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The Conductors' Entries in M.I. Glinka's Manuscript Score of *Kamarinskaya*

(The History of the Early Performances)

Nicolaj Findeisen in Russia was the first to investigate and describe M.I. Glinka's manuscripts, which are kept in the Tsar's Public Library. Investigating the autograph of *Kamarinskaya* he noticed: „[...] There are many bars in the manuscript that were crossed out (and rewritten), with pencil entries next to them (h.G.¹ and the other hand) concerning nuances of performance“². It is significant that, while describing Glinka's autograph, Findeisen draws attention to the entries made by the „other hand“. For a long time Findeisen remained the only one who attached importance to this fact. At least not a word is said in the new catalogue of Glinka's manuscripts³ about the entries made by the other hand.

In 1953 the principal edition of Michail Ivanovič Glinka's letters and documents was published under the common editorship of Vladimir Bogdanov-Beresovskij with commentary by Anastasia Sergeevna Lyapunova. In the chapter about *Kamarinskaya* the researcher states that „on the surface the manuscript – blots, crossed-out bars – looks as if it was the first – and only – manuscript of *Kamarinskaya* [...] There are marks showing that it was Glinka's very last work and that editorial changes were made in red pencil [...] The score manuscript was evidently used for the performance, as the simple pencil entries show which were made by an unknown hand (Maurer?). They concern nuances of the performance and denote the instruments for the convenience of the conductor“⁴ Let us see what is known about the characteristics of entries

¹By Glinka's hand.

²Nicolaj Findeisen, The catalogue of music manuscripts, letters and portraits of Michail Ivanovič Glinka, kept in the manuscript department of the Tsar's Public Library, St. Petersburg 1898, p. 8.

³See: Glinka's manuscript. The catalogue compiled by A.S. Lyapunova. Under their common editorship and with an introductory article of Vladimir Bogdanov-Beresovskij, Leningrad 1950, p. 25.

⁴Michail Glinka. Literary Inheritance. Letters and documents, Leningrad 1957, vol. 2, p. 841.

(compared with Nikolaj Findeisen's findings), notes concerning the instruments that were added later and, what is most important, whether the name of the entries' author is given.

Lyapunova also informs us that the first performance of *Kamarinskaya* took place in St. Petersburg on 15 March 1850 at the Concert of the Society for the Poor, with Ludwig Maurer⁵ conducting. The information is not confirmed by any reference to a source and it is not clear what caused the researcher to introduce the name of Ludwig Wilhelm Maurer in this context.

When we look at the periodical press of the time, most of the reports announcing and reviewing the Concert, where *Kamarinskaya* by Glinka was performed for the first time, were all inspired by the so-called Russian idea⁶.

It is quite possible that, orienting their ideas to the „Russian Concert“, the „Russian“ idea, the dancing to „Russian“ songs, most of the journalists, consciously or unconsciously, overlooked the „German“ name of the person who was commissioned to conduct the orchestra. The critic of the *Sankt Peterburgskie Vedmosti* newspaper wrote, „It's a pity that the composer is now in Warsaw and will not hear his work performed by such a full and harmonious orchestra as that of the Italian opera, in which a number of additional amateur musicians perform.“⁷ *Severnaya Ptchela*, which published a detailed review of the concert, the musical pieces and their performers⁸, but said nothing about the conductor. In the periodicals of the time only the name of the conductor of the „Russian Concert“ was given. „The orchestra

⁵About Ludwig Maurer see: Galina Petrova, Ludwig Maurer and the reception of Beethoven in St. Petersburg in the first half of the 19th century, in: Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Mitteilungen der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Technischen Universität Chemnitz 1999, Heft 5, pp. 63-74.

⁶„The Russian Concert performing exclusively music by Russian composers up to those days seemed quite impossible! [...] The Russian Concert of the Society for the Poor was a real musical festival for the musicians and, quite unexpectedly, has shown what high level our music has reached, innate to the Slavish tribe“ (*Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedmosti* N° 80, 8 April 1850).

⁷*Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedmosti* N° 60, 15 March, 1850.

