, b): N.L.G. 3469, ff. 198ᵛ–199ʳ
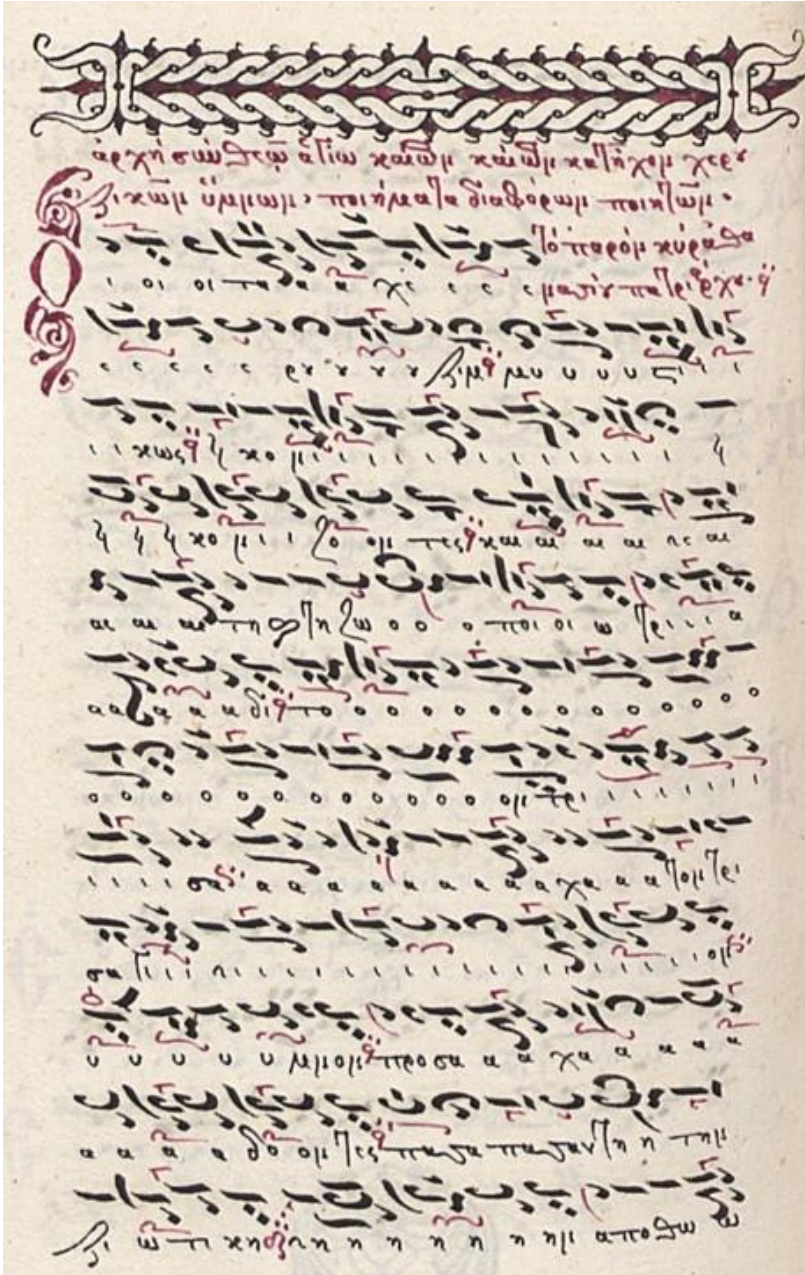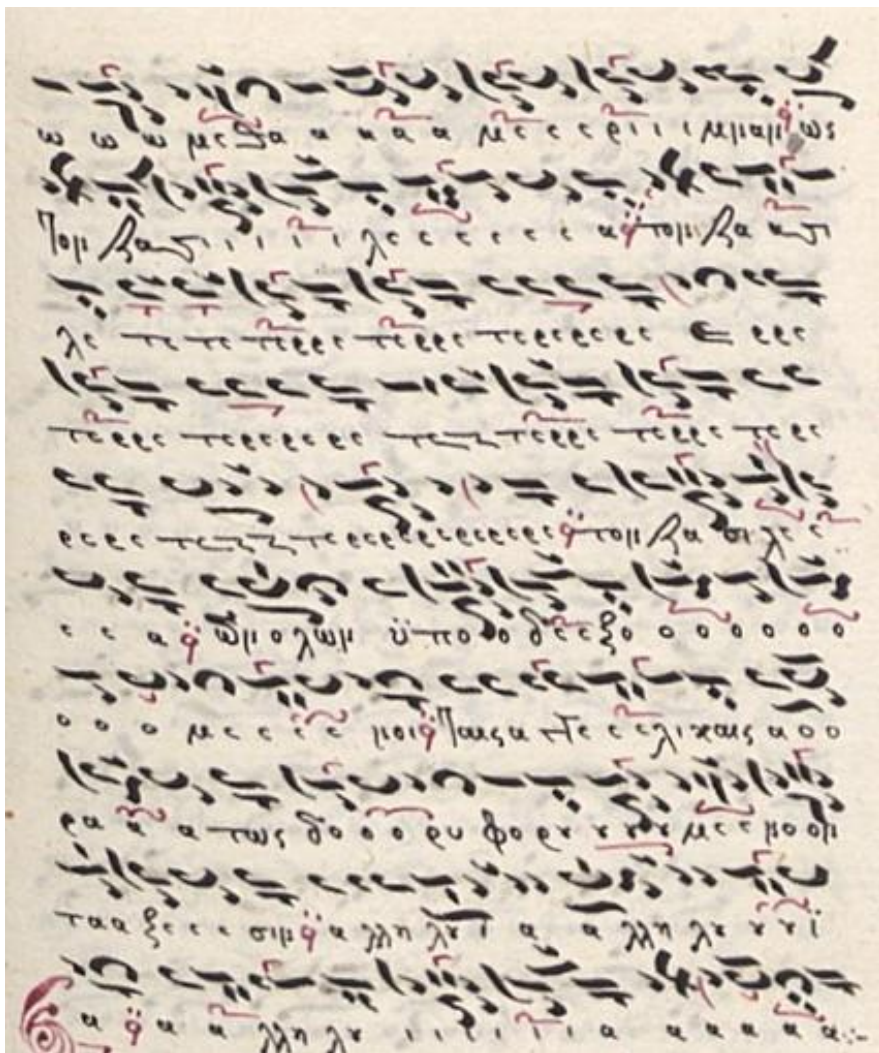
Facsimile 2 (a, b, c, d): N.L.G. 2611, ff. 155ᵛ–159ʳ
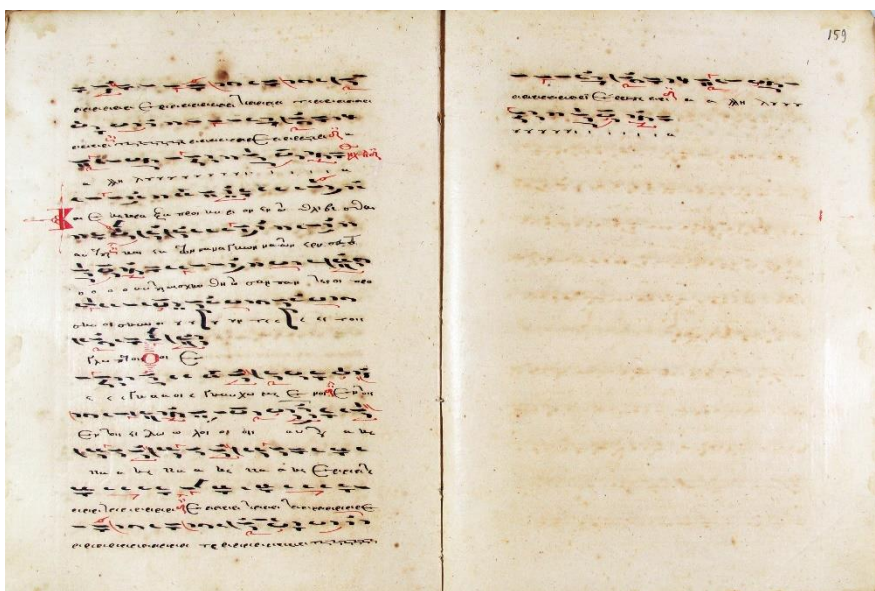
Facsimile 3: Iviron 987, f. 268ᵛ
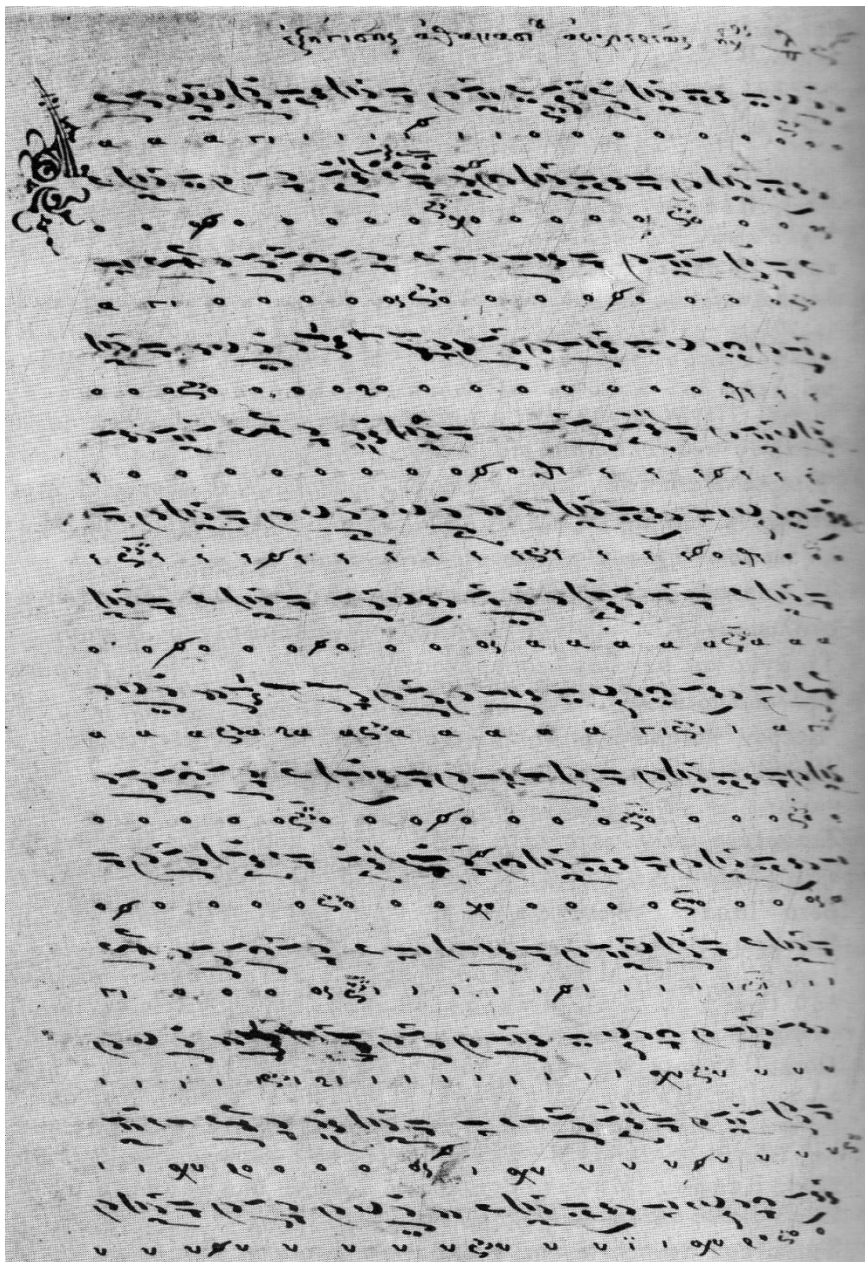
Facsimile 4 (a, b, c, d): L.K.Ps. Fold II, ff. 89ᵛ–91ʳ
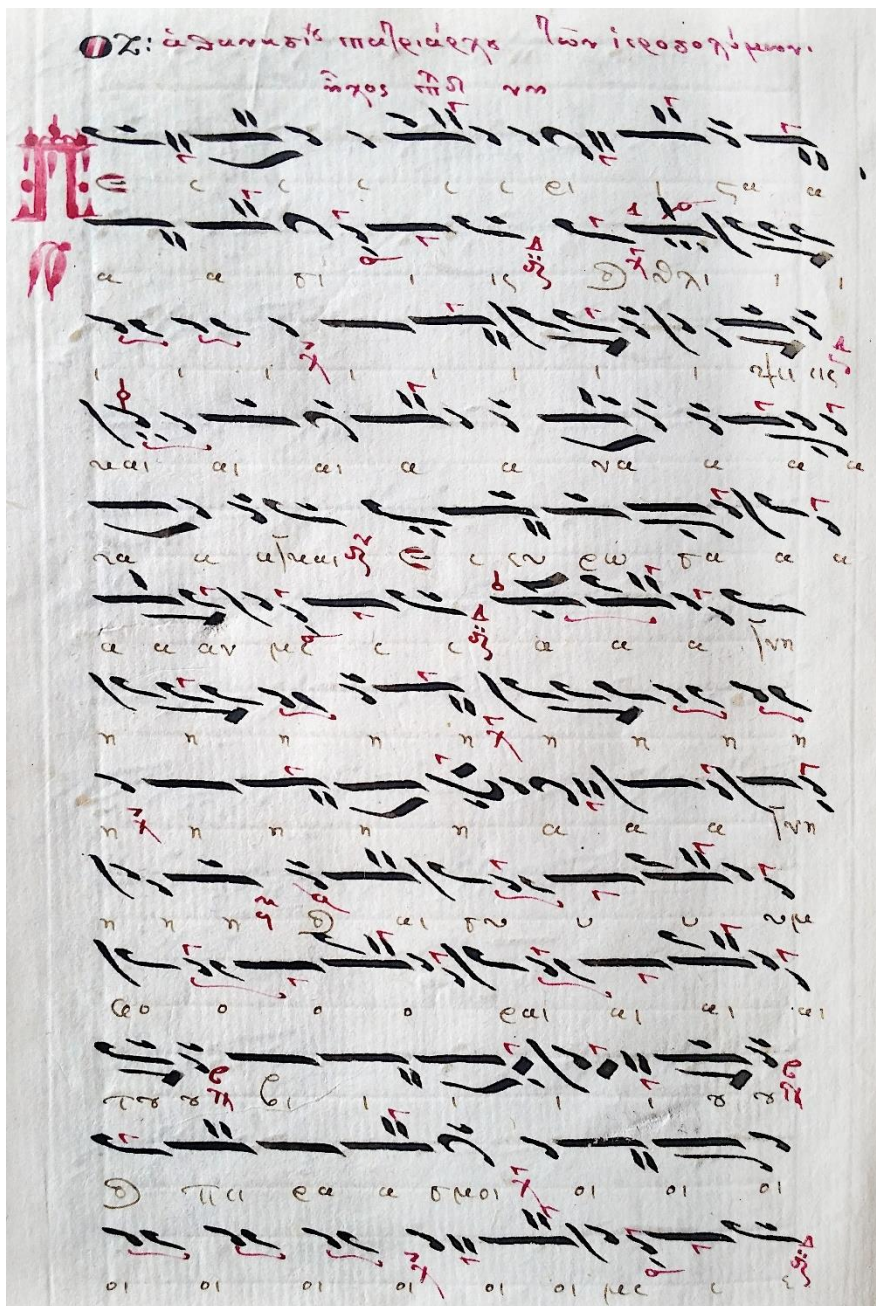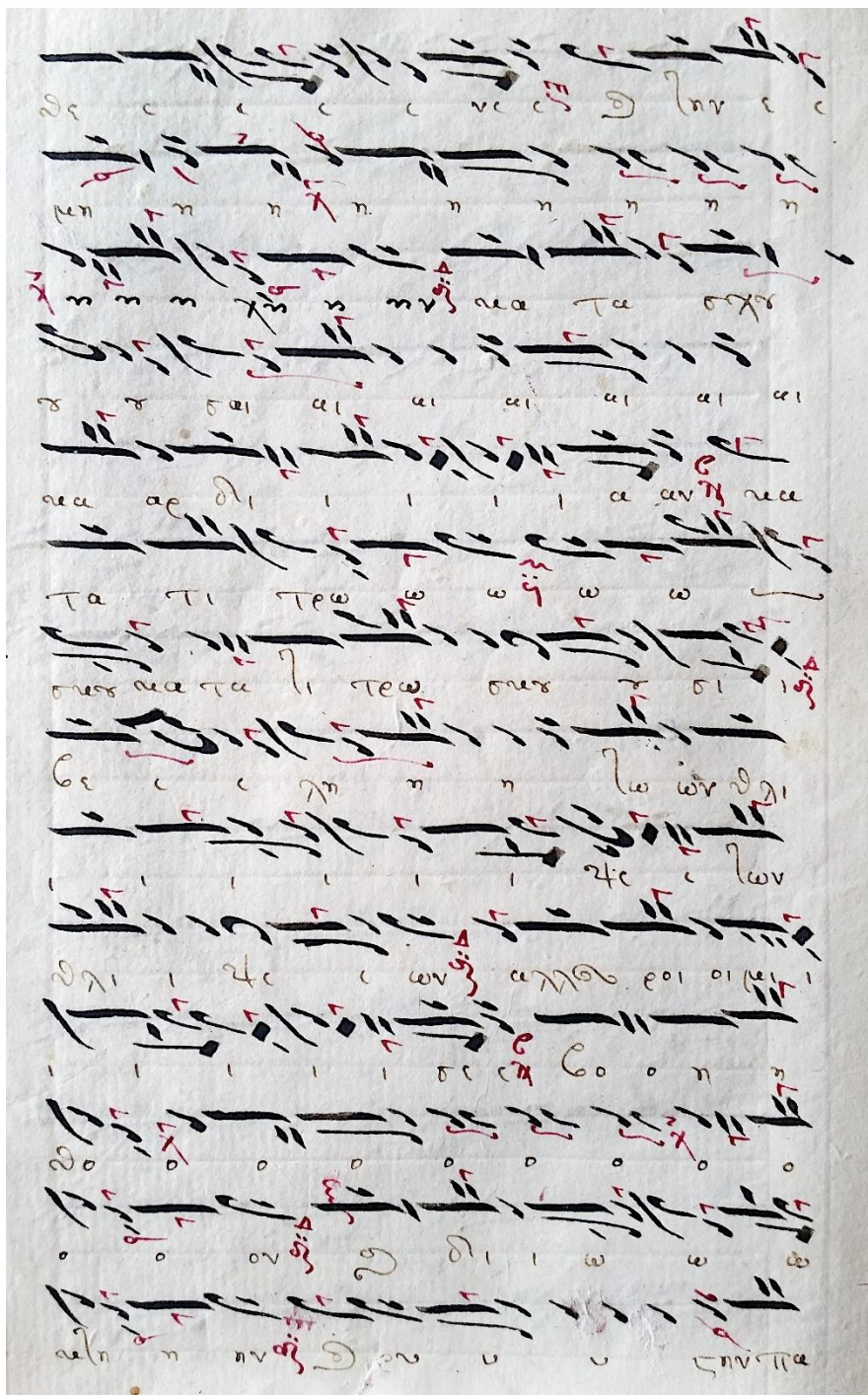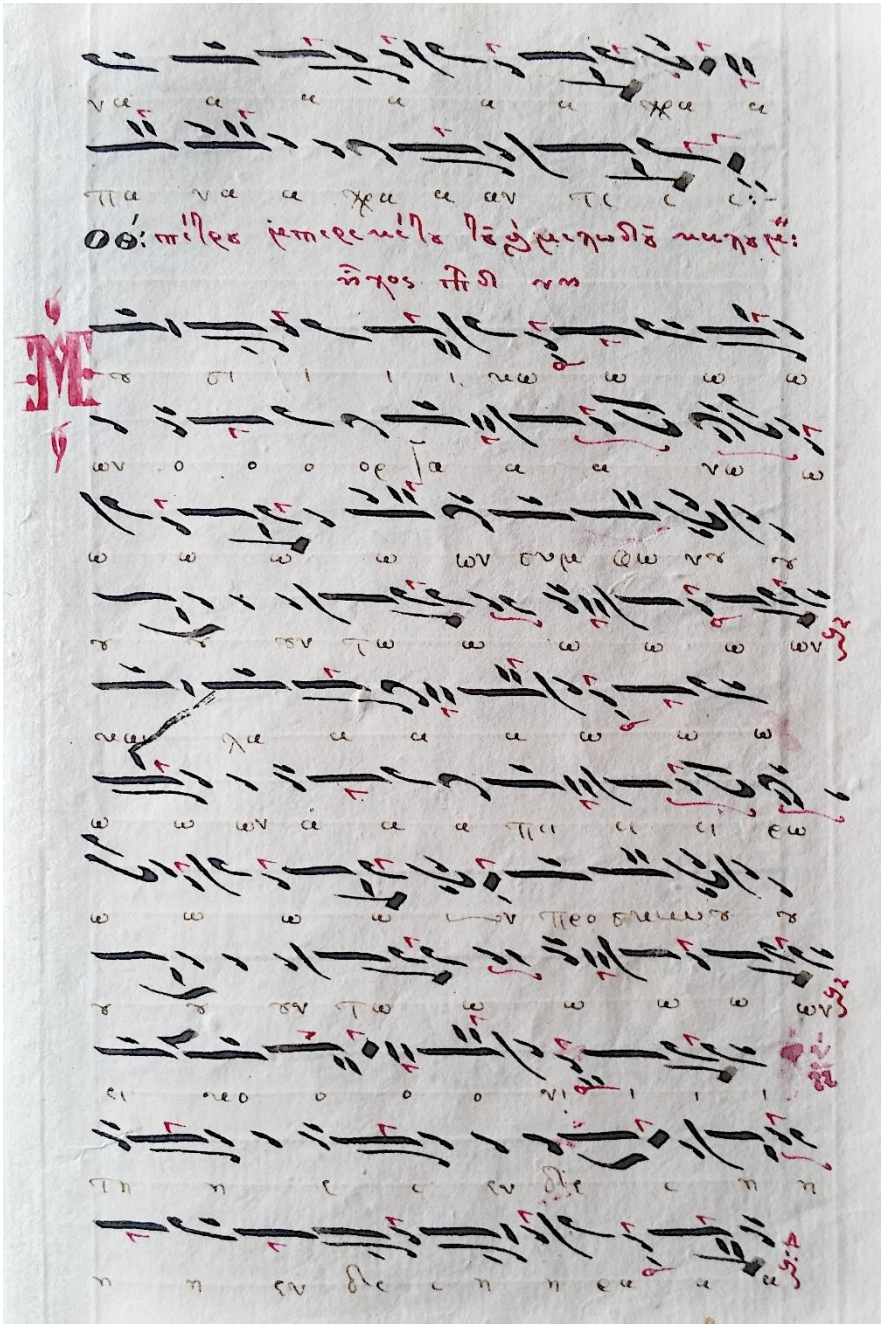
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Elena Artamonova
Sergei Vasilenko and the Old Believers

Sergei Vasilenko has been perceived as a conformist and inconsequential Soviet composer in post-Soviet Russia. Recent discoveries of unpublished documents reveal him instead to have been a talented musician whose search for a niche within the culture of Soviet music forced him to keep his true musical writings secret from the public, hidden in the drawer.

Chant as an element of musical vocabulary and as a symbolic depiction of faith played an important role in his artistic expression. Vasilenko undertook diligent practical and scholarly research on Znamenny raspev, the chant of the Old Believers, the prohibited movement of the Russian Orthodox Church that from the end of the seventeenth century led a clandestine existence in the face of severe persecution.[1] On the recommendation of the Director of the Moscow Conservatoire, Vasilii Safonov, who belonged to the Old Believers,[2] and of Professor Stepan Smolensky, who was the leading specialist on Russian liturgical music, Vasilenko was permitted to attend Old Believer liturgies in Moscow, which were held in strict confidence and forbidden for outsiders. In an unpublished article from the late 1920s, Vasilenko explained the reasons for his great interest in their customs and practices:

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[1] Only in 1905 did the last Russian tsar, Nicholas II, impose a law of religious tolerance towards the Old Believers.

[2] Further information may be found in Aleksandr Gol'denveizer, *Vospominania,* Moscow, Deka-VS, 2009, 221 and Sergei Vasilenko, *Stranitsy vospominanii,* Moscow-Leningrad, Gosudarstvennoe muzykal'noe izdatel'stvo, 1948, 29. Safonov belonged to the liberal wing of this movement called the *Edinovertsy* [Coreligionists], which was the only legal denomination of the Old Believers in Imperial Russia. However, the fact that Safonov belonged to this denomination was not publicised. This movement was an attempt to unify the traditional Russian Orthodox Church and the Old Believers, who submitted to the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in return for their right to use old books and rites.

> In 1899–1901, I was very much interested in the Old Believers' singing, visited their services and eagerly studied the *kriuki* notation. Owing to the recommendation of my unforgettable teacher of the History of Church Singing Stepan Vasil'evich Smolensky, I went to see the secret church services at the Rogozhsky and Preobrazhensky cemeteries,[3] became acquainted with the singers of their choirs and collected a great number of authentic ancient tunes based on the *kriuki* notation. At this time, I was hardly interested in the confessional forms of the religion, but in the most vivid manifestation of religious ecstasy.[4]

This practical experience made a profound musical impact on the young composer, though the essence of their faith did not appeal to him. Vasilenko learnt not only the technical components of Znamenny raspev, but also the vitality of its musical expression, which, in using minimal resources, transmitted the depth of religious devotion and prayer.[5]

Vasilenko's first major composition, the cantata *Skazanie o velikom grade Kitezhe i tikhom ozere Svetoiare* [The Legend of the Great City of Kitezh and the Quiet Lake Svetoyar] op. 5 written in 1902, was composed using authentic Old Believer melodies and schismatic legends from the Volga region. It was dedicated to Safonov, who conducted its première at the concert of the Russian Musical Society on 16 February 1902, in Moscow.[6] Vasilenko received a Gold Medal for this composition and his work anticipated Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's opera on the same subject in 1904. Rimsky-Korsakov praised Vasilenko's cantata greatly after a private audition of it, organized

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[3] The Rogozhsky and Preobrazhensky cemeteries were the burial and spiritual centres of the Old Believers in Moscow. Nevertheless, the Old Believers were legally banned from providing full church services, including the Divine Liturgy. Despite the prohibition, the Liturgies were served behind closed doors and Vasilenko was trusted to attend them only on account of his connections.

[4] Sergei Vasilenko, *Vokal'nye proizvedeniia*. Preserved in GDMC, fonds 36 (Kollektsiia avtografov i redkikh dokumentov), op. 1, ed. khr. 7, 1–2. All quotations from Russian sources and texts cited in this chapter have been translated by the author, Elena Artamonova.

[5] A fine anthology of Znamenny chants from the collection of the State Public Scientific Technological Library of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences is available now in electronic format through the internet project 'The Fonds of Znamenny Chants, begun in 2003. It also offers contemporary recordings and pre-revolutionary textbooks on the znamenny chants with information concerning their technical composition and methods of reading. Further reference in: *Fond znamennykh pesnopenii*, <http://znamen.ru>

[6] Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov, *Pis'ma. Stat'i. Vospominaniia*, ed. Nikolai Sokolov, Moscow, Sovetskii kompozitor, 1986, 306. Following the advice of Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov, Vasilenko re-arranged this cantata as an opera in two acts and staged it at the Moscow Mamontov Private Opera on 23 March 1903. It was conducted by Ippolitov-Ivanov with stage design and decorations by Apollinarii Vasnetsov and Kazimir Malevich. However, the opera libretto was not effective as a stage production and thus the production was withdrawn for the next season.

at his request by Safonov in October 1902 with Vasilenko and Aleksandr Gol'denveizer performing on two pianos:[7]

> I did like your work very much. The instrumentation is simply brilliant. You used trombone glissandos, which I have never employed before.[8]

The introduction of the cantata starts in B minor with an opening theme entrusted to trombones. Vasilenko did not specify the titles of the authentic tunes and the sections, in which he integrated them in his score. However, the author of this paper was fortunate to uncover that this opening theme is an authentic tune of the *znamenny* chant called *Bog Gospod'* [God is the Lord], which was performed daily at the early morning church-service of the Old Believers communities (Example 1).[9]

Example 1. Znamenny chant *Bog Gospod'*

Vasilenko only transposed it on a minor third down and slightly altered its rhythm (Example 2).[10]

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[7] The manuscript of the cantata arranged for two pianos is housed in RGALI, fonds 952, op. 1, ed. khr. 68.

[8] Quoted in: Sergei Vasilenko, *Moi uchitelia i druz'ia*. Housed in RGALI, fonds 2579, op. 1, ed. khr. 413, 2.

[9] This tune is listed as no. 7 in the section '*Na utreni. Bog Gospod'* [In the morning. God is the Lord] among the collection of the *znamenny* chants in: <http://znamen.ru>

[10] Sergei Vasilenko, *Vstuplenie i ariia gusliara. Skazanie o velikom grade Kitezhe i tikhom ozere Svetoiare* [The Introduction and Aria of a Gusli Player. The Legend of the Great City of Kitezh and the Quiet Lake Svetoyar], text by Nikolai Manykin-Nevstruev, Moscow, Leipzig, P. Iurgenson, 1902, 3.

Example 2. S. Vasilenko, Introduction to the cantata (piano reduction)

This theme is followed by an aria of a *gusli* player, who sings the tale of Kitezh, which the Old Believers associated with a holy city, where the true believers could openly lead their religious life.[11] The music exhibits the continuous repetition of melodies and notes that was characteristic of Znamenny chants, which Vasilenko contrasted with rhythmic and metric flexibility. This is the only part of the cantata that was published, for the first and last time, in 1902 by Iurgenson.[12] Unfortunately, the cantata was never recorded and remains in manuscript. Very likely, this obvious musical association with recognizable chants of the prohibited Old Believers' movement on the public concert stage became the focal point for tsarist censorship and the consequent reason for the withdrawal of this work from the concert repertoire.[13]

Znamenny raspev – melismatic liturgical singing in unison – used to be the only singing tradition in the Russian Orthodox Church until the reforms of Patriarch Nikon in the mid-seventeenth century.[14] These church reforms

[11] Further reference in: 1. Natal'ia Ponyrko, ed., "Legenda o grade Kitezhe [The Legend of the City of Kitezh]," in *Biblioteka literatury drevnei Rusi. XIII vek* [The Library of the Literature of Ancient Russia. Thirteenth Century], vol. 5, ed. Dmitrii Likhachev, Lev Dmitriev, Anatolii Alekseev, and Natal'ia Ponyrko, St. Petersburg, Nauka, 1997, 168–183; 2. Vasilii Leonidovich Komarovich, *Kitezhskaia legenda. Opyt izucheniia mestnykh legend* [The Legend of Kitezh. The Learning Experience of the Local Legends], Moscow, Leningrad, Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1936, 157–173.

[12] Sergei Vasilenko, *Vstuplenie i ariia gusliara. Skazanie o velikom grade Kitezhe i tikhom ozere Svetoiare*. Text by Nikolai Manykin-Nevstruev, Moscow, Leipzig, P. Iurgenson, 1902, 1–13.

[13] Vasilenko's cantata was intended for concert performance and could not possibly compete in size and grandeur with the opera by Rimsky-Korsakov on the same subject. Despite the religious background of the legend of Kitezh and of St Fevroniia of Murom that Rimsky-Korsakov adapted for his opera, his fine work is secular in its musical expression, whereas in Vasilenko's cantata, the implementation of authentic Russian chants placed a stronger focus on its religious context.

[14] Further musicological sources concerning the Old Believers' practices and Russian melismatic singing are still very limited in English. Among them are Nicholas Brill, *History of Russian Church Music, 988–1917*, Bloomington, Nicholas Brill, Illinois State University, 1982, 13–44; Alfred J. Swan, *Russian Music and its Sources in Chant and Folk-song*, London, John Baker Ltd., 1973, 29–44; and Dimitri Conomos, *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music*, Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1985, 82–170.

introduced a polyphonic style of singing influenced by the West, in particular Poland, Germany and Italy,[15] and brought in the modern five-line staff notation in place of the symbols called *kriuki* that developed from Byzantine neumatic notation.[16] Vasilenko recalled the difficulties of reading this notation:

> The ancient symbols, the so-called *kriuki*, did not represent any individual sounds. These symbols had curious titles such as 'golubchik borzyi' ['my swift dove'], 'dva v chelnu' ['two in a canoe'], 'nemka kudriavaia' ['a curvy German lady'] etc., and represented the whole sequence of notes. One had to learn this endless number of symbols as though characters in Chinese grammar and also have the knowledge of their combinations.[17]

Znamenny raspev was composed using a different compositional modus operandi from Western music systems. At the same time, it had characteristics comparable to the neumatically-notated chant used in the Roman Catholic Church. Similarly, the Znamenny raspev was monophonic with a melody in conjunct motion that followed a pitch system of whole and half steps, though the scale was over an octave.

Vasilenko's practical expertise in Znamenny raspev most certainly influenced his aural perception of early liturgical music in general. He empha-

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[15] Iurii Kholopov (1932–2003), a prominent Russian musicologist and music theorist, was of the opinion that these church reforms were largely influenced by changes within the Orthodox Church and the treatise *Musikiiskaia grammatika* dated 1679–1681 written by the music theorist Nikolai Diletsky. Further information is found in Iurii Kholopov, "Russkaia filosofiia muzyki i trudy Alekseia Loseva," in *Voprosy klassicheskoi filologii. Vypusk XI*, ed. Aza Takho-Godi, Moscow, MGU, 1996, 240–248.

[16] Research into *kriuki* notation and early liturgical chants continued under Soviet rule. Maksim Leonidovich Brazhnikov (1902–1973) was a musicologist and a pre-eminent scholar on Russian early liturgical music in the USSR, deciphering numerous manuscripts. In 1940, Brazhnikov was sacked from his research post at the Hermitage in Leningrad, but managed to convince Stalin in writing of the importance of this heritage for the country. Stalin gave permission to carry out this research, though the majority of Brazhnikov's works have not been published and are kept in the archives of the St Petersburg Conservatoire and the GNMCMC, fonds 23, 286, 340. Further information may be found in *Istoriia v litsakh*, "Maksim Leonidovich Brazhnikov," Russian National Library, <http://www.nlr.ru/ar/staff/braj.htm> and Alexander Ivashkin, "Shostakovich, Old Believers and New Minimalists," in *Contemplating Shostakovich: Life, Music and Film*, ed. Alexander Ivashkin and Andrew Kirkman, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012, 19–45.

[17] Sergei Vasilenko, *Vospominaniia. Pervonachal'nyi variant.* Housed in RGALI, fonds 2579, op.1, ed. khr. 410, p. 39. The signs have names and spiritual symbols. Thus, 'golubchik borzyi' represents two ascending sounds and is a symbol of the Holy Ghost. Further reference in: E. A. Grigor'ev, *Posobie po izucheniiu tserkovnogo znamennogo peniia*, Riga, Rizhskaia grebenshchikovskaia staroobriadcheskaia obshchina, 1992, 32–49.

sised that he was captivated by the Old Believers' practices largely on account of the effect of their authentic melodies that provoked and strengthened the religious zeal of the worshippers without any additional embellishments to beautify the ceremony. The exceptional manifestation of religious belief and prayer combined with the musical asceticism typical of Znamenny raspev is also demonstrated in the second piece, *Madonna Tenerina* from the *Four Pieces on Themes of Lute Music of the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries*, op. 35, for viola and piano (1918). *Madonna Tenerina* is based on an instrumental piece from Italy that Vasilenko discovered in an archive when researching collections of early music in Italy, Germany and France in 1910-1913. On his return to Russia he wrote several compositions of his own based on the material he had discovered. The outcome of Vasilenko's stylization in the lute pieces is very appealing, and communicates to a contemporary audience without requiring knowledge of all the details of baroque style and mentality. Moreover, the austere, unembellished minimalism of the first theme of *Madonna Tenerina* in conjunct motion, which gives the impression of "tramping" backwards and forwards between the pitches E, F#, G and A, does not develop any further and reminds one of the ascetic simplicity, plainness and steadiness of monodic chant. In addition, the narrative qualities of a musical prayer addressed to the Virgin Mary are apparent from the very first bars.

Indeed, the visual associations of the service were of no less importance for the composer's perception of music; Vasilenko's memoirs demonstrated their close relationship:

> On a hazy, frosty morning at 5 o'clock [...] I entered the dark church. Ancient ten-*pood* deacon's candles[18] flickered with smoky flames. All members of the congregation were in dark clothing and women in white embroidered headscarves as depicted in the painting of Apollinarii Vasnetsov, "Taking the Veil".[19]

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[18] A *pood* is a unit of mass equal to approximately 16.38 kilograms, which was abolished in the USSR. The deacon's candle is a large candle held by clergymen in their hands during worship.

[19] Vasilenko most certainly confused Apollinary Vasnetsov (1856–1933), who specialised in scenes of mediaeval Russia, with Mikhail Nesterov (1862–1942), who was indeed the painter of "Velikii postrig" [Taking the Veil], 1898 (housed in the State Russian Museum, St Petersburg). Nesterov called this painting a symbolic requiem for his lost love for a young singer, who refused to become his wife. This picture depicts an Old Believers' hermitage in the woods with a procession of women in dark clothing with deacon's candles in their hands. Among the prioress and nuns is a young woman, in a white embroidered headscarf, who is taking the veil. Further information in Irina Nikonova, *Mikhail Vasil'evich Nesterov,* Moscow, Iskusstvo, 1984, 64–65, and Ekaterina Gromova, *Mikhail Nesterov,* Moscow, Olma, 2011, 26–27.

The unison monophonic singing of the big choir was magnificent.[20]

These emblematic rituals irretrievably disappeared from ordinary liturgical services and became a subject matter of research for scholars. In addition, Vasilenko strongly linked the Old Believers' music with ancient icons. In his opinion, they both depicted the spiritual atmosphere of the irrational mystical world that was in harmony with Vasilenko's musical aspirations, of which more below. In the late 1940s, he recalled this in his memoirs: "Perhaps, this was my imagination, but, at the time, I was deeply encouraged by this idea and eagerly studied ancient religious paintings."[21] It was not without reason that Vasilenko compared the Old Believers' services with the paintings of his friend Nesterov, who was a leading representative of religious symbolism in Russian art.

> A devout Orthodox Christian, Nesterov dedicated his pre-revolutionary paintings to the depiction of souls alienated from the world. These paintings made a huge influence on my musical creativity. They captured my imagination not because of their holiness and religious feeling. A certain ineffable light and the otherworldly ambience were in accord with my artistic intellect.[22]

These symbolic visual and narrative associations in correlation with the most effective impact of sacred music were Vasilenko's primary aspirations, which he fulfilled not only in his cantata and in *Madonna Tenerina*: Vasilenko's interest in the Old Believers' rhetoric combined with the poetry of the Russian symbolists of the Silver Age was demonstrated in the third romance, *Raskol'nich'e* [Schismatic] after the poem of Konstantin Bal'mont *Ty sveti, sveti* [You shine, shine] from the vocal cycle *Zaklinaniia* [Incantations] for soprano and piano, op. 16, written in 1909 and published in 1911.[23] Vasilenko's two songs *Vir'* and *Vdova* [Widow] for bass and orchestra op. 6 (1903) follow the same route. They were composed after the poems of the

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[20]   Sergei Vasilenko, *Vospominaniia. Pervonachal'nyi variant.* Housed in RGALI, fonds 2579, op. 1, ed. khr. 410, 40.

[21]   Sergei Vasilenko, *Vospominaniia. Pervonachal'nyi variant.* Housed in RGALI, fonds 2579, op. 1, ed. khr. 412, 11.

[22]   Sergei Vasilenko, *Vospominaniia. Pervonachal'nyi variant.* Housed in RGALI, fonds 2579, op. 1, ed. khr. 412, p. 39. Vasilenko was a friend of many Russian painters, including Mikhail Vrubel' and Viktor Borisov-Musatov, the important representatives of Russian Symbolism. Vasilenko's deep interest in correlations of colour, visual images and music occupied a significant place in his works. Further discussion on this and the influences of symbolism is in the separate sub-chapter below.

[23]   Sergei Vasilenko, *Incantations Pour Chant et Piano, op.16*, Moscow, Iurgenson, 1911. This work was premièred by Vera Petrova-Zvantseva and Sergei Vasilenko in Moscow in 1911.

same titles by Ivan Bunin and Iakov Polonsky respectively, and dedicated by Vasilenko to Fedor Chaliapin. The first setting is in G minor. It depicts an Old Believers' hermitage hidden in the dark wood, and protected by a wild bird called *vir'*. The bell ringing for evening prayer and the smoky flames of candles enrich the mysteriousness of the ascetically harsh habitat of the worshippers. Its sombre, ritual melody written in a low register, gradually attains almost continuous note repetition, similar to Vasilenko's writing in the cantata *Kitezh*. It then moves from *lento* to *allegro strepitoso*, its register expands with wide leaps and both parts oppose each other polymetrically. Unfortunately, none of these fine compositions has ever been recorded, though they were published in 1905.[24]

The religious theme with a symbolic narrative interpretation found its continuation in Vasilenko's romance no. 1, op. 13, 1908, *Devushka pela v tserkovnom khore* [The Girl Sang in a Church Choir] after the poem by Aleksandr Blok of the same title.[25] At first glance, one may interpret this romance as a refined lyrical composition about a girl whose beautiful singing in a church brings hope and belief in a better life to her listeners. The image of ships leaving the bay represents imaginative dreams floating away, this being a typical element of the symbolist poetry of the Silver Age.[26] However, this text has a special hidden historical and religious context. The poem was written in August 1905, and in May 1905 two-thirds of the Russian fleet was destroyed in the battle of Tsushima, between Japan and Russia, a devastating loss for the latter. Thus, this romance is not only a nostalgic scenic narrative, but a symbolic musical prayer for all who gave their lives for their homeland. The last two lines of the work point to the Royal Doors and a child who is crying for those who will never come back. Traditionally, an icon with the Mother of God Hodegetria with the Child Jesus in her hands is placed on the iconostasis in an Orthodox Church on the left of the royal

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[24] Sergei Vasilenko, *Poemy dlia basa s orkestrom. Perelozhenie dlia basa s fortep'iano*, op. 6, Moscow: P. Iurgenson, 1905, 1–26. The first poem was premièred by Vasilii Petrov (bass) and Sergei Vasilenko (conductor) in Kislovodsk in 1906; the second poem was premièred in Berlin in 1912. Further information in Sergei Vasilenko, "Moi vospominaniia o Vasilii Rodionoviche Petrove," in *Vasilii Rodionovich Petrov. Sbornik statei i materialov*, ed. Igor' Belza, Moscow, Muzgiz, 1953, 128–134.

[25] Sergei Vasilenko, *Romansy no. 1-3, op. 13*, Moscow, Leipzig: Iurgenson, 1909. The romance no. 1 was also published in English and French: Sergei Vasilenko, *The Singing Maiden. La jeune fille chantait,* London, Brighton, J&W. Chester, 1917. A recording of this romance in Russian performed by Ivan Kozlovskii (tenor) and Petr Nikitin (piano) has survived, housed in London: BL, shelf number 1LP 0134518 S1 BD4 Melodiia.

[26] Roman Iakobson, "Stikhotvornye proritsaniia Aleksandra Bloka," in Roman Iakobson, *Raboty po poetike*, ed. Mikhail Gasparov, Moscow, Progress, 1987, 254–266.

doors,[27] thus indicating a pathway to prayer and directing one to the only source of forgiveness of sins.

The theme of this romance correlates with Vasilenko's sketches for a symphonic poem for choir and orchestra, *Obraz Bozhiei Materi Odigitrii* [The Image of the Mother of God Hodegetria] as well as the *Angel skorbi* [Angel of Sorrow] for unaccompanied choir, which he destroyed.[28] One may describe Vasilenko's approach as religious symbolism in music, which was a challenging position as it ran contrary to strict traditions of sacred music both Russian and Western. However, it explains Vasilenko's brief comment in his memoirs, in which he listed his *Suite on Lute Music of the 14th-17th Centuries*, op. 24 (1912), which was used as the basis for this lute cycle for viola and piano, among the works that were influenced by symbolism and impressionism, including the symphonic poems *Sad smerti* [The Garden of Death] op. 13 and *Polet ved'm* [Flight of the Witches] op. 15. They were written at the time when his little son Aleksei died, in 1908. Very likely, Vasilenko's approach to religious subjects in music was not only a tribute to Vasilenko's 'artistic intellect' as he pointed out in his memoirs, but also a symbolic echo of his personal loss.[29] Regardless of his true motives, Vasilenko's unique practical encounters with, and exploration and re-discoveries of this authentic means of Russian religious musical expression enhanced the quality and merits of his sacred compositions.

Sergei Taneyev, who used Russian liturgical themes widely in his works, displayed a negative attitude to the *kriuki* material that Vasilenko used in his cantata, and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov expressed disbelief in their authenticity, pointing out that after two hundred years of persecution these chants would have acquired some folk elements. Rimsky-Korsakov was right to a degree, as traditionally there are no hymn books in an Old Believer church and the congregation learns the melodies by ear. In addition, by the end of the seventeenth century, there was a split within the Old Believers

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[27] *Hodegetria* translates from Greek as 'She who shows the way'. This type of icon depicts the Virgin Mary holding the Child Jesus and pointing at Him as the only means of salvation for mankind. These icons are traditionally displayed at the altar on the left of the Royal Doors of the iconostasis in an Orthodox Church. Further information may be found in Roderick Grierson, ed. *Gates of Mystery. The Art of Holy Russia*, Fort Worth, Texas, InterCultura and the Russian State Museum, 1994, 11–59, 121.

[28] Sergei Vasilenko, *Vokal'nye proizvedeniia*. Housed in GDMC, fonds 36, op. 1, ed. khr. 7, p. 2.

[29] Further information in Sergei Vasilenko, *Stranitsy vospominanii*, Moscow, Leningrad, Gosudarstvennoe muzykal'noe izdatel'stvo, 1948, 123 and Georgii Polianovskii, *Sergei Vasilenko*, Moscow-Leningrad, Muzgiz, 1947, 67.

into two principal movements: the *popovtsy* [priested] and a more conservative (intolerant) group called *bezpopovtsy* [unpriested],[30] which consequently led to the adaptation of their singing practices according to the needs of the respective communities, which did not always have enough singers.[31] Traditionally, only male singers were allowed to sing in church. However, on account of the shortage, untrained female and male singers would participate, having learnt the tunes orally during the services rather than by studying the *kriuki* books, and thus naturally added local folk elements to their practice. Nevertheless, the singers of the Znamenny chant were expected to perform naturally in a style comparable to folk singing that did not require classical vocal training.[32] Moreover, Vasilenko's authentic collection of tunes came from the two main centres of the Old Believers in Moscow that did have fine singers, who carefully preserved the singing practices of the Russian Orthodox Old-Rite Church. This fact makes Rimsky-Korsakov's scepticism with regard to the authenticity of the musical material inapplicable to Vasilenko's case.

As regards Taneyev's view, unlike Vasilenko, he could not separate the external musical customs from the specifics of the philosophy and the eremitic way of life of this wing of Orthodoxy, which were extraneous to his beliefs, whereas for Vasilenko, the musical and visual impacts were the prime objectives. This symbolic approach allowed him to implement and elaborate their particular musical elements in both early Western musical material and the poetry of the Russian symbolists of the Silver Age.

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[30] Both movements believe in the importance of the priesthood. However, the *bezpopvtsy* rejected such priests as had ever practiced the new rites, as they considered them traitors and a threat to spiritual salvation. The *bezpopovtsy* believed that all true priests who practiced the old rites had died during the reforms of Nikon.

[31] Further information on the Old Believers' practices may be found in "Old Believers: Rarus's Gallery: Muzykal'naia kul'tura staroobriadtsev", <http://www.raruss.ru/rus-christian-painting/1764-music-old-believe.html>

[32] It is very likely that there was a cross influence of church and folk singing practices in some Old Believer communities. Thus, the folk tunes preserved by the Nekrasov Cossacks that belong to the *popovtsy* movement evidently show the influence of church singing. There are a few general characteristics in their melodies that suggest this: they are in conjunct motion with repetition of notes but almost no leaps; some tunes have a range of no more than a perfect fifth; they are monodic and are written in a low register, though they are performed by a mixed choir. The author of this paper was privileged to listen to an authentic recording of the Nekrasov Cossacks made in 1984 during ethnographic expedition to their settlement in the Levokumskii district of the Stavropol' region organised by the Moscow Conservatoire and led by Vera Medvedeva, a musicologist and a member of the Composers' Union. Some of these songs were not included on the LP "The Nekrasov Cossacks at the Moscow Conservatoire" that was recorded in 1982 and produced by Melodiya (C20 20435 009) in the USSR in 1984. Further information on the Nekrasov Cossacks and samples of their songs are available through the work of researchers Fedor and Tamara Tumilevich: Fedor and Tamara Tumilevich, "Kazaki-nekrasovtsy: nasledie kazachestva," <http://www.tumilevich.ru/index.php>

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Tatiana Soloviova

Stepan Smolensky and the Renaissance of Sacred Music in Russia

Introduction: From Oblivion to the Forefront of Cultural Life

The period over the turn of the century, 1890 to 1917, is called by Russian musicologists "a true Renaissance of Russian sacred music."[1] The developments in sacred music were so varied and so wide, received so much interest and created so much resonance in the country that it is also referred to as "a golden age" of Russian sacred music.[2] In contrast, during the previous period, sacred music was mostly confined to church services; it was a marginalized area which had hardly anything to do with the mainstream of Russian cultural and intellectual life. Apart from this, from the beginning of the 18th century Russian culture in general and music in particular was dominated by Italian or German principles. It was captured and imprisoned in "Europeanism". After nearly two hundred years of foreign domination, Russian sacred music not only nearly lost its character; it often did not even correspond with the spirit of Christianity and the Orthodox Church. This problem was recognized by several people including the composer Pyotr Tchaikovsky and the critic Herman Laroche.

