

Искусствоведение и культурология

CHANTING ART'S MASTERS AT THE COURT OF IVAN THE TERRIBLE¹

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The extant written data provide great evidence to the fact that the activities of the most outstanding Russian chant masters were closely connected with the main centres of Russian medieval music — with the Tsar's and the patriarch's choirs. The sources also lead to the conclusion that the development of the Moscow school as a unique creative trend of the old Russian music took place a bit later than the Novgorod one. A decisive role here was played by the chant masters who were taught in Novgorod the Great [Veliky Novgorod]. Among them one should mention the didascalos and chanter Feodor Krestjanin (the Christian), whose chants became the embodiment of "Moscow singing" for the musical theorists of the late 16th — early 17th centuries. Bright author creativity at that time involved in its sphere as ordinary Moscow masters and high reigning persons, the first of whom was the Tsar Ivan the Terrible.

Keywords: ancient Russian church-singing art, masters of the Moscow School of chanting, tsar's singing choristers (diaki), Tsar Ivan the Terrible, composer (raspevschik) Feodor Krestjanin.

The Moscow medieval professional culture was forming in a different way from, say, the Novgorod one, filled with democratic content. Since the earliest times one of the main objectives in the Moscow arts was to express the ideas of nationhood, the monarchical nature of power. Official and significant political principle was of dominating character as well. The formation of class-representative monarchy and its transformation into the absolute monarchy contributed greatly to the rising importance of various court and church rites, feasts, ceremonies striking by their magnificence. This, in its turn, enhanced the ideological role of official art. However, the same process of power centralization, which later moved the church to the background, had made it powerless against strengthening secularization of the court culture and its merging with the European one.

There were two powerful, closely interconnected centres in Moscow. They combined the best creative powers of the country: at the Tsar's court and at the court of the Metropolitan (since 1589 — the Patriarch) of Moscow and all Russia. Those centres were accumulating the traditions of professional "Moscow chanting" while their choirs were actively creating them. Here we discuss only the art of Tsar's court chanting masters.

The Tsar's choir in Moscow had already had a long history by the 16th century. The former originated from the church choir of the Grand Duke court. Most likely, the choir of Moscow Grand Dukes was formed due to the fact that they considered themselves the rulers of all Russian lands. The creation of proper grand duke court, establishment of court ceremonial and erection of court churches were also of great importance here. All this is indicative of Ivan Kalita's period of reign (1325—1340). One of the major events of that period was the relocation of the Metropolitan of Russia residence from Vladimir to Moscow. There, in the major spiritual centre of Russia from that day on, the Metropolitan court and the Dormition (Uspenskiy) Ca-

thedral were erected (1327). In the following centuries they served as the place where the Metropolitan choir chanters carried out their duties. During Kalita's reign the Arkhangelsk (Archangel) Cathedral was erected, as well as the new court church — Spas-na-Boru Church (Savior in a Pine Forest Church), which replaced John the Baptist old church at the Duke court, where in all likelihood the grand duke chanters sang.

Significant rise of church singing art is associated with the period of the Ivan IV (the Terrible) reign. In his literary publicistic works it was clearly demonstrated that Tsar understood his role as autocrat who reigned "in God's commandment". According to his ideas, "Russian Tsardom" inherited "the spark of godliness" from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine the Great [18, p. 12—13]. Example to follow became not only politics of the Byzantine emperors to strengthen the power, but the sphere of their spiritual activities. The first Russian Tsar actively acted as a writer and publicist, hymnographer, editor of the official chronicle, book-lover. Musical creativity is of particular importance in his spiritual life too.

It is known that the Byzantine Basileus devoted much time and effort creating church singing works, which was in the empire of the most important type of professional music-making. Sometimes they acted as not only hymnographers and creators of melodies, authors of poetic texts and music (Leo VI the Wise), but also as a performer-chanter of his hymns (Theophilus). In the IX—X centuries under the emperors Leo VI and Constantine VII the process of formation of the liturgical rite was finished. Many festive services are converted into the mystery — the liturgical drama, richly accompanied by choral singing. Taking on the mission of the guardian of true Orthodoxy, Russia had to follow and these traditions.

About that until Ivan the Terrible Russian sovereigns, grand dukes sang chants alone or with the court choir written sources say [ex.: 16, p. 267]. Therefore they were musically educated. As a statesman Tsar Ivan had to take care of the church singing, its contents and

¹ Work is executed at financial supported the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fund, project No 13-04-00077.



Prayer of the Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich and his sons.
Miniature of XVI century

condition: in those days, it were an effective means of ideological influence and moral upbringing. One of the most important task was to create a pantheon of Russian saints. They might have to stand before the Lord and pray for help to the young tsardom in the days of violent invasions and testing. In accordance with the decisions of the Church Councils (Sobors) in 1547 and 1549 40 saints were raised to the all-Russian rank at once. It led to the creation of new cycles of chants by Russian hymnographers and composers (*raspevschiks*). At Stoglav, the Sobor in 1551, the Tsar personally raised a number of questions about the state of affairs of the church singing [11, p. 251, 254—265].

