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The Rediscovery of Zakaria Paliashvili's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*¹

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Zakaria Paliashvili

Celebrated as one of the fathers of Georgian classical music, Zakaria Paliashvili (1871-1933) is a figure of national stature within his own country but little known to the rest of the world. He is credited as composer of the Georgian national anthem as well as several of the country's most treasured national operas, and is buried on the grounds of the Tbilisi Opera House, opened in 1851, which now bears his name.

Paliashvili's setting of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (published in 1909) has been called a work of "overwhelming spiritual power and beauty."² It fell

into obscurity soon after the Russian Revolution and was not performed again in the original Georgian language until as recently as 2010.³

The score consists of twenty-two sections for SSATTB chorus with parallel texts printed in classical Georgian and Church Slavonic, and it combines traditional Georgian chant melodies with European harmonization.⁴ [Figure 1 on the next page shows the order of sections as published in the score.] In a style similar to Tchaikovsky and others, Paliashvili includes only the choral parts of the service (omitting the clerical exclamations); his setting is unique, however, in that it incorporates material from outside the liturgy. "To Thy Cross" (No. 6) and "Christ is Risen From the Dead" (No. 22) are hymns sung during the Feast of the Cross or at Easter, while "You Are the Vineyard" (No. 18) is a popular paraliturgical hymn

¹The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is the most common form of the Divine Liturgy of the Eastern Orthodox Church, as central to worship as the Mass in Roman Catholicism. St. John Chrysostom was appointed patriarch of Constantinople in 398 CE. Known for his eloquence, he was given the nickname "Chrysostom," meaning "golden mouth." For more information see *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Chrysostom, John," and s.v. "Divine Liturgy (Byzantine)," accessed July 12, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

²Ivan Moody, *Gramophone Magazine*, May 1996, 104. This quote is from a review of a 1996 recording of excerpts of the work performed in Church Slavonic. It is by Russian performers and reflects a Russian, rather than Georgian, performance tradition. The reviewer went on to say, "This must count as one of the most deeply impressive recordings of liturgical (and indeed, any other) music it has been my privilege to hear." The recording is still available: Zakaria Paliashvili, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, Cantus Music Ensemble, Ludmilla Arshavskaya, Director, recorded 1996, Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga Musica, compact disc.

³In 2010 independent efforts in the Netherlands and Washington D.C. produced performances of the *Liturgy* in the Georgian language, using separate performing editions derived from the original 1909 score. Unaware of the undertaking in the Netherlands, Rusudan Tsurtssumia, the Director of the International Research Center for Traditional Polyphony (IRCTP) at the Tbilisi Conservatory said she believed the Washington D.C. performance in June 2010 was the first time Paliashvili's *Liturgy* had been performed in Georgian since before the Bolshevik revolution.

⁴The authors relied on two identical copies of Paliashvili's published *Liturgy* for this article: 1) a paper version (minus the cover page) provided by Vladimir Morosan, which he obtained from microfilm at the Lenin Library, Moscow; and 2) an electronic facsimile of the 1909 score provided by Rusudan Tsurtssumia, Director of the IRCTP. The year of publication is typically given as 1909, although the first edition is undated. The timeframe of publication would have been between October 1909, the date of the Foreword, and December 25th, 1910, the date of an inscription to the composer's uncle on the cover of a copy housed at the Paliashvili birth museum in Kutaisi. Parker Jayne prepared his own edition for the 2010 performance in Washington D.C. by the Capitol Hill Chorale. A more recent performance by the Capitol Hill Chorale in June 2014 was professionally recorded. For more information contact parkerj100@aol.com.

No. 1	The Great Litany; Bless the Lord, O My Soul; Glory to the Father; Little Litany <i>[K'vereksi-didi da mtsire; Ak'urtkhvis sulī chemi; Dideba da ats' da; Mkholid shobili]</i>
No. 2	In Thy Kingdom <i>[Sasupevelsa shensa]</i>
No. 3	Come Let Us Worship; O Lord, Save the Righteous <i>[Movedit taqvani vstset; Upalo atskhovne da skhva]</i>
No. 4	Holy God <i>[Ts'midao ghmerto]</i> (version 1)
No. 5	Holy God <i>[Ts'midao ghmerto (sopronisa)]</i> (version 2)
No. 6	To Thy Cross; As Many As Have Been Baptized <i>[Jvarsā shensa; Raodenta krist'es mier]</i>
No. 7	Prokeimenon (responsorial psalm or canticle) in 8 tones <i>[Ts'ardgomebi k'virisa, rva khma]</i>
No. 8	Alleluia; Augmented Liturgy <i>[Allilua; Dideba shenda upalo]</i>
No. 9	Litany for the Departed <i>[K'vereksi-mitsvalebultatvis]</i>
No. 10	Cherubic Hymn <i>[Romelni kerubinta]</i>
No. 11	Litany of Supplication; Father and Son <i>[Mogvmadleni; Mamasa da dzesa]</i>
No. 12	I Believe <i>[Mrts'amsi]</i>
No. 13	Mercy of Peace; Holy, Holy, Holy <i>[Ts'qaloba mshvidoba; Ts'midao, ts'midao]</i>
No. 14	We Praise Thee <i>[Shen gugalobt]</i>
No. 15	It is Fitting <i>[Ghirs ars ch'eshmarit'ad]</i>
No. 16	Our Father <i>[Mamao chveno]</i>
No. 17	Praise the Lord from the Heavens <i>[Akebdit upalsa tsatagan krist'esi]</i>
No. 18	You Are the Vineyard <i>[Shen khar venakhi]</i>
No. 19	Blessed Is He That Comes; We Have Seen the Light; Let Our Mouths Be Filled; In the Name of the Lord <i>[K'urtkheul ars momavali; Nateli ch'eshmarit'i; Aghavse p'iri chveni; Sakhelita uplisata]</i>
No. 20	Blessed Be the Name of the Lord; Most Pious <i>[Iqavn sakheli uplisa da skhva; Uk'etilmsakhuresi]</i>
No. 21	Many Years <i>[Mravalzhamier (guruli)]</i>
No. 22	Christ is Risen From the Dead <i>[Krist'e aghsdga mk'vdretit]</i>

