

11 Russia

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The idea of associating eighteenth-century Russian harpsichord music with the gorgeous collection of instruments in Saint Petersburg museums would be misleading.¹ Instruments as artifacts reflect many things, especially the great wealth of the Russian aristocracy and its desire to consume European culture. However, if we examine the relevant libraries and archives for all the available sources of Russian harpsichord music with the corresponding instruments of the period, we discover that the two groups do not match: compared to the number of instruments, there are relatively few collections of music.

Could it be that in Russia, expensive and beautiful instruments had a greater chance of survival than the music itself? Considering the many upheavals in Russian history, this might indeed be true, at least in some measure. Or perhaps the opposite is the case: aristocratic refugees tried to save cultural relics from potential revolutionary vandalism by taking old scores with them but were forced to leave the instruments behind. We can speculate about the reasons for this discrepancy, but the conclusion to be drawn from this investigation is that the harpsichord repertoire in eighteenth-century Russia was probably small in quantity. In fact, this chapter could list only approximately one dozen harpsichord pieces and another dozen works written optionally for harpsichord or fortepiano and thereby complete our discussion of the harpsichord culture in eighteenth-century Russia. However, by placing this phenomenon in historical, political, and cultural contexts, we can also ask why this is the case.

The history of instrumental music in Russia, beginning at the very birth of the Russian state and continuing with medieval Russia and its adoption of Christian Orthodoxy as its official religion, is long and complicated. At the outset, Russian Orthodoxy forbade the use of instruments in church, following the Hebrew tradition prohibiting them in synagogues, in remembrance of the destruction of the Second Temple. This fidelity to that tradition, however, also reflected immediate practical needs. In fact, instrumental music as part of religious ritual represented an evil for Orthodoxy, which had two principal rivals and enemies: pagan minstrels from within the country (i.e., *skomorokhi*) and the Roman Catholic Church from the outside.

Yet, from the viewpoint of Orthodoxy, it was a difficult struggle to eliminate instrumental music from the ritual without diminishing the attractiveness and influence of the Church. This went so far that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Church decided to persecute and exile the *skomorokhi* and destroy their instruments, church officials claiming that the instrumental culture growing within the Western Catholic Church was “Latin heresy.” These and other factors contributed to the belated development of instrumental music in Russia and other Orthodox countries.²

However, what was forbidden for the Church and the general population was fully embraced at the courts of the Russian Tsars. The first keyboard instruments appeared there as early as the late sixteenth century, in 1586, during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ioannovich (1557–1598), a gift from Queen Elizabeth I of England to Tsarina Irina Fedorovna, brought to Russia by the Englishman Jerome Horsey, who later wrote: “The Emporis [*sic*] his sister invited to behold the same [gifts], admired especially at the organes and virgenalls, all gilt and enambléd [*sic*], never seinge nor heering the like before, wounded and delighted at the lowd and musicall sound therof.”³ Of course, they served more as a precious toy rather than something that could reflect cultural tastes or tradition. Nevertheless, the beginning of instrumental music had been established. Gradually, keyboard instruments became a standard feature of secular court life, captivating high society with the possibilities of reproducing familiar songs and dance tunes in a new medium.⁴ Remarkably, however, while plucked single-manual keyboard instruments were being imported, a number of shops making portable organs already existed in seventeenth-century Moscow, particularly within its German Quarter. These new Western instruments, however, did not push out traditional plucked instruments like the *gusli* or *bandura*, with their rich sound and textural possibilities.⁵ These coexisted with keyboard instruments quite far into the eighteenth century.

Russia underwent enormous cultural changes and growth in the eighteenth century. The members of the aristocracy had experienced extremely hard times during the Petrine reign (1698–1725) and were especially devastated after being transferred to the new capital of Saint Petersburg from Moscow, where they had earned a living from their estates. The Petrine reforms, sometimes called the “Petrine revolution,” drastically changed the social and cultural environment. One of the consequences, in light of the lack of an existing keyboard culture in seventeenth-century Russia, was that it was difficult if not impossible to develop anything even remotely comparable to that in Western Europe, particularly because there was nothing upon which to base the creation of an instrumental culture in

general and the harpsichord in particular, a problem exacerbated by the lack of necessity, money, or resources. Concepts such as trained musicians, music printing, or teachers simply did not exist. Nevertheless, beginning with earlier Renaissance-baroque models, both spheres gradually gained momentum and progressed to a mature classicism by the end of the century.

