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Stroganovs' Master of Church-Singing art Faddey Subotin at the Court of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich

Nikolai P. Parfentiev and Natalia V. Parfentieva

South Ural State University

Chelyabinsk, Russian Federation

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Abstract. The authors of the article summarize and study information about one of the outstanding representatives of old-Russian music – Faddey Nikita's son Subotin (ym. 1685). He was known to his contemporaries as a master of the Usol'e (Stroganovs') school of church singing art. This school was one of the leading directions in Russian church music of the 16th-17th centuries. Its appearance and development were connected with Solvychevodsk – the family nest of the Stroganovs, famous Ural-Siberian industrialists and tradesmen. Subotin's father was a landless peasant in their land, and Faddey himself went from the local church servant of the Annunciation Cathedral, the Stroganovs' family church in Solvychevodsk, to a member of the Moscow Commission, that carried out the musical reform, and the tsar's court scribe of corrected singing manuscripts. The Commission, convened at the order of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, included only six of the best theoreticians (didaskalos) of church singing art in Russia. Thanks to Faddey Subotin, in the treatise "Izveshenie" ("Notification ... to those wishing to learn singing"), written by Alexander Mezents on the basis of the work of the Commission, the Usol'e (Stroganovs' school) variants of some neumatic formulas of the Znamenny style singing were recorded. The authors of the article present an overview of the master's artworks. On the example of the most representative of them, the creative principles and techniques of the Stroganovs' raspevshik (chanter and composer) are shown. Based on the material of the chant manuscript, which they introduced into scientific circulation for the first time, the researchers also revealed the Faddey Subotin's methods of chants editing during his work in the Commission. Observations and conclusions about the master's work are based on the study of a wide range of documentary and narrative sources, church singing manuscripts of the 12th-17th centuries. In the course of the study of old-Russian music, the textual structural-formula method developed by the authors of the article is used.

Keywords: old-Russian church singing art, author's creativity, Usol'e (Stroganovs') school, Faddey Nikita's son Subotin.

Research area: culturology

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Строгановский мастер церковно-певческого искусства Фаддей Суботин при дворе царя Алексея Михайловича

Н.П. Парфентьев, Н.В. Парфентьева

*Южно-Уральский государственный университет
Российская Федерация, Челябинск*

Аннотация. В статье обобщены сведения об одном из выдающихся представителей древнерусской церковной музыки – Фаддее Никитине сыне Суботине (ум. 1685). Он был известен современникам как мастер Усольской (Строгановской) школы церковно-певческого искусства, которая была в числе ведущих художественных направлений в русской церковной музыке XVI–XVII вв. Её появление и развитие связано с родовым гнездом знаменитых урало-сибирских промышленников и предпринимателей Строгановых – Сольвычегодском. Отец Суботина был крестьянином-половником (безземельным), а сам он прошел путь от местного дьячка Благовещенского собора, домового храма Строгановых, до члена московской комиссии, осуществившей музыкальную реформу, и придворного государева книгописца исправленных певческих рукописей. В состав комиссии, созданной по повелению царя Алексея Михайловича, входило всего шесть лучших в России теоретиков (дидаскалов) церковно-певческого искусства. Благодаря Фаддею Суботину в трактате «Извещение», написанном по итогам работы комиссии Александром Мезенцем, были зафиксированы усольские варианты распевов некоторых формул знаменного стиля. Авторами представлен обзор произведений, а на примере наиболее репрезентативных из них показаны творческие принципы и приемы строгановского распевщика. На материале певческой рукописи, впервые вводимой авторами в научный оборот, также выявлены приемы редактирования певческих произведений во время работы мастера в комиссии. Наблюдения и выводы о творчестве Суботина основаны на изучении широкого круга документальных и нарративных источников, певческих рукописей XII–XVII вв. В ходе исследования произведений древнерусской музыки применен текстологический формульно-структурный метод, разработанный авторами статьи.

Ключевые слова: древнерусское церковно-певческое искусство, авторское творчество, Усольская (Строгановская) школа, Фаддей Никитин сын Суботин.

Научная специальность: 5.10.1 – Теория и история культуры, искусства

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Faddey Nikita's son (Nikitich) Subotin was the most outstanding representative of the last generation of the old-Russian chant masters from the Usol'e land (mid and late 17th century). For a long time, researchers mentioned two names which were not connected with one and the same person – Faddey Nikitin and Faddey Subotin. Faddey Nikitin was first mentioned by D.V. Razumovsky among the didascaloi who gathered in Moscow at the end of the 1660-s for correcting the chant books (Razumovsky, 1887: 50). Later this name appeared in the list of the scribes who worked at the tsar's court in 1680 (published by: Protopopov, 1977: 121). The name "Faddey Subotin" first appeared in M. V. Brazhnikov's research of the sticheron devoted to the Archistratigus Michael called "Yako chinonachal'nik i posobnik" (As a chief commander and assistant)". The handwritten musical collection of church chants of the 17th century had this sticheron marked "The chant of Faddey Subotin from the Usol'e land" (Brazhnikov, 1976: 28–31, 81).

We found the proof that didascalos and scribe Faddey Nikitin and chant master Faddey Subotin are one and the same person in the znamennyi (neumatic) chant book "Trezvony" dated of the late 17th century. The author of the manuscript left the following remarks: "the book of Faddeika Nikitin", "Faddeiko from Solvychegodsk, Pacheozerye", "Faddeiko Nikitin Subotin" (Fig. 1)¹. The handwriting of this scribe is identical to Faddey Nikitin's handwriting in the state payment documents. Calling himself "from Solvychegodsk, Pacheozerye" the chant master indicates his place of origin.

