

UKRAINIAN BAROQUE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

Introduction

The development of Ukrainian musical culture has certain features, which can be explained by historical circumstances. Singing was typical for Ukrainian music; singing, in particular – choral singing was a popular pastime in people’s homes in Ukraine (in Western Europe this kind of gatherings was mainly instrumental). Considering that, the more meaningful was the bloom of *instrumental* music, which linked in certain way Ukraine and other European countries. Instrumental music tradition, more common for Western Europe, resulted in Ukraine in some remarkable examples of brilliant composing, theoretical and performing skills. If the fact, that an Ukrainian composer Maksym Berezovsky was studying in the Bologna Academy at the same time as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, is familiar to scholars, the name of (for example) a harpsichordist and composer Yelyzaveta Bilohradska, the author of the virtuoso *Variations on Starzer’s Theme*, is less known. Ludwig van Beethoven, who wrote his *Variations on the Ukrainian folk song “Cossack rode over Danube”*, heard it from an Ukrainian – Count Andrey Razumovsky, but called it a “Russian theme” (the composer also dedicated to his Ukrainian friend the 5th and 6th Symphonies and Quartets op. 59; besides, Razumovsky supported Beethoven with life annuities). The elder brother of Johann Sebastian Bach, Johann Jacob, famous due to the *Capriccio for the departure of the beloved brother* for keyboard dedicated to him, was enlisted as an oboist to the military orchestra of the Swedish King Charles XII’s army¹, entered Ukraine with the army and was taken prisoner there. Later he returned to Stockholm, received a solid pension from the Swedish treasury and even saved small capital, which bequeathed, being childless, to his brother and nephews – Johann Sebastian’s sons.

A lot of information is hidden in archives and often isn’t available for the majority of researchers – as, for example, the Razumovsky collection, a collection of music scores of the 18th century. That is why the aim of this article is to emphasise the role of Ukrainian composers, researchers and performers of Ukrainian music as transmitters of European culture, to show in the clear perspective the significance of Ukrainian professional musicians in the cultural exchange with Western European countries during ages, and thus their input into the formation of the instrumental baroque music. A great contribution to the development of the subject was made by Larisa Ivchenko, who not only published a substantial research *Rekonstruktsiya notnoyi kolektsiyi hrafa O. K. Rozumovs'koho za katalohamy XVIII storichchya*² (*“The reconstruction*

¹ M. Tereshina (ed.), *Йоганн Себастьян Бах [Johann Sebastian Bach]* [online:] https://books.google.com.ua/books?id=kNh0CQAAQBA&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=one-page&q&f=false [retrieved: 22th August, 2019].

² L. Ivchenko, *Реконструкція нотної колекції графа О.К. Розумовського за каталогами XVIII сторіччя [Rekonstruktsiya notnoyi kolektsiyi hrafa O. K. Rozumovs'koho za katalohamy KHVIII storichchya]*, Kiev 2004.

of the musical collection of count A. K. Razumovsky after catalogues of the 18th century”), but also was the person, who prepared the Bach Archive, rediscovered in Kiev, for its transfer to Germany. We should also consider the problem of the historically informed performance (HIP) in Ukraine, which sometimes is thought to be entirely borrowed from Western Europe in the 20th century. Sources for observations remain mainly in scrupulous selection of historic facts, verifying this angle of view, and in the field of practical and scientific activity of musicians – HIP representatives. As a musical practice is a process, which depends on one’s subjective opinion, taste, education, a researcher must be very flexible in formulating his observations. However, the wider is the musician’s thesaurus, the more correct and convincing is his interpretation. This study was made on the base of teaching in the harpsichord class in the Glier Music Academy since 2010 during lessons, masterclasses and preparation for concerts; the conclusion will show, that the described vector of Ukrainian music history still needs wider spreading in the field of the music education. The full picture of the specificity of the HIP is familiar to the narrow circle of musicians and scholars, but musicians representing the academic tradition are mainly ignorant in the topic.

