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**Camillo Everardi's Pedagogical Repertoire
at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory (1870–1888)**

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Abstract. This article, drawing on archival sources, attempts to reconstruct the pedagogical career of Camillo Everardi (1825–1899) at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, where he taught for 18 years – from 1870 to 1888. For a long time, the primary reasons for his dismissal were believed to be his adherence to the traditions of the Italian and French vocal schools and their respective repertoires, his alleged “discrimination” against Russian music, his emphasis

on opera at the expense of concert and chamber works, and, consequently, the purportedly inadequate preparation of his students for professional performance. The study is based on sources that document Everardi's teaching activities, specifically the inspector's records preserved in the Central State Historical Archive of Saint Petersburg. The findings reveal that during his tenure, students from his class participated in over 100 public concerts, including performances with a symphony orchestra, and interpreted more than 200 vocal works spanning various genres composed by Italian, French, Russian, and German composers. Under his direction, scenes and entire acts from more than 25 operas were staged, including *A Life for the Tsar* and *Ruslan and Lyudmila* by Mikhail Glinka, *Rusalka* by Alexander Dargomyzhsky, *Rogneda* by Alexander Serov, among others. A particularly noteworthy event occurred on April 22, 1883, when Everardi's students performed the principal roles in *Eugene Onegin* by Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky at a concert organized by the Musical and Dramatic Amateur Circle in Kononov Hall. Remarkably, this was one of the earliest performances of the opera in the capital, as it was staged on the imperial Russian stage in Saint Petersburg only in the following season, on October 19, 1884. The article further examines the criticisms directed at Everardi and proposes new hypotheses regarding the actual reasons behind his dismissal.

Keywords: Camillo Everardi, Saint Petersburg Conservatory, vocal repertoire, operatic exercises, Italian opera, French opera, Russian opera

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*Музыкальный театр:
источниковедение*

Научная статья

**Педагогический репертуар Камилло Эверарди
в Санкт-Петербургской консерватории
(1870-1888)**

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Аннотация. В статье на основе архивных источников предпринята попытка реконструировать педагогическую деятельность Камилло Эверарди (1825–1899) в Санкт-Петербургской консерватории, продолжавшуюся 18 лет — с 1870 по 1888 год. Главными причинами его увольнения долгое время считались приверженность традициям итальянской и французской вокальных школ и репертуару, «дискриминация русской музыки», акцент на изучении оперного жанра в ущерб концертно-камерным сочинениям и, как следствие, неудовлетворительная подготовка учащихся к исполнительской деятельности. Материалом исследования стали источники, в которых зафиксирована деятельность Эверарди — инспекторские книги, хранящиеся в Центральном государственном историческом архиве Санкт-Петербурга.

Выяснилось, что за годы преподавания Эверарди учащиеся его класса приняли участие более чем в 100 публичных концертах, в том числе с участием симфонического оркестра, и исполнили более 200 вокальных произведений различных жанров, созданных итальянскими, французскими, русскими, немецкими композиторами. Под его руководством были поставлены сцены и целые действия из более чем 25 опер, среди которых «Жизнь за царя» и «Руслан и Людмила» М. И. Глинки, «Русалка» А. С. Даргомыжского, «Рогнеда» А. Н. Серова и многие другие. 22 апреля 1883 года студенты Эверарди исполнили главные партии в «Евгении Онегине» П. И. Чайковского на сцене музыкально-драматического кружка любителей в зале Кононова. Примечательно, что это было одно из первых исполнений оперы в столице, на императорской русской сцене Петербурге она появилась лишь в следующем сезоне, 19 октября 1884 года. В статье рассмотрены претензии критиков в отношении Эверарди и выдвинуты предположения о настоящей причине его увольнения.

Ключевые слова: Камилло Эверарди, Санкт-Петербургская консерватория, вокальный репертуар, оперные упражнения, итальянская опера, французская опера, русская опера

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Introduction

The distinguished Belgian-born singer Camillo Everardi (born Camille François Everard, 1825–1899), a soloist at the Italian Opera in Saint Petersburg from 1857 to 1874 (*Illustration 1*), left a significant mark on the history of Russian opera performance and vocal pedagogy. From 1870 to 1888, Everardi served as a professor of vocal studies at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, where he trained a generation of prominent Russian opera singers, including Fyodor Stravinsky, Dmitry Usatov, Vasily Samus, Stanislav Gabel, Ioakim Tartakov, Vladimir Maiboroda, Nadezhda Salina, Varvara Zarudnaya, and many others. However, despite his substantial contribution to Russian vocal culture, Everardi’s name remains relatively obscure in broader musical circles today.

Beyond a brief biographical entry in the *Musical Encyclopedia*¹ and a few references in Russian music history textbooks,² knowledge of Everardi is primarily derived from the memoirs of his students—Vladimir Apollonovich Lossky³ and Nadezhda Vasilyevna Salina.⁴ His pedagogical methods are described in greater detail by another of his students, Lev Isaakovich Vainshtein, in his book *Camillo Everardi and His Views on the Vocal Art*,⁵ as well as by contemporary scholars such as Lyudmila Grigorievna Barsova in *From the History of the Saint Petersburg Vocal School* [1] and Natalia Borisovna Seliverstova in her article *Camillo Everardi (1825–1899): The First Director of Educational “Operatic Exercises” at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory* [2, pp. 41–48].

¹ Grigoryeva, A. P. (1982). Everardi, Camillo. In Yu. V. Keldysh (Ed.), *Muzykal'naya Entsiklopediya* [*Musical Encyclopedia*] (Vol. 6, cols. 479–480). Sovetskaya entsiklopediya, Sovetskij kompozitor.

² Keldysh, Yu. V. (Ed.). (1989). *History of Russian Music* (10 Vols., vol. 6: The 1850s–1860s). Muzyka, pp. 246, 267; Keldysh, Yu. V. (Ed.). *History of Russian Music* (10 Vols., vol. 8: The 1870s–1880s. Part 2). Muzyka, pp. 247, 336, 409, 427, 428, 443.

³ Voinova-Loskaya, M. K. (Ed.). (1959). *Vladimir Apollonovich Lossky: Memoirs. Articles and Speeches. Recollections of Lossky*. Muzgiz.

⁴ Salina, N. V. (1941). *Life and the Stage: Memoirs of a Bolshoi Theatre Artist*. All-Russian Theatrical Society.

