Introduction to *Passion Week*, Opus 13 by Maximilian Steinberg (1883–1946)\(^1\)

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Over the last few decades there has been an international revival of interest in what Vladimir Morosan has called the 'New Russian Choral School': a movement of churchmen, composers and conductors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who sought to renew Russian Orthodox church music by seeking inspiration in Slavonic traditions of monophonic chant and polyphonic singing, both historic and living.\(^2\) Having begun with

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\(^1\) This essay incorporates material that previously appeared in the spring of 2014 in publications related to the world premiere performances of Steinberg's *Passion Week* by Cappella Romana: a preview article that I wrote for the Orthodox Arts Journal (http://www.orthodoxartsjournal.org/lost-russian-passion-week-cycle-opus-13-by-maximilian-steinberg-to-debut-90-years-after-composition/); and my note for the concert program distributed to the audience on 11 and 12 April 2014. I gratefully acknowledge that the research upon which this essay and performing edition are based was made possible by the following individuals and organisations: Fr Daniel and Matushka Tamara Skvir of the Orthodox Chapel of the Transfiguration at Princeton University, who first brought Steinberg's *Passion Week* to my attention in the autumn of 2012; Barbara Mouk of the Clarion Society (Steven Fox, Artistic Director); the Center for Hellenic Studies of Princeton University (Dimitri Gondicas, director) for a Visiting Fellowship; the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, for research leave from City University London during the academic year 2012–13; Dr Irina Chudinova and Galina Kopytova graciously facilitated my study of Steinberg's autograph scores at the Cabinet of Manuscripts of the Russian Institute of the History of Arts in St Petersburg; Professor Oksana Lukonina of the Volgograd Institute of Culture and Arts; Dr Vladimir Morosan; Dr Marina Rakhmanova; Mark Powell and Leslie Simmons of Cappella Romana; Bogdan Daković; the Rev. Dr Ivan Moody; and the anonymous donors who, in honour of Fr and Matushka Skvir, generously supported my research in St Petersburg, the making of this edition, and the performances and recording of it by Cappella Romana.

increasingly frequent performances of two emblematic large-scale works—the *All-Night Vigil*, Op. 37 of Sergei Rachmaninov (now firmly established as a canonical masterpiece within the repertories of Euro-American choral music) and the *Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, op. 41 by Peter Tchaikovsky—this revival gradually extended to cover a more representative range of the composers that Morosan had identified as having made significant contributions to the repertories of sacred music in pre-revolutionary Russia. More recently, the extension of the New Russian Choral School in diaspora after 1917 has also begun to receive scholarly and musical attention.³ Needless to say, all of this activity has been greatly facilitated by the new opportunities for the study, editing and performance of Russian sacred music that have appeared in the wake of political and cultural change in the former Soviet block since the 1980s.

Viewed in the context of this process of loss and recovery, the case of Maximilian Steinberg and his *Passion Week (Страстная седмица)*, Opus 13—a work virtually unknown in the land of its composition and only recently the object of academic study—is in many respects exceptional.⁴ The son-in-law and musical heir-apparent of Nikolay Andreyevich

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³ A comprehensive history of Orthodox liturgical music in the Russian diaspora has yet to be written, but the influence upon it of the New Russian Choral School has—despite the frequent complaints of its partisans regarding what they perceived to be the reactionary musical tastes of émigré congregations—been pervasive. For some preliminary studies, see Marina Ledkovsky and Vladimir von Tsurikov, eds., *Russian Liturgical Music Revival in the Diaspora: A Collection of Essays*, Readings in Russian Religious Culture 4 (n.p.: Foundation of Russian History, 2012). Also now in progress is "Chants of the Russian Émigrés," a series of recordings by Russian choirs of sacred works by émigré composers on the Russkiy Pastyr label.

⁴ Oksana Igorevna Lukonina, the author of a doctoral thesis on Steinberg's theatrical works, has written three short articles on Steinberg's *Passion Week*: "В поисках утраченного: О хоровом цикле "Страстная седмица" М.О. Штейнберга," in Южно - Российский музыкальный альманах, ed. Анатолий Монсевич Цукер (Ростов-на-Дону Ростовская государственная консерватория имени С.В. Рахманинова, 2005), 169–72; and "«Страстная седмица» М.О. Штейнберга как образец «художественной реставрации» древнерусского певческого искусства," in Композиторская техника как знак: Сборник
Rimsky-Korsakov at the St Petersburg Conservatory, Steinberg apparently composed no sacred music prior to the advent of Communism when the New Russian Choral School was at its height, nor did he follow some of its leading lights abroad and, like Nikolay Tcherpnine and Grechaninov, continue its legacy in exile. Instead, Steinberg remained in Soviet Petrograd and composed *Passion Week* between 1921 and 1923, by which time the Moscow Synodal Choir had already been disbanded and opportunities for public performances of technically challenging choral settings of Russian Orthodox liturgical texts were rapidly dwindling. The result was a monumental sacred choral work in eleven movements, all but one of which are based directly on Slavonic chants for the services of Great and Holy Week taken nearly verbatim from the *Triodion* in Kievan staff notation published by the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church.\(^5\) Comparable in its style and vocal demands to the major works of Rachmaninov and other composers of the New Russian Choral school, Steinberg's Opus 13 is especially indebted, as we shall see below, to an earlier musical journey through Orthodox Holy Week: Grechaninov's *Passion Week*, Opus 58, a piece written between 1911 and 1912, first performed shortly thereafter in 1912 and 1913, and then largely forgotten until its revival in the 1990s.\(^6\)

\(^{5}\) Триодь Нотнаго Пения Постная и Цветная (St Petersburg: Synodal Publishing House, 1899).