In a letter to the Metropolitan of Kiev in 1878, Tchaikovsky said:

> As a result of fatal circumstances this abominable, over-sentimental, sugary-sweet style was forced into our church, and our sacred music is currently in a most miserable state. As a musician and as an Orthodox Christian I cannot be satisfied with this situation, regard-less of how beautiful and well balanced are singers' voices, regardless of how

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[1]   L.A. Rapatskaya, *Istoriya russkoi muzyki*, Moscow, Vlados, 2001, 349.

[2]   Marina Rakhmanova, "Vstupitel'naya stat'ya", *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka v dokumentakh i materialakh*, Moscow, Yazyki slavyanskoi kultury, 2002, Vol. III, 13.

masterly is the conductor. We have after all the traditional chants which are not only musically beautiful but also highly original.[3]

In addition, in a letter to Nadezhda von Meck, Tchaikovsky wrote, "A vast and almost untrodden field of activity lies open to the composer here. I appreciate certain merits in Bortnyansky, Berezovsky and others, but how little their music is in keeping with the Byzantine architecture, the icons and the whole spirit of the Orthodox Liturgy!"[4]

Herman Laroche, one of the leading Russian musicologists, wrote in his article "On the Current Situation in Russian Church Music," "Our church music possesses an enormous treasure of ancient chants distinctive and original in their expressiveness and melodic beauty. But for many centuries it was in stagnation and did not move anywhere in its development…"[5] In the 19th century, he argued, Russian secular music had acquired wings, taken courage and embarked upon the path of independence and national folk expression (*narodnost*). Laroche wrote about the growing love for Russian folk culture among the general public, about great composers, the new conservatoires, music societies etc: "Only our sacred music has fallen behind and remains separated from the mainstream. There is no change and no success in this area."[6] There seemed to be an unbridgeable gap between the spectacular world of Russian symphonies and ballets on the one hand and the primitive Italian or German sentimentalism that dominated sacred music on the other hand.

By the end of the 19th century the situation had changed remarkably. Sacred music "became a vanguard of musical creativity in Russia" and was "more innovative than anywhere in the world."[7] This renaissance included several simultaneous trends:

- the remarkable and unprecedented flowering in the number of sacred compositions that included masterpieces by Kastalsky, Grechaninov, Chesnokov and Rachmaninov;
- the opening of a department of History of Church Singing at Moscow Conservatory in 1867 and later at the University of St Petersburg;

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[3]   Tchaikovsky's Letter to the Rector of the Kiev Spiritual Academy, 29.09.1882, in *O tserkov-nom penii. Sbornik statei, e*d. O. D. Lada, Moscow, Lodiya, 2001, 100.

[4]   *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky,* ed. Modest Tchaikovsky, transl. Rosa Newmarch, London, 1906, 298.

[5]   Herman Laroche, "O nyneshnem sostoyanii tserkovnoi muzyki v Rossii", *Sovremennaya letopis*, 1869, in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. III, 151.

[6]   Ibid.

[7]   *One Thousand Years of Russian Church Music: 988–1988,* ed. Vladimir Morosan, Madison, Musica Russica, 1991, lv.

- the new, and very unusual for Russia, practice of performing sacred music in concert halls for general appreciation (this included triumphant visits of Russian choirs abroad);
- the important role given to church singing in the education of children (after the reform of 1864 introduced a chain of elementary schools);
- growing attention and debate among the general public. Musicologists and composers began to discuss and to write on what sacred music is about and how it should be composed. This was exemplified by many monographs and articles (e.g. the stream of articles in 1899–1903 in the newspaper *Moskovskie vedomosti*), and also through the establishment of such bodies as the "Society of Ancient Russian Art" (1864) and the "Society of Lovers of Church Singing" (1880). Among its members were not only musicians but members of the general public (e.g. the folklorist Yuly Melgunov, the mathematician Vasily Komarov and the historian Pyotr Samarin).[8]

These are only the most important developments. As a result of them, Russian sacred music had become a major and essential ingredient in Russia's cultural life. It also became characteristically Russian in its sound.

All these developments may be studied through the life and work of one particular person – Stepan Smolensky. He took part in all of them, and he also was the chief source of inspiration and an organizing force behind many of them.

Anyone who loves Russian sacred music may perhaps be aware that Rachmaninov's *All-Night Vigil* is dedicated to Stepan Smolensky. The Music Encyclopaedia of 1978 described the latter as a leading Russian mediaevalist of the 19th century, a musicologist, a palaeographer, and a pedagogue.[9] He also was a lawyer, a philologist, a writer, a composer and much more. For many years Smolensky was director of the Moscow Synodal School and its famous Choir.[10] And it was there, in Moscow, in the Synodal School and

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[8] *Obshchestvo drevnerusskogo iskusstva, Obshchestvo lubitelei tserkovnogo peniya.*

[9] *Muzykal'naya entsyklopediya,* ed. Yury Keldysh, Moscow, Sovetskaya entsiklopedia, 1978, 115.

[10] The Synodal Choir (*Sinodalny Khor*), originally the Patriarchal Choir, was established in Moscow in 1589 when the Russian Orthodox Church became a Patriarchate, with the newly elected Patriarch Jove. It was the second largest choir after the Tsar's singers (later the Imperial Court Singing Chapel in St. Petersburg, Pridvornaya Kapella). In 1830 a small private school was attached to the Synodal Choir where young boys were taught singing. In 1857 the school was given official recognition, in 1886 it was turned into a secondary school with special choral educational and had a task to prepare singers and choirmasters, effectively becoming a College of Church Music. Both the school and the choir received a finan-

Choir, where the reform in church music began, where new compositions and new performance practices later labelled by contemporaries as "The New Moscow School", or "the New Direction" in Russian liturgical singing,[11] developed.

The compositions and work of the Moscow School, as Smolensky said, "resurrected what was forgotten but was not meant to die"[12] – ancient Russian sacred chants. Formulating the goals of the new movement, Smolensky stated that sacred compositions should be based on authentic traditional chants, should be church music, which could not be heard anywhere else but in churches, and should be national in spirit.[13]

There were many people whole-heartedly involved in this movement, e.g. the composers Kastalsky and Chesnokov, the musicologists Metallov and Preobrazhensky and the famous conductor Orlov. But it was Stepan Smolensky who was considered by contemporaries to be the field-marshal, the heart and the soul of the movement.[14]

This article is based on my dissertation on Smolensky, which was planned as historical research, and which introduced and analysed a large variety of original sources, until recently "unavailable and not known even to professional musicologists, let alone wider public in Russia."[15] It does not contain detailed analyses of the musical examples included, but aims to provide a broad historical context for future musicological research and for deeper investigation into this barely-explored subject.

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cial subsidy from the State and the Holy Synod. The Holy Synod (*Svyateishy Synod*) – governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church (led by an appointed lay person *Ober-Prokuror*) since the abolition of the Patriarchate by Peter I in 1721.

[11] M. A. Lisitsyn, "O novom napravlenii v russkoi tserkovnoi muzyke", *Muzykal'ny truzhennik*, 1909, also in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. III, 525.

[12] Stepan Smolensky, *O drevnerusskikh pevcheskikh notatsiyakh*, Sankt Peterburg, Pamyatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva, 1901, 10.

[13] Aleksandr D. Kastalsky, "O moei muzykalnoi kar'ere," *Nasledie.* Moscow, Muzykalnye sobraniya, 1990, 78–79; available in English: Alexander Kastalsky, "My Musical Career and My Thoughts on Church Music," translated by S. W. Pring, *The Musical Quarterly* 2(2), 1925 231–247.

[14] E. S. Tugarinov, *Veliky russky regent V. S. Orlov,* Moscow, Muzyka, 2004, 12.

[15] E. Levashova, "Traditsionnye zhanry drevenrusskogo pevcheskogo iskusstva ot Glinki do Rakhmaninova", in *Traditsionnye zhanry russkoi dukhovnoi muzyki i sovremennost'*, ed. Y. I. Paisov, Moscow, Kompozitor, 1999, 6.

The Work of Stepan Smolensky
Guiding Principles

Stepan Smolensky was born on 3 October 1848 in Kazan. His father, Vasily Gerasimovich, initially worked as a secretary in the Kazan Orthodox Diocese, and later as a Warden of Kazan University. In his memoirs Smolensky describes the idyllic atmosphere of his economically stretched family with many children: prayers, meals, discussions and games together. His mother, Avdotiya Stepanovna, "was pure love, the pure joy of our family, she was always with us from morning to evening", the father "a knight of honour and free thought, an unceasing protector of Kazan students."[16] His mother shaped Smolensky's soul, his father his intellect. Undoubtedly, it was the family atmosphere that provided Smolensky with a solid foundation for his future work and helped him develop his personal philosophy of life: deep reverence for the Motherland, whole-hearted Christian faith, gentle, yet firm manners, and respect towards the people around him.

Everything in their home life was purely Russian: "Our general abstemiousness in food, drink, in sleep, clothes, reading, and games may seem strange and senseless to children of the contemporary age, but it did not make it difficult for us to get up early in the morning to go to matins, to fast 'till the first star appeared' on Christmas Eve and strictly to observe fasts on Wednesday and Friday... And then, how joyfully we had our festive meal on Easter day!"[17] In his memoirs Smolensky also writes about unkind things connected with the bondage of peasants he witnessed as a child: "It was cruel, wild, inhuman, and immoral even in the attitude of landlords to themselves."[18]

Stepan enjoyed his years at Kazan University: "I grew under the harmonious combination of family and academic influences... To the University I owe, first of all, respect for everything that exists in this world."[19] The time of Smolensky's youth and academic education fell during the period of the reforms of Alexander II. The abolition of serfdom in 1861 and other reforms (in court procedures, in education etc.) began to change the face of the country. Young people of that time grew with enthusiasm and had hope in their hearts. Smolensky was undoubtedly a typical *shestidesyatnik* – a child of the 1860s.

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[16] Stepan Smolensky, "Vospominaniya", *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka v dokumentakh i materialakh*, Vol. IV, Moscow, Yazyki slavyanskoi kul'tury, 2002, 64.

[17] Ibid., 65.

[18] Ibid., 66. Smolensky recollects various stories from the time of his childhood and makes interesting remarks about the history of Russia.

[19] Ibid., 132.

Under the influence of the period, the young Smolensky chose a career as a lawyer. In 1872 he successfully graduated from the Law faculty of Kazan University and started his service in Kazan High Court Chamber. However, this position and the prospect of a career which many people would have been proud of did not satisfy the young man. In 1875 he passed exams and received yet another degree, from the Philological Faculty of the University. All his life Smolensky had a strong inclination to further self-improvement: he never stopped learning, and he never stopped teaching.

Apart from his Christian faith, Smolensky was a Slavophile – the credo that was shared by all his co-workers for the Renaissance of sacred music in Russia. They believed that Russia's future would be brighter if she looked to her own past and her own culture instead of abroad. They believed in the talents of the Russian nation and in her God-given mission in the world.

Smolensky's nationalism cannot be taken for granted, for Russian the intelligentsia of those days was torn between the two camps: Slavophiles and Westernizers. The debates between these two uncompromising camps strongly coloured the political and cultural life of pre-Revolutionary Russia. With all his passion for Russia, Smolensky saw and understood the world outside the country. He spoke three foreign languages, and knew in depth and enjoyed European literature and music. Smolensky was not in the slightest degree blinkered as to the harsh realities of contemporary Russia. In fact, he was one of the most zealous critics of his time.[20] In his opinion, Russians should keep their unique historic traditions but should evolve along the path of liberal reforms.[21] Smolensky was a Slavophile of a new trend that stood for "keeping the peasants and Peter too,"[22] for finding a proper balance between Russian traditions and Western learning.

Music

Smolensky never earned a formal degree in music. But, by the time of his graduation he was acknowledged an expert in music of all kinds: a good violinist and pianist, a bass singer and a University choir conductor.[23]

Smolensky's first encounters with music were his mother's songs, his aunt's piano playing and church singing. Singing in Kazan Cathedral made an unforgettable impression on the boy: "It lifted me to the heaven."[24] "Church singing was always the favourite, most beloved and most soulful

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[20]   Ibid., 93, 103, 213.

[21]   Ibid., 55–56.

[22]   Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia*, London, Penguin, 2003, 225.

[23]   Stepan Smolensky, *Vospominaniya*, 122, 141, 145, 208.

[24]   Ibid., 95.

art of Russia," believed Smolensky.[25] Traditional Russian chants he considered to be "the most significant creation of our national spirit."[26] And, of course, he could not escape hearing folk songs. Kazan at that time was full of singing and dancing. Even water-carriers sang so well that young Smolensky could not but stop and write down their tunes.[27] For the rest of his life he remembered "songs, incomparable Russian folk wedding songs – their wonderful, moving, natively warm poetry, full of marvellous gentleness."[28]

The other strong impression on him was made by Orthodox church bells.[29] Later Smolensky revealed his deep knowledge on this subject in the article "On Bell Ringing in Russia"[30] – "the best and, as far as the language is concerned, the most graceful"[31] article about Church bells.

Like a sponge, young Stepan soaked up the folk art of his country. His musical feelings were fed and stimulated by original melodies, rhythms and harmonies of Russia – a great impetus for what Smolensky later became.

Teaching

A brilliantly educated young man, Stepan Smolensky quickly became dissatisfied with his work at the Kazan Court. He tried several positions. His last occupation was advocacy. "My service in court lasted nearly a year and was extremely dull and boring, even though I saved the wanderer Vafa Abdulatifov from life-long work in prison", remembered Smolensky.[32]

Meanwhile, the reform of education established numerous elementary schools within church parishes under the control of the Synod. The number of those schools between 1880 and the first decade of the 20th century rose

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[25] Stepan Smolensky, *O drevne-russkikh pevcheskikh notatsiyakh*, Sankt Peterburg, 1901, 4.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Smolensky, *Vospominaniya,* 68–69.

[28] Ibid., 70–73.

[29] Church bells fascinated Stepan from childhood. His parents supported his passion. They helped the boy to organise a belfry in the attic. He used jugs and pots. "I practised my art with great zeal. I already could produce *vstrechny* and *proezdnoi* bell ringing for hierarchs. My brother was riding a hobby-horse through the paths of our garden pretending to be a hierarch... I greeted him with my "bells", described Smolensky in his memoirs. Later Stepan became a pupil of the best Kazan bell ringer, "a true talent", Semyon Semyonovich from the Pokrovskaya Church. Ibid.

[30] Stepan Smolensky, *O kolokolnom zvone v Rossii,* Sankt Peterburg, 1907.

[31] N. Findeizen, "Pamyati Smolenskogo", in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. IV, 624.

[32] Smolensky, *Vospominaniya,* 163.

from 237 to 44,000.[33] In 1875, at the invitation of his uncle Nikolai Ilminsky, Stepan joined the recently-founded Kazan Seminary for Teachers where teachers for numerous new schools were prepared. This seminary quickly became a successful and popular educational institution, and was rewarded by both local authorities and the central government. Smolensky worked there until his move to Moscow in 1889. The work deeply satisfied him and gained him wide recognition.

Smolensky was invited to become a singing teacher and a choirmaster. Essentially, he became head of music. It is worth noticing that Ilminsky deliberately chose for this role somebody who had no formal music degree but a brilliant humanitarian education, was broad minded and loved music. Better than any classically trained musician, he could persuade his students that music could profoundly contribute to their personal wellbeing and their professional careers. Smolensky soon achieved outstanding results: the choir was recognised as one of the best in the area, and his students loved him.

Smolensky became one of the first people to give lectures on the benefits of music and particularly singing, as it enhanced academic performance, strengthened team spirit, developed friendships and boosted morale. Music and singing, he emphasized many times, is an immensely powerful tool for intellectual, moral and spiritual development of young people.[34] His reputation on educational issues gained recognition beyond Kazan. His articles were often published in official teaching circuits of the Kazan area and in the central periodicals *Semiya i shkola* and *Tserkovnye vedomosti*.[35] In 1886, the *Ober-Prokuror* of the Holy Synod, Konstantin Pobedonostsev – one of the leading figures in the whole of the Russian Empire of the time – invited Smolensky to St Petersburg to take part in the Committee preparing a programme for teaching church singing in teacher training colleges and seminaries.[36]

In 1885 Smolensky expressed his thoughts on teaching singing in "Course of Choral Singing."[37] The first lithographed edition proved so popular that in 1887–1911 a further seven editions (revised and enlarged) were

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[33] Svetlana Zvereva, *Alexander Kastalsky: His Life and Music*, foreword and translation by Stuart Campbell, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003, 30.

[34] Stepan Smolensky, "Zametka ob obushenii peniyu v uchitelskih seminariyah i narodnyh khorah", *Semiya i shkola*, 1881, 182.

[35] Idem, "Po povody predlagaemogo preobrazovaniya programmy prepodavaniya urokov peniya v duhovnyh seminariyah i uchilishchah", *Tserkovnye vedomosti*, Moscow, 1886.

[36] Pobedonostsev visited Kazan on several occasions, enjoyed Smolensky's choir singing and appreciated pedagogical success of the young teacher. Smolensky, *Vospominaniya*, 214–215.

[37] Idem, *Kurs khorovogo peniya*, Kazan, 1885, also Kazan, 1887, 1897, Moscow, 1900, 1901, Sankt Peterburg, 1905, 1911.

published! Contemporaries recognized Smolensky's Course as "a wonderful programme" for teaching singing.[38]

The question of a textbook on church singing was a burning issue. In 1874 The Holy Synod requested the Society of Ancient Russian Art to compile a manual on church singing for use in schools. The Society answered that for this purpose "A Short Course on Harmony" by one of its respected members, "the expert in history of Russian music", Tchaikovsky, could be used. In 1875 Tchaikovsky wrote his "Concise Textbook on Harmony for Reading Sacred Music Compositions in Russia."[39] The way the respectable composer conveyed his knowledge of harmony did not always inspire students, particularly less academic ones, and his book was never popular.[40] In contrast, Smolensky's book provided simple and logical explanations of music theory, included beautiful examples and overshadowed the widely used textbooks on choral singing by Lomakin and Albrecht.[41] It met the demands of the time and, without exaggeration, can be considered the most popular textbook on choral singing in pre-Revolutionary Russia. When teaching in Kazan, Smolensky prepared 600 conductors.[42]

Smolensky, one can argue, was not only a successful teacher, but also became one of the founders of the educational movement within the renaissance of sacred music, which grew from strength to strength at the beginning of the 20th century.

Researching into Old Russian Chant

A young lawyer thus gradually evolved into a highly successful, widely acclaimed choirmaster and musical educator.[43] Smolensky taught in Kazan for nearly fifteen years and was fundamentally happy with his life.[44] But his

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[38] Idem, "Upravlenie khorom. Opyt programmy prepodavaniya", *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo.* 1912, no. 5, 6, 109.

[39] *"Kratky uchebnik garmonii, prisbosoblenny k chteniyu dukhovno-muzykal'nykh sochineniy v Rossii".* The Education Committee of the Holy Synod recommended Tchaikovsky's book and called it "a great help for studying church singing". Rachmanova, op. cit., 100, 160–161.

[40] Ibid.

[41] G. Lomakin, *Kratkaya metoda peniya dlya pervonachal'nogo obshchego ucheniya po tsifram i notam,* Sankt Peterburg, 1862; K. Albrekht, *Rukovodstvo k khorovomy peniyu po tsifrovoi metode Sheve s prilozheniem dvuglasnykh uprazhneny, 70 russkikh pesen i 41 trekhglasnogo khora razlishnykh sochineniy,* Moscow, 1867. These books were the first attempts to systematise teaching music theory (see N. Matveev, op. cit. 225).

[42] Smolensky, *Vospominaniya,* 207.

[43] Smolensky was deeply inspired by his close friend Sergei Rachinsky – one of the most amazing representatives of Russian intelligentsia of the 19th century.

[44] Smolensky, *Vospominaniya.* 207–209.

pedagogical work was only one side of the coin. In parallel with his teaching, he began researching into the field of traditional sacred chants.

There were several reasons for this new passion. Smolensky's love of secular folk art inspired his curiosity into what the equivalent sacred expression might be. In addition, he was deeply interested in the life and culture of the Old Believers, "a living image of the past."[45] Smolensky had friends amongst the Old Believers, visited their church and took lessons in the neumatic *kryuki* notation.[46] It was a fascination that he maintained all his life. In addition, Smolensky was greatly influenced by Razumovsky's book *Church Singing in Russia*, published in 1867[47] – the first research into *kryuki*, AND an outstanding work for that time. Razumovsky became a professor of the newly created Department of History of Russian Church Music at the Moscow Conservatory. Meeting this man in 1875 inspired Smolensky to study this neglected subject. Smolensky followed his interest and his instinct; he could not even dream that in 1889 he himself would be a professor at the Moscow Conservatory on the recommendation of Razumovsky. In his article devoted to Razumovsky, Smolensky remembered his "fatherly, gentle attention."[48] Also, as Smolensky confessed, the short-tempered Archpriest once shouted at him that he could not take his opinions seriously until he learnt *kryuki* properly.[49] This harsh remark helped Smolensky to become the leading specialist in old Russian notation.

Smolensky was drawn to the old manuscripts and felt that they contained "the treasure that no other European nation had."[50] In the 1880s his work was to collect, to sort, to describe and to analyse sources. He was a hard-working palaeographer, and only later became a historian. A good example of his work, "Pictures and Description of the Singing Manuscripts of Solovetsky Monastery," an indispensable work for many Russian scholars, was later published in Germany.[51]

The most significant publication by Smolensky at that time was the "Azbuka of Aleksandr Mezenets of 1668."[52] The editing of this old treatise on

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[45]   Idem, "Znakomstvo so staroobryadtsami", in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. IV, 597.

[46]   Idem, *Vospominaniya,* 211–213.

[47]   Dmitry V. Razumovsky, *Tserkovnoe peniye v Rossii,* Moscow, 1867–1869.

[48]   Smolensky, *Vospominaniya.* 205.

[49]   Ibid.

[50]   The words of Odoevsky, which Smolensky whole heatedly supported.

[51]   Stepan Smolensky, *Snimki s pevcheskikh rukopisei k opisaniyu Solovetskikh rukopisei,* Lithographic edition, Kazan 1888; Edited by Johann Gardner and published by Vela Bearish Academia der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische klass. Abhandlungen: neue folge, heft 80, Munchen, 1976.

[52]   Stepan Smolensky, *Azbuka Znamennogo peniya startsa Aleksandra Mezentsa (1668-go goda),* Kazan, 1888.

neumatic notation, and most thorough commentaries that showed the author's extensive knowledge, made Smolensky a respected authority in the field of old Russian chant. The work consisted of 24 pages with the text of Mezenets and 108 pages of commentary and analysis by Smolensky. Of particular significance were his detailed explanation of the neumes and the appendix of fourteen pages showing the development of the notation and melodies. Smolensky systematized, compared and deciphered manuscripts from six periods: the 12–13th centuries; the end of the 15th century; *filaretovskie* texts and *iosifskie* texts of the 16th century used by Old Believers; the "Azbuka" by Alexander Mezenets of 1668 and the Synodal Heirmologion of 1772.

Smolensky's "Azbuka" was credited with the same significance and awarded the same honour as Razumovsky's *Church Singing in Russia* by Razumovsky.[53] However, it was obvious that Smolensky uncovered many more mysteries than his predecessor. A decade later, Smolensky's follower Vasily Metallov in his monograph gave a critical review of "Azbuka" and singled out those aspects which were new in Smolensky's work in comparison with the earlier work of Razumovsky. Metallov called Smolensky's "Azbuka" an exemplary, ground-breaking work. He considered the comparative studies of *kryuki* neumes of different periods made by Smolensky in the "Azbuka" as a most significant achievement in the field of Russian mediaeval history.[54]

Metallov also stressed that Smolensky did not follow the path of Razumovsky, who explained the structure of Russian traditional chants through the system of scales and tetrachords. Smolensky introduced into scholarly research the term *popevki*, thus preparing the way for the fundamental research on *popevki* later carried out by Metallov himself.[55] Smolensky analysed the structure of traditional sacred chants and worked out that there were no fewer than 300 *popevki*: little melodic patterns, combinations of which made up chants.[56] He thoroughly studied *popevki*, comparing the manuscripts. The discovery of the phenomenon of *popevki* in sacred chants was greatly significant, as it at last explained the uniqueness of Russian music; something Smolensky's predecessors (Odoevsky, Razumovksy, Arnold and Voznesensky) did not achieve. Metallov stated that Smolensky

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[53] Findeizen, op. cit., 613.

[54] Vasily Metallov, *Ocherki istorii pravoslavnogo tserkovnogo peniya v Rossii*, Moscow, 1900, 173.

[55] Ibid., 174. In the monumental *Istoriya russkoi muzykii* ed. Y. Keldysh, Metallov is proclaimed to be the first to develop the concept of *glas* and *popevki*; while the real pioneer to whom Metallov paid tribute, Smolensky, was not mentioned: Moscow, Muzyka, 1990, 45.

[56] Contemporary musicologists count from 106 to 518 *popevki*. See E. V. Nikolaeva, *Istoria musikalnogo obrazovania. Drevniya Rus*, Moscow, Vlados, 2003, 142.

"discovered the very essence of Russian chants."[57] "It was the true instinct of Smolensky that led him to the right track of the patterns as against the tonalities. Metallov and Preobrazhensky gave the scale theory a final blow, and one must hope that the application of the ancient Greek and Western mediaeval theories to the Russian *glassy* has come to a close," wrote Swan in 1940.[58]

Under the protection of the *Ober-Prokuror* of the Holy Synod, Smolensky was given a grant to publish the "Azbuka" in 1888. This work was awarded the *Makarievskaya* prize, the highest award of the Russian Orthodox Church for academics. What Melgunov suggested in 1883 ("to compile an accessible text-book on *kryuki*, with commentaries, and to engage Old Believers"[59]) Smolensky achieved five years later. In 1890 Vasily Komarov wrote, "Our intelligentsia is completely ignorant about old Russian chant… and particularly valuable is the *Azbuka* by Smolensky which reproduces originals and provides excellent commentaries."[60]

In the late 1880s both the pedagogical and academic reputation of Stepan Smolensky continued to grow. In 1889 he received two invitations: to accept the position of the newly-departed professor Razumovsky at the department of History of Church Singing at Moscow Conservatory (upon the recommendation of Razumovsky); and to become a director of the Moscow Synod School of Church singing and the Synodal Choir.[61] After some hesitation Smolensky accepted both positions. The Kazan period was over. Smolensky began working in Moscow.

The Moscow Synodal School and Choir

The Synodal Choir was supposed to be an "exemplary performer of church singing and a true keeper of the old Orthodox Church chants."[62] However, in the second half of the 19th century the Synodal choir was rapidly losing its reputation. Critics often wrote about the unsatisfactory quality of singing and their uninspiring programmes, which revealed poor education of both

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[57] Metallov, op. cit., 175.

[58] Alfred Swan, "The Znamenny Chant of the Russian Church," *Musical Quarterly*, vol. 26, 1940, 372.

[59] Melgunov, Y.N. "Zapiska o tserkovnoi muzyke", in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. III, 213–220.

[60] Komarov, op. cit., 245.

[61] It was a second invitation; at first Smolensky refused, doubting that he would cope with the administrative burden of managing houses, mills, meadows, lakes and all sorts of "spiritual" property that belonged to the Synodal institutions.

[62] Vasily Metallov, *Sinodalnoe uchilishche tserkovnogo peniya,* Moscow, 1911, 35.

singers and conductors.[63] Tugarinov, in his book about the conductor Orlov, stated that Smolensky's directorship was "a turning point for the Synodal School and Choir and for choral education and singing in Russia in general."[64] When Smolensky arrived in Moscow and investigated the school and the choir, his first impressions were shocking. He wrote: "The School was in utter confusion both educationally and as regards discipline; the Choir was comparatively well co-ordinated, sang well in tune and with a good sound, but was at the same time profoundly ignorant of the rudiments of music and of repertoire, and profoundly undisciplined in the way they earned money on the side (by discreetly singing in other choirs) and in the complete breakdown of discipline in the singers' behaviour. The poverty of the Choir and the School was absolutely complete in all respects without exception. Absolutely nowhere at all was there good order."[65]

The biggest problem Smolensky tackled was the absolute lack of discipline. The school could rightly be called a "place of horrors". Fights, bullying and foul language were the norm. Adults and children alike were "coarse, ignorant and unfamiliar with the concept of educational work."[66]

Girding his loins, Smolensky began his work, which without exaggeration can be called titanic. His administrative labours were combined with teaching both in the School and at the Conservatory. The main field was his pedagogical efforts among the young singers. On the one hand, Smolensky introduced strict discipline, and on the other, fatherly attention to all children who lived without a family and often had hardened hearts. Most of them started work from early childhood, seldom saw any kindness and in fact were deprived of childhood. The abnormal conditions in which these children lived were vividly described by Smolensky in his memoirs.[67] Smolensky's warm attention, peaceful discussions with pupils and disciplinarian tricks in due course produced miraculous results.[68] Pedagogy he called "the

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[63] Tugarinov, op. cit., 29.

[64] Ibid., 109.

[65] Smolensky, *Vospominaniya*, 232.

[66] Ibid., 236.

[67] Ibid., 233–238.

[68] Smolensky's range of pedagogical activities was very wide. He introduced Christmas *Elka* – a party with decorated fur-tree, many presents and desserts. He talked with pupils one to one for hours, he met their parents. He showed much kindness… On the other hand, there was a vehement response to any bullying. The future star of "The New Direction" Pavel Chesnokov constantly bullied younger boys by "horse-riding" them to make them give him their food. Smolensky ordered Chesnokov to be a horse for a whole day carrying on his back those whom he bullied. "*Vospominaniya*" are full of remarkable stories that reveal Smolensky's pedagogical talent and even now can be of great value to any teacher. Ibid., 298–305.

highest of all arts;"[69] many of his pupils later said that Smolensky changed their lives and made them worthy sons of their country.[70]

Thanks to his friendship with the *Prokuror* of the Synod *Pobedonostsev*, Smolensky managed to ensure better sponsorship for the school. This allowed him to employ more and better teachers whom he selected himself. The Synodal School now had a strong and enthusiastic team. In 1892 it was given a new status, new rules and a different programme. In addition, a large new building was acquired near the Moscow Conservatoire.

Gradually the school was turned into a first-class educational institution. The new programme included nine classes with many subjects and could be compared with the programme of the Conservatoire.[71] Together with training choirs, Smolensky organised a students' orchestra, and all pupils now had to play one or more instruments. At his own risk, Smolensky changed the programme and included European masterpieces by Bach, Palestrina, Lassus and other famous composers; this was an absolute novelty for the Synodal Choir. The dramatic improvement in preparation allowed the singers to master the most difficult repertoire (such as Bach's Mass in B minor) with ease and great expression. The study of Western masterpieces raised the artistic level of the Choir; they now began to sing intelligently and acquired a superlative technique. Contemporaries fully realized to whom the School and Choir owed their achievements: as Findeizen said, "It was a clever, serious and far-reaching work!"[72] Smolensky was indeed the pivotal person in the history of the Synodal institutions.

Concert Performances

During Smolensky's directorship and under the talented guidance of the conductor Vasily Orlov, the Synodal Choir became the best Russian choir. Smolensky targeted two areas: how to sing and what to sing. The usual concert pieces in Italian style Smolensky regarded as pleasing the taste of the

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[69] Pedagogy is a word of great significance for Russians implying educational and moral upbringing.

[70] "I can only say that I consider pedagogy as one of the highest arts, in which inventiveness and virtuosity, after knowledge and cautiousness, take the first place; and the joy of the work and the love for people is the whole content of it. I cannot imagine a greater joy, a greater reward than the possibility to say with calm heart about a number of respectable people: they are my pupils, I pulled them by their ears, I made them learn, I brought them up, I taught them… This is the reward, the prize of the aging teacher. In my age this joy becomes happiness, as I have hundreds of pupils who love me and whom I love, the eldest of whom are respectable people and good workers", wrote Smolensky. Ibid., 304.

[71] Tugarinov, op. cit., 127.

[72] Findeizen, op.cit., 615.

crowd. He declared a war on "light-hearted noisy nonsense." "First of all I decided to make the Synodal Choir forget all that trivial sing-songy stuff which they knew, loved and spread; and then to teach them the old chants in such a way that these chants could enchant them with their Russian beauty."[73] Under Smolensky's influence drastic changes were made to the concert programmes of the Synodal Choir, which now performed regularly to the highest acclaim of both public and critics.

The practice of sacred concerts was rapidly developing and much loved in Russia at that time, but it was not blessed by the Church and could be stopped at any point. In 1895, through the efforts and recommendations of Smolensky, the Holy Synod finally legalized the performance of sacred music outside the liturgical context. From that time, there was no need to worry, as priest Glebov did in the 1860s, that an opportunity to perform church music would always depend on the disposition of the local authorities.

In 1895 Smolensky organized a series of Historical Concerts that were held on a grand scale and attracted thousands of listeners.[74] The programmes of the concerts were arranged by Kastalsky, Taneyev and other experts in sacred music. But the very idea of presenting a wide panorama of Russian sacred singing – from monodic Znamenny to contemporary compositions – belonged to Smolensky. To help the public to appreciate music, Smolensky published popular articles and opened an exhibition of ancient Russian manuscripts in the foyer of the Synodal School. Several newspapers advertised the concerts. Music journalist Nicolai Findeizen, priest Mikhail Lisitsyn and others contributed articles on the history of sacred singing. The Historical Concerts of the Synodal Choir were regarded as an outstanding event in the cultural life at that time.[75] In subsequent years, concerts of sacred music spread all over Russia. Some provincial choirs (e.g. from Kiev, Kharkov, Nizhniy Novgorod) also became well known.[76]

In 1899 the Synodal Choir went abroad for the first tour abroad and had a triumphant success in Vienna. Russian and foreign newspapers praised its exceptional artistic level and hailed it "as a choir with no comparison."[77] Together with the Bolshoi Theatre and the Tretyakov Gallery, the Synodal Choir, all on account of Smolensky's influence, became one of Moscow's principal attractions.

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[73]   Smolensky, *Vospominaniya*, 308.

[74]   Ibid., 335–336.

[75]   Ibid., 337; Findeizen, op.cit., 615.

[76]   Levashova, op.cit., 27.

[77]   Smolensky, op.cit., 360–370; Tugarinov, op. cit., 216–221; Brill, op.cit., 141.

Smolensky became a zealous propagator of the *dukhovny kontsert* – concerts of sacred music. Such concerts, he emphasized, were loved, widely attended and always successful, also financially, both in Moscow and in provincial places. Concerts, he added, were also a laboratory that presented and juxtaposed ancient chants and new compositions and helped the public to see their merits and shortcomings.[78] Such concerts, from Smolensky's point of view, played a major part in forming the musical appreciation of the general public and were important for the future development of Russian sacred music.

The Move to St Petersburg

The Synodal School and Choir changed beyond recognition during Smolensky's directorship. The director himself thanked the conductor Vasily Orlov, his assistant Aleksandr Kastalsky, the teachers Antonin Preobrazhensky, Vasily Metallov and others in his strong team. He always emphasized that they discussed and implemented all reforms together. Nonetheless, it was obvious that Smolensky was a field-marshal. Orlov's biographer stressed: "If Smolensky had not come, the Synodal School and Choir would not have become the unique phenomena in Russian sacred music which they are rightly regarded as now."[79]

In his approach to education Smolensky stood for the equal rights of musical and scholarly subjects, of the sacred and the secular, of the Russian and the Western.[80] Unfortunately, this broad approach was too much for

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[78] "Choral Singing is the great art of Russia that amazes foreigners. Great voices, great dynamics and definitely the first place in Europe as far as the mastery of free rhythm is concerned…" – Smolensky praised the technical level. Yet he fought his war against bad taste and miserable repertoire till the end of his life. "Still popular are pieces of intolerable empty-mindedness… The only means to change public mind to the right direction are sacred concerts with the robust programmes, with no bowing to bad taste and no cheap effects," argued Smolensky. "Ob ozdorovlenii programm dukhovnykh kontsertov v Moskve", *Moskovskie vedomosti*, 1900, in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. III PP.465-468

[79] Tugarinov, op.cit., 116. The very personality of Smolensky had an effect on his pupils. He and his wife were always ready to help others. They kept their house open and tea was always there to treat guests who were welcomed to come and to talk at any time. They helped with their attention, advice and with their money. In his will Smolensky even did not mention money – he and his wife simply had nothing worth mentioning. They did not have children and gave all they had to support others. In his will Smolensky stated that he forgave all debts regardless who owed him and how much, and should some debts be returned, he wanted the money to be given to charity. Kabanova, op.cit., 17–18.

[80] Smolensky even found time to write an article on the history of harpsichord music in Russia, see "Klavesinnaya muzyka v Rossii vtoroi poloviny 18-ogo veka", *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta*, 1916, nos. 28–33. Smolensky admired Palestrina and Bach and, at his own risk, introduced them into the repertoire of the Synodal Choir.

some people. In the end he was accused of many sins at once – from restoring the Old Believers' faith to Westernism.[81]

In 1901 Smolensky left the Moscow Synodal School. The cause of this sad event was Smolensky's tense relationship with his "boss", Duke Shirinsky-Shikhmatov. "We don't need historical concerts, or new trends, or academic publications! We need good singers in the Cathedral of the Dormition!" Smolensky was told.[82] Leaving, however, looked like a further triumph. Upon the personal request of the Tsar Nicholas II, he was appointed a director of the Imperial Chapel in St Petersburg[83]. Smolensky worked in the Chapel only for two years. Again, his great enthusiasm, knowledge and experience brought forth good fruit. In 1903 Smolensky retired. The administrative burden had become unbearable for the ageing man.

Being free from official positions, Smolensky wholeheartedly devoted himself to historical research. He became an active member of the Imperial Society of Lovers of Ancient Manuscripts.[84] This was the period when Smolensky lectured on Russian sacred singing and published extensively. The most important books he wrote at this time were *On Ancient Russian Singing Notation* (1901),[85] *The Musical Grammar of Nikolai Diletsky* (1909),[86] and *On Bell Ringing in Russia* (1907).[87] *On Ancient Russian Singing Notation* was awarded the *Makarievskaya Prize*, the second such award for him.

In 1907 the Imperial Society of Ancient Manuscript Lovers sponsored a scientific expedition to Mount Athos to trace the origin of Russian traditional sacred chants. The expedition was led by Stepan Smolensky. Over 2,000 photographs of ancient Greek chant manuscripts of the 9-11th centuries were brought back to Russia.[88] It was enormously valuable material for research in early Byzantine chant and, through comparative studies, into early Russian chant.

From 1906 until his death, Smolensky was a lecturer on the history of Russian church singing at St Petersburg University. In 1908 he became chairman of the committee preparing a monument to the outstanding composers of sacred music Dmitry Bortnyansky, Pyotr Turchaninov and Aleksei Lvov. Smolensky played an important role in organising a new journal,

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[81]   Smolensky, *Vospominaniya.* 377–387; Zvereva, op. cit., 53.

[82]   Ibid.

[83]   Findeizen, op. cit., 621.

[84]   *Imperatorskoe obshchestvo lyubitelei drevnei pismennosti.*

[85]   Stepan Smolensky, *O drevnerusskikh pevcheskikh notatsiyakh*, Sankt Peterburg, 1901.

[86]   Stepan Smolensky, *Musikiyskaya grammatika Nikolaya Diletskogo,* Sankt Peterburg, 1909.

[87]   Stepan Smolensky, *O kolokolnom zvone v Rossii,* Sankt Peterburg, 1907.

[88]   Findeizen, op. cit., 624.

Khorovoe i regentskoe delo ("The Work of Choirs and Church Conductors").[89] He was an active defender of the idea of involving women in church singing.[90] In 1907 Smolensky founded a School for conductors of church choirs, *regentskoe uchilishche,* open to women for the first time in the history of church institutions,[91] and later summer courses for church conductors and singers for which he managed to receive a subsidy from the Holy Synod and invited excellent staff.[92] Only for two years could students enjoy Smolensky's teaching; on 19 July 1909 Smolensky died of pneumonia on the way to his native Kazan. He returned to Kazan in his coffin, to be buried.

Smolensky's Concept of the History and Theory of Russian Sacred Music

Stepan Smolensky did not leave a fundamental work that could serve as a textbook on the history of Russian church singing. Firstly, his primary concern was palaeography. Before the history could be written there had to be *ad fontes* work of collecting and describing. Secondly, Smolensky was more interested in showing what was there to be researched by future musicologists and historians. However, reading Smolensky's books and articles it is easy to acquire a detailed picture of the development of church singing in Russia. As Preobrazhensky stated, "Smolensky's works contain in them the course of the history of sacred singing."[93] Amongst the most important points of Smolensky's concept of Russian sacred singing were:

- the independent origin of Russian sacred chants;
- the high value and practicality of the original *kryuki* notation;
- a positive view of the development of sacred music in Russia up to the 18th century;
- the kinship of sacred and secular folk art.

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[89] Ibid., 624–625.

[90] "Otvet Smolenskogo na vopors redaktsii o zhenshchinakh v tserkovnykh khorakh", *Muzykal'ny truzhennik*, 1906, no. 14, 3.

[91] Kabanova, op. cit., 34.

[92] Findeizen, op. cit., 624–625.

[93] A. Preobrazhensky, "Smolensky v ego istoriko-arkhivnykh rabotakh", 149.

The Theory of Russian Music and the Kinship of Sacred and Folk Singing

Smolensky perceived both Russian sacred singing and secular folk music[94] to be of the same nature - "the fruit of the nation's creative spirit, made according to the laws of the nation's aesthetic taste, which is in the nation's blood."[95] In the Musical Encyclopaedia of 1978 Smolensky is claimed as being the first to insist on the kinship of Russia's church and folk art.[96] Undoubtedly, Smolensky deserves the title of pioneer in this field, yet before him Vladimir Odoevsky put forward and advocated the same idea. Odoevsky also was the first to suggest that folk and church music of Russia should be studied "as an art and as a science," insisting on a scholarly approach.[97] However, Odoevsky, unlike Smolensky, did not complete musicological research to support his arguments.[98] Besides, Odoevsky did not have enough resources to conduct proper historical enquiry and "placed too much reliance on the western church modes, trying to find in them an explanation of features which they could not really explain."[99] Smolensky realized that *popevki,* which he called "musical proverbs" (*muzykalnye poslovitsy*),[100] were the building blocks of ancient chants, "discovered the very essence of Russian chants"[101] and thus explained their uniqueness. This, one can claim, is one of his greatest contributions to the science of Russian music.

Smolensky went further: he worked on Russian folk songs and came to the conclusion that secular tunes had the same sort of *popevki* in them, and these *popevki* immediately made it clear whether the song was for a wedding, for "sitting at the table" ("zastolnaya"), a dance, a ballad and so on.[102]

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[94]   In the late 1870s and 1880s appeared the first scholarly publications of Russian folksongs: Yuly Melgunov, *Russkiye pesni, neposredstvenno s golosa naroda zapisannye i s ob'yasneniyami*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1879, Vol. II Sankt Peterburg, 1885; Nikolai Palchikov, *Krest'yanskiye pesni, zapisannye v sele Nikolayevke Menzelinskogo uyezda Ufimskoi gubernii,* Sankt Peterburg, 1888; Nikolai Lopatin and Vasily Prokunin, *Russkiye narodnye liricheskiye pesni,* Moscow, 1889. These publications reproduced transcriptions of folk polyphony for the first time and offered a new approach to the compositional treatment of folksongs. Smolensky carefully studied and referred to them in his works.

[95]   Smolensky, "Vstupitel'naya lektsiya", 142. The same idea is put forward in "Zametka", 3.

[96]   *Muzykal'naya entsyklopediya*, 115.

[97]   James Stuart Campbell, *V. F. Odoevsky and the Formation of Russian Musical Taste in the Nineteenth Century,* New York–London, Garland Publishing, 1989, 164.

[98]   Ibid., 167.

[99]   Ibid., 193.

[100]   Stepan Smolensky, *O sobranii drevnepevcheskikh rukopisei v Moskovskom Sinodal'nom uchilishche tserkovnogo peniya*, Moscow, 1899, 19.

[101]   Metallov, *Ocherki istorii pravoslavnogo tserkovnogo peniya v Rossii*, 145.

[102]   Smolensky, *O blizhaishih prakticheskikh zadachakh…*, 31.

"The main peculiarity of our melodic folk creativity is the fact that our people combine little melodic models, cementing them by means of changing their beginning and ending and chaining one melody to another to make a longer, broad melody. There is a whole library of these melodic models for secular and church tunes.[103] The latter is much larger and systematically described and explained, secular tunes are not properly studied. The dictionary of secular *popevki* is yet to be created."[104] These *popevki* Smolensky called "a luxurious melodic treasure."[105]

The second speciality of Russian folk creativity was *podgoloski* ("undervoicelets"), a term introduced by Yuly Melgunov in 1879 to describe a kind of polyphony, in which the musical fabric is formed from the fundamental voice, and all accompanying voices are themselves variants of the basic melody.[106] Smolensky was the first to investigate *podgoloski* in sacred chants by means of studying *kryuki* neumes and listening to Old Believers. He believed that the neumes implied decorations and improvisation, known in the 16-17th centuries as *zavulony* or *vavilony*.[107] Nowadays, Nikolai Matveev, among others, believes that *podgoloski* polyphony was born within *Znamenny* and represents an original Russian musical phenomenon.[108]

The other two specialities of Russian songs and chants were free, non-symmetrical rhythms and their musical form. To these Smolensky paid much attention. About Russian rhythms, considered by then as "free, non-symmetrical", Smolensky wrote: "They are in fact most complicated symmetrical rhythms", "internally developed to perfection to be easy both for listeners and performers,"[109] and "there is a marvellous freedom in their

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[103] Russian people remembered little tunes with the help of certain words. Thus, there could be a strange mix, like "*dorozka, merezha, golubok, pauk velikiy*" ("the road, the path, the dove and the big spider") in one song. Ibid., 44.

[104] Ibid., 42.

[105] Ibid., 44. Ancient composers did not create new melodies; they combined in a masterly way already existing *popevki* and sometimes decorated them. Smolensky, *O sobranii*, 19.

[106] Izaly Zemtsovsky, "Polyphony: Russia and west-central Asia", *Grove Music Online,* <www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/print.html?section=music.42927.2.3> Alfred Swan called *podgoloski* a "fixed Russian phenomenon" in *Russian Music*, 25, 140.

[107] Smolensky, *O blizhaishih prakticheskikh zadachakh…*, 37–39. In the 17th century Latin was used to describe this contrapuntal technique: *excellenter canere*.

[108] N. B. Matveev, *Khorovoe penie*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo bratstva vo imya svyatogo knyazya Aleksandra Nevskogo, 1998, 207.

[109] Smolensky, *O blizhaishih prakticheskikh zadachakh…*, 46. A similar quotation: "As far as I can see these complicated and non-symmetrical rhythms of old chants may seem a primitive form of expressing musical ideas but in fact is an amazing set of most difficult rhythmic patterns ideally combined together in easily sung comfortable and beautiful sentences," – wrote Smolensky in *Vstupitel'naya statiya*, 147.

strict discipline."[110] He was the first to introduce the term "complex symmetry." Smolensky divided the contents of secular and sacred Russian music into textual and musical, each of them having main and supplementary aspects.[111] In secular songs, texts have a basic refrain, the main body, and then there are additional epithets, the particles "Uzh", "Ved", the exclamations "Oi", "Ai,"[112] as well as sudden interruptions of the text. They are not there by chance; they shape the form and, according to Smolensky, provide maximum flexibility for the development of the melody and its subdivisions. *Podgoloski* (additional voices) went together with *podgovorki* (additional words).[113] The primary text and tune are the same, but additional words and additional melodic decorations and countermelodies can be endless; they show "an amazing vivacious ability of Russian songs to develop interaction between text and melody."[114]

In church singing it is not appropriate "to play with the text:" to add, to omit or to repeat words. The chant is absolutely subordinated to the sacred text. In sacred singing, Smolensky wrote, "textual rhyming is replaced with musical rhyming, i.e. using additional melodic patterns to cement the form and to illustrate the text."[115] Therefore, sacred chants are much longer; their musical forms are more complex and varied, mirroring the forms of sacred texts.[116]

Starting the New Direction
Discovering New Ways of Harmonizing Sacred Chants

All his life, when teaching in schools or universities, Smolensky inspired interest in Russia's native sacred art, persuaded contemporaries to study traditional chants and to write music for the Church based on old melodies.

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[110]   Smolensky, *O blizhaishih prakticheskikh zadachakh…*, 47.

[111]   Ibid.

[112]   E.g. the primary text "*Uzh vy gory, vy gory, pochemu zhe vy, gory, nichego ne sporodili?*" later becomes "*Oi-da, uzh vy gory, vy gory, ai-no, akh, oi-da, pochemu zhe, oi-da, vy gory nichego ne sporodili?*" (Ibid., 32–33) Smolensky proved that *khomovoe peniye* that existed in church singing in the 15–16th centuries was an identical phenomenon. Folk songs and *khomovoe* church singing were "blood relatives" for Smolensky. (Ibid., 34–35.)

[113]   Ibid., 33.

[114]   Ibid., 35, 37.

[115]   Ibid., 33–35.

[116]   Smolensky also wrote about the difference of mood between sacred and secular singing, "the temperature of the two arts". Sacred singing was naturally more reserved and focused in its nature. However, "according to the meaning of the text, church melodies can also be cheerful and joyful, and can express all movements of the soul". The main difference was the necessity for sacred tunes to follow the text. Ibid., 40.

> In sacred music, Russian genius, previously subdued by foreign influence, will produce a flower like the one produced by our secular music which decisively took folk tunes as its simple and natural foundation.[117]

For Smolensky, there was "incomparable beauty and depth of thought in these ancient tunes."[118]

Smolensky's ability to inspire won him many disciples. As his student Aleksandr Nikolsky remembered, "pictures, images and characters from a period long past, as they were outlined by Stepan Vasilievich, were able to attract our full attention and sympathy… It became clear to everyone that the soul of the nation is hidden in our church music, that it is not simply a set of melodies which our age has left far behind, or an inheritance of mere curiosity value to the historian…"[119] However, the inspiration to compose on the theme of ancient chants was not enough. The question of their harmonization was as obscure as ever. The main goal – the reconstruction of the ancient in the modern, "the new antiquity" was clear, but the ways of achieving it not at all.