Russian and foreign sources testify that the Tsar Ivan knew musical notation himself, enjoyed singing together with chorus of the court. For example, in 1564, attending with his family at the consecration of the cathedral Pereyaslav-Nikitsky monastery, «Tsar sang «red (beautiful) chanting» at Matins and Liturgy with his «stanitsa» (choristers) himself» [41, p. 247]¹. In the Alexander Sloboda (settlement), creating Oprichny “monastery” and, together with oprichniks (they were dressed in monastic *skufias*), he often sang in the choir (*kliros*). P. Oderborn reports that the Tsar was even saying Mass [19, p. 57—58]. Note that the direct involvement of the sovereign in the commission of divine service was permitted in Byzantium.

The name of the Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich linked not only to mentions of the singing by sovereign the sophisticated chanting works. Grand Dukes of Russia had this skill before him. For the first time we meet with the documentary evidence of the revival by this monarch the

¹ Sometimes in the sources the “red chanting” means the singing in the solemn style of Demestvenniy chanting.

Byzantine *basileuses*’ traditions to create chants.

In the reign of Tsar Ivan the best masters were gathered at the court. From sources it is clear that then the formation of the Moscow school as a unique creative trend of the old Russian music was ended. A decisive role here was played by the chant masters who were taught in Novgorod the Great (Velikiy Novgorod). Among them one should mention the didascalos and chanter Feodor Krestjanin (Khristianin), whose chants became the embodiment of “Moscow singing” for the musical theorists of the late 16th — early 17th centuries. Master, in all probability, was able to combine in his work the theoretical achievements in the the case of Novgorod chanting with local musical traditions of Moscow, which he not only mastered to perfection, but also gave them a new artistic development.

Recall that the particular period of his life Feodor Krestjanin was associated with the presence of the Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich’s court in Alexandrov Sloboda (from 1564). Source notes than after staying in Sloboda Krestjanin “became famous in the reigning city of Moscow, sang *znamenny* chant here and taught others”. When the court moved to Moscow Krestjanin starts his service in the Blagoveshenskiy Sobor (sovereign’s house Cathedral of the Annunciation). Being a priest and a chant master who had a good command of chant art he also starts teaching the tsar’s singers. Feodor Krestjanin’s entire creative life was connected with the Russian best masters of chanting art — the tsar’s singing choristers (*diaki*). During a long period he created chants for this choir. His authority of a singer and a didascalos was enormous among the choristers, he was called the teacher, the master. At the court his common nickname Krestjanin (Pesant) was replaced by “Khristianin” (the Christian). Most probably Feodor Krestjanin’s duties included not only teaching young singers but also assistance and guidance in various activities of the choir. During his lifetime Feodor Krestjanin was known not only as a renowned master and teacher but also as an outstanding *musical theorist*. Teaching the tsar’s singing *diaki* and mastering his art, Krestjanin started to create his own musical instructions (*razvody*) for the complicated neumatic signs in the notation of certain chants. In the chant manuscript books of the tsar’s singing *diaki* one can easily find the examples of Krestjanin’s singing this or that musical formulae, lines or even chants [more details about it, for example, see : 46].

So, thanks to the activity of Tsar Ivan and didascaloi Feodor Krestjanin sovereign’s choir became the centre of highly qualified masters.

The structure of the major choirs of Russia represented unique bodies of hierarchical arrangement. Tsar’s choristers occupied a high position in the court service. They received a high court rank of «diak», but in accordance with the talents and skills they were divided into specific subdivisions — *stanitsas* (small vocal groups of different voices, as usual 5 persons). The position, salary, functions of a chanter were determined by the *stanitsa* he was singing in, and often by the place within a *stanitsa* as well. In addition, in ancient times, the first two *stanitsas* of Grand Duke choir, consisting of the best masters of chanting art were signed out and called “great”. Already in the XV century in the choir were also “smaller” *stanitsas* (for example, in 1580-ies there were



Blagoveschensky (Annunciation) cathedral — principal place of creative activity of sovereign's chanters

two of them), which included the young singing diaks just starting their career. [21, p. 100; 24, p. 8—9].

The only precise information about the arrangement and number of chanters of the Tsar's choir in the 16th century available today is the information about the choir of Tsar Ivan IV's reign period. According to the staff list dated by March, 20, 1573, the choir consisted of five stanitsas: the 1st and the 5th stanitsas consisted of 5 people each, the others — 4 people each. Besides, there were 5 "bezstanichnye" (not belonging to any stanitsa), reserve chanters. Thus, the whole choir of Ivan the Terrible in 1573 consisted of 27 chanters (so-called "diaki"). Besides chanters, the Tsar's court also had the so-called "krestovye diaki" (kractae). Quite often they were composed of the best chanters but differed in their official duties (mainly by the duties performed in private chambers), which included chanting during Tsar's home praying as well. The court staff list of 1573 included 9 such "diaki" [5, p. 35—37].

The Russian professional musicians of the 16th—17th centuries, who served in Russia's major choirs, received certain types of annual payments (monetary, bread, cloth, etc.). Each of those types and more frequently the position in a choir or stanitsa had a fixed salary. Thus, the full salary of a singer consisted of a system of monetary payments and natural products payments. The salaries were closely connected with obligatory and regular grants ("slavlenoe", "prichastnoe", etc.), which were fixed for a chanter at the moment of his enlistment and given out on some special occasions.

We can estimate the system of singing diaki salaries of the 16th century by the staff list of Ivan the Terrible's choir of 1573. According to the documents of the 17th century, which are preserved almost to the full extent, salaries fixed in the central choirs were extremely stable during a long period of time: some of them underwent no changes in that century. Therefore, we can assume that the system and the amount of salaries of the Tsar's singing diaki reflected in the staff list of 1573 are also typical of the previous period of the 16th century.