Faddey Nikitin (Nikita's son) Subotin was born in the Pacheozerskaya volost of the Solvychegodsky uyezd (Pacheozerye of the Solvychegods district) circa 1625. The 17th century documents of that region fixed the old peasant family of the Subotins which was one of the poorest². In the 1620-s in the village Ilinskaya there lived a peasant (*polovnik*) Peotr Sub-

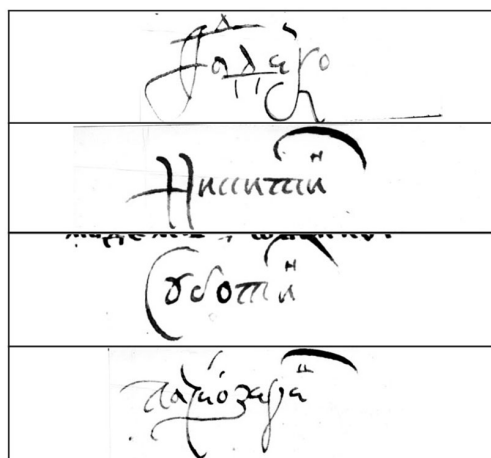


Fig.1. Sheet by sheet record of the scribe of the chant book "Trezvony"

otin who did not have any land and belonged to Stepan Vladimirov from Ustug³. It is a well-known fact that *polovniks* were the peasants who were deprived of their own land and who were to pay back the half of their profit to their owner. Nikita Ivan's son Subotin is also mentioned as a *polovnik*. Till 1639/40 he had a yard in the village Milino; having sold it to the Usol'e tradesperson Grigory Korytov he bought half of the yard near the church of the Archangel Michael and stayed there as a poor landless peasant (*bobyl*)⁴. Nikita Subotin died in 1649/50⁵. Most probably he was the chant master's father. The 1678 book of the village Sekirinskaya in Pacheozerskaya volost mentions the yard of Ivan and Vasyly (Nikita's children) Subotins; they must have been Faddey Subotin's brothers⁶.

We can only guess at present how Faddey Subotin, a peasant's son, managed to become a chant master. Living with his father at the

¹ RGB. F. 199. № 146: 35, 137–140, 176–177; Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1988: 138–149.

² In April 1603, Ivan Mokeev, a resident of Pacheozero, granted the Solvychegodsk Nikolo-Koryazhensky Monastery money and a "bondage mortgage" of 3 rubles on the land of a peasant Emelyan Subotin from the Pacheozersky volost [RGB. F. 178. № 485335: 212–213].

³ RGADA. F. 1209. Inv. 1. № 15039: 123; № 446: 177v; № 449: 184v

⁴ RGADA. F. 1209. Inv. 1. № 451: 191v, 178v

⁵ RGADA. F. 1209. Inv. 1. № 501: 436

⁶ In addition to them, Subotins were rewritten in the same year: Pyotr Avdeev's son and Athanasius Matveev's son as the "monastery employees" of the Vvedensky Monastery; Grigory, Dmitry, Timofey and Ivan Moiseev's children from Slobodinskaya village – as landless-peasants of G.D. Stroganov [RGADA. F. 1209. Inv. 1. № 503: 170v-171, 291v; № 15053: 82v].

church of the Archangel Michael he could have studied reading, writing and having shown musical abilities, – and the basics of Znamenny singing (perhaps, this was the reason of his interpreting the chant devoted to the Archistratigus Michael). Being a talented singer and scribe Faddey must have attracted the Stroganovs' attention. He could have deepened his knowledge in Solvychevodsk at the Stroganovs' masters, served as church chanter, worked in the family scriptorium. According to some sources in 1669 he was a servant in the Usol'e church⁷. By this time Subotin was considered as the best didascalos, the real connoisseur of singing art and the Usol'e traditions. When the tsar demanded one Usol'e master for participating in the preparation of the church singing reform it

it was decided to gather the representatives of large artistic centers for working out the single musical theory and editing musical content of chants for the general chant collection. The First Commission of didascaloi consisted of 14 people and worked in 1552–1554; unfortunately, it failed to carry out all the tasks. It was the time of great diversity in singing – sometimes several singers of the same church could not coordinate their performance⁹. For overcoming this discord and correcting chant books the Second Commission was established to continue the work started by their predecessors.

According to the tsar's order of 1668 Faddey Subotin came to Moscow together with other didascaloi-reformers of Znamenny chant (Fig. 2). This time only six people were present:

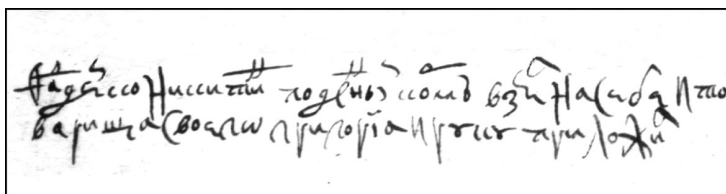


Fig. 2. Subotin's signature in receiving a salary for work in the Second Commission (RGADA. F. 1182. № 68: 99)

was Faddey Subotin who was sent to Moscow (1668).

The reform of the Russian music in the middle of the 17th century was connected with the correction of handwritten chant books. It was of vital importance due to the domination of the “razdel'norechiye” (old type of writing words) which distorted the texts of the chants and made them obscure⁸. Besides the verbal textual parts of the books their musical versions also were greatly in need of reviewing and correcting. It is common knowledge that one and the same notation signs, formulae *popevkas*, *litos* and *fitas* were interpreted differently in different regions of the vast territory of Russia. For unifying the singing practice in the state,

besides Subotin himself there were Alexander Mezenets, Alexander Pechersky, Feodor Konstantinov, Kondrat Larionov and Grigory Nos. These chant masters edited chant books, prepared them for publishing, worked at the musical treatise “Izveschenie” (“Notification ... to those wishing to learn singing”) (Alexander Mezenetz i prochii, 1996).

The presence of Faddey Subotin in the Second Commission allowed Alexander Mezenets, the compiler of the “Izveschenie”, to include in the treatise provisions on the peculiarities of vocal performance of some neumatic (musical) notation signs, formulae and lines of chants in the tradition of the Usol'e (Stroganovs') masters of church-singing school as one of the leading directions of medieval art¹⁰.

⁷ RGADA. F. 1182. № 68: 99.

⁸ There are different points of view regarding the causes and time of the emergence of razdel'norechie (separate speech). For example, see: Razumovskiy, 1867: 63–67; Metallov, 1915: 53–55; Brazhnikov, 1975: 9, 47–48.

⁹ For more details on the causes and course of the reform, for example, see [Parfentiev, 1986: 134–136].