According to Nikolsky, Smolensky was the first to insist that both Western harmonies and counterpoint were totally unsuitable for the polyphonic treatment of Russian chants and to suggest that the counter-voiced polyphony (*podgolosochnaya polifoniya*) from secular songs should be applied to sacred chants.[120]

The idea to apply the *podgoloski* from folk songs to sacred chants probably came to Smolensky after acquaintance with the scholarly publications of folksongs that appeared in the 1870s–80s.[121] He realised that folk songs

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[117] Ibid.

[118] Smolensky, "Vstupite'lnaya lektsiya po istorii tserkovnogo peniya," 133–149; In Smolensky's opinion, research in this field could greatly contribute not only to music but also to the self-awareness, and understanding of the nation. "We, musicians, deal with most gentle and most profound expressions of people's spirit, and even more than philologists can contribute to self-awareness of a nation".

[119] Smolensky was not the first to promote the saving power of the Russian national heritage. But he was the first to be so successful in promoting his faith. As Kastalsky remembered, always full of energy he had an ability to galvanise people: "Stepan Vasilievich had a gift for gathering round him people who, once under the spell of his speaking, began to see the world through his eyes and serve his ideals". Zvereva, op. cit., 55.

[120] A. Nikolsky, "S. V. Smolensky i ego rol' v novom napravlenii russkoi tserkovnoi muzyke", *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo*, 1913, no. 10, 151–161. Also see Morosan, *Choral Performance…*, 290. Zvereva writes: "Smolensky was probably among the first to try to project the achievements of scholarship in the field of folk songs on to the treatment of church chants," op. cit., 57.

[121] E.g. Melgunov, op.cit.; Palchikov, op.cit.; Lopatin and Prokunin, op.cit.

could help him to find "the middle road between Italian sweetness and virtuosity on the one hand and unison of ancient chants on the other hand."[122] "I remember how Orlov's eyes sparkled when I put side by side for him individual sections of the melodies of the so-called "Aleksandr Nevsky *Milost mira*" with the folk songs "Vdol po matushke po Volge" and "Matushka, chto vo pole pylno…," remembered Smolensky.[123]

It was a striking discovery, so simple, yet so novel! Smolensky was equally fond of Russian sacred and secular singing, and it is not at all strange that he would want to marry "the heavenly and the earthly" – a union, many would think of as impossible or inappropriate. For Smolensky's disciples, such a marriage seemed to suit sacred chants much better than Western techniques and automatically solved the problem of "Russianness" in church music.

There was opposition to Smolensky's ideas, led by the professor of the Moscow Conservatoire Sergei Taneyev, the principal advocate of applying strict contrapuntal technique to Russian chants. "Nothing good will come of it! The tradition itself is not interesting. All these "hooks" [i.e. *kryuki* neumes] propagandized by Smolensky are inartistic, since they do not lend themselves to being developed musically", wrote Taneyev.[124] The opposition lost. "Smolensky's experiment in crossing folk and church arrangements of recent melodies, folksongs and medieval chants was spectacularly successful," writes Svetlana Zvereva.[125]

The worshippers at the Dormition Cathedral (where the Synodal Choir sang) included, on the one hand, the *Prokuror* of the Holy Synod Pobedonostsev, and, on the other hand, Old Believers. They soon noticed the new trend and liked the "new antiquity."[126] Amongat the first composers of "the new antiquity" were Poluektov, Komarov, Kashperov and Kastalsky. The last, whose first compositions appeared in 1896, proved to be the most successful and later discovered many original compositional devices of his own. The press started to speak about "Kastalsky's direction" as a new path for Orthodox Church music."[127]

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[122] Smolensky, *Vospominaniya*, 305.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Translation by Vladimir Morosan, op. cit., 291.

[125] Kastalsky, "My Musical Career and My Thoughts on Church Music," translated by S.W.Pring, *The Musical Quarterly*, 1925, 324; Zvereva, op. cit., 61.

[126] Smolensky was particularly happy that the experiments were enjoyed by Old Believers. He argued that they could sense whether singing was truly Russian Orthodox in its spirit or not. See Smolensky, *Vospominaniya*, 305–306.

[127] Zvereva, op.cit., 63–71.

Inspiring Others

While from the musicological point of view, Smolensky's influence is yet to be proved; historically, the guidance he gave to younger composers is well documented. As Nikolsky wrote, "not one line was written by Pavel Chesnokov without Smolensky's advice and guidance."[128] Aleksandr Kastalsky thanked Smolensky for encouraging and supporting him "in every way,"[129] and it was not only people who worked or studied in the Moscow Synodal School who received Smolensky's help.

In 1897, in Moscow, the young Rachmaninov met Smolensky, and the guru of Russian sacred music presented to the young talent a text from the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom. There is also evidence that Rachmaninov studied neumes with Smolensky.[130] From Smolensky he also learnt about the free rhythm, form and peculiar heterophony of the Orthodox chants.[131] Alfred Swan, who knew Rachmaninov personally, wrote, "It was Smolensky who implanted in Rachmaninoff, his most prominent pupil, a deep love for ancient melodies."[132] Also, in 1897 the young Grechaninov came shyly to the Synodal School with his first Liturgy, seeking advice. Smolensky found many shortcomings but did not reject the work; instead he asked Orlov and the Choir to sing the music.[133] The young composer understood all his drawbacks; it was a wonderful lesson from the wise master. Grechaninov's *Two Choruses* (1889) and second Liturgy (1902) were admired by Smolensky.[134] These are just two examples of many.[135]

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[128] Nikolsky, op. cit., 155. Chesnokov was a coarse teenager when Smolensky became a director and was nearly expelled for bad results and cruelty. Smolensky's warmth melted the boy's heart, his sincere love towards church music inspired the youngster, and the deep knowledge provided guidance that allowed development of a fine composer. See Smolensky, *Vospominaniya,* 313.

[129] Kastalsky was a low-paid piano teacher with no degree. Smolensky saw the potential gift and pushed Kastalsky "to go back to school", despite his mature age. In his forties Kastalsky passed the exams and acquired the diploma of the Moscow Conservatoire. He started composing at an age when others achieve the peak of their success, yet he had enough time to become a star in the history of Russian music. See Zvereva, op.cit., 59–63.

[130] *Molodye Gody Rakhmaninova. Pisma. Vospominaniya,* Leningrad, Gosudarstvennoe muzykal'noe izdatel'stvo, 1949, 152; Oscar von Riesemann, *Rachmaninoff's Recollections told to Oscar von Riesemann*, translated from German by Dolly Rutherford, Freeport, Books for Libraries Press, 1970, 244; Swan, *Russian Music,* 33.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., 138.

[133] Y. Paisov, *Aleksandr Grechaninov. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo*, Moscow, Kompositor, 2004, 227.

[134] Ibid., 228–230.

[135] E.g. arrangements of *Obikhod* by Anatoly Lyadov, recognized as "a work of a true genius" were made "upon advice and under the direct influence of Smolensky". See Levashova, op. cit., 30.

As Nikolai Findeizen emphasized, it was "beyond any doubt that all new sacred music pieces containing development of the old chants on the principles of original folk music were written under the influence of Smolensky."[136] Thanks to Smolensky's golden influence a whole generation of composers looked at the sung beauty of the Slavic past, found their inspiration, and their many masterpieces, including Rachmaninov's *Vigil* (1915) were born.

The Foundations of the Renaissance

If we were to give a date of birth to the renaissance of sacred music in Russia it would be the period of the mid-1890s, or, perhaps, precisely the years 1895-1896. There are several reasons for this:

- In 1895 Smolensky achieved the "legalization" of sacred music concerts and, from that time until the Revolution, evenings of sacred music became an established cultural tradition in Russia, a laboratory in which a great number of new compositions were performed and new ideas were introduced;
- By that time the Synodal Choir, under the directorship of Smolensky, achieved an unprecedented artistic level demonstrated at the Historic Concerts of 1895; high standards were set that raised the level of choral performance all over Russia;
- By that time Smolensky suggested new techniques of harmonization; and in 1896 the first masterpieces were composed by Kastalsky, Grechaninov, Chesnokov and others; all of them were performed by the Synodal Choir;
- Smolensky's detailed research, which shed light on the dark ages of Russian music history and his innovative ideas on the kinship of Russian sacred and folk singing were backed up by the excellent library of ancient singing manuscripts; this gave a powerful impulse to Russian thought in music theory and opened the floodgates for future research by musicologists and historians, many of whom were taught by Smolensky either at the Synodal School or at the Moscow Conservatoire;
- And, most importantly, by that time Smolensky had built a wide circle of wholehearted supporters of the cause to which he devoted his life; they were inspired by him and ready to continue his work.

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[136] Findeizen, op. cit., 617.

These were the foundations for the renaissance of sacred music at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century. Most of these movements had begun before Smolensky's time, but he developed them much further and gave them a mighty impetus. Thanks to his work over the turn of the century there were indeed "remarkable conditions for choral music in the Russian Church/"[137] As we have seen, Smolensky's work in the 1880s-1890s was not only germane to the renaissance of sacred music in Russia; it was in fact its essential ingredient.

Conclusion
The Context

The New Antiquity movement in sacred music flowed in parallel with other currents in Russian culture and can easily be seen as a branch of the "New Russian Style" in the arts at that time.

The birth of the "New Russian Style" goes back to 1882, when, in Abramtsevo outside Moscow, an artistic colony had been established to revive Russian folk handicrafts. The colony united painters, sculptures, architects and musicians: Vasnetsov, Vrubel, Roerich, Shchusev and Mamontov. Contemporaries certainly saw the renaissance of sacred music and these movements as united in spirit and, to reinforce this connection, Kastalsky was proclaimed "Vasnetsov in music,"[138] and Rachmaninov's *Vigil* was compared with rediscovering ancient icons.[139]

Indeed, at that very time, when, under the leadership of Smolensky, composers were reviving ancient chants, archaeologists and painters were restoring old icons, cleaning "the black boards" of centuries of dirt and layers of later additions and revealing to the world bright colours and the amazing expressiveness of ancient art. Thus, in 1903 V.Guryanov and his team discovered the 15[th-]century "Trinity" by Andrei Rublyov.[140]

Stepan Smolensky was well aware of what was happening in art, secular music and literature. In fact, his interest in the Old Believers and profound

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[137]   Brill, *The History of Russian Church Music…,* I.

[138]   The words of the editor of "*Moskovskie vedomosti*" Vladimir Gringmut, who also said: "Thanks to Vasnetsov, the question of spirituality in Russian art has been solved". See Rakhmanova, op. cit., 416, also Zvereva, op. cit., 33.

[139]   Bogatenko, op. cit., 655.

[140]   V. Sergeev, *Rublyov*, Moscow, Molodaya Gvardiya, 1980, 12–15.

respect for these guardians of Russian antiquity was inspired by both personal acquaintances and by the books of P.I.Melnikov-Pechersky.[141]

Svetlana Zvereva suggests that this period may be called "the era of Orthodox Romanticism, idealising Ancient Rus as the unpolluted source of the nation's spirit."[142] Idealizing the past was not just a Russian infatuation, but the romantic interest in folk culture that swept through Europe in the 19th century was "nowhere felt more keenly than among the Russian intelligentsia."[143]

In the broader context the Renaissance of Russian sacred music and the Neo-Russian style in art are close to movements in other European countries that tried to go back to history, to their roots and to answer to questions like "What are we?", "Where are we going?" and "What is the difference between a church and a concert hall?" These movements include the Oxford Movement that started as a theological development in 1833 in the Anglican Church and had a most profound influence on arts and music in England, the ideals of Ecole Niedermeyer in Paris formulated in 1853, and the Caecilian movement in German-speaking Roman Catholicism of the 19th century's final decades.[144] There are most interesting parallels between developments in sacred music in these countries and in Russia and, as Stuart Campbell states, "the details of these apparent congruencies remain to be explored."[145]

The defenders of Russian ancient chants understood and appreciated their work within the European context. In 1866 Odoevsky wrote that "pious people in Germany, Belgium and France realised that new developments

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[141] "The novel "In the woods" by Melnikov-Pechersky enchanted me by its marvellous descriptions of this absolutely unusual ("*nebyvaloï*") beauty", wrote Smolensky. See *Vospominaniya,* 208, also Smolensky, "Znakomstvo so staroobryadtsami", in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. IV, 597–601; "Znachenie sovremennogo staroobryadchestva dlya zhelayushchikh izuchit drevnerusskoe tserkovnoe peniye", 601–603.

[142] Zvereva, op. cit., 33.

[143] Figes, op. cit., 225.

[144] Gregorian chant, restored by the monks of Solesmes among others, was now carried into actual service throughout Europe by the famous papal Bulls *Nos quidem* and *Motu Proprio.* (see Swan, op. cit., 139–140; Stuart Campbell, "Foreword" to *Alexander Kastalsky…* by Zvereva, XI; Andrew Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music,* Oxford, Lion Publishing, 2003, chapters 23–26.)

[145] Stuart Campbell compares the work of "The New Direction" with: (1) the publication of the English Hymnal in 1906 "with its emphasis on plainsong, on the one hand, and folk melodies, on the other, and its compilers' desire to offer an alternative to the worldly values of excessive sentimentality found in the music of some Victorian hymns"; (2) Schola Cantorum that opened in Paris in 1894, also "expected to discover a road to a better future via the past" and "also had a foot in the camp of ethnography". Campbell, op. cit., XII.

had trivialised sacred music and they started researching into ancient singing and notation which they publish now with great care and splendour."[146]

However, they saw the differences as well. Although Odoevsky spoke about "resurrection of the spirit and style of early Christianity" in Europe, he also stressed that for Europe the question of ancient chants and art was more a question of archaeology, while in Russia they were still present in the life of many people[147]. Also, apart from "the spirit of early Christianity", Russian musicologists had to restore the national side of sacred music after years of foreign domination. The national aspect of spirituality is of little significance for Catholic countries. The Orthodox Church, on the contrary, for better or for worse, always allows for national character and style of worship, and this is of great importance for countries like Russia. To combine the spirit of early Christianity and national character was the aim of the New Direction. To achieve the right balance was not easy. In some cases it was the desire "to nationalise" new sacred compositions that often turned them into concert pieces depriving them of "mere Christianity". In fact, the Renaissance in sacred music can be considered as one of the components of the great search for Russian identity that characterised Russian culture at that time.

The Renaissance of Sacred Music and Smolensky's Influence

By the beginning of the 20th century, sacred music was no longer an exclusive domain of the church. It had moved to the forefront of cultural life, was now seen by many as an important part of the national heritage, a remarkable branch of folk creativity and the ultimate expression of national consciousness. It became one of the chief attractions in the country alongside ballet and opera. "Russian church music has become the admiration of visitors to Russia, and many have declared it to be the most marvellous choral music known. Those who have heard it never forget it. So wonderful is the impression it creates!" – wrote an American, Lindsay Norden.[148] The Renaissance of sacred music in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century did indeed produce an original musical world, exactly as Smolensky hoped.

The New Direction grew from strength to strength, and, as contemporaries saw it, exhibited itself primarily in the style of compositions that successfully combined traditional chants and new techniques of harmonising

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[146] Odoevsky, op. cit., 75; Idem, "Obshchestvo drevnerusskogo iskusstva", *Sovremennaya letopis'*, 1865, in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. III, 103.

[147] Ibid., 106.

[148] Lindsay Norden, "A Brief Study of the Russian Liturgy and Its Music", *Musical Quarterly*, vol. V, 1919, 426.

them. It was novel, interesting and impressive to Russians and foreigners alike. "A superior type of choral music has been created and choral effects far in advance of any other have been produced by Russian church music composers… The ancient modes are to be found extensively and rare effects are produced by their use", said Norden admiringly.[149]

The other powerful branch of the New Direction was the area of historic research and publications. Started by Odoevsky and Razumovsky, it was continued by Smolensky who in his turn prepared such outstanding specialists as Metallov, Preobrazhensky and others. At the beginning of the 19th century, publications on Russian sacred music hardly existed. A hundred years later there was a respectable library of such articles and books. While in Russia, Norden was impressed both by "thousands of magnificent compositions" and by the amount of literature about sacred music: "It appears that there has been more written for the Russian church than for any other."[150] He also noticed how much attention was paid to sacred music in Russia, and compared the situations in the two countries: "There is a general indifference about the whole matter in America… at the present time church music in general is the worst choral music produced."[151]

At the beginning of the 20th century sacred music concerts in Russia not only became firmly established, but they also were considered "one of the most prominent events in Russian cultural life."[152] Sacred music was now seen as "inseparable from performing culture."[153] After concerts in Warsaw, Dresden, Berlin, Rome, Florence etc. the Moscow Synodal Choir gained the reputation as "an outstanding phenomenon in the history of music performance."[154] And there were other excellent choirs that performed widely in Russia and went abroad creating similar impression with their singing.[155]

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[149] Ibid., 427, 445.

[150] Ibid., 448.

[151] Ibid., 449.

[152] Levashova, op. cit., 25; such concerts usually took place in churches, concert halls, universities, and theatres. There usually were several types of singing: 1) ancient chants; 2) the best examples of Russian "Italians": Bortnyansky, Berezovsky etc; 3) arrangements of ancient chants by music masters like Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov etc; 4) modern compositions. Applause was not permitted. However, the public often could not contain its admiration. The Holy Synod tried to control the new practice: in 1915 it insisted that sacred concerts should not take part in theatres and circuses, and should not include pieces sung during the Eucharist: "Cherubic hymns", "Mercy of Piece". (*Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta*, 1915 no. 43.)

[153] Matveev, op. cit., 208.

[154] Levashova, op. cit., 29.

[155] Among the most famous were the choirs of A.Arkhangelsky, F.Ivanov, I.Yukhov. See Matveev, op. cit., 208–212.

Some progress was achieved in the field of education. The school and courses for church conductors and singers organised by Smolensky in the 1900s were "a significant development in the musical life of the country."[156] Professional unions of church conductors and singers came into existence. Their discussions, questions and concerns were shared on the pages of periodicals like "*Khorovoe i regentskoe delo*" (started by Smolensky) and "*Muzykalny truzhennik*". All-Russian congresses of church conductors took place annually from 1908 till 1914.[157]

"By the Revolution of 1917, the art and culture of Russian liturgical singing had reached its highest stage of development."[158] The contribution of the New Direction to Russian music and to the history of medieval Russian singing was phenomenal. Yet, there was one big issue still unresolved: the gap between professional singing and the singing of common people. Aiming to put Russian sacred music at the same level as secular art and to create an impressive "original world" Smolensky's followers did not consider a simpler musical content of *obikhod*, the ecclesiastical music of commoners. They disregarded the voices of those who, like Kashperov, Melgunov, Komarov and other members of the Society of Lovers of Church Singing, were pleading for more attention to common singing. Back in 1888, the vice-chairman of the Society of Lovers of Church Singing, Vladimir Kashperov, criticized Smolensky (and his article on the teaching church singing in seminaries) for paying too much attention to ancient *kryuki. Obikhod*, he argued, needed analysing, harmonising and publishing no less urgently than ancient chants and would – with its simplicity and immediate appeal – flourish among ordinary people, thus bringing the benefits of choral singing, which Smolensky so much propagated, to millions of Russian commoners.[159]

The problem of singing at the grass roots level, identified nearly one hundred years before, was addressed at the General Council (*Sobor*) of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1917. The *Sobor* committee on church singing by no means rejected the New Direction and several of its representatives – Metallov, Kastalsky, Kalinnikov, Ippolitov-Ivanov and others – were invited to contribute to the work.[160] The new ways of moving forward – towards

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[156] Levashova, op. cit., 28.

[157] Svetlana Zvereva, "Vstupitel'naya statiya", in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka*, Vol. III, 675-714; Levashova, op. cit., 27.

[158] Gardner, op. cit., 146.

[159] V. N. Kashperov, "Zametki o tserkonom penii v Rossii", in *Russkaya dukhovnaya muzyka* Vol. III, 208. Most valuable work in this field of *Obikhod* was a publication by the Society of Lovers of Church Singing of "*Krug tserkovnykh pesnopenii obychnogo napeva Moskovskoi ierarkhii*" in four parts, 1882–1915, written from the voice, in unison, in square notation. Ibid., 210.

[160] Zvereva, "Vstupitel'naya statiya", 686.

"people's singing" – were being explored. The Revolution cut short further developments.

Sacred music in Russia is nowadays once again flourishing.[161] Several composers, most notably Archimandrite Matfey (Mormyl), Vladimir Martynov, and Sergei Trubachev, follow in the footsteps of the Moscow Synodal School and esteem highly the work of Smolensky."[162] However, as Martynov says, recent research by Brazhnikov, Uspensky and Gardner uncovered even more mysteries of Russian sacred singing and modern composers are equipped with better knowledge. For Martynov, the compositions of the New Direction were by no means the only or the best solution to the problem of reconciling ancient monody and polyphony. Other composers, such as Edison Denisov, believe it is impossible to arrange ancient chants without distorting them; and attempts to reconcile antiquity and modernity are only an illusion.[163]

The heritage of the New Direction, started and led by Smolensky, is one of the most glorious pages of Russian cultural history. The works by Smolensky, containing remarkably detailed research, refreshing ideas and wonderful pedagogical insight, are as valuable as they were one hundred years ago. The history of the Synodal Choir and School – which Smolensky virtually created and raised to a magnificent standard – is looked upon with national pride. The very personality of Smolensky inspired then and inspires now. He was a man of great intellect and of broad vision, of great stamina and ability to achieve success, always willing to share his passion and knowledge. Sadly, his name is hardly known, always being in the shadow of the great composers whom he inspired. Giving justice to Smolensky, it is fair to say that without his work the Renaissance of sacred music in Russia would not have occurred, and other composers would not be building on his ideas.

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[161] Y. Paisov, "Motivy khristianskoi dukhovnosti v sovremennoi muzyke Rossii", in *Traditsionnye zhanry russkoi dukhovnoi muzyki i sovremennost'*, ed. Y. I. Paisov, Moscow, Kompozitor, 1999, 150.

[162] Natalia Gulyanitskaya, "Zametki o stilitstike sovremennykh dukhovno-muzykalnykh sochineniy", in *Traditsionnye zhanry russkoi dukhovnoi muzyki i sovremennost'*, ed. Y. I. Paisov, Moscow, Kompozitor, 1999, 117–123.

[163] Y. Paisov, "Besedy s kompozitorami", in *Traditsionnye zhanry russkoi dukhovnoi muzyki i sovremennost'*, ed. Y. I. Paisov, Moscow, Kompozitor, 1999, 229–232.

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Katya Ermolaeva

The Ivan Trichord: Mediaeval Musical Images in Prokofiev and Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible*

Introduction

In his *New York Times* review of Sergei Prokofiev's score to Sergei Eisenstein's film *Ivan the Terrible*,[1] the musicologist Richard Taruskin denounces the score as Prokofiev's "most degraded work," concluding, "some works are better forgotten. This is one."[2] Taruskin, in anticipation of the New York Philharmonic's concert performance of selected film excerpts in June 1995, writes that although some may consider Eisenstein and Prokofiev's work to be of "great artistry," the film glorifies Stalin's regime in no subtle terms, and therefore must be discarded as "sure-fire Totalitarian kitsch."[3] He claims that the memory of Stalin is too fresh for the propagandistic purpose of the film to be conveniently ignored, and begs, "Why resurrect it in glory?"

While the political circumstances under which Eisenstein's film was commissioned are undeniably pro-Stalinist, to reject the entire film based on its ideological and political import is too severe. In this essay I argue that it is worthwhile evaluating the artistic merit of such works on the basis that not every aspect of the work singularly served that propagandistic purpose. More importantly, a close study can uncover what failed to work as propaganda and why. *Ivan the Terrible* will undoubtedly forever remain tainted by the despotic leader it aimed to glorify; however, it is important to recognise that propagandistic works such as *Ivan* provided an opportunity (sometimes the *only* opportunity) for artistic and creative expression, not all aspects of

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[1]   *Ivan the Terrible, Part I: The Thunder Approaches* premiered in January 1945; *Ivan the Terrible, Part II: The Boyar Plot* failed censorship after its screening in February 1946 and was not premiered in the USSR until 1958.

[2]   Richard Taruskin, "Great Artists Serving Stalin Like a Dog," *New York Times*, 28 May 1995.

[3]   The New York Philharmonic performance was conducted by Yuri Temirkanov.

which served or functioned as propaganda. The ideological aim of the film cannot (and will not) be forgotten, but studying such art helps us better understand how Soviet artists worked under such constraints and if (at all) they managed, nevertheless, to create art of high quality. Prokofiev and Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible*, through its creative use of music, is a Soviet film that proves to be more complex and artistically rich than its superficial propagandistic form may suggest.

The soundtrack to *Ivan the Terrible* by Prokofiev and Eisenstein is unique and worthy of study for several reasons.[4] First, *Ivan the Terrible* was to be the last film project for both artists, who were among the most talented artists of the Soviet Union, and arguably, of the entire twentieth century. Second, Eisenstein was an unusual director in that he was deeply involved in designing the soundtrack for *Ivan the Terrible*, as demonstrated by his lengthy collection of notes for the film in which he discusses in detail the soundtrack's songs, themes, and lyrics.[5] Third, the soundtrack to *Ivan* is unique in that it incorporates recordings of Russian Orthodox Church hymns alongside Prokofiev's original film cues.[6] The quantity of religious music and imagery in *Ivan the Terrible* may seem odd for a Soviet-era film, but it can be attributed to two factors: the Soviet State's recent reconciliation with the Orthodox Church, and Eisenstein's religious upbringing and knowledge of Russian Orthodox traditions.[7]

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[4]   Throughout this essay, the author refers to Prokofiev and Eisenstein as joint authors of the film's soundtrack, which includes the film cues written by Prokofiev in addition to recordings of various liturgical hymns by other composers and recorded sounds. The edition of the film score referred to throughout this essay was a joint publication by the Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture and Musikverlag Hans Sikorski in 1997: Sergei Prokof'ev, *Ivan Groznyi: Muzyka k fil'mu Sergeia Eizenshteina, soch. 116*, ed. Marina Rakhmanova and Irina Medvedeva, Moscow, The Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture; Hamburg, Musikverlag Hans Sikorski, 1997. The Sikorski edition provides all of the music Prokofiev wrote for the film, including the cues that did not make the final cut and are not heard on the final soundtrack. Throughout this essay, the song or cue numbers (e.g., No. 13 "Ivan's Tent") reflect the numeration the Sikorski edition. Song title translations are also borrowed from Sikorski, unless a better translation is provided.

[5]   The 150-page collection is entitled "*Muzyka i pesni*" (Music and Songs) and is housed at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (*Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i isskustva*, henceforth RGALI), f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 568; this is the main collection of Eisenstein's notes concerning the music in *Ivan the Terrible*.

[6]   For a close discussion on the use of liturgical chants in *Ivan* see the author's conference paper "Liturgical Borrowings as Film Music in Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible*," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Quebec City, Canada, 3 November 2007.

[7]   On 4 September 1943 Stalin met with three senior metropolitans of the Orthodox Church (Sergii Stragorodskii, Aleksii Simanskii and Nikolai Iarushevich), with whom he agreed to

Not only is it unique for a Soviet film to be steeped in religious imagery and music, but it is also surprising, as this essay demonstrates, that Prokofiev managed to unify the liturgical music in *Ivan the Terrible* with his own music for the film. A detailed analysis of *Ivan the Terrible* reveals that the two bodies of music have in common a three-pitch melodic pattern, or "trichord," which normally appears at the start of a melodic phrase and can occur in various permutations. The trichord does not appear in every liturgical borrowing or in every composition by Prokofiev; however, it appears with enough frequency to create thematic cohesion within the score that has thus far eluded scholarly attention.

Furthermore, the trichords used throughout *Ivan the Terrible* bear a striking resemblance to the trichord structure of mediaeval Slavic chant. Although they are applied in different ways, the trichords in *Ivan the Terrible* share a structural similarity to the trichords in Slavic chant, suggesting that there is a deeper connection to mediaeval Slavic musical culture in Prokofiev and Eisenstein's soundtrack than has previously been acknowledged.

The Making of *Ivan the Terrible*

Eisenstein received a commission to make a film about Tsar Ivan IV "the Terrible" from Andrei Zhdanov and the Committee on Arts Affairs in January 1941.[8] At the time, Ivan IV as a historical figure was being re-evaluated and refashioned as a more benevolent leader in Russian history. Ivan, who had been marginalized as a problematic hero before and during the 1920s, was now being rebranded as a model of "decisive leadership," along with other figures from Russian history, such as Peter the Great and Alexander Nevsky.[9] In conjunction with this historical reinterpretation, many works

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reinstate the patriarchate, reopen monasteries, academies and churches, allow the printing of religious literature, and to free imprisoned clergy in exchange for the church's support for the War.

[8] Maureen Perrie, *The Cult of Ivan the Terrible in Stalin's Russia*, New York, Palgrave, 2001, 149; Simon Morrison, *The People's Artist: Prokofiev's Soviet Years*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011, 233.

[9] See Kevin M.F. Platt and David Brandenberger, "Terribly Pragmatic: Rewiring the History of Ivan IV's Reign," and "Internal Debate within the Party Hierarchy about the Rehabilitation of Ivan the Terrible" in *Epic Revisionism: Russian History and Literature as Stalinist Propaganda*, ed. Kevin M.F. Platt and David Brandenberger, Madison, W.I., University of Wisconsin Press, 2006, 157–158.

of literature and art were commissioned to support this new image. Eisenstein's film *Ivan the Terrible* was one such work.[10]

Eisenstein and Prokofiev had become a close and successful collaborative team while working on their first film project, *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), Eisenstein's first sound film. *Alexander Nevsky* was an instantaneous success both with political authorities and spectators, and Eisenstein won the newly created Stalin prize (the highest artistic honour) for it in 1941.[11] It was through their work on *Alexander Nevsky* that Eisenstein discovered Prokofiev's mastery in translating visual imagery into what he called "musical imagery." Likening Prokofiev to a film director of "musical images," he praised Prokofiev for "clothing" the image on screen "in the tonal camera-angles of instrumentation, compelling it to gleam with shifts of timbre, [forcing] the whole inflexible structure to blossom into the emotional fullness of orchestration."[12] Eisenstein admired the dynamism of Prokofiev's music, calling it, "amazingly plastic," "never content to remain an illustration, but everywhere, gleaming with triumphant imagery."[13] Prokofiev, in return, had a deep respect for Eisenstein, who had become a close friend, and whose untimely death in 1948, in addition to Prokofiev's own declining health, made him reluctant to accept any further requests to work on film music.[14]

Immediately after accepting the commission to make the film in January 1941, Eisenstein began writing the screenplay, completing his first full draft by the end of April.[15] That June, while the Committee for Cinema Affairs was in the process of reviewing Eisenstein's screenplay, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Shortly thereafter, Eisenstein, together with the rest of the employees of the Moscow film studio, was evacuated to Alma-Ata (Kazakhstan), where Soviet film studios were relocated and unified into one studio during the war.[16] Eisenstein unofficially invited Prokofiev to write the film

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[10]   See also Bern Uhlenbruch, "The Annexation of History: Eisenstein and the Ivan Grozny Cult of the 1940s," in *The Culture of the Stalin Period*, ed. Hans Gunther, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990; Jan Plamper, *The Stalin Cult: A Study in the Alchemy of Power,* New Haven, C.T., Yale University Press, 2012.

[11]   Morrison, *The People's Artist*, 233.

[12]   Sergei Eisenstein, "P-R-K-F-V," in Izrail Nestiev, *Sergei Prokofiev, His Musical Life*, trans. Rose Prokofieva, New York, A. A. Knopf, 1946, xii.

[13]   Ibid.

[14]   While Prokofiev reportedly declared he would never work with any other film composer after Eisenstein, Kevin Bartig has shown that Prokofiev did, in fact, consider new film projects, although none came to fruition: Kevin Bartig, *Composing for the Red Screen*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2013, 164–168.

[15]   Joan Neuberger, *Ivan the Terrible*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2003, 14.

[16]   This studio comprised the local Alma-Ata film studio and the evacuated studios Mosfilm (from Moscow) and Lenfilm (from Leningrad) and was named the *Tsentral'naia obedenennaia kinostudiia* (Central United Film Studios), or TsOKS. It operated between 1941–1944.

score in the summer of 1941, sending him an official letter of invitation only in December 1941, and a copy of the screenplay in March 1942.[17] Prokofiev came to Alma-Ata several times between 1942-1943 to work with Eisenstein on the film, composing several pieces before any film had been shot.[18] Circumstances in Alma-Ata were difficult; power had to be conserved for industrial production during the day, so filming took place at night (from 6pm-8am), without heating, for weeks at a time.[19] Mosfilm returned to Moscow in the July of 1944, where Prokofiev finished the remainder of the film score (for Parts I and II) in the autumn of 1944.[20]

The collaborative process between Eisenstein and Prokofiev is well documented, but it is worth reviewing a few details here.[21] As mentioned earlier, Eisenstein was very involved in planning and designing the soundtrack for the film. The director began sketching notes for the soundtrack within weeks of receiving the commission; his notes, "*Muzyka i pesni*" ("Music and Songs"), date from 23 January 1941 to 6 September 1946, when filming and editing of Part II were already completed.[22] In this collection, Eisenstein notes how certain characters' leitmotivs should sound and how the music should correspond with the images on screen.[23] For the song lyrics, Eisenstein worked with Vladimir Lugovskoy (1901-1957), the poet who had also written the lyrics for *Alexander Nevsky*. Lugovskoy and Eisenstein wrote most of the songs for *Ivan* together, however they also borrowed some lyrics from folk sources.[24] Prokofiev, based on Eisenstein's instructions, wrote at

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[17] Kevin Bartig, "Composing for the Red Screen: Prokofiev's Film Scores", Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 2008, 233, 239; Ronald Levaco, "The Eisenstein-Prokofiev Correspondence," *Cinema Journal* 13, no 1 (Autumn 1973), 10.

[18] Three songs were composed before any filming took place: No. 4: Ocean-Sea (*Okean-more*), No. 25: Oath of the Oprichniki (*Kliatva oprichnikov*); and No. 29: Song of the Beaver (*Pesnia pro bobra*) (Prokof'ev, *Ivan Groznyi*, Sikorski edition, 29).

[19] Neuberger, 20.

[20] Bartig, "Composing for the Red Screen", Ph.D. diss., 247.

[21] The main studies on the Eisenstein-Prokofiev collaboration are: Simon Morrison, *The People's Artist*; Kevin Bartig, *Composing for the Red Screen*, Oxford:, Oxford University Press, 2013; Joan Neuberger, *Ivan the Terrible*; Eisenstein, "P-R-K-F-V,"; Sergei Prokofiev, "Music for Alexander Nevsky," in *Sergei Prokofiev: Materials, Articles, Interviews,* Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1978; Levaco, "The Eisenstein-Prokofiev Correspondence"; Douglas W. Gallez, "The Prokofiev-Eisenstein Collaboration: 'Nevsky' and 'Ivan' Revisited," *Cinema Journal* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1978), 13–35.

[22] This unpublished collection is held in RGALI f. 1923, op. 1, ed. khr. 568.

[23] For example, Eisenstein writes that Ivan's theme must sound like the beginning of Wagner's *Die Walküre*: "tempest, thunderstorm, rain" (*buria, groza, dozhd*'). RGALI f. 1923, op. 1, ed. khr. 568, l. 1.

[24] Eisenstein wrote the lyrics to "We Are Innocent" (*Vvergaemy my esmi,* No. 28b.) himself, and based the lyrics for "Song of the Beaver" (*Pesnia pro bobra*, No. 29) on the folk songs

least three numbers the summer of 1943, before any filming had begun. He wrote the remainder of the soundtrack (for both Parts I and II) in the autumn of 1944, when the studio returned to Moscow.

Prokofiev's music accounts for roughly two-thirds of the *Ivan* soundtrack. The remainder of the music comprises Russian *a capella* liturgical hymns borrowed from the Russian Orthodox Church, along with several recordings of traditional bell ringing.[25] Most of the hymns are borrowed directly, unchanged, from liturgical repertoire; a few are hybrid compositions or arrangements, and one piece is a new liturgical piece composed by Prokofiev (see Figure 1).[26]

Figure 1. Liturgical borrowings in *Ivan the Terrible*

Title	Used in	Source Chant/Music	Source Text
1. Kyrie Eleison	Part I	Aleksei Lvov	Greek hymnography
2. Cherubic Hymn (*Kheruvimskaia pesn'*)	Part I	Sofronievsky melody	Slavic hymnography / excerpt from Divine Liturgy
3. Many Years (*Mnogaia leta*)	Part I	Sergei Prokofiev	Slavic hymnography / polychronion
4. Arise, O My Soul (*Dushe moia*)	Parts I & II	Stikheron Tone 6	Slavic hymnography / kontakion from Great Canon of St. Andrew of Crete
5. Most Merciful Lord (*Mnogomilostive Gospodi*)	Part I	Irmos Tone 7	Slavic hymnography / hybrid refrain from two canons for the ill

(numbers 460, 461 and 462) found in the compilation "*Velikorusskie narodnye pesni*" [Great Russian Folk Songs], ed. A.F. Sobolevskii, vol. VII, Saint Petersburg: [no publisher] 1902. RGALI f. 1923, op. 1. ed. khr. 568, l. 26.

[25] The liturgical excerpts heard in the film were published for the first time in the Sikorski edition; however, they were published with substantial errors. The editors provided either the incorrect arrangement of the hymn or inaccurately transcribed the chants from the audio recording. The excerpts of bell music have not been transcribed.

[26] "We Are Innocent" (*Vvergaemy my esmi*, App. No. 12) is a hybrid composition of traditional chant and Eisensteinian text. Prokofiev had written an original version of "We Are Innocent" (*Vvergaemy my esmi*, No. 28b.) from scratch but it was not used in the film. "God is Wonderful" (*Diven Bog*, No. 28a.) is a Prokofievian arrangement of the eponymous piece by Dmitry Bortniansky. "Many Years" (*Mnogaya Leta*, App. No. 3) is a new composition by Prokofiev.

6. Memory Eternal (*Vechnaia pamiat'*)	Part I	Traditional melody	Slavic hymnography / encomium from the Orthodox Requiem Service
7. With Thy Saints, Give Rest (*So sviatymi upokoi*)	Part I	Obikhod (unknown source)	Slavic hymnography / excerpt from the Orthodox Requiem service
8. Thou Alone Art Immortal (*Sam edin esi bezsmertnyi*)	Part I	Mikhail Vinogradov	Slavic hymnography / excerpt from the Orthodox Requiem service
9. Weep Not for Me, O Mother (*Ne rydai mene mati*)	Part II	Fedor Ivanov	Slavic hymnography / excerpt from Holy Thursday
10. You Were Told, Judas (*Une tebe biashe Iudo*)	Part II	Aleksei Lvov	Slavic hymnography / excerpt from Holy Thursday
11. God is Wonderful (*Diven Bog*)	Part II	Dmitry Bortniansky, arr. Prokofiev	Slavic hymnography / excerpt from Psalm 67(68)
12. We are Innocent and At Their Mercy (*Vvergaemy my esmi bezvinno*)	Part II	Original version: Prokofiev; Version in film: Irmos Tone 6	Sergei Eisenstein

How the borrowings made their way into the soundtrack is not entirely clear, but it appears that Eisenstein chose several himself and the rest in consultation with others. Eisenstein's notes reveal the names of at least six hymns to be included in the soundtrack: "Many Years," "Save, O Lord Thy People," "Arise, O My Soul," "Kyrie Eleison," "Give Rest, With Thy Saints," and "Thou, Who Alone Art Immortal."[27] Early drafts of Eisenstein's screenplay also demonstrate a rather detailed knowledge of liturgical vocabulary; in his stage directions, Eisenstein describes clerical vestments and items of ritual with specialist vocabulary above and beyond the average layman's knowledge.[28] As an adult, Eisenstein was a self-confessed atheist who ridiculed religion, but as a child, he possessed an "almost hysterical religiosity,"

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[27]   Eisenstein's notes (RGALI f. 1923, op. 1, ed. khr. 568) reference the use of five hymns: "Many Years" (*Mnogaia leta*, App. No. 3); "Save, O Lord, Thy People" (*Spasi, Gospodi*, in No. 25); Kyrie Eleison (App. No. 1); "Give Rest, With Thy Saints" (*So sviatymi upokoi*, App. No. 7); "Thou, Alone Who Art Immortal" (*Sam edin esi bezsmertnyi*, App. No. 8).

[28]   For example, during the scene of Ivan's illness, Eisenstein refers to the rite as *soborovanie*, the vestment being prepared for Ivan a *schema*, and the Bible as *Evangelie* (and not *bibliia*).

as he recalls in his memoirs.[29] Eisenstein confesses the deep, multi-sensory impression Russian Orthodox Church services made on him as a child and how he later incorporated these images into his films:

> When at Mass, Father Nicholas, dressed in a silvery blue chasuble and with his arms raised heavenward, stood in a cloud of incense pierced by the slanting rays of the sun. As he performed the sacrament of the Eucharist, the bells, certainly prompted by a mysterious force, pealed from the lofty belfry, and it actually seemed that the heavens had opened and grace was pouring out upon the sinful world. From such moments springs my lifelong weakness for the ornate in religious services: the sunbeams cutting down through the smoke of incense, the standing columns of dust or mist, the luxuriant shocks of priestly hair (from the priest in *Potemkin* to the religious procession in *Ivan the Terrible*), and a passion for sacristies, chasubles, dalmatics, omophorions, and epitrachelions. All these I included in my films.[30]

Eisenstein attended catechism as a teenager and possibly served as an altar boy, which would account for his knowledge of clerical vestments, church vocabulary and liturgical traditions.[31] While he may have had outside help and written sources when writing the screenplay and the notes in "Music and Songs," Eisenstein's own acquaintance with liturgical traditions may have informed many of the decisions taken regarding the liturgical borrowings heard in the film.

Secondary evidence points to the outside help Eisenstein received during the later stages of filming and recording the liturgical music for the film. When the film studio returned to Moscow after evacuation in Kazakhstan, a priest by the name of Tsvetkov was reportedly assisting Eisenstein on the set.[32] Mira Mendelson-Prokofiev's diaries also reveal that a priest was present during the filming of Ivan's coronation; however it is unclear if this was

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In this scene Eisenstein also quotes from a passage in an Euchologion (*trebnik*), revealing a source that he may have used as a reference for many of the rituals throughout *Ivan*. RGALI f. 1923, op. 1, ed. khr. 546–1, ll. 79–83.

29 Sergei Eisenstein, *Immoral Memories - An Autobiography*, London, Peter Owen, 2014, 201.

30 Eisenstein, *Immoral Memories*, 201–202. Rosamund Bartlett has argued that the multi-sensory nature of the experience of Russian church services shaped Eisenstein's ideas about fusing the various elements of sound and image into an ideal, *Gesamtkunstwerk* in film: Rosamund Bartlett, "The Circle and The Line: Eisenstein, Florensky, and Russian Orthodoxy" in *Eisenstein at 100: A Reconsideration*, ed. Albert La Valley and Barry P. Scherr, New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 2001, 65.

31 Eisenstein, *Immoral Memories*, 201–203.

32 Sergei Eisenstein, *Ivan the Terrible: A Screenplay by Sergei M. Eisenstein*, ed. and trans. by Ivor Montague and Herbert Marshall, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1962, 288.

the same Tsvetkov.[33] Eisenstein may have also received consultation on which hymns to use from Viktor Komarov, the eminent church choir director who directed the choir heard on the recording.[34] Lastly, one of the film actors, Maksim Mikhailov, was a former deacon in the Russian Orthodox Church and may have provided Eisenstein with additional insight or support.[35]

Part I of *Ivan the Terrible*, subtitled *"The Thunder Approaches,"* was completed in late 1944 and received its premiere in the capital in January 1945 to enthusiastic reviews. A year later, Eisenstein and Prokofiev were awarded a Stalin Prize for Part I. Part II, *"The Boyar Plot,"* failed to pass censorship in 1946, and Eisenstein was given specific recommendations on how to revise it before it could be released. Work on Part III was suspended until Part II was suitably revised. Unfortunately, both Eisenstein and Prokofiev were too ill to make the necessary revisions.[36] Eisenstein also refused to make changes on artistic grounds, arguing that it would upset the integrity of the work. However, before he could revise Part II and finish Part III, Eisenstein died of a sudden heart attack in 1948. After Eisenstein's death, Prokofiev never wrote another film score (despite several offers) and himself died of a brain hemorrhage on 5 March 1953 (on the same day as Stalin).[37] It was only in 1958, after Stalin's death and during the ensuing "thaw" under Khrushchev, that Part II, unrevised, was released to the public. Of what remains of Part III, only Eisenstein's notes, the screenplay, and twenty minutes of film footage were salvaged; the other film reels were discarded.

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[33]   The diary entry is from 6 September 1944: Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eve*, 229.

[34]   Prokof'ev, *Ivan Groznyi*, Sikorski edition, 31.

[35]   Maksim Dormidontovich Mikhailov (1893–1971), basso profundo, served as a deacon in the Russian Orthodox Church from 1914–1930. He left his post in the church in 1930 to work for the opera company Radiotsentr in Moscow, and in 1932/33 he was hired by the Bolshoi Theatre, where he sang until 1956. In *Ivan the Terrible*, Mikhailov plays the role of the deacon, who intones the acclamation before the choir enters singing "Many Years" during Ivan's coronation in Part I.

[36]   Prokofiev suffered a concussion in January 1945; he was to have debilitating headaches from then until the end of his life. Eisenstein suffered a heart attack the night *Part I* was awarded a Stalin prize, 2 February 1946, and was ill until his death two years later.

[37]   Prokofiev received at least five offers to write a film score after Eisenstein's death. Boris Volsky reports that Prokofiev announced, "since the death of Sergey Mikahilovich Eisenstein, I consider my cinematic career forever finished;" however, the composer accepted an offer in 1950 to write the score for Grigorii Aleksandrov's biopic of Glinka, *Kompozitor Glinka*, but was later let go from the project. Bartig, *Composing for the Red Screen* [monograph], 164–167.

The Ubiquitous Ivan Trichord

As mentioned above, the music in *Ivan the Terrible* can be divided into two groups: 1) Prokofiev's compositions, and 2) borrowed liturgical hymns from the Russian Orthodox Church. The first group, Prokofiev's compositions, forms the largest and most varied group; it comprises instrumental numbers, numbers for chorus and orchestra, solo voice and orchestra, and choral *a capella* numbers. The second group, borrowed liturgical hymns, are all choral *a capella* pieces by composers other than Prokofiev, with the exception of one hymn (as mentioned above). While these seemingly disparate genres of music have little to do with each other (aside from appearing in the same soundtrack), the two groups are unified together in the *Ivan* soundtrack by a melodic kernel I call the "Ivan trichord."

The Ivan trichord is a short musical motive built on three consecutive pitches in either ascending or descending order. It appears most frequently in its primary form, a rising three-pitch pattern separated by two whole tones, outlining a major third (see Example 1A). It can also appear in a tone-semitone pattern, outlining a minor third (Example 1B). Less frequently, the trichord appears in its semitone-tone guise (Example 1C). The trichord, while usually appearing in its ascending form, can also appear in retrograde, or descending form (Examples 1D, 1E, 1F).

The number which best illustrates the use of the trichord in *Ivan the Terrible* is Ivan's theme, which frequently accompanies Ivan's appearance on screen (Example 2). Eisenstein called this theme "The Storm Approaches" and as his notes indicate, intended it to be one of the main leitmotivs of the film.[38] The Ivan theme is built of four phrases (a, b, c and d), each of which begins with a trichord as its head motive.[39] The first phrase (a) begins with a major (tone-tone) trichord. This initial phrase is arguably the most important of the four because it later appears on its own as a kind of shorthand for the entire Ivan theme. The remaining three phrases (b, c, and d) begin with minor (tone-semitone) trichords and are all ascending trichords except for phrase (c), which has a skip and then a descent. Thus, Ivan's theme neatly demonstrates and foreshadows the main varieties of the trichord – major and minor, ascending and descending.

The Ivan trichord, in its ascending, major mode form, appears most often in Part I. The first phrase of the Ivan theme reappears as a kind of signifier for the entire theme in the trombones and tuba in "Ivan's Tent" (Examples 3A and 3B) and "Come Back" (Example 4). Besides these obvious quotations of the Ivan theme and the Ivan trichord in the soundtrack, there are several

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[38]   RGALI f. 1923, op. 1, ed. khr. 568, l. 1.

[39]   A head motive is a motive at the start, or head, of a phrase.

less obvious examples. The major ascending Ivan trichord reappears in the lyrical opening theme of "Ivan's Tent" (Example 5) and likewise in the opening theme of "The Tartar Steppes" (Example 6), both of which are associated with Tsar Ivan's troops as they prepare for battle against the Tartars in the Battle of Kazan (Part I). The trichords in "Ivan's Tent" and "The Tartar Steppes," in a more lyrical, pensive guise, perhaps signify the quieter heroism evoked before battle.

Besides representing Ivan before battle, the rising major trichord is also heard in a more joyous celebratory context during the wedding reception of Ivan and his bride Anastasia. In "The Swan," the trichord appears in the verse sung by the altos as the head motive of the phrase, "*Plivyot lebed' belaya*" (Example 7). In the slower paced "Song of Praise," also from the wedding celebration, the verse not only begins with a major trichord head motive, but the scale degrees of the first seven pitches (in A major) is identical to that of the Ivan theme (in F major): 1-2-3-2-1-4-3 (Example 8). Therefore, while the context is neither heroic nor only relating to Ivan any longer, the theme and trichord nonetheless make their presence known during the wedding celebration.

