

# Defining Russian Sacred Music: Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41) and Its Historical Impact

Zebulon M. Highben



Zebulon M. Highben is a graduate assistant and DMA student at Michigan State University. He has taught at the University of Wisconsin River Falls, Luther Seminary, and the Lutheran Summer Music Academy.

Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky's setting of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41, 1878) has an important place both in the composer's output and in the history of Russian choral music. In the former case, the *Liturgy* represents Tchaikovsky's first foray into the realm of sacred music. His decision to set these texts, despite the Imperial Court Chapel's sixty-year monopoly on the publication of church music, highlights his interest in the Russian Orthodox Church and his complex relationship with the concept of religious faith. In the latter case, the performance and eventual publication of the *Liturgy* strengthened the role of sacred choral music in the ongoing movement to develop a distinctly Russian art and culture. The legal battle between Tchaikovsky's publisher and the Imperial Court Chapel over the rights to publish and perform the *Liturgy* finally ended the monopoly while simultaneously establishing official precedent for concert performance of Russian sacred music. These developments led other Russian composers to contribute to the church's music over the next three decades. Moreover, Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy* influenced subsequent composers musically. This impact is particularly obvious in the choral/liturgical works of Gretchaninoff and Rachmaninoff, works that surpassed Tchaikovsky's in fame and came to define the stereotypical sound of Russian choral music. This article will consider Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, its relationship to the composer's life and *oeuvre*, and the state of Russian church music before and after its composition.



# Defining Russian Sacred Music: Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41) and Its Historical Impact

## The Evolution of Russian Church Music

The *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* was and is the most commonly used form of the Divine Liturgy that comprises the Sunday-morning celebration of communion in the Russian Orthodox Church. The Divine Liturgy is a "continuum of prayers, psalms, and hymns, which are sung and chanted by various individuals and groups of singers,"<sup>1</sup> including priests or bishops, choirs, and the gathered assembly. Similar to its counterpart, the Western Mass, it is a multi-layered pastiche: The texts come from many sources and serve different functions in the worship service. Thus, the typical musical forms and

textures of the Divine Liturgy also vary widely, from simple chants and antiphonal responses to more elaborate congregational or choral hymns.

Until the late seventeenth century, musically unified settings of the liturgy were either monodic chants or simple two- and three-voice polyphonic settings similar to organum. During the late seventeenth century, composers such as Vasily Titov (c.1650–c.1715) began writing polychoral settings bearing stylistic hallmarks that later generations would consider characteristically Russian—modal harmonies and expansive melodies.<sup>2</sup> Titov helped develop another genre called *kant*: syllabic, homophonic set-

tings featuring "block chords" and usually written for three voice parts.

Though these developments can be found in Byzantine, Polish, and German-Lutheran music, the Italian influence of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries changed Russian church music most profoundly during this period.<sup>3</sup> Vladimir Morosan explains:

The new style of Russian church music, fostered by visiting Italian composers and their Russian students, did not emphasize the setting of complete liturgical services: the focus was, rather, on sacred



The **Yale Glee Club** is pleased to announce the **2012 Yale International Choral Festival**, a new event produced in the collaboration with the **Yale School of Music, the International Festival of Arts & Ideas**, and the **Yale Alumni Chorus**.

From **June 19–23, 2012**, outstanding choirs from four continents will come together on the campus of Yale University (New Haven, CT USA) for five days of singing, learning, and exploring the connections that choral music fosters between people. Each evening will feature a formal concert in Yale's renowned Sprague Hall, and each day



will be filled with lectures, workshops, and masterclasses for our Conducting Fellows led by Yale faculty and distinguished guests.

A two-day symposium, **Choirs Transforming Our World**, organized in association with the **International Federation for Choral Music's Conductors Without Borders** network and the **American Choral Directors Association's International Conductors Exchange Program**, will also take place within the festival (June 22–23).

You can register to attend the entire 5-day festival, the 2-day symposium, or apply to participate as a Conducting Fellow.

To learn more, please visit [www.yalegleeclub.org](http://www.yalegleeclub.org).