Steinberg escaped the constraints of Soviet censorship by having *Passion Week* published in Paris at some point between 1925 and 1928 by the Russian émigré firm of W. Bessel & Cie., an affiliate of the major German music publisher Breitkopf & Härtel.\(^7\)

Notwithstanding its French title page,\(^8\) the Bessel edition offers Steinberg's music in a trilingual format, underlaying its vocal lines not only with their original Church Slavonic, but also with singable Latin and English translations. The Latin version, which hews closely to the meaning of the Slavonic, was made by Vsevolod V. Bakhtin (1901–1951), then a young paleographer employed by the National Library of Russia.\(^9\) Somewhat looser is the rendering into English by Robert Burness (1873–1927), a translator of Lermontov who made English versions of musical works by Russian composers including Glazunov, Lyadov, Prokofiev, Nikolai Tcherepnine, and Stravinsky for a variety of publishers.\(^10\) Some sense of this crowded but beautifully presented edition may be obtained from the following list of its contents:

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\(^7\) Now defunct, Bessel was founded in 1869 St Petersburg by Vasily Vasilyevich Bessel and remained based there until his sons moved its headquarters to Paris in 1920. On the history of this publisher, see Norris Geoffre and Dunlop Carolyn, "Bessel, Vasily Vasil'yevich," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02959; and "Bessel," IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, http://imslp.org/wiki/Bessel. Lukonina, like most Russian authors, seems to have been unaware of the Paris edition of *Passion Week*, relying instead solely on the autograph manuscripts kept in the Steinberg archive of the Russian Institute for Art History of Art in St Petersburg. In her first publication on the topic of Steinberg's *Passion Week* ("В поисках утраченного," 169), she says that Steinberg created it between the years 1921 to 1926. In her monograph (*Штейнберг*, 463), she dates its composition to 1921–27 and explicitly states that it is an unpublished manuscript.


\(^9\) Credited in Latin on the first page of the score as "In latino vertit W. Bachtin." On Bakhtin, see below, page [XX].

\(^10\) Notable for our purposes is his contribution of English text to an undated Bessel edition of Nikolai Tcherepnine's *Six chants religieux russes*, Opus 51.
movement titles (with their original Russian designations of source chant repertories translated by me into English):

1. 'Аллилуя/Alleluja/Halleluiah' (Znamenny chant)
2. 'Се жених грядет/Ecce sponsus venit/The Bridegroom cometh' (Znamenny chant)
3. 'Чертог твой/Thalamum tuum video/I behold the room' (Kievan chant)
4. 'Егда славнии ученицы/Cum discipuli magnifici/When the disciples' (Znamenny chant)
5. 'Странствия владычна/Hospitalitate Dominica/Welcome, thou Feast Divine' (Znamenny chant)
6. 'Вечери твоя тайныя/Coenae tuae mysticae/Holiest Mystery' (Znamenny chant)
7. 'Благообразный Иосиф/Joseph nobilis/Joseph of Arimathea' (Bulgarian chant)
8. 'Разбойника благоразумнаго/Latronem sapientam/Contrite malefactor'
9. 'Не рыдай мне, Мати/Ne lugeas me, Mater/ Cease from tears' (Znamenny chant)
10. 'Воскресни, Боже/Surge Deus/Oh, arise, God' [based in part on Znamenny chant]
11. Great Entrance Chant 'Да молчит всякая плоть/Caro nunc quaelibet tace/Now let all flesh' (Znamenny chant)

Despite the effort expended by Steinberg and Bessel to reach as wide of an audience as possible through publication in multiple languages, his Passion Week soon fell into the obscurity from which it only recently has been rescued.

In the remainder of this introductory essay I shall offer an overview of the genesis, form, and reception of Steinberg's Passion Week. A presentation of what may be gleaned from currently available sources about the composition, Parisian publication, and immediate reception of Steinberg's choral cycle will be coupled to a discussion of its relationship to the pre-revolutionary work of the New Russian Choral School. I shall conclude with a brief account of the events that led to the belated premiere performances of Passion Week in the United States of America, for which the present Musica Russica edition was originally prepared.
Maximilian Steinberg and Russian Culture

Maximilian Oseyevich Steinberg was born in 1883 in the Lithuanian city of Vilnius, at that time a part of the Russian Empire.\(^{11}\) Raised in a cultured Jewish family, he moved to St Petersburg to continue his education in both science and music, enrolling simultaneously in the Faculty of Natural Sciences at the University of St Petersburg and at the Conservatoire. At the latter he studied under illustrious teachers including Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov, who welcomed him (along with his classmate Igor Stravinsky) in the social circles of his family. Steinberg soon became a trusted assistant to Rimsky-Korsakov, travelling with him to Paris in April 1907 for the *Saison Russe* organised by Diaghilev. He married Nadezhda Nikolaevna Rimsky-Korsakova in the Orthodox Church (an act that would have required him to be previously baptised a Christian) on 4/17 June 1908, only four days before the death of her father Nikolay Andreyevich.\(^{12}\) Thereafter Steinberg faithfully maintained the compositional and didactic legacies of his late father-in-law, on the one hand by editing his musical and pedagogical works for publication, and on the other by remaining based at the St Petersburg (later Leningrad) Conservatory for the rest of his career. As he progressed from a teacher of harmony, orchestration and free composition to Dean of Composition (1917) and eventually Vice-Rector (1934–39) of this institution, he had many


\(^{12}\) Steinberg describes the day in a letter to the editor of Nikolai Andreyevich's memoirs: "Our wedding was on the fourth. Nikolai Andreyevich did not come to the church but remained at home with Sonya. He was in very good spirits and upon our return from church he threw oats at us, asked about the ceremony in church, chuckled at the priest—in a word, he was in an excellent mood," V. V. Yastrebtsev, *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov*, trans. Florence Jonas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) 477.
notable pupils (among them Dmitri Shostakovich) and contributed much to music throughout the Soviet Union. Evacuated to Tashkent, Uzbekistan during the Second World War, he returned in 1945 to Leningrad, dying there on 6 December 1946.

