



Karina Igorevna Zybina
(Зыбина Карина Игоревна)

**“LISTEN, SALIERI – MY REQUIEM”:
MOZART’S REQUIEM IN RUSSIA FROM THE
BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY UNTIL 1917¹**

Introduction: The journey begins

In 1802, two remarkable events took place nearly at the same time in two largest Russian cities, Moscow and Saint Petersburg. On the 5th of March, two Moscow musicians, brothers Ivan² and Mikhail³ Kerzelli, gave a concert

¹ The issues raised in this article were first publicly presented at the International Conference «Musical culture of Russia and Austria: Dialogues and parallels» in Moscow in November 2018. I thank Prof. Irina Susidko for inviting me to present my paper, as well as many other colleagues for their helpful comments and assistance of various kinds, including Prof. Larissa Kirillina, Prof. Evgeniya Chigarëva, Dr Grigory Moiseev, and Dr Anna Nisnevich. Finally, I am truly indebted to Dr Mikhail Lopatin for reading and reviewing both a preliminary draft and the final version of this paper as well as for supporting me over the past years. All translations in this article are mine unless noted otherwise. The system of transliteration I have adopted is based on the Modified Library of Congress system combined with the system used in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), excerpt for already established names and titles (e.g., Pyotr Tchaikovsky instead of Pëtr Chaikovski, Aleksandr Ulibishev instead of Aleksandr Ulybyshev, and the Petrovsky and Mariinsky Theatres instead of the Petrovski and Mariinski Theatres, respectively).

² A violinist and composer Ivan Frantsevich Kerzelli (1760, Moscow–1820, Moscow) served as a violinist of the Znamenka orchestra and a musical director of the Petrovsky Theatre, see more on him in: [73, 306–307].

³ Mikhail Frantsevich Kerzelli (probably 1755, Vienna–1818, Moscow) was known in Moscow as a violinist and the author of numerous string quartets, violin duets, works for Russian horn band, and four operas, including «Derevenski prazdnik» (Eng.: «The Village Feast», 1777), see: [73, 307]. Similarly to Ivan, Mikhail belonged to a large family of

Старинная музыка

«in the round hall of the Petrovsky Theatre»⁴, with the program that included «the last work by famous Mozart called *The day of judgement, A sacred song*»⁵. One month later, on the 6th of April, the Saint Petersburg German Imperial Theatre⁶ hosted a performance of «an oratory by Mozart called “*A pray for souls*”»⁷. These concerts, advertised in such major Russian newspapers as *Moskovskie vedomosti* [Moscow bulletin] and *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* [Saint Petersburg bulletin], formed an important part of a newly emerging concert life of one of the most popular compositions written by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, his unfinished Requiem Mass in D minor, K. 626. Immediately following the British premiere (in 1801)⁸ and preceding the French one (in 1805)⁹ by some 3 years, these performances started a new

musicians of Austro-Italian origin, the 'Kerzelli family', see among others: [70, 150; 73, 306–307].

⁴ A 'predecessor' of the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre, burned down in 1805, see at least: [44, 145; 45, 260].

⁵ Original: «последнее сочинение славного Моцарта, под названием: День суда, Священная песнь», in: [23, 247]. In this concert led by Ivan Kerzelli, a piano concert was also performed by a certain G. Nerlich, see: [38, 255–256; 64, 279]. In the chronological list composed by T. Korzhen'yants the concert is erroneously dated by 2nd of March, see: [15, 393].

⁶ A private theatre maintained from 1799 to 1804 by the Privy Councillor G.G. Kushelev in his house on the Palace Square; the building is now occupied by the Russian State Archive of the Navysee, for more information about the German Musical Theatre in Saint Petersburg see: [6, 25, 221; 28, 122–123; 55, 71–72].

⁷ Orig.: «Моцартова оратория, называемая: “Моление о душах”», in: [10, 600]. The wordbook mentioned in the announcement («free copies of the libretto of this oratory will be distributed with every ticket», rus.: «в каждом билете раздаваться будет бесплатно по экземпляру стихотворного сочинения сей оратории») is preserved in the Russian State Library, see: *Das Requiem zu W.A. Mozarts Musick nach dem lateinischen übersetzt*. St. Petersburg: Gedruckt bey M. G. Iversen, [s. a.], shelfmark MK XII A6a/8.

⁸ The first British performance of the Requiem took place on 20th of February 1801 at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden, see: [47, 12–15; 61, 84]. Compare also the extant wordbook prepared by John Ashley: *The Requiem, or Grand Funeral Anthem, composed by W. A. Mozart [...]* and *L'Allegro, Il Pensieroso*, written by Milton, and composed by G. F. Handel, as performed under the direction of Mr. Ashley, at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, during Lent 1801, a British Library holding, shelfmark 992 i. 3. (4.).

⁹ According to the inscription on the title page of the score, prepared specifically for this event, the concert took place on the 21st of December 1805 (the 30th of Frimaire in the French Revolutionary calendar) at the Conservatoire de Paris; compare the exemplar kept

Старинная музыка

Russian journey of Mozart's masterpiece, whose diverse and multilayered history I aim to trace in this paper.

The focus is on the pre-revolutionary Russian reception history of the Requiem (until 1917), which will be examined through the lens of the reception theory proposed in studies by Robert C. Holub [59] and Mark Everist [53; 54], in both effective (*Wirkung*) and perceptive (*Rezeption*) ways. I shall start with an overview of the process of Requiem's absorption into the concert and daily life by using a sample of extant concert programs and announcements, and then examine a number of Requiem editions, transcriptions, and arrangements issued in Russia throughout the 19th century, shedding some light on the way Mozart's masterpiece was creatively used in the then current compositional process. After that, the focus of this paper will switch to the 'recipients' reaction', with a further study of various critical essays and reviews that cover both Requiem performances and editions. As a result, I aim to recreate a multifaceted portrait of the Requiem's complex 'after-life'¹⁰ in Russia, one in which a gradual change of its meaning and soundscape will be explored through the prism of the 19th-century cultural and social history of this country.

A bit of statistics: When and Where

Starting from the Moscow and Saint Petersburg premieres in 1802 and until the 1860s, the majority of Requiem performances took place in Saint Petersburg. The crucial role in the popularization of Mozart's masterpiece and its incorporation into the daily life of this political and cultural

in the Salzburg Bibliotheca Mozartiana: Messe de Requiem: Exécutée pour la première fois à Paris, par le Conservatoire de Musique le 30 Frimaire an 13. cet ouvrage est précédé d'un extrait de la vie de l'Auteur, Paris, l'Imprimerie du Conservatoire (shelfmark ISM-Rara 626/25). More information about this edition in: [56, 333]. On this performance, see also: [61, 84].

¹⁰ The term coined by Walter Benjamin and used in: [48, 155].

Старинная музыка

centre was played by a newly founded organisation, Sankt-Peterburgskoe Filarmonicheskoye Obshchestvo [the Saint Petersburg Philharmonic Society]¹¹.

The Requiem appeared for the first time within the annual Philharmonic concert seasons which took place during the Lent, namely on the 23rd of March 1805¹², in the so-called Lionovii Hall¹³, led by Guillaume-Alexis Paris in cooperation with the famous Pridvornaia Pevcheskaia Kapella [the Court Chapel Choir]¹⁴. After that, the Requiem became more and more integrated into the Philharmonic repertoire, appearing nine times in different concert locations until the 1860s (see Table 1 for the whole list of performances; figure 1 represents the announcement of the 1828 performance).

¹¹ The Society was founded in 1802 under the title *Kassa muzykal'nykh vdov i sirot* [the Benefit for musicians' widows and orphans] at the discretion of various prominent members, with the aim to raise money to support the widows and orphans of deceased musicians of the Imperial Theatres, see: [1, 7–10; 28, 416–418, 457–458; 60, 283].

¹² Interestingly, the music historian and editor Nikolai Findeizen characterised this performance in his 1906 description of the Russian performance history of Mozart's music as the Russian premiere [Rus.: «первое исполнение вообще»], apparently unaware of the two 1802 concerts. Moreover, he erroneously dated the 1802 performance in Saint Petersburg to 6th of April 1808, see the next paragraph of his statement: «The second “Requiem” performance took place three years later, on the 6th of April 1808» [«Второе исполнение “Реквиема” состоялось через 3 года, 6 апреля 1808 г.»], see: [40, 74–75].

¹³ The former Hall of the Philharmonic Society, now the Small Hall of the Saint Petersburg Philharmonic, see more about it in: [1, 11; 3, 10–11]. All performances in this Hall were marked by a peculiar amphitheatrical disposition of musicians; the choir was located within the amphitheater, the soloists in front of the ensemble, near the piano, see the description published in 1806 by an unknown reporter of the prominent German-speaking newspaper, the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [General music newspaper]: «The disposition of musicians is here amphitheatrical, and in the lowest half-circle there is enough space for the soloists, the piano and several basses. The choirs stand in the centre of the platform» [German original: «Hier sind die Sitze der Musiker amphitheatralisch geordnet, und im untersten Halbzirkel ist Raum genug für die Solosänger, den Flügel und einige Bässe. Die Chöre stehen in der Mitte der Erhöhung»], see: [49, 510].

¹⁴ Also known as «Pridvornye pevchie».

Старинная музыка

Table 1. Mozart's Requiem in Saint Petersburg Philharmonic Society concerts from the beginning of the 19th century until the 1860s¹⁵

<i>date</i>	<i>location</i>	<i>conductor</i>
23/03/1805	Lionovii Hall	G. Paris
31/03/1823	Lionovii Hall	
31/03/1825	Engelgardt House ¹⁶	
22/02/1828	Engelgardt House	
23/03/1832	Engelgardt House	
12/03/1838	Zal dvorianskogo sobraniia ¹⁷	
10/03/1845	Engelgardt Hall	K. Al'brecht
24/02/1849	Zal dvorianskogo sobraniia	K. Al'brecht
14/03/1853	Zal dvorianskogo sobraniia	K. Shubert
15/03/1856	Zal dvorianskogo sobraniia	K. Shubert

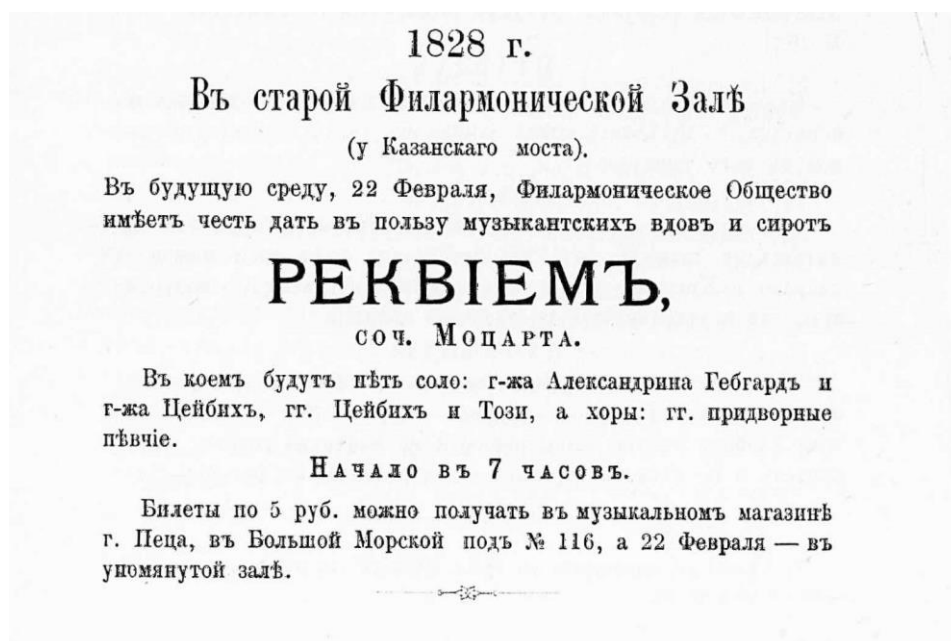


Figure 1. the announcement of Requiem's performance on the 22nd of February 1828¹⁸

¹⁵ The sources used for this table include: [1; 3; 51, 161–164].