International Festival of Arts & Ideas



AMERICAN CHORAL DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION



Yale Glee Club • P.O. Box 201929 • New Haven, CT 06520-1929



choral concerti composed on non-liturgical texts and on individual hymns from the Divine Liturgy and other services.<sup>4</sup>

The dominance of this piecemeal Italian concerted style was assured in 1816, when an imperial edict decreed that all music performed in Russian Orthodox churches must either be written or approved by the music director of the Imperial Court Chapel, Dmitry Bortnyansky (1751–1825). The edict also forbade the publication of any sacred music without official approval. A second imperial edict issued in 1846 strengthened this monopoly.<sup>5</sup> Bortnyansky had studied in Italy with Galuppi (best known for his operas) and was considered a master of the Italian-style choral concerto.<sup>6</sup> The three Court Chapel directors who succeeded Bortnyansky had similar training and musical interests.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, by the 1860s and 1870s, the earlier styles of liturgical composition and the concept of a musically unified setting of the entire Divine Liturgy had all but vanished.<sup>8</sup> Despite the existence of an officially sanctioned canon of traditional monodic chants, a typical performance of the liturgy in a late nineteenth-century Russian Orthodox congregation “comprised an arbitrary concatenation of pieces by different composers, displaying neither a consistent mood or level of musical complexity, nor a logical relationship of keys.”<sup>9</sup> The music critic Herman Laroche (1845–1904) commented on this state of affairs:

It is time to confess that it is impossible to attribute serious meaning to the flat, routine imitations of Sarti and Galuppi, which unmask in their composers so much disrespect for the spirit and demands of the church, so much ignorance of the means and forms of the music. It is time for us to confess, in view of that amazing chain of musical geniuses from Dufay and Ockeghem to Mozart and Cherubini, of which the Latin church is justly proud, that we do not have even one church composer, and that the dilettante

compositions of our Bortnyanskys and Turchaninovs are at once not churchly and not musical.<sup>10</sup>

Laroche’s critique highlights the perceived gap between the *gravitas* of the Orthodox liturgy and the comparatively frivolous music dominating Orthodox worship at the time. Laroche saw this gap as problematic from a nationalist perspective and a musical one: the prevailing Italian style suppressed a potentially rich source of true Russian musical culture.

### Tchaikovsky as Church Composer

Tchaikovsky expressed opinions similar to Laroche’s in a letter to his patron, Nadezhda von Meck, in the spring of 1878. “[I] acknowledge certain virtues in Bortnyansky, Berezovsky and the like, but their music is so little harmonious with the Byzantine style of architecture and icons, with the entire structure of the Orthodox service!”<sup>11</sup> He continued with an indignant description of the publishing situation:

Were you aware that church music composition comprises a monopoly of the Imperial Court Chapel, which prohibits the printing and singing in churches of everything not included among those works printed in the publications of the Chapel, which jealously protects this monopoly and decidedly does not want to allow new attempts to write on sacred texts? My publisher, Jurgenson, found a way to get around this strange law, and if I write something for the church, he will publish my music abroad. It is very likely that I shall decide to set the entire *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* to music.<sup>12</sup>

It is possible, then, that this challenge alone provided the impetus for Tchaikovsky to set the liturgy and make his entrance into the world of sacred music. Yet, Tchaikovsky had written to his publisher Jurgenson in February 1878 inquiring about Jurgenson’s interest in publishing sacred works, without apparent foreknowledge of the Imperial

Court Chapel’s monopoly. “Couldn’t you use some sacred pieces? If so, let me know on what texts. Would it be worthwhile for you to publish a complete liturgy of my own composition? That is one job I’d especially enjoy. Are you able to publish sacred music, and can you expect any sales?”<sup>13</sup>

This letter suggests some developing interest in sacred music, although this still might have been nothing more than professional curiosity; Tchaikovsky once described Russian church music as “a vast and as yet barely explored realm of creativity.”<sup>14</sup> In another 1878 letter to Meck, he described his affinity for Russian Orthodoxy in terms of its traditions, its nationalism, and its cultural character, while simultaneously denying any adherence to the doctrines of the faith.<sup>15</sup> One of those traditions was the prohibition of musical instruments in worship; all Russian sacred music is unaccompanied. Perhaps the challenge of writing a complete, unaccompanied setting of the liturgy appealed to Tchaikovsky’s sense of industry.

But, it is also equally possible that some latent religious faith was emerging in the composer’s life, spawned, in part, by substantial personal tragedies. His first correspondence expressing interest in writing church



Tropp Music Editions  
proudly presents

THE  
**GALANT  
MASTERS**  
PROJECT

Scholarly editions and recordings  
of lost masterpieces of  
eighteenth century liturgical music.