⁸*Severnaya Ptchela* N° 62, 18 March 1850, incidentally mentions the participation of the singers of the Semenov and Preobrazenski body guard regiments.

will consist of 80 most excellent musicians, conducted by Mr. Albrecht“, *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedmosti* informed⁹.

This information is confirmed by the archive sources. So, the poster announcing the „Russian“ Concert, which took place in the Hall of Nobility on 15 March 1850, says, „The orchestra will consist of outstanding musicians of the capital. Their number will be 80 and, equal to them, a choir of singers, led by a very skilled conductor, Mr. Albrecht.“¹⁰

In 1957 the fundamental study by Vladimir Cukkerman on „Glinka’s *Kamarinskaya* and its traditions in Russian music“ was published. For the time, Cukkerman published a number of photocopies of Glinka’s manuscript in his book. Some of them contain entries by „the other hand“ and thus needed comment. However, the researcher was interested only in the author’s entries, neglected other people’s, referring exclusively to the doubtful evidence given by Anastasia Sergeevna Lyapunova¹¹. Perhaps the researcher did not realize that Lyapunova mentioned L. Maurer as the first conductor of Glinka’s *Kamarinskaya*. (Accordingly, she thought that the „other“ entries were his.) Vladimir Cukkerman, however, gives evidence of the fact that the „Russian Concert“ was conducted by Karl Albrecht.

The confusion that arose at the point of intersection of two significant lines of research into Glinka’s inheritance is fully justified. The combined investigation of the inheritance of „the founder of Russian classical music“ in those days neglected the discussion of facts that are most significant for the modern researcher – family names, accompanying details of concert practice – the things that make up the historical context. For a long time the entries in Glinka’s autograph made by „the other hand“ had never been the object of special investigation.

⁹ *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedmosti* 14 March 1850.

¹⁰ RGIA, Fond 497, Opis 99/2123, N° 3060, p. 202. Karl Franz Albrecht (1807-1863) violinist, composer, conductor. In 1838 together with his family he moved to Petersburg. In 1840 he was appointed the conductor of the Russian Opera.

¹¹ „Some evidence about the manuscript contained in the comment by A.S. Lyapunova (M.I. Glinka, *Literary inheritance*, vol. 2, L. 1953, pp. 840f.) will no longer be given.“ See: V. Cukkerman, „Glinka’s *Kamarinskaya* and its traditions in Russian music“, p. 8.

Let us now turn to Glinka's autograph itself. The manuscript of *Kamarinskaya* is published in Glinka's „Autographs“, Volume 7. The score for the orchestra contains two parts: Introduction, Moderato ma energio. – Allegro moderato. The manuscript consists of 20 lists of large longitudinal paper. On the first page there is an entry by Glinka's hand „August 6, 1848, Warsaw“, on the last page „September 19 (October 1) 1848, Warsaw“. The manuscript is written in ink. The autograph abounds in pencil entries, not by Glinka but by a different hand. Their character – numerous tempo marks, entries about nuances for the instruments – shows that the autograph score really served the conductors in preparing the early performances.

The entries were made with different writing utensils, with different pressure, with the use of at least two pencils – of more or less grooving. Some tempo marks are written two, three or four times, remarks rubbed out and rewritten, double outlines of letters can be seen (see photo N° 1).

The entries were made in two handwritings with different systems of common and individual signs. Thus the first remark, following the completion of the „Wedding“ theme in the exposition (the lyrical phrase of the violins, „surrounded“ by the minor sixth), attracts our attention by the existence of two different handwritings (see photo N° 2).

We are not going into every detail of describing the handwritings, but let us just mention the brightly expressed differences in inclination, pressure, shapes of letters and the way in which they are written. Here we can see clearly that different writing utensils were used. For the purpose of this paper, the handwriting located above the lines will be called the „first“, the one located below the lines the „second“.

Most of the entries are written in the „first“ handwriting. It is characterized by hypertrophic prolonged elements at the ends of words, obviously as acceleration occurred in writing (see photo N° 3).