Figure 1: Table of Contents, Paliashvili, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, 1909
[Transliterations of the original Georgian titles appear in italics]

to the Theotokos (Virgin Mary) used in festal services and Georgian weddings.⁵ Experts believe that the final two numbers were reversed in printing and should be exchanged in performance. This observation is corroborated in the Foreword to Paliashvili's setting, where the composer refers to "Christ is Risen From the Dead" as No. 21 rather than No. 22. Thus, if all numbers are to be performed, "Many Years" should be sung at the conclusion.

Paliashvili was following trends already prevalent in Moscow when he published and arranged traditional Georgian liturgical melodies for large mixed chorus. His efforts succeeded in establishing Georgian chant on the international performance scene, and contributed to the nationalist endeavor to preserve Georgian chant for future generations.

Education and Influences

Paliashvili's early years and education combined a variety of cultural influences, both Georgian and Western. He was born into a large family in the West Georgian capital city of Kutaisi, the third of eighteen children.⁶ [Figure 2 on the next page shows a map of modern day Georgia.] At that time the city enjoyed cultural prominence as the center of the popular *kalakuri* music genre, a repertory of "urban" songs that combined the polyphonic singing of Georgian nationalist poetic texts with newly introduced Italian chromatic harmony and instruments such as the guitar, piano, and accordion. Historically, Kutaisi was the center of the kingdom of Colchis (visited by the mythical Greek hero Jason and the Argonauts) and later the capital of the kingdoms of Egrisi and Samegrelo-Abkhazia. The eleventh century Bagrat Cathedral and twelfth century

⁵Curiously, "You Are the Vineyard" (No. 18) is omitted in the 1996 Russian recording, perhaps because Paliashvili did not provide a Russian language version of the text. For more on the transmission of this remarkable chant in the twentieth century, including historical information such as its attribution to the twelfth century monarch, Demetre I, see John A. Graham, "You Are the Vineyard, Newly Blossomed: Contemporary Performance Aesthetics in Georgian Orthodox Chant," in *Composing and Chanting in the Orthodox Church: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Orthodox Church Music*, University of Joensuu, Finland, 4-10 June, 2007, ed. Ivan Moody and Maria Takala-Roszczenko (Finland: University of Joensuu & International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2009): 256-266.

⁶The authors visited Paliashvili's birth house in Kutaisi in June 2012. Although maintained as a museum, it is unmarked and not registered in local cultural guides. For more on Paliashvili's biography, see Vladimir Donadze, *Zakharī Paliashvili*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Muzika Publishing, 1971) [in Russian]; Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia, s.v. "Zakaria Paliashvili" [in Georgian]; Shalva Kashmadze, *Zakaria Paliashvili* (Tbilisi: Khelovneba Publishing, 1948) [in Georgian]; Anton Tsulukidze, *Zakaria Paliashvili* (Tbilisi: Khelovneba Publishing, 1971) [in Georgian, Russian and French]; Pavle Khuchua, *Zakaria Paliashvili* (Tbilisi, 1974) [in Georgian].



Figure 2: Map of Georgia

Gelati Monastery served as the center for the transmission of Orthodox three-voiced chant in West Georgia, a tradition that was already in serious decline in the late nineteenth century due to the Russification of the Georgian Orthodox Church since 1810.⁷ Kutaisi had also been the home of many religious and ethnic minorities including Georgian Jews, Catholics, Megrelians, Svans, Laz, and other peoples, even while under the control of the Ottoman Empire for several centuries. Paliashvili came from a Catholic family, and as an organist and singer in his parish he was exposed not only to the rich Georgian culture in Kutaisi but also to the works of Palestrina, Bach, Mozart, and others.

In 1887 Paliashvili received a scholarship from the Catholic community in Tbilisi to study music at St. Mary's Catholic School, where he and his brother also served as organists. Both of them joined the Ethnographic Choir, the first concert choir in Georgia dedicated solely to the performance of folk music.⁸ Paliashvili enrolled in the Tbilisi Academy of Music in 1891 where he studied French horn and composition for eight years. Shortly after graduating he moved

to Moscow and became a student of Sergei Taneyev at the Moscow Conservatory, along with many of Russia's aspiring young composers.⁹ Connections between the Tbilisi Academy of Music and the conservatories in Moscow and St. Petersburg were strong, as evidenced by the flow of musicians and teachers between the institutions. Paliashvili's brothers studied in Russia, and Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov, who served as director of the Tbilisi Academy of Music from 1883-1893, went on to become director of the Moscow Conservatory.¹⁰ While in Moscow, Paliashvili kept his heritage alive by establishing a Georgian chorus and regularly publishing scores and articles on Georgian traditional music.