This process was also accelerated by the Westernization of Russia after Saint Petersburg was founded, especially after the Tsar insisted on the development of a social life and court entertainments, both highly stimulating for secular music. Keyboard instruments, among other cultural novelties, spread throughout aristocratic circles, their variety widened with increasing imports from Europe. Among the scarce evidence for this development is a newspaper announcement of 1729 telling the readers that the organist of the St. Katharinen Church in Danzig (now Gdańsk, Poland), Theophil Andreas Volckmar (Volkman), offered to music lovers a “large clavecin and large clavichord.”⁶ Nevertheless, the growth of instruments in the possession of the Russian aristocracy could still be counted only in single units, and no principal changes in repertoire took place; rather, it consisted of the same songs and dances. The only noticeable difference was in genres: New dances such as the minuet, bourrée, and siciliana made steady inroads into the Russian soundscape.

The earliest Russian collection of harpsichord music is a handwritten album bearing the name of its owner, Prince Dolgoruky, and the date 1724.⁷ The collection contained a few keyboard pieces and several violin parts. Unfortunately, it is now lost, and we only know it from a description made by the musicologist Anatoly Drozdov in 1937, who saw it in Dmitrov – an ancient town near Moscow. Drozdov mentions minuets and “La sicilienne,” and “L’Harmonieux Rondeau” in the French style among the works of the collection.⁸

From this weak piece of evidence, we might conclude that the harpsichord was used more for basso continuo in ensemble with other instruments or voice, rather than as a solo instrument. The same is true for our next example from this period: “Mezhdu delom bezdelie, ili Sobranie raznykh pesen s prilozhennymi tonami na tri golosa” (“Idleness Midst Labor, or a Collection of Various Songs with Music for Three Voices”) by Gregory Teplov.⁹ A series of new Russian songs, so-called *Rossiyskaya pesnya* in *galant* style, specifies that the accompaniment instrument was the harpsichord.

The fruits of the Petrine revolution began to be felt more strongly in the second third of the eighteenth century, namely from the 1730s, when several dozen Italian musicians arrived, thus establishing not only Italian opera but also an entire infrastructure of European music in Russian

culture. This resulted in the development of an increased taste and desire for music, and more resources as well. To cite one example, the German harpsichordist Gertrude Koenig gave lessons to distinguished pupils at Empress Anna Ioannovna's court (r. 1730–1740).

From this point on, Russian cultural life in the eighteenth century developed under three main influences: Italian architecture, painting, cuisine, and music; French etiquette, literature, and fashion; and German military skills, science, crafts, and urbanism. Many foreigners found opportunities in the vibrant dynamic of building the new Westernized Russia. These and other factors contributed to the growing hunger for Western culture.

While there is little evidence to calculate the number of keyboard instruments in early eighteenth-century Russia, by the 1740s one gets the general impression that the harpsichord primarily remained at the imperial court and with the elite aristocracy, while the clavichord, although used in high society alongside the harpsichord, enjoyed broad popularity among the people. One reason for this was that the clavichord was portable, smaller in size, more affordable, and had a more singing sound. This preference can also probably be explained by the strong influence of German culture, and the close proximity of the Germanized Baltic countries. Beginning in about 1749, two instrument makers – organist Joachim Bernard Wilde and Lorenz Eckholm – frequently advertised all kinds of music services in the newspaper *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti*. The harpsichord is remarkably absent from such announcements, but the clavichord appeared frequently and in various contexts, such as to be bought or sold, instrument repair, and music lessons. Interestingly, as late as 1773, Georg Simon Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule: oder Kurze und gründliche Anweisung zur Melodie und Harmonie, durchgehends mit practischen Beyspielen erkläret* was translated and published with the Russian title indicating the clavichord as principal instrument: *Klavikordnaya shkola, ili Kratkoe i osnovatel'noe pokazanie k soglasii v melodii, prakticheskimi primerami iz'yasnennoe, sochinennoe gospodinom G.S. Leleynom*, despite it being aimed at all keyboard instruments.

From the 1780s, the fortepiano would come to dominate the market. However, if we list purely harpsichord works written in eighteenth-century Russia, we will discover that most of them – sonatas and concertos – were composed by foreign *Kapellmeisters* working at the Russian imperial court and the courts of the Russian aristocracy for their patrons and high-ranking students and aficionados. The period is concentrated within about three decades (from approximately the late 1750s to the mid-1780s), which we will survey in chronological order, following the succession of court *Kapellmeisters*.