Despite war, revolution and Communism, Steinberg was able in his first two decades at the conservatory to maintain musical and intellectual connections both at home and abroad. In Petrograd Steinberg crossed paths with circles of artists and intellectuals who, in the face of ever-tightening restrictions from the Soviet state, continued patterns of creativity and thought established during the artistically fruitful decades prior to 1917, the so-called the 'Silver Age' of Russian culture. Steinberg himself reflected such continuity through his dramatic and vocal musical works of the second and third decades of the twentieth century, showing tendencies toward symbolism and mysticism in his settings of Maeterlinck (incidental music for Princess Maleine, Op. 11 of 1916), Byron (the 'opera-mystery' Heaven and Earth, Op. 12 of 1916), Rabindranath Tagore (the song cycles Opuses 14 and 15 of 1925), and Omar Khayyam and Rumi (the song cycle From Persian Poetry, Op. 17 of 1926). At the same time Steinberg remained in contact with foreign concert promoters, publishers, and such émigré colleagues as Alexander Glazunov and Stravinsky through correspondence and, when possible, travel to the West. As part of an academic exchange between conservatories sponsored by the People's Commissariat for Education (Narkompros), Steinberg visited Germany and France in 1925. Two years later he made a final trip to Europe,

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13 Reminiscences of Steinberg's contributions to musical life in St Petersburg are offered in Sergei Slonimsky, Заметки о композиторских школах Петербурга XX века (St Petersburg: Издательство «Композитор», 2012), 7–22.
15 Steinberg's travels are listed in the chronologies of his life and works that Lukonina provides in Appendix 2 of Штейнберг, 454–55.
journeying to Cologne and Amsterdam to conduct performances of his Symphony No. 2, Op. 8 (1909), a work dedicated to the memory of his father-in-law.

Steinberg returned home just as the Soviet authorities began to move against intellectuals in Leningrad who were actively cultivating lines of thought rooted in the Silver Age and allied to the 'Russian Religious Renaissance' it engendered.\footnote{The Russian Religious Renaissance encompassed a broad range of efforts aimed at various forms of spiritual, ecclesial, cultural and national renewal within the traditions of Slavic Orthodoxy. Its creative and often eclectic use of diverse ancient and modern sources overlapped with such other contemporary cultural phenomena as pan-Slavism and, thanks in part to the brilliance and productivity of Russian intellectuals living in Western exile, its effects continued to be felt well into the Soviet period. Manifestations of this renewal movement in the fields of theology, philosophy, literature and visual art have received significant (if far from exhaustive) scholarly attention. The foundational survey in English is Nicolas Zernov, \textit{The Russian Religious Renaissance of the Twentieth Century} (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963). Recent scholarship has filled out Zernov's account with specialised studies treating particular figures or areas of activity, notable examples of which include Mark D. Steinberg and Heather J. Coleman, eds., \textit{Sacred Stories: Religion and Spirituality in Modern Russia}, Indiana-Michigan series in Russian and East European studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); and Paul L. Gavrilyuk, \textit{Georges Florovsky and the Russian Religious Renaissance}, Changing Paradigms in Historical and Systematic Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).} In an accelerating wave of arrests that climaxed in late 1928 they sought the dissolution of the "Resurrection Circle," a group founded in 1917 by scholars based at the National Library of Russia that was initially led by Alexander Meyer, his wife Xenia Polovtseva, and Georgy Fedotov, a leading philosopher of religion who emigrated to the West in 1925.\footnote{Accounts of their activities in the Resurrection Circle are included in the online biographical dictionary of historically significant employees of the National Library of Russia: S. G. Stratanovksy, "Мейер Александр Александрович," National Library of Russia, \text{http://www.nlr.ru/nlr\_history/persons/info.php?id=112}; and G. B. Miheeva, "Федотов Георгий Петрович," National Library of Russia, \text{http://www.nlr.ru/nlr\_history/persons/info.php?id=52}} Associates of Steinberg who were active members of the Resurrection Circle at the time of its suppression were the pianist Maria Yudina, another convert from Judaism to Russian Orthodoxy and his colleague at the Leningrad Conservatory until she was dismissed for her religious views in 1930, and the
medievalist Vsevolod Bakhtin, the author of *Passion Week*’s Latin translation. It is therefore surely not coincidental that 1927 also marks the beginning of what Lukonina has identified as Steinberg’s third period of artistic activity (1927–40), in which he reoriented his artistic agenda to conform more closely to the dictates of Soviet cultural policy. Leaving mysticism behind, he turned to vocal and instrumental settings of politically acceptable folk songs from a variety of national traditions including those of Armenia and Uzbekistan.

In their short entry on Steinberg for the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Orlov and Kovnatskaya suggest that *Passion Week* —a piece they neglected to include in their selective list of his compositions—belongs among his works reflecting ‘the primitive aura of peasant music from different lands' by virtue of its use of "old Russian cult songs." Lukonina, however, more convincingly sees Opus 13 as a work in which Steinberg sought to express from the perspective of Russian liturgical music the nostalgic longing for archetypal meaning and beauty that pervades his song cycles of the same period. From the

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18 Vsevolod Bakhtin (no relation to the more famous literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin, who was also arrested for his membership in the Resurrection Circle) was arrested and imprisoned for a little over two weeks in 1927. When the OGPU took action to eliminate the group in late 1928 he was arrested again, this time being sentenced to a labour camp from which he was released in 1931. After additional political difficulties in Leningrad that caused him to relocate to Kalinin (Tver’) in 1935, he was taken into custody in 1937 and emerged in poor health only after completing a 10-year sentence in 1947. For witnessing in this manner to his faith, the Russian Orthodox Church today numbers Bakhtin among its New Martyrs and Confessors of the Twentieth Century. See Maria Yudina, "Немного о людях Ленинграда (1966)," http://judina.ru/nemmogo-o-ludyah-lingenrada.htm; L. B. Wolfson, "Бахтин Всеволод Владимирович," National Library of Russia, http://www.nlr.ru/nlr_history/persons/info.php?id=501; and "Бахтин Всеволод Владимирович," Новомученики и Исповедники Русской Православной Церкви ХХ века, Православный Свято-Тихоновский Богословский Институт/Братство во Имя Всемилостивого Спаса, http://kuz3.pstbi.ccas.ru/bin/nkws.exe/ans/nm/?HYZ9EJxGHoxITYZCF2JMTcCid74gdSw5sICHHITcGZeuyPqko9X6mBsxDbtjP1EiAX6o**

19 Orlov and Kovnatskaya, "Steinberg.

melodic sources, formal plan and choral idiom of Passion Week, it is clear that Steinberg chose to do so by resuming by resuming the work of the New Russian Choral School.  