The ascending trichord in its tone-semitone (or minor) permutation, on the other hand, is most frequently heard in Part II. Again, this ascending trichord mostly appears with Ivan or his personal guardsmen, the *Oprichniki*, who play an increasingly dark role in Part II, as they carry out brutal executions at Ivan's command. In chronological order as they appear in the film, the ascending minor trichord appears in "The Chaotic Dances," "Ivan's Entrance," and the "Oath of the Oprichniki." In the "Chaotic Dances," the trichord appears as a short melodic refrain that repeats as the *oprichniki* perform their drunken bacchanalian dance (Example 9A). The motive later recurs in the song in a rising semitone-tone guise in the bassoon, contrabassoon, cello and double bass (Example 9B).[40] Later, after the murder of Ivan's cousin (and pretender to the throne) Vladimir, Ivan's entrance into the cathedral is accompanied by "Ivan's Entrance," whose main protracted opening theme features the trichord in its minor ascending format in the oboe and upper strings (Example 10). Finally, the scene of Vladimir's murder in the Cathedral concludes with the procession of *oprichniki* who sing their diabolical "Oath of the Oprichniki" as they kneel in front of what appears to be an altar (Example 11). In Part II, the prevalence of the Ivan trichord in the minor mode reflects Ivan's increasingly troubled character.

In contrast to the ascending trichords that are associated with Ivan, the two female lead characters in the *Ivan the Terrible* have descending trichords as their head motives. When Anastasia, Ivan's wife falls ill in Part I,

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[40]   It is worthwhile noting that the rising trichord, in its major guise, later appears in "Verses of the Oprichniki," which are interspersed between the "Chaotic" and "Orderly" dances.

we hear "Anastasia's Illness," which begins with a descending minor trichord in the first violin (Example 12). Interestingly, the second phrase of "Anastasia's Illness," as a response to the first phrase, begins with a rising major trichord. A similar pattern occurs in the song associated with the other female lead, Ivan's aunt Efrosinia. Efrosinia sings the lullaby "Song of a Beaver" twice in Part II. Efrosinia opens the song with a descending major trichord followed by an ascending minor trichord in the second phrase (Ex. 13). By giving the female characters descending head motive trichords followed by ascending trichords, Prokofiev imbues these characters with a musical foil or antipode to the male lead, Tsar Ivan.

As mentioned above, the trichord occurs not only in Prokofiev's compositions but it also can be found in the liturgical borrowings heard in the film, the majority of which were not written by Prokofiev. One of the significant features of the trichord as it appears in the liturgical borrowings is that an ascending trichord in the melody is frequently followed by a descending trichord in the next phrase. Thus, in "Most Merciful Lord," heard in Part I when Ivan is on his deathbed, an ascending major trichord appears in the melody (Tenor I) on the word "Mnogomilostive," and then descends back to the tonic in the next phrase with a descending trichord (Example 14). A similar pattern occurs in "Save, O Lord, Thy People," the hymn accompanying the finale of Part I. The hymn begins with a rising major trichord in the Soprano (doubled by Alto II) on the words, "Spasi, Gospodi," only to descend back to the tonic in the next phrase with a descending trichord (Example 15). In the final example from Part I, "Memory Eternal," sung at the beginning of Anastasia's funeral, the melody (in Soprano I) begins with major trichord, descends back down to the tonic in the next phrase, only to ascend back up, repeating the pattern until the cadence to the tonic in the last phrase of the hymn (Example 16).

Of the two liturgical borrowings that feature the trichord in Part II, only one of the hymns contains the same ascending-descending pattern. The first hymn to feature the trichord is "God is Wonderful," heard at the beginning of the scene of the liturgical drama of the Fiery Furnace. The melody, carried by the altos, descends by a major trichord on the opening words, "*Diven Bog*" (Example 17). Immediately after this introductory hymn, the liturgical drama proper begins with the singing of "We Are Innocent" by the three youths, Hananiah, Azariah, and Misha'el, who were led to the fiery furnace. The text of this second chant, whose music is based on an authentic church mode, was written by Eisenstein himself in an archaic pseudo-Church Slavonic language. The ascending minor trichord appears towards the end of the first phrase in the melody (Soprano II), and is answered by a descending trichord in the next phrase (Example 18). A similar descending trichord—first a tone-semitone trichord, then the minor trichord—appears in the third

and fourth phrases of this chant respectively. The more frequent appearance of trichords in "We Are Innocent" as compared to "God is Wonderful" can be attributed to the fact that former is based on a traditional church mode, while the latter is a freely-composed original setting by the composer Dmitry Bortniansky.

Overall, the trichord occurs in twelve of twenty-seven cues in Part I, and in eleven of twenty-one cues heard in Part II (see Figure 2), thus, in nearly fifty percent of the cues throughout Parts I and II. This tally does not include cues that are repeated (such as the Ivan theme), so the presence of the trichord is arguably even more prevalent than these numbers demonstrate.

Figure 2. The prevalence of the trichord in *Ivan the Terrible.* The songs in boldface are those in which the trichord appears. In this chart, each song appears only once, even if it is heard more than once in the film.

PART I	
Prokofiev's Compositions	Liturgical Music
1. Overture **2. Song of Praise (Liuli)** **3. Ivan's Tent** 4. Riot **5. The Swan** 6. Death of Glinskaia 7. Entrance of Tartars 8. Canons Moving Towards Kazan **9. Tartar Steppes** **10. Canoneers** 11. Kurbsky's Trumpets 12. The Attack 13. Kazan Has Fallen **14. Ivan Pleads with Boyars** 15. Anastasia's Poisoning **16. Anastasia's Illness** 17. Ivan at Anastasia's Coffin **18. (short excerpt) Oprichnik Oath** **19. Come Back!**	1. Kyrie Eleison 2. Cherubic Hymn 3. Many Years 4. Awake, My Soul **5. Most Merciful Lord** **6. Memory Eternal** 7. With Thy Saints Give Rest **8. O Lord, Save Thy People**

PART II	
Prokofiev's Compositions	Liturgical Music
1. Overture 2. Fanfares 3. Polonaise 4. Oprichnik Dance – Orderly 5. Death of Glinksaia **6. Ivan's Tent** 7. Shuisky and the Hound-keepers 8. Anastasia's Poisoning **9. Song of the Beaver** 10. Vladimir's Murder **11. Oprichnik Dance – Chaotic** **12. Oprichnik Verses** **13. Oprichnik Chorus No. 1 (Hybrid chant)** **14. Oprichnik Chorus No. 2 (Expanded)** **15. Ivan's Entrance** **16. Oprichnik Oath**	1. Do Not Weep for Me, Mother 2. You Were Told, Judas **3. God is Wonderful** **4. We Are Innocent and At Their Mercy** 5. Awake, My Soul

It is important to note that the ubiquity of the trichord does not imply that it can be easily detected or heard by the average listener on the first, second, or even third viewing of the film. There is no documentary evidence that Eisenstein or Prokofiev planned to employ such a device (as discussed further below). Rather, it is a recurrent motivic pattern that emerges upon close examination and which serves to unify a large portion of the musical fabric of the film.

The Ivan Trichord and Mediaeval Russian Chant

It is not, perhaps, a surprise that we find trichords in the liturgical borrowings on the soundtrack, as trichords form the basis of Russian liturgical music. The theory of trichords, or *soglasiya*, in Slavic chant is associated with the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Novgorodian singer and chant theorist, Ivan Shaidur. Shaidur is mostly known for his pioneering use of cinnabar marks (*kinovarnye pomety*) to indicate pitch when singing from Slavic neumatic (*znamenny* or *kriuk*) notation. These marks were printed in red ink alongside neumes in black ink. In addition to designating pitches with cinnabar marks, Shaidur is thought to be responsible for dividing the gamut into four groups of trichords, called "simple," "dark," "light,"

and "thrice-light" (Example 19).[41] Each trichord, as its name implies, comprised three pitches, which the nineteenth-century music historian Stepan Smolensky then further subdivided into new trichords called "wide," "small," and "narrowed" trichords (Example 20).[42]

In order to illustrate how the trichords worked in practice, Smolensky identified trichords in the chant, "Lord, I have cried" (Example 21). Smolensky's example illustrates several principles of trichords in Slavic chant: 1) the trichords are pitch-specific; 2) not all of the pitches in the trichord have to sound in order for it to be identified (e.g., Tone 1, No. 3); and 3) their identity remains the same whether they ascend, descend, or skip pitches.

Comparing the use of trichords in *Ivan the Terrible* to their use in Russian chant, it becomes clear that the ways in which trichords function in the two different bodies of music are quite different. Prokofiev does not imitate the Russian chant tradition perfectly in his use of trichords; rather, he found a way to merge his idiom while borrowing the shapes, sounds and building blocks of Russian chant. Whether consciously or not, Prokofiev, through the use of trichords, manages to infuse his music with chant-like qualities that were reminiscent of Russian chant without quoting it directly.

The influence of chant on Prokofiev's score has not gone unnoticed. Christopher Palmer notes that Prokofiev's score is "so saturated with Russian folk and ecclesiastical idioms" that it "shows us merely how conversant he was with his own musical heritage."[43] Douglas Gallez similarly observes that in writing the score, Prokofiev was "capitalizing on Russian liturgical music and combining it with his own invention."[44] Tatiana Egorova even goes so far as to describe Ivan's theme as capturing the "elevated stern simplicity of *znamennyi* chant."[45] While the chant-like qualities of the *Ivan* soundtrack have been previously observed, no one has yet described exactly how, in musical terms, Prokofiev borrowed from this tradition.

This achievement, while perhaps not intentional, is not far from the realm of possible intention. Eisenstein conducted extensive research in preparation for the film; he read all the available histories of Tsar Ivan, and

[41]   Nikolai Findeizen, *History of Music in Russia from Antiquity to 1800, Volume I: From Antiquity to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Samuel William Pring, edited and annotated by Miloš Velimirović and Claudia R. Jensen, Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press, 2008, 108–109.

[42]   Stepan Smolensky, "Vmesto predisloviia", *Azbuka znamennogo peniia (izveshchenie o soglasneishikh pometakh) startsa Aleksandra Mezentsa (1668-go goda)*, ed. Stepan Smolensky, Kazan: Tipografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1888, 53.

[43]   Christopher Palmer, "Prokofiev, Eisenstein and Ivan," *The Musical Times* 132, no. 1778 (April 1991), 179.

[44]   Douglas W. Gallez, "The Prokofiev-Eisenstein Collaboration: 'Nevsky' and 'Ivan' Revisited," *Cinema Journal* 17, no. 2 (Spring 1978), 24.

[45]   Tatiana Egorova, *Soviet Film Music: An Historical Survey*, New York, Routledge, 2013, 98.

he extensively researched the clothes, rituals and customs of the period.[46] It is not far-fetched, then, to imagine that Eisenstein and Prokofiev had also researched – at least to some degree – the musical traditions of sixteenth-century Rus'. What they observed from musical research one can only guess, but it is likely that the two decided to approach the music for Ivan, their sixteenth-century hero, the same way they had approached the music for Alexander Nevsky, their thirteenth-century hero. As Prokofiev explains, they decided to borrow from earlier musical traditions whilst "adapting" the music for a modern audience:

> The action of [*Alexander Nevsky*] takes place in the thirteenth century and is built up on two opposing elements: the Russians on the one hand, and the Teutonic knights on the other. The temptation to make use of the actual music of the period was naturally great. But a brief acquaintance with Catholic thirteenth-century choral singing was enough to show that this music has in the past seven centuries become far too remote and emotionally alien to us to be able to stimulate the imagination of the present-day film spectator. We therefore decided not to reproduce it as it sounded […] seven centuries ago but to adapt it to the modern ear. The same applies to the Russian music of the period; that, too, had to be given a modern ring.[47]

Faced with similarly "remote" sounds of sixteenth-century Rus', Eisenstein and Prokofiev managed to imbue their modern-sounding soundtrack with the trichord, whose roots lay in mediaeval Russian music.

Conclusion

The considerable use of liturgical borrowings in Part I went unnoticed by the main film censoring body, the Committee on Cinema Affairs, and the Stalin Prize Committee, who awarded Eisenstein and Prokofiev a Stalin Prize for Part I in January 1946. Ironically, while fewer liturgical borrowings are used in Part II, it was prohibited from release in March 1946 and was

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[46] For more a more detailed discussion on Eisenstein's preparation for filming *Ivan the Terrible* see Neuberger, *Ivan the Terrible*; Bartig, *Composing for the Red Screen*; Perrie, *The Cult of Ivan the Terrible in Stalin's Russia*; Tsivian, *Ivan the Terrible*.

[47] Sergei Prokofiev, "Music for Alexander Nevsky" in *Materials, Articles, Interviews*, compiled by V. Blok, USSR, Progress Publishers, 1978, 34.

accused of overdoing the use of "religious ceremonies" which gave the film a "mystical edge that should not have been made so prominent."[48]

In the article with which this essay opens, Taruskin asks, "Is it possible to ignore the political content [Eisenstein's and Prokofiev's] work? And if it is possible, it desirable that we make ourselves indifferent to the horrific ideas to which they lent such compelling artistic support?" The history and fate of *Ivan* make it impossible to ignore the political and ideological weight it carried. Indeed, it would be naïve to ignore the film's propagandistic goal, but it is vital to acknowledge that propaganda was not its *only* goal. An informed, close reading of Eisenstein's notes and Prokofiev's music proves that they portrayed *Ivan* with a nuance that was acceptable for Part I, but which had crossed that line in Part II. The "moving graphic outlines" of Prokofiev's music, which resemble the "moving graphic outlines" of Russian chant, are a testament to the score's value beyond "sure-fire Totalitarian kitsch." Rather, the creative incorporation of Russian chant into the fabric of the soundtrack should be acknowledged for what it is: a highly inventive response to their mediaeval Slavic subject.

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[48] Transcription from the infamous meeting between Eisenstein, Nikolai Cherkassov (the actor who played Ivan), Stalin, Andrei Zhdanov and Viacheslav Molotov on the night of 25/26 February 1947 in the Kremlin: Sergei Eisenstein, *Writings, 1934–1947: Sergei Eisenstein Selected Works, Volume 3*, ed. Richard Taylor, trans. William Powell, London, I.B. Taurus, 2010, 55.

Musical Examples

Example 1. The trichord in three primary forms, ascending and descending

Example 2. Ivan's theme in "Overture," bb. 3–15 (Trumpet I–II)

Example 3. Phrase a) of Ivan's theme quoted in "Ivan's Tent."
3A. bb. 5-7 (Trombone I–III, Tuba)

3B. bb. 10–11 (Trombone I–III, Tuba, Double bass, Bass clarinet, harp)

Example 4. Phrase a) of Ivan's theme quoted in "Come Back." (bb. 12–14)

Example 5. The Ivan trichord in "Ivan's Tent" (bb. 1–5; Flute I–II, Violin I, Bassoon II)

Example 6. Trichord in "The Tartar Steppes," bb. 1–7 (Tenor chorus, verse 1)

Oi ty, go-re, go-re gor' ko-ye, step' ta-tar - ska - ya, de-lo trud-no-ye, de-lo tsar-sko - ye.

Example 7. "The Swan," bb. 11–32 (Soprano and Alto voices)

Ply - vyot le - bed'_ be - la - ya, le - bed' be - la - ya zhe - lan - na - ya.

Ply - vyot le - bed'_ be - la - ya, le - bed' ven - tsom o - si - yan - na - ya.

Po za - go - ro - du tsar'_ kho - dit, on ne - ves - tu kho - dit__ smo - trit.

Example 8. "Song of Praise," bb. 6–9 (Alto chorus)

Kak na go - roch - ke dub - chi - ki sto - iat. Kak na dub - chi kakh da go - lub - chi - ki si diat.

Example 9.

9A. "Chaotic Dances" of the Oprichniki, bb. 1–14 (Violin I, Oboe, Clarinet, Trumpet)

9B. "Chaotic Dances" bb. 45–48 (Bassoon, Contrabassoon, Cello, Double bass)

Example 10. "Ivan's Entrance," bb. 1–8 (Oboe, Violin I & II)

Example 11. "Oath of the Oprichniki" (Appendix 2, No. 25), bb. 1–9

Example 12. "Anastasia's Illness," bb. 3–7 (Violin I)

Example 13. "Song of the Beaver" (No. 29), bb. 6–11 (Alto solo)

Na re - ke, na rech - ke stu - dyo - noi, na Mos - kve re -

ke___ ku - pal - sia bo - byor,___ ku - pal - sia chor - nyi.

Example 14. "O Most Merciful Lord" (*Mnogomilostive Gospodi*), bb. 1–2 (Male choir)

Mno - go - mi - los - ti - ve Gos - po - di,

us - ly - shi mo - lit - vu rab tvo - ikh mo - lia - shchikh sia Te - be...

Example 15. "O Lord, Save Thy People" (*Spasi, Gospodi*) (in No. 25) bb. 104-111

Spa - si Gos - po - di liu - di Tvo - ya

i bla - go - slo - vi do - sto - ya - ni - ye Tvo - ye.

Example 16. "Memory Eternal" (*Vechnaia pamiat'*)

Example 17. "God is Wonderful" (*Diven Bog*) (bb. 1–4)[49]

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[49] Author's transcription from the video recording. The score provided in the Sikorski edition
      for this chant (No. 28a), does not accurately reflect the recording heard in the film.

Example 18. "We Are Innocent" (*Vvergaemy my esmi bezvinno*)

Example 19. Shaidur's cinnabar marks (pitch names), gamut and trichord names.[50]

Symbol ⚡ (*chamile*, "low" in Greek) added to pitch names of second ("dark") trichord to designate lowest trichord

Г = *gorazdo nizko* (very low)
Н = *nizko* (low)
С = *srednim glasom* (middle voice)

М = *mrachno* (dark)
П = *povyshe mrachno* (one step above M)
Ц = *vysoko* (high)

Added dot (·) (*chocholok*, "top") above pitch names of third ("light") trichord to indicate highest trichord

Ц = [letter *ts*] indicates third pitch in lowest trichord

50   Nikolai Findeizen, *History of Music in Russia from Antiquity to 1800, Volume I: From Antiquity to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Samuel William Pring, edited and annotated by Miloš Velimirović and Claudia R. Jensen, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008, 108–109; Miloš Velimirović, "Russian Church Music: Monophonic Chant and Its Notation," *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>

Example 20. Stepan Smolensky's subdivisions of trichords[51]

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51   Stepan Smolensky, "Instead of an Introduction" ("Vmesto predisloviia"), *Azbuka znamennogo peniia (izveshchenie o soglasneishikh pometakh) startsa Aleksandra Mezentsa (1668-go goda)*, ed. Stepan Smolensky, Kazan: Tipografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1888, 53.

Example 21. Stepan Smolensky's analysis of trichords in Russian chant, Stikheron tones 1–8[52]

[52] Smolensky, "Vmesto predisloviia," *Azbuka znamennogo peniia,* 53–54.

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Jūlija Jonāne

The Appearance of Russian Orthodox Genres and Composers in the Revival of Latvian Sacred Music

Latvia is a multi-religious country where three Christian Confessions predominate:

1. Evangelical Lutheran Church
2. Roman Catholic Church
3. Russian Orthodox Church

Although Russian Orthodoxy in Latvia has a long and rich history, the use of Orthodox traditions in musical composition in Latvia became evident much later, only at the end of the 20th century. I shall begin, therefore, with a brief history of Russian Orthodoxy in the territory of Latvia.

The spread of this confession in the territory of Latvia began in the 9th century. The Russian Orthodox Church has been mentioned in chronicles since the year 1207. However, the Teutonic Knights baptized Latvians into the Catholic faith, and Orthodoxy thus became an unwelcome confession. The activity of the Russian Orthodox Church was resumed only in the 19th century, because from 1795 to 1918 Latvia was part of the Russian Empire. This was the time when the first bishop was appointed, when new churches were built and consecrated, when Sunday schools came into being, and so on.

In 1850 the eparchy of Riga was founded and a year later the Theological Seminary was opened in Riga, providing theological knowledge for the future clergy not only of Latvia, but also Estonia. During the First World War this Seminary was evacuated to Nizhny Novgorod in Russia.

Only the Declaration of National Independence of Latvia, which was adopted on 18 of November 1918, provided a legal basis for the free functioning to all traditional denominations, including the Orthodox Church. Owing

to the above, in 1926 the Orthodox Ecclesiastical Seminary began functioning in Riga, the capital of Latvia, and in 1937 the Department of Orthodoxy was opened at the Faculty of Theology of the Latvian University. During the Soviet regime all religious denominations experienced difficulties, not only with spreading their faith, but even in terms of mere survival.

Musical compositions based on Orthodox traditions appeared in Latvian music culture relatively late. For example, the first professional compositions, both choral and instrumental, were composed in the 1870s and 1880s. This was also the period when the first sacred music compositions appeared. However, they reflected primarily the postulates of the Evangelical Lutheran faith. The first Latvian composers, although they studied and worked in Russia, specifically in St Petersburg and Moscow, remained loyal to the traditions of the Lutheran Church. Thus, at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, the musical genres of the oldest denominations, both Orthodox and the Roman Catholic, are not represented in Latvian sacred music.

Since that period two sacred music compositions, rooted in the traditions of Russian Orthodoxy, became known in Latvia. One of these opuses is the choral *Holy is God (Kol' Slaven Bog)* by Dmitry Bortnyansky, the *de facto* anthem of the Russian Empire between 1796-1801/1816 (the so-called *Paul anthem* together with the *Catherine* anthem, *Let sound the Thunder of Victory (Grom pobedy, razdavaysya!)*. This choral composition was performed during the 3rd and 4th Nationwide Latvian Song Festivals in 1888 and 1895.

The second composition is a *Prayer* by Jāzeps Vītols, a student of Rimsky-Korsakov, a professor at the St Petersburg conservatory and the founder of the Latvian Academy of Music. This work was written for mixed choir in 1886 on the poetry of Mikhail Lermontov. However, although it was written to a Russian text, and its melodic character is very much that of Russian romanticism, it is far from the genres and traditions of the Russian Orthodox Church.

In 1940, after Latvia became part of the USSR, the Latvian Orthodox Church was subjected to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow. The clergy experienced very difficult times, fighting for survival in an atheistic state. Churches were closed and destroyed, and many clergymen suffered repression.

As Latvia regained independence in the 1980s and 1990s, the traditional Churches also re-established themselves. At the same time Latvian music culture was affected by the new wave of spirituality and religious music came, so to say, into fashion. Composers became interested in the musical genres of the old and established religions, including Roman Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy, such as masses, liturgies, hymns, vespers, sacred

concertos etc. Currently there are some 350,000 Orthodox believers in Latvia. Orthodoxy is the third largest religious denomination of the country after Roman Catholicism and Evangelical Lutheranism.

Composers who focus on Orthodox Church music genres and traditions generally all belong to the Orthodox Church. However, there are certain exceptions, as when composers of other denominations have also displayed creative interest in prayer texts, genres or the singing style of the Orthodox Church, among them Arturs Maskats and Ingmars Zemzaris. Orthodox Church music culture is now pursued by composers of different generations.

Nowadays, at the beginning of 21st century, there are Latvian composers who are truly dedicated to sacred music and consider it to be their calling. Three among them are of particular importance.

First of all, mention should be made of the Glagolyev family. Their predecessors were well-known Orthodox priests and church choir conductors. Vladimir Glagolyev (1898–1970) worked as a *regent* in many Orthodox Churches in Russia and Latvia. He left more than 100 church music settings, such as all-night vigil, vespers, liturgy and other ceremonial compositions. His son, Juri Glagolyev (1926–2013), graduated from the Latvian Academy of Music and finished his masters course studies at the Peter Tchaikovsky Conservatory in Moscow. Since 1945 Yuri Glagolyev worked in different Russian Orthodox Churches in Riga. In 1988 he founded the mixed choir *Perezvony* (or *Chime*) that specializes in sacred music.

Despite the fact that musical pieces by both Glagolyevs, father and son, are not particularly well known to the wider public and are included in concerts comparatively rarely, they are still popular in the liturgical context. Furthermore, it should be noted that both above-mentioned Glagolyevs composed their sacred music whilst living under the Soviet regime, and initiated the development of Russian Orthodox music in Latvia under these difficult circumstances.

Moving on now to present-day composers, I will first discuss the work of Andrejs Selickis/Andrey Selicky (b. 1960). He is a well-known contemporary composer whose musical works follow the traditions of Orthodoxy. His musical settings have also been inspired by his work as singer and conductor of various Russian Orthodox churches in Riga. His compositions are written mostly for liturgical use. However, the composer's sacred oeuvre often goes beyond the traditions and canons of his religious denomination, tending towards ecumenism or, in other words, towards universal Christian ideas. For example, Selicky's works include *Kyrie* (double mixed choir, organ; 1989), *Offertorium* (organ; 1984), *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* (mixed choir; 2003), *Dievmātei* (*To Our Lady*; lyrics by Elza Stērste), and *A Hymn to Mother Teresa* (mixed choir, orch.). A milestone in his life was his meeting with Arvo Pärt

in the late 1970s, a fact that perhaps explains why his sacred oeuvre tends towards universal Christian ideas.

The third composer I will discuss here is Georgs Pelēcis/Georg Pelecis (b. 1947). He graduated from the Pyotr Tchaikovsky State Conservatory in Moscow in the compositional class of Aram Khachaturian in 1970, and in 1977 he finished his postgraduate course in music theory with Vladimir Protopopov.

Although Pelēcis is not directly involved in church activities, his musical works are rich in religious inspiration, related to his faith. He has composed a setting of the *Magnificat* setting in Slavonic (*Velichit Ducha moja Gospoda*) as well as an *Ortodox Easter Akathist*. Pelēcis propagates the traditions of Russian Orthodoxy together with universal Christian values of wider scope and impact.

Five oratorios by Pelēcis, written at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st have proved to be an important contribution not only to the history of sacred music in Latvia, but also a unique interpretation of Russian Orthodox musical genres. They are:

1996	Orthodox Easter Oratorio *Christ is risen!*
1997	Orthodox Easter Akathist
2000	Christmas Oratorio *Christ is born*
2001	*God is love*
2004	*By Death He Conquered Death* (oratorio on the Passion and Resurrection)

I shall now focus on the oratorio *God is Love*, which was composed as a dedication to Russian Orthodoxy in Latvia within the framework of the 8th centenary of the city of Riga. This particular composition initiates an entirely new stage, described by its author as an *ecumenical choral concerto*. Indeed, within the context of the genre in question, the scope of this work might be considered to be that of an oratorio. The performers (only an unaccompanied mixed choir and a solo quartet from the choir) suggest the tradition of the Russian spiritual choral concerto. In this case it is the most decisive indicator of the genre as such. This is also emphasized by the choice of text and the use of Russian Orthodox ecclesiastical modes.

The work combines the Latvian and Russian languages, thus symbolically reflecting the interaction of two different cultures. However, the composer goes even further. He extends the notion of ecumenism, combining Old Russian and Orthodox traditional Russian, alternating between them and in counterpoint. In this way the author emphasizes that there are two traditions of the Russian Church – the Old Believers and the contemporary Russian Orthodox Church. Thus, the work in question also highlights internal Orthodox ecumenism as the denominational situation in Latvia as such.

The oratorio consists of three parts which ideologically, conceptually and in terms of their text constitute a pyramid. The first part, "The Word of God," is the top of the pyramid. It presents the will of God through texts from the Epistles of St Paul and articles by the Archbishop of Riga Johann (Pommer), who in 2001 was canonized as the first holy martyr in Latvia. The composer's aim was to emphasize the central idea of this part – to allow the word of God be spread. Thus, the music serves to accentuate the meaning of the text. To enrich this aim, the composer uses the eight modes of the Russian Orthodox, which are complemented by a contrapuntal line in the alto or the bass. This part has a two-voice texture, which is highlighted by a long triad or a single note in other voices.

The second part of the oratorio, "The Word of Priests" constitutes the middle level of the pyramid. It contains letters, sermons and bequests, presented by numerically the largest part of the Church hierarchy, Orthodox priests: Archimandrite Tavrion, Schema-Archimandrite Kosma, Priest Johann Zhuravsky etc. The third part of the oratorio comprises such texts as the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed and *The Angel of the Lord* both in Russian and in Latvian. This part that is perceived as the base of the pyramid has a unique synthetic, even simultaneous function as a finale, summarizing the typical means of expression, texture and melodic intonations of both previous parts.

Example 1. Georgs Pelēcis, Oratorio *God is Love*, part 3: *The Lord's Prayer* in Latvian

Example 2. Georgs Pelēcis, Oratorio *God is Love*, part 3: *The Lord's Prayer* in Russian

This oratorio is composed following the tradition of "new simplicity", which means that the composer frequently uses such keys as C major, A minor, D major and D minor. While the first part is characterized by a unified polyphonic texture, intonations and emotional calm, the second, with its homophonic texture, is harmonically intense and intricate. The whole setting is permeated by the premise that *God is Love*. This motif repeatedly connects different prayers in the third part of the oratorio.

The composer presents an interesting use of two languages. If in the first part Russian and Latvian are used in parallel, the second part is characterized by the alternation of languages, whereas in the third part both languages are used differently: sometimes in parallel and sometimes in alternation. Owing to the above, we may conclude that the Lord's Prayer was composed twice: first in Latvian and then in Russian. The music was written on the basis of two different versions of the text. The Latvian version is relatively modest, its musical language being rather ascetic with constant unisons or octaves, the recitative is complemented by descending phrases. The version in Russian is much more emotional, and the texture is made up of the full-textured block chords of a four-part mixed choir. The choral input is greatly enriched by colourful harmony (seventh chords, based on the degrees of the diatonic scale). This expressive and emotionally touching prayer also includes an allusion to the Lord's Prayer by Tchaikovsky.

The ecumenical idea, bilingualism and also the inner structure of this kind of composition in celebration of the 8th centenary of Riga is a significant feature of the religious music of multi-confessional Latvia. The compositional integrity that the author achieved in this large-scale work helps to

integrate these grandiose and multiform musical ideas into one monolithic composition.

Thus, the genres of sacred music, rooted in the traditions of the Russian Orthodox Church, came into Latvian professional sacred music very late and slowly, at the end of the 20th century, moving from church music to compositions for the concert hall. However, these compositions have easily conquered their audiences, have reached the proportions of large-scale works and have successfully extended the denominational panorama of sacred music in Latvia.

Predrag Đoković

Sacred Music in the Musical Life of Serbia in the Time of Communism

Introduction

In order to understand the status of sacred music in the communist Serbia, it is necessary to explain the attitude of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia towards religion between 1945 and 1990. This country treated religion as "opium for the people" and had a negative approach to different Christian denominations, and especially to the Serbian Orthodox Church. Since religious communities, as well as all their activities in that period, were on the margins of social, and particularly public life, sacred music was very little, if at all, present in concert halls. Although this attitude was common throughout communist Yugoslavia, in predominantly Roman Catholic Croatia and Slovenia the situation was different to some extent.

In Orthodox Serbia, the communists completely abandoned traditional cultural values. In the course of almost 50 years, spiritual, *a cappella* choral music, which was a significant part of the cultural identity of Orthodox Serbs, could not be heard publicly at all. Many pre-World War II church choirs were transformed under the influence of militant atheism, while new, city choirs performed partisan songs glorifying communist sacrifices and their struggle in creating the new society. However, in opposition to the lack of Orthodox Church music, in the same period in Serbia, Catholic and Protestant church music was performed from time to time. This deliberate neglect of the Orthodox music in the musical life of Serbia lasted until the 1980s. As a consequence of the weakening of the communist regime and its ideology, the public status of sacred music improved.

One of the turning points was the celebration of the 125 years of Stevan Mokranjac's birth. In 1981, the Radio Television Belgrade Choir performed and recorded the greatest Serbian composer Mokranjac's most important spiritual works – *The Liturgy* and *The Funeral Service* (Requiem).

The Time of Communism

As is generally known, in most East European countries, the end of World War II was followed by the establishment of a communist regime, which dramatically changed the social and cultural climate of those countries. In Serbia, which formed part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia prior to the War, the coming of the communists to power meant a radical turn away, not only from the monarchy, but also from almost all traditional values derived from the historical and religious experience of the Serbian people. Although this post-war regime was not as brutal as that of the Bolsheviks in Soviet Russia, its negative consequences are still apparent in the modern generation of Serbs, still more than 20 years since the fall of communism. In this paper, sacred music as a part of the Serbian cultural and historical heritage in communist Yugoslavia will be reviewed through the cultural politics of that period, the status of church choirs, concert activities of certain state-funded national ensembles, the significance of music institutions and festivals, and the personal contribution of prominent individuals. The key parameter for understanding the status of the sacred music in Serbia after World War II is the status of the Serbian Orthodox Church within the communist state.

The radical change that was to take place in the arts was announced immediately after the War, when the new government arrested many leading actors, opera singers, ballet dancers and conductors because they had been performing during the German occupation. Some of them were executed in cold blood. The social changes that swept through the country after 1945 were in accordance with the doctrine and attitudes of the ruling Communist Party. The new cultural doctrine in Serbia was based on social realism, although the eminent musicologist Dragutin Gostuški claimed that "there is not, nor can there be expected to be, an exact definition of social realism in arts in general, especially in music."[1] Artists were required to abandon "decadent" creativity and to turn to new themes to meet the needs of workers and the masses.[2] However, there is another side to this. The communist regime had to modernize the country, open schools in order to reduce the number of illiterate citizens and promote culture, particularly in the provinces where there were no cultural institutions. Many aspects of social life were improved. In the years after World War II musical life advanced, proof of which was the establishment of new musical institutions, as well as music schools (a total of twenty-two, compared to six pre-war).[3] At the end of

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[1] Dragutin Gostuški, *Vreme umetnosti* (uvod), Belgrade, Prosveta, 1968, 7–25.

[2] Melita Milin, *Tradicionalno i novo u srpskoj muzici posle Drugog svetskog rata (1945–1965)*, Belgrade, Institute of Musicology SASA, 1998, 10

[3] Ibid., 31

World War II, the most active ensembles were the Choir and Symphony Orchestra of Radio Belgrade, the Choir and Symphony Orchestra of the Yugoslav National Army, and the Belgrade Philharmonic. Opera houses existed in Belgrade and Novi Sad, with an operatic section in Niš. It seems that the society's cultural progress, and not its ideology alone, led Stana Đurić-Klajn, the prominent mid-twentieth century music writer, to propose performances of such musical works, including operas suitable for former partisans and workers.[4] It is certain that the workers did not go to the opera, as they were not interested in operatic works, but they did sing in many amateur choirs founded after the War. Stana Đurić-Klajn noted the sudden growth of this interest in music and the fact that "the competition moved from factory and workshop to the concert halls."[5]

The repertoire of the new choirs comprised only secular songs, among which there predominated the so-called mass song, as a typical form of social realism. As musicologist Melita Milin observes, "This song could be marked as a special type of music related to work, because it had been intended for the working audience – in order to achieve ultimately better working effects."[6] At the beginning of the 1950s, composers were obliged to compose mass songs, as composer Dušan Radić claims, and remembers "light, working music"[7] being commissioned from them by Radio Belgrade. In 1946 music societies were established to control this new creativity better. A strong ideological connotation was apparent in the resolution of the First Congress of Composers and Music Experts/Scholars held in Belgrade in 1950. In the resolution, Serbian (then Yugoslav) composers "emphasise their task of educating composers in the light of Marxism-Leninism, a firm confrontation against the influences of decadence and national-chauvinistic tendencies in the arts."[8] Constrained by such limits, some composers did not write music in this period at all. In a similar fashion, painters were expected to glorify the war against Nazism by showing dead and wounded soldiers on their canvases. The works of post-war Serbian writers were supposed to be socially acceptable and beneficial. They all in their own ways tended towards surrealism, realism or the avant-garde, but ideology forced

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[4] Roksanda Pejović, "Komentari tekstova Stane Đurić-Klajn, Povodom stogodišnjice rođenja," in *Muzičari-pisci u beogradskom muzičkom životu druge polovine 20. veka*, Belgrade, Faculty of Music, Music Studies and Monographs, Vol. 7, 2008, 76.

[5] Ibid., 74.

[6] Milin, op. cit., 25–26.

[7] Ibid., 26. From today's point of view, it can be said that the "mass songs" were never incorporated into tradition, because they did not meet the necessary criteria for that.

[8] Gorica Pilipović, "Duhovna muzika u opusu Dušana Radića: paradigma jednog vremena," *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku* 15, 1994, 168.

these writers to be mere realists. They were obliged to portray a fundamentally non-realistic reality in a more agreeable manner.[9]

In the years after the War, it seems that the performance of classical music surpassed pre-war standards. The arts were used for political engagements. Domestic ensembles performed in many small towns, in their factories and schools, in order to bring culture closer to the masses. Artists from the USSR and Czechoslovakia performed in larger cities. Piano recitals, chamber music concerts, choir performances and significant vocal and instrumental works were organized in Belgrade. According to the leading music reviewers of the time, Stana Đurić-Klajn and Branko Dragutinović, besides leading musicians, the majority of the performers the inhabitants of Belgrade could hear were good musicians.[10] Their repertoire was mainly based on the Classical and Romantic periods, significantly less on the Baroque, and modern works by national composers from whom a lot was expected. The works of Russian and Soviet composers were often performed. Significant anniversaries, such as the 200th anniversary of the death of Johann Sebastian Bach (1950), when his vocal-instrumental works were performed, were thoughtfully observed.[11] Important anniversaries relating to national composers such as Mokranjac, Marinković, Milojević and others were also marked. Secular music dominated completely.

When it comes to public performances of sacred music during communist times in Serbia, the situation was entirely different. The authorities treated sacred music concerts as a kind of a religious manifestation, not as a part of the classical music repertoire. Western and Eastern sacred music was not treated equally, however. The communist regime viewed Western sacred music as part of classical music. Religious vocal-instrumental works by Bach, Handel or Mozart were publicly performed from time to time, these works naturally being composed according to Roman Catholic or Protestant traditions and church practices. It is symptomatic that such works presented no ideological obstacle to communist rule in Serbia. Even more absurd is the fact that the Yugoslav National Army Choir and Orchestra distinguished themselves over the years as ensembles performing Western masses, oratorios, Requiems, Passions, Magnificats, cantatas and other similar works with great success.[12]

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[9]   Predrag Palavestra, *Posleratna srpska književnost 1945–1970*, Belgrade, Prosveta, 1972, 217–218.

[10] Roksanda Pejović, "Pregled muzičkih događanja (1941–1971) Branko Dragutinović" in *Muzičari-pisci u beogradskom muzičkom životu druge polovine 20. veka*, Belgrade, Faculty of Music, Music Studies and Monographs, Vol. 9, 2009, 18.

[11] Darinka Simić Mitrović, *Da capo al' infinito*, Belgrade, Radio Belgrade, 1988, 431.

[12] Pejović, op. cit., 334–342.

Orthodox *a cappella* choral music, defined not only by its musical elements, but also primarily by its liturgical function (about which the communist regime was wary), received an entirely different treatment. It was considered retrograde, decadent, possibly dangerous, and was certainly not welcome. In the years after World War II, Orthodox music could not be heard in public at all. Such polarity in the treatment of different religious music was based on the criteria of possible liturgical application.[13] This is supported by the fact that the Chamber Choir and Orchestra of Radio Belgrade's performance of Mozart's Requiem in 1953 never raised an eyebrow, compared to the performance of the Belgrade Music Academy Choir three years later, when the sacred music of Stevan Mokranjac was heard for the first time since the War. The choir sang *Tebe Boga hvalim* (We Praise Thee, O God) as an encore "whose declaration was, apparently, particularly unacceptable". This event brought significant political consequences for its participants.[14]

The concert activity of the Belgrade Radio Choir reveals interesting details regarding sacred music performances. In particular, this choir regularly performed sacred music during the seasons of Christmas and Easter between 1939 and 1941.[15] This was stopped after the war as these church feasts were not allowed to be celebrated publicly, so the choir had to change its programme. However, the choir included some of the best Orthodox compositions in its programmes performed outside Serbia, at festivals in Croatia, Macedonia and the USSR.[16] Orthodox church music actually shared the harsh destiny of the Serbian Orthodox Church under communism. Therefore, the relationship between the state and the Church requires clarification.

Based on the Soviet model, the Communist Party in Serbia assumed atheism to be the foundation of its programme and actions. In accordance with the Bolshevik model, a hostile position taken towards religious communities and organizations spread into all religious events, especially those outside their liturgical context. Communists in Serbia stood by Karl Marx's dictum that religion was "the opium of the people,"[17] as well as that of Lenin who said that "every religious idea, every idea about God, even flirting with the idea of God, was despicable wickedness, in whose name millions of sins, evil doings, and countless crimes were committed throughout history."[18]

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[13] Pilipović, op. cit., 169.

[14] Ibid., 168.

[15] Simić Mitrović, op. cit., 306–351.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Radmila Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970 I*, Belgrade, Institute for Newer History of Serbia, Library "Studies and Monographs", Vol. 20, 2002, 109.

[18] Ibid., 110.

Since they could not abolish the Church (as they thought themselves democrats), they started the process of nationalizing its property and its elimination from public life. As well as ideologically, the Church and the regime had opposing views on the political organisation of the state. Historically, the Serbian Church guarded not only the purity of the Orthodox faith, but also the monarchy against which the communists fought before and during World War II. Religious identity in Serbia was associated with national identity, to such an extent that the new regime considered marginalization of the Church to be the only path towards its segregation from society.[19] The Serbian Church came to be in a very undesirable, humiliating position, which manifested itself in the nationalization of its property, closed monasteries, persecution of inappropriate priests and monks, as well as the expulsion of the Faculty of Theology from the University of Belgrade.[20] The Church's greatest problems with the regime were two great schisms within, fabricated by the communist government, one of which has still not been overcome.

The enforced atheism caused the disappearance of church choirs. The famous choir of the Cathedral Church in Novi Sad suspended its work in 1946 on account under oppression from the regime. The choirs' professional singers formed the choir of the newly established opera house in Novi Sad.[21] Church choirs, which performed sacred music at concerts in bigger towns as well as in church services, under these new circumstances were forced to perform in churches or even choir rehearsal rooms. This was the case with the most popular Serbian choir, The First Belgrade Singing Society, established in the mid-19th century. This example explains the conditions in which remaining church choirs worked in communist Serbia. The First Belgrade Singing Society was for many years the most important music institution when there were no music schools, orchestras or opera houses in Serbia. The choir regularly sang at church services in the Cathedral Church in Belgrade and, until the war, performed in the country, as well as abroad, presenting highlights of Serbian culture.[22] The Choir's conductors were amongst the most prominent Serbian musicians, such as Kornelije Stanković and Stevan Mokranjac, while it had the highest-ranking members of the royal family for its patrons. The choir's strong ecclesiastical, national-

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[19]   Ibid., 127

[20]   Cf. Archpriest-stavrophore Dr Radomir Milošević, *Srpska pravoslavna crkva u vremenu i prostoru*, Smederevo, Narodna biblioteka Smederevo, 2009, 99.

[21]   Bogdan Đaković, "Horovi pri Sabornoj crkvi u Novom Sadu", *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku* 15, 1994, 122.

[22]   Danica Petrović, "Osnivanje i prvih šest decenija", in *Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo: 150 godina*, Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Musicology SASA, Gallery of the SASA, 2004, 21–22.

dynastic profile only increased the communists' contempt for it, and the regime was on the brink of destroying the Society's music library, archives and documentation.[23] The choir's repertoire comprised mostly Serbian church and patriotic songs, which did not enjoy the right of public performance in the new state and brought the choir into unjust isolation. Concert performances became in-house or semi-private events, held in the Society's practice rooms or the Patriarchate in Belgrade at best, at which a small number of devoted admirers would gather. The new patron became the Serbian Patriarch himself. Concerts were substituted for visits to the monasteries or singing at the Liturgy in smaller Serbian towns. The services that the choir sang were sometimes held in honour of foreign citizens. In particular, in 1952 in one of Belgrade's monasteries, the choir sang the memorial service to the late British King George VI, as well as a "farewell" service for the retiring British Ambassador.[24] The choir could not become a member of the Cultural and Artistic Societies Association, and the suggestion itself provoked tempestuous reactions amongst the wider public.[25]

Atheism in society proved negative for the recruitment of choir members, especially younger members. Because of various pressures and blackmail, young people preferred to join amateur choirs, the so-called academic choirs. This is why in the Belgrade Singing Society, as well as in those few church choirs, the membership was made up mostly of older singers. All of this affected the reputation of this most celebrated Serbian choir, which, in spite of everything, attempted to organize public concerts. Requests to state concert agencies were not welcome, so the Choir's request to produce a concert to mark 40 years since Mokranjac's death was rejected. The same happened a decade later on the 50th anniversary of Mokranjac's death. However, the regime allowed public concerts when it was in its own interest. A performance on a large scale was allowed after World War II to mark the centenary of the Choir in 1953. Similarly, a performance was allowed in 1969 to mark 750 years of the autocephaly of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The State, with the Communist Party, presented itself as a democratic community in which all were, allegedly, equal, even the Serbian Church, which was the reason why it episodically organised anniversaries, were religious in character.

Under such difficult circumstances for the heritage of traditional music, there were individuals who tried to do their best to improve the situation.

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[23]   Tatjana Marković, Danica Petrović, "Od Drugog svetskog rata do danas", in *Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo: 150 godina*, Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Musicology SASA, Gallery of the SASA, 2004, 29.

[24]   Ibid., 110–111. It is interesting that the choir was occasionally in the focus of foreign reporters, e.g. in 1952, when the reporter of the BBC recorded parts of the Christmas Liturgy.

[25]   Ibid., 111.

Among them were important conductors, composers and musicologists. In 1948, the Department of History of Music and Folklore opened at the Music Academy of Belgrade. One of the initiators of this idea, composer and academic Petar Konjović, "wished for church music to be studied at this department, but, under the circumstances, he could not achieve [this]."[26] One of the most competent experts on Serbian church music was the first Dean and founder of the Music Academy in Belgrade, the composer Kosta Manojlović. However, this pupil and colleague of Stevan Mokranjac and a former student at Oxford was forced to retire, probably because of his admiration for the crown and the monarchy, in the first year of communist rule.[27] Unfortunately, thereafter no noteworthy programme was created in order to study Orthodox Church music at the Music Academy. Despite this, certain teachers did not leave their students short of knowledge concerning Orthodox music, especially Serbian Orthodox music. The conductor and composer Vojislav Ilić contributed most of all to this area, and not only at the Music Academy. For years he led the Academy's mixed choir with whom he gave numerous concerts, conducting some of the world's most important choral pieces. As he was a pre-war student at the Orthodox Seminary in Sremski Karlovci, where he studied church chant, and after completing conducting studies in Germany following which he led the choir of the Faculty of Theology in Belgrade, Ilić shared his knowledge about church music with students as much as possible. In Belgrade, he gave two concerts with the choir in 1956 and 1964 which were dedicated to the Orthodox sacred music. Although the ruling elite thought them suspect, the concerts had almost an historic importance, as they announced the return of Orthodox music to the concert stage. However, the audience abroad, for whom the Music Academy's choir, like the Choir of Radio Belgrade, freely and with great success performed sacred music by Serbian composers,[28] was not suspect at all.

Apart from Professor Ilić, the work of musicologist and conductor Dimitrije Stefanović, of the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, was no less significant for the presence of sacred music in Serbia in the second half of the 20th century. Although the Institute was founded in 1949 for the purpose of detailed research into the importance of Serbian music, in the field of church music no significant results were

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[26] Danica Petrović, "Muzikološki institut Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti (1948–2010)", *Muzikologija/Musicology* 10, 2010, 11.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Katarina Stanković, "Pedagoški rad Vojislava Ilića na Muzičkoj akademiji u Beogradu u period od 1951. do 1980", in *Tradicija kao inspiracija. Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa Vlado S. Milošević: etnomuzikolog, kompozitor i pedagog,* edited by Sonja Marinković and Sanda Dodik, Banja Luka, Academy of Arts of the University of Banja Luka, 2011, 224–228.

achieved in the first two decades. The Institute's Studio Choir has been active since 1969 and with Dimitrije Stefanović, it bravely performed Orthodox music of various traditions during this period, when it was not acceptable or welcome in society. The Choir performed unison medieval chants,[29] as well as choral compositions by Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian 19th- and 20th-century composers, not only in Serbia, but also in most European cities.

Serbian composers of that time, living in an atheistic environment, inevitably turned to secular subjects. Professor Ilić's notion that at that time no one composed proper church music confirms that. Composers interested in tradition managed indirectly to create musical works which were not truly liturgical, but whose content was based on certain elements of Orthodox church music. Thus, Ljubica Marić, the leading composer of the post-war generation, incorporated some of the traditional Serbian Church chant modes into her *Byzantine Concerto* and her *Octoïcha* series. As well as Marić, both old and newer Serbian chants were used by Dušan Radić and Rajko Maksimović. In this way, "church music, even in a very transposed form, gained its place on the concert stage."[30]

In the 1960s, a number of important international music festivals were established in Serbia, and still exist. The most significant is the Belgrade Music Festival (BEMUS). An examination of the festival programmes reveals that the organizers tried to include national and foreign artists and varied music eras and styles, from symphonic to chamber, from opera to early music. Occasionally, Western sacred music was performed, but not Orthodox sacred music.[31]

The only place in Serbia where Orthodox music was performed continuously from 1966, without restrictions, was the Mokranjac Days in Negotin, the birthplace of Stevan Mokranjac. At concerts in Belgrade and other cities, only his secular music could be performed, while in Negotin, his sacred compositions were sung regularly. Sometimes concerts exclusively of sacred music only were performed within the festival.[32] The government then did not see it a threat to communist ideology, probably because a festival with such programmes would have been an exception in the musical life of Serbia. In addition, it took place in a provincial town, close to the Romanian border, far from the capital, as the centre of power. From today's perspective, the festival in Negotin seems to have been a musical ghetto. Other than choirs, conductors and a handful of music experts from Belgrade, not many people from other parts of the country attended. The festival meant more

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[29]   Petrović, op. cit., 28.

[30]   Milin, op. cit., 136–149.