The „first“ handwriting is that of Karl Albrecht – the conductor of the Russian Opera – whose name is closely connected with the history of the early performances of Glinka's *Ruslan* and, as we now know, with such an event in the history of St. Petersburg as the first „Russian Concert“. In order

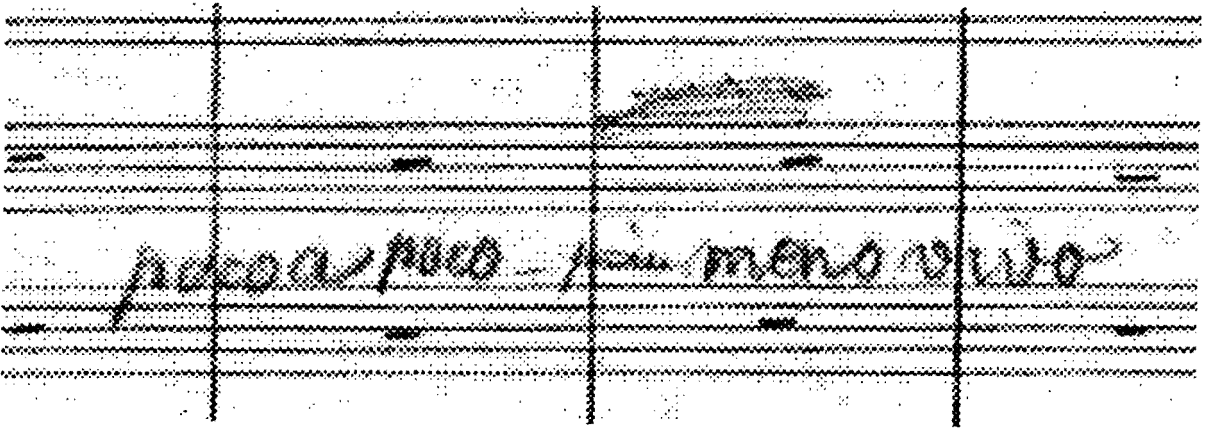


Photo N° 1 – Autograph, p. 27

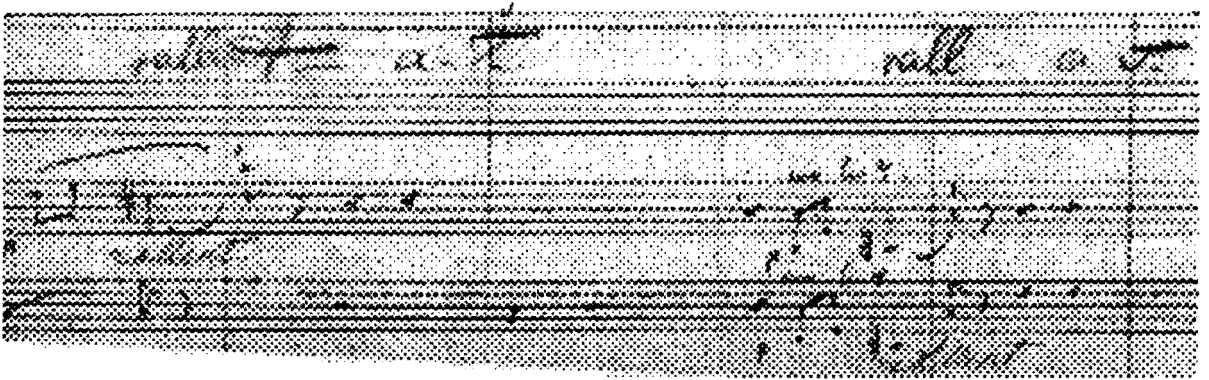


Photo N° 2 – Autograph, p. 5



Photo N° 3 – Autograph, p. 1

to attribute the handwriting conclusively, his manuscripts of the ballet *Two women* (1845) and his diary were investigated for comparison. Every year the musician and conductor Karl Albrecht celebrated the highlights of theatrical and concert life in his work (see photo N° 4).