¹⁰ RGB. F. 210, № 12. We have established the presence of Faddey Subotin's handwriting by comparing it with his men-

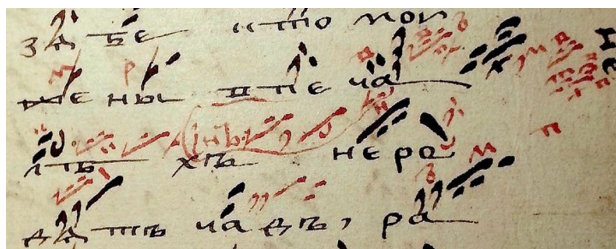


Fig. 3. Razvod of complex neumatic signs with indication of variants [RGB. F. 210, № 12: 20]

However, the characteristics of the master's work in the Commission are also revealed in another source. We recently discovered a collection of chants, one of the handwritings in which is attributed to Faddey Subotin.

Several scribes worked over the collection accelerated as evidenced by the prevailing negligence of writing. But the main editing of the chants' texts was done precisely in the handwriting of the Usol'e master. This manuscript is a draft, working version with editorial revision, which was probably carried out in the course of the work of the members in the Commission. The study of the manuscript will reveal the principles and techniques of editing of verbal and musical texts while maintaining their relationship in the transfer of the semantic content of the artworks.

The handwritten collection was created in the conditions of the implementation of the new system of marks – *priznaki* – black thin small dashes attached to the neumas (in some sections they have not yet been affixed), based on the awareness of the gradual movement of individual sounds of the melody, their pitch, which characterizes the state of art in the transition period to the new European musical system. If Alexander Mezenets in the "Izveschenie" explained the theory of the system of marks and signs using examples of the corrected material from the book "Heirmologion", then Faddey Subotin did this on the materials of the book "Collection of Holidays Sticherons".

We see various techniques of editorial work in the manuscript. The most common way was the writing of "razvod" (explanation) how to sing of complex "ciphered (secretly

closed)" neumas formulas. These explanations were carried out by introducing of simple ("fractional") neumas of *znamenny* notation above the text and in the margins in ink (black) or cinnabar (red), according to which it was only possible to restore the melodic content of the briefly stated "ciphered" complex formulas in main text. Such work sometimes represented a new musical edition of the chant line, which, in relation to the previous one, acted as a light melodic variant, but had to be fixed on the new "istinnorechie" (correct and writing of words in accordance with the pronunciation of the time) of verbal text (Fig. 3). It was necessary to rewrite melodic lines in accordance with corrected verbal texts translated from old "istinnorechie" manuscripts of church singing.

Sometimes variants of "razvod" are given with the designation of famous masters and schools: "Red is of Shaidur (master)", "Red is of Usol'e (school)", "And this is of Yaroslavl' (town)", etc¹¹.

Such variants differ most significantly in novelty. Since they were transferred to edited texts, it is obvious that in practice their local singing was preserved and allowed. This phenomenon is also observed in the "Notification", in which separate "razvods" of formulas and complex neumas are presented in the Usol'e and special "Krestianin" versions, that is, belonging to the outstanding Moscow chanter and *raspevshik* (composer) of the 16th century Fedor Krestianin. It is no coincidence, that, along with "razvods" in his native Usol'e chanting, Faddey allowed the Shaidur and Yaroslavl' variants (Fig. 4, 5). Cinnabar letters (*pometi*), invent-

tioned autographic manuscript [RGB. F. 199. № 146].

¹¹ RGB. F. 210, № 12: 15v, 16, 20, 30, 60 etc.



Fig. 4. Razvod of fita formula in the versions of Usolsky (ink) and Ivan Shaydur (cinnabar) [RGB. F. 210, № 12: 30]

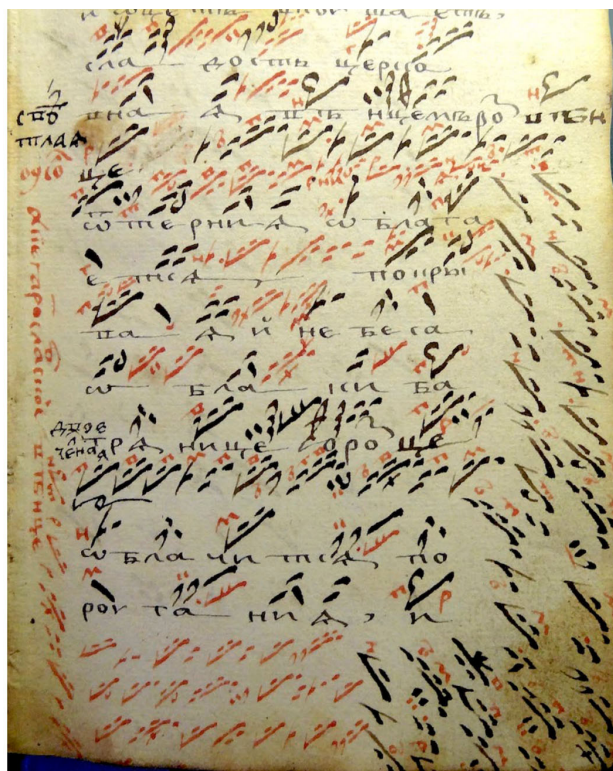


Fig. 5. Razvod of the melody of the fita formula in the Usolsky and Yaroslavl' variants (cinnabar) [RGB. F. 210, № 12: 60]

ed by Novgorodian Ivan Shaydur to indicate the pitch of sounds, were recognized and introduced by the Commission¹², and Kondrat Larionov from Yaroslavl worked as its participant.

¹² The treatise "The Tale of the cinnabar pometi (marks) written in singing" says that the Novgorodian Ivan Akim's son with the "absurd" nickname "Shaidur" was the one to whom "God revealed the meaning of cinnabar pometi " [Parfentiev, 1986: 134–136].