⁵ Vainshtein, L. I. (1924). *Camillo Everardi and His Views on the Vocal Art: A Student's Memoirs*. [Trust “Kyiv-Print,” 8th State Printing House].

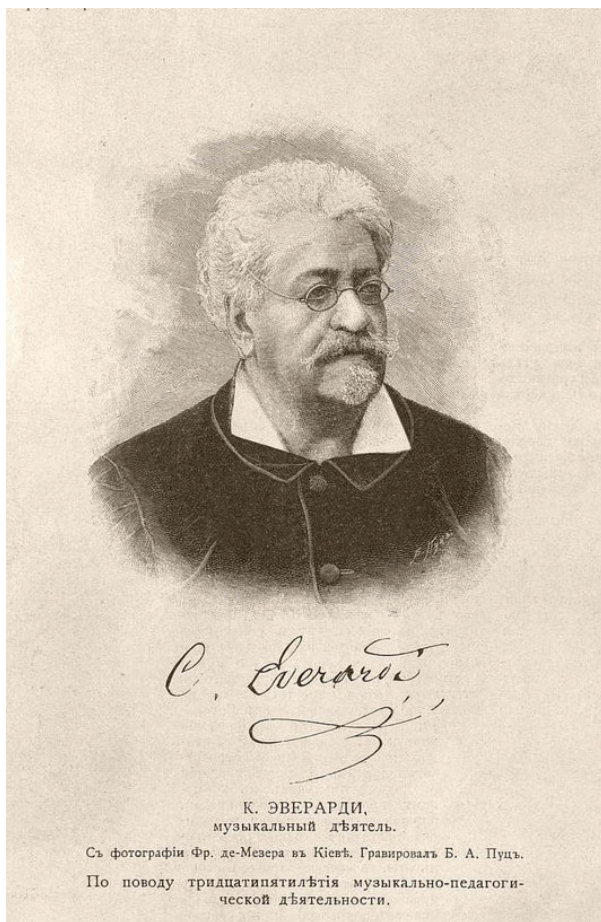


Illustration 1. Portrait of Camillo Everardi from a photograph by Fr. de Mezer in Kyiv, engraved by B. A. Putz. Source: *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya*, November 18, 1895, LIV(21/1399), p. 406

These works offer insight into Everardi's personality, vocal aesthetics, and teaching philosophy but only briefly touch upon the specifics of his pedagogical repertoire.

This article focuses on an indepth examination of Everardi's repertoire policy during his tenure at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory. Addressing this subject not only sheds light on key aspects of his biography and provides a deeper understanding of his artistic approach but also enriches our knowledge of the development of operatic training in Russia in the final third of the 19th century.

From the Appointment to Dismissal

Reconstructing the chronology of Everardi's pedagogical activities over nearly two decades was made possible by documents preserved in the State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg. Among these, the inspection books of the conservatory for the years 1870–1888 play a particularly significant role (*Illustrations 2–4*). These books contain detailed information about students, including their names, birth years, social status, religious affiliation, form of education, specialty, class, and grades. Additionally, they provide information about the faculty, including their positions, teaching loads, and instructional days. Also included are valuable concert and exam posters, which provide details on the repertoire performed by the students.



Illustrations 2–4. Inspection Books of the Conservatory.

Source: Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (CGIA SPb); Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1884–1885. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 16: Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1887–1888. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 19

Everardi began his work at the conservatory in 1870 at the invitation of the then-director, Nikolai Ivanovich Zarembo. Information about his teaching load can be gleaned from a contract dated 1873,⁶ which was renewed almost unchanged every three years. According to this contract, Everardi was required to teach singing and studies for both men and women four times a week. He was assigned 18 students and seven auditors, with whom he prepared lyrical scenes or two operas chosen in agreement with the conservatory director. In addition, Everardi supervised the singing and solfeggio class of his adjunct. In 1876, contingent upon a salary increase, he agreed to take on five additional students.⁷ His career advancement is reflected

⁶ Contract between the St. Petersburg Branch of the Imperial Russian Music Society (IRMO), represented by the conservatory director M. P. Azanchevsky, and Camillo Everardi, dated April 16, 1873. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. CGIA SPb [Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg]. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folios 8, 9.

⁷ Letter from C. Everardi to the Conservatory Director, dated September 16, 1876. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 14.

in his promotion to the rank of Professor of the Second Degree in 1879 and to the rank of Professor of the First Degree in 1881.⁸

In the year Everardi began his service (1870), the conservatory was home to Henrietta Nissen-Saloman, an outstanding singer and teacher, and Louise Eritt-Viardo, the daughter of Pauline Viardot and a representative of the renowned Garcia artistic family. Everardi's and Nissen-Saloman's classes were quite large, with more than 20 students, while Eritt-Viardo had only 11 students.⁹ It is worth noting that Everardi taught students of both genders, whereas many of his future colleagues, such as Natalia Alexandrovna Iretskaya, Elizaveta Fyodorovna Tsvantsiger, and Anna Alexandrovna Polyakova-Khostova, preferred to work exclusively with female students.¹⁰ Nissen-Saloman was an exception: in her class, Fyodor Ignatievich Stravinsky began his studies, later becoming Everardi's pupil. Over the years, Everardi's colleagues included Giovanni Corsi, Polina Sergeevna Girs, Ivan Alexandrovich Melnikov, Alexander Ivanovich Rubets, Vilhelmina Ivanovna Raab, Vasily Maximovich Samus, and Stanislav Ivanovich Gabel.

According to the guide for applicants to the conservatory, attached to the 1870–1871 inspector's book, students had the right to choose the subject of study and their instructor. Depending on their level of musical development, students were assigned to a class taught by either a professor or an adjunct.¹¹ From 1871 to 1873, Everardi's adjunct was his wife, Georgette Everardi,¹² and in 1877–1878, this role was filled by his graduate, Vasily Samus.¹³

⁸ Formular List. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 36.

⁹ *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1870–1871 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1870–1871]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 2.

¹⁰ *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1874–1875 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1874–1875]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 6.

¹¹ *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1870–1871 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1871]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case No. 2.

¹² *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1871–1872 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1871–1872]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 3; *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1872–1873 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1872–1873]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 4.

¹³ *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1877–1878 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1877–1878]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 9.