(224) 649-6000

[WWW.GALANTMUSIC.COM](http://WWW.GALANTMUSIC.COM)

# Defining Russian Sacred Music: Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41) and Its Historical Impact

music came immediately after a year dominated by his ill-fated marriage and his family's attempts to help him end it. Similarly, Wiley points out that Tchaikovsky's *All-Night Vigil* (Op. 52, 1883) was written the year following his friend Nikolai Rubenstein's death.<sup>16</sup>

Tchaikovsky's letters to Meck, in the months just before he began the *Liturgy*, also referenced faith and spiritual matters.<sup>17</sup> Correspondence in the 1880s, following the publication of the *Liturgy*, described fond memories of church participation as a child, and were increasingly full of poetic descriptions of both the aesthetic and spiritual power of the Russian Orthodox rite:

I consider the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* one of the greatest productions of art. If we follow the service very carefully, and enter into the meaning of every ceremony, it is impossible not to be moved by the liturgy of the Orthodox Church. I also love Vespers. To stand on a Saturday evening in the twilight in some little old country church, filled with the smoke of incense; to lose oneself in the eternal questions, *whence, why and whither*; to be

startled from one's trance by a burst from the choir; to be carried away by the poetry of this music; to be thrilled with quiet rapture when the Golden Gates of the Iconostasis are flung open and the words ring out, 'Praise the name of the Lord!'—all this is infinitely precious to me! One of my deepest joys!<sup>18</sup>

In low spirits, I go strolling. I cross the bridge over the Neva in the direction of Peter the Great's cottage.... At the [Church of the] Savior I happen upon a *moleben* [prayer service]. Praying women, the smell of incense, the reading of the Gospel—all this pours some calm into my soul. I pray fervently and again cross the Neva.<sup>19</sup>

Any or all of these potential motivations—spiritual or religious devotion, professional or nationalistic interests, or the challenge presented by the Imperial Chapel's monopoly—may have contributed to Tchaikovsky's decision to set the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. Such a question cannot be definitively answered. It is clear, however, that the *Liturgy* inaugurated a period of

increased interest in sacred choral music for Tchaikovsky and the composers who would follow him.

## Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy* and Its Impact

Given the gestation period of other Tchaikovsky works, the composer completed his *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* quite rapidly. The first mention of the piece appears in a letter written in January 1878. In February, Tchaikovsky wrote to Jurgenson requesting a copy of a Lvov liturgy for reference purposes; by the time of a July letter to Meck, he described his own *Liturgy* as a completed composition.<sup>20</sup>

Two months later, Jurgenson sent Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy* to the Moscow Office of Sacred Censorship. That office inspected publications (primarily books) with sacred texts. This was the loophole Jurgenson had found that Tchaikovsky referenced in his earlier letter to Meck: If the Office of Sacred Censorship granted Jurgenson a publishing permit, the censoring authority of the Imperial Court Chapel's music director could be bypassed. That, at least, was the hope. The

### Tchaikovsky, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41) Some Selections Especially Suitable for Concert Performance

Placement in Liturgy	English Title	Primary Key(s)	Length in measures	Approximate Length (time)
No. 6	<i>The Cherubic Hymn</i>	e / B	98	6:00
No. 8	<i>The Creed</i>	C	92	4:00 – 4:30
No. 13	<i>The Lord's Prayer</i>	F	30	2:30 – 2:40
No. 14	<i>The Communion Hymn</i>	D / A	86	3:10 – 3:20

These and other portions of the *Liturgy* are published individually by Musica Russica. Recordings and sample PDF pages may be found at <[http://www.musicarussica.com/coldet.lasso?-database=musrus\\_collect&-layout=collection\\_detail&-RecID=23&-search](http://www.musicarussica.com/coldet.lasso?-database=musrus_collect&-layout=collection_detail&-RecID=23&-search)>.