Musical traditions on the territory of the modern Ukraine

Musical traditions on the territory of the modern Ukraine have existed since prehistoric times. This expression - “the *modern* Ukraine” – emphasises the fact of a variety of historical Ukrainian borders. The land, situated in the geographical centre of Europe, was so attractive, that in the past it happened to be divided between many various countries. That defined ways of life in different regions. Musical instruments, found by Kiev archaeologists near Chernihiv – rattles made from mammoth tusks – date probably from the 18th century B. C. Flutes, considered to be 150 000 years old, were found in the village of Molodovo in the area of Chernivtsi. Musicians, playing on different wind, percussion and string instruments similar to harps and lutes together with dancing buffoons are depicted in frescoes in St Sophia’s Cathedral in Kiev (the 11th century). These frescoes document the music culture of Kiev Rus. Singers Boyan and Mitus, mentioned in 12th-century documents, could be considered a parallel to the western medieval troubadour tradition. Well-known are also ritual folk songs connected to the cycle of the seasons: carols, “vesnyankas” (spring songs), “gaivkas” (from “gai” – a grove) and “kupal’ski”, from the name Kupala, after some sources – the god of abundance (after *Gustynska chronicle*, p. 44³), or of “the fertility of the earth” (following *About the idols of Vladimir*⁴); after other – a type of ritual fire⁵; family-ceremonial and everyday songs for weddings and dancing, including “kolomyjkas” – a traditional genre of Ukrainian folk music and choreography with its own structure, founded in the region of the town of Kolomyia in the Ivano-Frankivsk area;

³ Полное собрание русских летописей [Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey], Т. 40. Густынская летопись [Gustynskaya letopis’], Saint-Petersburg, 2003, p. 124.

⁴ N. Galkovsky, *Борьба христианства с остатками язычества в Древней Руси [Bor’ba khristianstva s ostatkami yazychestva v Drevney Rusi]*, V. 2., Moscow, 1913, p. 294.

⁵ А. Потебнуа, *О купальских огнях и сродных с ними представлений [O kupal’skikh ognnyakh i srodneykh s nimi predstavleniyakh]*, Moskow, 1867, p. 97.

lullabies, funeral lamentations etc. After the territory of the modern Ukraine had converted to Christianity at the end of the 10th century, vocal Orthodox Church music developed in the Byzantine and Slavonic periods and considerably influenced the art of composers of subsequent epochs from the 12th to the 17th centuries.

In the 15th-16th centuries the genre of the *duma*, an original symbol of national history and culture, became one of the brightest phenomena of Ukrainian national music. It became an element of the national patriotic epic of a freedom-loving character and showing the moral purity of Ukrainian people. Founders and performers of historical songs and *dumas*, psalms, chants were called *kobzars*. They played *kobzas* or *banduras*. Later (16th-18th centuries) new genres appeared: historic songs, following certain historic events, soldiers' songs, lyrical songs and ballads. The picture of a legendary character Cossack Mamay, who embodied the idealised image of Cossacks and Ukrainians in general – a warrior, philosopher and storyteller, frequently found in contemporary Ukrainian houses, was a symbol of people's love for music. He was always presented with a *bandura* (string musical instrument, which served for accompaniment to singing). Only icons of saints were more popular.

Already in the 14th-18th centuries Ukrainian musicians became famous outside Ukraine. Their names can be found in contemporary chronicles among court musicians, including the courts of the Polish kings and the Russian emperors. The best known *kobzars* were Tymofiy Bilohradsky (a famous lute-player, 18th century), Andrey Shut and Ostap Veresai (19th century).

The Cossack era and Ukrainian baroque

Scientists emphasise, that baroque was the first synthetic and universal direction of new-European culture, showed in all its forms and regions. The baroque age in Ukrainian culture (late 16th to the first half of the 18th century) was striking and original. Ukrainian baroque style combined secular motifs and religious images, tended to contrast and hyperbole complex metaphors and allegories, sought to capture the imagination of the viewer, reader, listener, resorting to fancy shapes. At the same time it shows ideological pessimism and metaphysical anxiety. Nostalgia for the lost of the Renaissance illusion of harmony and inner perfection was the basis of tragic humanism in the European baroque culture.