¹⁶ A building, purchased in 1828 by Wilhelm Engelgardt, also known as «house of Kusovnikov»; it represented one of the major Saint Petersburg concert venues throughout the 19th century, see: [3, 8; 28, 506; 70; 60, xxiii].

¹⁷ The Hall of the Assembly of the Nobility, now the Great Hall of the Saint Petersburg Philharmonic, see: [28, 280–281; 70].

¹⁸ The illustration is taken from: [3, 40].

Старинная музыка

In addition to this specific series of concerts, the Requiem was also performed as a part of other ceremonies and public events. To mention just one, there is a report left by a French correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* that refers to a certain piano arrangement of this composition performed at the commemoration of major losses sustained at the Siege of Sevastopol during the Crimean War in 1855:

«At last, M. Eckhart, impressed himself by the sadness of the scene [...] began, in a subdued and almost muffled manner, to play the first bars of the commencement of Mozart's requiem! Nothing can describe [...] the effect gradually produced. At first, the solemn and plaintive strains were not recognized; but little by little, all that the awful music recalled struck every individual imagination, and in a few minutes, that brightly lighted saloon, with its sable clad hosts and visitors [...] was filled with silent weeping and smothered wail»¹⁹.

In Moscow, by contrast, the Requiem initially remained nearly unknown, representing a kind of a musical 'rarity'. In 1828, the newspaper *Moskovskii telegraf* [the Moscow telegraph], reported on a performance delivered on the 28th of March with the following words:

«It was with a deep sorrow that we had to listen to the torture of this great musical composition! It is unforgivable for such an experienced conductor as Mr. Nicholo that he decided to give this concert after only a single rehearsal. Mozart's music is so full of harmonies and melodies that even the best artists cannot play it successfully at first try; without any doubt, a good performance therefore cannot be expected when the orchestra consists of mediocre musicians, and the choir – of bad singers»²⁰.

¹⁹ Discussed in: [61, 87].

²⁰ Rus.: «С прискорбием слышали мы терзание столь славного музыкального произведения! Непростительно для Г-на Николо, что при всей своей опытности, он решился дать такой концерт, сделав одну только репетицию. В музыке Моцарта столь

Старинная музыка

In 1832, a correspondent of the Saint Petersburg newspaper *Severnaia pchela* [the Northern bee] informed his readers about another Moscow concert that took place on 20th of March in the Bolshoi Theatre²¹, emphasizing that, «as competent amateurs and experts say, the performance was perfect. It is a large step forward for our Opera!»²².

In provincial cities, the Requiem was performed only episodically during this period of time. A number of documents attest to a series of performances delivered in 1839 in Nizhny Novgorod in the house of Aleksandr Ul'bishev²³, as well as to a number of private concerts in the 1840s in Novospasskoe (near Smolensk), in Mikhail Glinka's estate²⁴; presumably, several other performances took place in the 1820s in Luisino (district of Kursk) by Mikhail Vielgorski and in Novo-Mikhailovskoe (Tambov) by Alexey Verstovsky²⁵.

много гармонии, столь много мелодии, что и самые лучшие артисты с первого раза не сыграют ее удачно, следовательно без всякого сомнения, нельзя ожидать ничего хорошего, когда оркестр составлен из посредственных музыкантов, с весьма дурным хором певчих», in: [24, 526; 70].

²¹ «Mr. Varlamov, the second capellmeister and tutor of our opera company, gave Mozart's Requiem in his concert. Only the Russian artists sung» [Rus.: «Г. Варламов, второй капельмейстер и репетитор нашей оперной труппы, давал в свой концерт Моцартово Requiem. Пели одни Русские Артисты»], see: [30].

²² Orig.: «По уверению опытных любителей и знатоков – исполнение было отличное. Это уже большой шаг для нашей Оперы!», see: [30]. More information about this concert in: [39, 339].

²³ In the foreword to his Mozart biography drafted in 1840, Ul'bishev mentioned a few performances of «several numbers from Mozart's Requiem» during «last winter» [Orig.: «Наши петербургские друзья не без удивления прочтут перечень главных сочинений исполненных прошлой зимою в Нижнем: [...] отрывки из Реквиема Моцарта»], see: [25, 22]. See also Findeizen's remark in: [40, 77].

²⁴ N. Findeizen in his 1906 essay on Mozart's music in Russia mentioned a series of concerts in Glinka's house with the program which included Requiem arrangements by Aleksandr Serov, see: [40, 78]. These arrangements can be found in the catalogue of Serov's compositions made in 1888 by Anatolij Molchanov: 10 unpublished arrangements for piano four hands (*Requiem, Kyrie, Rex tremendae, Recordare, Confutatis, Lacrymosa, Domine Jesu, Hostias, and Sanctus*) dated from about 1843 to 1845 are listed in the catalogue under the number 76, see: [22, 18].

²⁵ References to these performances could be found in studies by Findeizen and Aloys Mooser, see: [40, 68; 64, 280].

Старинная музыка

This situation changed dramatically in 1859, as the piano virtuoso and composer Anton Rubinstein²⁶ founded a new concert organisation: Russkoe Muzykal'noe Obshchestvo [the Russian Musical Society, RMO²⁷]. Aiming to contribute to «the development of musical education and musical taste in Russia and to the encouragement of native talents»²⁸, the RMO soon became a major driving force behind the popularization of Mozart's Requiem throughout the whole country. From the 1860s until 1917, the piece was regularly performed as a part of the so-called Simfonicheskie Sobranija RMO [Symphonic Meetings of the RMO] in Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Saratov, Mikolaiv, Kharkiv, Chişinău, Astrakhan, Tbilisi, Odessa and Kazan by no less than Anton and Nikolai Rubinstein themselves, as well as Mily Balakirev, and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (see table 2 for the list of Requiem performances organised by the RMO; see also the appendix for the list of all Requiem performances that took place in Russia until 1917):

*Table 2: Requiem performances in concerts organized by the Russian Musical Society*²⁹

<i>date</i>	<i>city</i>	<i>conductor</i>	<i>short description</i>
11/02/1962	Saint Petersburg	Anton Rubinstein	The RMO symphonic meeting
19/01/1869	Saint Petersburg	Mily Balakirev	The RMO symphonic meeting dedicated to Aleksandr Dargomizhsky
1873	Moscow		The RMO symphonic meeting
23/03 or 04/04/1873	Moscow	Nikolai Rubinstein	The RMO symphonic meeting

²⁶ In cooperation with the Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna and Dmitri Stasov, brother of Vladimir Stasov, see: [70; 60, 275–276; 28, 303–306].

²⁷ In 1873, the Society received the title 'Imperatorskoye' [Imperial].

²⁸ Quoted from: [72, 83].

²⁹ A number of sources was used to draft this table, including the following: [5; 12; 13; 26; 41].

Старинная музыка

11/01/1875	Saint Petersburg	Eduard Nápravník	The RMO symphonic meeting
15/03/1891	Moscow	Vasily Safonov	The RMO symphonic meeting
23/11/1891	Saint Petersburg	Vasily Safonov	The RMO symphonic meeting dedicated to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
23/11/1891	Kiev	A. Vinogradski	The RMO symphonic meeting
13/02/1899	Saratov		The RMO symphonic meeting
18/03/1900	Mikolaiv	L. Shchedrin	The RMO symphonic meeting
15/03/1901	Kharkiv	I. Slatin	The RMO symphonic meeting
17/03/1901			The RMO symphonic meeting
16/12/1902	Kishinev (Chişinău)	A. Ginit-Pilsudski	The RMO symphonic meeting
03/03/1903	Kiev	A. Vinogradski	The RMO symphonic meeting
19/03/1903	Astrakhan		The RMO symphonic meeting
1903	Astrakhan		The RMO symphonic meeting
28/01/1906	Saint Petersburg	Leopold Auer	The RMO symphonic meeting dedicated to the 150 th Anniversary of Mozart's birth
26/01/1909	Tbilisi	Z. Paliev	The RMO symphonic meeting
26/03/1910	Kazan	R. Gummert	The RMO symphonic meeting
25/03/1913 and 31/03/1913	Odessa	V. Malyshevski	The concerts given by students of the Music College at the Odessa Department of the RMO

Perhaps not coincidentally, nearly at the same time Mozart's Requiem has firmly settled in a new terrain of published scores issued in Russia.

The Russian Requiem: a case study in three parts

Part one: piano transcriptions

In the 1860s Saint Petersburg, Vladimir Frackmann initiated a series of piano transcriptions of popular vocal compositions written by famous European composers, «Bibliothèque Classique et Moderne. Opéras, Oratorio, etc. pour Piano seul», which included in its issue 26 Mozart's Requiem, identified here as «oratorio»³⁰ (see figure 2). This was probably the first piano transcription of this piece ever printed for sale in Russia, although it presents nothing but a reprint of the older version made by an unknown author in 1848 for the French philharmonic society, Société Des Concerts Du Conservatoire³¹.

This unknown author reduces a number of voices to a minimum, omitting all difficult passages that might cause trouble for amateur pianists. This reduction reproduced Mozart's original score rather accurately, without making substantial changes in its soundscape. A few solutions remain rather controversial nonetheless. When transcribing the opening of the *Introit* section (bars 1–7), the arranger focused on the string accompaniment only, omitting the first four entries of the main theme performed by the woodwinds, bassoons and basset horns. As a result, the two-dimensional sound-space created by Mozart was reduced to a simple progression of chords (compare examples 1a and b).

³⁰ Requiem de W.A. Mozart, St. Pétersbourg, magazine de musique de V. Frackmann; for the purpose of this paper, I used an exemplar held in the Russian State Library (shelfmark MZ S 66/297).

³¹ Requiem de Mozart, Paris: Schonenberger, Editeur de la Bibliothèque classique et dramatique des Pianistes, [c. 1848]; the edition was included in the anthology «Répertoire des morceaux d'ensemble exécutés par la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire» (nr. 44), issued by Georges Schonenberger, see: [50, 394–396; 58, 109].

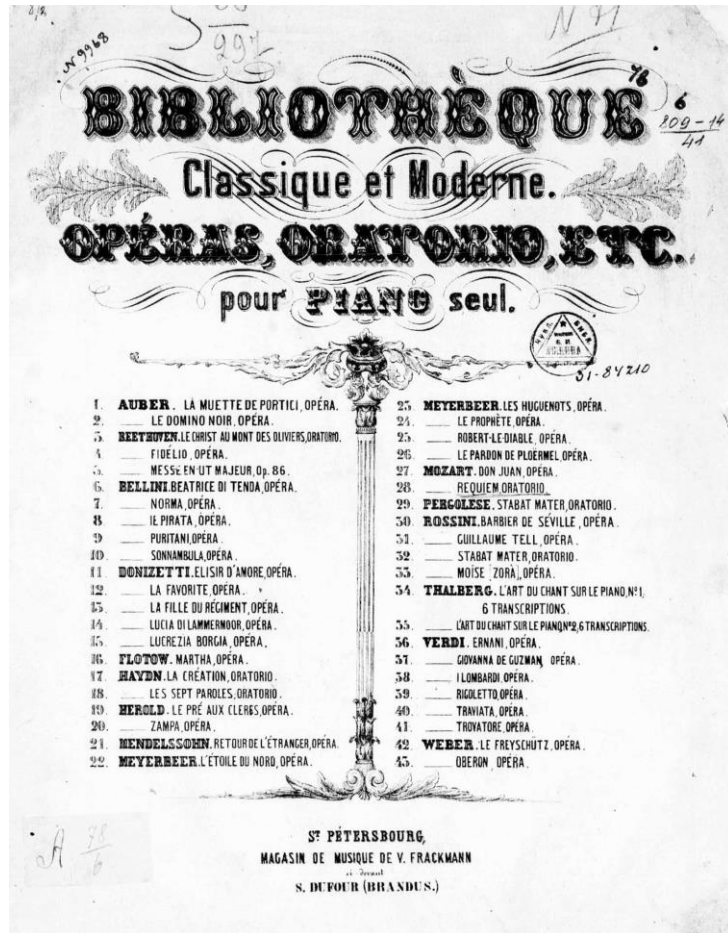


Figure 2. the title page of the Requiem arrangement issued by V. Frackmann (Courtesy of the Russian State Library)

Example 1a. W.A. Mozart's Requiem KV 626, original version, Introit (bars 1–7)

Adagio

Corno di Bassetto I, II in Fa/F

Fagotto I, II

Clarino I, II in Re/D

Timpani in Re-La/D-A

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Violoncello, Basso, Organo

p *f* *simile*

The image shows the musical score for the Introit of Mozart's Requiem KV 626, original version, bars 1–7. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Corno di Bassetto I, II in Fa/F; Fagotto I, II; Clarino I, II in Re/D; Timpani in Re-La/D-A; Violino I; Violino II; Viola; and Violoncello, Basso, Organo. The tempo is Adagio. The score features dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *f* (forte), and the instruction *simile* (similar). The music is in G major and 3/4 time.