The earliest composer to be mentioned is Giovanni Marco Rutini (1723–1797). He was in St. Petersburg with the Locatelli opera between 1757 and 1762.¹⁰ He also served as the harpsichord teacher to the future Catherine II, although no traces of her musicality in her mature years have ever been noted. There are German editions of Rutini's harpsichord sonatas Opus 5 and Opus 6 from this period, published in Nuremberg, since music engraving and a market for harpsichord music in Russia had yet to be fully developed. However, because the number of music lovers and skillful amateurs among courtiers was growing, it is plausible that Rutini was in demand as performer and teacher and that his music became a musical staple of the Russian aristocracy. In 1760–1761 Rutini also served and probably lived at the exceptionally rich and musically developed court of Count Peter Borisovich Sheremeteff, a member of one of the most famous families among Russian aristocracy.¹¹

Hermann Raupach (1728–1778), a German keyboard player and composer who served as clavicembalist in the Russian imperial court orchestra beginning in 1755 and also sought his fortune as an opera composer, probably composed some harpsichord pieces in Russia, such as his six sonatas for clavier and violin. He published these in 1762 in Paris and dedicated them to Count D. Golitsyn shortly after temporarily leaving his position in Russia, but it is possible that at least some were written prior to his departure.

The earliest works that can be confirmed as being composed and printed in Russia are six sonatas by Vincenzo Manfredini (1737–1799), his *VI sonate da clavicembalo / dedicate / alla sacra maesta imperiale / di / Caterina Seconda ... da Vincenzo Manfredini ...*, 1765.¹² Like Rutini, Manfredini, the brother of famous castrato Giuseppe Manfredini, arrived in Russia with the Locatelli company in 1757 or 1758. His career in Russia was initially associated with the court of Grand Duke Peter Fedorovich, future Emperor Peter III. Following Catherine the Great's ascent to the throne in 1762, Manfredini served as a court *Kapellmeister* at some point between the tenures of Francesco Araja (1709–ca. 1762–1770), who left Russia around 1762, and Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785), who arrived in 1765. This might explain why Manfredini, perhaps looking for a chance to be appointed musical instructor to the heir to the throne, Grand Duke Pavel Petrovich, presented to his patron the six harpsichord sonatas mentioned above. Indeed, Manfredini was awarded 1,000 rubles, an amount comparable to the annual salary of second-rank court artists, and appointed music instructor to the Grand Duke.¹³

We can also assume that Manfredini composed some instructive pieces as well, although none survive. His position was of lower rank than the first *Kapellmeister*, who was also responsible for producing operas, and it

appears that Manfredini remained in Russia for the sole purpose of being restored as the first *Kapellmeister* at the end of Galuppi's tenure. In the late 1760s Manfredini tried to establish public concerts in St. Petersburg with the help of his fellow musicians Gregory Teplov, Adam Olsufiev, and Lev Naryshkin, with whom he had played a decade earlier at the Oranienbaum musicales at the court of the Grand Duke Peter Fedorovich. For this, he engaged his talented student Elizabeth Teplova, Teplov's daughter, writing for her the Harpsichord Concerto in B \flat major (1768, published in The Hague and Amsterdam in 1769 and in London before 1786).¹⁴

Teplova and her two sisters were good musicians and belonged to the circle of youthful courtiers surrounding Grand Duke Pavel Petrovich. Manfredini's enterprise was a success, but it did not last long. In 1768, with the arrival of the international star Tommaso Traetta (1727–1779), who replaced Galuppi as *maitre de chapel* and would serve at the Russian court between 1768–1775, Manfredini lost all hope of a permanent position and left Russia. It is reported that many years later, in 1798, Manfredini's faithful pupil, Emperor Paul the First, asked his former teacher to serve at his court again, alas too late: Manfredini arrived later that year but soon became ill and died in August 1799.¹⁵

While Manfredini was on the sidelines, Galuppi occupied the spotlight at the court of Catherine II from 1765 to 1768. Besides opera, conducting the court choir, and teaching, his duties included harpsichord recitals. These events were so remarkable that they were even mentioned in the court chronicles *Kamer-furiersky journal* (September 26, 1765 and April 11, 1766), which rarely reported on music. Jacob von Stählin (1709–1785), the Russified German academician employed by the Russian court as an expert in culture and the arts, wrote:

This great musician's special manner of playing harpsichord, as well as the unusual accuracy in performance of his own compositions, which were first pleasurable news, returned every Wednesday in the late afternoon at the court chamber concerts held in the antechamber of the Empress's apartments. This aging virtuoso earned universal acclaim among the courtiers, and such gratitude on the part of Her Majesty the Empress that she deigned to send him a gift for winter time: a red velvet camisole with gold embroidery and lined with sable, the cap and the muff from the same precious fur.¹⁶

Although it is unclear whether Galuppi composed new sonatas in Saint Petersburg, it is noteworthy that in the winter of 1781–1782, some fourteen years after he left Russia, he received a visit from Grand Duke Pavel Petrovich and his spouse Grand Duchess Maria Fedorovna in Venice, the couple traveling incognito under the names Count and Countess Severnye (i.e., "Conti del Nord"). To acknowledge this important meeting,

Galuppi presented a set of sonatas to Maria Fedorovna. While it is possible that Galuppi added the dedication “in omaggio alla granduchessa di Russia Maria Feodorovna / Baldassare Galuppi” to his *Passatempo al cembalo*, there is no documented evidence to prove this, and it is still unclear which of Galuppi’s sets of six sonatas can be connected to this event.¹⁷

The period of Tommaso Traetta’s tenure, 1768–1775, seems to have been an unfavorable one for harpsichord music in Russia. There are, in fact, no mentions of his instrumental compositions at all. It probably could have been otherwise, were it not for the critical period for the Russian Empire when the Russian–Turkish war (1768–1775) coincided with Yemelyan Pugachev’s Rebellion (1773–1774), the Plague Riot in Moscow (1771), and several dangerous pretenders to the throne, to mention a few of the most dramatic political and historical events. These might have resulted in the dearth of harpsichord publications during this period.

It could not have been a completely sterile musical era, however, because during these years, two young Russian composers, Maxim Berezovsky (ca. 1740–1777) and Dmitry Bortniansky (ca. 1752–1825), studied in Italy, the first with Padre Giovanni Battista Martini in Bologna and the second with Galuppi in Venice. As their preserved music reveals, Berezovsky and Bortniansky had full command of harpsichord and instrumental composition; those years in Italy would, in fact, be their only opportunity to study it or perfect their knowledge and skill. The fact that none of their harpsichord pieces from that period are known today does not in any way mean that they did not exist. Furthermore, not only did they learn much from their tutors but they also exploited every opportunity to connect with the many Russian aristocrats in Italy during that decade. A fine example is Berezovsky’s Sonata for Harpsichord and Violin, written in Pisa in 1772 when Count Alexey Orloff was living in the city. It is also evidence that in the 1770s, Russian composers did write harpsichord music – although not necessarily in Russia.

These “silent-harpsichord” years in Russia were soon compensated for by the brilliant Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816), whose work in Russia from 1776 to 1783 happily coincided with the genuine flourishing of arts resulting from the end of political troubles and the beginning of decades of stability in Russia. This period, however, also marks the beginning of the fortepiano epoch in Russia. Although Paisiello wrote most of his clavier compositions for this instrument, the harpsichord did not lose its noble admirers, first among them the young and talented Grand Duchess Maria Fedorovna (1759–1828), who became very fond of the instrument. In 1782, Paisiello wrote and published for her his *Regole per bene accompagnare il partimento, o sia il basso fondamentale sopra il cembalo: composta per Sua Altezza Imperiale la Gran Duchessa di tutte le Russie* and two *Concerti per*

cembalo con orchestra: one for the Grand Duchess and another for the Empress's lady-in-waiting, Countess Ekaterina Alexeevna Senyavina. Thus, when Paisiello left Russia in 1783, a year before the end of his contract, Maria Fedorovna promised him a pension, and, in return, Paisiello promised to supply her with new sonatas. Although neither fulfilled their obligations, this provided a great opportunity to another composer – and this time a native Russian.¹⁸

Bortniansky returned from Italy to Russia in 1779 as a skilled and universally recognized *Kapellmeister* and in 1780 was appointed director of vocal music at the Russian Imperial Court Chapel. In 1784, after the end of Paisiello's vacations, he received the position as music teacher to the Grand Duchess and fully established himself at the court of the Grand Duke, becoming the natural candidate for this position when Paisiello decided not to resume his Russian service.