In Ukraine this internal duality of the baroque attitude is also related to historical factors – the Liberation war of 1648-1654, fervour of the fight and victory, other great national changes claimed the spirit of the epoch. In the 16th-18th centuries Ukraine existed on the edge of two civilisations: Western and Eastern, represented by the Polish-Lithuanian *Rzeczpospolita* on one side and the Tsardom and then the Empire of Russia on the other. The baroque period for a long time was considered a deviation from the norms of canonized aesthetics of the previous era, carried a brand of something bizarre, discordant. Ukrainian baroque in the 17th century is called “Cossack”, because Cossacks not only revolted against oppressors and fought against national and religious persecution, but also brought a new artistic taste, which conveyed a new

spirit to the art. Being primarily a huge military force and a significant social and political phenomenon, they were also able to create their own artistic environment. Ukrainian Cossack baroque standards developed under the influence of the European baroque aesthetics on the one hand – and also the folk aesthetics on the other hand. However, being one of so-called national schools of this great artistic style is a link in the development of European culture. Besides that, Cossack aristocracy ordered many of Ukrainian masterpieces of architecture and painting of that time. Political and cultural figures – Cossack leaders, hetmans, became not just patrons of the arts, or employers, but the objects of literature and painting. Such genres of art as historical songs and ballads, Cossack chronicles, court poetry and portrait, Cossack cathedrals, bore Cossack spirit. Important role in the culture of that time belonged to the song, which, according to the famous writer Nikolai Gogol, “is everything for Ukraine: poetry, history and a parents’ grave”⁶. The elegant baroque style best expressed the spiritual interests of Ukrainian Cossack higher clergy, their desire for refined aristocracy. Dismantling of the Cossack state and liquidation of Zaporizhian Sich in the 18th century, enslaving peasantry, systematic oppression of Ukrainian language and culture minimized the possibilities of intensive forward motion started in the baroque era. The colonial status of the country in the Russian Empire enforced degradation in Ukrainian musical activity, whose high acquisitions, particularly in the field of performing, were consistently integrated into common Russian space, lost connection with national art and consequently could not stimulate it.

The foundation of the first high school and an outstanding cultural and educational centre in Ukraine – Kyiv-Mohyla Academy – was a significant achievement of the Cossack era. Established in 1632 on the basis of Kiev-Pechersk Lavra School, at first it was called the Kiev-Mohyla Collegium (after his founder Petro Mohyla). In 1658, following the Treaty of Hadiach, it won the title and rights of an Academy⁷. Children of Cossacks, aristocracy, clergy and wealthy citizens studied there. Two thirds of them got a secular education. The Academy taught (accordingly to contemporary European standards for higher education) three ancient languages: Greek, Latin and Hebrew; Ruthenian (it was used in Ukrainian books of that time), Church Slavonic, Polish, German, French; history, geography, mathematics, astronomy, catechism, rhetoric and dialectic, philosophy and theology (for the clergy). Later medicine was added to the list. It also promoted music in its curriculum. Students of the Academy popularized a genre of marionette theatre (kind of nativity scene, or “vertep”) and later – *kant* (a four-voice vocal genre based on religious and later also secular themes). Graduates of the Academy included a composer and philosopher Grigory Skovoroda, composers Maksym Berezovsky and Artemy Vedel. The last two were also, in company with Dmitry Bortniansky, among the pupils of Hlukhiv singing school – another school, significant for Ukrainian music culture of the 18th century.

⁶ “Песни для Малороссии — всё: и поэзия, и история, и отцовская могила” (translated by the author of the article); N. Gogol, *О малороссийских песнях [O Malorossyyskikh pesnyakh]*, [online:] <https://biography.wikireading.ru/105301> [retrieved: 22th August, 2019].

⁷ V. Bureha, M. Yaremenko, *Киево-Могилянская Академия. История, [Kyievo-Mohylyanskaya akademyya. Istoriya]*, [online:] <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/1684336.html> [retrieved: 22th August, 2019].