Старинная музыка

Example 1b. W.A Mozart's Requiem KV 626, issued in Saint Petersburg by Frackmann, Introit (bars 1–7)



In 1871, another piano transcription of Mozart's masterpiece was published by the most prolific musical publisher in Moscow, P. Jürgenson³². This one was made by a professor of pianoforte at the Moscow Conservatoire and a former student of Franz Liszt, Karl Klindworth³³ (see figure 3).

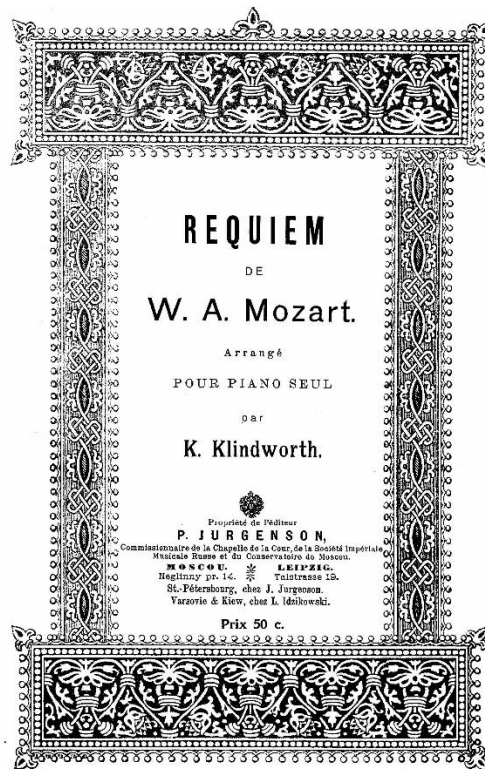


Figure 3. The title page of the Requiem arrangement by K. Klindworth (Courtesy of the Russian State Library)

³² Requiem de W.A. Mozart. Arrangé pour piano seul par K. Klindworth. Propriété de l'éditeur P. Jurgenson, Moscow, Leipzig, [s.d.] (the Russian State Library holding, shelf-mark MZ 62/685). See more information about Petr Jürgenson's company in: [4; 17, 53–57; 19].

³³ Klindworth took private lessons from Franz Liszt during his stay in Weimar, from 1852 to 1854, see: [74].

Старинная музыка

In a manner somewhat similar to his teacher's dramatic and powerful transcription of the *Confutatis* and *Lacrimosa* movements (1865³⁴), Klindworth's version reveals a different approach towards Mozart's score from the one analyzed above. Aided by a high number of expression marks, this transcription seeks a virtuoso and picturesque rendition of the original score, yet at the same time following as closely as possible all melodic lines written out by Mozart. In the opening *Introit*, only the last entry of the main theme performed by the second bassoon is omitted; everything else is replicated without any significant changes (compare examples 1a and 2).

Example 2. W.A. Mozart's Requiem K. 626, arranged by K. Klindworth, Introit (bars 1–7)



Part two: vocal scores.

Nearly at the same time, the Saint Petersburg library of the Evangelical Congregation issued for sale a vocal score of Mozart's composition, accompanied by a translation of the Latin original into Russian³⁵ (see figure 4).

Printed in Leipzig by Breitkopf and Härtel, this edition forms part of a large international project initiated by the Baltic-German physician Georg

³⁴ Zwei Transcriptionen «Confutatis et Lactymosa» aus Mozart's Requiem für Piano von F. Liszt, Leipzig: C.F.W. Siegel, 1865.

³⁵ Mozart's Requiem. With a simplified accompaniment for piano or organ, arranged by A. Henselt, translated by A. Майков, in Saint Petersburg: In the evangelical library [Orig.: Реквием Моцарта. С упрощенным аккомпанементом на органе или на фортепиано, аккомпанемент А. Гензельта, переложение текста А. Майкова. В Санкт-Петербурге: В евангелической библиотеке]. The first issue is undated; the exemplar used in my paper (holding of the Salzburg Bibliotheca Mozartiana, shelfmark Rara 626/13-1) was published in 1871.

Старинная музыка

Julius von Schultz³⁶. In an attempt to present Mozart's «divine work» in «7 different languages and editions»³⁷, and in a much more facile and accessible piano version as compared to some previous editions that he deemed too complex³⁸, Shultz and his instructor, the Russian pianist of German origin Adolf Henselt³⁹, simplified the accompaniment, and the latter revised the final version after its completion⁴⁰. What emerged from this collaboration was perhaps the simplest transcription of the famous score⁴¹. Schultz and Henselt kept unchanged just the basic frame of Mozart's original, getting rid of all orchestral lines that seemed excessive to them. In doing so, they created an idiosyncratic paraphrase in which the original soundscape created by Mozart and then Süßmayr is often hardly recoverable.

To give just one example: in the opening section of the *Introit*, they outline all entries of the main theme in a way similar to Klindworth's transcription

³⁶ Rus.: Егор Христианович фон Шульц, also known as Dr Bertram; see more details about him in: [46; 63].

³⁷ Orig.: «in 7 verschiedenen Sprachen und Ausgaben»; a fragment from Schultz's letter to his daughter on 11th of February 1871, published in a form of the so-called 'list of memory' ('Erinnerungsblatt') and included in one of the later reprints of this edition (see the exemplar from the Salzburg Bibliotheca Mozartiana).

³⁸ According to Schultz, «the accompaniment [of all editions issued before] could only be performed by great virtuosi» [Orig.: «weil die Begleitung nur für große Virtuosen ausführbar war»], see the letter to his daughter mentioned above. In the Russian edition, this comment was included in the foreword (with some additional remarks).

³⁹ See bibliographical references in: [52; 56; 71, 201–205]. See Natalia Keil-Zenzerova's detailed study of Henselt's life and works in: [62].

⁴⁰ Compare the relevant passage from Schultz's letter written on 11.02.1871: «I simplified it [the piano accompaniment], following Henselt's instructions; then, he revised my arrangement» [Orig.: «Da vereinfachte ich sie nach Henselt's Angaben; dann korrigierte er meine Bearbeitung»].

⁴¹ According to a review printed in 1866 in the *Revalsche Zeitung*, the accompaniment «can be performed by any organist, as its tempo is mostly slow. Many pieces can be played at sight; others need some practice» [German: [Die Begleitung] «wird wohl von jedem Orgelspieler ausgeführt werden können, indem das Tempo meist langsam ist. Viele Stücke spielt man vom Blatte weg, bei anderen wird einiges Ueben nöthig sein»], quoted in: [62, 342].

Старинная музыка

(compare example 3 with the original version in example 1a and Klindworth's version in example 2), but transform the accompanying quavers into a simple chord sequence.

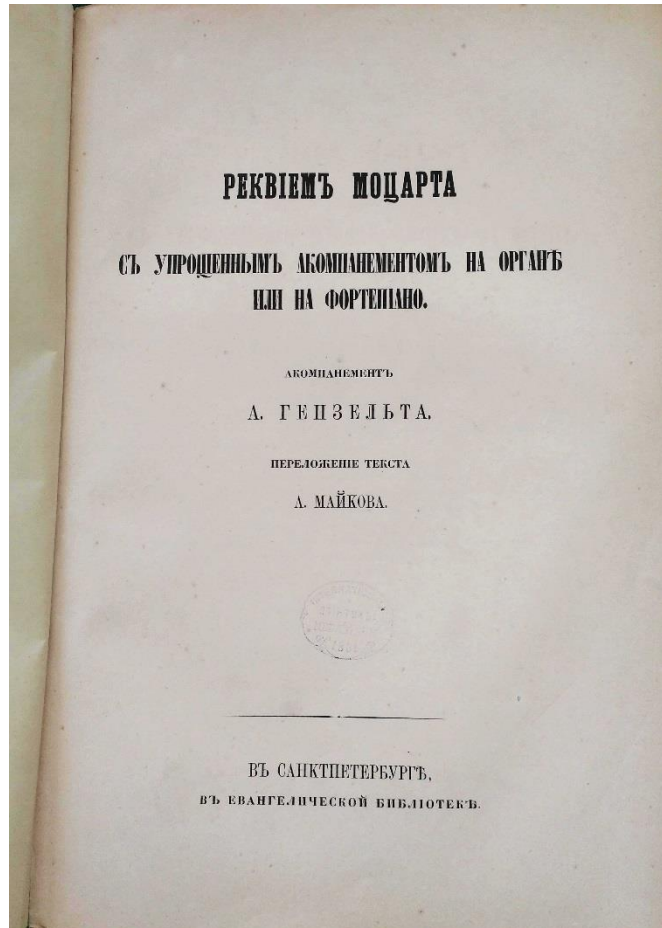


Figure 4. The title page of the Requiem vocal score by G. Schultz and A. Henselt (Courtesy of the Bibliotheca Mozartiana Salzburg)

Example 3. W.A. Mozart's Requiem K. 626, piano reduction by G. Schultz and A. Henselt, Introit (bars 1–8)



Even more significant is that there is a Russian translation of the Latin text. Seeking to produce an accurate, clear, and smooth translation, the

Старинная музыка

team cooperated with one of the most established Russian poets of that time, Apollon Maykov. His main goal was «to find open vowels for high notes and figurations» in order to simplify the performance⁴², which Maykov accomplished by replicating the rhyme and metre of the original and replacing all close or mid-close 'soft' vowels like 'e' and 'i' (especially stressed or those set to high notes and/or virtuoso passages) by more easily vocalized 'hard' vowels like 'a' or 'o'⁴³. This can be seen in the Russian translation of the *Kyrie*, for instance, which uses accented 'o's' and 'a's' throughout the text (written in bold):

Latin original	Version by Maykov
Kyrie eleison	Gospodi, podatel' blag
Christe eleison	Bozhe , podatel' blag

This attention to sonic properties of the text, namely to certain vowel patterns in the translation, often results in bringing inevitable changes to the actual meaning of the Latin original. As the common Russian translation of the prayer *Kyrie eleison, Gospodi, pomiluj, Hriste, pomiluj* (Lord, have mercy, Christ, have mercy) accentuates the 'soft' vowel [i] (*po**mi**luj, H**ri**ste*), Maykov is forced to change these words in order to make it more 'singable': *Gospodi, po**da**tel' **bla**g, Bo**z**he, po**da**tel' **bla**g* (Lord benefactor, God benefactor).

⁴² The remark given in the preface to the German version [German: «Die Verfasser der neuen Übertragungen haben sich möglichst bemüht, für die hohen wie figurierten Töne volle Vokale zu finden»].