Approximately ten years prior to Paliashvili's arrival in Moscow a defining moment occurred for the future of Russian sacred music: the uncensored 1880 publication of Tchaikovsky's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, Op. 41, by the Director of the Imperial Chapel, which spurred an unprecedented outpouring of similar works.¹¹ In Moscow members of the "New Russian Choral School" such as Smolensky and Kastalsky began composing arrangements using

⁷In 1884-1885, while Paliashvili was still in Kutaisi, the first major transcription of Georgian Orthodox liturgical chant into European notation took place at the Gelati Monastery. For more on the consequences of Russian Orthodox policies on the oral transmission of Georgian chant, and its subsequent partial transcription into European notation, see John A. Graham, "Oral Polyphony: The Transcription and Transmission of Georgian Liturgical Chant" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, forthcoming 2015).

⁸The Ethnographic Choir was founded by Vladimir Agniashvili in Tbilisi in 1886, and was later directed by the Czech expatriate, Joseph Ratil.

⁹Paliashvili's contemporary generation attending the Moscow Conservatory included Grechaninov (1864-1956), Rachmaninoff (1873-1943), Scriabin (1872-1915), Glière (1875-1956), Chesnokov (1877-1944), and Medtner (1880-1951).

¹⁰Paliashvili's older brother, Ivan (1868-1934), studied under Rimsky-Korsakov and directed opera companies in St. Petersburg, Tbilisi, Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov, and Riga; his younger brother, Polikarpe (1875-1941), studied at the Moscow Conservatory.

¹¹Other composers who set the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* include Ippolitov-Ivanov, Archangelsky (two settings), Grechaninov (four settings), Kastalsky, Kompaneisky, Pavel Chesnokov (two settings), and Rachmaninoff.

original *znamenny* (Russian liturgical chants), Kievan, Greek, and Bulgarian monophonic melodies. This manner of ‘modernizing’ and ‘nationalizing’ inherited Russian chant traditions for large mixed chorus had a profound effect on liturgical music, raising the prominence of the Moscow Synodal School and Synodal Choir over the rival Imperial Chapel Choir in St. Petersburg. According to scholar Vlad Morosan:

*In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the musicological investigations of Dmitri Razumovsky, Ioann Voznesensky, and Stepan Smolensky, among others, brought the ancient heritage of traditional chant to the attention of composers in the mainstream of Russian music...The ‘rediscovery’ of chant made it clear that not only Russian secular music, but Russian sacred music as well, could tap an indigenous wellspring of melodic material to produce new works in a nationalistic style.*¹²

Liturgical melodies formed a new, experimental palette for composers within the context of semi-secular concert performances.¹³ This helps to explain why Paliashvili, a Catholic, found it completely natural to publish his own setting of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* with Georgian traditional chant as the inspiration.

Georgian Chant: Revival and Transcription

After graduating from the Moscow Conservatory in 1903 Paliashvili returned to Tbilisi, Georgia to begin his professional career. In addition to playing a key role in establishing and nurturing institutions of Georgian classical music, he also conducted ethnomusicological fieldwork, later publishing transcriptions of folk songs collected from villagers in the mountains.¹⁴ By this time many aspects of Georgian national culture had deteriorated due to the dominance of Russia. Nearly a century earlier, in 1810, Russia had abolished the autocephaly of the Georgian Orthodox Church, heretofore independent since the fifth century, placing its hierarchy and governance under the St. Petersburg-based Russian Orthodox Patriarchate. Use of the Georgian language in services and seminaries was suppressed in place of Church

Slavonic. Where Georgian chant texts were permitted, they were required to be sung with Russian Orthodox melodies and harmonies.

In this climate, the oral transmission of Georgian traditional polyphonic chant declined rapidly. Developed over the centuries since the introduction of the Orthodox liturgy in the early fourth century, Georgian liturgical music came to resemble the three-part harmony of Georgian folk music. Scholars date the transition from monophony to polyphony to the ninth and tenth centuries, if not earlier—a period when many new hymn texts were written for Georgian saints and set to new melodies, suggesting an independent and highly active period of hymnographic composition. Illuminated manuscripts with a unique system of Georgian neumes date from this period, though notation never supplanted reliance on memorization as the primary method of transmission. Over the centuries, several regional chant schools developed independently throughout the diverse mountainous regions of Georgia.¹⁵

As elements of Georgian culture decayed in the nineteenth century, a nationalist revival movement began in the 1860s with the goals of preserving Georgian language and literature, reviving the independence of the Georgian Orthodox church, and re-establishing Georgian statehood. The transcription of the oral chant tradition into Western five-line staff notation, newly introduced from Europe, became one of the movement’s priorities. From the 1880s to the 1920s individuals and families transcribed more than five thousand chants. In particular, the Karbelashvili brothers—five priests who had learned chant from their father and grandfather—were instrumental to the transmission and transcription of traditional chant in East Georgia. One of them, Polievktos Karbelashvili, played an important role in Paliashvili’s understanding of Orthodox liturgical music.

During this time the Society for the Restoration of Georgian Church Chant hired a number of trained musicians to transcribe the chant tradition of the Karbelashvili brothers into European notation. Russian composer Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov was the most

¹²Vladimir Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (Madison, CT: Musica Russica, 1994), 217-218.

¹³*Ibid.*, 104. Morosan cites a “steady stream of public appearances” in which nearly one hundred works were premiered by the Synodal Choir between 1897 and 1917, including Rachmaninoff’s *All-Night Vigil* in 1915.

¹⁴Paliashvili conducted ethnomusicological field research in the highland region of Svaneti, Georgia, in 1903-1904, resulting in the publication of a volume of folk song settings in 1910. The composer helped establish the Georgian Philharmonic Society, which he directed from 1908-1917; was a professor at the Tbilisi Conservatory from 1919-1932, serving periodically as its director; and became chief conductor of the Tbilisi Opera Theater in 1922.