The first one mentioned is the annual monetary payment. It was between 5 and 10 rubles and was given to almost all diaki, except for five singers who additionally performed functions of "nedelschiks" — state officers who performed their duties by weeks, which gave them additional income. Instead of annual amount of cloth all diaki got money to the amount of 48 altyn (1,44 rubles); this salary was not assigned to three singers of the 5th stanitsa and two "bezstanichnye" (not belonging to any stanitsa) singers. The gradation of the annual bread remuneration was determined inside each stanitsa individually; except those who owned some lands, each of the diaki was assigned an equal amount of quarters (from 12 to 30) of rye and oat. The other types of reward by natural products — salt and meat — except for chanters-landowners, were also given to everyone. Some singers who got no monetary grants, received 2 rubles of "holiday payment". Special attention should be paid to the fact that two singing diaki got land payment [5, p. 35—37; 24, p. 19].

The information about the salaries of the Tsar's krestovye diaks in the 16th century can be found in the staff list of serving people of Ivan the Terrible's court of 1573. Those diaki are specified before the Tsar choir, but their salary merely consisted of annual monetary payments (from 4 to 25 rubles) and 1,44 rubles, the amount of money for "cloth" [5, p. 35]. In the 17th century the system of salaries of the Tsar's krestovye diaki was expanding. In the second half of the century this category of the court people exceeded the Tsar's chanters in the types and amounts of payments.

From documentary sources it follows that the main Russian choir was staffed with the most musically talented people who came from various regions and different strata of society.

According to the staff list of singing diaki of Ivan the Terrible dated by March, 20, 1573 the salary of two of them, Savluk Mihailov and Ivan Danilov, included 300 quarters of the "manor". Undoubtedly, those diaki were noble by birth. They, most likely, received the manors not for their service in the choir, where that kind of salary was not used. We do not see any reasons for them being specially rewarded with the manors as they were ordinary singers; one of them was registered under number four in the staff list of the 1st stanitsa, the other — the last in the 3rd stanitsa [5, p. 35—36]. Probably, krestovy diak (then senior choir singer) Andrei Konstantinov Vereshevsky owned the great land property and had great incomes, enriching his manors. He paid 240 roubles only for the acquisition of village Zhestylevo from a Tsar's groom in 1580, it had its own church "with all church buildings", and wasteland Repkhovo [38, fol. 1]¹.

All this means that in the 16th centuries taking noble men as singing diaki on serving was not occasional. Their activity in the choir was considered as one of the types of public service. When being fixed a salary, they reserved the right to their manors and peasants.

Local singers also joined the Tsar's choir, for example, Ivan Smagin "was taken from the archbishop"

¹ In 1573 his salary was only 15 rubles and 1.44 rubles for "broadcloth" [5, p. 35].

to the choir of Ivan the Terrible and in 1573 was listed as “bezstanichny” (not belonging to any stanitsa) diak. Quite often representatives of the town population were recruited into the Tsar’s choir.

If we compare the position of the Tsar’s singers with the position of the patriarchal singers, we can easily assume that the first ones had advantages over the other, and not only the legal ones. The Tsar’s diaki had a greater variety of payments and higher salaries. On those occasions, when both choirs had to sing together, the Tsar’s singers took more honourable places (for example, in the cathedral it was the right kliros), than the patriarchal ones, which was conditioned by the Middle Ages etiquette that pointed at the difference in their social positions.

It is quite difficult to identify the social status of the main choirs’ singers when the formation of the main classes in Russia was still in progress. As far as chanters had to sing, in the first place, in cathedrals, they all went through a special admission ceremony. But that did not mean, that they were referred to the clergy as some researchers believe [for example: 15, p. 15 and others]. D.V. Razumovsky noted, that as for “the civil rights”, the Tsar’s singing diaki enjoyed all rights and advantages of people, serving in the Tsar’s court, they “belonged to the rank of court people” [29, p. 58]. Indeed, in the staff lists for salary singers were registered “among various ranks of people” of the Tsar’s court. In the Staff List of 1573, for instance, they were registered after boyars, stokers, guards, carpenters, etc.; after them there were tailors, shoemakers, fur dressers, armourers, etc. [5, p. 21—40 and others].

The totality of different data allows us to conclude that the life of the Tsar’s chanters was not much different from the lives of the Russian serving people of the 16th century. These documents provide additional features to the social portrait of the medieval Russian professional musicians. Information came down to us about their professional activities characterizes chanters as the court serving people.



Russian service people. Tinted engraving of XVI century. Fragment

The “major” 1st and 2nd stanitsas of choirs, which consisted of masters of the highest level of skill upon demand of the Church Statute usually stood on the right and left kliroses (choirs, part of a church). Diaki of other stanitsas took their places, including kliroses, in accordance with the part of the service and the chant performed.

Often during special solemn services the Tsar’s and the metropolitan diaki sang together. As a rule, it happened on those days, when the Tsar visited the Dormition Cathedral in the Kremlin where the Metropolitan of All-Russia himself held the service. On such occasions the Tsar’s diaki were singing on the right choir, the metropolitan diaki — on the left one.