Another method of editing was the inscription above the musical text or in the form of an insert in the margins of the corrected versions of the lines of chants. Sometimes, in comparison with the previous edition, the corrections are very significant, including through the introduction of new formulas – so-named "litso" and "fita", given in secretly closed inscriptions and their *razvods*-

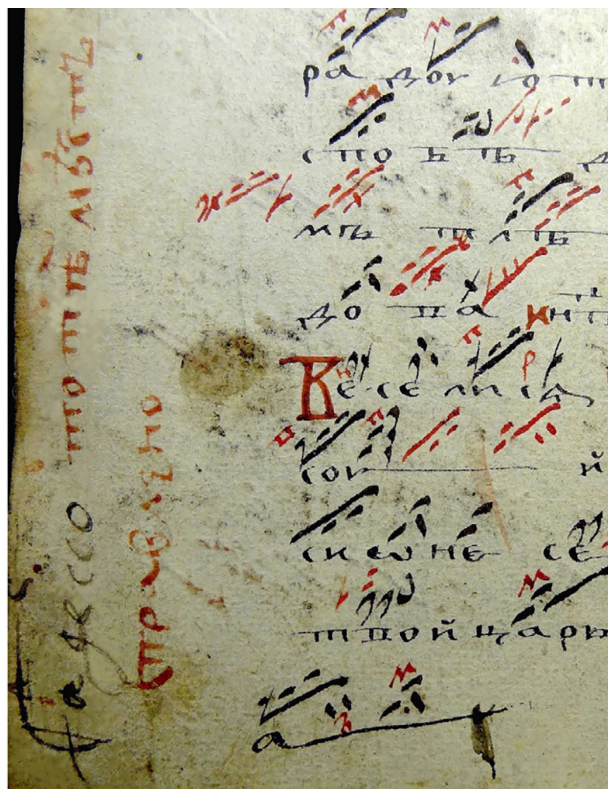


Fig 6. Remark on the margin "Faddeiko" (ink). "Is corrected to this point" (cinnabar)
[RGB. F. 210, № 12: 220v]

explanations¹³. This significantly changed and complicated the musical content of the chants, establishing new accents and connections in the relationship between the tunes and the texts. Separately, the placement of already fully edited texts in the manuscript should be mentioned. Sometimes they are inscribed by Faddey on the free clean part of the sheets¹⁴. But more often this work was done by different scribes¹⁵.

The master marked the stages of his editorial work with postscripts on the sheets of the manuscript: "Faddeiko. Up to those places is corrected" (Fig. 6), "Until those places I did it"¹⁶.

It should be specially noted that the master at the end of the manuscript provides refer-

ence and methodological material to help the chanters – an exercise in mastering the steps of the scale, which is preceded by the subtitle "He who wants to know in singing harmony in this sticheron will easily find sound ascents and descents"¹⁷. This also makes it possible to directly characterize the manuscript as belonging to the final stage of the transition period. Further detailed study of the Faddey Subotin's manuscript, the researching of all the editorial work methods of masters and results obtained by them will allow in practice to carry out a reliable decipherment of the old-Russian Znamennaya neumatic notation, based on the theoretical principles of the reformers.

All in all Faddey Subotin worked in this Commission for 11 months – January–November 1669¹⁸. After November 1669 his name is

¹³ RGB. F. 210, № 12: 26, 27v, 28, 30, 427 etc.

¹⁴ RGB. F. 210, № 12: 427–427v

¹⁵ RGB. F. 210, № 12: 363v–365 etc.

¹⁶ RGB. F. 210, № 12: 220v, 250v, 347v, 351v etc.

¹⁷ RGB. F. 210, № 12: 445.

¹⁸ RGADA. F. 1182. № 68: 99 etc.; Parfentiev, 1986: 134–136.

not mentioned in the Moscow state documents. Apparently, after finishing his work he came back to Solvychevodsk. He did not stay there for long.

In the 1670-s, when Russia felt the strong influence of the Western European musical system (*part-singing "partesny" stile*), the Stroganovs' choir of chant masters was transformed into the choir of *vspevaks* (Malorossiya singers) (Parfentiev, 1983: 37–46). Not all Usol'e chant masters, however, followed this new *partesny stile* tradition. It was not easy for old singers like Faddey Subotin to master the new art of singing. Thus, this was the main reason why chant master Faddey Subotin left Solvychevodsk in the middle of 1670-s and came to Moscow. Here alongside the new choirs of *vspevaks* the main Russian choir was preserved. It consisted of the tsar's singing diaki who continued to sing old Znamenny chants during official ceremonies and church services in the new edition. Znamenny chanting still remained at that time the official musical system in Russia.

In Moscow Faddey Subotin who showed himself to good advantage was employed for the state service. His name is mentioned in the payment document of the singing diaki who served at the court of Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich (1675/76–1676/77). At the end of this document one can find the names of three chant masters – Faddey Subotin, Aleksey Nikiforov and Efim Bogdanov. All the three later were called masters of "*narechnoe*" or in other words "*novo (new) istinnorechnoye*" (corrected according to the pronunciation of the words at that time) singing. Their main duty was to teach young diaki to master this manner of singing. Apparently, since the start Faddey Subotin performed the function of a teacher and was not a singing diak¹⁹; he could also combine these two functions (like Aleksey Nikiforov).

At the end of the 1670-s he was the chief scribe of the *narechnoe* singing, though he was known as a master of *narechnoe* singing.

¹⁹ In the document in which people signed for receiving salary between the names of the singing diaki (chanters of the tsar's choir) and the indicated masters, a place was left. Most likely, a subtitle is missing here, which is typical for records from other years: "The master's of *narechnoe* singing [RGADA. F. 396. Inv. 1. № 17440: 16].

The scribes were busy copying the edited chant books for the tsar choir and the music library as far as book printing was not started yet. Ordinary scribes at that time had a yearly salary of 10 or 7 roubles plus food money per day (10 *dengas*). Faddey Subotin's salary was different and equaled the payment of the best singing diaki from the tsar's choir; annually he had a salary of 15 roubles, he got money for food – 11,4 roubles and "slavlenoe" (additional payment) – 2 roubles, all in all – 28,4 roubles plus the money for clothes – 5 roubles²⁰. The document issued by the Great Palace in 1681 unexpectedly ordered to stop giving money to the chant master and only in December, 20, 1682, another document ordered to pay him all the money for the previous and current years and "continue paying him as his dismissal was unfair"²¹. We do not know what exactly Faddey Subotin was accused of, but he was acquitted and continued getting his payment. Since September 1685 the master again stopped getting the salary. The order dated October, 19 relieved him of his post and cancelled all the payments. The total sum of Faddey Subotin's salary was enough for the salary of two *krestovyye* diaki – Semeon Krivskoy and Matvey Mogilevsky²². Later documents do not mention the master's name; apparently, he died in September, 1685²³.