The dynamic profile of *Kamarinskaya* was clearly written by Albrecht. It is noticeable that the nuance expression mentioned above does not concern the strengthening of sound or culminating dynamic effects meant by Glinka. On the contrary, instead of *p*, as marked by the composer, one can see *pp* or even *ppp*, possibly by yet 'another' conductor's hand for the purpose of a certain sound effect. (In the score, some of the marks for conductor's hearing intrigue were added: two pianos by one conductor, the third in the other pencil. See photo N° 5.)

The dramaturgy of the performance tempo is particularly thoroughly expressed in writing, with acceleration and slowing down, both at the reprise and code, and in the individual variations. The interpretation of a performance like this allowed for great detail in the sphere of agogic (see photos N° 6 and 7).

The second group of entries was completed by the „second“ handwriting. The dynamic and tempo marks with dominant meditative tempo characteristics can also be found here.

Whose entries might they be, in such a clear and even handwriting (see photos N° 8 and 9)?

Glinka heard *Kamarinskaya* for the first time in a performance with orchestra on 2 April 1852 at the Great Concert of the Philharmonic Society for the Benefit of Widows and Orphans. Let us look at the program and other evidence of the concert according to Evgeni Albrecht, who gathered and published the concert programs that were highly appreciated by the St. Petersburg Society for the period of 1802-1888:

- „Symphony in A major by L. v. Beethoven. Two romances (Mrs. Schilovskaya).
- *Kamarinskaya*, fantasy on Russian motifs by M. Glinka (repeated on demand of the public).
- Overture N° 2 on Spanish motifs (devoted to the St. Petersburg Philharmonic Society by M. Glinka).
- Reminiscences de l'Opera 'Les Huguenots' pour 5 violoncellos et 1 contrebass par Ch.

17. August. Monday. ...
 ...
 18. ...
 19. ...
 20. ...
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Photo N° 4¹²

¹² Karl Albrecht's diary is kept in RO RNB: Fond 124, Vaxel, Opus 2, N³, Albrecht Karl-Franz, „Register der Rollenvertheilungen“, 1829-1862.