**The Legacy of the New Russian Choral School in the Early Soviet Period**

The New Russian Choral School, as noted above, was a loosely constituted movement for the regeneration of Russian liturgical music formed by the efforts of an influential and productive group of Russian Orthodox churchmen, composers and conductors sought inspiration for the creative renewal of church music in early Slavonic traditions of chant and polyphonic singing. Developing in parallel with attempts to revitalise the spiritual, liturgical and institutional life of the Orthodox Church in late Imperial Russia, it is also related to the aesthetic aspirations of the Russian Religious Renaissance. Morosan locates the foundations of the New Russian Choral School in the 1860s, a decade marked not only by the freeing of the serfs in 1861 but also the relaxation of restrictions on public concerts of sacred music. These concerts facilitated not only the growth of a widespread culture of choral singing, but also encouraged composers to create musical settings of religious texts according to criteria that were to some degree independent of particular pastoral or liturgical considerations. The New Russian Choral School subsequently acquired critical mass thanks to significant individual initiatives and institutional changes of the 1880s, among which were the

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publication of Peter Tchaikovsky's liturgical works, 'the appointment in 1883 of Mily Balakirev and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov to head the Imperial Chapel', and the 'reform in 1886 of the Moscow Synodal School of Church Singing, together with the appointment of Vasily Orlov as the chief conductor of the Synodal Choir, and the appointment of three years later of Stepan Smolensky (1848–1909) as the School's director'.

Alliances with contemporary liturgiology and musicology conditioned the subsequent progress of the New Russian Choral School, which reached its apogee prior to 1917 in the work of such associates of the Moscow Synodal School as Smolensky, Rachmaninov, Alexander Grechaninov (1864–1956) and Alexander Kastalsky (1856–1926). These composers crafted musical syntheses of innovation and tradition that were technically more assured and aesthetically more satisfying than the experimental modal harmonisations produced by Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov during the 1880s. In their works one regularly finds seemingly contradictory styles reconciled: traditional chant motives set to late Romantic harmonies, for example, or imitative counterpoint—the sixteenth-century Western style of part-writing then being revived in the Roman Catholic West by the Caecilian Movement with its exaltation of Italian Renaissance composer Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, a composer whose works were studied and performed at the Moscow Synodal School—dissolving into polyphonic textures redolent of Russian folk music in their parallelisms and open sonorities.

23 Morosan, Choral Performance in Pre-revolutionary Russia, 86.
25 The parallels between the Russian New Choral School and other nineteenth-century European attempts at a ressourcement of sacred music deserve further study. For a preliminary look, see Stuart Campbell, "The Russian 'New Direction' in Church Music and Some Parallel Contemporary Movements in Western Church Music," in Russian Liturgical
The Moscow Synodal Choir was dispersed within less than a year after the Communist takeover of Russia. Elements of its educational infrastructure persisted for a while as a People's Choir Academy, within which Kastalsky and a few other members of its staff led a twilight existence cultivating secular and folk music, before it too was abolished and its remnants absorbed into the Moscow Conservatory.\textsuperscript{26} In Petrograd, however, the ensemble originally known as the Imperial Capella fared somewhat despite changes of name that made it People's Choral Academy in 1918 and the State Academic Cappella in 1922.\textsuperscript{27} Musical and institutional continuity at the Capella was provided by the long tenure of Mikhail Klimov (1881–1937), a graduate of the Moscow Synodal School who arrived as its Assistant Director in 1902 and was promoted to Director in 1913, serving in that capacity until 1935. Klimov, as Pauline Fairclough has shown, waged a running battle with Soviet censors over the performance of Christian sacred music, both Western and Eastern Orthodox. Whereas religious works by J.S. Bach, Mozart and Beethoven ultimately maintained a foothold in Soviet concert life, Russian Orthodox church music was eliminated from the


\textsuperscript{26} The demise of the Moscow Synodal School of Church Singing is chronicled by Zvereva, \textit{Kastalsky}: 181–203. See also her article "Aleksandr Kastal'skii: The Fate of a Church Composer at the Turning Point of Two Eras," in \textit{Readings in Russian Religious Culture 4}, ed. Marina Ledkovsky and Vladimir von Tsurikov (n.p.: Foundation of Russian History, 2012), 308–28. Oksana Lukonina places Steinberg's \textit{Passion Week} within the wider context of Russian sacred music as practiced both at home and abroad during the early Soviet period in "О русской духовной музыке," 82–91.