It should be noted that the Inventory of the tsar music library (1682), which included the handwritten books of *narechnoe* singing, Znamenny, Three-line, Demesvenny and other interpretations, does not mention the names of the scribes of *narechnoe* singing. It mentions only the names of tsar singing diaki and other nonprofessional scribes, who, in all likelihood, left notes in the chant books and "notebooks" they wrote. Thanks to this circumstance these names got into this Inventory. Staff scribes, as

²⁰ RGADA. F. 396. Inv. 1. № 18454: 10–11; Inv. 2. № 122: 24; № 125: 52; etc.

²¹ RGADA. F. 396. Inv. 1. № 20626: 1–4; Inv. 2. № 122: 24; № 124: 32v

²² RGADA. F. 396. Inv. 2. № 128: 50.

²³ As a rule, the salaries of "different ranks of people" were abolished in connection with their death. In the period from 1680 to 1685, scribes of "narechnoe singing" worked together with Faddey Subotin: Potap Maksimov, Ivan Ivanov, Ivan Matveev, Stepan Dmitriev, Kirill Chashkin (until 1684), Andrei Mikhailov (until 1682), Vasily Drovnnin (since September 1682), Timofei Stepanov (since September 1684).

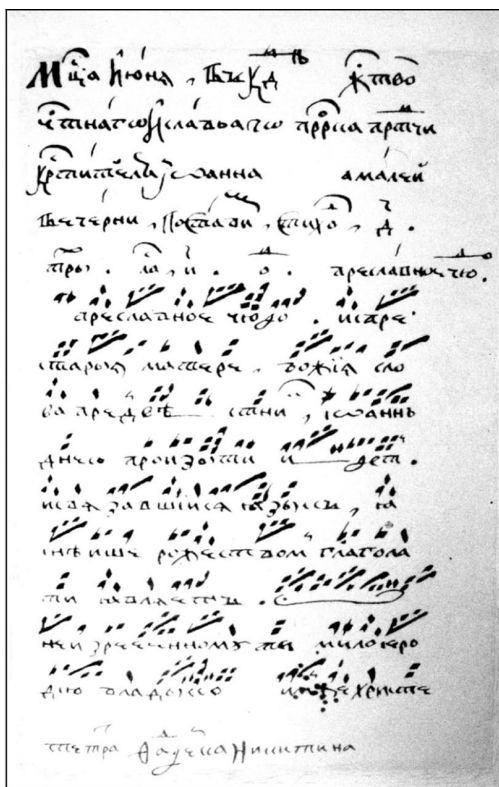


Fig 7. Chant book "Trezvony" written by Faddey Subotin. Sample of his cursive [RGB. F. 199. № 146: 35]

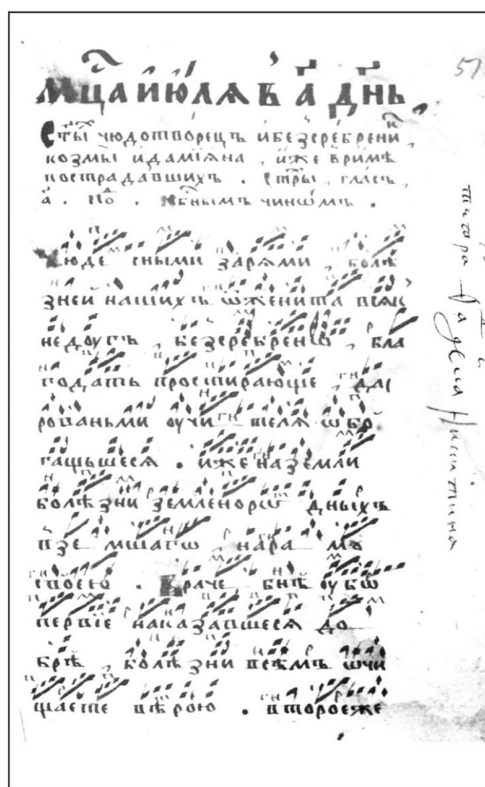


Fig 8. Chant book "Trezvony" written by Faddey Subotin. Sample of his cursive semi-charter [RGB. F. 199. № 146: 51]

a rule, did not sign their manuscripts (or did it very rarely), which are considered as the result of their ordinary paid work. Faddey Subotin's book with his remarks on the margins was created by him not for the tsar's library. It is written not in the semi-uncial style but in careless cursive writing. The samples from this book can be used for identifying other manuscripts written by Faddey Subotin.

The above-mentioned collection "Trezvony" contains chant cycles for selected Holidays (except the Twelve Major Holidays) and significant Saints. The master compiled and copied it for himself after his work in the Second Commission. The text of the manuscript is of the new *narechnoe* or in other words new *istinnorechny* (true-verbal) edition. A great amount of works is recorded according to the new rules: without *pometi* (cinnabar signs), but with *priznaki*, which were introduced for fa-

cilitating of the printing process of Znamenny books. More than half of the cycles are devoted to Russian Saints and Great Holidays. Here we come across sticherons and doxastikons dedicated to princes Vladimir, Boris and Gleb, Tsarevich Dmitry, St. Sergius of Radonezh, Kyrill Belozersky, Prokopy from Ustug etc. Some chants are given in two musical variants ("another interpretation"). The chant master inserted his own interpretation of the initial line in the doxastikon dedicated to the Vladimir Icon of the Mother of God and left his sign on the margin: "Faddey's"²⁴.

The works signed by the name of this outstanding Usol'e master were widespread in the late 17th century (during his stay in Moscow). They can be found in the manuscripts of that time though in Usol'e land itself some of them may have sounded even earlier.

²⁴ RGB. F. 199. № 146: 179.

The sticheron “Yako chinonachal’nik i posobnik” (“As a chief commander and assistant”) in Faddey Subotin’s interpretation was found by M. V. Brazhnikov in one of the chant collections²⁵. This chant is a doxastikon which finishes the succession of stichérons sung at Vespers and dedicated to the Archangel and Archistrategos Michael, who was greatly worshipped in Russia. The Cathedral of the Archangel in the Moscow Kremlin was the burial place for Great princes and Russian tsars. Great cathedrals were erected in honour of this Saint: in Ustug the Great, in Arkhangelsk and other cities. Tsar Ivan IV created the literary artworks – “Kanon to the Terrible Angel and Voivode” and “The prayer to Jesus Christ and Archangel Michael”.