[31]   Neda Bebler, *BEMUS memorabilia 1969–2008*, Belgrade, Jugokoncert, 2008.

[32]   Dejan Despić, *The Mokranjac Days Festival 1966–1990*, Negotin, Mokranjčevi dani, 1990, 46.

to the locals who, with concerts, lectures and discussion panels, had an exceptional opportunity to elevate themselves culturally. From the fact that performing sacred music in the town's churches was banned, we can see that communists ideologically did "care" about the locals. Although sacred buildings are the most suitable venues for singing sacred music, at the festival in Negotin this was, with very few exceptions, impossible until the 1990s, when political changes had already taken place in communist countries. As Dejan Despić remarked, "it was unacceptable and nearly dangerous for the audience or political positions of those in charge."[33]

From the 1980s, the state's ideological contempt for nationality and religion within Serbian society slowly started to fade. In fact, it was a consequence of the general weakening of communism and its ideology. Changes on concert stages soon became noticeable. In particularly, one of the turning points was the celebration of the 125th anniversary of Mokranjac's birth. In 1981, the Radio Television Belgrade Choir performed and recorded Mokranjac's most important spiritual works, the Liturgy and the *Opelo* (Requiem). Still, the complete return of sacred music happened in the 1990s, with the fall of communism. Under the new circumstances, characterized initially by political freedom, many church choirs revived their activities and new ensembles were also founded. Some important youth choirs changed their programmes and performance orientation, and some even adopted their old, pre-war names. A general revision of old national values took place, which, amongst other things, returned Orthodox music to public life of Serbia. From today's point of view, "all the fears and prohibitions from the quite recent past seem almost unbelievable."[34]

Serbia paid dearly for its communist experience. Generations of young people were deprived of their own national history in all its aspects, including musical. The crooked and single-minded communist regime produced people estranged from their own cultural heritage. Unfortunately, the end of communism was not the end of the downfall of Serbia, as the 1990s wars brought the end of Yugoslavia. It seems that these cruel transitional processes, which still continue, outdo the negative cultural experiences from the time of communism. The lack of financial means for cultural investment is bringing to an end many Serbian cultural institutions. The state is not capable of protecting young people from an outpouring of bad music and various doubtful influences, so they quickly and easily turn from true cultural treasures to cheap commercial entertainment. Global trends, unfortu-

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[33]   Ibid.

[34]   Ibid., 47.

nately, serve this well. Therefore, Serbia today needs true, dedicated musicians who will propagate musical culture in the best way, just as eminent individuals did in the time of communism.

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Ivana Medić

Echoes of a Distant Past: Serbian Piano Music Inspired by the Orthodox Tradition

Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to Serbian piano music inspired by the Orthodox tradition. After some introductory remarks, I begin the discussion of Serbian art music composers' outputs, starting with Ljubica Marić (1909–2003), a remarkable female composer whose works from the 1950s and onwards, inspired by the Serbian *Osmoglasnik* [Octoechos] opened new possibilities for a fruitful imbuement of piano music with religious themes. This is followed by a discussion of the landmark piano piece *Odjeci* [Echoes] by Vasilije Mokranjac (1923–1984), which served as a blueprint for a host of composers – including the ones whose works will be analyzed here, namely Vuk Kulenović (1947–2016), Svetislav Božić (b. 1954), Miroslav Savić (b. 1954) and Aleksandar Damnjanović (b. 1958) – to seek inspiration in the country's religious past. I have selected diverse works not only because they illustrate the differences in these composers' approaches, but also because they highlight different roles – be it ethical, mystical, nostalgic or escapist – that evocations of Orthodox music have played in their piano pieces.

The Byzantine roots of Serbian church music are beyond doubt.[1] Thanks to the preserved manuscripts from the Middle Ages, church music is by far the oldest genre in Serbian music.[2] On the other hand, the development of Serbian music for the piano is a recent phenomenon: it has coincided with the country's liberation from the Ottoman rule in the 19th century and the resulting urbanization, industrialization and the emergence of the

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[1] Ivana Perković-Radak, "Crkvena muzika", in Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman et al., *Istorija srpske muzike – Srpska muzika i evropsko muzičko nasleđe*, Belgrade, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2007, 303.

[2] Ibid., 299

bourgeoisie, as well as a strong movement towards national unification. The first known Serbian piano piece dates from 1841 – it is a waltz called *A Salute to Serbian Maidens*, written by the composer of Greek descent Aleksandar Morfidis-Nisis (1803–1878).[3] It was followed by a host of salon pieces by Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865), Robert Tolinger (1859–1911), Isidor Bajić (1878–1915) and others. However, by the turn of the century, piano music had given way to other genres, which were lending themselves more readily to the nation-building agenda. Thus, the oeuvres of the most prominent Serbian romantics and early modernists such as Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914), Petar Konjović (1883–1970) or Stevan Hristić (1885–1958) do not contain any piano music.

The two composers who made considerable contributions to the piano repertoire in the period between the two world wars were Marko Tajčević (1900–1984) and Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) They based the majority of their piano works on citations of authentic folk material on the one hand, and simulations of folklore ("imaginary folklore") on the other. Some of Milojević's piano works also bear a strong influence of impressionism (*Kameje* [Cameos]) or expressionism (*Ritmičke grimase* [Rhythmical Grimaces]). However, neither Tajčević nor Milojević wrote piano pieces inspired by Orthodox church music. Another composer, Josip (Štolcer) Slavenski also wrote a number of significant piano works; however, he was born in Međimurje (in present-day Croatia) and brought up in the Catholic faith. Slavenski made reference to Christmas songs from Međimurje in his 1924 Piano Sonata, completed just before he moved permanently to Belgrade.[4]

After the end of World War II, while not officially banned in the new, communist Yugoslav federation,[5] religion (especially Orthodox Christianity) was very much out of favour, and the creation of new religious works stalled for several decades.[6] On the other hand, interest in the ancient and medieval heritage of the Yugoslav peoples was sparked by a celebrated exhibition "Mediaeval Art in Yugoslavia", studiously prepared by Yugoslav art historians and presented in Paris in 1950, which exposed many Serbian artists to the pinnacles of Serbian mediaeval art, including masterpieces of monastic architecture, fresco-painting and poetry. This exhibition was,

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[3]   Dragana Jeremić Molnar, "Klavirska muzika romantičarskog doba", in Veselinović-Hofman et al., op. cit., 405.

[4]   Cf. Ivana Medić, "Problemi interpretacije klavirskog stvaralaštva Josipa Slavenskog", in *Josip Slavenski (1896–1955). Povodom 120-godišnjice rođenja*, edited by Ivana Medić, Belgrade, Institute of Musicology SASA, 2017, 156–157. According to Mirjana Živković, Slavenski converted to Orthodoxy in 1944: Mirjana Živković, "Društveni aspekt izvođenja muzike Josipa Slavenskog", in *Josip Slavenski (1896–1955)*, op. cit., 19.

[5]   The country was officially called the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (from 1945 to 1963) and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963–1992).

[6]   Cf. Predrag Đoković's chapter in the present volume.

somewhat paradoxically, in line with the ideology of socialist realism, which wanted to make use of the country's cultural heritage, including both artistic and traditional (folk and ecclesiastical) legacies. Hence, during the early 1950s Serbia and Yugoslavia demonstrated a greater openness to topics from the distant past, despite constant caution that those could be "abused" for nationalist purposes – which indeed happened several decades later.

Melita Milin argues that in the 1950s and 1960s "the turn of Serbian artists and composers towards the mediaeval epoch could be understood primarily as an expression of their need to see in a new way the value of national tradition and their role in relation to it, to keep alive the continuity between past and present, in other words to enter into 'dialogue' with the passing of time".[7] Moreover, "it is also possible that the restricted cultural and artistic horizons of those years in Yugoslavia, after several years of enthusiasm for the end of the war and the promised prospects, encouraged the spirit to move to the 'not-now', to a kind of 'escape from the present'."[8] This tendency was reflected not only in visual arts, but also in music. Already in the 1950s a new trend emerged within the nascent Serbian musical modernism: namely, an idiosyncratic intertwining of the various neo-styles (neoclassicism, neoexpressionism etc.) with elements of the suppressed Orthodox tradition.[9] This trend was distinguished by the nostalgic/poeticized relationship with the distant past (in particular, the idealized Middle Ages), and the aim of reviving the "archaic" by using contemporary artistic means.[10] This style has proved to be extremely vital and, with some modifications, it has survived to this day. But, while the style has been very apparent in genres such as choral, orchestral and stage music, it has left comparatively little mark on chamber music and music for solo instruments – not so much on account of the incompatibility of the Orthodox chants with the typical demands of instrumental genres, but rather because piano and chamber music have never occupied a prominent place in Serbian art music – which has notably had a preference for vocal genres, on the one hand, and ambitious large forms, such as symphony or cantata, on the other.

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[7] Melita Milin, *Ljubica Marić – Komponovanje kao graditeljski čin*, Belgrade, Institute of Musicology SASA, 2018, 271.

[8] Ibid., 133.

[9] This development paralleled similar tendencies in almost all countries of the former Eastern Bloc. Cf. Ivana Medić, "I Believe… In What? Alfred Schnittke's and Arvo Pärt's Polystylistic *Credos*", *Slavonica*, 2010, 16/2, 96–111; Ivana Medić, *From Polystylism to Meta-Pluralism: Essays on Late Soviet Symphonic Music*, chapter 3 "Towards Postism via Spiritualism", Belgrade, Institute of Musicology SASA, 2017, 85–137.

[10] Cf. Ivana Medić, "Parenting the Piano: Miroslav Miša Savić's *St Lazarus Waltz*", *New Sound* 49 (I/2017), 134.

Milin points out that, for a long time, Serbian art music composers were not aware of the existence of specific Serbian mediaeval melodies, written by educated clergymen; hence, when attempting to evoke the ancient or mediaeval past, they used "more pronounced diatonicism in their works, sometimes archaic modal elements preserved in Serbian traditional music, folk and church, while the texts on which they based their works were taken from the mediaeval poetic treasury, or from newer literary texts with themes from the Middle Ages".[11]

It was only at the beginning of the 1960s that the first Serbian mediaeval melody was transcribed from neumatic notation into modern musical notation and soon performed publicly: *Ninja sili nebesnije* by Stefan Srbin, transcribed by musicologist Dimitrije Stefanović (1929–2020), who took his doctorate under Egon Wellesz in Oxford.[12] Several other works by Serbian mediaeval composers were soon unearthed and transcribed; yet, the rich musical heritage of Serbian and other Orthodox Churches remained in obscurity. Hence, the Study Choir of the Institute of Musicology in Belgrade, founded in 1969 by Dimitrije Stefanović himself, was one of the few ensembles which performed this music, usually in small venues and without much publicity.

Ljubica Marić and her musical "offspring"

The remarkable Serbian composer Ljubica Marić was a true pioneer. Aside from being the first professionally trained (i.e. non-amateur) female composer (and conductor) in Serbia, she was also the first composer, be it male or female, in the post-WWII communist Yugoslavia who dared to write orchestral, vocal and concertante works based on quotations from the *Octoechos* (published in 1908) – a collection of traditional church chants in the eight modes for Sunday services, transcribed and edited by Stevan Mokranjac.[13] While Marić did not write pieces for piano solo based on the *Octoechos*, she did compose one superb piano concerto and a number of other works that inspired subsequent generations of Serbian composers to (re)discover the Orthodox tradition.

According to Melita Milin, the leading expert in Marić's life and work, her period of artistic and personal maturity began in the mid-1950s, with two large-scale works: the immensely inspired and impactful *Pesme*

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[11]   Milin, *Ljubica Marić – Komponovanje kao graditeljski čin*, 263.

[12]   Ibid., 263–264.

[13]   Melita Milin, "Old Serbian Church Music in the Works of Contemporary Composers", *Music and Society in Eastern Europe*, 2006, 1, 96–97.

prostora [Songs of Space] (1956), with lyrics taken from epitaphs found on the tombstones of Bosnian Bogomils, and *Passacaglia* for orchestra (1958). Marić then wrote two pieces conceived as parts of the larger cycle entitled *Muzika oktoiha* [Music of the Octoechos]: *Oktoiha I* (1958–1959) and *Vizantijski koncert* [The Byzantine Concerto] for piano and orchestra (1959). Although a self-confessed agnostic, Marić nurtured a long-standing fascination with Mokranjac's *Osmoglasnik,* which she had discovered before the outbreak of World War II; however, as Milin explains the time after the war "was not conducive to turning to that source, hence all of the composer's new experiences slowly accumulated and settled, only to be purified after several years and infused into a whole series of extraordinary works".[14] Marić wrote another two works for the same cycle: *Prag sna* [The Threshold of Dream] (1961) and *Ostinato super thema Octoïcha* (1963), but the planned finale was never composed. The cycle *Music of the Octoechos* is unique in Serbian music; all constituent parts are connected by the common roots of the musical themes and marked by the composer's individual approach towards the selected melodies from the *Osmoglasnik.*[15] Milin describes Marić's compositional procedure as a set of variations, simultaneously free and bound to formulas, in which Marić "found the characteristics that she herself aspired to – coherence and unity of the whole, with the constant spinning of the new that arises from the previous, but never literally repeats it."[16]

Marić's *Byzantine Concerto* for piano and orchestra is written in three movements, loosely following the structure of Cesar Franck's *Prelude, Aria and Finale.* The movements are subtitled: I "Sound and Ringing", II "In the Darkness and Reflection", III "Rumble and Flash". The composer's vision of the ancient Byzantine Empire is monumental and evocative. In the *Byzantine Concerto* Marić employs melodies of the 2nd and 3rd modes of the *Octoechos,* subjecting them to various modernist compositional procedures and presenting them in a variety of tone colours, often resembling the (Western) baroque instrumentation. A thorough study of the formulas of the Serbian *Osmoglasnik* enabled the composer to construct her own themes, based on the formulas. Unlike the traditional role of the soloist in a concerto, here the piano is often required to "chant" or "ring", to take part in an imaginary "procession", but also to provide "tone painting", using the full expressive range of the instrument.

Marić's other work from the *Octoechos* cycle that features the piano is *Ostinato super thema Octoïcha* for piano, harp and string quintet or string orchestra (1963). However, in this piece, the role of the piano is completely

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[14]   Milin, *Ljubica Marić – Komponovanje kao graditeljski čin*, 15.

[15]   Cf. Ibid., 154.

[16]   Ibid., 156.

different from that in the *Byzantine Concerto*. Specifically, the piano is entrusted with a melody in a uniform quaver movement which is constantly present; with its calm and unperturbed flow, without dynamic nuances or tempo changes, it stands apart from the rest of the ensemble. Hence, in just two works, Marić presented two different, yet "politically correct" (at that time) models of approaching the music heritage of the Orthodox Church and employing it in instrumental music. Milin rightly observes that Marić's imaginary inspiration by Byzantium is not entirely compatible with the quoted material, because Serbian *Osmoglasnik* developed several centuries after the demise of the Byzantine Empire; thus, Milin believes that Marić "wanted to emphasize her connection with a wider cultural area – Byzantine, Balkan-Orthodox – instead of a narrower, exclusively Serbian one."[17]

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Among Serbian composers of the generation born in the 1920s and 1930s, and educated at the Belgrade Music Academy after the end of World War II, only Vasilije Mokranjac, Dušan Radić (1929–2010) and Dejan Despić (b. 1930) devoted substantial creative effort and energy to enriching the modest Serbian piano repertoire. Many of their piano works became very popular, and they are still performed frequently. However, Despić and Radić rarely ventured beyond the tried and tested means of the neoclassical idiom with impressionistic refinement (in the case of Despić) or expressionistic prickliness (in the case of Radić). On the other hand, Vasilije Mokranjac, who was also a pianist, devoted the entire first decade of his professional work as a composer (the 1950s) to piano pieces, which are stylistically heterogeneous, bearing traces of neoromanticism (to be precise, socialist realism modelled after romanticism), impressionism and expressionism, often peppered with folklore inflections – albeit only imaginary folklore, without actual quotations.

After a fifteen-year hiatus from piano music (1958–1973), during which Mokranjac – a well-respected, yet shy and reticent artist – devoted his creative energy to symphonic and applied music, he returned to "his" instrument in 1973, to complete two works: *Echoes* and *Intimacies*. *Echoes* were premiered by their dedicatee, the pianist Dušan Trbojević, and instantly became one of the landmarks of Serbian piano music. The subject matter of this composition could be described as a return to spirituality, a quest for peace and balance which have been lost in modern life. While the work is written around a quotation of a Byzantine chant, its philosophical outreach is not solely Orthodox, but it can be said to branch into other religious and philosophical teachings, from Neoplatonism to Buddhism.

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[17] Ibid., 261.

Echoes is a through-composed work, which contains some elements of the genre of suite, but it can also be said to be loosely structured as a tone poem, because all its eleven movements are joined *attacca*, and some of them are thematically related. The movements are organised based on the principle of contrasts, and the overall dramaturgy is that of an arch which starts and finishes in a slow tempo and with quiet dynamics. Within this arch frame, the dynamic and textural ascents and descents are organised on the principle of terraces. Mokranjac uses a minimum of thematic material to create enormous dramatic tides and massive culminations.

Echoes begin with the quietest dynamics, with perfect fifths in the highest register. This is the first of the many instances of the musical depiction of bells in this work: at the beginning we hear distant and quiet bells. We soon discover that these are church bells, as they are followed by a reference to a 15th century Byzantine hymn *Enite ton kyrion* [Praise the Lord][18] which is attributed to Janus (or Joannis, John, or Ioan) Lascaris (1445–1535), a Renaissance scholar of Greek origin. This hymn, beginning with a prominent ascending fifth followed by a major second, could have been known to Vasilije Mokranjac because, just a few years earlier, a study by a Serbian-American scholar Miloš Velimirović "Two composers of Byzantine Music: John Vatalzes and John Laskaris" was published in New York, and an offprint was available in Belgrade.[19] Another possible source could have been an old Serbian "kinonik" (communion hymn) *Hvalite* [Praise], written by an anonymous "melod" and discovered in a Russian printed book from 1652.[20] This melody is very similar to *Enite ton kyrion,* because it also begins with an ascending fifth followed by a major second (Example 1). Either way, Vasilije Mokranjac uses this musical reference in a postmodern way, as a musical "artefact" which stands for the entire tradition of Byzantine/Orthodox music and ancient times. This is Mokranjac's first work to reveal his interest in the sacred and the spiritual, which had been suppressed in the earlier phases of his career. Although only the first few notes of the hymn are quoted, the reference is very noticeable, and its effect is as if the composer is trying to bridge the centuries, remember some long-forgotten church bells and rediscover his religiosity.

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[18] A recording released in 2016 is widely available: "Enite Ton Kyrion", CD *Golden Orthodox Chants*, The Chamber Choir of St. Peter Cetinje Seminary, conductor Mihajlo Lazarević, Soliton SL 566–2, 2016.

[19] Miloš Velimirović, "Two composers of Byzantine music: John Vatatzes and John Lascaris", in Jan LaRue (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance music. A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, New York, W. W. Norton, 1966, 818–831.

[20] This information was taken from the sleeve notes for the CD *Dragoslav Pavle Aksentijević, Muzika stare Srbije: crkveni napevi od 14. do 18. veka*, Belgrade, PGP RTB, CD 6130020, 1987.

Example 1. V. Mokranjac, *Echoes*, 1st movement, bb. 13–18; *Enite ton kirion* in 15–17.

This movement is followed by a fast, toccata-like one, in which Mokranjac experiments with tintinnabulation. There are thematic links with the first movement, as the second ends with the melody found between the initial bells and the quotation in the first movement. The most striking material in the second movement, however, is an excruciatingly loud segment marked *quasi corni*, which can be heard as Mokranjac's "Tuba mirum" (Example 2):

Example 2. V. Mokranjac, *Echoes*, 2nd movement
bars 20–21: "Tuba mirum";
bars 39–40: cyclic principle (melody from the end of the 1st movement)

The fourth movement contains another reference to church music: however, this time it is not an outright quotation, but a simulation of church chanting. This begins *ppp*, in a single voice, and then it spreads to other "voices" in the piano texture. The texture becomes denser, the tempo faster and the dynamics louder until the chanting resonates, as if trying to break away from the boundaries of the concert hall. The ensuing movements are again dedicated to bells, represented by a different piano texture in each movement (Example 3). The texture can occasionally remind the listener of piano works by Liszt, Mussorgsky, Debussy or Rachmaninov – to name but a few composers who memorably evoked bells in their piano works.

Example 3. V. Mokranjac, *Echoes*, various movements:

a) 2nd movement, bars 14–16
b) 5th movement, bars 1–3
c) 6th movement, bars 2–3
d) 8th movement, bar 19
e) 10th movement, bars 11–21

In the last movement, the melody begins the final ascent. Mokranjac repeats the Byzantine chant from the first movement, the one that everything originated from and to which everything returns. The work finishes with the "heavenly" bells from the beginning, thus completing the arch-like structure.

In this work, Vasilije Mokranjac reveals his inspiration in the liturgy, the rite, and its constitutive elements – prayers, bells ringing, priests chanting, choirs singing. Obviously, Mokranjac does not wish to imitate the liturgy – which is impossible in his chosen medium, the piano. Instead, he takes recognisable elements of the rite and creates a new work of art. At the same time, Mokranjac shares with the listeners his reflections on church service, and shows us how they resonate in his (sub)consciousness. *Echoes* has enabled Mokranjac to bridge different epochs, different musical styles, different ways of living. This work blurs the difference between the old and the new, and depicts a quest of a modern man who finds solace in antiquity and the spiritual. This message became particularly poignant when the composer tragically and prematurely ended his own life in 1984.

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A new stage in the development of Serbian church and church-inspired music started with the emergence of nationalism in all of the Yugoslav constituent republics in the late 1980s, leading to the imminent dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. This development paralleled similar nationalist movements in all countries of the rapidly dissolving Eastern Bloc. A glorification of the Serbian national and religious past, especially exalted in 1989, on the occasion of the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo against the Ottoman Turks, resulted in a number of works written to celebrate it – some of them of dubious artistic quality. Many composers began to write liturgical music, or music inspired by chants or religious texts, but not liturgical in the narrow sense of the word – for example Aleksandar Vujić (1945–2017), Ivan Jevtić (b. 1947), Minta Aleksinački (b. 1947), Dimitrije Golemović (b. 1954), Jugoslav Bošnjak (1954–2018), Svetislav Božić and others. However, not all of them (and not always) used actual chants; instead, they would employ some recognizable "signifiers" or "emblems" of religious music, often quite liberally, whilst they counted on their recognizability in the local cultural setting in order to produce the desired effect. For example, Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman singles out the example of the recognizable voice of the tenor, chanter, icon and fresco painter Dragoslav Pavle Aksentijević (b. 1942) who specializes in performing church music: his participation in the performance of any given work instantaneously produces an association with Orthodox church music

practice, and also gives the work a national aura.[21] Obviously, the familiarity of listeners with Aksentijević's work is a necessary precondition for such an association. Following the examples set by Ljubica Marić's *Byzantine Concerto*, and especially Vasilije Mokranjac's *Echoes*, in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s several composers wrote piano works broadly inspired by Orthodox, Byzantine or mediaeval Serbian traditions, but often without the ambition to actually study the *Osmoglasnik*, or to incorporate citations of old Serbian or Byzantine chants into their works.

Svetislav Božić's given name and surname (Sveti – Saint; Slav/a – Glory; Božić – Christmas) seem to have sent him on a predestined path to make a significant contribution to the genre of Serbian art music inspired by the Orthodox tradition and infused with religious spirit (if not liturgical in a narrow sense). Božić did not study composition, but music theory: he graduated from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade in 1977, completed his MPhil thesis *Modal Harmony in the Works of Composers of the 19th and 20th Centuries* in 1979, and defended his habilitation *Formal and Scale-tetrachordal Characteristics of the Sticheron* Gospodi vozvah [Lord I Cried unto Thee] *in Stevan Mokranjac's* Osmoglasnik [Octoechos] in 1987. He wrote 14 books, mostly in the field of music theory. Having spent his career at the Department of music theory at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, Božić retired as a full professor in 2019. He was elected a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 2015.

Svetislav Božić has composed over 200 compositions in various genres, from solo, chamber, choral, orchestral to vocal-instrumental. Almost all of them embody his consistent, life-long creative orientation based on a personal reception of the music of the Orthodox Church. Actually, his work is based on the preservation and renewal of two vital fields of musical tradition: spiritual and secular, primarily in the genres of choral and orchestral music. His artistic credo is most obvious in spiritual works for mixed choir: *Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, Requiem in G minor, All-Night Vigil* and *Holy Week.* Božić has founded his own publishing house *Rasia* [which can refer both to Old Serbia and Russia] and published a series of works with handsome designs (Figure 1).[22]

In the realm of instrumental music, one of Božić's preferred media is the piano. He wrote a number of piano works inspired by the Orthodox tradition: *Lirika Atosa* [Lyric of Athos] (1988); *Jutrenja* [Matins] (1988); *Stihira* [Sticheron] (1990); *Vizantijski mozaik u devet slika* [Byzantine Mosaic in nine pictures] (2000); *Tri obraćanja minulom* [Three Addresses to the

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21   Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, "Muzika u drugoj polovini XX veka", in Veselinović-Hofman et al., op. cit., 129.

22   See the list of editions on Božić's website: <https://www.svetislavbozic.com/umetnicka-delatnost/note>

Past] (2002); *Četiri proleća u manastiru Gradac* [Four Springs in the Monastery of Gradac] (2002); *Sećanja predaka, sedam etida slika za klavir* [Ancestral Memories, seven etude-pictures for piano] (2005); *Duhovna muzika* [Spiritual Music] (2007).
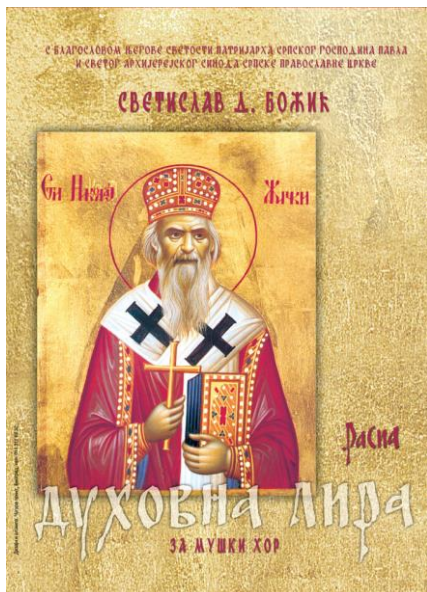

Figure 1. Svetislav Božić, *Duhovna lira za muški hor* [Spiritual Lyre for male choir], cover page of the published score (ed. Rasia)

One of the works that best illustrates Božić's aesthetics is *Byzantine Mosaic*. Its nine "pictures" (i.e. movements) are dedicated to Serbian Orthodox monasteries, some of them dating from as far back as the 12th century: *Kalenić, Gračanica, Bogorodica Ljeviška, Sopoćani, Hilandar, Pantelejmon, Žiča, Studenica* and *Gornjak*. In spite of his in-depth knowledge of Mokranjac's *Osmoglasnik*, in these movements Božić does not employ citations of chants; the music is freely tonal-modal, verging on atonality, displaying many traits in common with the styles employed by Ljubica Marić and Vasilije Mokranjac and, more generally, with Serbian post-war moderated modernism in general.[23] All movements are imbued with recognizable tropes that evoke antiquity and/or Orthodoxy: choral-like textures, simulations of chants, modal harmonies, free/irregular metric divisions, "oriental" modes containing the interval of the augmented second (especially in movements which depict monasteries found in southern Serbia and Kosovo); arabesque ornamentation (ditto); occasional monody or

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[23]   See Ivana Medić, "The Ideology of Moderated Modernism in Serbian Music and Musicology", *Muzikologija/Musicology* 7, 2007, 279–294.

unison movement in all layers of the piano texture; and, last but not least, frequent evocations of bells (e.g. "Gračanica", bars 34–41). These are combined with quasi-baroque textures: free counterpoint, motoric, often toccata-like movements (e.g. the entire movements "Hilandar" and "Žiča"). Božić's other piano suites such as *Four Springs in the Monastery of Gradac* or *Ancestral Memories* feature the same compositional procedures; these are, again, illustrative and evocative sound "pictures", inspired by historical events and the composer's personal memories. Božić thus "invents" the past as if trying to "fill the gaps" in the scattered and often interrupted historical development of Serbian art music.

The same principle of (re)creating (imaginary) past in found in the works of another Serbian contemporary composer, Aleksandar Damnjanović (also styled as Alexandre Damianovitch), who was born in Belgrade, but has spent his entire career in France. Damnjanović studied composition with Vasilije Mokranjac, conducting with Živojin Zdravković and (privately) with Borislav Pašćan, and he also completed a two-year "apprenticeship" with Dimitrije Stefanović, with whom he studied Byzantine music. In 1979 Damnjanović enrolled in composition at the Paris Conservatory and graduated with the highest grade (Premier Prix à l'unanimité) in 1983. From 1983 to 1986, Damnjanović studied choral conducting at the Paris Opera. After graduating, he worked as a choir conductor at the Rhine Opera (Brittany) and as the main guest conductor of the Rhine City Orchestra (later the Orchestra of the Province of Brittany). In 1987, he won the First Prize in the André Jolivet International Competition of Composers in Paris, for the composition *Aeolian Harp*. At the ARTAMA Composer Competition in the Czech Republic in 1998, he won the Special Award for the composition *Christmas Carol*. In the same year, he became the director of a music conservatory in Paris. However, his music was performed for the first time in his hometown of Belgrade only in 2001, and in 2003 a monographic evening was organised in the Atrium of the National Museum in Belgrade.

Although more than forty years have passed since Damjanović's apprenticeship with Stefanović, Byzantine music left a lasting impression on his compositional output. French musicologist Sylvie Nicephor argues that his first mature work is *The Temptations of Saint Anthony* for string orchestra (1996), closely followed by *Folksongs* for soprano and string orchestra (1998), in which the composers uses Celtic and Serbian folk tunes, and *Nativity* (1999), a work that nudged the composer towards revisiting and reincorporating the Orthodox liturgical music that he had studied with Stefanović:[24] "*Nativity*, a cycle of seven Christmas carols for choir *a capella* on sacred texts of St Romanos the Melodist (6th century) and anonymous

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[24] Sylvie Nicephor, "Alexandre Damianovitch: de l' Orient a l'Occident", *Muzikologija/Musicology* 5, 2005, 172–173.

monks from northern Serbia, undoubtedly remains the most Eastern work of the composer, first because the language used is Slavonic, and also because it borrows melodic and harmonic turns from Serbian traditional songs."[25] Damnjanović confessed that "*Nativity* is a partial answer to the question of what Serbian music would look like today if Serbian culture had not experienced the dramatic interruption of 600 years? (…) I filled that gap with the imaginary development of our music; I reconstructed in my imagination all those stages that we lacked, by using our spiritual and folk music."[26] While renewing ties with his Serbian roots, Damnjanović did not sever ties with Western modernism, remaining receptive to stimuli from various cultures. In her analysis of *Nativity*, Ivana Perković shows that Damnjanović freely employs various elements of Orthodox church music, such as *ison* (drone), a narrow range of voices, small interval shifts, occasional highlighting of the augmented second in the highest part that can be associated with the sixth church mode ("glas"), and even elements of well-known melodic formulas from the *Osmoglasnik*; furthermore, the form of each song is based on variant repetitions typical of church music, and the absence of regular metric divisions and fluidity of rhythm and texture also recall chanting.[27] However, as Perković rightly observes, Damnjanović mixes these "Orthodox" elements with influences from folk music (visible in the emphasis on the intervals of seconds and heterophonic voice leading), as well as associations with Latin organum and the early Russian polyphony, not to mention Ligetian micropolyphonic textures.[28] When I interviewed Damnjanović for a book on Serbian art music diaspora, he described his personal and spiritual journey thus:

> Small countries (such as Serbia) are much more pliable than the big ones, thus they can easily succumb to fashions, trying to imitate others […] however, they can rise above their material modesty and reach spiritual heights.
>
> I am a Serbian composer living and working in France. My position and my credo are a synthesis of East and West. I am looking for inspiration in Serbian and Orthodox culture, while constantly looking towards its sister culture in the West, from which I have learned many things (…) I study theology at the Russian Orthodox Theological Institute of of St Sergius; I studied painting for five years at the Academy of Fine Arts in Brittany; I'm getting ready to write a book on music theology. […]

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[25] Ibid., 174.

[26] Ivana Perković, "Aleksandar Damnjanović: *Nativity* for female choir", *New Sound* 22, 2003, 61, cf. footnote 12.

[27] Ibid., 60.

[28] Ibid., 61.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, many people who create and who are attached to their soil do not live on that soil. Being a Serbian composer does not only mean living in Serbia. Bartók remained a Hungarian composer, Rachmaninov was a Russian composer, even when they emigrated to America […] geographical distance does not matter, because the spiritual connection is there.[29]

Damnjanović has written several pieces for the piano (or harpsichord) using Orthodox melodies. The piece *Anastasima* (2018), whose title comes from the Greek word for Resurrection – *anastasis* [ἀνάστασις], was originally written for Trio Pokret (a piano trio from Belgrade), and then rearranged for piano at the request of a Japanese pianist, Yoko Kaneko. Damnjanović here uses the Serbian Easter troparion *Hristos voskrese* [Christ is Risen], which is heard in bars 6–26 in the inner part of the multilayered piano texture. This simple, diatonic melody is adorned with lush melodic embellishments. The composer has written:

> I discovered the melody quite by accident, listening to the link *Paschal Troparion Christ is Risen* via YouTube […] Although this Easter troparion is sung in about 50 languages of different Orthodox peoples, two ways can be noticed in which the text is set to music: one is "vertical", very rhythmic, at a lively pace, agitated, as mostly sung by Russians; the other, on the contrary, is "horizontal," with a very developed, melismatic melody, in a slow tempo, serene, which is characteristic of the Greek way of chanting. The Russian way, in my opinion, expresses the very moment of resurrection, when the tombstone is broken by force, while the Greek linearity is a musical image of calm that evokes the beginning of eternal life. The Serbian melody is of this other type; hence the piece *Anastasima* is meditative […] The same melody is heard three times, in three different ways, in three different spirits.[30]

This tripartite structure is an outcome of the fact that it was originally scored for three instruments, with each one of them delivering the troparion in their own way; when transcribing the work for the piano, the composer preserved the original idea.

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[29] Ivana Medić, *Paralelne istorije – Savremena srpska umetnička muzika u dijaspori*, Belgrade, Institute of Musicology SASA, 2020, 84.

[30] Alexandre Damianovitch, *Anastasima*, <https://damnianovitch.com/test/>

Example 4. Aleksandar Damnjanović, *Anastasima* (autograph score), bb. 5–14; chant in the left hand in bb. 6–11, transfers to the right hand in b. 11

The cycle *Three Meditations* for piano is based on Serbian folk songs from Kosovo; however, in the third *Meditation*, we find a paraphrase of Byzantine chanting with the *ison* on the note G and a folk song, originally performed on a bagpipe: the composer reinforces the similarity between these two styles by emphasising the drone in the low register. The harmonic stability brought by the static character of the drone allows the melody to develop freely. The serenity of this piece is twice disturbed by outbursts that the composer has associated with the scene from the Gospel of John when the angel comes to disturb the surface of the water at Bethesda.[31]

Damnjanović also wrote a three-part suite *Ako te zaboravim, Jerusalime* [If I Forget You, Jerusalem] based on Serbian motifs and the baroque tradition of keyboard music; he is currently writing the cycle *Freske* [Frescoes], inspired by famous Serbian medieval frescoes from monasteries: "Wedding in Cana" from the Kalenić monastery, "Crucifixion of Christ" from Studenica, "Dormition of the Virgin" from Sopoćani, "The Mocking of Christ" from Staro Nagoričino and "White Angel" from Mileševa. His other work dedicated to frescoes from the Serbian monasteries is *Bleu et or* [Blue and Gold] for harpsichord. The title refers to the frescoes from the monastery Manasija (Resava) whose architectural and fresco art is representative of the "Morava school", which flourished at the end of the 14th and the early 15th century, at the time when the Ottoman army invaded the country. Vast surfaces of these frescoes are covered with golden leaves, while the backgrounds of the paintings and the robes of saints, emperors and warriors are covered with expensive blue lapis lazuli (Figure 2). The sinuous and

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[31]   Alexandre Damianovitch, *Trois meditations,* <https://damnianovitch.com/test/>

seemingly "endless" melodic line of *Bleu et or* evokes the finesse of the drawing, the incessant movement of the painters' brushes, and the refined embroidery of the facades of the monasteries of the Morava school.

Figure 2. A fresco "Holy Warrior" from the Monastery of Manasija (Resava), 14th century

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Vuk Kulenović occupies a specific position in Serbian music. He was born in Sarajevo (the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1946; his father was a famous poet, Skender Kulenović, of Bosniak (Muslim) heritage, while his mother was a Serbian actress and film director, Vera Crvenčanin. Both his parents were communists; they met as partisan fighters, members of the National Liberation Army during World War II. After the liberation, the young family lived in Sarajevo for 12 years, and then moved to Belgrade in 1958, when Skender became director of the publishing house "Prosveta". Vuk Kulenović was not brought up in any faith, and in terms of his origin, education and allegiance with various cultural circles, he was a true embo-

diment of the Yugoslav artist. Kulenović's poetics are typically postmodern, absorbing the influences of American minimalism and postminimalism, popular music genres such as jazz, blues and rock, Indian *ragas*, folk music of the Balkans and many others. He was very productive and wrote over a hundred works for various ensembles, including seven symphonies, sixteen instrumental concerts, over thirty compositions for chamber orchestra, chamber and solo works, choral and vocal compositions, oratorios, ballets, as well as music for 12 feature films and numerous theatre plays; however, because of various unfavourable circumstances, many of his large-scale works have never been performed or recorded.[32] After the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Kulenović was classified as a "Serbian" composer, on the basis of his Belgrade address, which he soon swapped for a Boston address – as a winner of a Fullbright Scholarship, he emigrated to the USA in 1992, several months after he had organized protests against Slobodan Milošević's regime. Kulenović spent the rest of his life in the USA and died in Boston in 2017.

Kulenović established his recognizable compositional style early on. He employed a bare minimum of thematic material, which gained potency through numerous repetitions and variants. Ostinatos, figurations, simple intervals, pregnant, almost manic rhythms, drones, simulations of folk tunes and instruments, show up again and again in his works. Since the harmony is often static, and melodies sparse and constricted, rhythm – often irregular – plays the role of the generator of musical energy. Kulenović's masterful shaping of musical time and constant transformation of the same material ensured that his works never fell into banality or monotonous predictability. Kulenović often used similar musical means to musically embody very different topics – be it partisan epics, cosmogonic visions, or darkly humorous fables.

The works by Kulenović that merit mention here were written at a period of great professional and personal turmoil in his life. Unlike many composers who jumped on the nationalist bandwagon in the late 1980s and early 1990s and (re)engaged with Serbian musical traditions (including that of church music) for opportunistic reasons, Kulenović was staunchly opposed to Milošević's nationalist agenda and autocratic regime (which ultimately led to his exile), while he mourned the loss of Yugoslavia, the land of "brotherhood and unity", which he regarded as his true homeland. Kulenović's famously noisy and brutally relentless piano concerto *Boogie* (1992)

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[32] On Kulenović's life and work in the Yugoslav context, and after his emigration to the United States, see: Ivana Medić, "Muzika izgubljene generacije: 'Američka priča' Vuka Kulenovića", *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku* 60, 2019, 139–156; Ivana Medić, "Ispoljavanje ideje jugoslovenstva u stvaralaštvu Vuka Kulenovića", in Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman et al. (eds.), *Jugoslovenska ideja u/o muzici*, Novi Sad–Beograd, Matica srpska–Muzikološko društvo Srbije, 2020, 141–153.

was perceived by many as an expression of hopelessness in that situation and a protest against dictatorship and violence. Yet, at the same time, Kulenović expressed interest in Orthodox and Byzantine spirituality, possibly seeking comfort and a safe haven. In 1992 Kulenović wrote a landmark piano piece *Hilandarska zvona* [Hilandar Bells], followed by another piano piece, *Liturgija kristala* [Liturgy of Crystals] in 1993; the latter was selected to be published in the *Anthology of Serbian Piano Music*.[33]

Hilandar Bells presents a *tour de force*, because the entire piece (lasting about 7 minutes) consists of the onomatopoeia of the bells. It is very likely that Kulenović was inspired by Vasilije Mokranjac's *Echoes*, but decided to take that idea a step further, by eliminating all non-ringing textures and focusing only on the precise reproduction of tintinnabulation. Hilandar (Greek: Χιλανδαρίου) is a Serbian monastery located in the northern part of the Holy Mountain (Greek: Άγιον Όρος), an Orthodox monastic state that has existed for more than a thousand years, located on Athos, the third branch of the Halkidiki peninsula in northern Greece. The Hilandar Monastery, one of the most important centres of Serbian culture and spirituality, was built by Stefan Nemanja (St Simeon) and his son Rastko Nemanjić (St Sava) in 1198; Stefan Nemanja died in Hilandar in 1200. Subsequent Serbian kings expanded and fortified the monastery. During the centuries of Turkish rule, Hilandar was supported by Russian emperors and Moldavian princes in the 16th century, and Serbian patriarchs from Peć in the 17th century. At the beginning of the 19th century, the first modern Serbian state was created, fostering a continuation of the tradition of Hilandar-Serbian relations. The monastery was significantly damaged in 2004 in a catastrophic fire, and the renovation of damaged buildings is currently underway. It is not known to us whether Kulenović ever visited Hilandar; however, it is poignant that he turned to this pillar of Serbian culture precisely at the moment when he was about to leave Serbia, where he had lived for 34 years. Perhaps the bells that he heard in his inner ear warned of the imminent catastrophes that the Serbian people were to endure in the 1990s, with tragic wars, mass exodus, extreme impoverishment and the NATO bombing. And yet, the composer's message can also be read as optimistic: perhaps Kulenović is urging his people to keep the faith and to remember that the Serbs had endured many tragedies over the centuries since Hilandar had been built, but just like the monastery itself, they have proved their resilience and perseverance.

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[33] Various authors, *Antologija srpske klavirske muzike*, Vol. III, Serbian Composers' Association, 2009.

Miroslav Savić – The Odd One Out[34]

Born in 1954, Serbian composer Miroslav Miša Savić (a.k.a. Mipi) studied composition with Vasilije Mokranjac at the Belgrade Faculty of Music. However, rather than following the strictures of academic (neo)classicism, Savić and his fellow students Vladimir Tošić (b. 1949), Miodrag Lazarov (b. 1949) and Milimir Drašković (1952–2014)[35] soon parted ways with the establishment and formed an experimental group OPUS 4, devoted to multimedia artistic experiments in the spirit of minimalism and Fluxus.[36] After several decades of such experimentation, in recent years Savić has returned to more conventional methods of artistic expression. He has written a series of piano works, among them *St Lazarus Waltz* for one or two grand pianos, with or without children's toy pianos.[37]

Since St Lazarus is a children's holiday, the composer's idea was to depict children by using toy pianos, while the grand pianos are "parents". The waltz exists in several versions, with slightly different titles and scored for different combinations of grand pianos and children's toy pianos; all versions are united by the same formal design and music material. Moreover, all versions of the waltz feature multiple layers of musical referentiality, which situate it in the realm of musical postmodernism.

The celebration of Saint Lazarus, also known as *Vrbica* or *Lazareva subota* [Lazarus Saturday], is one of the most cheerful holidays of Serbian Orthodox Church, precisely because it is a children's holiday. It originates in the Eastern Christian feast of Lazarus Saturday. The feast celebrates the resurrection of Lazarus of Bethany and Christ's entry into Jerusalem, where he was greeted by the children. It is celebrated on the Saturday before the holiday of *Cveti*, Palm Sunday – the sixth week of the Great Lent. Parents bring their children, even babies, to the church, beautifully dressed. Children wear small bells around their necks and flowers on their heads; they take part in the procession around the church, and everybody sings the

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[34]   The portion of this chapter dedicated to Miroslav Savić draws on my earlier my article: Ivana Medić, "Parenting the Piano: Miroslav Miša Savić's *St Lazarus Waltz*", *New Sound* 49, I/2017, 123–138, in which I offered a detailed analysis and interpretation of Savić's *St Lazarus Waltz*.

[35]   Other composers, who were not official members of the Opus 4 group, but rather their kindred spirits in the rebellion against the academic establishment, included Miloš Petrović (1952–2010; pianist, harpsichordist, composer and novelist) and Miloš Raičković (b. 1956, composer and conductor, who currently resides in New York City, USA).

[36]   On the activities of OPUS 4 see Marija Masnikosa, "The Reception of Minimalist Composition Techniques in Serbian Music of the Late 20th Century", *New Sound* 40, II/2012, 181–190.

[37]   A collection of his works for one or two pianos was published in 2016: Miroslav Miša Savić, *Animirani brojevi – Animated Numbers*, Belgrade, Vertical Jazz, 2016.

song for Lazarus Saturday. The composer recalls that, growing up next to the Church of St Mark in central Belgrade in the 1950s and 1960s, during the communist rule, he never attended the Lazarus Saturday as a child; he also recalls that his grandfather celebrated the family saint (the so-called *slava*) clandestinely, in a remote village, and that Savić was warned by his parents not to tell his schoolmates about these festivities.[38] He only discovered Lazarus Saturday in the 1980s, after Tito's death, when communist strictures were already in the process of disintegration; and he was happy to take his own children to celebrate it.[39]

In *St Lazarus Waltz* Savić applied a simple yet ingenious constructive principle. The structure of the piece is based on the proportions of the Fibonacci row. Simultaneously, another process takes place, one that is based on the "well-tempered" tradition and sees the main theme go through the entire circle of fifths. In order to "depersonalize" and thus "universalize" his musical "core" or "seed", whilst also denying himself the prerogatives of the "Creator", Savić did not compose the main theme himself, but downloaded a random MIDI file from the internet, and then subjected it to a set of predetermined transformations. Although Savić did not compose the main theme, he determined the proportions of the piece and the type of transformations that should be executed.

The entire piece consists of 144 bars (12x12); each 12-bar section is in a different key. Although Savić does not move his randomly-chosen theme through all 24 major and minor keys, but only 12 modes, this is sufficient for him to encompass the entire chromatic total and close the circle of fifths in ascending and descending motion.[40] The second process that takes place simultaneously with the tonal transpositions, but does not exactly match it, is the development of musical material on the basis of the Fibonacci sequence of numbers, in which every number after the first two is the sum of the preceding two: 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55 etc. As the numbers of the Fibonacci sequence increase, the main theme undergoes increasingly elaborate variation and transformation; all subsequent trans-formations draw on the previous ones, so the entire process appears gradual and "organic", in accordance with the composer's idea to imitate growth in nature. The most drastic alterations occur in the final segment (No. 55 in the Fibonacci sequence), where the piano textures imitate the ringing of church bells. On the other hand, the St Lazarus theme on the toy piano hardly changes at all, except for tonal transformations, if these are possible on the actual instrument used for the performance.

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[38] From my conversation with Miroslav Savić, 28 February 2017, Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade.

[39] Ibid.

[40] See Medić, "Parenting the Piano", for a detailed formal and structural analysis.

Savić shows a kinship with the late works of Milimir Drašković, a fellow former OPUS 4 member. As described by Ivana Miladinović Prica:

> As the result of his need for escapism and his disagreement with the stereotypes of Balkan and Byzantine (musical) tradition as the non-European religious and cultural Other, Drašković created a series of works by fusing Serbian Orthodox church chant, e.g. melodies of the *Osmoglasnik* [Octoechos] notated by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914) in 1908, with improvisation, jazz and rock music – *Prva nedelja* [First week] for three saxophones (1992), *Osam nedelja* [Eight weeks] for jazz ensemble (1995) and *Nedelja* [Week] for electric guitar (1996).[41]

Unlike Drašković, Savić does not use any recognisable "signifiers" of church music, such as *ison* (drone), quotations of chants and such.[42] Instead, in *St Lazarus Waltz*, reference to Serbian Orthodox tradition is only evident in the title of the piece, the melody ("St Lazarus theme"), which is constantly repeated (but, as the composer himself has stated, more like a mantra than an actual chant), and the simulation of bells ringing in the final section of the piece. On the other hand, the overall mechanistic character and humorously dissonant harmonic language of *St Lazarus Waltz* firmly separate Savić's work from the bulk of "neo-Orthodox" compositions.

Another source of subconscious, but undeniable inspiration, that ties Savić both to the Orthodox heritage and to (neo)-Romanticism is the late piano oeuvre of his composition teacher Vasilije Mokranjac. Savić has admitted that, as a young composer, he did not feel a kinship with Mokranjac. However, in recent years, Savić has rediscovered Mokranjac's output, with a renewed appreciation for his neo-romantic and neo-impressionist works from the 1970s and 1980s. And, just as Mokranjac does not attempt to reconstruct the Orthodox liturgy in *Echoes*, but only reflect on some of its constitutive elements – the bells ringing, the priest chanting, the choir singing, prayer – neither does Savić wish to imitate the St Lazarus rite (which is impossible in his chosen medium, the piano); instead, he only evokes a bare minimum of its recognizable elements and creates a new work of art. On the other hand, whilst making reference to his minimalist past, Savić actually deconstructs typical minimalist procedures and assigns

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[41] Ivana Miladinović-Prica, "The background of Milimir Drašković's communication with the cultural Other", in Ivana Medić and Katarina Tomašević (eds.), *Beyond the East-West Divide: Balkan Music and its Poles of Attraction*, Belgrade, Institute of Musicology SASA and Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2015, 225.

[42] Cf. Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, "Muzika u drugoj polovini XX veka", in Veselinović-Hofman et al, op. cit., 129; Milin, "Old Serbian Church Music in the Works of Contemporary Composers", 94.

them a "programmatic" role. In Savić's opinion, the old process music, in which a single process is showcased to be listened to from the beginning to the end, is no longer a viable compositional "ideology". Savić is now happy to interrupt certain processes, to shorten them, to restart them, to let them develop in different directions and, last but not least, to follow his musical intuition, whilst staying true to his minimalist roots.