It was opened in 1730 on the initiative of hetman Danylo Apostol⁸. After graduation, Bortniansky and Berezovsky continued their training in venerable and famous Italian music schools. Hlukhiv was not only the administrative centre of the Cossack Hetmanate, but also the prominent cultural centre of Ukraine⁹. The culture of new time, secular and aristocratic, had flourished here. Hlukhiv amateur theatre started to give spectacles already in 1730; later it turned into a professional theatre of Western European kind. It existed at the court of the hetman, comprehensively supported by him. The theatre had opera, ballet and dramatic groups, a choir and an orchestra. The large musical library of Razumovsky family, mentioned above, which consisted of over two thousands of symphonic and chamber music scores, was also famous.

The Razumovsky collection

The musical department of the National Library of Ukraine named after Vernadskiy nowadays guards an unique collection under the name of “the Razumovsky collection”. Members of this noble family were often very talented and had highly refined taste for arts. Oleksiy, the son of registered Cossack Hryhoriy Rozum and his wife Natalia, formerly a shepherd of the public herd, got to the capital as a singer of the Court choir. Afterwards he grew from an ordinary singer to a field marshal thanks to the favour of the Russian Empress. The swift career of Oleksiy Razumovsky can be explained by his extraordinary talent for science. He read a lot in spite of his father’s Cossack “education”. Occupying a high position at the court of the future Empress Elizabeth, Oleksiy Razumovsky sent his younger brother Kyrylo to study abroad. After his studies Kyrylo Razumovsky became the Head of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and afterwards was elected the hetman of the Left-bank Ukraine. Plenty of important architectural sights appeared during his hetmanate. He built a few palaces, in particular in Baturyn, Nizhyn, Kozelets, etc. and a few temples, for example the Cathedral of the Nativity of the Virgin in Kozelets. The hetman palace in Hlukhiv is now destroyed; almost nothing remained from the home theatre, where peasants-actors staged opera and ballet performances, gave wonderful concerts and musical divertissements. Only some music scores have survived till our time. The Collection counts about two thousands musical copies, among them there are over fifty operas and about hundred symphonies; violin concertos, quartets, quintets, octets, piano works and keyboard music, pieces for a horn orchestra. A younger son of the hetman, Andrey, was a talented musician. In 1801 emperor Alexander I appointed him as the ambassador of Russia in Vienna. He knew personally Viennese classics Joseph Haydn and Ludwig van Beethoven. Beethoven wrote especially for him three quartets (op. 59) and the *Variations* for piano and violin on the themes of the Ukrainian folk songs heard from Razumovsky, he also dedicated him his 6th *Symphony* (“Pastoral”).

⁸ О. Заїка, *Глухівська співацька школа та роль гетьмана Данила Апостола у її заснуванні [Hlukhivs'ka spivats'ka shkola ta rol' het'mana Danyla Apostola u yuyi zasnuvanni]*, in: “Сівєрщина в історії України” 9, 2016, s. 256-259.

⁹ Y. Holub, *Перший театр [Pershyy teatr]*, [online:] <https://nedelya.info/news/item/5308-pershij-teatr> [retrieved: 22th August, 2019].

The musical and dramatic inheritance of the Razumovsky family impresses with its size. Rare editions of arias from French opera literature can be found in it. It is easy to assume that most of the operas from this library were performed on stages of various estates of the Razumovsky family. There are producer marks and names of performers inside the scores.

“Partesny” music

The baroque in Ukraine was a time of bloom for the polyphonic “partesny” music. The term originates from the Latin word “partes” – parts, voices¹⁰. During the baroque epoch, under the influence of the ideas of the Latin church, monophonic *znamenny* singing was replaced by polyphonic *partesny* singing, which has promoted the development of the major-minor system. Choral works, particularly so-called “polyphonic concertos” became the leading genre in music. The transition from monophonic *znamenny* singing to polyphonic *partesny* singing had the same meaning as the transition from Renaissance to baroque (or from *prima prattica* to *seconda prattica*) or the European transition from monody to early polyphony in French monastic communities. The creators of the baroque church music in Ukraine were Mykola Diletsky, Maksym Berezovsky, Dmitry Bortniansky, Artemy Vedel – composers whose fame has gone beyond their motherland. In their works church music reached its highest point, but their names are associated also with the development of orchestral music - concertos, cantatas, oratorios.