¹⁵Churches and monasteries in almost all provinces of Georgia had their own schools of chant. Today the three main schools of chant are named after the monasteries where transcriptions were made in the late nineteenth century: the Svetitskhoveli, Gelati, and Shemokmedi monasteries in East, Central, and West Georgia respectively. For a general overview of the history and practice of Georgian traditional chant, refer to the resources page on www.georgianchant.org.

famous of these, and his transcriptions from the 1880s were published for the first time in 1899. It was this publication that served as the basis for Paliashvili's setting of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* in 1909 (hereafter referred to as “the *Liturgy*”). In his lengthy Foreword to the *Liturgy* Paliashvili describes the cultural niche he was attempting to fill:

*It seems...that almost nowhere can you find and nowhere can you hear real Georgian chant. Almost no well-arranged choir exists, and if someone is still chanting somewhere, it is a choir of a few random people whose chant would more remind you at heart of restrained humming.*¹⁶

In reality there were several folk choirs and chanting groups not only in Tbilisi, but also around the country. Paliashvili appears to be referring to a choir of the stature of the Moscow Synodal Choir, and indeed, he set about creating such a group and composing “native” repertory for it. The *Liturgy* was meant to be a modernization of the declining chant tradition, and an attempt to bring Georgian chant back into public life through the creation of choral arrangements in the style of European and Russian choirs. Paliashvili perceived it as his contribution to the chant preservation movement, seeing his own “modernization” of the Karbelashvili chant melodies as consistent with the movement’s aims. That his ambitions were nationalistic (and secular) more than liturgical is visible even on the cover page of the *Liturgy*, where the word for “Georgian” is at least twice the size of any other words.¹⁷ [Figure 3]

Other motivations for the creation of the *Liturgy* may have been more personal: to recognize the composer and pedagogue Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov, who had been one of Paliashvili’s teachers at the Academy of Music in Tbilisi, and then again at the Moscow Conservatory. Ippolitov-Ivanov’s Caucasian-themed compositions, as well as his active efforts to promote Georgian music among contemporaries such as Tchaikovsky, must have validated for young Paliashvili the acceptability and even prestige of using Georgian traditional themes in classical music.¹⁸ Likewise, Paliashvili’s composition teacher

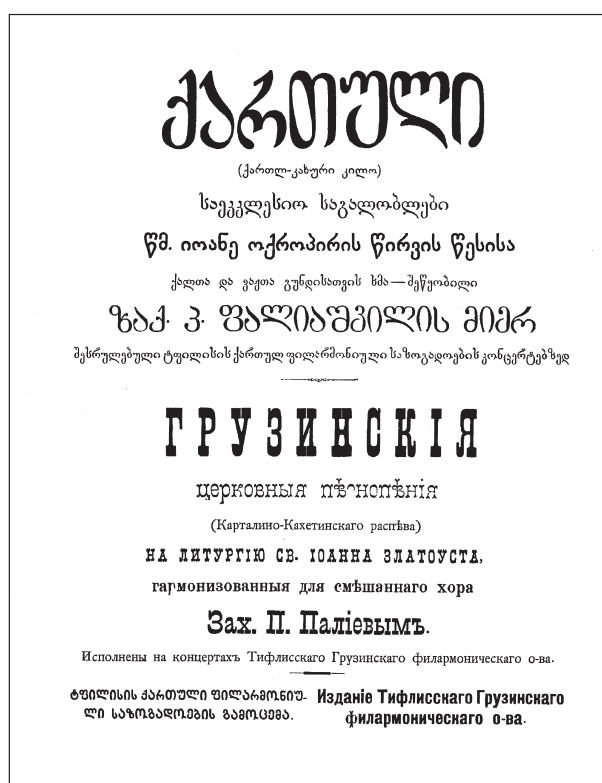


Figure 3: Cover Page, Paliashvili, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, 1909

at the Tbilisi Academy of Music, Nikolai Klenovsky (1857-1915), wrote a setting of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* based on the Ippolitov-Ivanov transcriptions, published in 1902.

Paliashvili’s Foreword to the *Liturgy* also suggests a professional impetus, with hopes for widespread distribution and performance: “I hope that this, my small composition arranged for men’s and women’s choirs, will be disseminated amongst us, and also in Russia, for which purpose we present the text in both Georgian and Russian.”¹⁹ By abandoning the close harmony of the traditional three-voiced format of Georgian liturgical and folk music, Paliashvili made a conscious choice to arrange what he considered the essential feature of Georgian chant (the melody) into

¹⁶Zakaria Paliashvili, Foreword to *Kartuli (kartl-kakhuri) Saekkleisio Sagaloblebi Tsm. Ioane Okropiris Tsirvis Tsesisa Kalta da Vashta Gundisatvis Khma-shetskobili Zak. Paliashvilis mier. Shesrulebuli Tplis Kartul Pilaioniuli Sazogadoebis Kontsertebzed* [Georgian Ecclesiastical Chants in the Kartli-Kakhetian Mode on the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Harmonized for Men’s and Women’s Chorus. Performed at the Concerts of the Georgian Philharmonic Society in Tbilisi] (Tbilisi: Tbilisi Georgian Philharmonic Society, 1909). The Foreword is titled, “A Brief Account of the Current State of Georgian Sacred Chant in Georgia’s Churches.” Translation by John A. Graham.

¹⁷It was the style of the period to use a variety of font sizes for cover pages such as this. However, the authors see significance in the choice to promote the prominence of the word *Kartuli* (Georgian), followed by the author’s name. By contrast the primary source of the chants (the East Georgian region of *Kartli-Kakheti*) is listed only in tiny font, not even naming the Karbelashvili family members who transmitted the traditional repertory.