\textsuperscript{27} On the history of what is now known as the Glinka Academic Cappella, see Vladislav Chernushenko and Piotr Levando, \textit{The Kapelle of St Petersburg}, trans. Paul Williams (St Petersburg: Slavia Art Books, 1994); and, for the turbulent period of Steinberg's life, Pauline Fairclough, ""Don't Sing It on a Feast Day": The Reception and Performance of Western Sacred Music in Soviet Russia, 1917–1953," \textit{Journal of the American Musicological Society} 65, no. 1 (2012), 67–111.
reptory during the 1920s. Klimov was required to submit repertoire plans to Narkompros from 1922, leading almost immediately to denial of permission to offer a concert of Russian chant and early polyphony during the Capella's 1922–23 season. An effort by Narkompros in December 1923 to impose a total ban on the public performance of religious music was only partially modified by bureaucratic infighting, causing the Cappella to drop Tchikovsky's *Liturgy* from its repertoire the next year. This process of exclusion culminated in a directive issued by the Chief Committee of Repertoire (Glavrepertkom) of Narkompros in July 1928 explicitly banning Russian choral music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but permitting concerts of sacred works by J.S. Bach so long as they did not coincide with Orthodox liturgical feasts or occur more than twice a year. In the wake of this decree the Capella ceased what had been its nearly annual performances of Rachmaninov's *Vigil*, leaving that work unperformed by a Soviet state ensemble until the 1960s.

The complete prohibition of Russian Orthodox music from concerts in the Soviet Union and the suppression of the Resurrection Circle in Leningrad were but particular manifestations of a new period of intense persecution of the Russian Orthodox Church during the period 1928–32, during which church closures equalled in number those shut over the course of the preceding decade. Yet by that point it had been evident for some years that efforts to cultivate and disseminate the work of the New Russian Choral School could only be sustained abroad. Thus we find Russian emigrants in Europe and America fostering a proliferation of vocal ensembles singing Russian Orthodox repertoire in both worship and concerts, editions of music aimed at the non-Orthodox with translations or paraphrases of the

28 ———, ""Don't Sing It on a Feast Day"," 74.
29 Ibid., 76.
original Church Slavonic texts, new compositions in quasi-Kastalskian styles, and the continuation of pre-Revolutionary scholarship on Orthodox liturgical singing.  

The Composition and Form of Steinberg's Passion Week

Following the death of her husband, Nadezhda Nikolaevna donated a rich archive of her Steinberg's compositions, diaries and correspondence to what is now the Russian Institute of Art History. Among these papers are autograph manuscripts of the choral score and keyboard reduction of Passion Week. Although these autographs include several layers of emendations in ink and pencil by the composer and at least one additional hand, the only traces to be found in them of the work's compositional process are a handful of passages in the choral score in which Steinberg lightly revives chords, adjusts textual underlay, or alters a passing tone. What these manuscripts do supply, on the other hand, is a considerable amount of information about the chronology of the work and the preparation of its Parisian edition, to which they closely correspond.

The choral score Passion Week is copied onto staff paper lacking any indication as to its provenance and consists of a cover enclosing a stack of gatherings. With the exception

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31 The influence of the New Russian Choral School may be seen in the publications and recordings that emerged from the Russian cathedrals of Paris, London and New York, as well as from the St Sergius Theological Institute and St Vladimir's Theological Seminary. A figure who resembled Smolensky in his pursuit of both chant scholarship and chant-based composition was Johann von Gardner (1898–1994). See Ledkovsky and von Tsurikov, Russian Liturgical Music Revival.

32 The Steinberg archive is kept as Fond 28 in the Manuscript Division (кабинет) of the Institute. The current catalogue numbers of the autograph copies of Opus 13 are RUS-SPit., fond 28, op. 3, ed. hr. 1011 (choral score) and ed. hr. 1015 (keyboard reduction).

33 Additional information regarding Steinberg's compositional method might be gleaned from sketches for Passion Week, but I have yet to determine if any such sketches survive.

34 In addition to its catalogue number, the outer cover of the choral score bears the following text "Страстная седмица древних распевов", соч. 13 / Для Большого смешанного хора a
of movements 1 and 2, which are written continuously in a single gathering, each contains a single movement. Steinberg appended to most of the movements notes of their date and place of completion or revision that are summarised in Table 1, from which it can be seen that he worked on *Passion Week* from 1921 to 1923 in both St Petersburg and Taytsy, the site of the Rimsky-Korsakov family's summer home.

When Steinberg finished the first two movements on 6 June 1921, Klimov's Capella was still performing Slavonic chant and a broad range of Russian sacred choral music alongside religious works by Lassus, Bach, Giovanni Gabrieli, Palestrina and Beethoven. Lukonina suggests that his decision to embark on the composition of *Passion Week* in that year was motivated in part by unfortunate contemporary events including the death of the poet Alexander Blok (1880–1921), the execution of the poet Nikolai Gumilyov (the first husband of Anna Akhmatova), and the arrest of his own brother-in-law Vladimir Rimsky-Korsakov. She also sees his turn to chant-based composition as a particular manifestation of a broader renewal of interest in the sacred wellsprings of Russian culture evident in the work of such other artists of the early Soviet period as the painter Mikhail Nesterov and, somewhat later, the writer Boris Pasternak. At all events, Steinberg seems to have dropped the project for some months before 22 December 1921, when he recorded in his diary that he had "again returned to *Passion Week*, but so far it is going very badly; I must once more settle into work." He made some headway in 1922, a year otherwise occupied with the composition of *capella / Хоровая партитура / Автограф / 15/XI-1923 / 28 листов", the last of these items containing a correction to its number of pages.  

35 Fairclough, ""Don't Sing It on a Feast Day"," 73.  
36 Lukonina, "«Страстная седмица» М.О. Штейнберга," 226–27. It should be noted, however, that the deaths of Blok and Gumilyov took place in August of 1921, two months after the completion of "Alleluia" and "Behold the Bridegroom."  
37 "Принялся опять за «Страстную седмицу», но пока идет очень плохо; надо еще втянуться в работу," quoted in Olga Lvovna Dansker, "Из записных книжек М. О.


theatrical music, but it was only in February 1923 that he began to make real progress.

Working movement by movement with some pauses and backward glances for revisions, he finished the entire cycle on 15 November 1923.