⁴³ For more information on 'hard' and 'soft' vowels and their performance in Russian music, see: [66, 7–22].

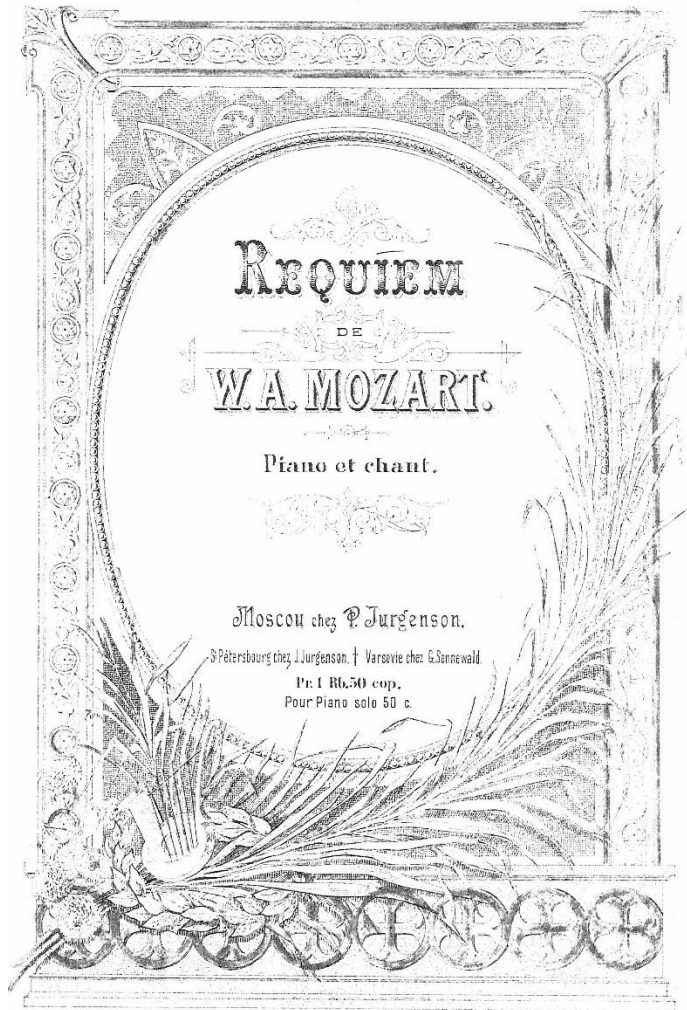


Figure 5. the title page of the Requiem vocal score issued by P. Jürgenson (Courtesy of the Russian State Library)

Jürgenson published yet another vocal score of the Requiem with a different Russian translation in 1890⁴⁴ (see figure 5). The piano accompaniment is almost an exact replica of the earlier Schultz-Henselt version. In the *Introit* opening section, for instance, the anonymous transcriber slightly changes the string accompaniment in order to bring it closer to Mozart's original; the exposition of the main theme, though, is borrowed verbatim from Schultz's and Henselt's arrangement (compare examples 3 and 4).

⁴⁴ Requiem de W.A. Mozart. Piano et chant. Moscou chez P. Jürgenson, Moscow: 1890. In this paper, I examine the exemplar from the Russian State Library (shelfmark MZ D 69/73).

Старинная музыка

Example 4. W.A. Mozart's Requiem K. 626, piano reduction by an unknown author (printed by Jürgenson in 1890), Introit (bars 1–7)



The translation of the Requiem text written by the famous poet Afanasy Fet is conceptually close to the earlier Maykov's version as well, in that it similarly aims at reproducing the rhyme and metre of the Latin original. Fet was keen on preserving the core meaning of the Latin text, however. For the two opening lines of the *Introit, Requiem aeternam Dona eis Domine et lux perpetua luceat eis* (Rest eternal grant unto them, Lord, and let light perpetual shine upon them), both Maykov and Fet proposed a fairly accurate translation which followed the Latin text with no dramatic change of meaning, but while Maykov used a more picturesque synonym *tihij* (soft/quiet) in his description of the 'eternal light', Fet renders this passage quite literally as *svet vechnosti* (eternal/perpetual light):

<i>line</i>	<i>Maykov's version</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>Fet's version</i>	<i>English translation</i>
1.	Verchnogo pokoya podaj Ty im, Gospodi!	Eternal rest grant unto them, Lord!	Vechnyj upokoj nisposhli Ty im, Gospodi,	Eternal rest grant unto them, Lord,
2.	Da tihij svetit im svet s mirom	and let soft light shine upon them in peace	I svet im vechnosti da vossiyaet.	and let perpetual light shine upon them.

Part three: an orchestral arrangement

In 1832, the Saint Petersburg newspaper *Severnaia pchela* mentioned in its review of the capital's cultural life a performance of a new play that took place «on Wednesday, 27th of January, at the Bolshoi Theatre»: «Mozart and

Salieri», the 'dramatic scenes' written by the famous Russian poet Aleksandr Pushkin⁴⁵. This poetic drama, drafted in 1826, was based on a number of reports printed in European newspapers after Salieri's death in 1825⁴⁶. It was finished in 1830 and then published in 1832 in the literary almanac *Severnye tsvety* [the Northern Flowers]. Throughout the 19th century, it remained one of the least performed dramatic plays of Pushkin, staged for the first time in 1832, and then in 1840, 1887, 1889, 1892, 1899, and 1900 in Saint Petersburg, and in 1854 in Moscow⁴⁷.

This text was set to music in 1897 by the Russian composer Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov⁴⁸. In his rendition of Pushkin's story, Rimsky-Korsakov incorporated a number of quotations from several Mozart's compositions (including Requiem) into his experimental opera⁴⁹. Among those, there is one excerpt from the Requiem: the first section of the *Introit* (bars 1–14). Marking the climax of the whole opera⁵⁰, the Requiem fragment is reproduced in its original key (D minor) and with the same scoring (performed by the full orchestra and choir). Nevertheless, its soundscape is different.

⁴⁵ See: [36; 37]. The Big Stone Theatre of Saint Petersburg [Рус.: Большой Каменный Театр] was the principal Russian theatre until 1886.

⁴⁶ See among others: [32, 1160–1161].

⁴⁷ Significantly though, it was the only Pushkin's poetic drama staged during his lifetime; more information about these productions, see: [8, 28].

⁴⁸ According to the handwritten piano transcription, the work was finished on the 5th of August 1897, see: [7, 1012; 65].

⁴⁹ Cherubino's arietta *Voi che sapete* from «Le Nozze di Figaro» (the incipit of the main theme, incorporated into Mozart's arioso from the first scene of the opera) and Zerlina's air *Batti, batti, o bel Masetto* from «Don Giovanni» (an arrangement of the main subject for violins and viola, played by a blind violinist in the first scene); both episodes are discussed in Evgenia Chigarëva's article: [43, 48–49].

⁵⁰ According to the libretto, Mozart plays his Requiem to Antonio Salieri after having taken the poison, immediately after the key words of the second scene: «Listen, Salieri – my Requiem» [Orig.: «Слушай же, Сальери, мой Реквием»].

Старинная музыка

Since Rimsky-Korsakov's 'dramatic scenes' were meant to be performed in a private opera house⁵¹ and were therefore written for a chamber orchestra⁵², several instruments were excluded from the original (Mozart's) score: the basset horns were replaced by a flute and an English horn; the second bassoon by a clarinet. In addition, Rimsky-Korsakov added the piano part, which is basically a reduction of the full score similar to the ones issued in Russia earlier (see example 5). This is the piano that Mozart uses while on stage to play his Requiem.

Example 5. N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov's Mozart and Salieri, scene two: Requiem by Mozart (bars 1–7).

The image displays a musical score for the beginning of the Requiem by Mozart, as arranged by N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov. The score is in 4/4 time and includes parts for Flauto, Corno inglese, Clarinetto in B, Fagotto, Corni in F, Trombe D, A, Soprani, Alti, Tenori, Bassi, and Piano. The tempo is Adagio, marked with a hairpin crescendo from pp to mf. The piano part includes the Latin text 'Kyrie eleison' and the Russian text 'Господи, помилуй'. The score is marked with 'Adagio - = 10' and 'pp' (pianissimo) at the beginning, and 'mf' (mezzo-forte) at the end of the first system. The piano part is marked with '(Mostatyj umpac)' and 'pizz.' (pizzicato).

⁵¹ The first performance took place on 7th December 1898 in the small Solodovnikov Theatre in Moscow.

⁵² The handwritten score consists of one flute, one oboe (sometimes replaced by an English horn), one clarinet, one bassoon, two French horns, piano, and strings, see the autograph preserved in the Saint Petersburg National Library (shelfmark 640, nr. 32).

Старинная музыка

Moreover, he re-orchestrated the choir exposition (bars 8–14), reinforcing the voices by the “most natural” mixtures of string and woodwind instruments (as the composer himself called them in his own «Principles of Orchestration»):⁵³ the soprano is duplicated by the flute and violins, the alto – by the English horn and violins⁵⁴, the tenor – by the clarinet and the first violas, and the bass – by the bassoon and second violas⁵⁵ (example 6).

Example 6. N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov’s Mozart and Salieri, scene two: Requiem by Mozart (bars 8–14).

The image displays a page of a musical score for the Requiem by Mozart, as re-orchestrated by N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves. At the top, the vocal parts are listed: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). Below the vocal parts are the instrumental parts: Flute (Fl.), English Horn (Hr.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fg.), Violin I (Vl. I), Violin II (Vl. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Kontrabaß (Cb.). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *pp*, *cresc.*, and *dim.*. The lyrics for the vocal parts are written below the notes, including the Latin text: "Re - qui - em a - ge - ter - num do - mi - num e - ius, Do - mi - num, re - qui - em a - ge - ter - num do - mi - num e - ius, Do - mi - num". The score is divided into measures, and the vocal parts are aligned with the instrumental parts to show the re-orchestration.

⁵³ This study, initiated in 1873, remained unfinished by the composer himself; in 1913, it was edited and published by Maximilian Steinberg, see: [34]. English translations are taken from the following edition: [68].

⁵⁴ The second violins are divided into two groups.

⁵⁵ Compare with Rimski-Korsakov’s own characteristic: «The most natural duplication in unison of women’s voices is performed by violins, violas, clarinets and oboes; that of men’s voices – by violas, cellos, bassoons and horns» [Rus.: «Наиболее естественные удвоения женских голосов в унисон дают скрипки, альты, кларнеты и гобои; удвоения мужских голосов – альты, виолончели, фаготы и валторны»], see: [68, 122–123].

Старинная музыка

In his 1898 review of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera published in *Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta* [the Russian Musical Newspaper], a certain J. Kurdi-umov correctly observed that « in accordance with stage development, Mozart plays an excerpt from his Requiem on piano; it means that the choir – even *ad lib.* – is not necessary in this scene. The point is, however, that not only Mozart himself, but also to a considerable degree Salieri (as an experienced and talented musician who was familiar with Mozart's creative work) are able to *imagine* what the relevant excerpt will sound like when it is performed by the orchestra and choir»⁵⁶. The Requiem quotation in Rimsky-Korsakov's opera therefore belongs to the *imaginable*: Mozart and Salieri on stage, and Rimsky-Korsakov in his score, all hint at the full sound of Mozart's legendary masterpiece.

Adopting the Requiem to a new performance situation, Rimski-Korsakov created, whether consciously or not, his own interpretation of this work, replacing the original soundscape with a new one, modern and very personal. In a manner similar to the Russian arrangers of the second half of the 19th century (Klindworth, Schultz, Henselt, but also Maykov and Fet), he managed to create his own Mozart's Requiem, one in which the original sound overlaps with his own compositional style.