But if the appeal of the Tsar Ivan the Terrible to the image of the “Terrible Voivode Michael” of higher powers is justified by the idea of deifying tsar power (St. Michael is the representative of God in heaven, and the Tsar of All Russia – on earth), then what brought to life the chant, dedicated to the Archangel, written by plain man and peasant by birth, Faddey Subotin? (Panchenko, Uspenskiy, 1983: 70). Perhaps, the reason was in his past when he lived with his father at the church of Archangel Michael in Pacheozerye. Here Faddey started to study the art of singing. The Terrible Voivode of higher powers reigned over his heart since childhood. During the days of the Patronal Holydays of the church – the Day of Miracle (September, 22) and the Synaxis of St. Michael the Archangel (November, 8) he heard the doxastikon “As a chief commander and assistant” in the local interpretation. In the late 16th century, there appeared a chant of Bolshoy (Great) style of this doxastikon. It can be found in the Stroganovs’ manuscripts²⁶. This very musical version served the base for Faddey Subotin’s variant.

The chanting of this doxastikon existed for six centuries before it was interpreted by Faddey Subotin. The majority of the handwritten copies dated of the 12th – early 15th centuries contained more or less common unified *typovoy* (old type) chant. In the record, it is a chain

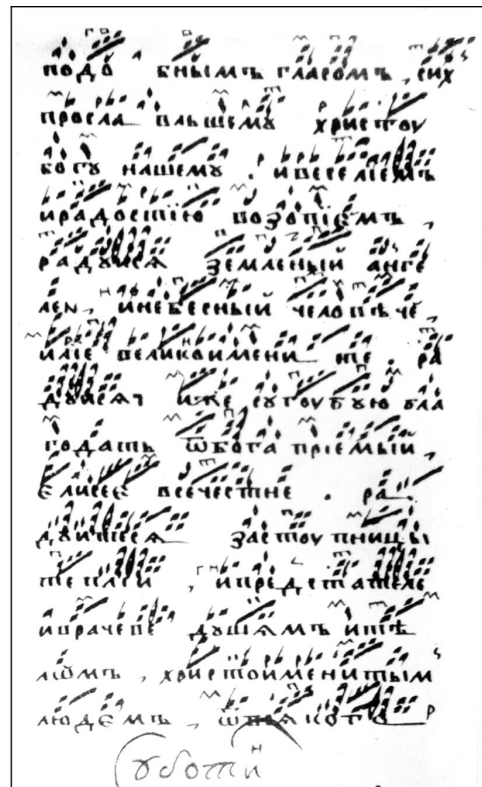


Fig 9. Book of chants "Trezvony" written by Faddey Subotin. Sample of half charter [RGB. F. 199. № 146: 177]

of brief encrypted neumatic “*nachertaniya*” (drawings) of formulae with varying degrees of encryption or secret closure. There also exist copies which differ from the *typovoy* variant by the neumatic structure. Consequently, already at the initial period of its musical history, the sticheron under study had various musical and graphic incarnations, suggesting complex melismatic chanting. (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 211–212). Thus, some musical variants of the doxastikon appeared in the old times.

It is worth mentioning that from time to time the verbal text of the sticheron underwent some changes. Since its appearance and till the Second Commission of the didascaloi (1669–1670) the chant started with the words: “As a commander chief and defender”, after the Commission it started with the words: “As a commander chief and assistant”. At the beginning of the 15th century the Archangel’s name

²⁵ RNB. Titov. № 657: 22v-25. Brazhnikov, 1976: 28–31

²⁶ BRAN. Strog. № 44: 973.

appeared in the phrase “old Archistrategos”: “old Michael Archistrategos”²⁷.

With the reform of the chant texts of the late 15th century we saw the development of a new type of chanting which was in use till the early 17th century. It differs from the previous one in the following: it has no special signs called “*martirii*”; it contains a completely different, new neumas system, there are no old neumes close to the *kondakar* ones; formulae are written in a new way often including *fitas* drawings. The new *typovoy* record presents a Znamenny composition consisting of *popevkas*, *litsa* and *fita* formulae; (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 212–213).

Interestingly enough that the manuscripts from the Stroganovs' scriptorium dated the late 16th – early 17th centuries also contain records of the new chant in neume notation²⁸. One of the collections, though, has the following remark on the margins: “Written by *razvod* after the month of August”. In fact, there exists the variant of the chant with the explanations of formulae with help of *razvods*²⁹. We deal here with the earliest known experience of transferring the musical content of the doxastikon with simple fractional neumes. The uniqueness of this written variant is connected not only with its early appearance but also with its original interpretation of formulae (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 213).

So, the *typovoy* variant of the chant dated the late 15th century became the base for the chant interpretations of the turn of the 16th – 17th centuries. All of them correlate on the level of inner-formula melodic variability. At the same time the text of the doxastikon “As a commander chief and defender” was interpreted in two ways. The first was found in the Stroganovs' manuscript in the *Putevoy* style notation³⁰. The second was created on the base of the *typovoy* chant and is much shorter³¹. The 17th century

witnessed the search for new musical expressive means.

Faddey Subotin committed himself to creating the new interpretation of the chant after his work in the Second Commission. Apparently, the verbal text of the sticheron was translated from Greek for the second time. The old system was transformed into the new one. The translation consisted now of 51 words (the old variant had 48 words); 16 words were replaced by their synonyms, e.g.:

The old variant (Razdenorechie)	The new variant (Istinnorechie)
<i>Яко чиновачальник и забрало (Yako chinon- achal'nik i zabralo);</i>	<i>Яко чиновачальник и пособник (Yako chinonachal'nik i posobnik);</i>
<i>Недуго и злыхо грехово свободи (Nedugo i zlykho grekhovo svobodi).</i>	<i>Болезни и лютых бед свободи (Bolezni I lutykh bed svobodi).</i>

The comparison of Subotin's variant with all the above-mentioned previous artworks shows that it is the closest one to the chant presented in the Stroganovs' collection of the late 16th century. The records of both chants preserve the formulae and their succession; they are almost identical in extensive musical *razvods*. The previously encrypted brief neumatic “*nachertaniya*” (drawings) of formulae have been transformed; they are now given in the form of long *razvods* with simple fractional neumes. This is evidence of the master's adherence to the Usol'e school of singing. At the same time Faddey Subotin did not copy the Stroganovs' manuscript. He uses interchangeable neumes, replaces complicated signs by simple ones and therefore, gives a slightly different sounding to the chant. The variants also differ by the fragments connected with the change in verbal subtext (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 214–215). All the introduced changes were inevitable as far as both chants are divided by one hundred years.