In a certain meaning, dynamic effects in various art forms make baroque very “musical”. Dynamisation of reality in its conflict and fluidity is embodied in the principle of “concertation” in music as a “battle” or contest of various instruments. This principle was reflected in the improvement of the *partesny* concert with its aesthetics of contrasts and rivalry of different parts, timbres, major-minor contrasts, tonality plans in general. This new original genre became known far outside the Slavonic world, marked the era of Ukrainian baroque in music by appearance of numerous bright examples of musical art. The value of rhythm and even a specific expressiveness of undulating rhythmicity grows in it; a stream of consonances and dissonances, unexpected turns in exposition of theme increases in poetry; contrast, imposition of different plans and states, is artistically mastered in spatial types of arts. Then other genres started to assimilate: opera, ballet, cantata, instrumental suites and concertos, variations, polyphonic forms.

New music brought a new cultural paradigm, substantially different from the medieval one. Comprehending this process in the context of Eastern Slavic culture, Nina Gerasymova-Persydska underlines:

¹⁰ L. Korniy. *Партесний спів [Partesny spiv]*, an entry in: *Енциклопедія історії України [Encyclopedia of Ukrainian history]*, Kiev 2011. V. 8, p. 69.

In comparison with Western Europe, where the 17th century brings a fight between *stile antico* and *stile moderno*, between the Renaissance and baroque, as between two stages of ascent to Classic epoch, there were two epochs clashed in the Eastern Slavic music: the New Time and Middle Ages¹¹.

The conflict of two epochs, as Gerasymova-Persydska presents, has projection to the conflict of two singing styles: *znamenny* singing and *partesny* singing. An intriguing fact is that *partesny* singing had come to Muscovy from Ukraine, where established itself alongside the traditional *znamenny* singing without any controversy.

Among the signs, which distinguish medieval and modern cultural paradigms, realised in *znamenny* and *partesny* singing, Gerasymova-Persydska selects as the most substantial “the forms of presence, direction of the music and a specific audience, – so, exactly that answers a question about the place of music”¹². Referring to forms of existence of music, the researcher marks, first of all, the growth of the role of a performer, which stipulated, in particular, the appearance of highly specialised singers, who can be equated with virtuosos. Singers of certain type (child’s descant, alto, tenor, bass) were highly appreciated, what emphasises the paradoxical fact: in the polyphonic music a solo brightly steps forward. Underlining the growing role of performing, Gerasymova-Persydska specifies quality changing in the question of professionalism: a necessary condition for *partesny* singers was the knowledge of musical notation (differently than in case of *znamenny* singing, which was taught “by ear”); the role of the main chanter in *partesny* music became considerably responsible; he became the head of an ensemble, “building up” polyphony and balance between parts. Growing significance of the role of a performer caused the appearance of new requirements of vocal studies. Consequently, the problem of performing brings us to a new artistic system – the art of the new time lays the stress on distinguishing between a composer, a performer and a listener and the orientation to the audience.

One of the most significant musical figures of that time was Mykola Diletsky, the author of the *Муцикіўська граматыка* [“The musical grammar”] (written in 1675 in Polish, the manuscript is now lost; the next edition in Church Slavonic, 1677; a Russian translation – 1679; one of the manuscript copies, 1723, saved in Lviv Ukrainian Art museum, was published in 1970 in Kiev) — the first work on musicology, which explained the essence of the linear musical system, *partesny* singing and *partesny* composition. Adapting the achievements of Italian sacred music and combining it with national traditions, this composer created Ukrainian baroque church music without instrumental accompaniment. The combination of the *partesny* singing traditions and modern techniques of European music writing rendered the works of this composer unique.

¹¹ “Порівняно із Західною Європою, де XVII ст. приносить боротьбу між «style antico» і «style moderno» між Відродженням і Бароко як двома етапами сходження до класицизму, тобто, в обох випадках між явищами Нового часу, в східнослов’янській музиці зіткнулися дві епохи, відповідні двом формам, - Новий час і Середньовіччя” (transl. O. Zhukova), N. Gerasymova-Persydska, *Русская музыка XVII века - встреча двух эпох. [Russkaya muzyka XVII veka - vstrecha dvukh epokh]*, Moscow 1994, p. 18-19.