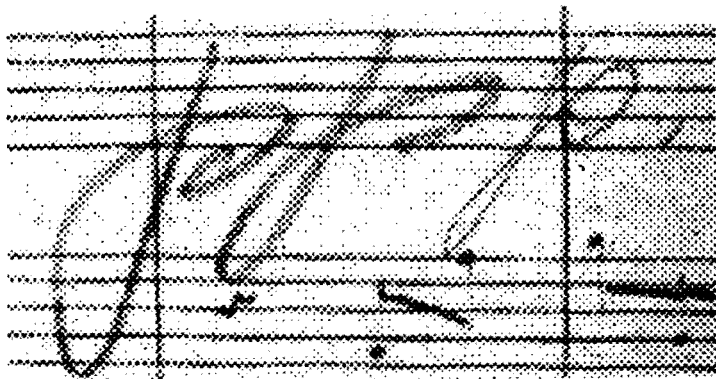


Photo N° 5, p. 23

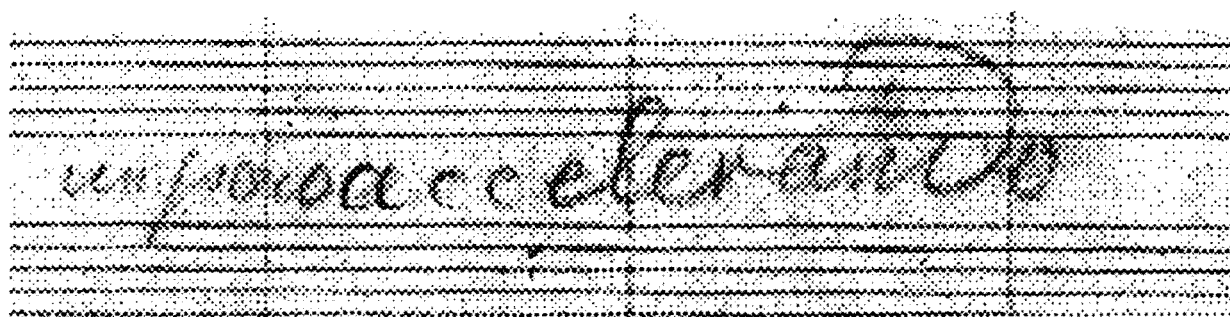


Photo N° 6, p. 29

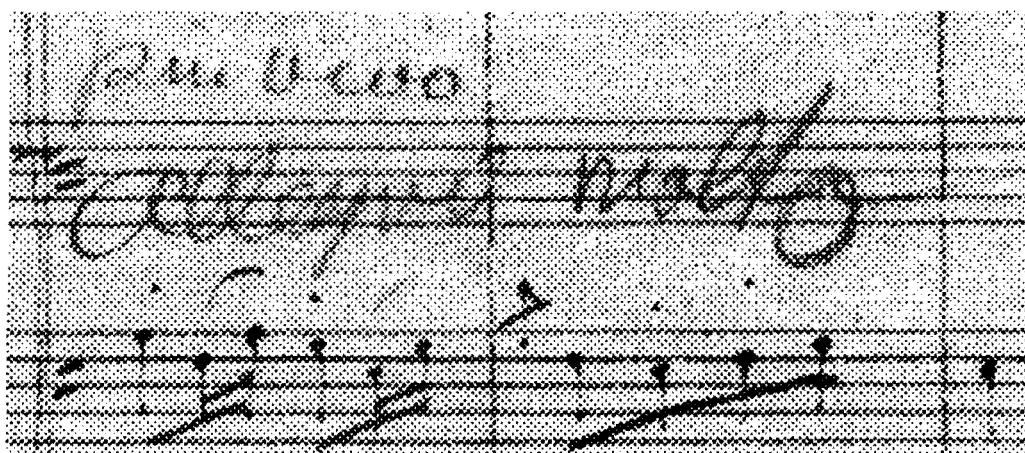


Photo N° 7, p. 37

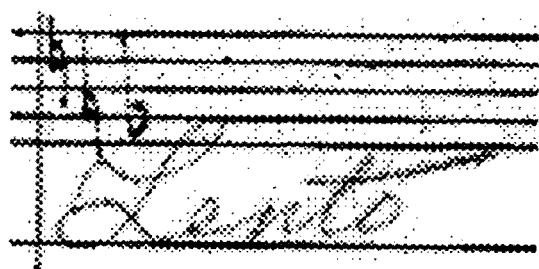


Photo N° 8, p. 16

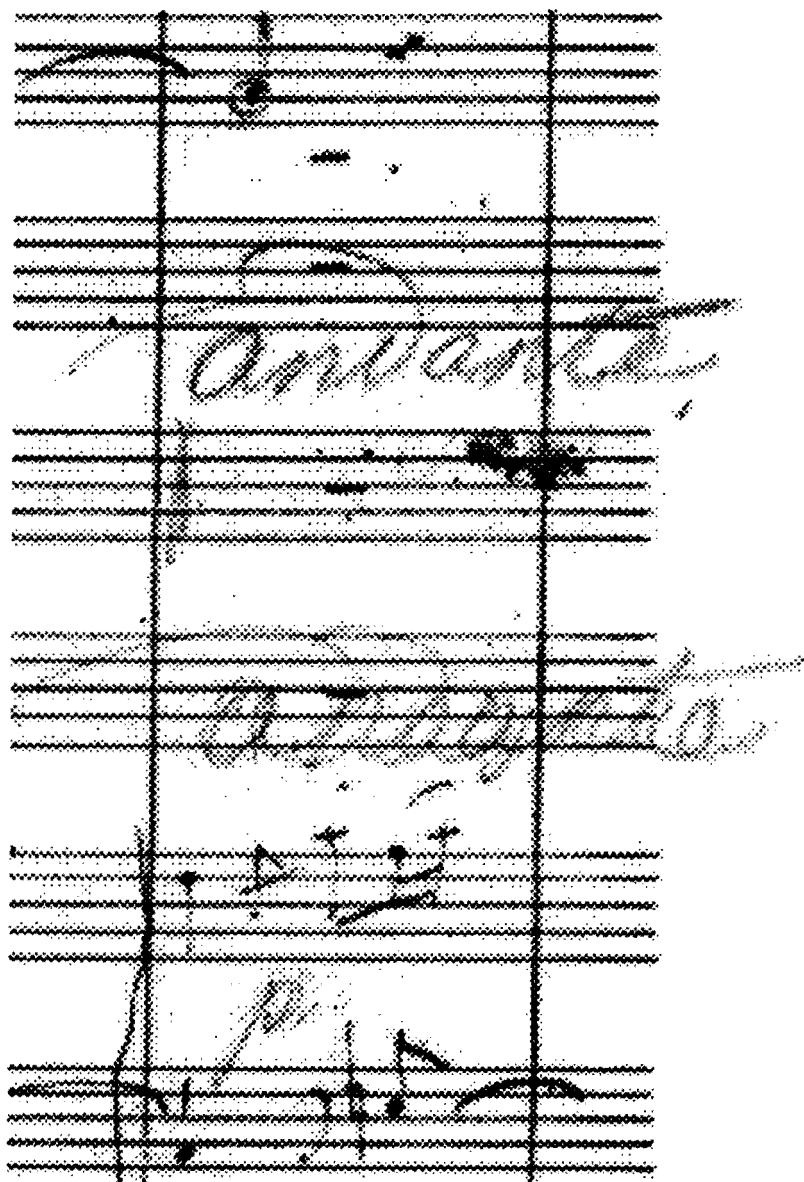


Photo N° 9, p. 27

- Schubert (Schubert, A. Maurer, Drobisch, Ber, Kologrivov and Ferrero).
- The Aria from the opera Ruslan and Ludmila (Mrs. Schilovskaya).
- The march for the orchestra and military music (a composition on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the coronation festival of His Majesty) by L. Maurer. Conductor - Mr. Maurer¹³.

¹³General review of the St. Petersburg Philharmonic Society by Evgeni Albrecht. St. Petersburg 1884, p. 16.

Glinka's letter about this concert, addressed to Karl Schubert, is rather confusing as far as the above pieces are concerned.

Mon très cher et excellent ami!

Je m'empresse de te remercier du fond de mon cœur pour tes soins. Lors du concert philharmonique; mes compositions ont été exécutés au delà de tout ce que devais me figurer, connaissant, combien tu es excellent directeur, et ayant la confiance que nos artistes méritent à juste titre. Je ne cacherai pas non plus, que Berlioz et toi, – vous êtes à mon meilleurs directeurs d'orchestre que je connaisse, et certes, je vous dois a tous deux de bien grandes jouissances musicales.