So, while chanting the newly translated verbal text of the doxastikon “As a chief commander and assistant” Faddey Subotin showed himself not as the *raspevshik* (composer) of a completely new musical work, but as an edi-

²⁷ RGB. F. 304. № 499: 31–31v

²⁸ BRAN. Strog. № 44: 13v; GIM. Edinov. № 37: 301; RNB. Kir.-Bel. № 586/843: 331; RNB. Pogod. № 380 (1601 r.): 494v.

²⁹ BRAN. Strog. № 44: 973.

³⁰ RNB. Kir.-Bel. № 618/875: 4v-5.

³¹ BRAN. Osn. 32.16.18: 8–8v; Vyat. № 9: 14v; IRLI. Tselepi. № 20: 204–205v; RGB. F. 299. № 154: 416–416v; etc.

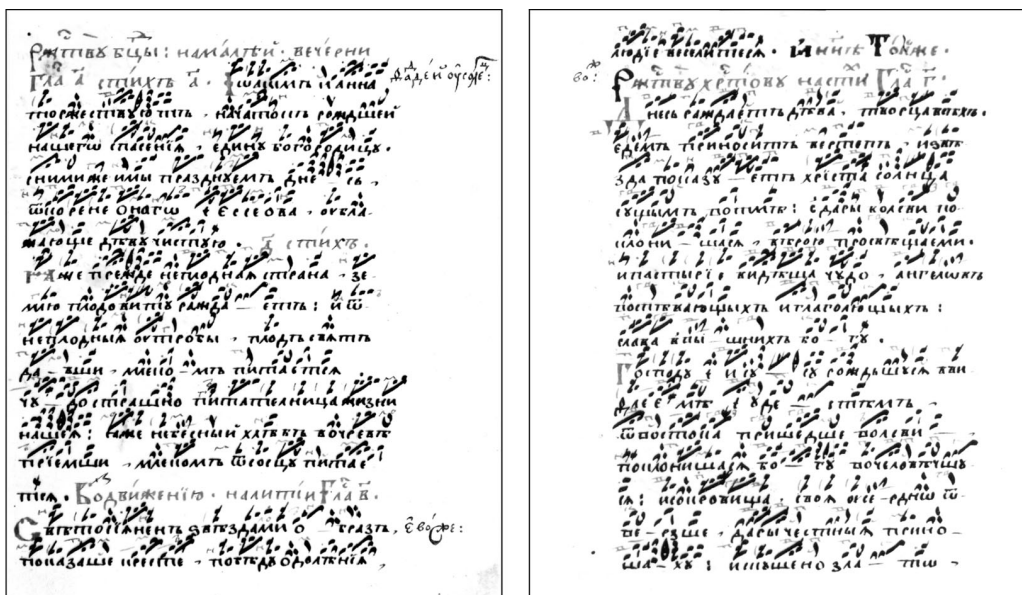


Fig 10. “Faddey from Usol’e”. Sticheron for Great Holidays [GIM. Uvar. № 771: 218, 219v]

tor of an already existing one. In his chant, the master followed the tradition of secretly closed “nachertaniya” (drawings) of formulae singing, that had developed in his homeland, in Usolye Stroganovs’ land. He valued the local tradition and consolidated it in the new version of the chant as the closest to himself. The mastery of Subotin manifested itself in the ability to preserve the Usol’e musical version as a whole, in spite of considerable changes in the verbal text.

Besides the above-mentioned doxastikon there exist six more sticheron related to Faddey Subotin. They were found by authors of the article in the late 17th century manuscript. The texts of these chants belong to the new verbal system (*novoistinnorechie*); they are recorded by means of the stolpovoy Znamenny notation with *pometry* and *priznaky*. All this proves that these chants, most likely, gained recognition while Faddey Subotin was working in the Second Moscow Commission and served as the tsar’s scribe of chant books. Subotin’s chants were found in the collection which contains the Heirmologion and the Great Holidays, as well as some selected chants. In the last section one can find six sticheron marked: “By Faddey

from the Usol’e land”, “Him (Faddey’s) interpretation”³². In this book in the section “The Great Holydays” the same sticheron are presented without any reference to their authors. Consequently, the compiler of this collection considered these “anonymous” chants as traditional ones. In terms of their musical content these chants differ from Subotin’s works and are recorded in a different way. One can find similar initial and final elements. The study of these “anonymous” and other variants of these chants lets us analyze the peculiarities of the Usol’e master’s art.

The chants “Ioakim i Anna torzhestvuyut” (“Ioakim and Anna are rejoicing”) and “Yezhe prezhde neplodnaya strana” (“If earlier the barren land”) were performed at «Gospodi vozzvakh» (The Lord has called) in the first *echoi* (mode) on the nativity of the Virgin Mary. The earliest musical text of these sticheron was found in the late 16th century manuscripts from the Stroganovs’ scriptorium. The remark says: “On September, 7, on the eve of the nativity of the Virgin Mary. Podobnen (mode) is “Nebesnim chinom” (Heavenly order)”³³.

³² GIM. Uvar. № 771: 218–220.

³³ RNB. Kir.-Bel. № 586/843: 226v-227.

Thus, there was an old tradition in the Usol'e land to sing these sticherons during the services dedicated to the nativity of the Virgin Mary. All the rest texts of these chants known to us are dated of the second half of 17th century³⁴.

While comparing the Usol'e tradition sticherons from the Stroganovs' collection and in the chanting of Subotin we found out that Usol'e master in his compositions preserved the formulae fund from the Usol'e analogous chants. But Faddey Subotin did not follow the order of the formulae of the early Usol'e chants. The novelty of his artworks lies precisely in the fact that in them he completely departed from the arrangement of formulae order given in the Usol'e version. Similar fragments are rather an exception here. On the whole, there is a discrepancy between musical formulae affixed over the same words of the hymnographic text (16, p. 216–219). (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 216–219).