The years spent at the conservatory were not without their challenges for the singer. While he was always met with the sincere affection of his students, the attitudes of his colleagues and the administration noticeably shifted. Initially, the administration was eager to retain his services, but his departure — whether overtly or covertly — was influenced by the return of Anton Grigoryevich Rubinstein to the position of director. One of the most well-known episodes in Everardi's little-studied biography is his quarrel with Rubinstein, who allegedly refused to award a medal to one of Everardi's graduates at an exam. The singer, dissatisfied with this decision, remarked: "You, Anton, are a great pianist, but when it comes to singing, you understand less than I do."¹⁴ According to Vainshtein's memoirs, the medal was eventually awarded to the student, but the professor was compelled to leave the conservatory.

However, judging by the information presented in the 1887–1888 inspector's book, this story appears to be little more than a myth. In 1888, two students graduated from Everardi's class: N. M. Muretova and A. P. Mansvetova. Both performed their graduation exams with a score of 4.5 and were selected to perform at the public event (i.e., the graduation concert) at the Mikhailovsky Palace. The first received a diploma, the second a certificate, but neither was awarded a medal.¹⁵ It is possible that the words directed at Rubinstein were not spoken during the exam but among the students. This, however, does not negate the existence of some opposition between the musicians: there are testimonies from other students of Everardi about Rubinstein's criticism. For instance, the soloist of the Bolshoi Theatre, Nadezhda Vasilievna Salina, in her book *Life and the Stage*, recalls her years of study at the conservatory, writing, "While in Everardi's class, which Anton Grigoryevich could not tolerate, I attended Rubinstein's for auditions several times. [...] After finishing the accompaniment, he said, 'Don't stay too long with Everardi, or he will ruin your voice; you're already shouting.'"¹⁶

What lay behind this opposition, and what were the true reasons for Everardi's dismissal?

¹⁴ Vainshtein L. I. (1924). *Camillo Everardi and His Views on the Vocal Art: A Student's Memoirs*. [Trust "Kyiv-Print," 8th State Printing House], p. 42.

¹⁵ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1887–1888 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1887–1888]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 19.

¹⁶ Salina, N. V. (1941). *Life and the Stage: Memoirs of a Bolshoi Theatre Artist*. Leningrad; Moscow: All-Russian Theatrical Society, p. 48.

Repertoire of Everardi's Students and Its Criticism

Lyudmila Grigoryevna Barsova believes that the main reason for dissatisfaction with Everardi's teaching was his repertoire policy, which was oriented toward Italian and French opera, and his insufficient attention to works by Russian composers [1, pp. 18–21]. This idea is partially corroborated by a review of an exam in Everardi's class, which appeared in *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya* in May 1879. The review noted: "Familiar with Verdi, Mercadante, and Meyerbeer, the students were [...] entirely unfamiliar with the school where serious singers can truly be trained."¹⁷ The reviewer considered Bach, Gluck, Handel, and Palestrina to be "true teachers of singing," stating, "They cannot be excluded from the general educational curriculum, just as one cannot give all the pedagogical advantages to the 'beloved' French and Italians for the students."¹⁸ The author concluded, "The strong point of Mr. Everardi's work lies in the operas of Weber, Gounod, and all the French composers." "What Mr. Everardi fails to teach – is Glinka and all Russian composers."¹⁹

Insights into the repertoire of Everardi's students can be gained from the preserved concert programs. According to the inspector's records, starting in November, conservatory students participated in public and "closed" concerts four times a month.

The first public performance by one of Everardi's students took place on January 26, 1871, when Emilia Pavlovskaya (née Bergman) performed Alice's aria from Giacomo Meyerbeer's opera *Robert le Diable*.²⁰ From that moment on, Everardi's class remained at the heart of the conservatory's concert life, regularly taking part in six to eight musical evenings each year.

On January 26, 1872, Everardi's students were honored to perform before the distinguished violinist, director, and professor of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, Joseph Joachim.²¹ On May 13, 1873, his students presented

¹⁷ Chronicle of Art, Theatre, and Music. (1879). *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya* [*The World Illustration*], XXI (22/542), p. 434.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1870–1871 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1870–1871]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 2. Folio 126.

²¹ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1871–1872 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1871–1872]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 3. Folio 135.

nine out of sixteen pieces at the *Public Act* in the Mikhailovsky Palace.²² The term *Public Act* in concert programs of that time referred to the conservatory's graduation concert. One of the most significant events of the 1874–1875 academic year was the *Musical Gathering in Memory of Russian Composers*, held on February 2, 1875, in the conservatory hall. At this event, Everardi's students performed romances by Alexander Sergeyevich Dargomyzhsky, including *The Golden Cloud Slept the Night*, *Heavenly Clouds*, *How Sweet It Is to Be with You* and *Tell Me, Why Are You So Thoughtful?* Additionally, they presented *The Varangian Ballad* from Alexander Nikolaevich Serov's opera *Rogneda* and a duet from Otto Ivanovich Deutsch's opera *The Croatian Girl* (Illustration 5).²³

In the autumn of 1876, symphonic gatherings began to take place at the conservatory, which was renamed “symphonic exercises” in 1877. Everardi's class actively participated in these events. At the first gathering on December 23, 1876, his students performed the solo parts in Felix Mendelssohn's cantata *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* (Illustration 6).²⁴ On November 24, 1877, they also performed the solo roles in the oratorio *Das Paradies und die Peri* by Robert Schumann.²⁵

Another significant aspect of Everardi's pedagogical activity at the conservatory was his leadership of the opera class. Drawing upon his extensive stage experience, the professor actively shared his knowledge with students, taking on the role of director for opera exercises. N. B. Seliverstova notes that Everardi “succeeded in establishing ‘opera exercises’ as a mandatory component of training for young vocalists” [2, p. 45]. The first performance took place on February 27, 1873, featuring the one-act comic opera *Le Chalet* by Adolphe Adam and scenes from Act II of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*. The participants in this inaugural opera exercise were students of Everardi and Nissen-Saloman.²⁶

²² Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1872–1873 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1872–1873]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 4. Folio 137 verso.

²³ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1874–1875 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1874–1875]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 6. Folios 151a, 151a verso.

²⁴ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1876–1877 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1876–1877]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folios 172, 172 verso.

²⁵ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1877–1878 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1877–1878]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 9. Folio 189.

²⁶ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1872–1873 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1872–1873]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 4. Folio 134.