¹⁸Ippolitov-Ivanov remained fascinated with the music of the Caucasus for his whole life, incorporating Caucasian folk motifs in numerous compositions, most notably his *Caucasian Sketches* (1894 and 1896). Ippolitov-Ivanov and his wife hosted Tchaikovsky during at least one of his annual visits to Tbilisi between 1886 and 1890, where Tchaikovsky’s brother was a high-ranking Russian government official.

¹⁹Paliashvili, Foreword to the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. Translation by John A. Graham.

a format suitable for modern and international choirs. This experimentation drew a measure of prestige from the classical music culture, but no small amount of enmity from the traditional chanters themselves.

Paliashvili's Arrangements

The *Liturgy* presents a fascinating combination of Georgian chant melodies and European harmonization. With only one exception—"Many Years" (No. 21), which is based on West Georgian chant—all of the remaining sections draw from the East Georgian tradition transmitted by the Karbelashvili family. Though intended for a large mixed choir of four to seven voices, Paliashvili curiously wrote out the parts on three staves as if honoring the three-voiced structure of traditional Georgian chant.

Paliashvili's arranging process can be illustrated by comparing the original chant, as transcribed by Ippolitov-Ivanov in the 1880s and published in 1899, with the beginning of the *Liturgy*. [Examples 1 and 2 on pages 7 and 8.] To make an effective comparison, superficial differences due to notational conventions must be noted. In Paliashvili's version there is an implied repeat of the first system that is not indicated in the score. This accounts for the multiple verses of text underneath the staves (the Georgian text is written between the top and middle staves; the Russian text between the middle and bottom staves). In Ippolitov-Ivanov's transcription this repeat is written out (albeit with slight variation). Hence, Ippolitov-Ivanov's first two systems are the basis of Paliashvili's top system, and both examples have the same basic form: AA'B. With this taken into account (as well as noting the original tenor clefs), it is apparent that aside from transposing Ippolitov-Ivanov's transcription up a step, Paliashvili is quite faithful to the original chant melody in the top voice. Dynamic markings have been added, as well as an ornamental flourish before the cadence, but these elements may very well have been part of the standard performance practice of traditional chant. The primary difference is that the middle voice has been rewritten to accommodate an expanded SATTB framework—though the basic structure of the chant is left intact. Throughout the *Liturgy* this style of arranging is consistent, showing careful treatment of the basic harmonic and melodic structure of Georgian chant, even while departing from its conservative premises. It also follows

Paliashvili's stated objectives, as written out in the Foreword to the *Liturgy*:

I left the first voice reasonably untouched, but in some chants such as "Cherubic Hymn" [No. 10] and "We Praise Thee" [No. 14] I made some corrections like making it shorter or longer. I harmonized the second and third voice, but I have to confess that when I was harmonizing those chants, I was thinking primarily of large men's and women's choirs, and this is why most of the chants are harmonized into five, six, or seven voices.²⁰

Paliashvili took quite a few liberties with "Cherubic Hymn" (No. 10), which is one of the most complex chant settings in the *Liturgy*. Analyzing these changes further clarifies how the composer adapted the original to serve his ends while struggling to remain faithful to the chant's essential features. Examples 3 and 4 compare an excerpt of Ippolitov-Ivanov's transcription with Paliashvili's arrangement. One notices, for example, the truncated cadence in mm. 5-6 of Example 4; in this case, the modification is fairly innocuous since cadences of this kind were often improvised (especially in the East Georgian chant tradition) and the shortened Paliashvili cadence follows idiomatic form with the bass moving from VII to I. But other alterations are more radical. The changing of text underlay signals a serious departure from oral tradition, in which the placement of syllabic text on formulaic model melodies remained an important aspect of chant transmission, dating back to Byzantine practices of the ninth century and earlier. Perhaps the most striking difference, after the expanded range and added voice parts, is the change in key signature from F mixolydian (two flats) to F minor (four flats). It is true that master chanters of the oral tradition sang in a different tuning system that was very difficult to transcribe into European notation, so such a substitution might represent a different interpretation of the performed modal scale.²¹ But the revisions required by Paliashvili's choice of key made it difficult for him to stay true to the original melodic and harmonic structure. Starting in the second measure he alters the melody and then transposes the rest of the passage down a whole step. Consequently, in spite of trying to stay faithful to the chant idiom, what may have seemed initially like modest refinements precipitated a cumulative reworking that is substantially different from the source.

²⁰Paliashvili, Foreword to the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. Translation by John A. Graham.

²¹According to authorities on Georgian polyphonic music (such as Malkhaz Erkvandze, former Director of the Anchiskhati Choir) the Georgian traditional scale divides the octave into seven intervals slightly smaller than whole steps (160-170 cents each). Paliashvili consistently deviates from the modal settings of the Ippolitov-Ivanov transcriptions in deference to major/minor key signatures, thus implying performance in tempered tuning.

ქართული გლოზა

№ 1.

ს. მ. ი. ნ.

ს - მ - ი - ნ. (1) - მ - ი - ნ.

№ 2. უფალო შეგვიწყალებ.

უ - ფა - ლო შე - გვი - წყა - ლენ.

№ 3. უფალო შეგვიწყალებ.

უ - ფა - ლო (2) შე - გვი - წყა - ლენ.

Example 1: Ippolitov-Ivanov Transcription of Vasil Karbelashvili Traditional Chant, Published In 1899

საგალობელი გულსო გრუზინსკია პსოპნია

ლოცუბრისა წმ. იოანე ღვთისმეტყველისა. на литургію Св. Іоанна Златоуста

ქართლ-კახურ კილოზედ.

Карталино-кахетинскаго распѣва.