We have already noted above that Steinberg's completed Opus 13 conforms to the artistic precepts of the New Russian Choral School and is particularly indebted to Opus 58 of Grechaninov, the only one of the two other Russian choral works to bear the title Passion Week that is of comparable scale and artistic ambition.38 Table 2 shows how Steinberg largely followed Grechaninov in his selection of items from the services for Great and Holy Week in the Byzantine rite. Each picks up the story of Jesus shortly after his arrival in Jerusalem with the Matins of Great and Holy Monday, moves through his betrayal and Passion, and finishes with chants from the vigil of his Resurrection on the eve of Easter Sunday.39 In addition to employing this same dramatic arc progressing from darkness to light, Lukonina observes, both Grechaninov and Steinberg render it musically in a Kastalskian idiom enriched by seventh, ninth, and eleventh chords.40

38 The third is Песнопения на Страстную Седмицу (Chants for Passion Week), op. 35 of 1911 by Alexander V. Nikolsky (1874–1943). It is not formally comparable to the works of Grechaninov and Steinberg, being "not a cohesive cycle," as Rakhmanova notes, "but rather a collection of masterful arrangements of traditional chants for the liturgical services of Passion Week." See her "Passion Week," xxxvi.

39 Although now celebrated on Saturday morning, the Vesperal Divine Liturgy of Holy Saturday is in reality the ancient Paschal vigil. See Gabriel Bertonière, The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 193 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1972), 21–71, 121–39, and 183–94.

Yet there are also significant textual and musical differences between the two Passion Weeks. Grechaninov follows chants from the Bridegroom Matins with four musically and devotionally popular items from the Ninth Hour and Vespers with the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, services that are celebrated throughout Lent in the Byzantine rite. Steinberg, on the other hand, substitutes for these generically penitential chants a pair of hymns from the morning office of Holy Thursday that, with their focus on the betrayal of Judas and the Last Supper, straightforwardly advance the Gospel narrative. Whereas both composers set the Troparion "The Noble Joseph," Grechaninov prefaces it with the dramatically extraneous refrain "The Lord is God and has appeared to us" from the festal ordinary of the Byzantine morning office of Orthros. A similar disparity of in sharpness focus on the mystery of Christ's Passion becomes evident when one compares the penultimate movements of the two works. Consisting solely of refrains shorn of their verses, the twelfth movement of Grechaninov's Opus 58 sets two textually disparate Znamenny chants that in worship would have been separated by an Epistle reading. Steinberg chose only the second of those refrains as the basis of his tenth movement, making the paschal typology of its psalm text explicit by setting it among verses relating scenes from the Resurrection of Christ.

Musically, the two works differ fundamentally in their use of traditional chant. Grechaninov's Passion Week opens with a straightforward setting of Kievan chant, but

41 During rehearsals for Steinberg's Passion Week in April 2014, Vladimir Morosan asked me why the composer reversed the liturgical order of his movements 8 ("The Wise Thief") and 7 ("The Noble Joseph"). One possibility is that the composer did so for dramatic balance, thereby creating an alternation between chants primarily relating the actions of characters in the gospels (Joseph of Arimathea in No. 7 and Jesus speaking to his Mother in No. 9) and hymns culminating in pleas to Christ uttered by their singers in the first person (Nos. 6 and 8).

42 Derived from poetic texts sung between the stanzas (troparia) of the Ninth Ode of the Kanon by St John of Damascus for Easter matins, these verses were sometimes employed in Russia as substitutes for the verses from Psalm 81 (82) prescribed in official liturgical texts.
thereafter appearances of chant melodies are sporadic and often fragmentary, being at times almost indistinguishable from their musical surroundings as they are subsumed into textures shaped, according to Rakhmanova, by Wagnerian techniques and allusions. In sharp contrast, Steinberg based all but one of movement of his Opus 13 on chant quoted, as we noted above, from an authoritative ecclesiastical collection. The vast majority of these melodies he selected from Znamenny chant, the foundational repertory of Russian church singing and much beloved as such by Smolensky and Kastalsky. More sophisticated melodically and rhythmically than their counterparts in the Kievan repertory, these Znamenny chants are almost always clearly audible within their choral textures and Steinberg even crafts his freely composed material to resemble them. By taking this approach to the patrimony of Russian chant, Steinberg comes closest in his aesthetic to that advocated for ecclesiastical composition by Kastalsky and achieved by Rachmaninov in his All-Night Vigil. Compared with its only direct predecessor, Steinberg's Passion Week manifests deep feeling whilst arguably maintaining greater objectivity, tempering also the sonic luxuriance of Grechaninov's late Romantic harmonies with occasional passages of imitative counterpoint and open sonorities mildly spiced with diatonic dissonance.

_The Parisian Edition and Its Reception_

Less than a month later after he had completed his Opus 13, Steinberg notes in his diary on 12 December that "Today I learned from Klimov that all sacred music has been banned, with exception of two classic works. That means there is no hope of hearing Passion

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43 "Passion Week," xxxvi–xxxviii. The exceptions are movements 10 and 12, in which Grechaninov makes their source melodies (taken, respectively, from the Bulgarian and Znamenny repertories of Russian chant) clearly audible throughout.
Week...new values are not created, while the old are humiliated." From these remarks we may conclude that Steinberg all along had been writing his Passion Week for Klimov's Capella, an ensemble which during the period of its composition was actively maintaining the legacy of the Moscow Synodal Choir through its performances of Russian and Western religious music. It must therefore have been due to this disappointment and the absence of viable alternatives in the Soviet Union for its performance that Steinberg turned west to musical circles that had been intersecting with his own ever since 1907. His visit to Paris in 1925 most likely furnished Steinberg with the opportunity to reach an agreement with the émigré firm of Bessel regarding the publication of Passion Week in a trilingual format that would enable it to be performed not only by choirs that were familiar with Church Slavonic, but also by non-Orthodox ensembles accustomed to singing in Latin and English.