The sources have brought to us numerous detailed records of the way how the Russian singers performed in the cathedrals of the 16th centuries. On January, 21, 1526 during the wedding ceremony of Ivan the Terrible’s parents, the Grand Duke Vasily and Elena Glinskaya, the “singing diaki on both kliroses were chanting Mnogoletie (expression of wishes for long life)” [17, p. 87]. The record of Ivan the Terrible’s enthronement ceremony (16 January 1547) stated that “on the right kliros diaki sing Mnogoletie to the Grand Duke, and on the left kliros diaki also sing Mnogoletie” [10, p. 47].

Often professional singers of the 16th centuries, in addition to the usual cathedral services, accompanied special events and ceremonies. In Moscow the heads of the state and the church took part in “Walking on an Ass” (really on a Horse) during the “Floriferous week” (“the Entrance of the Lord into Jerusalem”) or on Palm Sunday (“Verbnoe voskresenie”). Among others there were also present the singing diaki of the Tsar’s and metropolitan choirs. In the continuation of some church services praying people went beyond the church in the city, where the chanters had to sing on the go. For example, it was during a general procession to the river for water consecration on the feast of the Epiphany (January 5).

The singers of the major Russian choirs of the 16th century had to sing at various ceremonies, worked out for the most important events, connected with the life of the Tsar’s and the metropolitan’s courts. These events were quite often of nationwide significance.

In the Grand Duke or the Tsar coronation ceremony, apparently, the most active part was assigned to the metropolitan (patriarchal) choir as the event was taking place in the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, All-Russian Metropolitan’s Cathedral Church. In the enthronement ceremony records, as regards Ivan III’s grandson, Duke Dmitry’s coronation (February 1498) and Ivan the Terrible’s coronation (January 1547) it is not specified which “diaki on kliroses sing Mnogoletie (many years of living) to the grand duke” [27, p. 248; 10, p. 47]. However, more recent sources indicate that tsar’s singers sang certain chants, especially Mnogoletie to Tsar.

At the Tsar’s wedding ceremonies chanting was generally assigned to the Tsar’s singers. In 1575 during Tsar Ivan’s wedding ceremony diaki “on both kliroses sang Mnogoletstvo [same as Mnogoletie]” to the Tsar and to the Tsaritsa [30, fol. 9].

To the group of rites, connected with the most important events, ascending to the metropolitan (patriarchal) church, we will, in the first instance, refer the nomination and enthronement ceremony of the head of the Russian Church. In February 1539 at the ceremony of exaltation of the All-Russian Metropolitan Ioasaf both stanitsas of the metropolitan diaki sang. And when Ioasaf bestrode a horse, as well as on Palm Sunday (Verbnoe voskresenie), and went away from the cathedral, in that case without

a willow (*verba*), to the court of the grand duke, the grand duke's and the metropolitan singing diaki walked before him, singing verses. The same happened on his way back to the cathedral [1, p. 158—160].

During numerous trips with the Tsar's family members and the hierarchs of the church around the towns, monasteries, churches, Palace settlements etc, singers continued to execute their chanting functions. While on a visit to Novgorod with Ivan the Terrible on 23 July 1571, during icon processions, "Moscow singing diaki sang many various sticheras" and canons, and then in the St. Sophia (Holy Wisdom) Cathedral they hymns in praise of the Virgin Mary ("sang Bogorodichny") [26, p. 165].

It should be noted and sovereign singers participation in theatrical performances, especially in the "Furnace act" and in the ranks of enthronement local church hierarchs in Moscow [21, p. 99—108].

Thus, professional singing functions of the Tsar's choir, basically, were implemented in divine services and rites in churches (cathedrals). However singers of this choir quite frequently took part in non-liturgical, secular as well as public and political ceremonies.

On the occasion of grand delegations or embassies' arrival in Moscow, at coronation ceremonies, at the ceremony of exaltation of the metropolitans, in connection with baptismal ceremonies and the name-day celebrations of the Tsar's family members, on some particular holidays, memorial days, as well as on other occasions solemn receptions and dinner parties ("stoly") were held in the Tsar's palace chambers or in the metropolitan's palace chambers ("khoromy"). On September, 14, 1557 in the Tsar's Obedennaya palata (Dining chamber) there was a reception with the foreigners present. An Englishman, when describing that event, noted in his memoirs: "During the dinner 6 singers came in and stood in the middle of the hall, facing the Tsar, they sang three times". But their songs and voices slightly delighted or did not appeal to the foreigners, who were brought up on different music traditions [40, p. 14]. As a rule, the dinner was ending with "Grace cups", which represented special church and secular rites, which had been popular in Russia since the 11th century and stood at the origin of the Russian panegyric choral music [9].

Other cases of non-liturgical singing of the choir include singing during solemn walks, processions, high officials' meetings.

The professional functions of chanters were not confined to singing only. Their duties included numerous "non-singing" functions. Among the functions, not connected with singing, chanters had to escort the Tsar (among other court people, e.g. boyars, noblemen etc.) in their trips, which were most commonly taken to the ancient sacred places of Russian cities and monasteries as well as to Palace (tsarist) settlements.

But their general activity was much wider and diversified. All the duties they had to do (which can not be referred to their direct professional functions) can also be divided into those connected and not connected with the art of chanting.

First of all, one should mention the most important activity in the life of the choir (as regards maintaining their professional level) — the process of educating young singers. It was assigned, as a rule, to the most

experienced diaki or courtier clergymen who knew all the niceties of singing and who had skills in teaching. As already stated, under Tsar Ivan this duty was entrusted to the outstanding master Feodor Krestjanin.