The first thing required of Bortniansky was to satisfy Maria Fedorovna's seemingly unquenchable thirst for harpsichord sonatas. Because of this, one and a half centuries later, almost every Soviet piano student between the ages of eleven and fourteen could play a sonata by a native Russian composer. In addition to harpsichord sonatas, Bortniansky wrote other keyboard compositions, mostly for fortepiano but also for clavichord. These were collected in a single bound manuscript collection known among Russian musicologists as "Maria Fedorovna's album." Of great potential importance to scholars of Russian music, it is now lost.

We know of this album, however, because it was carefully examined and described by Nikolai Findeizen, who also quoted incipits of all the pieces and fortunately succeeded in publishing the first three of eight sonatas for harpsichord.¹⁹ Findeizen, the only person to have studied the collection in its entirety, noted Bortniansky's complete familiarity with European styles of the time and praised it for being melodically more attractive than the compositional styles of Clementi, Pleyel, or Dušek, even suggesting that it approached the qualities of Haydn and Mozart. He emphasized the melodic grace and charm and the presence of Russian and Ukrainian gestures and structural aspects in certain themes. Indeed, the surviving sonatas fully confirm Findeizen's evaluation. Influenced by the melodic style of French and Italian comic operas, they certainly belong to the 1780s, a generation after Galuppi's sonatas.²⁰

Bortniansky's sonatas are written in the mature classical sonata-allegro form, and are excellent examples of the genre, especially because he often surprises the audience by avoiding textbook models. The same characteristics can be seen in the first movement (the only one that has survived) of Bortniansky's harpsichord concerto in D major.²¹ Maria Fedorovna's

collection also contained Bortniansky's three-movement harpsichord concerto in C major; this is now lost, but its incipits are in the music appendices of Findeizen's study.²²

The 1790s witnessed the Russian publication of a few editions of Haydn's and Mozart's harpsichord pieces and arrangements, as well as those by little-known composers such as the German [?] Klose and the Italian [?] Kucci (or Cocchi). Of course, the harpsichord was still used as a continuo instrument, mainly with voice and violin.

Italian masters were also no longer the principal musicians in Russia during the late eighteenth century. There was, for example, the Bohemian Arnošt Vančura, or, as he was named in Russia, Baron Ernst von Wanczura (1750–1802). Between 1785 and 1794 he published his *Journal de musique pour le clavecin ou pianoforte dédié aux dames*. Von Wanczura arrived in Saint Petersburg as a harpsichord virtuoso no earlier than 1773, composed operas and symphonies, and served as an opera theater manager. One of his claims to fame was the ability to play the harpsichord with his hands reversed, the fingers pointing upwards, plus chin, nose, and elbows!²³

The German Johann Wilhelm Hässler (1747–1822, in Russia from 1792), became a key figure in the reorientation of Russian tastes from the Italian to Viennese schools. He was, in fact, the first to create in Russia the image of Haydn as a great, revered composer. After a short period serving as piano teacher to the Grand Duke Alexander Pavlovich (the future Emperor Alexander I), Hässler moved to Moscow where he remained until the end of his life. Reputed to be a pupil of Johann Christian Kittel – one of J. S. Bach's students and later Haydn's colleague – Hässler embodied for Russians the great German tradition. A charismatic authority in figured bass and piano performance, he contributed to the most popular clavier genres in Russia at the time: sonatas and variations on Russian themes. His works were widely published at the end of the 1790s and during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, in both St. Petersburg and Moscow, by Russian publishers such as Johann Daniel Gerstenberg (1758–1841), J. S. Kaestner, Weisgaerber, Schildbach, and others, as well as by the composer himself. Fortunately, some of his works, including those belonging to the nineteenth century, have been preserved in a handsomely bound volume from the collection of Tsar Alexander I. Its titles give a good idea of the typical Russian harpsichord and fortepiano repertoire of this era, such as *Chanson russe. Variée pour le pianoforte*, Op. 9; *Prélude et ariette variée*, Op. 10, *pour le clavecin ou pianoforte*; *Trois sonates pour le forte-piano*, Op. 14; *Sonatine in F-dur*, Op. 20, *pour deux clavecins ou fortepianos*; *Fantasie et Chanson russe* Opp. 19–24,

Variée pour le clavecin ou fortepiano; and *360 preludes Op. 47 pour le piano-forte dans tous les tons majeurs et mineurs*.²⁴