ქალთა და ვახუთა გუნდისათვის.

Для смѣшаннаго хора.

კვერეშვი-დიდი და მცირე

№1. ЕКТЕНИИ-ВЕЛИКАЯ И МАЛАЯ.

სუბტონებს სუფი ჩემი. დიდებს და

БЛАГОСЛОВИ ДУШЕ МОЯ ГОСПОДА,

სწიგნ... მსხლთად შთბილად.

СЛАВА И НЫНѢ; ЕДИНОРОДНЫЙ.

ზაქ. თაღისაშვილი.

М. М. ♩ = 66

З. ПАЛИЕВЪ.

Soprani. 1. 2. di.
Alti.

Tenori. 1. 2. di

Bassi.

Example 2: Paliashvili, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, Beginning of No. 1

Example 3: Excerpt from Cherubic Hymn, Ippolitov-Ivanov Transcription, 1899



Example 4: Excerpt from Cherubic Hymn (No. 10), Paliashvili, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, 1909

Some of Paliashvili's changes also have further significance in terms of violating inherent rules for the improvisational performance of chant as transmitted through oral tradition.²² For example, in traditional practice the lower voices are semi-improvisatory harmonizations of the fundamental melody in the top voice. Linear movement and harmonic function are regulated by the three-voiced polyphonic tradition of Georgian folk music, which varies greatly according to geographical region.²³ In Ippolitov-Ivanov's transcriptions the bass typically 'follows' the melody, forming intervals of an octave or a fifth on strong beats. However, it is critical to understand that the bass does not create functional harmony in the Western sense, but serves rather as an additional ornamental line. The middle voice is likewise an accompanying voice, though in chants like "You Are the Vineyard" (No. 18), it can be mistaken for the melody because of its elaborate ornamental line.

These aspects of structure are lost in Paliashvili's *Liturgy* arrangements. With a Western musical education he instinctively assigned the primary harmonic role to the bass, leaving the melody in the top voice and parsing the middle line between the alto and tenor voices. He eliminated bass notes, added passing tones and altered chords according to his sense of the harmonic design. Such changes indicate conscious disregard for—or insufficient understanding of—the methods of

transmission of oral chant, and signal the extent of the composer's personal imprint as opposed to Ippolitov-Ivanov's more objective role as transcriber. Paliashvili's attempts to honor the improvisational flavor of East Georgian chant through the use of ornamental gestures suggests that his alterations to the chant's structure were not born of any arrogance, but were rather an uncalculated consequence of his ambition to modernize and popularize his native music in the 'respectable' international medium of the large mixed chorus.

Reception History

The reception of the Paliashvili *Liturgy* was mixed. Vasil Karbelashvili criticized the Western "choralization" of his family's chant tradition on the basis that it "destroyed the soul of the chant."²⁴ Though the originals had been adapted in ways already described, such disparagement provoked an indignant response from Paliashvili, who cited his careful retention of the chant melodies as a defense of his arranging process in the forward to the 1909 publication. The composer's strong view of the faithfulness of his work was likely influenced by that of Nikolai Klenovsky's previously mentioned setting of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, published seven years earlier. Klenovsky (who was Paliashvili's harmony teacher from 1895 to 1899) retained the original melodies but composed

²²See John A. Graham, "The Role of Memory in the Transmission of Georgian Chant," in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Traditional Polyphony, 15–19 September 2008, Tbilisi, Georgia*, ed. Rusudan Tsursumia (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2008): 498–515.

²³In Georgia each major monastery had its own unique school of chant. As these chants evolved over many centuries in distinct cultural regions, the semi-improvisatory, lower two voices acquired some of the local musical characteristics. For example, East Georgian folk music is dominated by drone polyphony; therefore the bass voice in East Georgian chant is very simple. In West Georgian chant the bass voice is especially active, creating complex chord types that are virtually unknown in the East Georgian chant style. For more on regional comparisons of chant schools see Davit Shugliashvili, "Similarities and Differences in the Georgian Chant School Traditions," in *Unity and Variety in Orthodox Music: Theory and Practice. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland, 6–12 June 2011* (Joensuu, Finland: International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2013). For a full analysis of the function of Georgian voice parts in the improvised liturgical tradition see Graham (forthcoming 2015), "Oral Polyphony."

²⁴For more on the struggle to control the narrative of preserving East Georgian chant, including the argument between Vasil Karbelashvili and Paliashvili, see Graham (2006), "You Are the Vineyard."

an entirely unique harmonic fabric, disregarding the fundamental aspects of cadence structure, harmony and voice leading intrinsic to East Georgian chant. By comparison Paliashvili was far more careful to preserve the chant's essential characteristics.

The fate of the *Liturgy* was sealed as soon as the Russian Revolution of 1917 changed the cultural landscape of the Tsarist Empire.²⁵ During the early Soviet period public performance of chant was completely banned, monks and chanters were routinely executed, and churches and cathedrals were ripped down. Thus, Paliashvili's dream of popularizing Georgian chant melodies among his contemporaries in the international classical music world was never realized, at least not during his own lifetime. The fate of the oral chant tradition was likewise doomed. Those few singers who still possessed knowledge of it were forced into obscurity, denied the ability to sing or teach, and their musical heritage died with them.