The greatest importance in non-singing activities, though connected with the singing activities of diaki, was attached to writing ecclesiastic music books. Chant music books were stored in the Tsar's and the patriarch's "khoromy" (residences) in special Chanter chambers, where chanters worked. In choir those books were used during singing and teaching the art of chanting. The books were registered in the inventory. A part of them was located directly in the places of service — in cathedrals. There is numerous documentary evidence of such writing activity of singing diaki [for example: 46, p. 409—410].

Another type of work, not included in the scope of professional duties of the Tsar's chanters, but carried out by those masters, was connected with their non-singing activities. It was, mainly, a consequence of an insufficient differentiation and specialization of the state machinery, securing the activity of different categories of serving people.

There exist records of granting the Tsar's singing diaki by "dannoe pristavstvo" over monastery and church lands dating back to the period of Ivan the Terrible's reign, including the grand-ducal period. "Danny pristav" (overseer) was a sort of an intermediary in legal cases. The same duties at that time were performed by "prikaznie" (departmental) diaki [4, p. 39—40, 68—69]. In the beginning of the 17th century singing diaki ceased to be assigned overseers since labour differentiation in the class of serving people became more profound.

Duties of an overseer included considering the claims filed against monastery or cathedral elders, priests, servants, stewards, peasants or on the contrary those filed by them. Once or twice a year, according to the written requirements, claimants or respondents were forced to go to Moscow to the Tsar himself or to other people empowered by the Tsar for considering the case [4, p. 282]. An exception was made for murder cases which were examined beyond the common requirements. No one but for the "danny pristav" (this overseer) had the right to decide the cases. For performing the functions of overseers singers were given a special "reward from the treasury" [45, p. 157; 3, p. 282].

There exist some evidences of the activity of singing diaki as overseers. By the 1534 charter of Feodosia hermitage the Father Superior was given a right to pass judgment on monastery servants and peasants, and to "send" only the Tsar's singing diak Artemy Guriev, Protopopov's son, with regard to their cases [12, p. 296]. In September 1538 — February 1539 the murder case in Medynsky uyezd (district) was investigated by the singing diak-overseer Ivan Kostitsa. He was assigned to interrogate the peasants, neighbours of the murdered person and to find out if the suspects were on duty on the day of the murder, etc. [39, p. 771—793]. On July, 25, 1539 the grand duke Ivan granted the position of an overseer of the settlements and villages of the Moscow Dormition Cathedral to the krestovy diak Kryachko Trifonov, and when the diak "when he died", on April, 29, 1542 he was replaced by Ivan Fomin, son of Kostitsa [45, p. 158]. By the Tsar's order of September,

20, 1551 the singing diaki Gavriila Afanasiev, Matvey Adamov, Dmitry Tsarev were assigned as overseers for the elders, servants and peasants of the Holy Trinity-St. Sergius monastery and small monasteries ascribed to it; on March, 15, 1556 when the latter two “were gone”, Tretjak Zverintsev replaced them [3, p. 281—283]. At the request of the Father Superior of the Nativity Monastery in Bogolyubovo on July, 20, 1557 Ivan the Terrible assigned the singing diak Vasily Shish as an overseer of monastery servants and peasants [4, p. 221—222].

Similar to the above described government service was the service of “nedelschiki”. Court chanters were to perform it as well. As opposed to an overseer, a “nedelschik” (the one who “did the weeks”) was assigned for temporary missions on investigation and legal cases. According to the staff list dated by March, 20, 1573 the duties of “nedelschiki” in the Tsar’s choir were performed by Istoma, Postnik and Vasily Potapovs, Savluk Mikhailov and Tretjak Zverintsev (who in the 1550-s worked as an overseer) [5, p. 35—36].

The growth of the Russian departmental office administration resulted in engaging in its activity such experts, as singers. Sometimes singers took part in drawing up or maintaining legal documents. In 1580 the Tsar’s choir diak Fedosey Agaphonov witnessed the purchasing of the stremyanny’s (groom, looking after the Tsar’s horses) settlement and wasteland by the Tsar’s krestovyy diak Andrey Vereshevsky [38, fol. 1].

Dealing with the functions and the activity of the Tsar’s singing diaki, we did not touch upon such a special category of diaki, as krestovyye diaki.

Until the last quarter of the 17th century singing, apparently, was not the main professional duty of the court krestovyye diaki. As it was already mentioned above, in the Tsar’s chambers, palaces or “rooms” of the Tsaritsas, Tsareviches and Tsarevnas their number in the 16th century was not great (from 4 to 8—9). Without krestovyye diaki the so-called “home divine services” could not be held. In December 1533, having felt the vicinity of death, the grand duke Vasily Ivanovich said farewell to his wife and son, and “told his krestovyy diak Danilka to sing the canon to the martyr Ekaterina and the canon to the departure of the soul”; on the day the duke died in his “room” his krestovyye diaki sang the matins, “and hours, canons and funeral canons, and sang as they sang when he was alive” [44, p. 25, 32].

Like the chanters, krestovyye diaki performed many duties, not connected with their direct professional activities. In the 16th century they sometimes performed functions of overseers, like, for example, Kryachko Trifonov, who worked as an overseer of villages and settlements of the Dormition Cathedral at the end of the 1530’s — beginning of the 1540’s [45, p. 157—158].

Thus, the court singing diaki and krestovyye diaki seem to have had similar activities in the 16th century. In the staff lists they were put down next to each other, and took part in some events jointly. Music was of great importance in the activity of krestovyye diaki (in the court of Ivan the Terrible one of the outstanding chanters served among them — Ivan Yuriev Nos) [46, p. 406 and others.].