Miroslav Savić's *St Lazarus Waltz* shows that the composer has reached professional and personal maturity. The different referential layers act simultaneously to create a piece that can be read in multiple ways, such as: the composer's nostalgic reflection on the merry Lazarus Saturday; a nod to Savić's maverick minimalist and experimental youthful works; and a celebration of the piano as an instrument in all of its varieties. Such overt referentiality is quite atypical for Savić's oeuvre in general, and it signals that the composer has reached the stage in his career where he is comfortable with the fact that his strictly minimalist and experimental days are over, and thus feels inspired to re-acknowledge various artefacts from both European and, specifically, Serbian music history. While Savić does not cite any church melodies, or any other elements of Orthodox rites, he does share with the listeners his reflections on the merry spring holiday and shows us how they resonate in his (sub)consciousness. In this way, *St Lazarus Waltz* blurs the old and the new, and depicts the quest of a (post)modern man who finds solace in nature and the spiritual. However, listeners are deliberately left uncertain whether Savić wants to reaffirm and delve into Serbian Orthodox tradition (which is not entirely implausible, given that at least two members of his former minimalist clique, Milimir Drašković and Miloš Petrović, made similar excursions), or whether he is actually parodying countless "new-Orthodox" works, since the only actual citation – the main theme in the grand piano – is chosen completely randomly, and the boundaries between the composer's "true" voice and a mimicry of something else are constantly blurred.

* * * * * *

As we have seen, Serbian composers of music for the piano embodied the inter-permeation of Orthodoxy, music, politics and art in various ways. For Ljubica Marić, it was a question of rediscovering and returning to the source of her culture, and finding a place for spiritual experiences in an agnostic communist society, whilst avoiding vocal music genres with liturgical texts that could have upset communist censors. The same could be said of Vasilije Mokranjac who, although 14 years younger than Marić, lived and worked in a similar context and acutely experienced the loss of spiritual solace, which might have contributed to his tragic and premature departure from this world.

The acrimonious breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s and the U-turn in the dominant ideologies and narratives of that time resulted in many composers resorting to the treasury of Serbian Orthodox music, in order to fulfil the new, nationalist ideological and cultural requirements. However, Svetislav Božić's spiritual search was neither opportunistic nor a passing fad, but a result of a genuine and life-long commitment to his faith and a vision of a Slavic/Orthodox common-wealth; hence inspiration in Orthodoxy has permeated his entire creative output. Aleksandar Damnjanović, on the other hand, resorted to the Orthodox legacy as a way of bridging the gap between himself and his homeland, which he had left as a young man, never to return. The same expatriate sentiment may be felt in Vuk Kulenović's works, written as a farewell to the country that he left for good, at one of the most tragic moments in its recent history. Finally, Miroslav Savić's unexpected, yet wonderfully whimsical inspiration in Orthodox tradition was a product of his personal and artistic maturity, which has allowed him to absorb various experiences and impressions and offer a new synthesis.

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Ivan Moody

Orthodox Church Music and the Politics of the Unpolitical

An examination of the collision of modernist currents in art with socialist politics in the 20th century might be thought automatically to exclude any discussion of music written for or inspired by the Orthodox Church. The difficulty of viewing such music in a modernist context – independent of politics – is neatly expressed by Max Paddison, in discussing Adorno. He speaks of

> the predicament faced by the artist caught between, on the one hand, the traditional demands of the art work for unity and integration (the harmonious relationship between part and whole) and, on the other hand, the loss of faith in any overarching unity on both individual and social levels in the face of the evident fragmentation of modern existence.[1]

Adorno's negative dialectics, in which thesis and antithesis occur without the "overarching unity" created by synthesis, would seem to exclude anything as profoundly engaged with synthesis – the "placing together" of the human person – as Orthodox theology, which is what the art of the Orthodox Church is intended to manifest. Any use of such a vocabulary within quotation marks, as it were, would seem to relativize, recontextualize and possibly ironize it, something that at first sight seems in any case more a postmodernist than a modernist procedure.

However, if one considers the century as a whole, and broadens one's view geographically, a remarkable "porousness" becomes apparent: a po-

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[1]   Max Paddison, *Adorno, Modernism and Mass Culture: Essays on Critical Theory and Music*, London, Kahn and Averill, 1996, 52.

rousness between political alignments that in certain circumstances enabled such music not only to be non-political, but to be part of the dialogue between socialism and modernity. The title of this paper takes its cue from an essay by the British art critic and cultural historian Herbert Read (Figure 1), who wrote an essay entitled "The Politics of the Unpolitical" in which he said,

> The politics of the unpolitical – these are the politics of those who desire to be pure in heart: the politics of men without personal ambition; of those who have not desired wealth or an unequal share of worldly possessions; of those who have always striven, whatever their race or condition, for human values and not for national or sectional interests.[2]
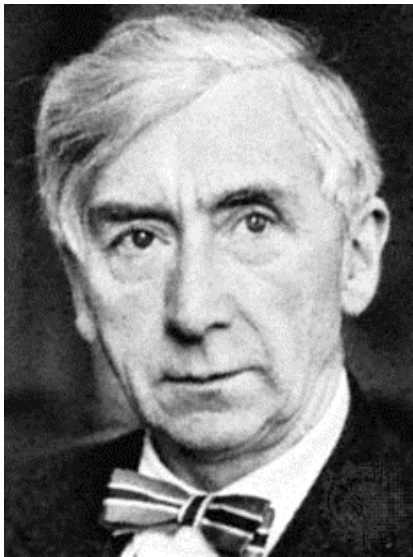

Figure 1.
Herbert Read

Though the idea of writing church music *per se* might be considered an unpolitical act, the fact of writing it at all in adverse political and cultural circumstances requires that it be dealt with from various perspectives, one of which is precisely its positioning with regard to politics, something that varied according to time and place. And it is the ambiguity, the porousness, that allowed the politics of the unpolitical – "those who desire to be pure in heart," as Read has it – to manifest themselves wherever they could in regimes of extraordinary political oppressiveness.

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[2]   Herbert Read, "The Politics of the Unpolitical" in Herbert Read, *To Hell with Culture*, London, Routledge, 1963, 38.

In situations in which church music was actually suppressed, such ambiguity naturally arose only gradually. This was clearly the case with Russia: what Marina Frolova-Walker has described as the "New Trend" in Russian church music had not only reached a climactic point with Rachmaninov's *Vigil* in 1915, but was effectively extinguished by the Revolution of 1917.[3] The choral heritage was maintained "under cover" for an extraordinarily long time, in works by such composers as Georgy Sviridov (1915–1998), Rodion Shchedrin (b. 1932) and Georgiy Dimitriev (1942–2016). Shchedrin's *Zapletchatlennyy Angel* (1988) is a particularly successful example of a disguised religious work, and one that was awarded the Russian State Prize by Boris Yeltsin in 1992. Such tactics were not approved of by all, as may be seen from the comments of Edison Denisov (1929–1996). Denisov never had an easy relationship with the Soviet authorities, being denounced as a Western-inspired modernist by Tikhon Khrennikov for his 1964 cantata *Le soleil des Incas*, and famously blacklisted with Elena Firsova, Dmitri Smirnov, Alexander Knaifel, Viktor Suslin, Vyacheslav Artyomov and Sofia Gubaidulina, and he was scathing about colleagues who changed magically from hard-line communists into religious composers:

> There are in Russia composers who used to write works to the glory of Lenin, and who have today become very religious. They now write Orthodox music: I think that one must not believe in such men, these chameleons who change position so quickly. [...] Shchedrin, Dimitriev, for example. I do not believe that they are sincere when after having written works such as *Lenin in the Heart of the People* and *On Reading Lenin's Book, The State and Revolution*, they compose two or three years later liturgical pieces on Russian Orthodox texts.[4]

Denisov's own attitude was that "true music is always spiritual music", and that he had "written many works which do not employ a text, and which are

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[3]   Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2007, 299.

[4]   "Il y a en Russie des compositeurs qui jadis ont écrit des oeuvres à la gloire de Lénine, et qui sont devenus en quelques jours très 'réligieux'. Ils écrivent maintenant de la musique orthodoxe. Je crois qu'il ne faut pas croire de tels hommes, ces caméléons qui changent si vite de position (…) Chedrine, Dimitriev, par example. Je ne crois pas qu'ils soient sincères lorsqu'après avoir écrit des oeuvres comme Lénine dans le choeur du peuple ou En lisant le livre de Lénine, l'Etat et la révolution, ils composent deux ou trois ans après des pièces liturgiques sur les textes orthodoxes russes." Edison Denisov, Jean-Pierre Armengaud, *Entretiens avec Edison Denisov. Un compositeur sous le régime soviétique*, Paris, Editions Plume, 1993, 134–135. (Translation by I. Moody.) More on Denisov's own religious work may be found in Ivan Moody, *Modernism and Orthodox Spirituality in Contemporary Music*, Joensuu–Belgrade, ISOCM–Institute of Musicology SASA, 2014, 111–115.

perhaps more spiritual than the works I have written on religious texts,"[5] a singular observation if one takes into account the vast dimensions of such overtly religious works as the *Requiem* (1980) and the oratorio *Istoriya zhizni i smerti Gospoda nashego Iisusa Khrista* [The Story of the Life and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ] for tenor and bass soloists, choir and orchestra, completed in 1992. In this latter, the liturgical element is to the fore; while the soloists sing in modern Russian, the choir parallels the unfolding of the story with sections from the Eucharistic Liturgy in Slavonic, suggesting the symbolic interpretations of the Liturgy as the Life of Christ by mediaeval commentators such as St Nicholas Cabasilas (1319/23–after 1391). The impossibility of creating such a work in earlier years is impressively compensated for both by this openness and by the sheer scale of the piece.

The situation outside the Soviet Union proper was different, partly for reasons of geographical distance and partly on account of the more recent establishment of national identity. Modernism in both Bulgaria and Serbia appeared in reaction to very recently-established traditions of art music. In Bulgaria this development of national consciousness had been made possible by the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1778, which brought to an end five centuries of Ottoman domination, and the Third Bulgarian State was proclaimed, initially as a principality, in 1878. That tradition of art music is generally seen as having been crystallized in the work of Pancho Vladigerov (1899–1978). He was born in Switzerland and studied in Germany, before moving to Bulgaria, and thus his melding together of Bulgarian nationalist tendencies and the classicism of his German training was entirely natural.

Born in the same year as Vladigerov, however, was one of the most articulate advocates of modernism in Bulgaria, the architect and writer Chavdar Mutafov; he died much earlier than his contemporary, in 1954 (Figure 2). He too studied in Germany, but returned to his native country with a mission, that of bringing avant-garde ideas to the Bulgarians. He travelled round the country giving lectures on modernism in art and architecture, film and music, publishing generally in the provocative arts journal *Zlatorog* (Golden Horn), which was published from 1920 to 1943, and was fundamental in furthering modernism in Bulgarian writing and in developments in art criticism, particularly that of Sirak Skitnik (1893–1943).[6] Mu-

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[5]   "J'ai écrit beaucoup d'oeuvres qui n'ont pas recours à un texte, et qui sont peut-être plus spirituelles que les oeuvres que j'ai écrites sure les texts religieux"; "l'*Ecume des jours* [...] est également une ouevre profondément spirituelle, religieuse car ma conception de *l'Ecume des jours* est tout à fait contraire à celle de Boris Vian"; "Mais pour moi, la vraie musique, c'est toujours de la musique spirituelle", Denisov, Armengaud, op. cit., 131.

[6]   See, *inter alia*, Charles A. Moser, "The Journal Zlatorog and Modern Bulgarian Letters", *The*

tafov's work in this area was drastically curtailed by the communist author-
ities, but the last few years have seen an exponential explosion of interest
not only in his work but in the entire ethos of the artists and writers associ-
ated with *Zlatorog*.[7]

Figure 2.
Portrait of Chavdar Mutafov by Ivan Iliev

It was not until the later 1940s that avant-garde thought began to appear in
Bulgarian music. Composers such as Konstantin Iliev (1924-1988), Lazar Ni-
kolov (1922–2005), Georgi Tutev (1924–1994), Vassil Kazandzhiev (b. 1934)
and Ivan Spassov (1934–1996) were brave enough to risk the ire of the Com-
munist Party, which championed socialist realism.[8] Iliev was in fact a pupil
of Vladigerov, but also studied with Alois Hába in Prague, an experience that
left a deep impression on him. He composed prolifically – his output in-
cludes two operas, a ballet, six symphonies, four string quartets and a great

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Slavic and East European Journal Vol. 7, no. 2 (Summer 1963), 117–133, and Dimit'r Av-
ramov, "Sirak Skitnik: Aspekti na negovata estetika," <http://kultura.bg/web/сирак-
скитник-аспетки-на-негова-ест/>

[7]   For a brief biographical summary, see the article by Katia Mitova-Janowski previously
available at <http://www.customessay.net/essay-encyclopedia/Chavdar-Mutafov-
Essay.htm> There is also a discussion of Mutafov's influence on modernism in Bulgaria in
Nadezhda Tsocheva, *Chavdar Mutafov i b'lgarskata kultura mezhdu dvete svetovni voini*, So-
fia, Iztok-Zapad, 2008.

[8]   For a detailed analysis of the phenomenon of socialist realism as it affected Bulgarian lit-
erature, see Plamen Doynov, "The Sovietization of Bulgarian Literature and the 'Bulgari-
zation' of Socialist Realism", *Studia Litteraria Universitatis Iegallonicae Cracoviensis* 10,
2015, 333–345.

deal of chamber and choral music – and was also very prominent as a conductor, and it was this that enabled him to continue to work: his first experiments with new techniques took place in the provinces, in Ruse and Varna, where he was comparatively free from political interference. It was in 1968 that everything changed, with the notorious première of his orchestral work *Fragmenti*. The clear suggestion of Bulgarian folk music in the actual musical material was overlooked on account of the way in which it was treated, aleatorically and serially. Vladigerov was one of those deeply unimpressed by the music, but the work was a huge public success, and the composer had to return to the stage to take a bow seven or eight times.

What, then, constituted Bulgarian identity? The position of Vladigerov and the other luminaries who walked out at the end of *Fragmenti* clearly showed that for them, whatever it actually was, it was incompatible with the radicalism of a musical vocabulary such as that of Iliev. The same question resonated in the field of church music, in that, though nobody in the 1940s was proposing anything as radical as Mutafov or Iliev, the persecution of the Orthodox Church from 1944 onwards meant that anything that brought sacred music to the fore was immediately crushed: no "concert composer" was able to demonstrate any identification with Christianity, and even the work of the famous Filip Kutev (1903–1982) with the *Bolgarsky rospev* [9] was really part of his radical reimagination of Bulgarian traditional music. As Spas Raikin wrote in 1988,

> The Bulgarian Church has preserved its nationalism, but, lacking broad popular support and independent means of self-support, it has settled for a precarious existence. In the mid-1980s, it functions as a propaganda tool for the regime, which is actively working to extinguish all traces of religion at some point in the future. [...] The Church serves the communist government with more zeal and more obedience than it had displayed towards any of the prewar princes.[10]

The extraordinary philosophical contortions of Atanas Bozhkov, the author of the sleeve-notes for Boris Christoff's 1979 recording of Grechaninov's *Liturgia Domestica*, not only exemplify this intensely nationalist approach, but do so in a context that may be thought to be at the very least bizarre, bearing in mind that Grechaninov was of course Russian. He wrote:

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[9]   See, especially, Elena Toncheva and Stefan Kozhukharov, *Bolgarskii rospev*, Sofia: Association of Bulgarian Composers, 1971.

[10] Spas T. Raikov, "The Bulgarian Orthodox Church", in *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Pedro Ramet, Durham, Duke University Press, 1988, 179–180.

> All those who have seen [Christoff] with his eyes fixed on the minia-
> tures of the Madrid Manuscript of Skilitzes or on the Chronicle of Ma-
> nasses in the Vatican Library, all those who have witnessed his unex-
> pected outbursts when faced with forgeries of historical truth, or the
> consequences of nihilism, can clearly understand that in this particu-
> lar case he is not imploring but insisting. His exquisite voice seems to
> become richer because of the moral reflexes of raptures which have
> accumulated over a long period of time, due to suppressed sufferings
> and fine perceptions, and that is why the words he utters have a con-
> quering firmness: the Bulgarian people must be saved from every en-
> emy, they must be preserved! These words are perhaps sufficient to
> impart a patriotic tinge to the entire Liturgy.[11]

One wonders whether such herculean efforts at justification would have
been necessary had Christoff recorded music by a Bulgarian composer.

Later composers, notably Alexander Tekeliev (b. 1942), Velislav Zaimov
(b. 1951), and Ivan Spassov (1934–1996) were freer to begin to work with the
riches of Bulgaria's sacred music. Spassov is particularly interesting in the
way he used traditional Bulgarian music as structural building-blocks,
working with the principle of serially-derived varied repetition of extremely
small cells, not unreminiscent of Iliev's technique. His outpouring of music
to sacred texts, which never rejects the modernist language he had previ-
ously developed, however, avoided the genuinely liturgical, and began for
personal reasons, after the death of his daughter Ioana, in 1991.[12]

Serbia had its equivalent of Mutafov in the avant-garde theorist Ljubo-
mir Micić (1895–1971), who in the 1920s began attacking the "Byzantine
modernism" that had been dominant in the arts hitherto (Figure 3). He
founded the Zenit group in 1921; this was intended to further a new, radical
aesthetic and a revolutionary social agenda in the new state of Yugoslavia
which had been created three years before, in 1918. Micić promoted his
ideas in the periodical *Zenit*, inspired by various European modernist cur-
rents (such as futurism and dada), but in combination with a decidedly So-
viet orientation which was disagreeable to many of more traditional bent.[13]
Zenit proved, in fact, to be of great interest to many Russians, including Va-
sily Kandinsky, Anatoly Lunacharsky and Vladimir Mayakovsky.

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[11]   Atanas Bozkhov, "An Important Contribution in the Musical Life of our Age", sleeve notes
to Grechaninov, *Liturgia Domestica*, Balkanton BXA10371-72 2LP, 1979.

[12]   Further on Spassov, see Ivan Moody, "Spirituality and Technique in the Music of Ivan
Spassov", *Bulgarian Musicology* 4, 2014, 19–24.

[13]   For a concise survey of the advent of modernism in Serbian painting, see Steven A. Mans-
bach, *Modern Art in Eastern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, 226–
235.

It is worth recalling here the words of the historian Peter Sugar, who noted that "Eastern Europe was in a state of semimodernity beginning with the first movements to change its social-political-economic structure in the second half of the eighteenth century until 1948." He went on to say that,

> ... a semimodern society resembles an acrobat suspended by his toes and fingertips between two chairs continually being pulled further and further apart. When that circus act is performed by an unwilling star, and most people in any society undergoing change are unwilling acrobats, they naturally tend to recall the prestress situation with longing; they see it as a peaceful ideal, and hope to land in its midst again, not between two, but on the older chair, when the stress becomes unbearable.[14]

Figure 3.
Ljubomir Micić in 1925

Such acrobatics in the arts produce what has been described as the "moderated modernist." This term seems to have been first used by Adorno

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[14]   Peter F. Sugar, "Ethnicity in Eastern Europe", in *East European Nationalism, Politics and Religion*, Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 1999, II, 4–5 [424–428].

("gemässigte Moderne"),[15] inevitably pejoratively, but has since gained wider (and more positive) currency following its use by Hermann Danuser in his 1978 article "Tradition und Avantgarde nach 1950."[16] It is a particularly useful term to describe a large amount of music written by composers who began their careers just after the Second World War and the wide acceptance of the more fundamental challenge to modernism known as postmodernism. Certainly, between the polemics of a Mutafov or a Micić and the postmodern promise of today, there are many examples of composers who in fact never entirely decided that they were either willing or unwilling acrobats.
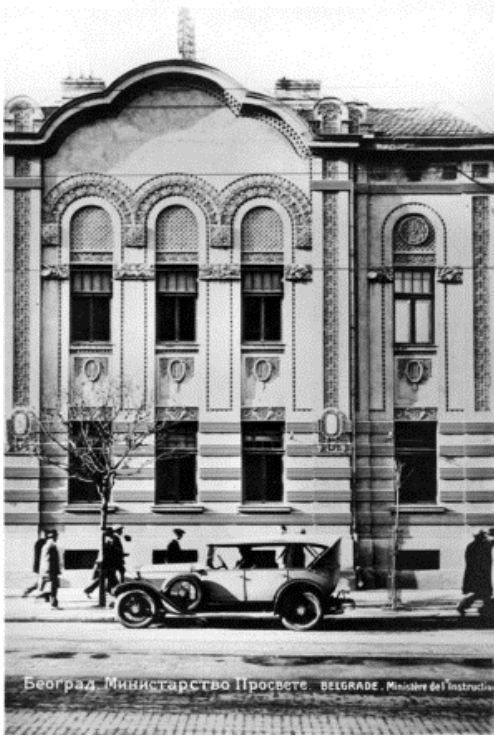
Figure 4.
Branko Tanazević: Ministry of Education, Belgrade (nowadays: The House of Vuk's Legacy)

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[15]   See various essays in Theodor Adorno, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley, etc: University of California Press, 2002, especially "The Aging of New Music" and "On the Social Situation in Music."

[16]   In Reinhold Brinkmann, ed., *Die Neue Musik und die Tradition*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Neue Musik und Musikerziehung Darmstadt, 19, Mainz, 1978, 22–54. See, further, Ivana Medić, "The Ideology of Moderated Modernism in Serbian Musicology", in *Muzikologija/Musicology* 7, 2007, 280, and "Moderated Modernism in Russian Music after 1953" in *Rethinking Musical Modernism*, ed. Melita Milin and Dejan Despić, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, 2008, 195–204, as well as Vesna Mikić, "Aspects of (Moderate) Modernism in the Serbian Music of the 1950s" in ibid., 187–194.

Turning again to the situation in Serbia, composers of sacred music born in the 1880s, such as Petar Konjović (1883–1970), Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) and Stevan Hristić (1885–1958), already active when Micić burst upon the scene, were certainly more conservative in outlook than he, and benefited hugely from the research and compositional activity into Serbian "folk" chant of the earlier collectors and composers Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865) and Stevan Mokranjac (1856–1914), though they were in fact able to take this national project in new directions. Though there is no exact parallel with the "Byzantine modernism" of architects such as Branko Tanazević (1876–1945) (Figure 4), there is nonetheless a clear concern with reconciling the modern with the traditional.

Konjović's concert music defined him clearly as a "moderated modernist"[17] in the ritualistic folk primitivism of such works as *Kestenova gora* of 1938. Nadežda Mosusova has noted that, "[t]he modernism of Serbian musicians did not threaten tradition, i.e., the general European tradition of classical music, because the Serbian tradition in art music before and after the First World War was new, and tradition in the performing arts slight and negligible"[18].

This is an important observation: as was generally the case in the Balkans during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, modernism arrived precisely at the time when the new nation-states were coming into existence, their spiritual and artistic traditions dating from before the Ottoman conquest and thus coming into direct and fascinating collision with avant-garde currents from the countries in which artists from these new countries went to study.

However, in spite of the open-minded spirit in the work of composers active in both fields, attempts to maintain high levels of church music began to suffer from the impossibility of performances of a consistently high standard, so that the musical horizons of those composers in Serbia interested in choral music became gradually less defined by the parameters of contemporary church singing. The situation of the Serbian Orthodox Church between 1945 and 1955 was extremely difficult, Belgrade acting severely towards clergy for the slightest infraction, while anti-religious infractions were barely punished at all, as the mob attack on Bishop Nektarije of

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17 See Medić, "The Ideology of Moderated Modernism in Serbian Musicology", 279–294, Ivan Moody, "Tradition and Modernism in Serbian Church Music in the 20th Century" *Orientalia et Occidentalia Vol.6: Stav Výskumu Mukačevsko-Užhorodského Nápevu*, Košice, Slovakia, 2010, 195–199 and Ivan Moody, "Interactions between Tradition and Modernism in Serbian Church Music of the 20th Century", *Muzikološki zbornik/Musicological Annual*, XLVII, 2011, 217–224.

18 Nadežda Mosusova, "Modernism in Serbian-Yugoslav Music", in *Rethinking Musical Modernism*, ed. Melita Milin and Dejan Despić, Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2008, 119.

Tuzla in 1953 demonstrates – he had simply made the point that the Law on the Status of Religious Communities passed in that year specifically permitted the holding of religious services.[19]

It is nevertheless important to note that the production of church music in Serbia up to the beginning of the Second World War far outweighed that of Russia after 1917.[20] There were, in any case, also some notable exceptions to the general tendency towards decline, such as Hristić's *Opelo* and a few elaborate settings of the Liturgy, including that written in 1931 by Marko Tajčević (1900–1984) and, even more, the highly idiosyncratic settings from 1925 by Milenko Živković (1901–1964) and 1938 by Milivoje Crvčanin (1892–1978), both of which show a genuine concern for the integration of modernism within the context of sacred music.[21]

Petar Konjović, writing in 1954, noted that,

> The basic creative reasons which gave rise to newly-written sacred choral music of that time may be divided into three categories: a) the experience of church music as an exotic folk material, which needed to be shaped in a new way, b) a free and transformed poetic relationship between liturgical text and music, and, probably the least important of all, c) inspiration proceeding from profound religious feeling.[22]

Crvčanin was in fact a composer who corresponded exactly with this last category, being also a priest of the Orthodox Church; but in general, as in Bulgaria, Herbert Read's "purity of heart" was not necessarily spiritual in the work of choral composers. It was rather more often a complex interweaving of nostalgia and nationalism. Church music was part of that porousness not only between political alignments, but between more purely artistic ideologies. As Read also noted,

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[19] See Pedro Ramet, "The Serbian Orthodox Church", in Pedro Ramet, ed., *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1988, 240.

[20] See Bogdan Đaković, "Serbian Orthodox Choral Music", 179 and Ivana Perković-Radak, "Crkvena muzika", in *Istorija srpske muzike – Srpska muzika i evropsko nasleđe*, ed. Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman et al., Belgrade, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2007, 297–330.

[21] See Bogdan Đaković, "The Modern Traditionalist Milivoje M. Crvčanin (1892–1978)", in *Composing and Chanting in the Orthodox Church: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Orthodox Church Music*, Joensuu, University of Joensuu/ISOCM, 2009, 191–198, Perković-Radak, op. cit., 328, and Bogdan Đaković, "Rediscovering a Serbian national style: Problems in sacred architecture, church art and church music in the late 1930s: The case of the Orthodox choral music of Milenko Živkovic (1901-1964)", in *Church, State and Nation in Orthodox Church Music: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Orthodox Church Music*, Joensuu, University of Joensuu/ISOCM, 2011, 306–312.

[22] Petar Konjović, *Miloje Milojević – kompozitor i muzički pisac*, Belgrade, Institute of Musicology SASA, 1954, 102; quoted in Đaković, "The Modern Traditionalist…"

> …art, in its essence, is independent of politics – as, indeed, it is independent of morals and all other temporal values. […] There is nothing specifically aristocratic about [genius] – it seems to be absolutely arbitrary in its manifestations, and can as likely visit the peasant's croft as the palace or academy. That is why it is illogical to associate it with political freedom. The artist enjoys freedom and is harassed by tyranny. But there is no reason to suppose that a democratic system of government, so-called, is any more favourable to the prevalence of art than the systems we call aristocratic, oligarchic or totalitarian.[23]

He would have found confirmation of his words in the mere existence of so much art – politically independent art – in the totalitarian regimes under discussion in this volume; the porousness of that political independence in its historical and geographical context, however, is quite another question.

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[23] Herbert Read, *To Hell with Culture*, xxvi, xxvii

   on Orthodox Church Music, Joensuu: University of Joensuu/ISOCM: 306–312.

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Paolo Eustachi

The Influence of Orthodoxy on Russian Cinema and Soundtrack

When watching the films of Andrei Tarkovsky (1932–1986), the spectator cannot help being impressed by the strong spiritual insight they convey. The influence of religion on the Russian director's output is of considerable importance and in a way also surprising, as he was an artist from a country which at that time was dominated by Soviet ideology. When I first saw his autobiographical film *The Mirror* (Mosfilm, 1974), in France in 1978, I was spellbound and astonished by its strong religious hints, in particular the final shot in which we see Tarkovsky's mother Maria Vishnyakova Tarkovskaya walking with her children Andrei and Marina in a stunning country setting dominated by a telegraph pole in the shape of a cross and backed by the choral "Herr unser Herrscher: from the St John Passion by Bach.

The visionary power of his films strongly recalls the contemplative visions related to icon painting, which is such a strong component of Orthodox Christianity. The film about the great monk-icon painter Andrei Rublev (Mosfilm 1966) raises profound religious, existential and moral questions. Tarkovsky's artistic outlook is deeply related to the Russian spiritual tradition which sees the acquisition of Holy Spirit as the main aim of Christian life. In particular, this Russian religious perspective differs greatly from the western Catholic standpoint whereby moral integrity is considered as the main purpose of a man striving to attain a holy life.

According to the Russian tradition the moral issue is only a single aspect of a more complex question which is represented by the spirit of God, the invisible power which guides mankind towards the acquisition of eternal life. According to St Theophan the Recluse (1815–1894), an important figure in Orthodox spirituality, every human being possesses an inner aesthetic feeling which helps in the understanding of the purpose of life and of the world around us. Indeed, aesthetic research into spiritual and existential insight of the world appears in almost all of Tarkovsky's films. In particular

the Sophianic contemplative tradition seems to have produced a strong impact on the director's artistic outlook. Sophia means understanding, and represents the ultimate contemplative vision which leads mankind to grasp the mystery of creation and in this respect transcends any sensual or intellectual approach. This Sophianic vision is only granted to 'pure souls:' "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matthew, 5, 1–12).

Particularly significant in Russian Christianity is the figure of *yurodivy* (holy fool) who appeared in the middle of the sixteenth century under the special historical circumstances arising from the holy alliance between Tsar Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) and the head of the Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Macarius. These figures had bright and illuminated minds, led a segregated and ascetic existence, away from the earthly comforts of normal social living and used openly to denounce the corrupt and sinful behaviour of the political and social establishment, in particular of those people who seemed to have lost the fear of God.

The way to the Cross, the sacrifice for the redemption of mankind, quotations from and hints of the Book of Revelation, an apocalyptic background, are aspects which regularly emerge in Tarkovsky's output and mainly in his works *Stalker* (Mosfilm 1979), *Nostalghia* (Sovinfilm, Rai 2 1983) and *The Sacrifice* (Argos Film Paris, Svenska Filminstitutet Stockholm 1986).

The figure of the holy fool (*yurodivy*) is portrayed in a masterly way in the different shading and profound devotion of the offering of their lives by the characters Red Schuchart[1] (*Stalker*), played by Alexander Kaydanovsky, Domenico (*Nostalghia*) and Alexander (*The Sacrifice*) both played by the late Erland Josephson.

Particularly impressive is the spiritual insight of the closing images of *Stalker*, which through a terrific slow motion tracking shot reveal the defective Stalker's daughter, named Martyshka (little monkey) with her dreamy face resting on the table staring at some glasses and gradually making them move… This is the telekinetic power stemming from the daunting 'Zone' where she has grown up but also the strength arising from a boundless faith:

> Because you have so little faith. Truly I tell you, if you have faith as small as a mustard seed, you can say to this mountain, 'Move from here to there,' and it will move. Nothing will be impossible for you. (Matthew, 17:14–20)

Tarkovsky had a strong predilection for Bach, whose music we find in the soundtrack of *Mirror* (the St John Passion), *Solaris* (Prelude in F minor BWV

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[1] The main character of the novel *Roadside Picnic* by Arkadi Strugatsky (1925–1991) and Boris Struagtsky (1933–2012), by which the film *Stalker* was inspired. The Strugatsky brothers made a valuable contribution to the creation of the final version of the script.

639) and *The Sacrifice* (The St Matthew Passion) and which is applied to the image with the aim of establishing a kind of poetic refrain which meets in masterly fashion the inner spiritual tension of his creation. According to Tarkovsky, music should not merely serve the purpose of portrayal and simply support or emphasize the emotional impact of particular shots. His ideal soundtrack would, rather, be based on immanent natural sounds and noises pertaining to the life of the surrounding world: flowing water, snow falling, wind blowing, birdsong, rustling trees...[2]

In this respect he attached much importance to the vital role that electronic music could play in the shaping of a soundtrack, and found in Eduard Artemyev (1937) an ideal musician. Artemyev developed fascinating sonic suggestions for Tarkovsky, especially for his films *Solaris* and *Mirror*. As far as *Stalker* is concerned, he even came to write ten different scores from which Tarkovsky could choose his ideal matching solution.

The cooperation between the composer Alfred Schnittke (1934–1998) and the director Elem Klimov (1933–2003) may be considered one of the most interesting artistic associations involving music and cinema in the twentieth century. The fact that both were born a short distance away from each other in the Volga region within one year and shared a common artistic outlook aiming at developing a new, modern language in music and film-making paved the way for a very close artistic collaboration, which was coloured by a common tragic destiny of censorship, boycott and exclusion.

Both artists were expressions and instances of the so-called *sestidesyat-niki*, the new artistic generation which emerged in the 1960s on the wave of the post-Stalinist thaw. The new film language created by Klimov is very distant from the socialist-realist artistic doctrine aiming to favour easy-going achievements focusing on celebration the Revolution which could be widely and easily understood.

On the other hand, Klimov strives to convey in his work a strong ethical message, together with biting social and political criticism in his handling of daring and controversial themes, and adopting at the same time a very eccentric and personal style charged with great psychological introspection. The far-reaching intellectual power and expressive intensity which mark his films is almost always beautifully matched by the impressive scores composed by Schnittke, officially banned for his modernist language but at the same time widely appreciated in cinematic circles, and in particular at Mosfilm Studios, for his artistic qualities and commitment to the large screen, which led him to write over sixty soundtracks, cooperating with several prominent directors including Alexandr Askoldov (1932–2018), Lev Atamanov (1905–1981), Iliya Averbak (1934–1986), Gavril Eziazarov (1916–

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[2]   Andrej Tarkovskij, *Scolpire il tempo*, Florence, Istituto Internazionale Andrej Tarkovskij, 2015.

1988), Andrei Khrzhanovsky (b. 1939), Yury Kara (b. 1954), Alexander Mittà (b. 1933), Mikhail Romm (1901–1971) and Mikhail Schweitzer (1920–2000). Worth mentioning in particular, owing to its inner metaphysical quality is the final sequence of *Sport, Sport, Sport* (Mosfilm 1970), a documentary feature, magisterially directed by Klimov, a firmly lay artist, who shows here a surprising religious longing. The work focuses on inflated training practices in sports competitions, often carried beyond legal boundaries. We see at the end of the film the legendary barefooted athlete Abebe Bikila, and we hear the compelling words of a poem written by Bella Akhmadulina. He runs ahead towards an invisible finishing line, express the true longing of mankind to strive towards a higher target, beyond all earthly, fading temptations.

Equally impressive is the film *The Ascent* (Mosfilm 1976), made by Klimov's wife Larissa Shepitko (1938–1979) in which the procession to the scaffold and the carrying-out of the capital punishment of Russian partisans captured by the German army is staged as a strong metaphor of the Passion of Christ. The spectralist character and contemplative power of the score composed by Alfred Schnittke also represents a compelling association with the dramatic insight of the work.

It is important to note that Schnittke dedicated his String Quartet No. 2 to Larisa Shepitko; it was composed in 1980 to a commission from the Evian Festival, and shows his interest in Znamenny chant. The dense texture of the score is based on tonal elements borrowed from Russian Orthodox hymns dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from the collection of Nikolai Uspensky (1837–1889). The dramatic accents of the music are based on a free handling of dissonant polyphony pertaining to Orthodox chant, which acquires a strong symbolic value. The composer asserted that his music is aimed at establishing a great choral impact through a particularly complex performing technique.[3] The harrowing chords of the shattering, driven fourth movement, Moderato, express profound grief for the loss of a great artist and friend.

Between 1974 and 1977 Schnittke composed the four *Hymns* for cello and instrumental ensemble which bear a dedication to four outstanding cellists: Heinrich Schiff (1951–2016), Valentin Berlinski (1945–2007), Alexander Ivashkin (1948–2014) and Karine Georgian (b. 1944). The third *Hymn*, scored for cello, bassoon, harpsichord and tubular bells is closely associated with the film *Daily Stars* ("Dnevnye zvozdy", Mosfilm, 1968) by Igor Talankin (1927–2010). The film is about the poet Olga Bergolts and her intensive social activities during the Nazi siege of Leningrad between September 1941 and January 1944. One of the main features of the film is the glorious

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[3]   *Alfred Schnittke zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hamburg, Musikverlag Hans Sikorski, 1995.

acting of Alla Demidova (1936) in the role of Olga Bergolts, what one might describe as a broad meditation with recitative monologues. Schnittke conceives the piece as an imaginary Requiem for the Tsarevich Dmitry, son of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, murdered in his childhood. Schnittke's language is again strongly marked by dissonant heterophony.

Also conceived as a Requiem and dedicated to the memory of his mother Maria Vogel, who had passed away on 17 September 1972, the Piano Quintet, composed between 1972 and 1976, shows a powerful expressive and spiritual commitment. The second movement, "In Tempo di Valse," was borrowed by the composer for the soundtrack written for Klimov's imposing and controversial film *Agoniya* (1974–1981, Mosfilm). The score was rearranged for large orchestra by the composer in 1978 and renamed *In memoriam…*. Its inward-looking character appears distanced from the outside world; the inner drama does not emerge through contrasts but rather through meditative reflections.

Voices of Nature (1975) is a wordless score for ten women's voices and vibraphone which in its micropolyphony reminds one of the lingustic universe of György Ligeti (1923–2006). At the same, in its evocation of the eternal conflict between God and evil, the music outlines Schnittke's profound inner religious thinking. The score was used by the composer as an impressive contribution to the soundtrack written for the documentary film *And Yet I Believe* (Mosfilm, 1974) by Mikhail Romm. Owing to the death of the great director the shooting of the film, which had begun in 1971, was completed with the final cutting carried out in 1974 by his students Elem Klimov and Marlen Khutsiev (1925–2019). The film represents a gripping and far-reaching depiction of the twentieth century through its historical, political, economic, sporting and social events, upheavals and contradictions.

Ostrov ("The Island") is a film directed by Pavel Lunguin (b. 1949), which was presented at the Venice Festival in 2006, and shown in more than fifty cinemas in Moscow, creating a great sensation on account of its powerful insight and reasserting a topical widespread religious longing. Spectators were fascinated by the figure of the *starets* (elder), Father Anatoly (played by Petr Mamonov), who leads a solitary life in a monastery on the Solovsky Islands, dominated by hard weather conditions and assailed by an endless stormy winter. Father Anatoly possesses miraculous healing and soothing powers and people swarm from the continent with their afflictions to see him and receive comfort. At the same time, he is deeply tormented by a dark happening in his past which prompts him to attempt a cathartic redemption through his penance. The powerful and subtle score composed by Vladimir Martynov (b. 1946) represents a stunning complement to the uplifting and awe-inspiring atmosphere of *Endzeitstimmung* transmitted by this film.

The film on which Znammeny chant had the most tremendous impact is probably the monumental *Ivan Grozny* ("Ivan the Terrible", Mosfilm – Alma Ata Studios, 1943/1958) by Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948). The work deals with the figure of Prince Ivan IV who lived from 1530 to 1584 and named Ivan the Terrible for his ruthless behaviour and intransigent dictatorship. Originally conceived as a trilogy, owing to political and health reasons, the Latvian director was able to complete only Parts 1 and 2. Part 1 scored a great success with the public and within Soviet political circles, and as a consequence it was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1946. Part 2 was initially well received by the Artistic Council of the Ministry of Cinematography but later on unexpectedly banned. The allusions to Stalin's bloody dictatorship were too evident and the film was shelved, to be resumed later on in 1958, three years after Stalin's death.

The music, by Sergej Prokofiev (1891–1953), possesses a stark symphonic character which enhances the visual aspect to Wagnerian operatic dimensions. It certainly ranks among the most compelling film scores ever written in the history of cinema.

The solemn and epic lines of Prokofiev's writing incisively describe the psychic condition of each character and emphasize the inner Hamlet-like and disruptive unsettledness of the main figure. The soundtrack contains a substantial choral sequence not scored by the composer but borrowed from ancient collections and in some cases rearranged, such as 'Spasi, Gospodi lyudi tvoya' ('Lord save thy people') or 'Diven bog' ('Wondrous is God'). Particularly impressive also is the inclusion of a choir *concert* by Dmitry Bortnyansky (1751–1825). Prokofiev succeeds in achieving a masterly blending of the choral sections with his own music, superbly thought-out and able to establish a fascinatingly deep involvement with the film script and image. He avoids a modernist language and develops some lyrical thematic patterns also through the deployment of folk and wedding songs, lullabies and choruses for religious ceremonies and combines them with the powerful rhythmic drive of court dances and military actions. Up to 1997 the music to *Ivan the Terrible* was mainly known in the form of an oratorio conceived by the conductor Abram Stassevich (1907–1971) and based on a compilation of 20 musical numbers derived from Parts 1 and 2 of the work with the insertion of recited sections borrowed from the film. The oratorio has been successfully performed in the concert halls in most countries and is now in the repertoire of many international orchestras.

A first attempt to reconstruct the original film soundtrack including the Russian Orthodox liturgical elements was carried out in 1997 and based on Prokofiev's autograph manuscript preserved at the Glinka Central Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow. It was subsequently published by Musikverlag Hans Sikorski in Hamburg and recorded for a CD published by Nimbus

Records.[4] A more exhaustive approach to the original score was recently under-taken by the conductor Frank Strobel, in the context of a restoration project which involved the Europäische Film-Philharmonie in Berlin, the German TV channels Arte and ZDF and the Sikorski Musikverlag in Hamburg. He and his assistants Joerg Pelitzer and Darja Vorrat submitted the original handwritten autograph score at the Glinka Museum to a minute examination in parallel with the music originally synchronized in the film. This entailed a complex work of screening and extrapolation of the music which was contained in a single track, including also background noises and dialogues; this was successfully achieved by Basis Berlin Postproduktion GmbH.

The comparison showed substantial divergencies of notation between manuscript and soundtrack as well as soundtrack passages which are missing in the manuscript. The resumption and integration of the Orthodox chant sections as originally intended by Prokofiev assumes great importance; this highlights the vital role of the Church and Pimen, Archbishop of Novgorod, in the disruptive power struggle and its dramatic consequencies portrayed in Eisenstein's and Prokofiev's glorious achievement. The complete and restored original score was premiered together with the film, both parts being screened, on 16 September 2016 at the Konzerthaus in Berlin. The Rundfunkchor Berlin, the Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Berlin, and the soloists Marina Prudenskaja (alto) and Alexander Vinograd (bass) were conducted by Frank Strobel. A CD recording with the same forces was made at the same time by the Austrian label Capriccio (Capriccio C 5311).

Finally, I briefly discuss Chekhov's *Motivs*, a feature film made by the Ukrainian director Kira Muratova at Nikola Film Studios in Odessa and released in 2001, which in this context might actually appear anticlimactic. The film is based on two of Chekhov's lesser-known early works, *Difficult People* (1886) and *Tatiana Repina* (1889) and feature an Orthodox wedding ceremony filmed in its entirety, highlighting in masterly fashion disconcerting and rough behaviour of the congregation, mainly made up of wealthy people of the new Russian middle and upper classes. The ceremony gradually descends into theatrical farce. The stunning choral singing is placed in counterpoint with impatient gestures, dry comments, widespread whispering, gossiping and loud mockery. The groom is suddenly upset by the presence of moaning woman creeping through the congregation. He fears that she could reveal a secret past relationship, while the bride appears to be completely absent. Neither of them can wait for the ceremony to be over. Kira Muratova's handling of the ceremony is absolutely breath-taking and

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[4]   CD 5662/3: Irina Chistyakova, contralto, Dmitri Stefanovich, bass, Tchaikovsky Symphony Orchestra and Yurlov State Capella conducted by Vladimir Fedoseyev.

respectful, while the singing acquires the dimensions of a genuine symphony for choir and voices. The masterly soundtrack is by the Ukrainian composer Valentin Silvestrov (b. 1937), who includes an early song of his own, *The Swan* by Saint-Saëns and the Allegretto from the Piano Sonata op. 31 in D minor, "The Tempest" by Beethoven. Kira Muratova claims not to be a believer, but to hold religion high in cultural life and to be a lover of church singing.

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Boris Belge

Spirituality as Personal Denomination: Religious Expression in Sofia Gubaidulina's Work*

In her introduction to an interview with Sofia Gubaidulina, Vera Lukomsky referred to the composer's "religious spirituality" both as a productive force and an obstacle for her career: "Her predilection for mysticism and meta-physics, her religious spirituality and musical fantasy that often project im-ages of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgment, her preoccupation with mu-sical symbols of crucifixion, resurrection, and transfiguration, did not, of course, meet the requirements of Socialist Realism."[1] Religion and spiritual-ity are important both for Gubaidulina's work and life. In order to under-stand its impact, this article situates Gubaidulina's piety in a broader histor-ical context.

When Gubaidulina began her studies of music and composition in 1949 in Kazan, Soviet music life was still shocked by Iosif Stalin's and Andrei Zhdanov's campaign against so-called "decadent" music.[2] When she finally moved to Moscow in 1954, there was hope for cultural relaxation. However, Nikita Khrushchev, the new leader in the Kremlin, was not only the accuser of Stalin and liberator of Soviet literature. Instead, research has shown that the Khrushchev years were Janus-faced. In some areas, Khrushchev even

1   Vera Lukomsky, "Sofia Gubaidulina: 'My Desire Is Always to Rebel, to Swim against the Stream!'", *Perspectives of New Music* 36(1), 1998, 6.

2   Ekatarina Vlasova, *1948 god v sovetskoi muzyke. Dokumentirovannoe issledovanie*, Moscow, Klassika-XXI, 2010; Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union. The Professional Organization of Soviet composers, 1939–1953*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2006.

intensified socialist authoritarian policies.[3] One field in which he clearly aimed to discipline Soviet people was the field of religion. He launched new anti-religious campaigns and forced the closure of churches and mosques. Although few people were directly accused or even repressed for practicing religion, religious behaviour became more and more unusual in Soviet society.[4] Thus, being pious was something exceptional.

When compared to her composer colleagues, Sofia Gubaidulina's faith and the role it plays in her biography as well as in her works is something specific and needs to be analysed in detail. In the following, I would like to explore this piety in three different aspects: Firstly, Gubaidulina's statements concerning spirituality given in interviews are reconstructed. Secondly, a brief history traces Russian syncretism from the late 19th century to the 1970s and 1980s by means of which Gubaidulina's own place in this *longue durée* is located. I conclude by discussing three major works with a special focus on religion and spirituality.

Gubaidulina on religion, spirituality and the arts

> *The meaning of art is at heart religious!*
> *(Смысл искусства в сущности религиозный!)*

In the 1970s and 1980s, many Soviet composers underwent a religious turn and began to compose distinctively religious music. For Sofia Gubaidulina, this does not hold true. From the very beginning of her life, the composer was a believer. In his biography of Gubaidulina, Michael Kurtz recalls an episode from her childhood when she lived in a farmhouse with her parents and for the first time saw an icon of Christ. Gubaidulina states, "And in this very moment I realized the correspondence between my prayers and the icon [...] And music joined religion in a natural way, sound became something sacred for me."[5] Two important points can be made on the basis of this quotation. Firstly, Gubaidulina understood religion and religious behaviour

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3   Oleg V. Kharkhordin, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia. A study of practices*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999; Brian LaPierre, *Hooligans in Khrushchev's Russia. Defining Policing and Producing Deviance During the Thaw*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.

4   Katharina Uhl, *Antireligiöse Politik im Tatarstan der Tauwetterzeit 1958–1964*, Magisterarbeit Universität Tübingen 2008; William C. Fletcher and Donald A. Lowrie, "Khrushchev's Religious Policy, 1959–1964", in *Aspects of Religions in the Soviet Union 1917–1967*, ed. Richard H. Marshall, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1971, 131–155; Andrew B. Stone, "'Overcoming Peasant Backwardness'. The Khrushchev Antireligious Campaign and the Rural Soviet Union", *Russian Review* 67, 2008, 296–320.

5   Michael Kurtz, *Sofia Gubaidulina. Eine Biografie*, Stuttgart 2001, p. 40.

as something very personal. She must have realized her exceptional position in a mainly non-religious, if not atheist urban Soviet society.[6] Thus, it was a personal denomination and individual decision for her to believe in God and not a social practice that related her to groups in Soviet society. Secondly, this personal denomination influenced almost all aspects of her life, including her composition. "Art" and "religion" were not strictly separated fields for her. Quite the contrary: In an interview with Enzo Restagno in 1992/3, Gubaidulina said,

> Religion is our natural (*estestvennaia*) spiritual life, and art is our artificial/cultural (*iskustvennaia*) spiritual life, that is something done by human hands, our human spiritual activity, our answer to the love of the Creator. Religion is what is given to us and art is what we have to do.[7]

Composing was nothing purely secular for Gubaidulina. Instead, it was kind of a service (*Gottesdienst*) and closely related to religious and spiritual convictions.[8] These convictions were the motivation and resource for the composer. In short: "To compose means to pray."[9] It becomes clear that Gubaidulina made no distinction between art and religion. In this sense, she was a disciple of J. S. Bach, the composer whose life and work probably influenced her more than any other. But in contrast to Bach's times, living the life of an artist was hardly bearable in the 20th century, according to Gubaidulina. "Our life is stupid", she said.[10] In this specific context, living the life of an artist was more than deprivation: it was a sacrifice.[11]

In many aspects, Gubaidulina's ideal of pious art was a reaction to her perception of the surrounding world. She described her perception with the word "dematerialization" and held it to be the "most pressing quest of our century".[12] Well-known connections and certainties had dissolved, and nothing new seemed to have emerged. In the early 1990s, Gubaidulina (like many of her former Soviet fellow citizens) believed in the near apocalypse

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[6] This is not to say that religion completely vanished in Soviet society. See e.g. Ulrike Huhn, *Glaube und Eigensinn. Volksfrömmigkeit zwischen orthodoxer Kirche und sowjetischem Staat 1941 bis 1960*, Wiesbaden. Harrassowitz, 2014.