During the 1950s and 60s, when Soviet policy towards the Orthodox Church became more lenient, performances of chant became a point of interest for folklore groups in Tbilisi—though they were only permitted under the title of 'sacred chorale,' and textual references to Christ or the Theotokos (Virgin Mary) were disguised. Due to the fact that original transcriptions were not available, the published Paliashvili *Liturgy* served as an important source for this new wave of traditional "academic" folk-music performance.²⁶ The Rustavi Ensemble, for example, performed several three-voiced reductions of selections from the *Liturgy*, popularizing the now iconic hymn "You Are the Vineyard" (No. 18), as well as others such as "Come Let Us Worship" (No. 3) and "Holy God" (Nos. 4 and 5), which became standard performance pieces in the late twentieth century. Thus, ironically, Paliashvili's initial process of "choralizing" traditional chant for large mixed chorus was reversed in order to achieve a sound closer to the three-voiced performance style of Georgian folk music.²⁷ Via the Rustavi Ensemble and the many international ensembles that they inspired, Paliashvili's *Liturgy* served indirectly to spread awareness of Georgian chant among later generations of Georgians and the wider classical music community in Russia and Europe.

Since Georgian independence in 1991, interest in traditional chant and folk music has grown tremendously. In addition to the Rustavi Ensemble there are currently dozens of folk and sacred ensembles in Georgia, including the Anchiskhati Church Choir, the Basiani Ensemble and the Sakhioba Ensemble, as well as groups outside the country devoted solely to traditional Georgian song. Inspired by the leadership of the Anchiskhati Church Choir in reviving traditional performance practice, enthusiasm for the history and repertory of Georgian singing has eclipsed the appeal of classical Georgian church music, particularly after a patriarchal decree in 2000 advocating the sole performance of traditional chant in all parish church choirs—with the indirect implication that Paliashvili choral arrangements not be included.

As a Catholic, Paliashvili likely had little interest in creating new music for the Orthodox liturgical service. Rather, his arrangements were an attempt to bring the heritage of Georgian chant into the international performance repertory. His later compositions, notably the operas *Abselom da Eteri* (1919) and *Daisi* (1921), continued this trend, blending folk songs and chant melodies with Western harmonization and orchestration. By being too Georgian for the Russian Orthodox Church, too religious for the anti-Church policies of the Soviet regime, and too 'choralized' for revival chant purists, the Paliashvili *Liturgy* has remained largely unknown both inside and outside Georgia. Despite its importance as the country's first classical sacred composition by the most respected national composer in Georgian history, the *Liturgy* is only now being recognized as a significant contribution to twentieth century choral music. Its place among similar works, especially those of the Moscow Synodal School, is long overdue—and can finally be established.

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Parker Jayne holds Bachelors and Masters degrees from Harvard University. He edited the performance edition of Paliashvili's Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom performed by the Capitol Hill Chorale, Washington D.C. in June 2010.

²⁵For a brief four-year period after the Russian Revolution, the Georgian nation was independent and autocephaly was restored to the Georgian Orthodox Church. But in 1921, the country was annexed by the Soviet Union and religious practice including the performance of traditional chant was suppressed until independence from the Soviet Union in 1991.

²⁶The chant transcriptions from the decades 1885 to 1905 were saved by a single monk, St. Ekvtime Kereselidze, who transported many boxes of notation from one monastery to the next during a period of twenty-five years (1911-1936), before finally entrusting them to the directors of the Tbilisi University museum. These manuscripts, now housed in the National Center of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, form the basis for the contemporary revival of traditional chant in Georgia. See Graham (forthcoming 2015), "Oral Polyphony."

²⁷See Graham (2006), "You Are the Vineyard," which documents the roots of the Rustavi Ensemble's version of "You Are the Vineyard" in the Paliashvili arrangement, comparing it to an earlier manuscript version published by Vasil Karbelashvili in 1898.

Recent Books

André de Quadros, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Choral Music*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), xv, 339 pp.

As a broadly construed topic, choral music spans more than five centuries and reaches nearly every corner of the globe. Thousands of musicians have contributed to this art, and enduring compositions are seemingly innumerable. In his Foreword to *The Cambridge Companion to Choral Music* John Rutter points out the sweeping historical, geographic, and material scope of the subject, drawing attention to the difficult choices that must be made “in editing what is necessarily a compact symposium” (p. xiii). André de Quadros (Professor of Music at Boston University and editor of the volume) concludes that the only logical choice in addressing such a comprehensive theme “was to design a book that accomplished many goals” (p. 2). To meet this challenge he assembles nineteen essays written by twenty-six prominent scholars, and divides them into three substantial parts: “Choral Music: History and Practice;” “Choral Music the World Over;” and “Choral Philosophy, Practice, and Pedagogy.”

The first of these sections examines shifting views of choirs and choral music across six centuries. Andrew Parrot begins with a chapter entitled, “A Brief Anatomy of Choirs c.1470-1770,” delivering a tutorial that is rich in primary source citations without abandoning brevity. He delves into several topics that often stoke contention—issues which require frequent clarification or review even among experienced conductors. Clefs, voice ranges, performing forces, pitch standards, and concerted voicing are all scrutinized as clues to the historical makeup of singing ensembles. Two chapters follow in which Chester Alwes and Nick Strimble brief us on the developments of the nineteenth, twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Alwes considers how “the new cosmology of the nineteenth century transformed the nature of choirs and the music they sang” (p. 27); he also conveys the important influence of national, political, and social ideals on the choral idiom, giving examples throughout to illustrate the changing scale and ethos of works within selected genres. Strimble chooses the explosion of stylistic options in the early twentieth century as his point of departure. He wisely clusters interesting figures around the principal innovators associated with styles such as polytonality, Impressionism and dodecophony. Due attention is paid to luminaries such as Ives, Debussy, and Stravinsky, but worthy commentary concerning lesser-known music related to the World Wars and the Holocaust is a shining addition to the chapter. Paul Hillier closes the first part with a philosophical look at “The Nature of Chorus,” focusing extensively on the dynamic of one voice versus many.