The repertoire of the main choir of the medieval Russia was formed in accordance with the requirements

of the divine service Statute and the mechanism for development of the chanting art itself, political trends of the time and the state matters. The emergence of new Russian holidays, accompanied by intensive creative activity of hymnographers and chanters, was of special importance here.

Having achieved metropolitan Peter’s canonization (1339) as an All-Russian saint, Moscow, on the basis of the scale of its political ambitions, began to build the All-Russian pantheon by taking new canonization measures (St. Sergius of Radonezh, St. Cyril of Beloozersk, St. Dimitriy of Prilutsk, St. Stephen of Perm) [43, p. 95—98, 121—125]. When the uniting of the Russian lands around Moscow came to its end, the process of the nationwide canonization could be most clearly seen in the decisions of the church councils in 1547 and 1549, which raised 40 saints to the All-Russian rank at once. Metropolitan Macarius’s deeds, for example, dated by February, 26, 1547 ordered to “sing and celebrate the canonization of the new wonder-workers in the cathedral church of the ruling town of Moscow... and in all towns of the great Russian Tsardom” [2, p. 203]. The political significance of that act is obvious. In the church chant art it promoted the creation of new series of works, as well as the acceptance of the local versions of chants as “competent” for the repertoire of the central choirs. At the same time the locally revered ascetics were also preserved, they had to be “honored and sung to in Moscow” or only in selected towns, which defined the original peculiarity of that part of the repertoire. The following years saw the rising number of Russian holidays.

The important state events, as well as the main events in the Tsar’s and the metropolitan courts influenced and modified the repertoire of the main Russian choirs. Special orders of the All-Russian metropolitans or Tsars in connection with such events clarified what should be performed in Moscow during liturgical and non-liturgical rites and how it should be done. Then, the deeds sent to various towns introduced some amendments to the repertoires of the local choirs. On the basis of the metropolitan’s deed dated by September, 29, 1564 on the occasion of the war “with Lithuania” the choirs “sang public prayers on all days... both for everlasting health and salvation” of Tsar Ivan Vasilievich and his family [1, p. 302]. Enthronement ceremonies of the heads of the state and the church, weddings of Tsars, birth of heirs-Tsareviches, etc. stimulated the establishment and development of not only certain rites, but also the Russian panegyric choral music.

Describing the repertoire of the main choir of Russia in the 16th century in terms of melodic diversity, we shall first of all point at the fact this choir possessed all *styles* of the medieval Russian church chant art.

Znamenny chant, which was the basis of the repertoire since the ancient times, by the 16th century had become a common thing and was not particularly mentioned in the sources. In the ceremony of Duke Vasily Ivanovich’s Wedding (1526) it is simply mentioned that the singing diaki “sing Mnogoletie” to the duke and the duchess; similar records can be found in the Ceremony of Ivan the Terrible’s Coronation (1547) [17, p. 87; 10, p. 47].

The extant part of the Tsar's library for the singing diaki mostly consists of the manuscripts written by the singers themselves, more than a quarter of which belong to Znamenny raspev. These were extensive collections, mainly written at the end of the 16th — first half of the 17th centuries, separate notebooks and sheets of paper. They contain chants of all possible genres. Many of the Znamenny chants are included in chants of authorship (it will be dwelt upon further) [for example: 22].

According to M.V. Brazhnikov, the basis of the Great chant (the Bolshoy raspev) consisted of “folk turns of chant and the folk-song chant”; the scholar associated the emergence of the style with the Moscow school of an outstanding chanter Feodor Krestjanin [8, p. 112—114]. In “Tsarstvennaia kniga” (the Tsar's Book) it is said, that on the day of the grand duke Vasily Ivanovich's death, on December, 4, 1533, “his singing diaki of the major stanitsa were told to stand in the doorway of the room and to start singing the big chant “Svyatyi Bozhe” (Holy God) [44, p. 33]. Taking into consideration the fact, that “Tsar's book” (“Tsarstvennaia kniga”) was written in the 1570-s [6, p. 36], this reference to Bolshoi raspev is, perhaps, the oldest.

Dwelling on the repertoire of the Novgorod bishop's choir, we have already mentioned, that the earliest of the trustworthy references to Demestvo (a distinct style of church music with sophisticated rhythm and melody) are contained in the part of the Moscow collection of chronicles of 1479, the basis for which was the collection made and edited in the beginning of the 1470-s. Here, in the article about “the death of duke Dmitry Yurievich Krasny”, it is said, that on the night of September, 19, 1441, having come to consciousness, the dying duke “began to sing demestvo”: the chants “chante the praises of God”, “Hallelujah”, “hymns in praise of the Virgin Mary” [28, p. 261]. Three decades passed since that time till the moment the collection was made. We can hardly assert, that Demestvo existed in the beginning of the 1440-s, especially considering the fact, that the oldest of the known lists of chants marked with the word “Demestvo” bears the date of the end of the 15th — the beginning of the 16th century [42, p. 102]. Apparently, in the second half of the 15th century the formation of the style was still in progress. Until the 1570-s demestvennye (pertaining to demestvo, *sing.* Demestvenny) chants were put down by a usual plain song (Znamenny chant) neumatic notation, then demestvennaya neumatic notation was created and introduced.