¹² Ibidem.

Representants of the professional music traditions in the 18th century

Ukrainian composers often studied in Europe, Ukrainian musicians – Theophan Prokopovich, Vasyl Grutovsky, Maksym Berezovsky and Dmitry Bortniansky – worked in Saint Petersburg, but often had strong connections to the Western European music scene. Their instrumental miniatures, especially keyboard pieces, can be found in libraries and archives in Lublin, Leipzig and Bratislava. Instrumental pieces by Berezovsky and Bortniansky are on a high artistic level (for example the *Sonata* for violin and cembalo by Berezovsky and instrumental pieces by Bortniansky, from which survived several harpsichord sonatas and a *Concerto* for harpsichord and orchestra, a *Quintet* for violin, viola, cello, harp and piano, a *March* for wind orchestra, a *Sinfonia concertante*). Bortniansky was one of the most interesting figures of the time and had a good education, studying first in Saint-Petersburg by Baldassare Galuppi, then in Italy; Italian influences can be noticed in his composing style. His *Sinfonia concertante* (1790), an original example of a mixed genre of concerto and symphony, continued the line of similar works of the Mannheim school (Stamitz, Hofstaedter) and Viennese classics. Location at the crossroads of the East and the West and a mix of European and Central Asia had influenced Ukrainian folksongs, which was creatively elaborated in follow of Western-European musical traditions by Bortniansky. Becoming a court musician in Saint Petersburg in 1779, the head of chapel of the so-called “small court” of the successor’s, and from 1796 the head of the court chapel, formed almost exclusively of former students of Hlukhiv singer school, Bortniansky has very much affected the development of Russian music culture. He became the first composer of the Russian Empire, who started to publish his compositions¹³. His works were performed in different countries and he was considered at the time the most famous composer of Russia. Bortniansky, himself often compared with Mozart (for example, by the composer of Ukrainian anthem, Mykhaylo Verbytskyi¹⁴), called his compatriot Vedel “the Mozart of sacred music¹⁵”. Young singers of Ukrainian origin (Maksym Berezovsky, Mark Poltoratsky, Stepan Rashevsky) performed in Italian operas at the Russian Empress’ court and showed precise phrasing, clear intonation and great art in singing very complicated arias. A famous musician of the time was also Ivan Khandoshkin, a son of a tailor (who was also singing and playing horn and drums at Petr Sheremetev¹⁶) Ostap Khandoshko, who worked in Russia as a virtuoso violinist, composer, conductor and teacher and was the author of solo violin sonatas and virtuoso violin variations based on Ukrainian and Russian folk song-themes.

¹³ N. Ryzhkova, *Прижизненные издания сочинений Д. С. Бортнянского [Prizhiznennyye izdaniya sochineniy D. S. Bortnyanskogo]*, Saint-Petersburg, 2001.

¹⁴ A. Vysotska, *Михаила Вербицкого дважды исключали из духовной семинарии ,через веселі пісні, гру на гітарі та просяпання ранкових молитов’ [Mykhayla Verbytskoho dvazhdy usklyuchaly yz dukhovnoy semynaryu ,cherez veseli pisni, hru na hitari ta prosypannya rankovykh molytov’]*, [online:] <https://fakty.ua/196349-mihaila-verbickogo-dvazhdy-isklyuchali-iz-duhovnoj-seminarii-cherez-vesel-p-sn-gru-na-g-tar-ta-prosipannya-rankovih-molitov>.

¹⁵ Zh. Bezvershuk, O. Sherbakova, *Украинское ,казачкое’ барокко [Ukrainskoye “kazatskoye” barokko]*, [online:] https://studbooks.net/20977/kulturologiya/ukrainskiy_kazache_barokko.

¹⁶ L. Ginsburg, V. Grigoriev, *Искусство Хандошкина [Isskustvo Khandoshkina]*, [online:] <http://blagaya.ru/skripka/history-books/isi/handoshkin/>.