Documenting the publication history of the Steinberg's Opus 13 from the perspective of Bessel is unfortunately now probably impossible, for the archives of the émigré publishing firm were destroyed by fire in 1943 during the allied bombing of Leipzig. The autograph manuscripts of Passion Week in St Petersburg, however, reveal that Steinberg was thoroughly involved in the preparation of its Bessel edition. First of all, the piano reduction is copied entirely on staff paper bearing the imprint of "Durand & Cie. 4, Place de la Madeleine

44 "Днем узнал от Климова, что вся духовная музыка запрещена, кроме двух классических вещей. Значит, нет надежды услышать «Страстную седмицу»... новых ценностей не создано, а старые—унизены," notebook of M. Steinberg No. 6 (RUS-SPit., Steinberg Archive, fond 28, op. 3, No. 871), partially cited in Lukonina, "«Страстная седмица» М.О. Штейнберга," 226–27.; and ———, Штейнберг, 83. The crucial opening statement identifying Klimov the source of this unhappy news is from its transcription in Dansker, "Из записных книжек М. О. Штейнберга 1919-1920-х годов," kindly relayed as noted above by Morosan and Rakhmanova.
45 Fairclough, ""Don't Sing It on a Feast Day"," 73.
PARIS." Its musically notated pages are enclosed in a cover with text by several hands that is in written predominantly in Russian (actually Slavonic for its index of movement titles) and English using contrasting inks, but also includes several French and German annotations made in pencil, among which is Bessel's catalogue number for the work (see Figure 1). Additional pencil marks noting the placement of system and page breaks in the Bessel edition occur throughout the piano reduction and choral score. Furthermore, the vast majority of later additions and corrections in pencil or ink that are unique to the choral score relate to preparations for the publication of *Passion Week* in Paris, the most significant of which are the addition of the English translation to the textual underlay and the replacement of Russian musical terms with their French or Italian equivalents. Curiously, there is no sign in the choral score of Bakhtin's Latin translation, suggesting that it may have been added at an even later stage than the English.⁴⁷

Despite Steinberg's intimate involvement in the Parisian publication of his *Passion Week*, I have found little evidence that its Bessel edition was more widely known in Russia. The exception is Andrei Rimsky-Korsakov's 1928 biography of his brother-in-law, which was published bilingually in Russian and German just as the Soviet Union was beginning a new phase of internal repression that severed many of the remaining artistic ties to the West.⁴⁸ Andrei Nikolayevich does not mention Opus 13 anywhere in his main text, but does provide somewhat cryptic entries for it in appendices containing lists of Steinberg's works:


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⁴⁷ Lukonina ("В поисках утраченного," 171) mentions the presence of English and Latin alongside Slavonic in the composer's manuscripts, but I was unable to find any trace of Latin. Unaware of the Paris edition, she interprets the inclusion of translations as a sign that Steinberg was attracted to ecumenical ideals anticipating those advanced by Grechaninov.

⁴⁸ Rimsky-Korsakov, *Steinberg*. 

Whereas most entries for published works in these appendices individually include the name of their publisher, in the case of *Heaven and Earth, Passion Week*, and the two song cycles after Tagore Andrei Nikolayevich simply appends a note to Opus 15 saying that they were published by Bessel and Company of Paris.\(^{49}\)

With the fading in Russia of Steinberg's reputation as a composer his Opus 13 became a nearly mythical forbidden work seemingly known only to musical insiders.\(^{50}\) Abroad, however, *Passion Week* appears to have fared marginally better for a decade or so after its publication. French periodicals of the interwar period record occasions on which selected movements were sung in Latin,\(^{51}\) whilst there are memories of individual movements being performed during the same era in the former Yugoslavia.\(^{52}\) Nevertheless, I have yet to encounter any evidence suggesting that the work was ever performed in its entirety either outside or inside Russia prior to 2014.

\(^{49}\) "Op. 12–15 — издания В. Бессель и Ко. Париж" (p. 20); and "Die op. 12 bis 15 erschienen im Verlag W. Bessel & Co. Paris" (p. 39), in ibid.

\(^{50}\) This is essentially the attitude of Slonimsky, *Заметки*: 10.

\(^{51}\) The *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* of 9 December 1933 lists on page 4 a radio broadcast from the Paris Conservatoire during which the "Association aristique des chanteurs de Lyon" under the direction of M. Vietti presented "Trois vieux chants religieux russes" by "Maximilien Steinberg": *Alleluia, Ecce Sponsus Venit* and *Thalamum tuum video*. The magazine *Le Ménestrel* (Year 96, No. 8 of Friday, 23 February 1934) offers a review on page 73 of a concert given in the Aquitanian town of Pau by the local Schola Saint-Jacques and the visiting parochial schola of Saint-Jean-de-Luz that concluded with "perfectly interpreted" joint performances of "the magnificent *Crucifixus* of Lotti and *Surge Deus* of Steinberg" ("En fin de programme, les deux Scholas réunites interprétèrent à la perfection les magnifiques *Crucifixus* de Lotti et *Surge Deus* de Steinberg."

I thank Mark Powell, my colleague in Cappella Romana, for locating these references.

\(^{52}\) Bogdan Đaković (personal communication, Spring 2013) informed me that 'Чертог твой' enjoyed a certain level of popularity in inter-war Yugoslavia amongst Serbian choirs.
Today the Parisian edition of *Passion Week* is extremely rare. Presumably as a result of the fire that destroyed the Bessel warehouse in Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel is currently unable to locate the work in their archives. Searches of online databases, however, reveal the existence of copies *La Semaine de la Passion* in the Boston Public Library and the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, indicating that at least a few Bessel scores were making their way across the Atlantic. One such score came through unknown means into the possession of Russian-American conductor Igor Buketoff (1915–2001), who was the son of a Russian Orthodox priest (the Very Rev. Constantine Buketoff, who had himself once sung for Rachmaninoff) and a lifelong champion of Russian and contemporary music. His daughter Barbara Mouk relates that Buketoff, having sought for years without success to find an American choir capable of performing Steinberg's Opus 13, enlisted his niece Tamara (née Turkevich) Skvir and her husband, the Very Rev. Daniel Skvir of Princeton, New Jersey to assist with this quest in the late 1990s. The Skvirs, in turn, shared with me an electronic copy of the Bessel edition in the autumn of 2012 when I was a Fellow in Hellenic Studies at Princeton University and attending the Orthodox Chapel of the Transfiguration on its campus, which Fr Daniel serves as pastor and Matushka Tamara as choir director.