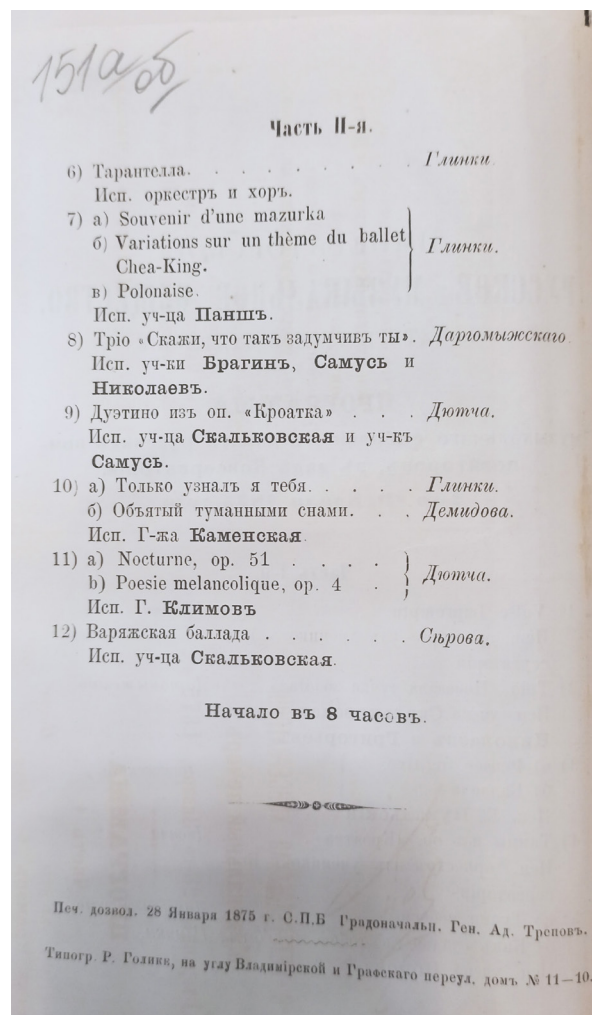
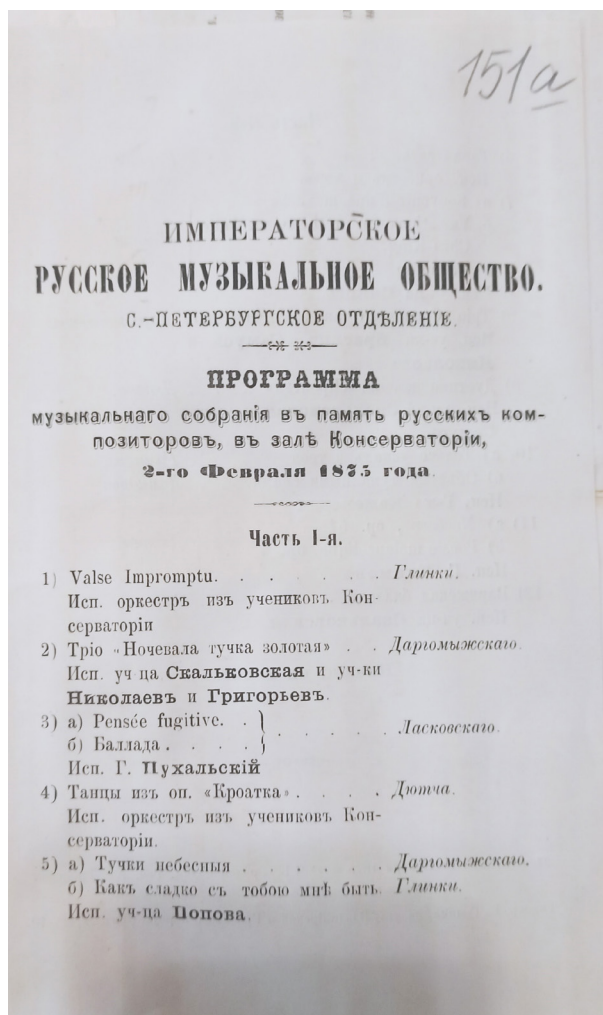


Illustration 5. Poster of the Musical Gathering in Memory of Russian Composers, February 2, 1875. Source: Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1884–1885. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 6. Folios 151a, 151a verso

Merely a month later, on March 2, 1873, the second opera exercise was held, presenting scenes from Gioachino Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and Mikhail Glinka's *Ruslan and Lyudmila*.²⁷ The third performance, on March 3, 1873, once again featured *Il barbiere di Siviglia* alongside *Les Huguenots*.²⁸ In 1874, the opera class staged

²⁷ Ibid. Folio 135.

²⁸ Ibid.