⁵⁶ Orig.: «По сценическому ходу действия, Моцарт играет на фортепиано отрывок из своего Реквиема, так что никакого хора хотя бы *ad lib.* здесь не требуется. Дело, однако, в том, что не только сам Моцарт, но в значительной степени и Сальери (как опытный и талантливый музыкант, к тому же отлично знакомый с характером творчества своего гениального друга) может себе *представить*, как будет звучать данный отрывок Реквиема в исполнении хора и оркестра», see: [18, 1114]. Emphasis mine. The same approach towards Rimsky-Korsakov's version is proposed by S. Keefe: [61, 34].

Non-Russian Mozart's Requiem

In the second half of the 19th century, there appeared a more critical reception of Mozart's Requiem. Some debates focused on the controversial *Requiem-Streit*⁵⁷. To give just one example – in his 1885 review of Requiem's performance, a certain A.F. wrote: «Concerning the second part [of the Requiem], it is [...] rather long and cold. There is some reasons to believe that this part was completed by his [Mozart's] student, Süßmayer»⁵⁸. Unaware of the circumstances surrounding the Requiem origin⁵⁹, however, Russian musicians and critics preferred not to dwell too much on this theme. Their focus was rather on stylistic features of the original and its sound.

In 1861, Mily Balakirev noticed that the orchestration of this work is imperfect since the trombones roar incessantly, duplicating vocal parts. The trombones are not even provided with their own staff; instead, the score simply shows that the alto trombone plays what the altos sing, the tenor trombone duplicates the tenors, and the bass trombone – the basses⁶⁰. As you can see, the sopranos remain [the only voice] without any support. It is

⁵⁷ The European criticism is described in: [61, 44–65].

⁵⁸ Rus.: «Что касается второй части, то она [...] растянута и холодна. Есть основание думать, что эта часть была закончена его учеником, Зюссмайером», in: [2, 71].

⁵⁹ For a long time, the main source of information about Requiem origins was Otto Jahn's «Biographie Mozarts» – and only in German. The first Mozart Biography in Russian was published in 1890: this was Ulibishev's book, originally published in 1843 in Dresden, with the attached appendix, «A detailed overview of discussions around the authenticity and historical origins of Mozart's Requiem» [«Изложение полемики о подлинности и об историческом происхождении Реквиема Моцарта»], translated by Modest Tchaikovsky and edited by Herman Laroche: [25, 113–135].

⁶⁰ Presumably, Balakirev owned one of the 'classical' Breitkopf & Härtel full orchestra versions issued in 1800 in Leipzig and re-issued in 1801 and in 1812, since it is the only 19th-century printed score without separate trombone parts: *Oeuvres complètes*. [2. Abt., Partitions en 2 Cahiers], No. 1, Messe de Requiem. [2. Abt., Partitions en 2 Cahiers], No. 1, Messe de Requiem. W. A. Mozarti Missa pro defunctis: Requiem, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1800]; in all variant editions printed until the 1860s, the trombones are incorporated into the full score: see, for instance, the edition prepared in 1827 by Johann André in Offenbach (W. A. Mozarti Missa pro defunctis: Requiem, Offenbach a/M, Joh. André, [1827]).

Старинная музыка

a grave mistake to allow such inequality of voices. – the idea I have is that the sopranos must be reinforced by a Trompette à clef or even Cornet à pistons, since their sound is not so sharp, it is a flexible instrument whose sound will not stand out from that of the choir, but will only reinforce the sopranos»⁶¹.

Vladimir Stasov, one of the most respected Russian critics, pointed out that «the whole Requiem idea is entirely wrong [...]. Mozart misunderstood his task, and was not able to understand it properly, to the extent that [...] he created the whole movement out of the words *rex tremendae majestatis*. How foolish! It is no more than a simple address in a letter: “dear sir!” Is a letter supposed to consist of nothing else but “dear sir”, repeated a hundred times? The emphasis here falls on *salva me!* And all Mozart does is just give them a couple of bars somewhere near the end. What nonsense! He could have repeated *salva me* a thousand times – and it would be still comprehensible. “O King of tremendous Majesty, save me, save me, save me”. And what is this? Hundreds of “*rex tremendae majestatis*” and then, casually and almost incidentally: “save me”⁶².

⁶¹ Orig.: «В оркестровке есть ужасный недостаток в размещении тромбонов, которые почти без умолку режут, дублируя партии голосов. Для тромбонов даже не выписано отдельных партий, а в партитуре просто означено, что Тромбон-альт играет то, что поют Альты, Тенор с тенором и Бас с басами. Как видите, Сопрано остается безо всякого поддерживания. Это большой промах допустить такое неравенство масс. – Я придумал, что следует вместе с тромбонами пустить для удвоения партии Сопранов Trompette à clef или еще Cornet à pistons, потому что звук его не такой резкий, он очень гибкий инструмент, и звук его не будет выдаваться из хора, а только усилит значительно Сопраны». The quote is taken from Balakirev’s letter to Vladimir Stasov written on the 3rd of August 1861, published in: [27, 139].

⁶² Rus.: «у всего этого Реквиема вовсе не тот поворот [...] Моцарт до того не понимал своей задачи и не в состоянии был понять [...], что, например, он целый номер исполнил словами: *rex tremendae majestatis*. Как глупо! Но ведь это не больше, как обращение в письме: “милостивый государь!” Разве письмо может состоять все из слов: “милостивый государь”, сто раз повторенных? Все дело в словах: *salva me!* А Моцарт им дал какие-то пару тактов, где-то на кончике. Что это такое! Да ведь это чистая нелепость! Он мог бы повторить тысячу раз – *salva me*, и это было бы понятно. “О царь страшного величия, спаси меня, спаси меня, спаси меня”. А то что

Старинная музыка

Pyotr Tchaikovsky reviewed the 1873 performance⁶³, noticing that Mozart's Requiem «cannot be regarded as his best work. [...] Mozart did not have enough space to display his most striking quality, namely the art of musical characterization. On the other hand, he also lacked that strong and profound religious feeling which is so essential for composing sacred music. That explains why some movements of his Requiem come across as rather dry»⁶⁴.

Another reviewer, complaining about the lack of enthusiasm for the event, emphasised that the concert program «represents an interesting combination [of pieces], so it is certainly a shame that the Moscow audience had no respect for it, and that the hall remained half empty»⁶⁵. The «interesting combination» mentioned by the unknown critic was the following⁶⁶:

Ludwig van Beethoven: Leonora Overture (nr. 3), op. 72

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartoldi: Violin concerto, op. 64

F. Liszt: Phantasy on Hungarian folk theme, S. 123

Mozart: Requiem

это? 100 раз “rex tremendae majestatis”, и потом как-то вскользь точно по нечаянности: “спаси меня!”», Stasov's response written on the 12th of August 1861, see: [27, 144–146].

⁶³ The RMO concert given by Nikolai Rubinstein in Moscow on the 23rd of March, see: [33, 415].

⁶⁴ Orig.: «Знаменитый его “Реквием”, написанный перед самой смертью, нельзя признать лучшим его произведением [...] в “Реквиеме” Моцарту негде было развернуть своего наиболее яркого качества – искусства музыкальной характеристики. С другой стороны, ему недоставало сильного, глубокого религиозного чувства, столь необходимого для сочинения церковной музыки. Этим объясняется некоторая сухость иных частей его “Реквиема”», see: [42, 142–143]; the translation is adapted from the online edition of Tchaikovsky's critical works: [75].

⁶⁵ Rus.: «Нечего и говорить о том до какой высокой степени интересного представляет собой эта комбинация, и поэтому нельзя не пожалеть искренно о том, что москвичи отнеслись на этот раз к делу настолько холодно, что зал собрания был полу-пуст», in: [33, 416].

⁶⁶ According to the concert program given in: [26, 10]; see also Rimski-Korsakov's remark in his «Letopis'»: [67, 105–106].

Старинная музыка

In fact, the majority of Requiem performances that took place in the second half of the 19th century across the whole country were incorporated into concerts with a similarly 'mixed' program that juxtaposed Mozart's composition with contemporary works written by Russian composers. From 1860 onwards, for example, it was often performed side by side with a) Rimsky-Korsakov's First Symphony op.1 in E-flat minor (in 1865, this symphony's first performance)⁶⁷, b) Tchaikovsky's Second symphony op. 17 in C minor (in 1873, first performance)⁶⁸, c) Anton Rubinstein's Fourth symphony op. 95 in D minor (1875, first performance)⁶⁹, d) Aleksandr Borodin's First symphony in E-flat major (in 1877)⁷⁰, and e) Sergey Taneev's orchestral overture «Oresteia», op. 6 (in 1891)⁷¹. In other words, Mozart's famous setting was used essentially to attract attention and draw the audience to an event.

And yet this approach also brought other, perhaps completely unexpected, results. Putting Mozart's masterpiece side by side with newly written compositions allowed for hearing the extreme stylistic divergences that separated this classical work from the modern music. Mozart's piece must have sounded archaic and old-fashioned against the backdrop of Russian contemporary music. And yet near the turn of the century, Mozart's score was so often re-arranged for different instrumental ensembles⁷². The majority of

⁶⁷ The concert of the Free Music School on 19th of December in Saint Petersburg, led by Balakirev, see: [15, 364; 67, 61].

⁶⁸ See: [26, 8; 33, 415].

⁶⁹ On the 11th of January, see: [40, 75].

⁷⁰ On 25th of January 1877, see: [9, 153; 16, 440; 67, 186].

⁷¹ See: [13, 587].

⁷² Worth mentioning is also the arrangement for the wind orchestra (accompanied by a double-bass and harp) prepared by M. Vladimirov, which was repeatedly performed from 1898 to 1900 as a part of the Public concerts organised in Saint Petersburg by Count A.D. Sheremetev, see: [11, 15; 29, 134; 31, 22–23, 25].

Старинная музыка

these arrangements were in fact received with considerable enthusiasm and warm welcome⁷³.

The reception history of Mozart's Requiem in the 19th century Russia could not but regard this work a musical symbol of the past era embedded in rather different contexts (social, historical, and confessional). The Latin text of the original intensified this effect, as it was hardly understandable for the Russian audience⁷⁴. Hence comes a large number of transcriptions, arrangements, translations, and re-orchestrations produced in order to bring this classical masterpiece in concordance with Russian traditions and Russian cultural life. In its original form, it becomes a part of Russian concert life only in the 20th century, after the World War I and the Russian Revolution. But this is a completely different story.

⁷³ One performance of the arrangement mentioned in the previous footnote, that took place on 7th of March 1899 in the Kononov Hall in Saint Petersburg, was characterised by an unknown reviewer of the Russian Musical Newspaper with the following words: «The organisers of these concerts must be given their due because the idea to make large-scale classical works – well-performed – available for the audience, is ought to be encouraged and endorsed. The [reaction of the audience] has already proved it: there were no free seats, and the listeners were indeed in the great creation of Mozart» [Rus.: «Нужно отдать полную справедливость устроителям этих концертов, что мысль знакомить публику с крупными классическими произведениями, при том в надлежаще-удовлетворительном исполнении, заслуживает всякой похвалы и одобрения. Публика это доказала: не было ни одного свободного места и слушатели отнеслись с действительным интересом к великому творению Моцарта»], in: [35, 353–354].

⁷⁴ Even Balakirev emphasised the fact that its meaning is completely lost for him since he is unable to understand Latin, see: [27, 141].