Preparation of the present performing edition by Musica Russica and the research behind it were made possible by the generosity of anonymous donors who wished to honour the Skvirs for their many years of service to the Orthodox Church by enabling Cappella

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53 Private email communication with the author, 27 February 2013.
54 A brief account of Buketoff's career is Alan Kozin, "Igor Buketoff, 87, Conductor And Expert on Rachmaninoff," *New York Times*, 11 September 2001. His daughter Barbara Mouk has suggested that he could have received the score from Dmitri Shostakovich in 1957 when the two were guests of Philadelphia industrialist and patron of the arts Frederic Mann at a dinner that included among its other guests Dmitri Kabalevsky and journalist Leonard Lyons. See her "Notes to Steinberg Passion Week," (New York: The Clarion Choir, 2014)
55 Mouk, "Notes to Steinberg Passion Week,"
Romana, the vocal ensemble I founded in 1991, to bring Passion Week to life in concert and on recording. With this support, Cappella Romana commissioned a new performing edition with a phonetic rendering of the Slavonic from Musica Russica, which obtained the necessary publication rights from Breitkopf and Härtel. After travelling to St Petersburg to examine Steinberg's autograph manuscripts of the work in February 2014, on 11 April in Portland, Oregon and the next day in Seattle, Washington I directed Cappella Romana in what we believe to have been the world premiere performances of Passion Week.\textsuperscript{56} The very same April weekend in New York the Clarion Choir offered an open reading of the work from the Bessel score under the direction of Steven Fox, who approximately seven years before had received it from Barbara Mouk. After Cappella Romana recorded Passion Week in July 2014, Mr Fox directed the Clarion Choir in the American East Coast premiere of the work on 28 October of the same year, making a recording of their own in the days immediately following.\textsuperscript{57} It was in this manner that the persistence of Igor Buketoff came at last to fruition, rescuing this beautiful and profound choral from over 90 years of undeserved obscurity and revealing to the world the significant and previously unsuspected contributions of Maximilian Steinberg to the legacy of the New Russian Choral School.

Αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη – Вечная память – Eternal memory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Dates and Places of Completion (if given)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>6 June 1921</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12 March 1922</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5 November 1922 (St Petersburg)/25 July 1923 (Taytsy)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>16 February 1923 [crossed out]</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>23 February 1923 (St Petersburg)/5 July [1923] (Taytsy)</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>20 March 1923</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>21–27 July [1923] (St Petersburg/Taytsy)</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>[no date]</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>20 October–10 November 1923</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>15 November 1923 [date on the cover to the entire collection]</td>
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Table 1
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>'Bridegroom' Orthros of Great Monday–Great Wednesday</strong></td>
<td>1. Аллилуя/Alleluia &amp; Troparion: Се жених грядет / Behold the Bridegroom (Kievan chant)</td>
<td>1. Аллилуя/Alleluia (Znamenny chant)</td>
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<td>2. Exaposteilarion: Чертог твой / Your Bridal Chamber (Kievan chant)</td>
<td>2. Troparion: 'Се жених грядет / Behold the Bridegroom (Znamenny chant)</td>
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<td>3. Exaposteilarion: Чертог твой / Your Bridal Chamber (Kievan chant)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ninth Hour and Vespers with the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts</strong></td>
<td>3. The Beatitudes: Во царствии Твоем / In Your Kingdom</td>
<td>4. Troparion: 'Егда славим ученицы / When the disciples' (Znamenny chant)</td>
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<td>5. Responsory: Да исправится молитва моя / Let My Prayer Be Directed</td>
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<td>6. Great Entrance chant: Ныне силы небесныя / Now the Hosts of Heaven</td>
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<td>7. Troparion (also used alone at Vespers on Great Friday): 'Благообразный Носиф' (Bulgarian chant)</td>
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<td>8. Exaposteilarion: Разбойника благоразумного / The Wise Thief (original composition but employing a chant-like melody)</td>
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<td>9. Canon, Ode 9, Heirmos: 'Не рыдай мене, Мати / Do not Weep for Me, Mother (Znamenny chant)</td>
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<td>10. Response: Бог Господь &amp; Troparion: 'Благообразный Носиф' (Bulgarian chant)</td>
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<td>11. Canon, Ode 9, Heirmos: 'Не рыдай мене, Мати / Do not Weep for Me, Mother (Znamenny chant)</td>
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<td>12. Baptismal Trisagion: Елицы во Христѣ / As many of you who have been baptized into Christ &amp; Psalm Response sung [with verses] in the place of the Alleluia: Воскреси, Боже / Arise, O God (Znamenny chant)</td>
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<td>13. Great Entrance Chant: Да молчит всякая плоть / Let All Mortal Flesh</td>
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<td>14. Responsorial Psalm Sung in Place of the Alleluia: Воскреси, Боже (based in part on Znamenny chant, combining the psalmic refrain with megalyaria (substitute poetic verses) derived from Ode 9 of the Paschal Canon)</td>
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<td>15. Great Entrance Chant: 'Да молчит всякая плоть / Let All Mortal Flesh (Znamenny chant)</td>
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Table 2
ENGLISH TEXT
BY
ROBERT BURNESS

La Semaine de la Passion
Vieux chants religieux russes

Figure 1
Layout of the Title Page of the Autograph Piano Reduction
(RUS-SPit., fond 28, оп. 3, ед. хр. 1015)
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