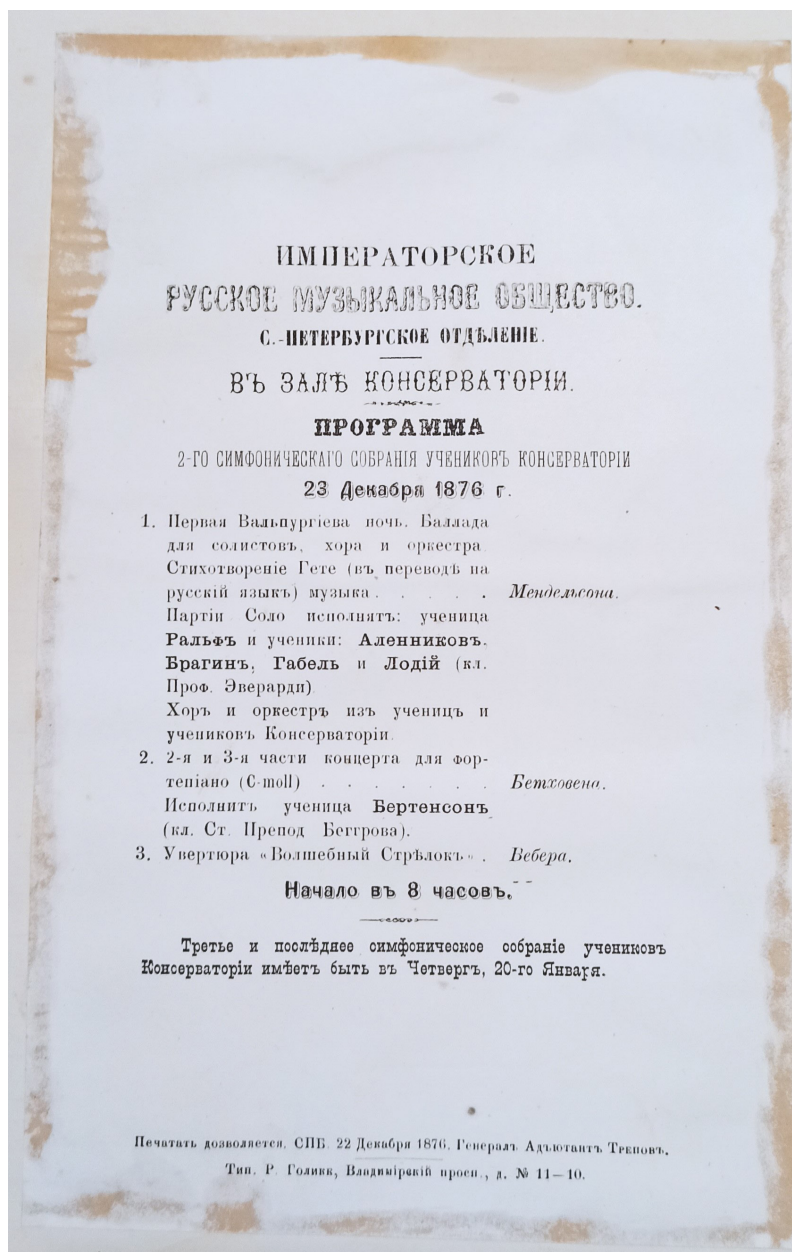


Illustration 6. Poster of the Symphonic Assembly on December 23, 1876. Source: Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1876–1877. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folio 172 verso

excerpts from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*²⁹ and Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar*,³⁰ with students of Everardi and Corsi excelling in scenes from the latter (*Illustration 7*).

In 1875 and 1876, opera excerpts were performed by students at the Alexandrinsky Theatre. Scenes from Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, Charles Gounod's *Faust*, Giuseppe Verdi's *Il Trovatore*,³¹ Alexander Dargomyzhsky's *Rusalka*, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*,³² and Gaetano Donizetti's *La Favorita* were staged. Donizetti's *Don Pasquale* was performed in its entirety.³³ The majority of the roles were assigned to students of Everardi, though there were exceptions; for instance, Azucena in *Il Trovatore* was sung by the student Tsvantsiger — Ukhtomskaya.

The student performances involved the orchestra and the choir. Preparation began months in advance. However, this undoubtedly important practice for young singers also had a negative aspect: due to the rehearsals, “class work was systematically disrupted, and students not involved in the performances were completely excluded from lessons” [1, p. 17]. The writer and publicist Konstantin Apollonovich Skalkovsky, in his book *In the World of Theater: Observations, Memories, and Reflections* notes that Everardi's class was always overcrowded: “The professor was inevitably forced to work with some particularly talented student, while the others had to listen and take notes,”³⁴ content with “a 15-minute lesson once a month.”³⁵ In his opinion, this approach could not benefit those studying serious vocal art. He was even more skeptical about the opera class:

²⁹ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1873–1874 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1873–1874]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 5. Folio 150.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Folio 149 verso.

³¹ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1874–1875 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1874–1875]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 6. Folios 153, 153 verso.

³² *Ibid.* Folio 154.

³³ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1875–1876 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1875–1876]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 7. Folios 158, 158 verso.

³⁴ Skalkovsky, K. A. (1899). *In the World of Theater: Observations, Memories, and Reflections*. A. S. Suvorin Printing House, pp. XX–XXI.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

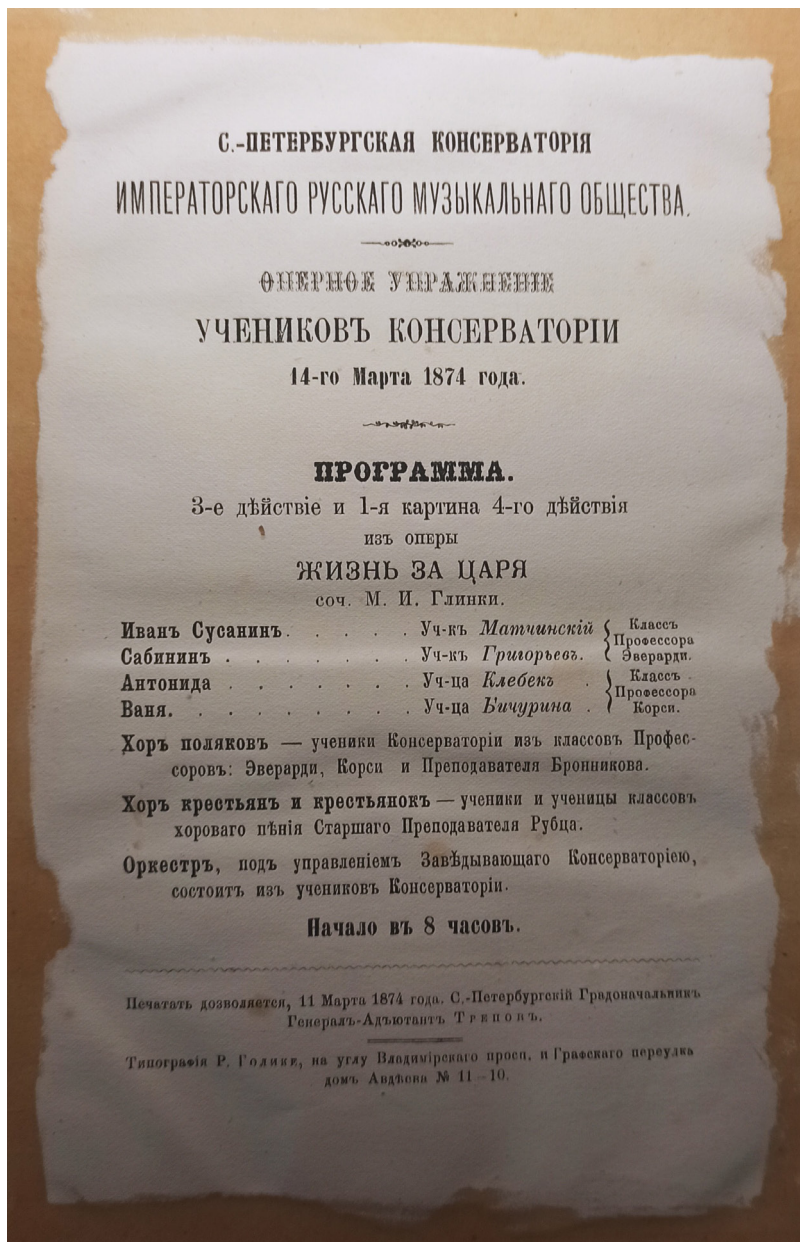


Illustration 7. Poster for the Opera Exercise on March 14, 1874:
Act 3 and Scene 1 of Act 4 from *A Life for the Tsar* by M.I. Glinka. Source:
Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1873–1874. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 5.
Folios 149, 149 verso