Appendix

**W.A. Mozart's Requiem Mass KV 626 in the Russian concert life
from the beginning of the 19th century until 1917**

<i>date</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>conductor</i>	<i>short description</i>	<i>source of information</i>
05/03/1802	Moscow	Ivan and Mikhail Kerzelli		[23, 247; 38, 255–256]
06/04/1802	Saint Petersburg			[10, 600; 14, 393]
23/03/1805	Saint Petersburg	Guillaume-Alexis Paris	Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 15; 3, 1; 14, 394]
31/03/1823	Saint Petersburg		Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 8; 3, 30]
31/03/1825	Saint Petersburg		Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 30; 3, 9; 14, 406]
22/02/1828	Saint Petersburg		Concert of the Philharmonic Society	
18/03/1828	Moscow	Mr. Nicholo		[24, 526]
20/03/1832	Moscow	Aleksandr Varlamov		[30]
23/03/1832	Saint Petersburg		Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 31; 3, 10]
12/03/1838	Saint Petersburg		Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 32; 3, 11]
1839	Nizhny Novgorod		Private concert in the house of Aleksandr Ulibishev	[25, 22; 40, 77]
10/03/1845	Saint Petersburg		Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 33; 3, 13]
24/03/1849	Saint Petersburg		Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 34; 3, 15]
14/03/1853	Saint Petersburg	Karl Shubert	Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 36; 3, 16]
15/03/1856	Saint Petersburg	Karl Shubert	Concert of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 37; 3, 18; 15, 348]
01/04/1859	Moscow			[15, 352]

Старинная музыка

11/02/1862	Saint Petersburg	Anton Rubinstein	The RMO symphonic meeting	[15, 356; 41, 4]
19/12/1865	Saint Petersburg	Mily Balakirev	The Free Music School concert	[15, 364; 67, 61]
1866	Moscow	Juri Golizyn	The concert of church music	[15, 365]
18/11/1868	Saint Petersburg	Mily Balakirev	The Free Music School concert	[26, 10; 67, 105–106]
19/01/1869	Saint Petersburg	Mily Balakirev	The RMO symphonic meeting dedicated to Aleksandr Dargomizhsky	[15, 371; 41, 10]
12/03/1870	Saint Petersburg	Eduard Nápravník	The 2 nd «historical concert» of the Philharmonic Society	[1, 42; 3, 26; 15, 374–375]
1873	Moscow		The RMO symphonic meeting	[26, 8; 33, 415]
23/03 or 04/04/1873	Moscow	Nikolai Rubinstein	The RMO symphonic meeting	[26, 10; 33, 416; 42, 142–143]
11/01/1875	Saint Petersburg	Eduard Nápravník	The RMO symphonic meeting	[40, 75; 41, 14]
25/01/1877	Saint Petersburg	Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov	The RMO symphonic meeting	[9, 153; 16, 440]
16/11/1885	Saint Petersburg		The Sing-Academie concert	[2, 71]
05/03/1889	Saint Petersburg	Eduard Nápravník	The private concert in the Marble Palace	[20, 59; 21, 186–193]
08/02/1890 or 18/02/1890	Moscow	Vasily Safonov	The 3 rd public concert led by Safonov	[5, 582]
06/12/1890	Moscow	Vasily Safonov	The special concert in commemoration of Nikolai Rubinstein	[5, 585; 12, 63]
16/12/1890	Moscow	Vasily Safonov	The special concert given by students of the Moscow conservatoire	[5, 585; 12, 63; 41, 28]
15/03/1891	Moscow	Vasily Safonov	The RMO symphonic meeting in commemoration of Nikolai Rubinstein	[5, 587]

Старинная музыка

23/11/1891	Saint Petersburg	Vasily Safonov	The RMO symphonic meeting dedicated to W.A. Mozart	[5, 589; 41, 36]
28/11/1891	Saint Petersburg	Leopold Auer	The public concert	[41, 37]
23/11/1891	Kiev	A. Vinogradski	The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 194]
1895	Pavlovsk	N. Galkin	The Pavlovsk railway station concert	[5, 607]
05/09/1895	Tbilisi		The Student concert	[13, 210]
13/02/1899	Saratov		The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 241–242]
07/03/1899		Count Aleksandr Shere-metev	The 24 th public concert of Count Sheremetev's choir and orchestra	[5, 636; 35, 353–354]
16/10/1899	Moscow		The mass for Frédéric Chopin	[5, 645]
02/01/1900	Saint Petersburg	Count Aleksandr Shere-metev	The 33 rd public concert of Count Sheremetev's choir and orchestra	[5, 651]
18/03/1900	Nikolaev	L. Shchedrin	The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 260]
15/03/1901	Kharkiv	I. Slatin	The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 274]
17/03/1901	Kharkiv		The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 274]
17/03/1902	Orenburg	I. Solomin	The concert spirituel	[13, 295]
16/12/1902	Kishinev (Chişinău)	A. Ginit-Pilsudski	The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 300]
03/03/1903	Kiev	A. Vinogradski	The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 304–305]
19/03/1903	Astrakhan		The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 304–305]
1904	Astrakhan		The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 326]
18/01/1906	Saint Petersburg	Eduard Nápravník	The solemn celebration of the 150 th birth anniversary of W.A. Mozart	[5, 760]

Старинная музыка

28/01/1906	Saint Petersburg	Leopold Auer	The RMO symphonic meeting dedicated to the 150 th anniversary of W.A. Mozart's birth	[5, 759; 41, 55]
01/1906	Moscow		The concert of the Synodal Choir dedicated to W.A. Mozart	[5, 760]
10/1906	Moscow		The concert of the L. Vasiliev's choir	[5, 786]
04/04/1908	Saint Petersburg	Count Aleksandr Sheremetev	The 130 th public concert of Count Sheremetev's choir and orchestra	[5, 801]
26/01/1909	Tbilisi	Z. Paliev	The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 368]
26/03/1910	Kazan	R. Gummert	The RMO symphonic meeting	[13, 400]
11/07/1910	Tallin		The concert given as a part of the 9 th Estonian Song Festival (laulupidu)	[13, 406]
27/11/1910	Moscow		The jubilee concert of the Jurlov choir	[5, 851–852]
11/02/1911	Saint Petersburg		The concert of the Arkhangel'ski choir	[5, 858]
22/03/1911	Perm	P. Stepanov	The concert of the Bogoroditski choir	[13, 421]
09/03/1912	Nizhny Novgorod		The Amateur Concert	[13, 451]
25/03/1913 and 31/03/1913	Odessa	V. Malyshevski	The student concerts	[13, 462]
1914	Odessa			[13, 487]
23/03/1914	Astrakhan		The last concert of the season	[13, 479]

Старинная музыка

ЛИТЕРАТУРА

1. 100-летний юбилей Санкт-Петербургского Филармонического общества. Санкт-Петербург: печатня Санкт-Петербургских Императорских Театров, 1902.
2. А.Ф. Петербург, Общество пения «Sing-Academie»: Моцарт, «Реквием»: Франц Францевич Черни // Музыкальное обозрение: Музыкальная газета. 1885. № 9. С. 70–71.
3. *Альбрехт Е.К.* Общий обзор деятельности С.-Петербургского Филармонического общества с приложениями и с проектом изменения его устава. Санкт-Петербург: Гоппе, 1884.
4. *Белов С.В.* Музыкальное издательство П. И. Юргенсона. СПб.: Издательство Российской национальной библиотеки, 2001.
5. *Бульчева А.В., Комаров А.В., Наумов А.А., Немировская И.А., Сорокин В.И., Тартаковская Н.Ю., Тетерина Н.И., Тумаринсон Л.Л.* Концертная жизнь Санкт-Петербурга и Москвы. Хронограф // История русской музыки. Т. 10В: 1890–1917. Книга I. М.: Языки славянских культур, 2011. С. 577–964.
6. *Губкина Н.В.* Немецкий музыкальный театр в Петербурге в первой трети XIX в. СПб.: Дмитрий Буланин, 2003.
7. *Гусейнова З.М.* Пушкинские герои в опере Римского-Корсакова «Моцарт и Сальери» “до” и “после” редактирования // Вестник Башкирского университета. 2014. № 3. С. 1012–1016.
8. *Денисенко С.В.* Пушкинский текст в театральном дискурсе XIX-го века. Диссертация диссертация ... доктора филологических наук. Тверь, 2008.
9. *Иванов М.* Петербургская хроника (Концерт Бесплатной музыкальной школы: Бородин, симфония No. 2. Моцарт. Реквием) // Музыкальный листок. 1877. № 10. С. 152–153.
10. Известия к Санктпетербургским ведомостям. 1802. № 25.

Старинная музыка

11. *Кауфман Я.С.* Итоги музыкально-художественной деятельности Графа А.Д. Шереметева. [Санкт-Петербург]: Тип. ред. период. изд. М-ва фин., [1910].
12. *Кашкин Н.Д.* Императорское русское музыкальное общество. Московское отделение: первое двадцатипятилетие московской консерватории. Исторические очерк. Москва: Печатня Яковлева, 1891.
13. *Комаров А.В., Кузина О.П., Лащенко С.К., Наумов А.А., Сорочкин В.И., Тартаковская Н.Ю., Темаринсон Л.Л.* Концертная жизнь провинции. Хронограф // История русской музыки. Т. 10В: 1890–1917. Книга II, М.: Языки славянских культур, 2011. С. 185–532.
14. *Корженьянц Т.В.* Хронологическая таблица // История русской музыки. Т. 4: 1800–1825. М.: Музыка, 1986. С. 354–406.
15. *Корженьянц Т.В.* Хронологическая таблица // История русской музыки. Т. 6: 50-60-е годы XIX века. М.: Музыка, 1989. С. 321–376.
16. *Корженьянц Т.В.* Хронологическая таблица // История русской музыки. Т. 7: 70-80-е годы XIX века. Ч. 1. М.: Музыка, 1994. С. 413–468.
17. *Кунин М.Е.* Нотопечатание. Очерки истории. М.: Музыка, 1966.
18. *Курдюмов Ю.В.* Новые сочинения Н.А. Римского-Корсакова. «Моцарт и Сальери» – Музыкально-драматические сцены. – Издание Беляева // Русская музыкальная газета. 1898. № 12. С. 1112–1117.
19. *Логачёва Н.В.* Роль П.И. Юргенсона в развитии русской музыкальной культуры второй половины XIX – начала XX вв.: диссертация ... кандидата исторических наук. Москва, 2016.
20. *Моисеев Г.А.* Дневники великих князей Романовых как музыкально-исторический источник (вторая половина XIX века) // Научный вестник Московской консерватории. 2018. № 3 (34). С. 8–77.

Старинная музыка

21. *Моисеев Г.А.* «Опять отличился наш Мраморный...» Великостные концерты 1888–1889 годов в панораме августейшего музицирования // «Музыка все время процветала...» Музыкальная жизнь императорских дворцов. Материалы научно-практической конференции. Гатчина, 22–23 октября 2015. Санкт-Петербург: Свое издательство, 2015. С. 177–193.

22. *Молчанов А.Е.* Александр Николаевич Серов. Библиографический указатель произведений А.Н. Серова. С.-Петербург: Типография Ю.Н. Эрлих, 1888 (приложение к № 5–6 журнала «Библиограф» 1888 г.).

23. Московские ведомости. 1802. № 17.

24. Московский телеграф. 1828. № 20/8.

25. Новая биография А.Д. Улыбышева, перевод М. Чайковского с примечаниями Г. Лароша и статьею его же «О жизни и трудах Улыбышева», том 1–3. Москва: Юргенсон, 1890.

26. Отчет московского отделения императорского русского музыкального общества за 1872–1873 год. Москва: Типография Мамонтова и Ко., 1874.

27. Переписка М.А. Балакирева с В.В. Стасовым. М.: Музгиз, 1935.

28. *Петровская И.Ф.* Музыкальный Петербург, 1801–1917: Энциклопедический словарь-исследование. Т. 10. Санкт-Петербург: Композитор, 2009.

29. *Петровская И.Ф.* Музыкальный Петербург: Энциклопедический словарь-исследование, 1801–1917. Т. 11. СПб.: Композитор, 2010.

30. Письмо Булгарину из Москвы // Северная пчела. 1832. № 82.

31. *Понятновский С.П.* Оркестр графа А.Д. Шереметева. Общеизвестные концерты. Москва: Музыка, 2011.