Throughout the 16th century Demestvo became firmly fixed in the repertoire of the main Russian choirs in various versions. Mostly the collection contains the works of line Demestvo. In the manuscripts, written by the Tsar's singing diaki, Demestvo's chants can also be found quite frequently. One of the scribes, for example, put down demestvenny the Hymn to Theotokos (Zadostoinik) “Shine, shine” and marked that this way “master Khristianin sang”; then he wrote down a chant, which was popular in those times in Russia — “Hallelujah” chanting as “Radilovo demestvo” — and many others with demestvennaya notation, often without mentioning the name of the style in the marginal notes [33—35; 37].

A special place in the repertoire of the Russian main choir singers was taken by the songs of Putevoy chant. The early stages of the development of this style are similar to the stages of Demestvo. In the last quarter of the 15th century there appeared the first chants of Put' (Putevoy), which were put down by a usual plain song (Znamenny chant) neumatic notation; in the first half of the 16th century writers' indications of the style began to appear; the recognition of the intonation peculiarities of Put in the 1580-s led to the appearance of “putevaya” neumatic notation. The Put' chants can be frequently seen in the library of the Tsar's singing diaki, for instance.

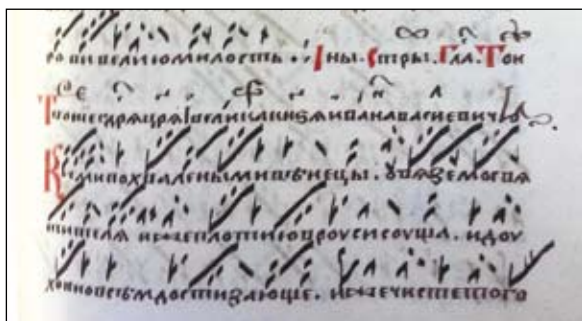
The description of the works of the Old Russian church chant art in the repertoire of the main choir in the 16th centuries is not restricted to the abundance of styles. Often within the framework of each style various *chants* (singsongs) were made for one and the same hymnographic text, getting their names from the places of appearance and existence, or from their authors. The penetration of those chants into the repertoire under discussion was carried out in different ways. The main factors were the growth of the state unity and strengthening of the all-Russian cultural relations, which led to the central integration of all local achievements for professional artistic creative work. It is no coincidence that the chant collections of the late 16th century started to include various chants, written one by one with marks “another version”, “another interpretation”, “another melody” etc., and then with corresponding indications of the tradition, school and author. Performance of this or that chant could be conditioned by the will of the choir leaders, singers and listeners. The integration process presupposed exactly that kind of mutual penetration into the church choir repertoires of chants, and not a development of some unified “average”. The presence of all those chants in the repertoire of the main Russian choir also had an important ideological meaning, emphasizing the role of Moscow as a national political and cultural center. But of a special place was taken by chants in the works of authorship¹.

The manuscripts from the library of the Tsar's singing diaki prove that a special honour was paid by the Moscow masters to the chants created by a famous representative of the Moscow school of the old Russian music Feodor Krestjanin, or “Khristianin”. As already mentioned the master started his work in the oprichnaya (pertaining to oprichnina, a special administrative elite under the Tsar) Aleksandrovsкая Sloboda serving Tsar Ivan the Terrible, and then served in the court of the Russian Tsars as a priest of the domestic Blagoveschensky (of the Annunciation) Cathedral, but his duties in the first place included teaching of young diaki of the Tsar's choir. Teaching the Tsar's singers, more and more deeply comprehending the art, Krestjanin, like other didascaloi, began creating musical interpretations (*razvods*) of complex neumatic notation symbols, formulas and separate lines of chants, and then started to create his own chants. All this gained acknowledgment by the contemporaries. The works of the outstanding master,

¹ Further we present the names of chanting masters whose works were found in the repertoire of the major Russian choirs or whose works could be included in their repertoire with a high probability.

which were originally performed by the Moscow singing diaki, became widespread in the lists of the first half of the 17th century. Perhaps, there was not a single Old Russian chant book, for which Feodor Krestjanin had not created his versions [more details: 46].

Together with Feodor Krestjanin in Aleksandrovskaya Sloboda Ivan Nos (Nose) has arrived. There he sang “Triodions” and also “stichera and doxasticons to many saints”, “Krestobogoroditchens (troparions to the Most Holy Mother of God) and Bogoroditchen (hymns to the Mother of God) from Menaia (Menology)”. Consequently, to Nos belonged the chants to hymnodies from the sticherarions Menaia (Menology) and Triodion. Nos served directly in the chambers of Tsar Ivan as a Tsar’s krestovy diak. Undoubtedly, his chants were performed by the Tsar’s choir, and the master himself was held in esteem by the court people (for example, in the staff list for the salary he was the only one mentioned with the patronymic) [46, p. 406—409].