[7] Valentina N. Kholopova, *Sofia Gubaidulina. Monografia*, Moscow, Kompozitor, 2011, 63.

[8] Lutz Lesle, "Eine Art Gottesdienst. Die religiöse Semantik in der Musik Sofia Gubaidulinas", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 153, 1992, 32.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] For *Offertorium* see Ch. 5, "Musical representations of religion: Three major works".

[12] Kholopova, op. cit., 87.

and the reality of an eventual "doom of the world".[13] This deeply pessimistic view of the world led her to an individualistic retreat into a spiritual life.

Compared to her composer colleagues, Gubaidulina was very weak in arranging herself with the system. She also used film scores to earn money but composed significantly fewer scores than Alfred Schnittke.[14] Unlike Edison Denisov and Schnittke, Gubaidulina never taught at the conservatorium or the Gnessin School, and she never engaged in the structures of the music administration. Only Gubaidulina's philosophy of life made this special biography possible. But in order to arrive at broader conclusions, we must to put this biography into a wider historical context of Russian syncretism.

A short history of Russian syncretism from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s and 1980s

Late Soviet times were not the only ones when Russians faced the dissolution of well-known customs and values. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire was shaken by mutually entangled processes. Modernization, industrialisation and urbanization questioned several aspects of political rule, social order and culture. Late Imperial Russia witnessed the emergence of the so-called "Silver Age". Painters such as Vasily Kandinsky, poets like Alexander Blok or Andrey Bely as well as (later) Ossip Mandelstam and Marina Tsevtaeva and composers such as Igor Stravinsky were at the forefront of modern European culture. Gubaidulina perceived this cultural heritage; she wrote music, for example, for poems by both Mandelstam and Tsvetaeva.[15]

The *fin de siècle* in Russia witnessed not only these broader cultural reactions, but also the revitalization of religion. Religious expression was one of many strategies people chose to cope with the needs and problems of modern life. Although often used, theories of secularization are in fact very weak when confronted with empirical material. Religion and belief did not vanish with the advent of modernity. What is true is that piety and modernity were connected and interacted in several ways. Forms of religious expression and religious life changed during the nineteenth century, and new phenomena emerged. One of the most important was the rise of a "general

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[13] Lesle, op. cit., 30.

[14] Gubaidulina composed only 26 film scores, while Schnittke composed 61; cf. Kholopova, op cit., 379; Alexander Ivashkin, *Alfred Schnittke*, London, Phaidon Press, 1996, 224-225.

[15] Kurtz, op. cit., 70; 285; 299.

religious-mystical bent in philosophy, literature, art, and music."[16] It aimed "to articulate a universal faith capable of uniting Eastern and Western Christianity" and "spilled over into all aspects of artistic life and even into the imperial court."[17] One reason for this movement was rooted in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church itself. During the eighteenth and nineteenth century it increasingly changed into a nationalist and ideological institution which lost parts of its independence from the state. At the end of the nineteenth century, the episcopacy still resembled in large part a caste system that was separated from the everyday life of Russian people. The arising of countless sects and occult practices in late Imperial Russia as well as a drive towards Roman Catholicism among elites were responses to this perceived crisis of official Russian Orthodoxy.[18] But the renewal of Christianity was not limited to the world of belief and theology. Sergei Bulgakov, as Katherine Evtuhov has shown, directly linked problems of economics to "a Christian vision of the process as a drama of Fall and Resurrection […]".[19]

To sum up, modernity and religion were not mutually exclusive at the end of the nineteenth century in Russia. Instead, the specific answers religious groups and individuals gave to newly-arisen challenges shaped religion in a new way. From now on, people were able to choose between more alternatives; religion had become more individualistic.

The October Revolution of 1917 brought religious revitalization to a definite stop. During the Civil War, Bolsheviks used the wealth of the Church as an argument for the expropriation and persecution of its dignitaries.[20] It was only under Stalin during the Great Patriotic War that the Church was partially rehabilitated.[21] After Stalin's death, Khrushchev again launched an attack on religion. The impact of this campaign is disputed among histori-

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[16]   Catherine Evtuhov, *The Cross and the Sickle. Sergei Bulgakov and the fate of Russian religious philosophy*, New York, Cornell University Press, 2018, 10.

[17]   Ibid., 11.

[18]   Kathrin Behrens, *Die russische orthodoxe Kirche. Segen für die ‚neuen Zaren'? Religion und Politik im postsowjetischen Russland*, Padenborn, Schöningh, 2002.

[19]   Evtuhov, op. cit., 177.

[20]   See Richard Anderson, *Public Politics in an Authoritarian State. Making Foreign Policy during the Brezhnev Years*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1993.

[21]   Steven Merritt Miner, *Stalin's Holy War. Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics*, 1941–1945, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2003; Ulrike Preuß, *Stalin und die Kirchen – ein Bündnis für den Sieg. Eine Analyse der sowjetischen Presse während des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, Hamburg, LIT Verlag, 2004.

ans, but what is clear is that the Cold War added new aspects to anti-religious politics in the Soviet Union.[22] Essentially, it added the topos of "godless" communists to the rhetoric of Cold Warriors in the West.[23] But after Khrushchev's forced demise in 1964, atheist campaigns were very rare. Leonid Brezhnev's policy of stability, normality and trust gave way to a new religious revival in the 1970s. This so-called "religious renaissance" affected large parts of Soviet society; religious themes and symbols became more and more attractive.[24] This interest was not limited to the "official" Russian Orthodox Church; again, "heretical" movements such as occultism, parapsychology and Eastern ideas (Buddhism etc.) flourished among large parts of Soviet society. Just as 70–80 years before, this had to do with a changed socio-political context. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism had lost its relevance and explanatory power and personality cults around Brezhnev did not function as well as in the days of Stalin.[25] The new aristocracy around the Soviet *nomenklatura* seemed to sneer at communist values such as honesty and equality. By turning towards religion, Soviet people tried to escape the boring and often bitter everyday life of the *homo sovieticus*.[26]

Historical context and individual decisions: Gubaidulina's place in this *longue durée*

Historians sometimes tend to think in boxes. Classical approaches towards biographies of artists, writers and composers often refer to dichotomist concepts such as "official/unofficial", "conformist/nonconformist" etc.[27] They thereby often risk neglecting important singularities. On a superficial level, it seems easy to talk about Gubaidulina's piety. She appears to fit perfectly in the aforementioned scheme. As a remarkably widely-read intellectual, she placed herself in the history of Russian and Soviet spiritualism/religiosity.

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[22] Alexa von Winning and Katharina Uhl, "Erinnern ohne Gedächtnis. Religion und Identität in Tatarstan", *Osteuropa* 59, 2009(9), 161–173; Irina Paert, "Demistifying the Heavens. Women, Religion and Khrushchev's Anti-religious Campaign 1954–1964", in: *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, eds. Melanie Ilić et al., Houndsmill, Pallgrave Macmillan ltd., 2004, 203–221.

[23] Klaus Gestwa "'Kolumbus des Kosmos' Der Kult um Jurij Gagarin", *Osteuropa* 59(10), 2009, 136–138.

[24] Behrens, op. cit., 68; Anderson, op. cit., 69.

[25] Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More. The Last Soviet Generation*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2006.

[26] Behrens, op. cit., 69.

[27] This is especially true for studies on late Socialism; see critically Yurchak, op. cit., 4–8.

We can reconstruct Gubaidulina's fascination with the Russian philo-sopher Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948).[28] Pyotr Meshchaninov (1944–2006), her third husband, was pianist of the State Symphony Orchestra of the USSR. He used this opportunity to travel abroad extensively and brought back censored literature with him. Gubaidulina obtained books by Berdyaev in this way.[29] His ideas of cosmic universalism and Christian existentialism attracted her very much. As Ivana Medić has noted, "Gubaidulina's religiosity was [...] part of a broader trend in Soviet art since late 1960s" to find new/old answers to the questions of life and to overcome the boredom of official state culture.[30] The "nova sacra musica" was indeed a broad trend in late Soviet music. It witnessed a boom of boom of religious titles for instrumental works that started with Alemdar Karamanov.[31] Between 1965 and 2001, musicologist Dorothea Redepenning counted 80 titles with a religious title, many of them composed in Soviet times. One main feature of religious composition in Soviet times was a "Catholic or common biblical, but not Orthodox context" in which "a large variety of musical and religious options" is used.[32] In late Soviet and post-Soviet times, this slightly changed and Orthodox elements were incorporated, but a stylistic mixture persisted. Gubaidulina's piety also "incorporated elements of numerous religions, mystical and spiritual systems, resulting in an idiosyncratic pantheistic synthesis."[33]On the other hand, the case of Gubaidulina is a special case in Soviet music history. Her own orientation towards religion took place very early. At first, it did not shape her musical compositions in a broad way, but her own style of life.

Gubaidulina is often characterized as completely isolated from "official" Soviet musical life. This is not completely true: Gubaidulina, as well as Schnittke, had to compose music for films to earn money and thereby participated in the official musical structures of the Soviet Union. It is also not true that Gubaidulina was never performed. Her first "avtorskii vecher" (although for closed performances) dates from 1962.[34] Nevertheless, the word "isolation" illustrates and explains Gubaidulina's ideal of artistic life.

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[28]   Vera Lukomsky, "Hearing the Subconscious, Interview with Sofia Gubaidulina", *Tempo* 209, 1999, 30.

[29]   Kurtz, *op.cit.*, 129f; 156; 196.

[30]   Ivana Medić, "Gubaidulina, Misunderstood", *Muzikologija/Musicology* 13, 2012, 111.

[31]   Natalia Gulyanitskaya, *Poetika muzykal'noi kompozitsii: teoreticheskie aspekty russkoi dukhovnoi muzyki XX veka*, Moscow, Muzyka, 2002.

[32]   Dorothea Redepenning, *Geschichte der russischen und sowjetischen Musik*. Band 2: *Das 20. Jahrhundert*, Laaber, Laaber-Verlag, 2008, 288f.

[33]   Medić, op. cit., 107.

[34]   B. Bobrovskii, "Otkroite vse okna!", *Sovetskaia muzyka* 2, 1962, 23–29.

Her transcendental perspective that was focused on an idea of life as religious art allowed her to live under poor circumstances and relatively bad material conditions. Western listeners were mainly attracted by the picture of a woman who abandoned herself to living the life of an artist-nun sacrificing her needs on the altar of culture. This is not to say that Gubaidulina did not resemble this picture: As a woman among men, a believer among atheists and a Tatar-Russian daughter among Muscovite Russians it was only reasonable to feel separated from the mainstream. But Gubaidulina also willingly chose to do so. As we now see, the case of Gubaidulina combines two contradictory poles: A historical context that favoured the return towards religious expression and the decision of an individual to swim against the current. This combination makes Gubaidulina's biography and her works so special and hardly comparable to the biographies of her colleagues such as Alfred Schnittke or Edison Denisov.[35] However, it helps us to underline the singularity of her works in Soviet music.

Musical representations of religion: Three major works

Gubaidulina's oeuvre has been analysed many times. There are excellent studies on several aspects of her compositions.[36] In the present article, I do not wish to repeat or even challenge these excellent studies but I should like to take them to a further horizon and to add some details. Three orchestral works of Gubaidulina which were composed in the four years between 1978 and 1982 will be discussed.

Praying Piano: *Introitus* (1978)

One of the main features of the piano concerto *Introitus* is a confrontation between two different structures: As Valentina Kholopova discussed, the solo piano uses mainly simultaneous, harmonic sounds, based on thirds and fifths. In contrast, the parts of the orchestra, as well as the quasi-solo flute and violin, are composed in an improvisatory, heterophonic and polyphonic way.[37] They reflect Gubaidulina's ideas of vertical and horizontal music

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[35] Perhaps a better comparison could be made with Galina Ustvolskaya.

[36] Kholopova, op. cit.; Valeria S. Tsenova, *Zahlenmystik in der Musik von Sofia Gubaidulina. Mit einem chronologischen Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke Sofia Gubaidulinas*, Berlin/Hamburg, Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 2001.

[37] Kholopova, op. cit., 185.

structures that are confronted and connected with each other. Further-more, the composition underlines the "semantic possibilities of music."[38] The slow, tranquil piano part obviously symbolizes a praying, contemplative mood. It reflects Orthodox *molchanie* (prayer) without any reference to common and familiar liturgical melodies. Thus, *Introitus* demonstrates the above-mentioned conceptions of spirituality Gubaidulina had in mind when composing. To her, it was more important to reflect moods and atmospheres exactly than to refer to inherited models. This gives a vertical answer to the horizontal turmoil and chaos of the everyday Soviet (or even modern?) life. Although Gubaidulina's music is very much oriented towards cosmic and transcendental expressions, it is closely connected to her surrounding world.

<div align="center">Sacrificing music: The violin concerto Offertorium (1981)</div>

As is well known, Gubaidulina composed her violin concerto *Offertorium* under the influence of Gidon Kremer's playing. In an interview she said, "the sensitive push on the string, this total abandonment, appeared to me as a *unio mystica*: the play as a religious act."[39] Not only does the soloist offer himself in virtuoso playing but also the main theme is offered in the first section of the concerto. At the end, the last note of the theme sounds in unison, sacrificing itself, upon which the solo cadenza then reflects. The sac-rifice takes place between passages of the most modern kind: Gubaidulina used many techniques and methods of contemporary composition but, as the listener notices, these techniques are no solution to the problem of the work. The solution lies in the chorale at the end of the concerto. Its absolute continuous *legato* at the end symbolizes, according to Kholopova, the Res-urrection which shall save both work and mankind.[40] It also symbolizes a specific time structure, and Kholopova proposes a connection with a quota-tion from Berdyaev: "Art always teaches that every past is a symbol of an-other, not-gone existence."

Offertorium marks the beginning of Gubaidulina's world-wide fame. It is well known especially from the CD recording on Deutsche Grammophon released in 1989. We cannot understand the tremendous impact of her work on an international audience without taking the historical context into con-sideration: under the auspices of the Cold War, *Offertorium* seemed to be a

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[38]   Ibid.

[39]   Lechner, "Interview with Gubaidulina", 92.

[40]   Kholopova, op. cit., 193.

prototype-work of a long-suppressed, believing composer, a "forbidden fruit" to be tasted with pleasure.[41]

Crucifixion and Salvation: *Seven Words* (1982)

While *Offertorium* was inspired by J. S. Bach and Anton Webern, *Seven Words* for violoncello, bayan and string orchestra is connected with Heinrich Schütz's choral work *Die Sieben Worte Jesu Christi am Kreuz* (~1645). Again, Gubaidulina mixes different time structures and musical styles. The cello (Jesus Christ), bayan (God) and string orchestra (Holy Spirit) not only symbolise the Trinity, but also represent different "levels" musically. Whereas both soloists use "modern" harmonic styles, i.e. chromatics and microchromatics, the string orchestra "redeems" from and pacifies the worldly pain.[42] Its diatonic character contrasts with the suffering of both soloists and refers to the paradisiacal spiritual world in which all earthly pain is dissolved. *Seven Words* reaffirms Gubaidulina's semantic use of compositional techniques. What is particularly interesting about the composition is that only the Holy Spirit (string orchestra) is able to save both Jesus and God in their suffering. I believe that this points to Gubaidulina's transcendental, metaphysical religious conceptions.

Seven Words also mark the boundaries of religious "tolerance" in the official musical world of the Soviet Union. It is interesting that the first printed publication of the work in 1985 appeared under the neutral title *Partita*. This fact leads me to the conclusion that while we should not overestimate the religious revival of the 1970s, some remnants of atheist policies still existed in the 1980s.

Conclusion

Today, religious or spiritual orientation is a big selling point for classical music. Arvo Pärt and Gubaidulina are certainly among the most famous and successful modern composers. Their fame has its root in spirituality, but it is no mass media fiction. Gubaidulina definitely lives a religious life. In Soviet times, this lifestyle meant a certain degree of self-isolation. As an intellectual with remarkable knowledge and experience, Gubaidulina willingly

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[41] Levon Hakobian, "The Perception of Soviet Music in the West. A History of Sympathy and Misunderstandings", in: *Muzikologija/Musicology* 13, 2012, 125–137.

[42] Kholopova, op. cit., 37.

chose material sufferings in order to live a "true" life in Soviet times. Incapable of looking into the future, she could not know that this would be the foundation of her tremendous success from the late 1980s until today.

We cannot describe Gubaidulina's piety as a rational strategy to advertise compositions. Quite the contrary, her piety was an individual decision. However, we do not need to rely only on Gubaidulina's individual biography to explain this piety. Instead, it is placed in a wider historical context. From her perception of Berdyaev's works, we can trace this context back to the end of the 19th century. Spiritualism and syncretism are deeply rooted in Russian cultural history. In the case of Gubaidulina it is easy to reconstruct the way in which she came into contact with it and used it as a powerful source for courses of action at different times.

In order to understand the perception of Gubaidulina among Russian *and* Western/international audiences, it is very important to keep her religious self-staging in mind. Although not a primary intention, it heavily influenced the way composers, musicians, musical editors and music lovers thought about her music and life. During the Cold War, many perceived the Soviet Union as a state with militant atheism. Because of that, religious music from the Soviet Union was extraordinarily interesting for Western listeners.

Gubaidulina often thought about horizontal and vertical structures. In her work, individual (vertical) and historical (horizontal) structures also intersect. Life, work, and composition interact with each other. Only this intersection (the "intersecting set") allows us to acquire a deeper understanding of the role "religion" played for Sofia Gubaidulina.[43]

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[43] Sofia Gubaidulina herself highlighted the intersection between logical and subconsious "tendencies" of 20th-century music in her work as an important feature: cf. Ivan Moody, "'The Space of the Soul'. An Interview with Sofia Gubaidulina", *Tempo* 66(259), January 2012, 33.

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Rachel Jeremiah-Foulds

An Esoteric Iconography: Orthodoxy and Devotion in the World of Galina Ustvolskaya

It was perhaps Galina Ustvolskaya's completion of Duet for Violin and Piano in 1964 that signalled a major turning point in her musical style and personal aesthetic. This piece stripped away all the rhapsodic melodic material that was present in her Violin and Piano Sonata of a decade earlier and introduced a severity – even brutality – that would define her music from then on. Free from both a time signature and a key signature, Ustvolskaya gave herself a blank canvas upon which to work, removing all vestiges of conventional canonical writing. The dark intensity of the piece conveys the beginnings of Ustvolskaya's apocalyptic view and later preoccupation with what was, in her view, the hopeless state of humankind.

Ustvolskaya's spiritual partialities, and the myth that surrounds them, have received international attention: they are, after all, startlingly obvious throughout all of her later works. As a response to this, this chapter will aim to identify and examine Ustvolskaya's inclusion of elements of the spiritual, the mystical and the iconographical by examining the reverberations of liturgical practice in the musical material she deployed.

Iconicity

At first it may seem a little incongruous that the overriding spiritual element of Ustvolskaya's music was made apparent in the Soviet Union, a state where religious practice was so ferociously negated and restricted. An attempt to obliterate religion was largely successful following the militaristic ideology of the Bolsheviks, the harsh suppression of religious practice by Stalin and a fierce anti-religion campaign by Khrushchev. However, from the mid-1960s Russian composers were no longer simply experimenting

with ideas associated with the avant-garde. There was a revival of a spiritual heritage, in which composers could retrace their cultural and religious roots fuelled by an intransigent response to the restrictions of the previous half-century. In addition, it seems that Ustvolskaya sought spiritual comfort from the marginalized existence into which she felt forced to retreat.

Ustvolskaya did not practice any particular religion and did not refer directly to a Christian God but acknowledged a superior existence that has ultimate knowledge and control of the world to come.[1] Her musical petition for forgiveness, coupled with her portrayal of this higher power as a menacing, punishing judge has huge reverberations in the Russian Orthodox Church.[2] Participation in the Church's ancient practice and theology provided an oppressed Russian people not only with spiritual freedom, but also with a vehicle to protest against the Soviet authority's attempt to control them ideologically. It must also be noted that Russian Orthodoxy thus became a representation of nation: people looked to the Church as a symbol of their national identity, rather than to the state. Composing spiritual music enabled Ustvolskaya to break from the state, explore her own freedom of thought, protest against the ideological control imposed on her, identify with her nation, and find spiritual refuge during such a socially (and spiritually) devastating era. Perhaps the most important aspect of this is its consequence for her music: Ustvolskaya's music is thrust into an iconic existence, theatrically inviting the audience to experience it as direct communication with God.

Although Ustvolskaya's compositions are undoubtedly elevated as a spiritual experience, it must be noted that they were not composed to fulfil any specific religious function. Nevertheless, her music was not written as "concert music" but rather as an integral part of her own spiritual being. It is with this in mind that it is appropriate to reflect on Ustvolskaya's music as it transcends the physicality of sonic experience.

It is difficult to distinguish between the conveyance of "the mystical" and "the religious" in any musical language: it is an issue that Ivan Moody comprehensively explores in his article "The Mind and Heart: Mysticism and Music in the Experience of Contemporary Orthodox Composers" by positioning music as a vehicle for mystical experiences, aligning its mystical qualities to those of a religious icon. For an Orthodox Christian, an icon presents itself as a holy existence to be venerated.[3] Moody is only one example

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[1]   Ustvolskaya referred to this Higher Power as the "Spirit".

[2]   Simon Bokman, *Variations on the Theme: Galina Ustvolskaya,* translated by Irina Behrendt, Berlin, Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 39.

[3]   Ivan Moody, "The Mind and the Heart: Mysticism and Music in the Experience of Contemporary Eastern Orthodox Composers," *Contemporary Music Review* 14(3–4), 1996, 65–66.

of an Orthodox (liturgical) composer who affirmatively believes in this mystical aptitude of music: "Orthodoxy speaks of the mind entering the heart – this is the condition for real prayer – and this must be, at least partially, what is required for the composition of sacred music."[4] This combination of spiritual intensity of the heart and the mind is largely what not only epitomises Russian sacred music writing, but also provides the basis for the Orthodox mentality. Indeed, Orthodox monks incline their heads towards their hearts when they pray, as though praying were no longer an occupation of the mind.[5]

This resonates further as the concept of the iconostasis is considered. Any understanding of the iconostasis can be encapsulated as the boundary between one world and the next.[6] As a response to the human frailty recognized in Orthodoxy, the Church created visual, material strength to compensate for this inevitable short-sightedness. The icons in the iconostasis function as a window between this world and the heavenly realm, bestowing a route through which human frailty can bear witness before God. Pavel Florensky summarizes thus:

> Thus a window is a window because a region of light opens out beyond it, hence the window giving us this light is not itself 'like' the light, nor is it subjectively linked in our imagination with our ideas of light – but the window is that very light itself, in its ontological self-identity, that very light which, undivided-in-itself and thus inseparable from the sun, is streaming down from the heavens. But the window all by itself – i.e., apart from its relationship to the light, beyond its function as a carrier of light – is no longer a window but dead wood and mere glass.[7]

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4 Ibid., 66.

5 John Tavener in Andrew Ford, *Composer to Composer*, London, Quartet, 1993. Ustvolskaya considered her music a vessel through which to transcend the physical (or cultural) realm: her compositions are wholly devoted to her spiritual ideas, demonstrated by her homage to the liturgical practice of the Russian Orthodox Church. She said of her own work that it was not religious in a "literal" sense, but rather surrounded by a "religious spirit". (Letter accessed in the PSS, in November 2008, dated 17/05/88). Although it cannot be disputed that Ustvolskaya's music is defined largely by its religious character, of course it does not exist as a literal spiritual manifestation – sound itself is a physical, scientific occurrence. Rather it is the musical constructs that she employs in order to convey an illusion of a spiritual warfare between Heaven and Earth, Good and Evil and – ultimately -– Man and God. By exploring these dualities, a pertinent survey of both Ustvolskaya's intentions and the forces counteracting her creative output can be achieved.

6 This, for instance, may comprise the bricks and mortar that may be an obstruction to a view of an altar (in the context of the church building) or (in the context of Orthodox theology) a human weakness that forcibly separates the physical world and the unearthly, invisible spiritual realm.

7 Pavel Florensky, *Iconostasis*, New York, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000, 65. Pavel

Of course, initially, what springs to mind most obviously will be the self-luminescence in the icon paintings and engravings found on the walls on every Orthodox church. However, according to Florensky's definition, the concept of "the icon" can be transferred to and superimposed upon the role of music in a liturgical context. As a result, Ustvolskaya's music functions as a "sonic icon", and is essentially the inclusion of an established method of providing this "window" to God.

Ritual and Ceremony

Orthodox liturgical practice includes numerous rituals and traditions over the course of any given ceremony. The overriding concept in Orthodox practice is that if the ritual and traditions are preserved, then the theology will also remain intact. In Orthodox theology, ritual also heightens the profundity of activity, while repetition imprints the given words that accompany the ritual in the believer's mind. [8]

It must be stated once more that Ustvolskaya's music was not liturgical. Had she even wished for her music to function liturgically there would have been little chance of this, given the political situation of twentieth-century Russia and the fact that instrumental music has never been permitted in Orthodox church services. Yet the performance of her music in a secular setting does not transform its function from sacred to secular: her music retains its spiritual subject without its performance in a religious setting.

It is thus appropriate to assess the role of the narrator in Ustvolskaya's Symphony No. 2.[9] The male narrator, again dressed ambiguously in black (which is in itself further indicative of a ritual), is instructed to make a primitive scream. The narrator is symbolic of all mankind, crying out in the darkness of a blackened stage in an inarticulate howl to God. The feature of this primitive – and somewhat barbaric – exclamation, repeated and coupled with the dramatic staging required, escapes the contemporary world and delves into a timeless metaphor for the depths into which humankind has

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Florensky (1882–1937) was a Russian Orthodox priest and theologian; the quotation included is an assertion arising from his profound, emic understanding of the ritual and theology of the Orthodox Church.

[8] The present author in discussion with Ivan Moody, 03/11/09.

[9] Bagrenin related to the author how, after Ustvolskaya listened to Reinbert de Leeuw's recording of Symphony No. 2, she was intensely satisfied and grateful, saying: "It was worth living". (Correspondence with Bagrenin via e-mail, translated and sent via Andrei Bakhmin, 20/06/10). This comment confirms how integral Ustvolskaya's compositions were to her own being: she did not merely compose her music; she *lived* her music.

plunged, invoking a quasi-ritualistic encounter as a performance experience.

Although the cry does not feature in Symphony No. 3, an apocalypse is no further from reality as the instruments adopt the same sinister force. The apotheosis implied in the previous symphony is this time replaced by Ustvolskaya's dramatic implementation of solo percussion.

Such ceremonial aspects appear in works of other composers: The "Danses des adolescents" at the beginning of Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* (1913) palpably prophesy Ustvolskaya's 'timeless' pulsations with irregular accents (App. 2:10).[10] Although Stravinsky does not quote liturgical chant directly, even the most esoteric levels of *The Rite of Spring* are manipulated by folk material; the entire subject matter of this work is, of course, a pagan ritual concerning the sacrifice of a young maiden who can inaugurate spring only through dancing herself to death. The irregular recurrence of quaver beats in Grand Duet is palpably reminiscent of *The Rite of Spring*, invoking similar ideas of primitive ritualism as it combines metric and ametric rhythms, manipulating the subjective expectation of the listener.[11]

Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov spoke of his affinity with ritualistic paganism in the context of his overtly religious *Russian Easter Festival Overture*. Despite his extensive explanation as to the ecclesiastical origins of the melodic and semantic content, he continues by aligning Christian ritual with pagan ritual describing it as: "Combined reminiscences of the ancient prophecy of the Gospel narrative, and also a general picture of the Easter service with its 'pagan merry-making.'"[12] Rimsky-Korsakov furthers this comparison by directly measuring both the Orthodox aural and visual spectaculars against pagan activity: "Surely the Russian Orthodox chime is instrumental dance-music of the church? ... Does not the waving beards of priests ... sextons clad in white vestments and surplices ... transport the imagination to pagan times?"[13]

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[10]   The musical language deployed is not, however, where this comparison ends. The semantic content of this work, of course, contains recognized references to nature: the dance is placed subsequent to the opening "L'Adoration de la terre" [The adoration of the earth] and introduces the scene of a pagan ritual in which a chosen sacrificial virgin dances herself to death.

[11]   These crotchet pulsations resonated with Western composers, as they also attempted to break with tradition and include ceremonial aspects in their music. The rhythmic technique can be identified in Pierre Boulez's ceremonial *Rituel*, while the crotchet pulse established by Béla Bartók during the opening of his First Piano Concerto (1926) is distinctly reminiscent of the ritualistic pulsating of much of Ustvolskaya's work.

[12]   Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life*, edited by Carl van Vechten and translated by Judith A. Joffe, New York, Tudor, 293.

[13]   Ibid.

The obsessive crotchet pulse evokes far more sinister images than the simplicity initially projected. The low, dark crotchet beats of the double basses in Composition No. 2 and the striking rhythms of Grand Duet are redolent of a funeral march, linking pertinently with the composition's Latin subtitle, "Dies irae". Ustvolskaya's instrumental use of a wooden box continues with this sombre notion as its crotchet pulsation suggests nails being knocked into a coffin. This acquires further significance on account of Malov's claim that was originally Ustvolskaya's intention to use a coffin for this percussive technique; it was only her dissatisfaction with its timbral qualities that inspired her to specify the measurements for the wooden box.[14] The directions for making this box are included in the score and allude to the significance of carpentry in Christianity. The banging of nails into a coffin can also be interpreted as a reference to the execution of Christ.[15] The inexorability of her rhythmic constructs even reflects the unstoppable metronome broadcast to the civilians of St Petersburg during the Leningrad blockade. The constant beating evident in so many of Ustvolskaya's works suggests these same notions of humanitarian survival.

Thus, the ritualistic ideas behind Ustvolskaya's music impose a direct influence upon the musical language she employs. Wordless shouts, aggressive rhythmic pulsations, uncontrolled dissonances, religious symbolism, specific spatial directions all comprise Ustvolskaya's ritualistic musical language. The spiritual implications of Ustvolskaya's "rites" cannot be ignored; their reference to pagan rites as well as to ceremonial aspects of Orthodoxy are consistent with Ustvolskaya's view that there is no one 'true' religion that is free from corruption.

Znamenny raspev

It is with this overriding spiritual proclivity in mind that the semantic value of Ustvolskaya's appropriation of musical material from the Russian Orthodox Church's ancient chant – the Znamenny raspev – should be understood.

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[14] Oleg Malov, as quoted in Marian Y. Lee, *Galina Ustvolskaya: The Spiritual World of a Soviet Artist*, MA thesis, Baltimore, The Peabody Institute of Music and Dance of the Johns Hopkins University, 2002, 48.

[15] This implementation of percussive effects as an insinuation of death is also found in Shostakovich's 13th String Quartet (1970), in which percussive knocking on the body of the instruments refers to the composer's autobiographical decline in health and the mortality of his freedom as a composer. This technique also prophesies Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Himmels-Tür* [Heaven's Door] (2000), where a solo percussionist executes the piece on a wooden door (knocking on the door of Heaven), again created expressly by a carpenter for this purpose.

The long and complex history of Znamenny chant acquires augmented significance when the influences that altered the original Byzantine chant to make it uniquely Russian, are considered. Maxim Brazhnikov addresses this complex and antiquated process: "Znammeny Chant was in the distant past derived from Byzantium, but no sooner on Russian soil than it encountered an entirely new medium – the musical perception of the Russian people, its whole culture and customs, and thus began its second life in Russia."[16] Indeed, the fact that that so many Russian folksongs are so similar to melodic lines of church music is both significant and wholly unique to Russian culture, reinforcing the ideas of Rimsky-Korsakov and Stravinsky.

Although Ustvolskaya obstinately refused to acknowledge this influence throughout her lifetime, evidence of characteristics of the chant are flagrant in all of her profoundly spiritual works, without exception. However, in the light of her refusal to confirm publicly that it was a strong influence, the extent to which this inclusion was entirely intentional is ambiguous.[17] When her former student Bokman dared to broach the subject with Ustvolskaya, asking whether she borrowed any system of notation or melodic development from the chant, she answered that she had arrived at her system differently.[18] What we can be sure of, however, is the personal context and artistic climate from which Ustvolskaya's music sprang.

Ustvolskaya had received a rigorous musical education from childhood, when she would have been made aware of her links with Russia's musical past. Furthermore, Nikolai Uspensky (an ethnomusicologist and grandson of one of Russia's Old Believers) was on friendly terms with Ustvolskaya, holding a teaching post at the very same conservatory at which she worked, providing access to his numerous anthologies of Russian liturgical melodies.

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[16]   Maxim Brazhnikov, *New Monuments of the Znamenny Chant*, Leningrad, Muzyka, 1967. Alfred J. Swan offers a second opinion, reinforcing that Znamenny Chant, despite its roots, must not be considered merely as analogous to Gregorian, Byzantine and Ambrosian liturgical parlance but particular significance must be drawn to its relationship with Russian folk music and consequent „Russian character": Alfred J. Swan, *Russian Music and its Sources in Chant and Folk-Song,* London, John Baker Publishers Ltd., 1973, 38. The question has continued to be debated in more recent scholarship.

[17]   Ustvolskaya did warn her students against citing folklore or quoting other people's music in their compositions, stating that this was "for people who can't write anything on their own" (Bokman, op. cit., 22). However, this was most likely an ironic comment targeted at Shostakovich. This statement cannot be accepted as true since this thesis has already ascertained that – in the earliest part of her career, at least – Ustvolskaya seized musical material from other sources to include in her own work (see, for example, Ustvolskaya's use of Shostakovich's *Symphonic Fragment*).

[18]   This answer is significantly different to the absolutism found in her official stance regarding this subject, implying that perhaps Ustvolskaya was more aware of a connection between her music and the chant than what she later insisted on.

In addition to this, the "Khrushchev Thaw" of the 1970s saw a sudden increase in the popularity of the compositional approach of including aspects of Znamenny raspev, as Uspensky's collection of transcribed Znamenny melodies was published. This was the first time Soviet composers had gained access to such an overtly religious publication and it was thus an appropriate time for Ustvolskaya to instigate her exploration of such traditions. In addition, Yury Butsko's[19] *Polyphonic Concerto* (1972), with an exhaustive explanation of his inclusion of the chant in a lengthy preface, was made available to the public;[20] Schnittke's *Hymns* (1974–1979) soon followed, implementing the same compositional approach.

The reasons behind Ustvolskaya's inclusion of aspects of Znamenny raspev are both numerous and diverse, and need to be elucidated before undertaking any analysis of her musical material: a brief overview of the history of Znamenny raspev and its current position in Russian culture initiates such an investigation. The reforms from the earliest part of the seventeenth century devastated the practice of liturgical chanting and consequently altered Orthodox Church practice permanently,[21] yet communities of the Old Believers have always refused to accept any reform of Znamenny chant and still today stalwartly remain true to the ancient chant repertory, providing a hugely valuable resource for any such investigation. Many of these Old Believers died as a consequence of the ruptures that occurred in the Orthodox Church, and thus the preservation of the chant has assumed

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[19]   Yury Butsko (b. 1938) is a composer from Moscow who studied at the Moscow Conservatory alongside Alfred Schnittke, among others. Butsko is a great expert on the Old Believers and the music of the Orthodox Church as a dedicated believer himself, having attended church regularly and consistently throughout his life. He spent many years adapting the ancient chant to modern times, and devised a system through which the Znamenny raspev could be organized.

[20]   The full title of this work is: *Polyphonic Concerto for Four Keyboards: Nineteen Counterpoints on a theme from Znamenny Chant.* See the discussion of this and other works by Butsko in Ivan Moody, *Modernism and Orthodox Spirituality in Contemporary Music,* Joensuu and Belgrade: ISOCM/Institute of Musicology SASA, 2014, 139–142.

[21]   The reform instigated by Shaidur (1600) changed notational practice considerably and introduced the use of a trichord, comparable to the Western hexachord. Westernization was not limited simply to this: following the occupation of Ukraine, Western culture cascaded into Moscow (disconcerting purists), including the Kiev Academy, where exceptional part-singing was cultivated during this the patronization of choral singing. The liturgical singing tradition from the southwest had gradually worked its way to the north and at the end of the seventeenth century, the Muscovite Orthodox Church ended its prohibition of part-singing, despite this development being recognized as foreign to the Eastern Church. By the time the reforms were enforced by Nikon, a technique had been cultivated to make the chant sound akin to Western polyphony. These developments, amongst others, were finally established by the launch of Italian and German Romanticism in Russia – sacred music thrived only out of fashion, although nationalism still flourished. This, needless to say, brought with it the two separate camps in Moscow and St Petersburg: broadly speaking, the "Western" and the "Nationalist".

an uncompromising purpose as it is has been handed down from generation to generation.[22] As the Old Believers' historical and social role as nonconformists who have preserved the chant alongside its liturgical practice for centuries is considered, it appears appropriate that Ustvolskaya might have seized upon Znamenny raspev as a musical symbol of political and religious dissidence.

It is also necessary to refer briefly to the extent to which Znamenny chant was already influential on the canon of Russian music. Ustvolskaya's deep knowledge of the work of Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky, Rachmaninov and (particularly) Shostakovich would undoubtedly have brought her into contact with these ancient melodies, even without having direct access to the Old Believers herself.[23] [24]

I propose that Ustvolskaya's final attraction to Znamenny raspev was the vast musical possibilities it presented. The chant, free from a rigid structure, offered dissonant harmonies, microtonality, exotic modes and metric freedom: a modernist musical vocabulary that departed from Ustvolskaya's Russian masters and enabled her to progress creatively, whilst staying true to her Russian heritage.

Musical Example: Znamenny raspev

The driving force behind any Znamenny melody is the text, and likewise, in Ustvolskaya's music, the text and sounds are not considered separate entities. For instance, in Ustvolskaya's Symphony No. 3 "Jesus, Messiah, save us!" there is no pitch notated for the narrator, yet a rhythmic inference is

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[22] According to communities of Old Believers, the development of Znamenny raspev into harmonic singing has posed several liturgical problems. The single voiced, monodic singing that was prevalent until the seventeenth-century relied on memorized knowledge of the musical techniques and was free from the expressive influence of secular music (e.g. instruments, dynamics or notation). In Orthodox thought, the Znamenny chants are the cornerstones of prayer, of unity and like-mindedness.

[23] However, according to Dullaghan, the prospect that Ustvolskaya had personally come into contact with this tradition is entirely feasible: Andre Dullaghan, *Galina Ustvolskaya: Her Heritage and her Voice*, PhD dissertation, London, City University, 2000, 21.

[24] Znamenny raspev's kinship with Russian folksong provided Ustvolskaya with an opportunity to escape the musical "restrictions" imposed by the "cultured" music in the canon of Western art music through a "return" to music in its purest – *natural* – form. Ustvolskaya's seizing upon a culturally established genre in order to express the natural forms the basis of her entire enquiry, and is also symbolic of Russia's unique position as a meeting point of several dichotomies apparent throughout the ages, including: East versus West, Natural versus Cultural and Spiritual versus Material.

there – the text is syllabically set – denying the performer complete autonomy. In keeping with typical characteristics of Znamenny Chant, Ustvolskaya includes no fewer than five general pauses in her Composition No. 2 (1972-73). These pauses provide the narrator with a syllabic freedom similar to that demanded from a cantor in the Znamenny tradition, providing the musical line relief from strict metric pulsation and endowing the music with a palpable sense of time.[25]

Despite the apparent absence of structural symmetry in Znamenny raspev, there are very relevant architectural rules that are evident in any given chant that provide contrast and variety as the melody is created by passing through various types of tri-chord. According to Smolensky's analysis of the chant, its compass can be contrasted and varied by subtle exploitation and alternation of the tri-chords outlined causing configurations of tone and semitones in short motifs to be a typical characteristic of Znamenny chant.[26]

In Znamenny chant, it is typical for melodies to be diatonic, habitually proceeding in conjunct melodic movement and advancing mainly in stepwise movement.[27] As much of Ustvolskaya's work progresses in stepwise movement, it is not surprising that her work is littered with intervals of tones and semitones. Yet Smolensky's findings become increasingly remarkable as the tri-chord theories can be identified in Ustvolskaya's more complex (and certainly angular) motives.

For example, the clusters found in the oboes, double basses and tubas at the opening of Symphony No. 3 can easily be reduced to tri-chords, as can the whole-tone scale starting in bar 4 of the double bass line. But Ustvolskaya augments these tonal relationships through the introduction of a changing texture in bar 43. The oboes can be taken as an example. Each oboe is given the interval of a minor third upon which to oscillate. As the minor third is itself a manipulation of the tri-chords in question (it consists of a tone and semi-tone), a horizontal appearance of these tri-chords occurs. Simultaneously, however, a vertical implementation also occurs as the five oboes soloists play in parallel with each other. So, at the same time the minor third relationships are established, the vertical relationship between the starting notes of each line is also made manifest.[28]

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[25] According to the score, this text is borrowed from the religious poetry of the German Benedictine monk Hermannus Contractus (1013–1054); however, the first four lines of the text are almost an exact translation from the Orthodox Prayer Book.

[26] Swan, op.cit., 378.

[27] Ibid., 368.

[28] Ustvolskaya's implementation of these tri-chords is not limited to this particular work. Composition No. 1 – "Dona Nobis Pacem" (1970–1971) is a trio in three movements, scored

According to Richard Taruskin, specific arrangements of these tri-chords result in the manifestation of noteworthy scales. This is highly significant, as Ustvolskaya's music is inundated with relevant examples of the appearance of these scales. The octatonic scale is never more prevalent that at the beginning of Piano Sonata No. 5, in which the melody meanders around the mid-range of the piano in stepwise movement.[29] Clear examples of the diatonic scale can also be found. For instance, in the very opening of Piano Prelude No. 3, the second voice in the right hand immediately toys with the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th degrees of the diatonic ascending before launching into an almost complete version of the descending Russian minor scale (D, C, B, A, G, F, E).

Stravinsky also uses these scales extensively: it is hugely significant that the passage from *Les Noces* that Taruskin chose to analyse in terms of these scales is unmistakably indebted to this preliminary sketch of a Znamenny melody.[30] (Example: Figure 50, Les Noces)

This direct Znamenny quotation removes any vestige of doubt about Stravinsky's intentions regarding his implementation of tri-chords and scales. In turn, we can ascertain that Ustvolskaya adopted the very same compositional technique to fulfil an identical purpose. [31]

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for piccolo, tuba and piano, a rather unconventional group of chosen instruments exploiting the wide pitch range these instruments can achieve. The main theme for this work is found on the tuba at the opening, compromising of three short motifs: 1.) F G/F# G# A, 2.) A B C, 3.) Db Cb. The tri-chordal technique is evident yet again in both the first and second motives: F G A (Tone, Tone), F# G# A (Tone, Semi-Tone), A B C (T, ST). The motif that opens Composition Number 2 "Dies Irae" in the piano's right hand consists of G Ab G F: F G Ab (T, ST). Composition Number 3 "Benedictus qui Venit" opens with an F# ostinato in the first flute whilst the other flutes sustain a 3-note cluster E F G (ST, T). The theme first apparent in the piano in Symphony No. 4 "Prayer" continues with this tri-chordic harmonic structure: G F E D = D E F (T, ST) and E F G (ST, T).

[29] Take, for example, Figure 7 of Piano Sonata No. 5, where a scalar passage is introduced in the right hand: the melody chromatically meanders around the mid-range of the piano in stepwise movement. The left hand enters with a repeated three-note motif – D, E, and F – which forms the opening of the ascending octatonic scale. The right-hand melody drops out leaving an isolated left-hand melodic line to continue its octatonic ascent (beat 71 after 7) and continues into the right hand until it lands on an E. Following a four-note interlude, the octatonic scale continues its voyage starting on a D natural to Bb. After a quaver rest, the melody drops down a minor third and resumes its octatonic journey to the E(bb), the final peak of the ascent.

[30] The infamous brass chord that articulates rhythmically the *Augurs of Spring* is a further example where Ustvolskaya's harmonic approach resonates with that of Stravinsky. Indeed, the renowned bitonal chord can be analysed in terms of the T-S-T chord previously identified (if the Db is considered enharmonically): Ab, Bb, Cb, Db: Db, Eb, Fb, G.

[31] Transcription by Nikolai Uspensky: Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through* Mavra, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996, 1380.

Russianness

Russian composers of the nineteenth century – without an historic Russian tradition of Western art music – were compelled to discern a way to combine these distinctly Russian traditions with the contemporary practice that had been established in the remainder of Europe. Mussorgsky was clearly inspired by the notion of reconciling Znamenny raspev and Western genres:[32] for example, in his opera *Khovanshchina* (1872–80), direct quotations of Znamenny can be found with new harmonies, prophesying the declamatory manner that Ustvolskaya would demand from her narrators.

Tchaikovsky included Znamenny melodies in many of his secular works including his Symphony no. 6 and *The Queen of Spades*, and Rimsky-Korsakov[33] composed his *Russian Easter Festival Overture* based largely on the *Obikhod*,[34] including several biblical quotations in the score itself.[35] Rachmaninov's Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (op. 31, 1910) was followed by his

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[32] Mussorgsky wrote no symphonies despite his appropriation of many other Western genres. His opera *The Marriage* does not actually quote these melodies, yet the entire opera is based on lifelike patterns of speech, in keeping with the most elevated aspect of Znamenny raspev: the reliance of the text upon the melody. The implementation of Znamenny chant is not only identified in Mussorgsky's work, however, but can be identified throughout the repertory of the prolific nineteenth-century composers: Lyadov's *Ten Canticles from the Obikhod*, Opus. 61, exists as a notable example of Ustvolskaya's relation to other Russian nineteenth and twentieth-century composers.

[33] The prominent pagan element of Rimsky-Korsakov's overture may well be indebted to his own personal religious convictions: he was not a Christian believer. However, it does seem unusual that a non-believer would compose a piece purely based upon liturgical chant, replete with direct quotations and with a subject matter that forms the basis of Christianity; he even included the 68th Psalm and the 16th chapter of Mark as a preface to the score. Despite including some of his own words as part of the preface, in keeping with his more pantheistic attitude, Rimsky-Korsakov's subject matter is hugely indicative of a further relevant aspect of the Russian creative mentality: Russian Orthodoxy as Russian nationalism.

[34] The term *Obikhod* refers to a collection of chants that is associated with Russian Orthodox chant, although does not include only Znamenny chant, but also Bulgarian and Kievan chant – all chants from the region anciently known as Rus'.

[35] Rimsky-Korsakov himself explicitly outlined his personal intent with the symphony in his autobiography: "The rather lengthy, slow introduction of the Easter Sunday Overture is the theme of *Let God Arise!* alternating with the ecclesiastical theme *An Angel Wailed*, appeared to me, in its beginning, as it were, the ancient Isaiah's prophecy concerning the resurrection of Christ. The gloomy colours of the *Andante lugubre* seemed to depict the Holy Sepulchre that had shone with ineffable light at the moment of resurrection – in the transition to the Allegro of the Overture. The beginning of the *Allegro* 'Let them also that hate flee before Him' led to the holiday mood of the Greek Orthodox Church service on Christ's matins; the solemn trumpet voice of the archangel was replaced by a tonal reproduction of the joyous almost dance-like bell-tolling, alternating now with the sexton's rapid reading and now with the conventional chant of the priest's reading the glad tidings

All-Night Vigil (1915), in which he drew upon several kinds of Orthodox chant (including Znamenny) to compose a cycle of fifteen liturgical settings for choir (See Exx. 28 and 29).[36] Similarly, Stravinsky included Znamenny melodic tradition in his *Three Sacred Choruses*,[37] and the soprano line of the *Otche Nash* (Pater Noster) is freely based on the traditional Znamenny melody for the Lord's Prayer.[38] Schnittke was also to allude to Znamenny raspev was in his film score *Dnevnye zvyozdy* (Day Stars),[39] whose subject was the life of Ivan the Terrible, (reverberating with Prokofiev's quasi-Znamenny inclusions for Eisenstein's infamous version).[40]

Conclusion

Countless similarities can be found between Ustvolskaya's music and Orthodox traditions. Znamenny texts dictate rhythm and form according to the measure of speech patterns, as do Ustvolskaya's texts (Symphony No. 5).[41] The earliest forms of polyphonic Russian chant were expressed in staffless notation, proceeded without syncopation, and never included a time signature: this is hugely reminiscent of Ustvolskaya's refusal to embrace convention or restricting notation such as bar lines.[42]

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of the Evangel. The *obikhod* theme, *Christ is Risen!* which forms a sort of subsidiary part of the Overture appeared amongst the trumpet-blasts and bell-tolling, constituting a triumphant coda." Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life*, Holt, Tudor Publishing, 1956.

[36] Swan, "Russian liturgical music and it relation to twentieth-century ideals", *Music and Letters* 39(3), 1958, 271.

[37] The composition of the *Choruses* could well have been motivated by Stravinsky's confession and communion, and re-entry, into the Orthodox Church in the same year, after which he remained a dedicated follower.

[38] This inclusion also covers Stravinsky's Eurasian inclusion of aspects of Russian folksong.

[39] Directed by Igor Talankin, 1966.

[40] Although no direct quotation has been identified, some melodic and rhythmic similarities have been traced to fragments from the collection of chants of Uspensky. The presence of Schnittke's Znamenny melodies accompanies Ivan's son's murder and it was to be this very same material that Schnittke was to include in Hymn no.3 (1979), from the set *Four Hymns* for cello and chamber ensemble.

[41] This, of course, is diametrically opposite to the practice in folksong in which the non-symmetrical metres, although they are similar, are developed freely according to the predilection of the performer.