In order to cultivate talent, there are opera exercises in place, where eight or ten of the most attractive students are trained like canaries, learning several excerpts from operas [...] Those who complete this course are capable of singing well only the opera they have rehearsed with their professor; with the next opera, disappointment begins to set in for both the audience and the professor.³⁶

Nevertheless, the press of that time was full of praise for the “excellent method” of Mr. Everardi’s school. For instance, a review from the journal *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* in 1874 stated: “The best students are still those who study under Everardi, undoubtedly an excellent professor for final refinement and stage preparation.”³⁷ In the same journal, in 1875, a new graduate class of opera singers from the conservatory was described: “The graduates of this year can be considered among the brightest. From the voice department, the following completed the course [...]: two sopranos — Ms. Skalkovskaya and Straube, bass — Mr. Matchinsky, and tenor — Mr. Grigoriev, students of Professor Ewerardi’s class.”³⁸

On March 12, 1877, students from Everardi’s class performed opera exercises for the first time on the stage of the Bolshoi (Kamenny) Theatre. They presented excerpts from the operas *Guillaume Tell* by Rossini and *Rigoletto* by Verdi (*Illustration 8*).³⁹

The staging of fragments from *Guillaume Tell* is noteworthy in terms of the language of performance. First and foremost, it is striking that in the conservatory posters, Rossini’s composition is listed under its original title, with no mention of the language of performance. Meanwhile, on the imperial stage, from the premiere (April 21, 1838, at the Bolshoi Theatre in Saint Petersburg) and well into the late 19th century, due to censorship restrictions, the opera was performed under the title *Carlo il Temerario* and was sung not in French, but in Russian [3, p. 78], and from 1846, in Italian [Ibid., p. 108]. Marina Grigorievna Raku emphasizes, “The name originally given to Rossini’s score was restored in Russia only in 1893” [Ibid., p. 126],

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 29–30.

³⁷ D. M. (1874). Musical Review. Examination and Act of the St. Petersburg Conservatory. *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* [*The World Illustration*], 11(24/284), p. 390.

³⁸ Chronicle of the Art of Theater and Music. (1875). *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* [*The World Illustration*], XIII(21/333), p. 398.

³⁹ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1876–1877 god [Conservatory Inspector’s Book for 1876–1877]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folios 179, 179 verso.

sixteen years after the performance staged by Everardi with his students. Nevertheless, despite the original title, it is likely that Everardi, in his exercises, also relied on the version of the opera with the Italian libretto, which he would have been familiar with through his work on the Imperial stage.

On March 18, 1877, students of Everardi performed excerpts from Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and a scene from Dargomyzhsky's *Rusalka* at the Alexandrinsky Theatre.⁴⁰ On April 1, 1878, at the Bolshoi Theatre, his class presented Rossini's *Le comte Ory* while students Iretzkaya, Tsvantsiger, Rubets, and Melnikov performed excerpts from Serov's *Rogneda*⁴¹. On April 7, 1878, scenes from *L'Africaine* and *Les Huguenots* by Meyerbeer were presented at the Bolshoi Theatre.⁴² This performance marked a turning point: following it, Everardi faced sharp criticism. With unmistakable irony, a correspondent from the *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* magazine wrote:

One might marvel at Mr. Everardi's choice and the audacity to stage such monumental operas with students who were far from ready... The performance left a sad impression of unnecessary manipulation, an ill-advised display of goods for the sake of superficial spectacle, to the detriment of common sense and the methodological development of the students.⁴³

Nevertheless, in 1879, the presentation of operatic exercises on the Bolshoi Theatre stage continued. On March 9, scenes from *A Life for the Tsar* by Glinka and *Don Giovanni* by Mozart were performed⁴⁴, while on March 23, excerpts from *Ruslan and Lyudmila* by Glinka, *Aida* by Verdi, *Robert le Diable* by Meyerbeer, and *Mignon* by Ambroise Thomas were staged.⁴⁵ On April 7, students of Girs presented fragments

⁴⁰ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1876–1877 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1876–1877]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folio 180.

⁴¹ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1877–1878 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1877–1878]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 9. Folio 197.

⁴² *Ibid.* Folio 197 verso.

⁴³ Chronicle of Art, Theatre, and Music. (1878). *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* [*The World Illustration*], XIX (16/484), pp. 270–271.

⁴⁴ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1878–1879 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1878–1879]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 10. Folio 184.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Folio 184 verso.

from *Der Freischütz* by Weber and *Le Prophète* by Meyerbeer,⁴⁶ while Everardi's pupils performed selections from *La Juive* by Fromental Halévy.⁴⁷ Following this, the activities of the conservatory's opera class were suspended until 1885.⁴⁸

The forced hiatus in his work, coupled with the criticism he faced, evidently had a profound impact on Everardi. In November 1882, he submitted a letter of resignation to Julius Johansen.⁴⁹ This decision was seemingly not impulsive, as early as September 1881, personal correspondence between Everardi's student, Varvara Mikhailovna Zarudnaya, and her future husband, composer Mikhail Mikhailovich Ippolitov-Ivanov, had touched upon the possibility of the professor's departure from the conservatory.⁵⁰ Moreover, in May 1883, *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya* published a note suggesting that Everardi might leave the conservatory and be replaced by Ippolit Petrovich Pryanishnikov, a student of Corsi and the future founder of the opera company.⁵¹

⁴⁶ The situation with *Le Prophète* is similar to the aforementioned staging of excerpts from *Guillaume Tell*. The conservatory playbill states: "Scene from Act V of the opera *Le Prophète*," whereas on the imperial stage, the opera had been performed under the title *Ioann Leiden-sky* by the Russian troupe and *Giovanni di Lieda* by the Italian troupe since 1869 [4, p. 170]. The language in which Girs' students sang remains unknown.