N'oublie pas, je prie, de saluer mm. Les artistes de ma part et de Leur'dire que je leur suis infiniment reconnaissant.

Ma santé va toujours mal, sans depuis bien longtemps je serais Venu t'embrasser.

Ton toujours dévoué ami et serviteur

Michel Glinka.

Le 4 avril 1852, S Pbg.¹⁴

In this letter, Glinka expresses his gratitude to Karl Schubert for the performance of *Kamarinskaya*, but not to Ludwig Maurer. To clarify the circumstances, let us turn again to the archive sources. The poster announcing the concert of the Philharmonic Society gives the program mentioned above, noting that „due to the sudden illness of Mr. Maurer, Mr. Schubert will conduct the orchestra“¹⁵.

Strange as it is, the name of Ludwig Maurer, which was mentioned by Lyapunova in connection with the first „Russian Concert“ by mistake, still appears in the context of *Kamarinskaya* by M.I. Glinka.

It was Ludwig Maurer who conducted the rehearsals in preparation of the concert during which many of Glinka's works,

¹⁴ M.I. Glinka. Literary inheritance. Letters and documents, vol. 2, p. 411.

¹⁵ RGIA, Fond 497, Opis 99/2123. N° 3064, p. 242.

including *Kamarinskaya* were performed¹⁶. We have at our disposal the autographs of both musicians – Ludwig Maurer and Karl Schubert. A comparison of Karl Schubert's with the one investigated (N° 2), refutes the hypothesis of Karl Schubert having entered anything into Glinka's manuscript.