Старинная музыка

32. Пушкин. Полное собрание сочинений. Том 19: Путеводитель по Пушкину. Москва: Воскресение, 1997.
33. *Рамадзе А.* Москва (концертная жизнь) // Музыкальный листок. 1873. № 26. С. 415–416.
34. *Римский-Корсаков Н.А.* Основы оркестровки, с партитурными образцами из собственных сочинений, под редакцией Максимилиана Штейнберга. Берлин, Москва, Санкт-Петербург: Российское издательство, 1913.
35. Русская музыкальная газета. 1899. №113.
36. Северная пчела. 1832. № 21.
37. Северная пчела. 1832. № 28.
38. *Соколова А.М.* Концертная жизнь // История русской музыки. Т. 4: 1800–1825. М.: Музыка, 1986. С. 251–280.
39. *Соколова А.М.* Концертная жизнь // История русской музыки. Т. 5: 1826–1850 М.: Музыка, 1986. С. 322–369.
40. *Финдейзен Н.Ф.* Моцарт в России // Русская музыкальная газета. 1906. № 3. С. 65–81.
41. *Финдейзен Н.Ф.* Очерки деятельности С.-Петербургского отделения императорского русского музыкального общества (1859–1909). Санкт-Петербург: Типография главного управления уделов, 1909.
42. *Чайковский П.И.* Музыкально-критические статьи. М.: Государственное музыкальное издательство, 1953.
43. *Чигарева Е.И.* «Моцарт и Сальери» Римского-Корсакова: диалог эпох и стилей // Николай Андреевич Римский-Корсаков: к 150-летию со дня рождения и 90-летию со дня смерти. М.: Издательство Московской Консерватории, 2000. С. 37–53.
44. *Auty R., Obolensky D.* (ed.) An Introduction to Russian Language and Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980 (Companion to Russian Studies, 2).

Старинная музыка

45. *Brooke C. Moscow. A Cultural History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
46. *Brümmer F. Schultz, Georg // Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.* Hrsg. von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 32. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1891. S. 715–716.
47. *Cowgill R.* «Hence, base intruder, hence». Rejection and Assimilation in the Early English Reception of Mozart's Requiem // *Europe, Empire, and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music.* Ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton. London and New York: Routledge, 2016. Pp. 9–28.
48. *Dahlhaus C.* Foundations of music history. Cambridge, [U.K.]: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
49. Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Musik in Russland, vornämlich in St. Petersburg // *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung.* 1806 (May). Sp. 508–511.
50. *Devriès A., Lesure F.* Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français. Vol. 2: De 1820 à 1914. Genève: Minkoff, 1988.
51. *Dunlop C.* Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796–1917. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.
52. *Eitner R. Henselt, Adolf // Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.* Hrsg. von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 50. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905. S. 206–207.
53. *Everist M.* Mozart's ghosts: haunting the halls of musical culture. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
54. *Everist M.* Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value // *Rethinking Music.* Ed. by Mark Everist and Nicholas Cook. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 378–402.
55. *Findeizen N.* History of Music in Russia from Antiquity to 1800, vol. 2: The Eighteenth Century. Ed. by Miloš Velimirović and Claudia R. Jensen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.

Старинная музыка

56. *Geck M.* Henselt, Georg Martin Adolph // Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB), Bd. 8. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1969. S. 563.

57. *Gribenski J.* Catalogue des éditions françaises de Mozart, 1764–1826. Musica Antiquo-moderna: Collection du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 1. Hildesheim: Olms, 2006.

58. *Holoman K.D.* The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2004.

59. *Holub R.C.* Reception theory: a critical introduction. London: Methuen, 1984.

60. *Jaffé D.* Historical Dictionary of Russian Music. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2012 (Historical Dictionaries of Literature and the Arts).

61. *Keefe S.P.* Mozart's Requiem: Reception, Work, Completion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

62. *Keil-Zenzerova N.* Adolph von Henselt. Ein Leben für die Klavierpädagogik in Rußland. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007.

63. *Lenz W.B., Welding O. Schultz, Georg Julius* // Deutschbaltisches Biographisches Lexikon 1710–1960. Wien: Böhlau, 1970. S. 705–706.

64. *Mooser A.* L'Appropriation des Oeuvres de Mozart en Russie // Mozart-Jahrbuch. Jg. 1967. S. 266–285.

65. *Nisnevich A.* «You, Mozart, Aren't Worthy of Yourself»: Aesthetic Discontents of Rimsky-Korsakov's Mozart and Salieri // Rimsky-Korsakov and His World. Ed. by Marina Frolova-Walker. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018. Pp. 97–140.

66. *Olin E.* Singing in Russian. A Guide to Language and Performance. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: The scarecrow press, 2012.

Старинная музыка

67. *Rimsky-Korsakov N.A.* My musical Life. Ed. with an Introduction by Carl van Vechten, translated from Russian by Judah A. Joffe. London, Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989.

68. *Rimsky-Korsakov N.* Principles of Orchestration with musical examples drawn from his own works. Ed. by Maximilian Steinberg, English translation by Edward Agate. Vol. I (texts). Berlin, Leipzig, Moscou, Paris, Bruxelles, Madrid, Barcelona, Londres, New-York: Édition russe de musique, 1923.

69. *Ritzarev M.* Eighteenth-Century Russian Music. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

70. *Sargeant L.M.* Harmony and discord: music and the transformation of Russian cultural life. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

71. *Schonberg H.C.* Die grossen Pianisten. Eine Geschichte des Klaviers und der Berühmtesten Interpreten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. München: List Verlag, 1972.

72. *Taylor Ph.S.* Anton Rubinstein: A Life in Music. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007.

73. *Van Boer B.* Historical Dictionary of Music of the Classical Period. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2012.

74. *Würz A.* Klindworth, Karl // Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB), Bd. 12. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1980. S. 75.

75. Tchaikovsky Research [Electronic resource]. URL: http://en.tchaikovsky-research.net/pages/Main_Page.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. 100-letnij iubilei S.-Peterburgskogo Filarmonicheskogo Obshchestva [100th anniversary of the Saint Petersburg Philharmonic Society]. Saint Petersburg: pechatnia Sankt-Peterburgskikh imperatorskikh teatrov [the publisher of the Saint Petersburg Imperial Theatres], 1902.
2. *A.F. Peterburg*, Obshchestvo peniia «Sing-Academie»: Mozart, «Requiem»: Franz Franzevich Cherni [Saint Petersburg, Singing Society «Sing-Academie»: Mozart, «Requiem»: Franz Franzevich Cherni] // *Muzykal'noe obozrenie: Muzykal'naia gazeta* [The Musical Review: The Musical newspaper]. 1885, № 9. Pp. 70–71.
3. *Al'brecht E.K.* Obshchii obzor deiatel'nosti S.-Peterburgskogo Filarmonicheskogo obshchestva s prilozheniiami i s proektom izmeneniisa ego ustava [An Overview of the Activity of the Saint Petersburg Philharmonic Society with Supplement and a Draft of Amendments to its Charter]. Saint Petersburg: Goppe, 1884.
4. *Belov S.V.* *Muzykal'noe izdatel'stvo P.I. Jürgensona* [The Jürgenson music publisher]. Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki [Publisher of the Russian National Library], 2001.
5. *Bulycheva A.V., Komarov A.V., Naumov A.A., Nemirovskaia I.A., Sorokin V.I., Tartakovskaya N.U., Teterina N.I., Tumarinson L.L.* *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Sankt-Peterburga i Moskvyy. Khronograf* [Saint Petersburg and Moscow Concert Life. Chronograph] // *Istoriia Russkoi Muzyki* [The History of Russian Music]. Vol. 10B: 1890–1917. Book I. Moscow: Iazyki slavianskikh kul'tur [Languages of Slavic Cultures], 2011. Pp. 577–964.
6. *Gubkina N.V.* *Nemetskii muzykal'nyi teatr v Peterburge v pervoi treti XIX v.* [The German Music Theatre in Saint Petersburg in the the first third of the 19th century], Saint Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003.

Старинная музыка

7. *Guseinova Z.M.* Pushkinskie geroi v opera N.A. Rimskogo-Korsakova «Mozart i Salieri» “do” i “posle” redaktirovaniia [Pushkin’s characters in Rimsky-Korsakov’s opera «Mozart i Salieri» “before” and “after” revision] // Vestnik Bashkirskogo universiteta [Journal of the Bashkir State University]. 2014. № 3. Pp. 1012–116.

8. *Denisenko S.V.* Pushkinskii tekst v teatral’nom diskurse 19-go veka [Pushkin’s text in the theatrical discourse of the 19th century]. PhD dissertation. Tver, 2008.

9. *Ivanov M.* Peterburgskaia khronika (Kontsert Besplatnoi muzykal’noi shkoly: Borodin, simfoniia No. 2. Mozart, Requiem) [The Saint Petersburg chronicle (the Concert of the Free Music School: Borodin, symphony nr. 2. Mozart, Requiem)] // Muzykal’nyi listok [The Musical Leaflet]. 1877. № 10. Pp. 152–153.

10. Izvestiia k Sanktpeterburgskim vedomostiam [Proceedings to the Saint Petersburg bulletin]. 1802. № 25.

11. *Kaufman Ia.S.* Itogi muzykal’no-khudozhestvennoi deiatel’nosti Grafa A.D. Sheremeteva [The Summary of Count Sheremetev’s musical and artistic activity]. [Saint Petersburg]: tip. red. period. izd. M-va fin., [1910].

12. *Kashkin N.D.* Imperatorskoe russkoe muzykal’noe obshchestvo. Moskovskoe otdelenie: pervoe dvadtsatipiatiletie moskovskoi konservatorii. Istoricheskii ocherk [The Imperial Russian Musical Society. The Moscow Branch: the first 25 years of the Moscow Conservatoire. A Historical Essay]. Moscow: Pechatnia Iakovleva [Iakovlev’s publishing house], 1891.

13. *Komarov A.V., Kuzina O.P., Lashchenko S.K., Naumov A.A., Sorokin V.I., Tartakovskaja N.U.* Kontsertnaja zhizn’ provintsii. Khronograph [Concert Life in Provinces. chronograph] // Istoriiia Russkoi Muzyki [The History of Russian Music]. Vol. 10B: 1890–1917. Book II. Moscow: Iazyki slavianskikh kul’tur [Languages of Slavic Cultures], 2011. Pp. 185–532.

Старинная музыка

14. *Korzhen'iants T.V.* Khronologicheskaja tablitsa [The Chronological Table] // *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* [The History of Russian Music]. Vol. 4: 1800–1825. Moscow: Muzyka [Music], 1986. Pp. 354–406.

15. *Korzhen'iants T.V.* Khronologicheskaja tablitsa [The Chronological Table] // *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* [The History of Russian Music]. Vol. 6: 50-60-e gody XIX veka [1850s-1860s]. Moscow: Muzyka [Music], 1989. Pp. 321–376.

16. *Korzhen'iants T.V.* Khronologicheskaja tablitsa [The Chronological Table] // *Istoriia russkoi muzyki* [The History of Russian Music]. Vol. 7: 70-80-e gody XIX veka [1870s-1880s]. Part 1. Moscow: Muzyka [Music], 1994. Pp. 413–468.

17. *Kunin M.E.* Notopechatanie. Ocherki istorii [Music engraving. Essays on its history]. Moscow: Muzyka [Music], 1966.

18. *Kurdiumov U.V.* Novye sochineniia N.A. Rimskogo-Korsakova. «Mozart i Salieri» – Muzykal'no-dramaticheskie stseny. – Izdanie Beliaeva [The New Compositions by N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov. «Mozart i Salieri» – Dramatic scenes. – published by Beliaev]// *Russkaja muzykal'naia gazeta* [The Russian Musical Newspaper]. 1898. № 12. Pp. 1112–1117.

19. *Logachiova N.V.* Rol' P.I. Jürgensona v razvitii russkoi muzykal'noi kul'tury vroti poloviny 19 – nachala 20 veka [P.I. Jürgenson's role in the Evolution of the Russian Musical Culture in the second half of the 19th century – at the beginning of the 20th century], PhD Dissertation. Moscow, 2016.