*Liturgy* passed official muster on September 25, 1878, and was granted approval for publication.<sup>21</sup>

Sometime in 1879, after Jurgenson began printing, music director Nikolai Bahkmetev of the Imperial Chapel became aware of the situation.<sup>22</sup> Bahkmetev issued an injunction to stop sales of the *Liturgy*. One hundred and forty-one copies were confiscated from stores and from individuals who had purchased the work.<sup>23</sup> Jurgenson sued; the legal battle lasted through 1880. In the course of litigation, Jurgenson claimed that the *Liturgy* had only been heard in concert performance and therefore was not subject to the musical oversight of the Imperial Court Chapel.<sup>24</sup>

This statement was not exactly true. The *Liturgy* premiered at worship services in the Kiev University chapel in June 1879.<sup>25</sup> The first Moscow performance occurred at the Kommisarovksy School chapel in late 1879 or early 1880. This performance, too, appears to have been a worship setting and the premiere was kept quiet.<sup>26</sup> Concert performances occurred in November and December 1880 at the Moscow Conservatory under the auspices of the Russian Musical Society, where the *Liturgy* was well received. The audience applauded at the conclusion of the performance, which was both impressive and significant, since applause was a forbidden response to sacred music according to the church.<sup>27</sup>

Litigation over the *Liturgy* finally progressed to the Russian Senate. The complicated ruling the Senate handed down allowed for the possession, reading, and performance of sacred music in private homes and in public "for the purposes of musical education and study of church and sacred music."<sup>28</sup> It also stated that, because of this change, the task of approving sacred music lay with the Office of Sacred Censorship and not with the Imperial Court Chapel and its director.

The impact of this ruling was substantial. The Imperial Court Chapel's monopoly on the composition and publication of sacred music ended. Composers were free to write new sacred works, provided that the texts met the standards of the Office of Sacred Censorship. As Wiley points out, this new-

found freedom became a lucrative arena for publishers: "40,000 Orthodox churches,

numerous teachers of choral singing, and new composers to encourage represented

**Create the  
future of music:  
Be a Setnor musician.**



COLLEGE OF VISUAL AND  
PERFORMING ARTS

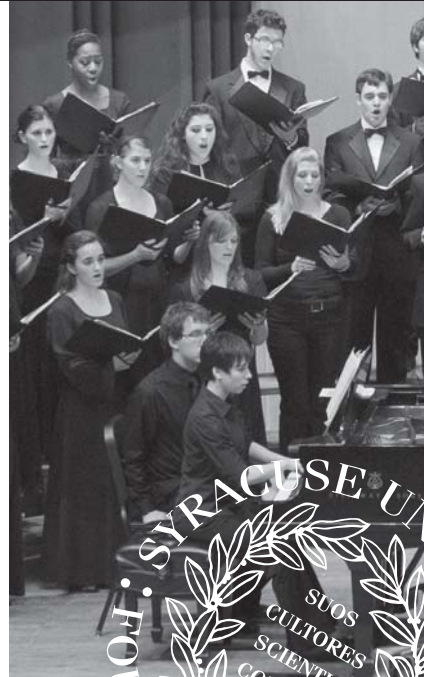


SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY  
**Setnor**  
SCHOOL OF MUSIC

Undergraduate degrees\_  
Composition (B.M.)  
Music (B.A.)  
Music Education (B.M.)  
Music Industry (B.M., B.S.)  
Performance (B.M.)

Minors\_  
Music Industry  
Music Performance

Graduate degrees\_  
Composition (M.M.)  
Conducting (M.M.)  
Music Education (M.M, M.S.,  
Ph.D.)  
Performance (M.M.)



admissu@syr.edu  
315.443.2769  
vpa.syr.edu/  
music

**Make your mark.**  
Come to Syracuse.

# Defining Russian Sacred Music: Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41) and Its Historical Impact

a significant opportunity.<sup>29</sup>

But, the performance of sacred music in Orthodox services did not change immediately. The Imperial Court Chapel and the clergy still controlled what was used within worship. Bahkmetev and his colleagues had attacked Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy* as too operatic—an irony, given the influence of Italian opera on the officially approved compositions of the preceding sixty years—and maintained that argument even after the court battle. Late in 1881, Tchaikovsky wrote to Meck:

My attempts to advance the cause of Russian church music have elicited persecution. My *Liturgy* remains under ban. When two months ago there was a memorial liturgy in memory of Nikolai Rubenstein, the administrators wanted my *Liturgy* to be performed. Alas, I was deprived of the pleasure of hearing my *Liturgy*

in church, because the Moscow diocesan authorities came out categorically against it.... And thus I am powerless to fight against these wild and senseless persecutions. In opposition to me stand powerful individuals who stalwartly refuse to allow any ray of light to penetrate this sphere of ignorance and darkness.<sup>30</sup>

Despite its musical popularity, church leaders conspired against the *Liturgy* and banned it from liturgical use for years to come. It was not until Tchaikovsky's funeral in 1893 that it was again performed liturgically; thereafter Russian churches use it regularly in worship.<sup>31</sup>