In our opinion, the second group of entries is Ludwig Maurer's. For comparison, see the model of Maurer's handwriting from the autograph of his letter to Alexander Vsevolodovič Vsevolzski (1822)¹⁷ (see photo N° 10).

In the manuscript of *Kamarinskaya*, metronomic marks cannot be found. From this fact result different ways of marking in different editions. In the first printed edition (Fedor Timofeevič Stellovski, 1860), the metronomic marks of the themes are distributed in the following way: a quarter = 108 (for the Wedding song) and a quarter = 126 (for the Dancing song). Under the common editorship of Nikolaj Andreyevič Rimskij-Korsakov and Alexander Konstantinovič Glazunov (published by Mitrofan Petrovič Belyayev, 1902) 72 are given (for the Wedding song) and 116 (for the Dancing song).

Finally, under Milii Alekseyevič Balakirev and Sergej Michailovič Lyapunov's orchestra editorships (Boris Petrovič Jurgenson, 1905) this correlation is 104 and 116.

As to performance practice, Vladimir Cukkerman notes: „Some conductors striving for effects, perform both Allegros of *Kamarinskaya*, 'if not with the speed of light, so with the speed of electric current' (the words of Rimskij-Korsakov concerning too speedy performances of *Ruslan*), which gives 'Kamarinskaya' quite an inappropriate character of fussy agitation and nervous excitement.“¹⁸ The outstanding Russian critic Vladimir Stasov

¹⁶According to the posters, Ludwig Maurer performed Glinka's *Kamarinskaya* on 3 May 1853 in one of his programs, which was called 'The second musical matin with the large orchestra'. See: RGIA, Fond 497, Opis 99/2123, N° 3178, p. 74.

¹⁷RGIA, Fond 652, Opis 1, N° 155, p. 1. Conclusions concerning the attribution of handwritings were analysed and approved as a result of the consultation of historical handwriting investigation by Denis Olegovič Zipkin (the chief of the laboratory of codicological investigation and scientific-technical examination of the document RO RNE).

¹⁸Vladimir Cukkerman, 'Kamarinskaya' by Glinka and its traditions in

A. Schubert
M. 1792

Mon cher et bien tendre ami!
Me voici depuis une semaine auprès des
miens où je n'ai fait que passer de lous et de
mon séjour agréable dans votre maison, qui
hélas! pour moi, n'étoit que de trop courte
durée! Jamais je n'oublierai les bontés et
l'air que vous m'avez témoigné ainsi
votre ange d'épouse: recevez en outre mes
sincères remerciements. Quant
à Dieu, bien mieux que vous je l'ai quit-
té. cependant il est encore loin d'un
parfait rétablissement de sa santé. Voilà
pourquoi nous ne pourrions pas ^{même} décider pour
le moment si nous allons en voyage
ou non. Ceci m'adiga

Photo N° 10

reproached Nikolaj Rubinstein for the inadequate tempo in which he performed *Kamarinskaya*: „Nikolaj Rubinstein was running as for life, as if the enemy chased him“¹⁹.

The question of how and at what tempo *Kamarinskaya* should be performed was an issue even for its early performers. According to what Ludmila Jvanovna Shestakova's remembered, during the general rehearsal of *Kamarinskaya*, Karl Schubert „started by calling his brother to the stage, to show him the real tempo.“²⁰

From the conductor's entries concerning the tempo, the

Russian music, Moscow 1957, p. 375.

¹⁹Vladimir Stasov, Letters from foreign countries. The Binding of compositions, St. Petersburg 1894, vol. 3, p. 339.

²⁰Michail Ivanovič Glinka in the memoirs of his sister Ludmila Jvanovna Shestakova, Russkaya starina, December 1884.

postscript to the theme of the „Dancing song“ appeared the most perceptive in its exposition. Glinka had described the theme of the „Dancing song“ as „Allegro“ in his manuscript. As one can see, to the word „Allegro“ was neatly added the word „Moderato“ by another, not Glinka's, hand. In this way the „real“ tempo of the „Dancing song“ – „Allegro moderato“ – came about. As entered by Ludwig Maurer, it appeared all printed editions (see photo N° 11).