«The creation of the sovereign tsar and the grand duke Ivan Vasilyevich». Stichera in honor of the Metropolitan Peter. The list of the beginning XVII century Fragment (RNB. O. 1. 238, fol. 146)

Dwelling upon the chanters and didascaloi, whose works were sung by the main Russian choir, we have to mention Ivan the Terrible. His name in handwritten tradition is connected with two cycles — chant series. The first cycle is devoted to the memory of All-Russia saint metropolitan Peter (1308—1326), specifically honoured in Moscow. The next series of chants, marked by the name of Ivan the Terrible, is devoted to the holiday of Meeting of the state patronizing Vladimir Mother of God icon (June 23). After the discovery of these chants in the 70—80-ies of XIX century [7, p. 146; 13, p. 333—334; 14] there were the numerous attempts to study them. This situation reflects a continuation of tremendous interest in the author creation of the Tsar. New lists of known cycles of the Ivan the Terrible were identified in the study. However, a many of published data and conclusions needs to be clarified or revised. Above all, it is necessary to clarify the list of the tsar’s chants. With the greatest certainty we can relate to the creation of the Tsar only five chants devoted to the memory of All-Russia saint metropolitan Peter (three of which are based on the pattern (“podoben”) “Kimi pohvalenimi venetci” (“What laudable crowns”). Of chants devoted to the holiday of Meeting of the state patronizing Vladimir Mother of God icon we can attribute only three stichera as the works of Tsar. They are based on the “podoben” “O divnoe chudo” (“Oh, marvelous

miracle”). The musical text of the chants is similar to each other and the general source pattern. Moreover, the study showed that the most likely Znamenniy style version only refers to attributed creative works of Ivan the Terrible [more details: 23; 25]. It is difficult to assume that having created all those stichera, Ivan the Terrible, being a lover of singing, would not wish to hear them performed by his court choir and would not sing them himself.

The Tsar’s singers knew “Varlamov’s cross stichera” from the works of the local chanting centres [36, fol. 80—87v], that means “sung” by the famous master Varlaam Rogov from the Novgorod land. Varlaam (in the world — Vasiliy) studied art in Novgorod from his elder brother Sava [see about him: 20, p. 22—30], who trained as Feodor Krestjanin and Ivan Nos (Nose) taken to the court of Ivan the Terrible.

Quite frequently the tsar’s choristers manuscripts contained not the complete works of that school, but only versions of “razvods” (variants of chaining) complex neumas, “lines” [for example: 31; 32], which also characterizes the features of the court repertoire.

Thus, the formation of the main choirs’ repertoire in the 16th century, except the obligatory statute requirements imposed on the church chant art owing to its functional purpose, was defined, first of all, by laws of intonational development, stylistic evolution of the art, dominating political ideas of the time and the major events in the state. The repertoire of the main Russian choir was a result of a huge creative activity of chant masters.

It is worth mentioning that the ideological content of the choirs’ repertoire was always multivalent and, first of all, concordant with the historical ambitions of the country. Its part was developing directly and purposefully under the decrees of the higher authority and expressed the ideas of centralization and firmness of autocracy. The special importance here was attached to the works stimulating the formation of high spirituality of the Russian people. Through praising the feats of self-sacrifice for the sake of the Motherland, the love towards it, identified with loyalty to virtues of Orthodoxy, and through the reflection of the stages of liberation struggle the feelings of patriotism and civicism were brought up; through mentioning and covering of events of the remote past not only of the country, but also of the world history, historicism of thinking was being developed in the Russian people of the Middle Ages, allowing to realize the greatness of everything the country had gone through, greatness of the state; and finally, through worshiping of such qualities of ascetics as courage, loyalty to the duty, love, kindness, unselfishness, etc. moral education was also carried out. All this alongside the artistic value of the works of chant, did not allow the Old Russian choral music to become isolated in the functional frameworks of divine service singing, but put it forward to become one of the greatest phenomena of the world culture.

Thus, a variety of sources indicate the active creative work of outstanding masters of church art of singing in Moscow of the XVI century. This activity was carried out in close connection with the main centre of concentration of the best Russian medieval music achievements — with Tsar’s choir and under the patronage of

the Tsar himself. It was during this period, the process of theoretical comprehension and substantiation in the written materials, and therefore formation of Moscow School as special creative direction in the church-

singing art — was completed. Bright author creativity at that time involved in its sphere as ordinary Moscow masters and high reigning persons, the first of whom was the Tsar Ivan the Terrible.

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Received Desember 5, 2014

**Bulletin of the South Ural State University
Series «Social Sciences and the Humanities»
2015, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 67—77**

УДК 783(470.5) + 94(470.5)
ББК Ч611.3 + ТЗ(2Р36)-7 + ЦЗ13(2)

МАСТЕРА ЦЕРКОВНО-ПЕВЧЕСКОГО ИСКУССТВА ПРИ ДВОРЕ ЦАРЯ ИВАНА ГРОЗНОГО

Н. П. Парфентьев

Письменные источники свидетельствуют, что деятельность наиболее выдающихся московских мастеров церковно-певческого искусства XVI в. проходила в тесной связи с главными центрами сосредоточения лучших достижений русской средневековой музыки — с государевым и митрополичим (патриаршим) хорами. Из источников также явствует, что складывание Московской школы как особого творческого направления в древнерусской авторской музыке завершалось несколько позже, чем Новгородской. Решающую роль на этом этапе суждено было сыграть мастерам, прошедшим обучение в Новгороде Великом. Из них особо следует отметить дидакалу и распевщика Федора Крестьянина, распевы которого для музыкальных теоретиков конца XVI—XVII вв. стали олицетворением «московского пения». Яркое авторское творчество в ту эпоху вовлекало в свою сферу и рядовых столичных мастеров, и высоких царствующих особ, первым из которых стал царь Иван Грозный.

Ключевые слова: древнерусское церковно-певческое искусство, мастера Московской школы, государевы певчие дьяки, царь Иван Грозный, распевщик Фёдор Крестьянин.

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Поступила в редакцию 05 декабря 2014 г.