The central portion of the book is dedicated to a global exploration of choral singing. Given the stated scope of the collection as limited to the phenomenon of the Western choral ensemble, the essays in Part II emerge in two veins: those that treat Western choral music as a domestic art form (Europe and North America) and those that treat it as imported. The well-spring of these traditions is given first consideration by Leo Samama in a commendable survey of Europe “between Moscow and Reykjavik” (p. 79) with Israel thrown in for good measure. He profitably focuses on the now of European choral culture both as a product of the past few decades and as embodied by contemporary ensembles and events. By comparison, the chapters that follow look further into the respective pasts of Canadian and American choral cultures. In the former case, Patricia Abbott and Victoria Meredith nicely sum up the influences on and the products of Canadian choral culture; a list of additional resources and a brief but handsome repertoire list round out this segment. Coverage of the United States (by Kathy Saltzman Romey and Matthew Mehaffey) is organized around affiliations with religious, academic, and community institutions. Historical milestones are the essential backbone here. Though no specific discussion of repertoire is offered, the composers, publishers, and service organizations mentioned all provide starting points for discovery.

In considering the presence of choral music beyond its traditional strongholds, the *Cambridge Companion to Choral Music* achieves its greatest effect. The chapters encompassing Latin America, Asia, Oceania, and Africa are informative, showing a deft balance in the synthesis of historical, cultural, and musical facts. Several common themes emerge as well, namely: 1) the strong influence of colonial powers, foreign missionaries, and propagated faith traditions; 2) the interaction of Western-style choral music and indigenous musical cultures; and 3) increased, but insufficient support for choral music as the result of economic, social, and political obstacles. Several of the chapters also offer interesting musings about the ancient origins of collaborative singing. This geographic survey is the core of the text and it features some truly brilliant highlights. For example, the distinguishing feature of Maria Guinand’s historical view of Latin American choral music from 1908 to 2008 is surely the extraordinary list of composers she develops (ranging from early pioneers to contemporary stand-outs.) No similar disposition toward fruitful name-dropping is observed in the contributions by de Quadros (South/Southeast Asia) or from the duo of Jing Ling-Tam and Gene Cho (Japan, China, Korea). Still, these installments offer their own riches through comparisons of literacy, vocality, and current states of affairs. The

outstanding contribution by Aida Huseynova is a veritable clinic providing clear descriptions of choral practices (textures, voicings, ritual functions, vocal techniques) in nations spanning all of West and Central Asia. The terminological focus is an invitation to explore singing techniques, contexts, or repertoire; a fair number of composers are also mentioned.

Continuing this worldwide journey, Karen Grylls submits an elegant essay that presents singing as a way of life throughout Oceania, touching on oral tradition and singing's functional roles. Truly a cultural commentary, she presents composers and works sparingly, instead focusing on the coexistence of indigenous culture and the imported European style that led to a "tragic loss of traditional repertoire" (p. 179). Regarding choral music of (sub-Saharan) Africa, Rudolf de Beer suggests a framework by which one might tease out colonial influences from native traits. The author describes a number of African practices, names composers of particular importance, and elaborates on cultural matters such as music literacy and the intertwined fates of music and social/political change. Like Guinand, de Beer also reveals a practical formula for examining choral music based on source material and musical treatment.

Part III of the book turns to contemporary practices of choral professionals. The approach to each chapter varies widely as do the insights of these accomplished choral practitioners. Francisco Núñez discusses neither repertoire nor pedagogy, but rather advocates a model in which youth choirs can prioritize diversity of membership and social purpose, as well as musical excellence. Doreen Rao also speaks largely about the social aspects of choral performance, looking "toward matters of cultural context and the human condition" (p. 239). The team of Goetze, Fales, and Smishkewych embarks on a different path, utilizing a voice science primer to advocate for discovery and performance of vocal techniques beyond the traditions of *bel canto*. Though the underlying sources here could be updated, the text does facilitate exploration of diverse vocal techniques through descriptive matrices

and exploratory exercises. The centerpiece of Part III is a chapter crafted by Mike Brewer and Liz Garnett, which seamlessly integrates philosophy with pragmatic suggestions. They examine the choir as a "microcosm of human social life" (p. 256), exploring relationships, musical and social dimensions of the choral experience, and—specifically—ensemble as "a sense of shared understanding and common purpose" (p. 259). In concluding the book, Ann Howard Jones and Simon Carrington each expound on their preferred methods for preparing an ensemble. Both advocate fundamental discipline, and each espouses the primacy of conveying a text, yet their techniques diverge rather sharply. The individual suggestions are valuable, as is the evident truth that both schools of thought have produced results of the highest quality.

Collectively, the contributors to this volume offer a great deal of information and a number of inspiring insights. Additional features include biographies of the contributors, a selected bibliography, and an index of proper nouns and foreign terms. The range of topics and variety of approaches maximize the likelihood that there is, indeed, something for everyone. Careful attention to longitudinal and geographical breadth leaves few stones unturned, and given the overarching scope of coverage there are considerable pockets of depth as well. Though each reader is likely to find some omission or imbalance in accordance with his or her own knowledge and interests, the reach of the text is admirable. The third prong of the study concerning method and management is not as amply rounded out despite excellent contributions from noted authorities. The pragmatic, experiential reflections therein seem somewhat isolated relative to the continuity of Parts I and II. This does not diminish the worth of the individual offerings, but the cohesion of the overall text suffers slightly. As the editor suggests from the outset, a companion can neither be comprehensive, nor encyclopedic. However, this compilation achieves a great deal and would be worthy of expansion through subsequent volumes.

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