Although the Imperial Court Chapel controlled the worship services, it could no longer prevent the publication or performance of sacred music. In 1882, Tchaikovsky wrote a complete setting of the *All-Night*

*Vigil*, the second most important liturgy in the Russian Orthodox tradition. In 1884 and 1885, in response to a request from the tsar, he composed nine shorter choral pieces on biblical and liturgical texts.<sup>32</sup> Jurgenson published all of these. Tchaikovsky wrote a final sacred work in 1887 for the Russian Choral Society.<sup>33</sup>

In the wake of the Jurgenson lawsuit, Bahkmetev resigned his post at the Imperial Chapel;<sup>34</sup> Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov were jointly appointed in his place and began composing church music.<sup>35</sup> Other composers also turned to sacred music and settings of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. The first complete setting of the Divine Liturgy after Tchaikovsky's came in 1891 from Aleksandr Arkhangelsky; he composed another in 1895. Aleksandr Gretchaninoff's first complete setting was published in 1898. Twenty settings by other composers followed over the next twenty years.<sup>36</sup>

Many of these settings owe musical debts to Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy* (beyond the practical debt resulting from the lawsuit, which permitted their very existence). Tchaikovsky wrote straightforward, simple settings of the call-and-response texts patterned on the chordal *kant* that had been popular decades earlier (Figure 1). He alternated these with more elaborate choral settings for texts sung at important moments in the service, such as the Cherubic Hymn, the Lord's Prayer, and especially the Communion Hymn, which was sung immediately prior to the opening of the iconostasis and the communion of the laity. Tchaikovsky concluded this movement with a strikingly beautiful "Alleluia" fugue (Figure 2). Many of the Divine Liturgy settings of the 1890s and early 1900s used similar techniques. Sergei Rachmaninoff is known to have used Tchaikovsky's score as a reference when writing his own *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* in 1910.<sup>37</sup>

The output of sacred choral music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became an important part of the nationalist movement to define Russian culture, and remained so until the Revolution in 1917. The Moscow Synodal Choir, which sang

Oberlin Conservatory of Music welcomes

## Jason Harris

Assistant Professor of Choral Conducting  
and Director of Choral Ensembles

Winner of two Grammy Awards for his work as choral conductor on William Bolcom's *Songs of Innocence*, Harris has collaborated with such luminaries as Valery Gergiev, John Adams, Leonard Slatkin, Michael Tilson Thomas, and Sir Neville Marriner.

Oberlin's world-class choral ensembles are available to both conservatory and college majors and include the College Choir, Treble Ensemble, Musical Union, Collegium Musicum, and Women's Chorus.



**OBERLIN**  
COLLEGE & CONSERVATORY



The Oberlin Conservatory of Music,  
awarded the 2009 National Medal  
of Arts by President Barack Obama

Michael Manderen  
Director of Admissions

The Oberlin  
Conservatory of Music

Office of Admissions  
39 West College Street  
Oberlin, OH 44074  
[P] 440-775-8413  
[W] www.oberlin.edu/con

David H. Stull  
Dean of the Conservatory

20 *ff*

S  
A  
T  
B

lí - - - te, h̄va - lí - te, h̄va - lí - te, Ghó - spo - da s̄ñe - b̄és, h̄va -  
ли - - - те, хва - ли - те, хва - ли - те, Го - спо - да с не - бес, хва -

*ff*

**Figure 1.** Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41), “Communion Hymn,” mm. 20 – 25.  
Example of *kant*-inspired writing

Reproduced by permission of Musica Russica, All rights reserved.

33 *ff*

S  
A  
T  
B

Al - li - lu - ya, al - - - li -  
Al - li - lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li -  
lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li -  
lu - ya, al - li - lu - - - ya, al - li - lu - - - ya, al - - - li -  
Al - li -  
Al - li - lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li - lu - ya, al - li -

*ff*

**Figure 2.** Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41), No. 14 “Communion Hymn,” mm. 33 – 42.  
Beginning of the “Alleluia” fugue

Reproduced by permission of Musica Russica, All rights reserved.