20. *Moiseev G.A.* Dnevniky velikih knyazej Romanovyh kak muzykal'no-istoricheskij istochnik (vtoraja polovina XIX-go veka) [Romanov Grand Dukes' Diaries as a Musical and Historical Source of Information (second half of the 19th century)] // *Nauchnyj vestnik Moskovskoj konservatorii* [Journal of Moscow Conservatoire]. 2018. № 3 (34). Pp. 8–77.

Старинная музыка

21. *Moiseev G.A.* «Opiat' otlichilsia nash Mramornyi...» Velikopostnye kontserty 1888–1889 godov v panorame avgusteishego muzitsirovaniia [«Our Our Mramornyi distinguished itself again...» The 1888–1889 Lent concerts and the Imperial House] // «Muzyka vsje vremja protsvetala...» Muzykal'naja zhizn' imperatorskih dvortsov. Materialy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferencii. Gatchina, 22–23 oktjabrja 2015 [«Music has flourished continuously...» The Musical Life of Royal Palaces. Materials of the Scientific-practical conference. Gatchina, 22nd-23rd of October 2015]. Saint Petersburg: Svoie izdatel'stvo [Own publisher], 2015. Pp. 177–193.

22. *Molchanov A.E.* Aleksandr Nikolaevich Serov. Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' proizvedenii A.N. Serova [Aleksandr Nikolaevich Serov. Bibliographical list of A.N. Servov's compositions]. Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia U.N. Erlich [U.N. Erlich's publishing house], 1888 (prilozhenie k № 5–6 zhurnala «Bibliograf» 1888 g. [Supplement to the nrs. 5-6 of the Journal «The Bibliographer»], 1888).

23. Moskovskie vedomosti [Moscow Bulletin]. 1802. № 17.

24. Moskovskii telegraf [Moscow Telegraph]. 1828. № 20/8.

25. Novaia biografii Mozarta A.D. Ul'bisheva, perevod M. Chaikovskogo s primechaniiami G. Larosha in stat'ieiu ego zhe «O zhizni i trudah Ul'bisheva» [The new biography of Mozart, translated by M. Chaikovsky, commented by G. Larosh; including his article 'on Ul'bishev's life and works'], vols. 1–3. Moscow: Jurgenson, 1890.

26. Otchet moskovskogo otdeleniia imperatorskogo russkogo muzykal'nogo obshchestva za 1872–73 god [Report of the Moscow branch of the Imperial Russian Musical Society, 1873–73]. Moscow: Tipografiia Mamontova i Co. [Mamontov and Co's printing-house], 1874.

27. Perepiska M.A. Balakireva s V.V. Stasovym [The Correspondence between M.A. Balakirev and V.V. Stasov]. Moscow: Muzgiz, 1935.

Старинная музыка

28. *Petrovskaia I.F.* Muzykal'nyi Peterburg, 1801–1917: Entsyklopedicheskii slovar'-issledovanie [Music in Saint Petersburg, 1801–1917: An Encyclopaedical Dictionary and Study]. Vol. 11. Saint Petersburg: Kompozitor [Composer], 2010.

29. *Petrovskaia I.F.* Muzykal'nyi Peterburg, 1801–1917: Entsyklopedicheskii slovar'-issledovanie [Music in Saint Petersburg, 1801–1917: An Encyclopaedical Dictionary and Study]. Vol. 10. Saint Petersburg: Kompozitor [Composer], 2009.

30. Pis'mo Bulgarinu iz Moskvy [A Letter to Bulgarin from Moscow] // Severnaia pchela [Northern Bee]. 1832. № 82.

31. *Poniatovski S.P.* Orkestr grafa A.D. Sheremeteva. Obshchedostupnye kontserty [The Count Sheremetev's Orchestra. The Free concerts]. Moscow: Muzyka [Music], 2011.

32. Pushkin. Polnoe sobranie sochinenii. Tom 19: Putevoditel' po Pushkinu [Pushkin. Complete works edition. Vol. 19: The Guide to Pushkin]. Moscow: Voskresenie [Resurrection], 1997.

33. *Ramadze A.* Moskva (kontsertnaia zhizn') [Moscow (concert life)] // Muzykal'nyi listok [Musical leaflet]. 1873. № 26. Pp. 415–416.

34. *Rimski-Korsakov N.A.* Osnovy orkestrovki, s partiturnymi obraztsami iz sobstvennykh sochinenii, pod redakeziei Maksimiliana Steinberga [Principles of Orchestration with musical examples drawn from his own works, ed. by Maximilian Steinberg]. Berlin, Moscow, Saint Petersburg: Rossiiskoe izdatel'stvo [The Russian publisher], 1913.

35. Russkaia muzykal'naiia gazeta [Russian Musical Newspaper]. 1899. № 11.

36. Severnaia pchela [Northern Bee]. 1832. № 21.

37. Severnaia pchela [Northern Bee]. 1832. № 28.

Старинная музыка

38. *Sokolova A.M.* Kontsertnaja zhizn' [The concert life] // Istoriiia russkoi muzyki [The history of Russian Music]. Vol. 4: 1800–1825. Moscow: Muzyka [Music], 1986. Pp. 251–280.

39. *Sokolova A.M.* Kontsetnaia zhizn' [The concert life] // Istoriiia russkoi muzyki [The history of Russian Music]. Vol. 5: 1826–1850. Moscow: Muzyka [Music], 1986. Pp. 322–369.

40. *Findeizen N.F.* Mozart v Rossii [Mozart in Russia] // Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta [Russian Musical Newspaper]. 1906. № 3. Pp. 65–81.

41. *Findeisen N.F.* Ocherki deiatel'nosti S.-Peterburgskogo otdele-niia imperatorskago russkogo muzykal'nago obshchestva (1859–1909) [Es-says on Activities of the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Imperial Russian Philharmonic Society]. Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia glavnogo upravleniia udelov [The printing house of the main department of the household minis-try], 1909.

42. *Tchaikovsky P.I.* Muzykal'no-kriticheskie stat'i [Critical Essays on Music]. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe muzykal'noe izdatel'stvo [The State music publisher], 1953.

43. *Chigarëva E.I.* «Mozart i Salieri» Rimskogo-Korsakova: dialog epoh i stilei [Rimsky-Korsakov's «Mozart i Salieri»: a dialogue of epochs and styles] // Nikolai Andreievich Rimsky-Korsakov: K 150-letiiu so dnia rozh-deniia i 90-letiiu so dnia smerti [A Tribute to Nikolai Andreievich Rimsky-Korsakov: 150th anniversary of his birthday and 90th anniversary of his death]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskoi Konservatorii [The publishing house of the Moscow Conservatoire], 2000. Pp. 37–53.

44. *Auty R., Obolensky D.* (ed.) An Introduction to Russian Lan-guage and Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980 (Com-panion to Russian Studies, 2).

45. *Brooke C.* Moscow. A Cultural History. Oxford: Oxford Univer-sity Press, 2006.

Старинная музыка

46. *Brümmer F. Schultz, Georg* // Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. Hrsg. von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 32. [General German Biography. Edited by the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Vol. 32.] Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1891. S. 715–716.

47. *Cowgill R.* «Hence, base intruder, hence». Rejection and Assimilation in the Early English Reception of Mozart's Requiem // Europe, Empire, and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music. Ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton. London and New York: Routledge, 2016. Pp. 9–28.

48. *Dahlhaus C.* Foundations of music history. Cambridge, [U.K.]: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

49. Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Musik in Russland, vornämlich in St. Petersburg [Representation of the current state of music in Russia, especially in St. Petersburg] // Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung [General Musical Newspaper]. 1806 (May). Sp. 508–511.

50. *Devriès A., Lesure F.* Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français [Dictionary of French Music Publishers]. Vol. 2: De 1820 à 1914 [Vol. 2: From 1820 to 1914]. Genève: Minkoff, 1988.

51. *Dunlop C.* Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796–1917. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

52. *Eitner R. Henselt, Adolf* // Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. Hrsg. von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 50 [General German Biography. Ed. by the Historical Commission at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Vol. 50]. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905. S. 206–207.

53. *Everist M.* Mozart's ghosts: haunting the halls of musical culture. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Старинная музыка

54. *Everist M.* Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value // *Rethinking Music*. Ed. by Mark Everist and Nicholas Cook. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 378–402.

55. *Findeizen N.* History of Music in Russia from Antiquity to 1800, vol. 2: The Eighteenth Century. Ed. by Miloš Velimirović and Claudia R. Jensen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.

56. *Geck M.* Henselt, Georg Martin Adolph // *Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB)*, Bd. 8 [*New German Biography (NDB)*, Vol. 8]. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1969. S. 563.

57. *Gribenski J.* Catalogue des éditions françaises de Mozart, 1764–1826. *Musica Antiquo-moderna: Collection du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles*, 1 [Catalog of French editions of Mozart, 1764–1826. *Musica Antiquo-Moderna: Collection of the Baroque Music Center of Versailles*, 1]. Hildesheim: Olms, 2006.

58. *Holoman K.D.* The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967 [The Society of Conservatory Concerts, 1828–1967]. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2004.

59. *Holub R.C.* Reception theory: a critical introduction. London: Methuen, 1984.

60. *Jaffé D.* Historical Dictionary of Russian Music. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2012 (Historical Dictionaries of Literature and the Arts).

61. *Keefe S.P.* Mozart's Requiem: Reception, Work, Completion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

62. *Keil-Zenzerova N.* Adolph von Henselt. Ein Leben für die Klavierpädagogik in Rußland [Adolph von Henselt. A life for piano education in Russia]. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007.

Старинная музыка

63. *Lenz W.B., Welding O. Schultz, Georg Julius // Deutschbaltisches Biographisches Lexikon 1710–1960 [Schultz, Georg Julius // German Baltic Biographical Dictionary 1710–1960].* Wien: Böhlau, 1970. S. 705–706.

64. *Mooser A. L'Appropriation des Oeuvres de Mozart en Russie [The Appropriation of Mozart's Works in Russia] // Mozart-Jahrbuch [Mozart Yearbook].* Jg. 1967. S. 266–285.

65. *Nisnevich A. «You, Mozart, Aren't Worthy of Yourself»: Aesthetic Discontents of Rimsky-Korsakov's Mozart and Salieri // Rimsky-Korsakov and His World. Ed. by Marina Frolova-Walker. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018. Pp. 97–140.*

66. *Olin E. Singing in Russian. A Guide to Language and Performance. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: The scarecrow press, 2012.*

67. *Rimsky-Korsakov N.A. My musical Life. Ed. with an Introduction by Carl van Vechten, translated from Russian by Judah A. Joffe. London, Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989.*

68. *Rimsky-Korsakov N. Principles of Orchestration with musical examples drawn from his own works. Ed. by Maximilian Steinberg, English translation by Edward Agate. Vol. I (texts). Berlin, Leipzig, Moscou, Paris, Bruxelles, Madrid, Barcelona, Londres, New-York: Édition russe de musique, 1923.*

69. *Ritzarev M. Eighteenth-Century Russian Music. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.*

70. *Sargeant L.M. Harmony and discord: music and the transformation of Russian cultural life. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.*

71. *Schonberg H.C. Die grossen Pianisten. Eine Geschichte des Klaviers und der Berühmtesten Interpreten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart [The great pianists. A history of the piano and the most famous performers from the beginning to the present]. München: List Verlag, 1972.*

Старинная музыка

72. *Taylor Ph.S.* Anton Rubinstein: A Life in Music. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007.

73. *Van Boer B.* Historical Dictionary of Music of the Classical Period. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2012.

74. *Würz A.* Klindworth, Karl // Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB), Bd. 12 [Klindworth, Karl // New German Biography (NDB), Vol. 12]. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1980. S. 75.

75. Tchaikovsky Research [Electronic resource]. URL: http://en.tchaikovsky-research.net/pages/Main_Page.