[42] Alfred Swan, "The Znamenny Chant of the Russian Church", *The Musical Quarterly,* Part II, 26(3), 368. Ustvolskaya augments her intentions as she accents the last beat of the first oboe part in bar 9, yet does not accent the subsequent note despite it sitting on the first beat of the next bar. Metric equality is also dispensed with in the first oboe in bar 12, where each of the four crotchet beats is accented. The vital importance of a regular, constant

But a final enquiry must consider the *purpose* of Ustvolskaya's inclusion of these elements. The political and social situation within which Ustvolskaya was composing is of particular note, as her creative productivity was constantly observed and publicly scrutinized. Without the freedom to publish music that would overtly convey her personal spiritual convictions, Ustvolskaya was compelled to find a compositional approach that could release her from her artistic shackles. The music's ambiguity is largely attributable to the fact that Znamenny Chant was drawn upon as a tool for communicating clandestine 'spiritual' and iconographical messages. Her inclusion of Znamenny chant – in its truest iconic form – provided a route through which she could explore her spiritual fervour discreetly, without the risk of conviction. An examination of Ustvolskaya's contemporaries shows a lengthy and widespread preoccupation with this approach, validating the secret code of Znamenny raspev, ritual and iconography, as a major factor in the analysis of the work of twentieth-century Russian composers, far from the watchful eye of the Soviet cultural ministry.

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crotchet beat is also clear in Symphony No. 5: at every new time signature throughout the work, a marking is inserted to ensure the crotchet beat is not altered.

Musical Examples

Example 1. Smolensky's Trichordic Analysis
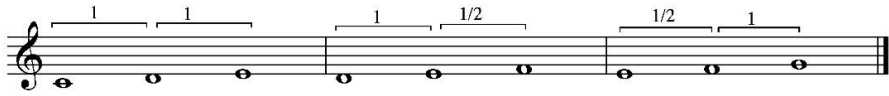
Example 2. Opening of Ustvolskaya's Symphony No 3

Example 3. Noteworthy Scales
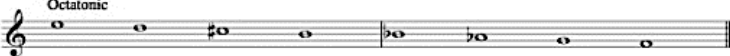
Example 4. Original Znamenny Melody

Example 5. Stravinsky, *Les Noces*, fig. 50

Example 6a. Znamenny Chant used by Rachmaninov

Example 6b. Rachmaninov

Example 7. Mussorgsky Melody

Figure 1. Summary

Znamenny Raspev	Ustvolskaya's Music
Symbol of spiritual dissidence	✓
Relentless crochet pulsations	✓
Apocalyptic brutality	✓
Liturgical subtitles	✓
Invocations of death/crucifixion/carpentry	✓
Emphasis on ensemble performance	✓
Extreme and contrasting tessitura	✓
Numeric symbolism	✓
Proceeds in crochets/minims	✓
Text as the driving force	✓
Step-wise movement in melody	✓
Subjected to Smolensky's tri-chord analysis	✓
Appearance of diatonic/octatonic scales	✓
Metric Freedom	✓

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Gregory Myers

Nikolai Korndorf's Music for the Holy Space: Thoughts on his 1978 Setting of the Orthodox Divine Liturgy

The Russian Orthodox Church and its Music – A Brief Preamble and a Chronology

Orthodoxy has defined Russia since the tenth century. The religion of the Byzantine Greeks gave both form and content to Russian culture and formed the cornerstone of her cultural identity. From the beginning, her pageantry and elaborate ritual comings and goings for every conceivable occasion shaped the lives of the Russian people. At the time Russia received her Christian baptism sometime in the tenth century, the mandate of the Byzantine Empire was to maintain the cultural pluralism of those lands into which the Christian religion was introduced. The Orthodox faith, however, was not transplanted into a culturally barren landscape, but was syncretically adapted and erected on a pre-existing pagan foundation, and both have coexisted to the present in a centuries-old symbiotic balance.

Before the Dawn

From the time of Peter the Great the Russian Orthodox Church had been subjugated to imperial authority. It became a vassal of Tsarist autocracy and increasingly a redundant bureaucracy. By the nineteenth century, Imperial Russia with its imperial triune mandate of autocracy-orthodoxy-nationality had become as secular a society as the rest of Europe. A daily constant, it was perceived by pre-Revolutionary progressives as reactionary, rigid, even moribund. The Church institution it something the populace took for granted; it was nonetheless integral to the society's fabric. Church music

production reflected the tenets of the Cecilian movement then prevalent in the West.[1] The musical settings of the divine services had long ago lost that organic relationship with the liturgical action, having become showpieces for soloists and choirs. Before the clampdown on sacred music composition by the Soviet authorities, composers wrote settings of the Divine Liturgy more for financial gain than as an act of faith or for particular love of established tradition.[2] To write, they donned Bortnyansky's powdered wig, and composed in a pseudo-Italianate, ultra-conservative musical style no matter how aesthetically repugnant, which eschewed any kind of stylistic development beyond what had been the norm since the beginning of the nineteenth century.[3] Church music composition had thus reached a point of stasis in its stylistic development. In her 2007 study, Marina Frolova-Walker supplies the best summation: it was of low musical standards.[4] After 1917, with the Church's very existence in peril, sacred music production had largely ceased and the Russian émigré communities abroad went into preservation mode, 'embalming' the conservative style of the early nineteenth century.

Following the events of the October Revolution, the Orthodox Church and its adherents became the supreme casualty of Soviet oppression; under

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[1] Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997, 95.

[2] For example, Tchaikovsky's aversion toward Bortniansky when called upon by publisher to edit the latter's works: "Jurgenson forwarded the Bortniansky material to Peter, who pronounced it a mass of rubbish, advised his publisher to abandon the plan and then, after examining what he called his "finances," and finding them far from satisfactory, plunged into the job. All through July and August he worked at Bortniansky – "a loathsome task," he wrote to Jurgenson, "which I shall finish because I always finish what I have begun. But one of these days I shall burst with sheer irritation." See Catherine Bowen Drinker (ed.), *My Beloved Friend,* New York, Random House, 1937, 404.

[3] In an effort to break with her Italianate-dominated musical past, from the 1880s had a systematic scientific enquiry into old chant begun, undertaken by the likes of Undolsky and Razumovsky, then continued by Smolensky, Metallov, Preobrazhensky, Findeizen, among others, who stimulated much needed reforms to Russian sacred music and whose pioneering research and publication still form the cornerstone of contemporary research, research that was bravely kept alive by such lone figures as Maxim Brazhnikov and Nikolai Uspensky within the USSR, and in the emigration by scholars like Johann von Gardner. Unfortunately, the efforts of these founders of the so-called New Trend were too little too late. While labouring to establish a choral sacred music style rooted in traditional Russian practices, i.e., by resurrecting and reintroducing Znamenny Chant, liberated of foreign (i.e., Italianate) influences, they could not break the hold of those who monopolized church music composition for three successive generations from Bortniansky to L'vov to Bakhmetev (universally acknowledged as those guilty for reducing the standard singing to simple-minded tonic-dominant pitter-patter), one that held fast for decades until it was successfully challenged in 1878 by Tchaikovsky and his publisher Jurgenson. By then, however, it was too late.

[4] Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism from Glinka to Stalin*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2007, 174.

Communism the institution of the Orthodox Church and the believers were under constant threat. For those of us who have come to know Russian Orthodoxy from abroad, perceived as a Church repressed, fractured, in bondage, a puppet of the Soviet State since the Russian Revolution, it is virtually impossible fully to comprehend its impression on an emergent generation of Russian composers active in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Thus, these "modern" Russian composers' encounter with Orthodoxy, with its trappings, traditions and those rituals, seemingly obscure and antiquated, must have been strange: familiar ("Babushka's Church"), foreign yet inspiring.

The Reawakening

A period of stagnation within the Soviet Union, the murky period of the 1970s was a sort of nexus, a watershed time that witnessed the beginning of a spiritual awakening. From the late 1980s Russia's religious re-embrace, for which we can more easily account, received its external impetus from the country's shifting social and political dynamic of the *Perestroika* years. Seven decades of Soviet rule could not expunge more than a millennium of Orthodox tradition; it succeeded instead in "disconnecting" at least two generations from it. After the fall of Communism, for those young emerging musicians whose indoctrination had been one of state-enforced atheism and the imposition of the Communist Party's hackneyed pseudo-religion, the new dawn of religious freedom and the rediscovery of their tradition of over 1000 years was a revelation. The following explores some of the precedents.

The Russian Orthodox Church had been a societal presence for a millennium. Indeed, the allure of the Russian Orthodoxy crossed generations drawing many to, and back into, its fold, as if they were saying "this was once ours; let us reclaim it to make us whole again – but what was it?" Even then, members of the new generation could not simply return to the faith or institution of their pre-Revolutionary forefathers, and neither did they evince such a desire. Rather, consciously or intuitively, they sought something buried deep in Russia's spiritual past; something deeply rooted in Russian soil (*Почвенничество*).[5]

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[5]   The readily identifiable homophonic/diatonic 'church music style' has resounded through generations of composers (from Stravinsky to Schnittke) as a constant regardless of the genre or individual musical language, persisting well beyond its Pre-Revolutionary heyday. It has informed and has been a source of raw material for the forging of art music compositions, however couched, permeating the fabric of every genre and resurfacing in the oddest places (for example, the second movement of Glazunov's Saxophone Quartet).

Nikolai Korndorf

Throughout their history, Russians have been intuitively drawn to the external and experiential aspects, i.e. the *ritual*, of the Orthodox Liturgy with its pageantry and drama.

So, it was for the young Nikolai Korndorf[6] and his contemporaries, who had embarked on a quest of spiritual fulfilment through a musical idiom, and who were likely seeing religion through newly opened eyes for the first time.

Figure 1.
Nikolai Korndorf (1947–2001)

Korndorf was probably the best and brightest of an emergent generation of composers who were born in the late 1940s and whose years of musical maturation were the late 1960s and 70s. A Russian *intelligent*, Korndorf was a member of his country's cultural elite, precocious, and certainly representative of a generation that also included Vladimir Tarnopolsky, Viktor Ekimovsky, Dimitri Smirnov, Elena Firsova, Yuri Butsko, and the "redoubtable" Vladimir Martynov. Korndorf was a man blessed with enormous talents and appetites, whose stylistic heritage is rooted in that of his great forebears: by his own admission, Rimsky-Korsakov, Mahler, particularly in terms of the enormity of his musical canvases, Shostakovich and to some extent, Alfred Schnittke.

A complex and deeply spiritual man, all told, in matters of faith he was inscrutable – it was profound and lofty but not in the traditional sense. His

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[6]   From his emigration to Canada in 1991 to his untimely death in May 1991, Korndorf and his family were residents of the Vancouver suburb of Burnaby. They were neighbours and for those past five years of his life were close personal friends and frequent guests. For this discussion of the composer's Liturgy, a special thanks goes out to Korndorf's widow Galina Averina-Korndorf for providing a copy of the unpublished manuscript.

move into church music settings was more understated and less enduring; it was something to which he never returned, even though the fascination and the impression remained and obviously left an indelible imprint on his psyche. Indeed, a spiritual element or component formed the core of most of his music.

Nor was he a stranger to the Orthodox Church. As a boy he frequented services at Holy Trinity-St Sergius Monastery with his grandmother and journeyed with her as far as Pskov. Nevertheless, he maintained a curious passive, even indifferent, stance, as if he were keeping the institution of the Orthodox Church and its trappings at arm's length. One supposes that his was a response, one of suspicion and mistrust, shared with many of his generation. Nonetheless, an all-embracing spirituality underlying or supporting theology somewhere outside the parameters of traditional Russian Orthodoxy imbued both man and music, and underpinned his creative processes.

From a perusal of his output we can discern different categories of liturgical elements that form the core of later compositions, which ranged from literal quotation (for example, his String Quartet, a work employing the refrain texts from the Orthodox Memorial Service or *Panikhida*), and a work, like the all-night vigil service to which it makes reference, that was premiered after 23:00; mimesis (e.g., cantillation), perhaps the most sophisticated and subtle element (the solo piano piece *Yarilo*, *Hymn II*), and humorous parody (*A Letter to V. Martynov and G. Pelecis* for piano), with its paraphrase of tone eight from the Obikhod.

Nikolai Korndorf's Setting of the Divine Liturgy and the Formation of his Musical Style

Dated 3 July 1978, Korndorf's setting of the Orthodox Liturgy is an early work comprising an unpublished 66-page manuscript. A composition best described as written *for the drawer*, innocuously and ambiguously titled "Simfonia-Suite" for boys and two male choirs, its true identity further obscured by its incongruous listing as a work for two pianos.

The Liturgy is a work to which one can repeatedly return to examine from different perspectives: its inception, the 'why' and 'how', its role in the origins of Korndorf's musical style. Its very existence raises a surfeit of overarching questions: Why did he write it in the first place? What were the attraction and the circumstances of its creation? What influences came to bear on this impressionable young composer during these formative years? Was its composition a deliberate act of dissidence, or a reflexive response to the same prevalent air of eschatology that confronted older figures such as

Gubaidulina, Pärt or Schnittke? Was his turn to the canonical texts of the Orthodox liturgy the result of a personal revelation, or was he answering the call of the ancestral Russian soul reawakened from the deep slumber into which it had been forced by opposing external forces? Was he, like others of his generation, acknowledging the enormous vacuum – an impoverishment – in his life and the need to satisfy or nourish a deep spiritual yearning? Was the real attraction faith or ritual? In the following, Korndorf's Liturgy is scrutinized, in an attempt to find some suitable answers.

Russia's spiritual reawakening aside, Korndorf composed his Liturgy during the nadir of conditions for the Russian Orthodox Church, both within and without. With the whole of Russian society mired in the stagnation of the Brezhnev era, the institution of the Russian Orthodox Church was still regarded with suspicion, a beleaguered relic, a vassal of the Soviet state and one sorely out of touch with the spiritual needs of the Russian people. Sacred music composition was not a healthy occupation during these dark days.

Korndorf was not alone in his turn towards sacred music composition. He and his generation, however, could not simply return to the faith, institution or musical style of their pre-Revolutionary forefathers, and neither, like his contemporaries, was his a return to the comfortable and familiar traditions of the past. As noted above, they did not evince such a desire, but sought something to be found deep in Russia's spiritual past, deeply rooted in Russian soil.

Issues of Russian Orthodoxy, its ritual observances, and its attraction for Korndorf and his contemporaries formed the centrepiece of an interview conducted with composer Sofia Gubaidulina in the summer of 2012, in which she compared the act of composing sacred music composition as it pertained to Korndorf, to the ritual of the Proskomedia, the preparatory act of sacrificial offering comprising the first part of the Orthodox Divine Liturgy.[7] It serves here to introduce the spiritual, specifically the ritualistic, aspects of Korndorf's music, at the core of which is this remarkable exemplar of sacred music composition from the late 20th century – his setting of the Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.

Ritual, pagan or Christian, whether authentically (or idealistically) rooted in Russia's pagan past, or of the sensually rich Orthodox Church, all-embracing but without a defined underlying or supporting theology, all underpin Korndorf's creative output. Ritual, with its inherent theatricality,

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[7]   The interview was conducted by Anna Levy at a music festival on Lake Lucerne in Switzerland.

was an inexhaustible source of inspiration that stimulated his musical imagination.[8] For the young Korndorf, this essay in setting canonical Orthodox texts was a testing field – a crucible – for his later ritual-inspired musical experiments, and perhaps an unconscious gesture of grounding himself musically in his country's historical heritage.[9] Thus it also stands to reason that the external attraction of the Orthodox Church rituals would serve as an important source of inspiration.

How much of the musical content of the liturgy is indebted to Russia's sacred music past, if any? And, more importantly, what from this exercise in sacred music composition resurfaced in later works? Conceived to bypass pre-Revolutionary generation of Russian composers, it is as if Korndorf is attempting to return to and re-establish that organic relationship between music and canonical texts in a musical style bereft of the sentimental schmaltz that defined works of the earlier period. Yet at the same time the Liturgy displays a panoply of older styles, all recognizable and drawn from Russia's long and heterogeneous musical past. Such pre-existent traditional Russian elements function as compositional antecedents and render a work that is modern yet pays balanced homage to earlier periods.

The 'Mechanics' of Korndorf's Liturgical Setting

As a brief illustration, the *Invitatorium*, the sung item marking the Lesser Entrance with the Gospel Book, "Приидите поклонимся" ("O come, let us worship"), from the beginning of the Liturgy has been selected and deconstructed. Even as an early work it exhibits the composer's hallmark meticulous attention to detail in creating a musically unified composition that would characterize the works of his maturity. Korndorf was likely experimenting with acoustical space, perhaps in a bid to recreate the authentic sounds of an actual Orthodox service. One imagines the three ensembles placed strategically around the church building, specifically two of the ensembles in the right and left *kliros*, with the third in a choir loft.

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8   The ritual, gestural or sacramental elements in Russian culture enabled composer to connect eucharistically with Russia's truly ancient heritage and the moist mother earth of the Russian land; for those active at the end of the twentieth century ritual rooted in Russia's past also provided a means by which they could connect with their heritage, initiating them on their quest for faith and self-identity.

9   It is worth noting that as early as this work is, it is not his first foray into setting religious texts. An even earlier attempt is his "Four Spiritual Verses" of 1969, excerpts of which were consulted for comparison in the illustrations.

Figure 2. Title page of Korndorf's 1978 Liturgy
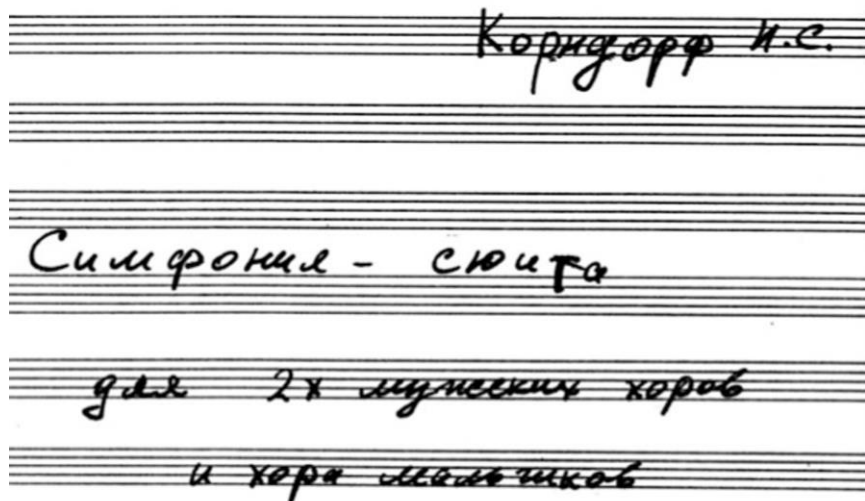
The movement features two of the three prescribed choral ensembles, which he treats autonomously. One choir sings a diatonic chant-like (*Znamenny*) line, which functions as a *cantus firmus* underpinning the layers of the independent bell-like lines of the other choir. Both are texted and presented separately. When aligned, they create that characteristic busy, noisy insistent carillon effect. [Example 1] This combination of the two choirs, which perform independently on two separate temporal plains, results in a deliberate clash or heterophonic collage of sonorities. This asynchronicity is a unifying device employed throughout [Example 2: The "Beatitudes"]. It recalls the raucous opening of his *Primitive Music* for twelve saxophones, which opens with a similar idea. This same over-layering technique is utilized in his earlier *Spiritual Verses* and in *Yarilo* for solo prepared piano, which also features his signature major-2nd clash [see Example 3a: showing an excerpt from the *Alleluia*, the "Third Spiritual Verse", and the opening of *Primitive Music*, Example 3b].

Elsewhere in the score, Korndorf reveals a predilection for white-note diatonicism (as found in his later *Hymn II*) and an adherence to a tonal centre (pitch classes). A preoccupation with structural and thematic unity in the use of a refrain (*Alleluia*) in each of its component sections and a cyclic treatment of motives is also notable. Each movement has a busy contrapuntal texture, with the three choirs deliberately set in the anachronistic *stile concitato* style of the 18th-century Petersburg Imperial Capella or the even

earlier Russian 17th-century baroque style.[10] In yet other sections, Korndorf makes reference to the still earlier peculiar, pungent and singularly Russian heterophony of late 16th-century Russian church music, the *troestrochnoe pienie*, in which two of the choirs are set in heterophonic dialogue; how well acquainted Korndorf was with these earlier styles is unknown [Example 4, *Cherubic Hymn*].[11]

Korndorf shows his fondness for onomatopoeia in his use of tintinnabular effects (another important link to *Yarilo*), effects that mimic the sonorities of untuned Russian church bells. The composer is perhaps acknowledging Russia's omnipresent aural icons. These sonorities are employed at the beginning, end, and consistently throughout as a unifying device [Example 5, the opening of the concluding "Буди имя Господне" -"Blessed be the Name of the Lord"]. These bell-like constructs resurface in later works; overtly manifest in his recently performed "Dance in Metal – In Honour of John Cage."[12]

Conclusions

But what of faith, of Orthodoxy? Musical analyses aside, there are broader issues here. For Korndorf this embrace of ritual enabled him to find balance in his search for his own musical voice and personal brand of spirituality. From a Russian perspective, the works Korndorf composed in the wake of the Liturgy appear symbolic and symptomatic of his generation, seemingly wishing to eschew or bypass previous epochs – a grassroots movement - to peer beneath the Christian beliefs that have always shaped Russian culture in a musical tale of bygone years. All the while, by drawing on earlier styles, he simultaneously pays homage to Russia's sacred music past.

As a musical composition, Korndorf's Liturgy is at best uneven and not suitable for singing at service. Its role, instead, was as an *urtext*, a template for the masterpieces to come. In other words, a rite of Proskomedia or act of liturgical preparation, a prefatory act before each composition, as Gubaidulina mentioned above – something to which he would return with each new work. Such acts would yield the aforementioned *Yarilo* and String

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[10] Even Korndorf "dons Bortniansky's powdered wig" and succumbs to this all too familiar style. For the early style, Korndorf may also be making a cursory musical reference to the Russian Baroque master Vasily Titov.

[11] For a possible model, it is likely Korndorf was acquainted with Nikolai Uspensky's reconstructions published in his classic study, *Drevnerusskoe pevcheskoe iskiusstvo*, Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1971.

[12] This work received its premiere at the "John Cage Musicircus" festival on 21 September 2012 in the Moscow Conservatory's Rachmaninov Hall, with Vladimir Urbanovich on percussion.

Quartet, the *Triptych* for cello and piano, the monumental Mahlerian canvases, *Hymns II* and *III* for symphony orchestra. All can trace elements of their compositional geneses in this early musical essay in Orthodox sacred music composition, either in terms of musical technique, or on a deeper layer, the musical aesthetic.

We can never be sure what Korndorf intended with this setting; he is no longer with us to ask, and he was inscrutable to the end. If the ritual elements embodied in these masterful compositions do indeed mark that aforementioned reawakening, and Korndorf succeeded in achieving a synthesis, a balance between the Orthodox Christian and the pre-Christian, replete with those all-defining Russian elements, to create something novel but truly rooted in the Russian soil. We can thus regard the subtitle of his *Hymn No. III*, "A New Heaven", not so much as that promised to the Orthodox Christian believer in the Gospels but more to the transfigured Russian world envisioned by Rimsky-Korsakov in his penultimate opera, *The Tale of the Invisible City of Kitezh*.

At the same time, with this setting of the Divine Liturgy and the works that followed, Korndorf seems to have made a valiant attempt to restore the organic role of music and liturgy; whether or not this was his goal is unknown. More importantly, for his maturation as a composer, Korndorf forges something new by drawing on elements rooted deep in Russia's spiritual and musical past. The Liturgy was a point of musical reference and marked a compositional point of departure. All told, for Nikolai Korndorf the act of composition was itself a liturgical ritual or ritualized musical gesture – his Liturgy, his Proskomedia.

Musical Examples

Example 1. *Priidite, poklonimsya*

Example 2. Showing asynchronous layering of chant line from the Third Antiphon *Vo tsarstvii Tvoem*

Example 3a. Recurrent *Alleluia* Refrain from Liturgy

Example 3b. Opening of *Primitive Music* for 12 saxophones

Example 4. The Cherubic Hymn, *Izhe Heruvimi*

Example 5. *Budi imya Gospodnye*

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CHAPTER 13

Tara Wilson

Vladimir Martynov: Russian Orthodoxy as a Cultural and Compositional Aesthetic

Vladimir Martynov (b. 1946) is one of Russia's leading contemporary composers, known primarily for his long-term employment of minimalist techniques, as well as for his liturgical writings and hymnographic reconstructions of Russian Orthodox chant designed specifically for worship. He has also written extensively for experimental theatre (including being Composer in Residence at the Taganka Theatre, under Yuri Lyubimov during the 1990s), film and television. Prolific in output and having a diverse range of non-musical interests and specialisms, the Moscow-based Martynov is also a prominent intellectual, having written several academic (and often cross-disciplinary) texts on ethnomusicology, Eastern and Western philosophy, theology, as well as on semiotics and literary theory - his focus as regards the latter being the structuralist/post-structuralist theories of Claude Levi-Strauss and Umberto Eco. Also known for his somewhat radical compositional manifesto, *Konets vremeni kompozitorov* [*The End of the Composers' Time*][1] upon which his own post-minimalist output is based, Martynov asserts that contemporary compositional language should function as discourse; moreover, that, styled as "bricolage", it should function as a "post-post-modernist" commentary on past musics and cultures: its working out in performance operating as a form of ritual which cleanses present and future music, culture and therefore mankind of what he refers to as "the divide between the materialistic world and spiritual harmony".[2] Directly influenced by Russian Orthodoxy as a doctrine and employing znamenny raspev and strochny as sources of archaic musical vocabulary, Martynov

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[1]   Vladimir I. Martynov, *Konets vremeni kompozitorov:* Moscow: Klassika-XX, 1996

[2]   Vladimir Martynov: Interview with Tara Wilson (interpreter: Sergei Zagny): Moscow, 2 August 2004.

makes implicit connections between Russian Orthodox chant and minimalism whilst constructing in performance what he terms a "new sacred space": a type of "happening" that aims to engender meditative contemplation within a contemporary ritualistic environment.

Using private interview material, previously unseen manuscripts as well as a range of Martynov's published writings, this chapter examines the influence of Russian Orthodoxy on his wider philosophies and cultural and compositional aesthetic. Focusing specifically upon his post-minimalist compositions designed for the concert hall, rather than upon his liturgical writings or his (post-minimalist and other) music written for theatre, film and television, it examines how Russian Orthodoxy has shaped his post-minimalist language, whilst discussing, in relation to this, how it has influenced his own performance aesthetic and his approach to ritual.

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Vladimir Martynov is often described as a phenomenon of contemporary Russian, post-Soviet and post-modernist culture. Speaking of the extent to which he attempts to unify and reflect upon an array of cultural references – this being the hallmark of his post-minimalist oeuvre – musicologist Margarita Katunian states that, "Martynov belongs to a circle of composers who see music as a merging of extra-musical sources, as a path towards what could be defined as a "new syncretism". He himself embodies the syncretic culture"[3] (Katunian, 2000: 13). Rising to prominence during the mid-to-late Sixties whilst still a postgraduate at the Moscow Conservatoire and gaining status on the Moscow "underground" scene during the early 1970s as a leading exponent of the second generation ("Trinity") Soviet Avant-garde, his career, compositional and otherwise, can be divided from 1974 onwards into three distinct spheres of activity. First and foremost is his relationship with minimalism as a compositional device, Martynov, together with the pianist Alexei Lubimov, giving the first known performance of an (early) American minimalist work on Soviet soil: their own arrangement for two pianos of Terry Riley's now seminal minimalist composition, *In C* (1964) performed in Martynov's father's Moscow apartment in the autumn of 1968.[4] Largely responsible, with Lubimov, composer Eduard Artemyev, violinist Tatiana

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[3] Margarita Katunyan, "Vladimir Martynov: Games Played by Men and Angels": <www.russ.ru/culture/review>, 2000, 13.

[4] The date of the arrival of minimalist music in the Soviet Union can, unusually, be specified and indeed, credited to a single individual: noted Soviet musicologist, first biographer of Shostakovich, and Vladimir Martynov's father: Ivan Martynov (1908–2003). Acting as Communist Party "minder" to Soviet dignitaries abroad (as well as to Stravinsky during his historic return to the Soviet Union in September 1962), Ivan Martynov would allegedly bring into the Soviet Union, on a regular basis, an assortment of officially unobtainable

Grindenko and percussionist Mark Perkarsky, for the propagation of early American minimalist music throughout the Moscow underground scene during the late 1960s and early 1970s – he and his contemporaries disseminating the output of Riley, Philip Glass and Steve Reich via underground performances as well as though bootleg copies of scores and recordings – Martynov is also commonly regarded as Russia's leading post-minimalist exponent on account of his long-term and highly consistent adherence to what can be considered as the "purer" minimalist style. Adopting minimalist techniques in 1974 and being credited with being the first composer to produce a Soviet post-minimalist work,[5] he has produced over 150 post-minimalist works to date in a wide range of genres. His mature post-minimalist output is characterized predominantly – and with little deviation or development since the early 1980s – by the use of an ascetic and homogeneous structure; by the employment of a process-led form that utilises a highly systematic repetitive technique, together with the use of modal and/or tonal language. Similarly, as with the (early) American minimalist examples, his output engenders experiences which on account of the transparency and rigour of the forms involved, comprise not only a perceptibility of process and a sustained focus on its inner structural components but also a range of what might be termed "psycho-acoustic phenomena," this including the gradual induction of a meditative state as well as, in contrast, a heightened sense of impetus and momentum. Significantly, his output also includes a number of non-minimalist techniques, thus marking it as both historically and culturally specific. These include the use of greater harmonic complexity and the use of discursive (as opposed to musematic) repetition; the employment, in contrast to, say, the early works of Glass or Reich, of relatively slow tempos, and the tendency to utilize and juxtapose pastiche and/or quotation. By way of illustration, Example 1 below, taken from the opening section (bars 1–46) of Martynov's now seminal post-minimalist composition for two pianos, *Opus Posthumum I* (1984, rev. 1993; MS), demonstrates the

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material, ranging from classical scores and recordings to records of jazz, folk and popular music. Acquiring in the West in early 1968 (the exact date is unknown), a copy of the score instructions of Terry Riley's *In C* (1964), Ivan Martynov, passing it via a chain of unknown individuals, presented it as an anonymous joke to composer Edison Denisov who, in denouncing minimalist music as a "fascist disease" symbolically flushed it down a toilet at the Moscow Conservatoire as a warning to his second-year composition students. The score was later retrieved – coincidentally – by Vladimir Martynov, initially unaware of his father's involvement.

5   While post-minimalist composer Alexandre Rabinovitch-Barakovsky is arguably the first Soviet to have produced a post-minimalist work, *La Belle Musique No. 2* (1974), drafted in the Soviet Union but completed after his emigration to Paris in 1974, Martynov is the first Soviet composer to have produced a post-minimalist work entirely on Soviet soil: this being his *Partita per violino solo* (1976).

juxtaposition of a tonal, harmonic and more teleologically driven fragment with the beginnings of a highly rigorous and repetitive process.

Example 1. Extract from *Opus Posthumum I* (1984, rev. 1993)

The second aspect dominating Martynov's career in a wider sense is his preoccupation with contemporary European culture; more specifically with plurality and with the juxtaposition of diverse cultural and historical aspects in the belief that "truth" (ethical, cultural and spiritual) can be found at the boundaries between contrasting and diametrically opposed ideas, cultural and anthropological systems, and religious dogmas. Possessing what

is clearly a "renaissance" aesthetic as regards his own interests and specialisms, Martynov speaks of trying to adhere to the post-modernist aesthetic whilst also striving to deprive post-modernism of what he perceives as its destructive ironic traits. In reference, Katunian again states that, "Not only are the stylistic orientations of [Martynov's] artistic language universal, but more broadly speaking, his fusion of the religious traditions of East and West, of the sacred and the secular, and of professional and folk art is highly organic. His historical and genealogical consciousness is also universal, allowing him to interpret the meanings and linguistic categories of the past, which are equally topical for our own time."[6]

Third, and linking both his compositional and scholarly pursuits, is his work relating to Russian hymnography and the Russian Orthodox liturgical canon. Abstaining from composition between 1978 and 1984, only four years after his adoption of minimalist techniques, and devoting himself entirely to teaching, singing and religious service at the Theological Academy of the Trinity Sergiev Monastery (formerly Zagorsk), Martynov has, in addition to his work as a choral director, overseen the reconstruction of several pre-sixteenth century choral manuscripts as well as the restoration of both znammeny raspev and strochny with these intended for regular inclusion within contemporary liturgical worship. Maintaining his position at the Academy as a hymnologist since 1984, whilst publishing widely on the subject of liturgical chant, he has also, until as recently as 2010, been a government advisor on Russian Orthodoxy and censorship. Speaking of the religious motivation that underpinned his decision to abandon composition, to enter the Academy and to undertake and continue with these activities, he states that: "[From 1978 to 1984] I stopped being a composer. In this I mean that there is a fundamental difference between the composition of music that is my own music, part of Man's canon, in my case, the minimalist canon – and producing music that is part of the wider canon, God's canon. I saw myself as the chorister, as the icon painter, as the worshipper, as the anonymous man. I am still these things, although since the 80s I have been both a composer and a non-composer".[7]

In examining Martynov's mature post-minimalist output in more detail, first it becomes apparent that a paradox exists between his compositional practice and his wider compositional aesthetic. Whilst his post-minimalist language is characterized predominantly by the use of minimalist techniques, his actual aesthetic veers away from modernist tendencies, with the composer employing a post-minimalist form with the aim of it functioning,

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[6] As cited in Valeria Tsenova, *Ex Oriente…Ten Composers from the former USSR*. Berlin, Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 2002, 46.

[7] Vladimir Martynov: Interview with Tara Wilson (interpreter: Alexander Ivashkin): London, 14 February 2009.

first and foremost, as a mode of discourse. In this, Martynov's primary consideration is semantic rather than formalist, despite the overt use of a style and indeed, structure that appears to negate all intended meaning, with the composer purposefully utilizing the minimalist form – as well as the range of psycho-acoustic experiences that it potentially engenders – with the intention of giving rise to an array of different types of significations: to what we might call "socially-constructed" meanings, as well as to those which, he asserts, pre-exist in the universe irrespective of human endeavour and which we might term "existential" and/or "esoteric". As such, his post-minimalist aesthetic is the very antithesis of the (early) American minimalist aesthetic, given that the latter espouses abstraction and non-referentiality. Within this particular context however, the American aesthetic has been turned inside out: it no longer rejects external association and symbolic content, but on the contrary, directly encompasses the semantic and conceptual aspects that lie beyond (and in contrast to) the limitations of the material. Thus, Martynov's oeuvre can be seen as a construction based upon illusion in that its signifiers imply that there is no reference to anything other than what is immediately apparent. Even the term "minimalism" (not to mention its wider contextual association with its American predecessors) seems to negate the possibility of a more meaningful experience being intended, with his music being essentially therefore, an oxymoron, proposing a far more communicative experience than its definition suggests. Concerning this, he states that,

> My [post-minimalist] music is at its very core more than an acoustic phenomenon. It preserves [American] minimalism's structures and has elements which are brought to the fore, but essentially, it is a phenomenon of contemporary culture. It is a vehicle for communicating and reflecting, for commenting and for highlighting truths. But paradoxically, it is also just an outer shell from which a form of communication appears. Once the communication has taken place, the shell may be disregarded; it has no further purpose as a meaningful entity.[8]

Whilst Martynov perceives music as a holistic symbolic system with his approach (both aesthetically and compositionally) being actively semiological, it is also clear that he is concerned not just with conveying personal, subjective significations or even a spiritual essence, but also wider philosophical, cultural and socio-cultural concepts. Being acutely conscious of the kinds of experiences that the minimalist aesthetic engenders, as well as, through his

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[8]   Vladimir Martynov: Interview with Tara Wilson (interpreter: Sergei Zagny): Moscow, 2 August 2004.

interest in semiotics, how the different models of the sign operate; how different codes and modalities function according to different schools of thought, both structuralist and post-structuralist, he is, as a composer, much more concerned than might otherwise have been the case with utilizing the inter-relationship between the composer's actions and the music as text - as well as between the music as text and the experiences encountered by the listener. It is useful at this point therefore, to employ as a tool for discussion the semiological model first utilised by Jean Molino[9] in this, being what Jean-Jacques Nattiez would later refer to as the "tripartition".[10] All music, Molino asserts, exists as what he calls a "total musical fact": this being the idea that what we perceive as "music" exists not as a single entity but as that which is three-dimensional; what he calls "the production of an acoustic 'object', that acoustic object itself and the reception of the object".[11] Constructing a generic and universal blueprint for all musics, which comprises three inter-related dimensions, first, Molino proposes the *neutral* level which constitutes the work as object in its structural form and exists as either score or transcription of a performance Second is the *poietic* level which encompasses all compositional procedures and processes that engender the work as well as all the (sets of) significations intended to be conveyed. Third is the *esthesic* level which encompasses any given performance of the work as well as all the acts of perception and interpretation produced in the mind of the receiver when coming into contact with it either as score or performance. The neutral level constitutes an actual entity, a tangible form and a material reality. It encompasses the "trace" of the poietic and the esthesic. In contrast, the poietic and esthesic levels constitute *processes* that exist outside of and beyond the neutral level.

Conceived in 1983 and utilized following his return to (non-liturgical) composition in 1984, although not actually published until 1996, Martynov's book-length manifesto, *Konets vremeni kompozitorov* can be considered not merely as a treatise based upon his compositional aesthetic but as a wider and predominantly cultural and socio-cultural critique. In essence, three points are discussed, each of which applies either to one of the aforementioned dimensions of the "tripartition", the poietic, the neutral and the esthesic or, more crucially, to the inter-relationships that exist between them.

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[9] Jean Molino, "Fait musical et sémiologie de la musique", *Musique en Jeu* 17, 1975, 37–62, republished as "Musical Fact and the Semiology of Music", *Music Analysis*, 9(2), 1990, 105–156.

[10] Jean-Jacques Nattiez, Série Esthétique: *Fondements d'une Sémiologie de la Musique*. Paris, Union Générale d'Editions 1975.

[11] Molino, op. cit., 113–114.

1. The Death of Music

First, this deals with the poietic and its inter-relationship with the neutral and is in itself two-fold. First, Martynov starts from the premise (as he perceives it) that all music has already been written, this being suggested by the manifesto's title, "The End of the Composer's Time". Acutely aware of the difficulties in creating increasingly new, progressive and original compositional languages that negate tradition, transcend modernism and the problems associated with the avant-garde, whilst still having validity within the postmodernist climate of plurality and reflection, he sees the solution as being the negation of the concept of the composer as the creator of "something new". Rejecting the notion of advancing compositional language and by default, the canon of Western art music, Martynov advocates constructing a new type of language based upon the juxtaposition of pre-existing styles and structures, this having obvious parallels with Claude Levi-Strauss's notion of "bricolage" – the concept whereby culture attempts to re-use available materials in order to solve new problems, with Jacques Derrida extending this notion and stating that: "If one calls *bricolage* the necessity of borrowing one's concept from the text of a heritage which is more or less coherent or ruined, it must be said that every discourse is *bricoleur*."[12] In this, Martynov is marginalizing the poietic and foregrounding the neutral level.

Within this context, however, Martynov advocates a second and much more important principle: this being what he himself terms "The Death of the Composer." Whilst this has obvious associations with Roland Barthes' now seminal essay, "The Death of the Author" (1967) and the post-structuralist notion whereby the reader-orientated position and the notion of intertextuality take prominence over fixed meanings and authorial intent, Martynov's principle differs in that it does not advocate the esthesic at the expense of the poietic. Rather, it again advocates the neutral at the expense of the poietic in that the "death" in question relates to the composer's subjectivity, with Martynov proposing a return to an objective, non-personal way of thinking and of generating compositional material. Whilst this appears to have parallels with serialism and the avant-garde, its genesis in fact lies within his socio-cultural concerns regarding the cult of the individual as well as more specifically within a creative context, the self-interest of the artist/composer. Advocating again the ideal of the "anonymous man, the worshipper and the icon painter" in relation to what he perceives as Man's true purpose, Martynov cites as a compositional influence two non-academic fields in which objectivity prevails not in the form of abstraction but

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[12] Jacques Derrida, *Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences*, trans. Alan Bass, London, Routledge 1966, 278–294, <http://hydra.humanities.uci.edu/derrida/sign-play.html>

in the form of facelessness and self-denunciation: a) folklore and archaic musics, with their emphasis on ritual; and b) liturgical music, with its emphasis on creating music to appeal to a higher entity – both of which, Martynov asserts: "have priority over […] academic composition which is ever more inclined towards subjective creativity and the crisis of self-expression."[13] In this, he argues that the composer's language should be "style-less": this being the underlying principle behind his own employment of minimalism as a "transparent" and pre-existing compositional style. We can note in relation however, that despite the customary use and juxtaposition of pastiche, the prevailing musical style in Martynov's oeuvre remains that of minimalism. Whilst utilizing an array of different historical and cultural references, these are presented not as polystylism or as an eclectic set of languages as is sometimes assumed, but as a fusion, each having been "distilled" under the use of gradual metamorphosis and repetition. Regarding this this, Martynov states that "music needs to be 'reborn'; to have a different function. Ideas relating to minimalism should be sharpened and developed further and be based ideologically on the concept of returning to the past, acknowledging it, and then moving beyond it to a fresh understanding. It is not my style. It is God's style". [14]

2. "Bricolage" as a Form of Commentary

Dealing with the neutral level and taking the above notion that all present and future compositional languages should be based upon the juxtaposition of pre-existing styles and structures, Martynov outlines a further principle within his manifesto, the notion of spiritual value in specific relation to the use of academic musics and the eradication of sin through the use of cultural commentary. Constructing a hierarchy around the notion of anonymity, he ascribes a higher importance to compositional examples written before the eighteenth century and during the twentieth century with these being highly prevalent within his post-minimalist structures. The thinking is that these, in conjunction with "less spiritual" eighteenth- and nineteenth-century examples, will function as a commentary on past cultures and musics, whilst connecting them to the present day. By utilizing and "reinterpreting" the meanings and paradigms of different styles and former epochs – particularly those of a "lesser" value – Martynov attempts to "cleanse" music and culture and ultimately Man of his spiritual indiscretion by appealing to higher cosmic forces in order to save humanity. In this, we

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[13] Katunian, op.cit., 27.

[14] Vladimir Martynov: Interview with Tara Wilson (interpreter: Alexander Ivashkin): London, 14 February 2009.

have the notion not just of music as discourse, of the attempt by a producer to convey intended meanings and to proselytise religious convictions, but of the much more radical notion of shamanistic action: of ritual as a form of exorcism. The composer states that, "The world as it has been bequeathed to us presents itself in the shape of ruins in every domain: ecological, ethical and aesthetic. The historical antecedent of this state of affairs was the destruction of Jerusalem […] Man has betrayed the higher reality and the world in which we live. Our only constructive act is to rectify our own betrayal and to reconstruct the world that we have destroyed."[15] In this, Martynov is also concerned with exploring the boundaries between different genres: between folk and academic, between secular and sacred, between ancient and modern. He uses the idea of a borrowed *cantus*, thus utilizing the notion of returning to archaic, more "worthy" eras but without merely imitating the past. In this, each composition becomes a work about a work, with the film director Andrei Khrzhanovsky stating that "[Martynov's work] allows us to feel as though we are witnesses of and even participants in the atmosphere of the original, whilst unobtrusively building a bridge to the present day."[16]

3. *"New Sacred Space"*

What is important however, is that the minimalist process, in a structural capacity, has the ability to regurgitate material and for that regurgitation to be perceptible. In this, the role of listener becomes much more proactive. First, there is a far greater range of listening experiences engendered through the use of repetitive structures, with many of these being psychoacoustic in nature, as mentioned above. This involves not only the perceptibility produced in relation to the pitches, inner patterns and structures employed, but also, more crucially, the production of stasis, which leads to the creation on the esthesic of a "meditative state", derived from the act of focusing upon the exhaustive sustaining of individual pitches and the inner qualities of the material employed over an extended length of time, as well as from the distortion of temporality that these methods afford. This leads us to what Martynov perceives as the most important aspect of the manifesto: the use of ritual in performance. Here, he constructs what he terms a "New Sacred Space," this being a new type of performance ritual that aims to engender meditative contemplation within a "post-post-modernist" context, thereby creating, ideally, a unique and timeless space in which both musicians and audience surrender themselves to the energy of the archaic

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[15] Martynov, op. cit., 33.

[16] As cited in Katunian, op. cit., 30.

and to the ceremonial ritual unfolding before them. In this, we again find associations not only with liturgical service, but also with the aforementioned idea of the "anonymous man, the worshipper, the icon painter," the performers often donning masks at the composer's insistence in order to "depersonalize" their own identity. This is linked by association to the aforementioned notion of the anonymous composer. Speaking of the existential spiritual essence that he hopes will be revealed and understood via this neutral-esthesic inter-relationship, Martynov states that, "We shall not stand in the way of morning's coming with our tedious inventions. We shall open ourselves to the natural flow of the almighty musical source and then we shall see how music in its true spiritual form comes to life."[17]

In terms of the way in which Russian Orthodoxy is actually utilized within this ritualistic setting, there are, in addition, four distinct ways in which Martynov employs either the concepts associated with Christianity in connection with his material or Russian Orthodox music directly. The first of these is through semantic association, with many of his works aiming to proselytize either through the direct and explicit use of Christian texts and apologetics, or via narratives that have a Christian theme. Throughout the 1990s we find increasingly direct examples of the use of liturgical texts in Martynov's oeuvre, in, for example, *Magnificat* (1993), *Stabat Mater* (1994), and *Requiem* (1995). These build upon earlier works that, whilst biblical in signification, cannot overtly be seen as sacred. These include *Come In!* (1995), *Apocalypse* (1991) and *The Lamentations of Jeremiah* (1992). Second, and much more significant, however, is the explicit use of Znamenny rospev, strochny and partesny singing as quotation. In this, Martynov utilizes fragments from his (and other) liturgical restorations as the post-minimalist form's "Basic Unit,"[18] even within works that are ostensibly secular. These quotations are perceived as being the "root" of each composition; the unit of monadic, pre-existing and authentic material that grounds the work in spiritual essence and returns both it and the listener, ideally, to a more archaic and spiritual way of thinking. It is also interesting to note that this is the only occasion when Martynov actively employs direct quotation as opposed to pastiche, this latter being found in numerous works, most notably *Opus Posthumum I* (1984, rev. 1993), *Folk Dance* (1997), and *Apocalypse* (1991). What is also significant is that he places a far greater emphasis upon the beginning of each composition: the start of the process-led form that has a closer proximity to the chant itself as "Basic Unit". In this, he aims not

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17 Katunian, op. cit.,19.

18 I borrow the term "Basic Unit" from Keith Potter (*Four Musical Minimalists: La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich, Philip Glass,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), who uses it to define the initial modal fragment that is subsequently developed by means of either a drone and/or a compositional process.

only to maximize the use of pre-existing "holy" material, but also to construct, as each work progresses, a direct connection from this living spiritual source to the whole of the musical canon, stating that, "this rise to the sources of culture, the Middle Ages, the archaic, the traditional, are all connected. I confront the inter-textual as a kind of *devotio moderna* for our time and realize through its unfolding before an audience a new kind of reflection, a new kind of being. It is the end of the era of composition […] it is the beginning of Art as consciousness, Art as nostalgia, and Art as Truth."[19] Katunian, in discussing the use of liturgical material specifically within *Apocalypse* (1991) states that: "the composer uses the melody from one of the most archaic Russian znamenny chants – "Dome Efrafov grade svyati", a podoben from the Octoechos, written in the second glas – as the *cantus*, and with it is introduced a series of canonical forms of reworking a source found in Orthodox music. The entire composition has grown out of the chant like a contemporary commentary on it."[20] Martynov, speaking of this use of archaic material within a contemporary context, further states that, "We cannot limit ourselves to a single reproduction of the old church canons, if only because we do not have the right to ignore that cry of pain which the whole essence of twentieth century culture has torn up."[21]

Third, there is the composer's use of minimalist structure itself, which has obvious parallels with Orthodox chant in the use of a modal language, the employment of small units of material, the use of repetition as a means of generating a process limited in teleology and the creation of stasis. In this, Martynov discusses how he perceives minimalism as having two distinct identities, the first being that as conceived by Glass, Reich et al., and the second what he calls a "wider minimalism," being that which belongs to archaic ritual, to liturgical chant, with the first, he states, being "merely a lesser channel which connects to the larger, more ancient and more substantial channel of true music."[22] Martynov further discusses how the working out of (post-) minimalism is spiritually akin to the working out of what he terms "God's unfolding plan for Man,"[23] although one could argue that the perceptibility of process that is engendered by minimalism in no way parallels the incomprehensibility of any wider plan for Mankind, if indeed this is designed as such by a higher entity.

Finally, there is Martynov's use of number as compositional device, as a means of generating material, but also, and much more substantially, as a

[19]   Martynov, op. cit., 14.

[20]   Katunian, as cited in Tsenova, op.cit., 55. Translation slightly modified.

[21]   Martynov, op. cit., 39.

[22]   Vladimir Martynov: Interview with Tara Wilson (interpreter: Alexander Ivashkin): London, 14t February 2009.

[23]   Martynov, op. cit., 33.

way of appealing to a higher order, this latter element distinguishing it from his earlier quasi-serialist efforts and his employment of rational processes as a means of realizing both inner and outer structures. There is also, within this context, his use of what we can term "kryptophonia," this being the conscious and explicit use of number realized through certain intervallic structures, patterns, units of material and other musical and non-musical devices that (Martynov claims) signify religious ideas and concepts and which, the composer states, are revealed to him through hard prayer. In this, his compositional language also employs a combination of both intuitive and non-intuitive methods of composition, with the use of these cryptophonic materials being an attempt to restore what he terms "cosmic harmony" to the universe. Of this aspect, in some respects the most radical, Martynov states that, "As the anonymous man, I have a duty to sacrifice my own way for that which will restore law and order. I must remain anonymous. This is my duty as a Christian, as a thinker, as a human being."[24]

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[24]   Ibid.