Gerstenberg was a particularly prolific contributor as a publisher and enlightened advocate for the best-known and most popular genre for Russian composers, both noble amateurs and professionals, including “Russianized” foreigners: the variations on Russian folksongs. Others include Vasily Trutovsky’s *Variations on Russian songs (Variatsii na russkie pesni dlya klavitsimbala ili fortepiano (sochinenia V. Trutovskogo. V Sanktpeterburge, 1780)*; Vasily Karaouloff’s *Trois airs russes variés pour le clavecin ou piano-forte (1787)*; Hessler’s [sic] Russian folksong with twelve variations for harpsichord or piano-forte (*Russkaya narodnaya pesnya s 12 peremenami dlya klavesina ili piano-forte (soch. g. Gessler, 1793)*; Parfeny d’Engalitchew’s *Air russe avec variations pour le clavecin ou pianoforte . . . dédié à son altesse impériale madame la grande duchesse de toutes les Russies Elisabeth Alexiewna (1798)*; B. Boehm’s *Air russe varié et rondo pour le clavecin ou le piano-forte (1798)*; and Chrétien-Frédéric Segekbach’s *Douze variations d’un air russe pour clav ou p-f. Oeuv. 2 (1799)*.²⁵

The polonaise was another popular genre in the Russian clavier repertoire of the 1790s, and nearly all of these were composed by Joseph (in Russian, “Osip”) Kozlovsky (1757–1831). A self-described but nevertheless highly skilled amateur, since as a nobleman he could not be a professional musician, Kozlovsky could boast of a triple identity: Belorussian by birth, Polish geopolitically (since Belorussia was then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), and Russian by residence and service in the Russian army. His musical connections were no less interesting. He was a nephew and pupil of the above-mentioned Vasily Trutovsky (the court *guslist* and the composer of the first clavier variations on Russian songs) and eventually a teacher of the Polish diplomat, politician, and composer Michał Kleofas Ogiński, the author of the highly melancholic polonaise *Farewell to the Homeland*, written at the time of the suppression of the Kościuszko Uprising (1794) and Ogiński’s own emigration to Paris shortly after the uprising was suppressed.

In summary, eighteenth-century Russian harpsichord music occupied an important and special niche among music for other keyboard instruments, such as the clavichord and fortepiano, and was at the top of the social hierarchy at the imperial court and at the palaces of the major aristocratic families. Harpsichord playing was considered the most noble pastime among female members of aristocratic families, and the possession of these instruments, with their warm and resonant sound and beautiful decorations often featuring gallant scenes, was a characteristic attribute of luxurious salons. The repertoire for the instrument consisted mostly of

sonatas and concertos, usually provided by Italian court *Kapellmeisters*, as well as minor pieces and favorite Russian airs with variations. The harpsichord was of course also often used as basso continuo and in ensembles with violin (first listed) and voice, but as in all other countries, the music eventually outlived its medium and smoothly passed to fortepiano.

Postscript

Before concluding this chapter, brief mention must be made about the connections between Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian music cultures, a subject that has usually been ignored in Russian studies.

Thanks to the fundamental research of Olga Dadiomova on the subject, the musical world of eighteenth-century Belorussia can now be unveiled in all its richness, offering a different perspective on Russian music in general.²⁶ For example, in Nesvizhi alone during the 1750s–1780s we find Czech performers and *Kapellmeisters* such as Jan Dušek and Frantisek Erzhombka. Among the leading local musicians was Jan Dawid Holland (1746–1827), a Polish composer of German birth, who came to Belorussia from Hamburg.

Eighteenth-century Ukraine had a less promising and less clear relationship with the harpsichord. To begin with, Ukraine did not exist as a country at this time. It was called Malorossia (Little Russia) and was brutally divided between Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the harpsichord was a complete stranger to Ukrainian music, and the crumbs of evidence regarding the instrument lead us to the city of Lviv and to the highly musical court of Count Kirill Razumovsky (father of Andrei Razumovsky) in Glukhiv as head of Malorossia in 1750–1764.²⁷ In addition, there was a short-lived Academy of Music in Kremenchug (in which a class of a few students was taught by Giuseppe Sarti in 1788–1789) that also implies the existence of amateur music making. It would be more accurate, however, to conclude that these were really enclaves of Russian culture, rather than something that could be considered native eighteenth-century Ukrainian music. That said, it should be noted that the rich and fascinating legacy of Ukrainian songs and dances has attracted the interest of European musicians since the seventeenth century. No wonder that traces of some Ukrainian dances and songs in harpsichord music can be found in Polish and German collections, both probably based on the Lviv influence.²⁸ Indeed, Lviv was (and still is) a cultural center, even boasting of Johann Philipp Kirnberger having lived there between 1741 and 1750 – as a harpsichordist.²⁹