Tchaikovsky’s *Liturgy* for his memorial service in 1893 and on the anniversary of his death for many years thereafter, became a powerful force, premiering and performing many of

these new works.<sup>38</sup> The music of this period successfully created an archetypal “Russian choral sound” that became increasingly popular in the West during the twentieth

century. That Tchaikovsky—a composer often labeled “secular” and “cosmopolitan”—and his *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* are one significant source of this tradition is a



# Defining Russian Sacred Music: Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Op. 41) and Its Historical Impact

testament to his talent as a composer and the inspirational quality of his first sacred composition.<sup>39</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Vladimir Morosan, *The Monuments of Russian Sacred Music*, Series II, Volume I: *The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Op. 41*, by Peter Tchaikovsky (San Diego: Musica Russica, 1993), v.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. Olga Dolskaya, "Tchaikovsky's Roots in the Russian Choral Tradition," in *Tchaikovsky and His Contemporaries: A Centennial Symposium*, ed. Alexandar Mihailovic (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 191.
- <sup>3</sup> Miloš Velimirović, "Russian Church Music: Polyphonic Music," *The Oxford Dictionary of Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed March 2010.
- <sup>4</sup> Vladimir Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land: Tchaikovsky as Composer of Church Music," in *Tchaikovsky and His Contemporaries: A Centennial Symposium*, ed. Alexandar

Mihailovic (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 202-203.

- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 217ff.
- <sup>6</sup> Marika Kuzma, "Bortnyansky, Dmitry Stepanovich," *The Oxford Dictionary of Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed March 2010.
- <sup>7</sup> The music directors of the Imperial Court Chapel during the period of the monopoly were Bortnyansky (from 1816–25), Fyodor L'vov (1825–36), Aleksei L'vov (1837–61), and Bakhmetev (1861–83).
- <sup>8</sup> During the sixty-two year period of the Imperial Court Chapel's monopoly, only one complete setting of the *Liturgy* was published. It was composed by Archpriest Piotr Turchaninov and published in 1842, but it was also in the Italian concerted style.
- <sup>9</sup> Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land," 206.
- <sup>10</sup> Quoted in Roland John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 201.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> R. Sterling Beckwith, "Choral Music in the Liturgy:

How to Write a Russian Mass," *American Choral Review* 10, no. 4 (1968): 178. The translation is Beckwith's own.

- <sup>14</sup> Quoted in Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land," 199.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. Dolskaya, "Tchaikovsky's Roots in the Russian Choral Tradition," 190.
- <sup>16</sup> Wiley, *Tchaikovsky*, 257.
- <sup>17</sup> Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land," 201.
- <sup>18</sup> Quoted in Dolskaya, "Tchaikovsky's Roots in the Russian Choral Tradition," 191.
- <sup>19</sup> Quoted in Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land," 201.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> Wiley (*Tchaikovsky*, p. 200) states that the *Liturgy* was first published in January 1879. This is probably the date Jurgenson officially began printing copies. All other sources list 1878 as the date of the *Liturgy*.
- <sup>23</sup> Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land," 198.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> Cf. Beckwith, "Choral Music in the Liturgy," 180, quoting an early twentieth century Russian source. See also Lydia Korniy, Liner notes to *Tchaikovsky: Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Naxos/Kiev Chamber Choir; 1998), 4.
- <sup>26</sup> Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land," 204.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.
- <sup>29</sup> Wiley, *Tchaikovsky*, 201.
- <sup>30</sup> Quoted in Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land," 205.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 207; and Korniy, Liner notes, 4.
- <sup>32</sup> See Wiley, *Tchaikovsky*, 288 and 313ff.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.
- <sup>34</sup> Miloš Velimirović, "Russian Church Music: Polyphonic Music."
- <sup>35</sup> Stuart Campbell, "Balakirev, Mily Alekseyevich," *The Oxford Dictionary of Music Online* <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed March 2010.
- <sup>36</sup> Morosan, "A Stranger in a Strange Land," 207.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>39</sup> I am indebted to Kevin Bartig, David Rayl, Vladimir Morosan, and Ryan Kelly for comments and feedback on earlier drafts of this article.

## YOU. CULTURES. AUDIENCES. EXPERIENCES.



### CONNECT

Your choir with unforgettable venues, exciting destinations, and international cultures



### CONNECT

With Witte and together we will develop a custom-designed concert tour based on your performing and sightseeing goals



### CONNECT

With the leader in performance tours for over 35 years



Performance  
TOUR DIVISION

800-GO WITTE  
[groups@wittetravel.com](mailto:groups@wittetravel.com)  
[wittetours.com](http://wittetours.com)