In 1902 *Kamarinskaya* was published under the common editorship of Nikolai Andreevič Rimskii-Korsakov and Alexander Glasunov. On the back of the title page the editors considered it important to add the following comment: „In der vorliegenden Ausgabe sind die Tempobezeichnungen und metronomischen Angaben entsprechend der feststehend gewordenen Traditionen der Ausführung berichtigt und vervollständigt worden.“ The traditions had ultimately been introduced by the early conductor-performers.

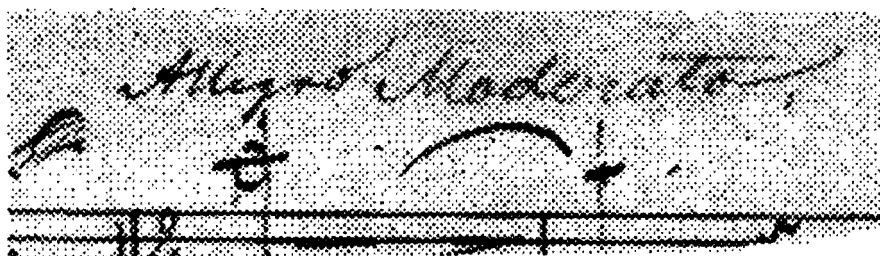


Photo N° 11, Autograph, p. 6

The following table illustrates which entries by the early conductor-performers made their way into early printed editions.

One can suppose that the editors of printed publications had looked carefully at the entries of the first conductor-performers of *Kamarinskaya*. The entries were not introduced mechanically into the printed editions. For the most part, they were taken from the range of independent tempo marks into the series of agogic terms. In comparison with Albrecht, Maurer distinctly slowed down the tempo of *Kamarinskaya*. Thus, in his performances the sphere of agogic becomes more differentiated. It touches the theme connected with the Dancing song but not the Wedding song. This helped disguise the folklore character of the second theme, to give it greater detail and expressiveness.

Autograph Ed. Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Ed. Balakirev and Lyapunov	Lento (Maurer) riten. poco a poco —	b. 7 after f. 8
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	Andante (Maurer) Poco meno mosso Poco meno mosso	b. 12 up to f. 12
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	Tempo I più vivo (Albrecht) Più mosso = 126 a tempo	f. 13
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	Andante (Maurer) Poco meno mosso Poco meno mosso	b. 13 after f. 13
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	Più vivo (Albrecht) Più mosso = 126 a tempo	b. 6 up to f. 14
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	Poco meno vivo (Albrecht) — poco meno mosso	b. 6 up to f. 15
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	accelerando (Albrecht) animando poco a poco stringendo	f. 15
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	Allegro molto piu vivo (Albrecht) — Vivace	f. 16
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	Poco a poco riten. (Albrecht) Poco ritard. Poco ritard.	b. 4 after f. 17
Autograph Rimski-Korsakov and Glasunov Balakirev and Lyapunov	Poco più vivo (Albrecht) a tempo a tempo	the last 4 b. of the score

It is known that the leading conductors in the Petersburg of the first half of the 19th century – Karl Albrecht and Ludwig Maurer – were famous violinists (Ludwig Maurer in particular). This is the reason for the gradual transition from soloists' recitals to the practice of orchestra performance. The combination of composition and performing practice allowed the performer to develop beyond the composing practice. In the genre of variations it was expressed in a striving for more contrast, freedom and improvisation. The fact that the material can be used in this way might be interpreted as an adaptation to the tradition of new romantic performances.

The conductors' entries do not spoil the essence of Glinka's score. The composer gave a limited number of dynamic and tempo marks in his autograph, defining the principal character of any performance. The conductors' entries, on the other hand, concern the details of the dramaturgy of performance and have been generally reproduced by generations of conductors ever since.