⁴⁷ *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1878–1879 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1878–1879]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 10. Folio 204.

⁴⁸ Seliverstova recounts the first instance of an interruption in the operation of the opera class prior to Everardi's tenure at the conservatory. This was attributed to a lack of funding: "In a short time, the opera class was closed, as the conservatory's trustees saw no justification for increasing subsidies for this costly endeavor" [2, p. 45]. It is possible that the second hiatus was driven by the same reason.

⁴⁹ Letter from C. Everardi to Julius Johansen, November 29, 1882. *O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi* [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 21. In this letter, Everardi addresses Johansen as the director; however, at that time, Johansen held the position of inspector of the conservatory and only assumed the role of director in 1891. The reason for such an address remains unknown.

⁵⁰ Letter from V. M. Zarudnaya to M. M. Ippolitov-Ivanov dated September 9, 1881, Dvorikha. (1999). M. A. Kalamzina, A. L. Karsakovich, & N. E. Gryaznova (Eds.), *Perepiska M. M. Ippolitova-Ivanova i V. M. Zarudnoj, 1881 god* [Correspondence of M. M. Ippolitov-Ivanov and V. M. Zarudnaya, 1881]. M. M. Ippolitov-Ivanov State Music Pedagogical Institute, p. 74.

⁵¹ *Chronicle of the Arts, Theatre, and Music*. (1883). *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya* [The World Illustration], XXIX(19/747), p. 371.



Illustration 8. Poster for the opera exercise at the Bolshoi Theatre on March 12, 1877. Scenes from Acts 1, 2, and 3 of Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* and Acts 2 and 3 of Verdi's *Rigoletto*. Source: Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1876–1877. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folios 179, 179 verso

Nevertheless, the crisis was ultimately overcome, and Everardi continued teaching at the conservatory until 1888. Furthermore, the 1882–1883 academic year proved significant for him not only professionally but also artistically. He prepared his students for participation in one of the earliest staged performances of *Eugene Onegin* by P. I. Tchaikovsky in St. Petersburg.⁵² The production, apparently initiated by conductor Karl Karlovich Zike [6, p. 204], took place

⁵² Before the performance in which Everardi's students took part, there were other St. Petersburg performances of *Eugene Onegin*. Grigory Anatolyevich Moiseev uncovered details of a concert evening that took place on October 20, 1878, at the home of ballerina Anna Vasilievna Kuznetsova on the English Embankment. The evening was organized by Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich to celebrate the arrival of Nikolai Grigorievich Rubinstein in St. Petersburg, who performed at the piano most of Tchaikovsky's opera before its first public performances in Moscow [5, pp. 159–161]. See also [6, pp. 16–21]. In the book by Anna Sergeevna Vinogradova, dedicated to the five-year anniversary of the *Eugene Onegin* premiere, she highlights the few facts surrounding the opera's staging on March 4, 1879, by "amateur singers from the highest nobility and soloists from the imperial theaters, who were admitted to the high-society salon of Baroness Y. F. Abaza" [Ibid., pp. 56–57].

on April 22, 1883,⁵³ in the hall of Kononov’s Musical and Dramatic Amateur Circle. Everardi’s students performed all the principal roles: Vladimir Nikolaevich Alennikov (Onegin), Evgenia Yulievna Cezar (Tatyana), Yakov Moshkovich (Lensky), Maria Dyakonova (Olga), and Paulina Kaplan (Nanny). The role of Larina was assigned to Tswanziger’s student, Nadezhda Samoilova, while two amateurs—Iller (Valerian Ivanovich Miller [Ibid., p. 205]) and Alexander Alexandrovich Kalinovskiy—sang the parts of Gremin and Triquet, respectively. The production’s director was the writer Nikolai Antipovich Potechin. The chorus and orchestra consisted of amateur members of the circle. Following its premiere, the opera was performed again on April 25, 27, and 29. Notably, the first staging of *Eugene Onegin* on the St. Petersburg imperial stage took place only six months later, on October 19, 1884.⁵⁴

On March 15, 1885, the staging of opera excerpts resumed on the Bolshoi Theater stage. Everardi’s students presented excerpts from *Rusalka* and *Aida*.⁵⁵ On April 2 and 3, 1886, scenes from *Ruslan and Liudmila*, *Der Freischütz*, *Aida*, and *Faust* were shown at the Mikhailovsky Palace. On April 12, a critical article was published in *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya*, once again condemning the “decision to choose compositions completely beyond the students’ abilities” for their exercises.⁵⁶

⁵³ Vinogradova discovered that initially, the opera was supposed to be performed in German. The production was planned for March, coinciding with the days of Lent, during which Russian operas were prohibited, whereas foreign-language productions were not [6, p. 208]. However, as reported by the *Petersburg Newspaper* on March 13, 1883, “At the very first rehearsal, it became clear that performing a Russian opera translated into German in a Russian city was impossible... The attempt proved inconveniently unfeasible, and the performance of *Eugene Onegin* in Russian was postponed until Holy Week.” Quoted in: [Ibid., p. 217]. However, it seems to us that this “inconveniently unfeasible” endeavor is indicative of the performers’ — largely Everardi’s students — readiness to sing in German, a language evidently used in his teaching practice alongside Italian, Russian, and possibly French.

⁵⁴ Opera. (1894). *Ezhegodnik Imperatorskikh Teatrov* [Yearbook of the Imperial Theatres], Season 1892–1893, pp. 186–188; Karneev, M. V. (1909). On the 25th Anniversary of the Opera *Eugene Onegin* (Historical Note). *Obozrenie Teatrov* [Theatre Review], (877), 7.

⁵⁵ Kniga inspektora konservatorii 1884–1885 god [Conservatory Inspector’s Book for 1884–1885]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 16. Folio 189.

⁵⁶ Chronicle of the Arts, Music, and Theater. (1886). *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya* [The World Illustration], XXXV(16/900), 327.