Notes

1. The two largest instrument collections in Russia can be found in Saint Petersburg, at the Saint Petersburg Museum of Music, Sheremetev Palace, and in the Glinka National Museum Consortium of Musical Culture in Moscow, www.glinka.museum/en/.
2. For further details, see Marina Ritzarev, *Eighteenth-Century Russian Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006, rep. 2016, 2017).
3. J. Horsey, *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century. Comprising the Treatise "Of the Russe common wealth," by Dr. Giles Fletcher, and the Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey, Knt., Now for the First Time Printed Entire from His Own Manuscript*, ed. Edward A. Bond (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1856), p. 217, quoted in N. Findeizen, *History of Music in Russia from Antiquity to 1800*, trans. Samuel William Pring, ed. and annotated by Miloš Velimirović and Claudia R. Jensen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), Vol. 1, p. 192 and p. 367, fn. 302.
4. C. R. Jensen, *Musical Cultures in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 77–104.
5. The *gusli* is the ancient Russian multistring plucked instrument known from at least the sixth century BCE. The *bandura* is the Ukrainian plucked-string, folk instrument. It had five to twelve strings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and can have as many as sixty-eight strings today.
6. P. Stolpyansky, *Muzyka i muzitsirovanie v starom Peterburge* (Leningrad: Muzyka, 1989), pp. 183–184.
7. It is difficult to establish which of the highly positioned Princes Dolgoruky (sometimes Dolgorukov), who came from a large, ancient, but not usually well-educated family, could be the owner. Vladimir Natanson suggested Vasily Lukich Dolgoruky (1672–1739), a highly educated diplomat who studied in Paris. See V. Natanson, *Proshloe russkogo pianizma* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1960), p. 51. Another Prince, Alexey Grigorievich Dolgorukov (?–1734) could be a candidate as well, since he was an educated statesman who spent some time in diplomatic missions in Italy, Malta, and Poland.
8. A. N. Drozdov, "Istoki russkogo pianizma," in *Sovetskaya muzyka* 8 (1938), pp. 41–57.
9. Gregory Teplov, *Mezhdum delom bezdelie, ili Sobranie raznykh pesen s prilozhennymi tonami na tri golosa* (St Petersburg: Akademia nauk, 1751–1759).
10. Giovanni Battista Locatelli (1713–1785), after going bankrupt in Germany, signed a contract with the Russian court and managed the Italian Company in St. Petersburg for five years (1757–1762).
11. G. Pestelli, *The Age of Mozart and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 18; A. Porfirieva, *Muzykal'ny Peterburg: XVIII vek, entsiklopedichesky slovar'*, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg: Rossiyskiy Institut Istorii Iskusstv: Kompozitor, 1999), Vol. 3, p. 61.
12. Facsimile edition, A. M. Pernafelli, ed. (Milan: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1975). See also *RISM M 352*, Vol. 5, p. 405.
13. The same opus was severely criticized the following year by the German composer and writer J. A. Hiller. See *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* 1, no. 17, October 21, 1766 (Leipzig:

- Verl. der Zeitungs-Expedition), pp. [127]–131, quoted in R.-A. Mooser, *Annales de la musique et des musiciens en Russie au XVIIIe siècle*, 3 vols. (Genève: Ed. du Mont-Blanc, 1948–1951), Vol. 2, p. 39.
14. V. Manfredini, *Concert choisie pour le clavecin avec l'accompagnement des deux violons, taille, basse, deux hautbois ou flutes, deux cors de chasse ad libitum*. (Den Haag: Burchard Hummel, 1769; Amsterdam: Johann Julius Hummel, 1769), *RISM M* 350, Vol. 5, p. 405; *A Favourite Concerto for the Harpsicord or Pianoforte with Accompaniments for Two Violins, Hautboys, or Flutes, Two Horns Ad Libitum, Tenor and Violoncello* (London: P. Evans, before 1786), *RISM M* 348, M 349, Vol. 5, p. 405); V. Manfredini, *Concerto in Sib per cembalo e orchestra*, A. Ton, ed. (Milano: Carisch, 1957).
 15. Findeizen, *History of Music in Russia*, Vol. 2, p. 91.
 16. J. von Stählin, *Nachrichten von der Musik in Russland, facs. ed. with commentary*, Ernst Stöckl (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1982), p. 171. The original publication is J. von Stählin, “Nachrichten von der Musik in Russland,” in M. J. Haigold, ed., *Beilagen zum Neuveränderten Russland* (Riga – Mietau, 1769); reprinted and quoted by J. A. Hiller, *Wöchentliche Nachrichten*, <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10527275.html> (accessed 23 December 2016).
 17. The autograph of this collection (found at Istituto musicale “Niccolò Paganini,” Genova, shelf mark D-8–31) does not contain a dedication. Nevertheless, Franco Piva in his edition *Baldassare Galuppi, detto Il Buranello. Passatempo al cembalo, Music sonate. Trascrizione e revisione di Franco Piva* (Venezia: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1964) related this opus to Galuppi’s meeting with the Russian Grand Dukes. For more details see E. Antonenko, “Kistorii otnosheniy Baldassare Galuppi i russkogo imperatorskogo dvora,” in *Nauchny vestnik Moskovskoy konservatorii 1* (2011), pp. 92–104, http://nv.mosconsv.ru/wp-content/media/06_antonenko_ekaterina.pdf (accessed 23 December 2016).
 18. For details of the pension and sonatas, see A. Weydemeyer, *Dvor i zamechatel’nye lyudi v Rossii vo vtoroy polovine XVIII stoletia*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Einerling, 1846), and J. L. Hunt, *Paisiello: His Life as an Opera Composer* (New York: National Opera Association, 1975), p. 34.
 19. Findeizen, *History of Music in Russia*, Vol. 2, pp. 205–208 (description of the collection); pp. 327–334 (incipits of the compositions); pp. 376–379 (fragments of two pieces).
 20. *Dmitry Bortnyansky (1751–1825): The Russian Album*, recorded by Olga Martynova, harpsichord, Pratum Integrum Orchestra (CM 0052003); www.caromitis.com/eng/catalogue/cm0052003.html.
 21. Published as D. Bortniansky, *Concerto di cembalo*, M. Stepanenko, ed. (Kiev: Muzychna Ukraina, 1985). Recorded and edited by P. Serbin in *Dmitry Bortnyansky (1751–1825): The Russian Album*.
 22. Findeizen, *History of Music in Russia*, Nos. 81–83, Vol. 2, p. 331.
 23. M. P. Pryashnikova, “Kompozitor i klavesinist ekaterininskoy epokhi Ernst Vanzhura,” in E. R. Dashkova, *Portret v kontekste istorii* (Moscow: Moskovsky gumanitarny institut im. E. R. Dashkovoy, 2004), Vol. 21, p. 162.
 24. A. Porfirieva, *Muzykal’ny Peterburg: XVIII vek*, Vol. 1, pp. 245–246.

25. All the names and titles are spelled here as they appear in Russian editions.
26. O. V. Dadiomova, *Muzykal'naya kul'tura gorodov Belorussii v XVIII veke* (Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1992) and *Muzychnaya kul'tura Belorussii XVIII stagoddzya. Gistoryka-tearetychnae dasledavanne* (Minsk: Belaruskaya dzyarzhavnaya, akademiya muzyki, 2002).
27. It was mentioned as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in a document from Bogdan Khmel'nitsky's court (1652), as well as being sold in the Polonized West Ukrainian city of Lviv in 1667. See M. Stepanenko, "Klavir v istorii muzychnoy kul'tury Ukrainy XVI-XVII st.," in *Ukrains'ka muzychna spadshchyna: Stat'i. Materialy. Dokumenty. Vyp. 1* (Kiev: Muzychna Ukraina, 1989), p. 33.
28. A collection from the middle of the seventeenth century in the Krakow Jagellon Library (shelf mark 127/256) contains over two hundred keyboard pieces aimed for domestic music making and pedagogical repertoire, including songs, and religious and secular *kanty*. See Stepanenko, "Klavir v istorii," pp. 38–39). The owner of this collection was Kievan Metropolitan Kiprian Zhokhovs'ky.
29. The name of Timofey Belogradsky, a lutenist of Ukrainian origin and pupil of Silvius Leopold Weiss, is sometimes mentioned in connection with Ukrainian keyboard music, probably because lute music could also be performed on the harpsichord.

Further Reading

- Findeizen, Nikolai. *History of Music in Russia from Antiquity to 1800*. Translated by Samuel William Pring, edited and annotated by Miloš Velimirović and Claudia R. Jensen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Jensen, C. R. *Musical Cultures in Seventeenth-Century Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ritzarev, Marina. *Eighteenth-Century Russian Music*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2006, reprinted New York: Routledge, 2016, 2017.