The structural organization of Faddey Subotin's chants and those anonymous (traditional) variants of the same sticherons is based on the common principle of textual and melodic correspondence of the lines. All of the authors wanted to bring new melodic content into each line of the chant avoiding the repetition of the rhythmic and intonation formulae. An interesting example here is the usage of the formulae – *fita prelozhitel'naya*. Faddey Subotin uses it to mark the new phase in the development of the form thus dividing his chants into two parts. The presence this *fita*, which have a developed inner-syllabic chanting, significantly prolongs, increases the length of the initial lines of each of parts in his sticherons. The subsequent lines create the balance with the initial ones due to the absence of extensive inner-syllabic fragments. This is the principle of structural similarity of each part in Faddey's sticherons. Using *fita* as basic elements of the form the master created a well-balanced artwork and united its large parts by means of common structure. The anonymous chants do not demonstrate such logic. *Fita* formulae are used here not as key moments of the form development but rather

for decoration purposes (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 219–222).

The following second mode sticherons related to Faddey Subotin are called “Svetosyanen zvezdami” (“Shining by the stars”) and “Vospleshchem dnes” (“Let's give our Lord a hand now”). They were performed during the *Litia* dedicated to the Exaltation of the Cross. These chants (of the fourth mode, though) existed in the 12th century³⁵. At the turn of the 16th – 17th centuries they became widely spread in the second mode. The sticherons extremely similar to Subotin's ones were found in the early 17th century manuscripts, containing, as a rule, Usol'e chants.

Faddey Subotin as a member of the Second Commission corrected the chants according to the new rules. He brought the tunes of the sticherons into line with *istinnorechie* text. The editing work of the didascalos was connected with the introduction of slight changes in the *podvods* (some neumes in front of the formula itself) of *popevkas*, while maintaining the archetypes of *popevkas* as well as the structure of melodic lines in general. The replacement of the archetype of *popevkas* is a rare phenomenon which can be traced only once in each of the sticherons. It was done due to the master's desire to melodically diversify the cadence sectors of the lines. The variant change of the *popevka* archetype is a rare thing as well (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 223–224).

The sticherons edited by Subotin and the anonymous ones from the same manuscript are different pieces of music. It can be said with a high degree of confidence that the chants of the Usol'e tradition served the material for master's variants. It is no mere chance that the corrected works are attributed to “Faddey from the Usol'e land”. One way or another, these sticherons are an example of Faddey Subotin's work in Second Commission as didascalos on singing books correction.

The third mode sticherons “Dnes' rozhdayet Deva” (“The Virgin Mary is giving birth to the baby now”) and “Gospodu Iisusu rozhd'shushya” (“To the birth of Jesus Christ”) also belong to Faddey Subotin's chanting. They were performed on Christmas at the Great Ves-

³⁴ RGB. F. 379. № 63: 33 (1st variant), 48 (2nd and 3rd); RNB. Q.1.458: 1–2v.

³⁵ BRAN. Osn. 34.7.6: 13–14; RNB. Q.п.I.15: 20v-21.

pers. As a rule, in the 14th – 16th centuries the text of the first sticheron was performed in the 8th mode, of the second – in the 2nd mode. The manuscript dated 1422 contains these sticherons in the 3rd mode (like in Subotin's variant)³⁶. Their study shows that the Usol'e master – the connoisseur of the *narechnoe* or new *istinnorechie* singing – edited the texts of his own sticherons following the tradition of old *istinnorechie*³⁷. The musical neumatic content of Faddey Subotin's works differs from the old one. It should be noted that the first sticheron is closer to the one of the early 17th century, when the last was reappeared in the 3rd mode.

The comparison of musical content of Faddey Subotin's sticherons and anonymous ones from the same manuscript proved that these works greatly differ. We can trace the discrepancy between the melodic content of the matching musical lines with the same verbal text (similarity can be found in the initial and final lines). *Fita* formulae are absent in the anonymous chants whereas the Usol'e master uses them enriching the chanting. Finally, the choice of formation means is also different. Thus, Faddey Subotin's chants are characterized by *fitas*; the repetitions of the same formulae in the analogous fragments of the form; the increase in the sound zone, coinciding with the beginning of new parts. All this is absent in the anonymous chants (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 224–225).

Besides, the structural division of the musical material in all the sticherons of the Usol'e master closely correlates with the content of verbal text. The beginning of each new phase of the figurative-semantic development of the text is emphasized constructively by musical means of shaping. The latter ones perform the seman-

tic function as well. Faddey Subotin managed to create the chant underlining the significant moments of the verbal text. His the most favourite technique was the usage of *fita* formulae to emphasize words that are important in figurative and semantic terms. The master has good command of other emphatic means of the text.

He is at his best in the final part of the sticheron “The Virgin Mary is giving birth to the baby now”. Filling the final line of the chant with the sounds of the highest pitch of the Znamenny style the master conveys the message of the phrase “Слава в вышних Богу” (“Glory to God in the highest”). The chant finishes at this culmination point. The anonymous chant master does the same with the words of the previous line “Ангелов воспевающих” (“Glorifying the angels”) and in our opinion he is inferior to Faddey in the depth of the transfer of liturgical text semantic content. (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 226).

The revealed methods of shaping chants and means of revealing the figurative and semantic content of the liturgical text were not invented by Faddey Subotin “personally”. But the nature of the use of these techniques in his works testifies that master developed them in his own, individual manner. Subotin's sticherons present a single unity. The dynamics of the melody development and the logic of the formation are really impressive. They demonstrate the Usol'e master's ability to emphasize and convey the message of the text with the help of musical expressive means.

Faddey Subotin as an editor, scribe and chant master left an indelible mark upon the book-writing culture of old Russia. His brilliant mastery makes him one of the most eminent old-Russian *raspevshiks* – composers. His artistic activities and creative works present a new page in the history of Russian medieval culture.

³⁶ RNB. Pogod. № 45: 71v.

³⁷ In the first sticheron the last line, which was present in all pre-reform records, was excluded.

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BRAN – Library of Academy of sciences of Russian, St. Petersburg

GIM – State Historical Museum, Moscow

IRLI – Russian literature institute (Pushkin house), St. Petersburg

RGADA – Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts, Moscow

RGB – Russian State Library, Moscow

RNB – Russian National Library, St. Petersburg