In 1887, the format of the opera exercises changed: what had previously been grand productions on the leading stages of St. Petersburg became modest performances in the conservatory hall, with all vocal classes participating. The management of the orchestra was entrusted to a student conductor. On March 24, 1887, excerpts from *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Life for the Tsar* were presented in this new format, with the latter performed by Everardi's students.⁵⁷ On February 16, 1888, his class participated in a performance of Act II from *Der fliegende Holländer* by Richard Wagner,⁵⁸ and on April 2, excerpts from *Rogneda* and *Ruslan and Liudmila* were performed.⁵⁹ That same year, Everardi submitted a resignation request and ended his career at the St. Petersburg Conservatory.⁶⁰

An archival document contains a letter that the singer sent on May 23, 1888, to Anton Rubinstein, who was then serving as the director of the conservatory: "Dear Mr. Rubinstein, I am very sorry that I cannot remain at the conservatory under the new terms. I believe my absence will not cause much regret, and I hope it will not disrupt our relationship. (illegible) expression of my best feelings. K. Everardi. Taloshnitsa. May 23, 1888."⁶¹

Conclusion

The dissatisfaction within the musical community, as well as, evidently, within the leadership of the conservatory, with Everardi's repertoire policy undoubtedly became the key reason for his departure. But accusations against the professor of being exclusively committed to the Italian and French opera repertoire

⁵⁷ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1886-1887 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1886-1887]. *CGIA SPb.* F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 18. Folio 170.

⁵⁸ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1887-1888 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1887-1888]. *CGIA SPb.* F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 19. Folio 145.

⁵⁹ Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1887-1888 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1887-1888]. *CGIA SPb.* F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 19. Folio 149 verso.

⁶⁰ Formular List. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. *CGIA SPb.* F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 36.

⁶¹ Letter from C. Everardi to A. G. Rubinstein, May 23, 1888. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. *CGIA SPb.* F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 34. (Translation of the document from French by E. A. Derbeneva. — A. T.)

cannot be considered entirely justified. Over the course of his 18-year tenure at the conservatory, Everardi's students participated in more than 100 concerts, performing over 200 works from diverse styles and genres. Of these, 18% were by Russian composers, 35% by Italian composers, 31% by French composers, and 14% by German composers. Under Everardi's guidance, excerpts from 24 operas were prepared, five of which were fully staged: *Le Chalet* by Adan (1873), *Don Pasquale* by Donizetti (1876), *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* by Rossini (1877), *Le comte Ory* by Rossini (1878), and *Eugene Onegin* by Tchaikovsky (1883). Students from Everardi's class participated in more than 20 operatic exercises, often showcasing excerpts from works by Russian composers such as *Life for the Tsar*, *Ruslan and Liudmila*, *Rusalka*, and *Rogneda*.

Regarding Everardi's apparent disregard for the cantata-oratorio genre, we believe that the maestro could have authoritatively countered that his primary role was to train singers for the opera. Indeed, operatic arias made up 80% of his students' repertoire, 14% was dedicated to concert and chamber works, and 6% to cantata-oratorio compositions. These latter were represented by works by Johann Sebastian Bach, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Ludvig van Beethoven, Robert Schumann, Giuseppe Verdi, and Felix Mendelssohn.

The relatively small number of works by Russian composers in Everardi's repertoire can be attributed to several factors. One of these may have been the singer's musical preferences. Having accumulated a wealth of stage experience, he primarily performed in foreign operas, excelling in both leading and secondary roles. Among these were Mozart's Don Giovanni, Leporello, Masetto, Papageno, Rossini's Figaro, Don Basilio, Fernando, Podesta, Mustafa, Bellini's Count Rodolfo and Richard, Verdi's Giorgio Germont, Sparafucile, Fernando, Walter, Samuel, and Weber's Beppo, among many others. His signature roles included Figaro in *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* and Mephistopheles in *Faust*. Everardi even claimed

that his rendition of Figaro had earned a favorable review from Verdi himself and that the role of Mephistopheles was specifically written for him by Gounod.⁶²

As a refined musician and connoisseur of opera, Everardi held Russian music in high regard. Seliverstova notes that he especially favored the works of Glinka, Dargomyzhsky, and Serov [2, p. 47], yet “he did not accept much in the works of P. Tchaikovsky, A. Borodin, and N. Rimsky-Korsakov,” particularly disapproving of the music of César Cui and Anton Rubinstein. Consequently, these composers’ works were absent from the programs of his students, which undoubtedly affected their relationships with him [Ibid.]

It should also be noted that Everardi tended to engage with operatic works that already had a long history on the stage, possibly fearing the challenge of introducing his students to newer compositions from the 1870s and 1880s. The only new composition by a Russian composer that he dared to teach his students was *Eugene Onegin*. This exception can likely be explained by the active press coverage of both the opera and its rehearsals and first performances by the students of the Moscow Conservatory in 1878.⁶³ It is highly probable that Everardi followed these events and, like the Moscow producers, deemed the material of Tchaikovsky’s opera suitable for his students.

⁶² See Vainshtein L. I. (1924). *Camillo Everardi and His Views on the Vocal Art: A Student’s Memoirs*. B. i. (Trust “Kyiv-Print,” 8th State Printing House), p. 40; *Italian Opera in St. Petersburg*. (2013). St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatrical and Musical Art, p. 58. Documentary evidence to support Everardi’s statements could not be found. However, even the most discerning critics truly valued these roles in his performance. For instance, when Everardi did not perform in St. Petersburg during the 1868–1869 season, A. N. Serov lamented: “In the role of Figaro [...] it was a great loss not to have Everardi in this role (and in many others).” Serov, A. N. (1890). *The Italian Troupe. Issues Regarding This. The Parallels Between Italian and Russian Opera. The Beauty of the Current Season: Barbieri, Don Giovanni, Les Huguenots. Kriticheskiye stat’i [Critical Articles]*, Vol. 4 (1864–1870), p. 1849. In 1900, C. A. Cui wrote: “Everardi was the best Figaro and Mephistopheles I have ever seen.” Cui, C. A. (1952). *From My Operatic Memoirs. Izbrannyye stat’i [Selected Articles]*, State Musical Publishing House, p. 516.

⁶³ In the study by Vinogradova, which we previously cited, the rather complicated and factually incomplete history of the opera’s preparation for performance by students of the Moscow Conservatory is examined in detail. According to the author’s version, a “closed rehearsal” of the first four scenes took place in December 1878, most likely specifically for G. A. Laroche, who was required to write an article about the event for the metropolitan newspaper *Golos* [6, p. 59]. The premiere performances of the entire opera occurred on March 16 (the dress rehearsal, attended by Tchaikovsky) and March 17, 1879 (the public performance) [Ibid., p. 62].

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