Name of a lute-player Tymofiy Bilohradsky (about 1710–1782) was well known not only in the Russian capital but also in Europe, having been mentioned more than once in Dresden and Leipzig press. Researchers assume that he was born somewhere to the south from Cherkasy. There is little information about his childhood and youth. At Hlukhiv singer school he studied kobza, but his bright career was made mainly due to his wonderful voice. He was invited to join the Petersburg court choir. Playing bandura and singing Ukrainian songs brought deserved fame to Bilohradsky. The Russian empress Elizabeth (perhaps influenced by her favourite – a Ukrainian Oleksiy Razumovsky), became later a godmother of Bilohradsky's daughter (according to some other sources – his niece) Yelyzaveta¹⁷. Ukrainian researcher Mykhaylo Stepanenko had found the musical pieces of Yelyzaveta Bilohradska (the manuscript of the *Variation on a theme from the minuet of J. Starzer*) in Berlin State Library.

In 1733 Bilohradsky was, by the order of Empress Anna, sent to Germany to improve his music mastery. In Dresden he studied one of the most popular musical instruments of that time – the lute. As a historian Victor Lakiziuk asserts¹⁸, Bilohradsky was instructed by Silvius Leopold Weiss – the most prominent composer-lutenist of the 18th century (his lute *Suite* was reworked to the *Suite for violin and harpsichord* by J. S. Bach). The opera-singing teachers of Bilohradsky were Italians – Faustina Bordoni-Hasse, who sang in Händel's operas in London in 1726-1728, and Domenico Annibali. In his turn, Bilohradsky taught Germans Ukrainian songs and dances. A historian Olga Sushchenko marks, that German newspapers of that time described how Bilohradsky demonstrated to the locals a Ukrainian dance “Cossack” (it was the contemporary name of the *hopak*)¹⁹.

Tymofiy went back to Saint Petersburg for a short time in 1739. Already in 1741 the court musician went again to Western Europe. In Koenigsberg he became famous as a virtuoso performer and singer. Among his students were a prominent philosopher Johann Georg Hamann and a composer-lutenist Johann Reichardt. Tymofiy Bilohradsky spent the last years of his life in Saint Petersburg. He was not the only one popular Ukrainian lutenist; there were other famous names. The lute, known from ancient times, came to Ukraine approximately in the 11th century. In the 15th-18th centuries the lute acquired enormous popularity in the territory of modern Ukraine, as well as everywhere in Europe. In the 15th century a Ukrainian lutenist Bohdan Stetsko played at the court of the Volyn prince Feodor Ostrogsky and afterwards at the court of the Polish king Vladislav Jagiello. Another Ukrainian lutenist Rafal Tarashko sang at the court of Vladislav III, king of Poland and Hungary. The lute was also very popular among Zaporizhian Cossacks. And, due to Bilohradsky, the Ukrainian school of lute playing won European fame.

¹⁷ Y. Kylymnyk, *Як українєць Білоградський учив німців танцювати козака [Yak ukrayinets' Bilohrads'kyy uchyvnimtsivtantsyuvatykozaka]*, [online:] <https://web.archive.org/web/20160305005645/http://www.press-centrck.ua/person/8480/> [retrieved: 22th August, 2019].

¹⁸ V. Lakiziuk, *Лютня в Україні [Liutnya v Ukraini]*, [online:] <https://storinka-m.kiev.ua/article.php?id=250>.

¹⁹ Y. Kylymnyk, *op. cit.*

The daughter of Timofey Bilohradsky, Yelyzaveta (1739- ca.1764), is mentioned in Russian music history as “the first Russian operatic soprano”²⁰. She was a well-known singer at the court of the Russian empress Elizabeth. From 1751 Bilohradska performed in Saint Petersburg together with a court Italian opera group. Information about her performances in Saint Petersburg court may be found in the archive of the Winter Palace. Contemporaries mentioned her unique voice and refined vocal technique. A poet Alexander Sumarokov admired the talent of Yelyzaveta Bilohradska and dedicated her his poem *Madrigal*. Apart from her singing prowess, she was a brilliant harpsichord player. Her piece *Variation on a theme from the minuet of J. Starzer* (Josef Starzer was the court concertmaster and composer in 1759-1764) is the only known example of Ukrainian rococo music, written approximately in the beginning of the second half of the 18th century.

There is also another example of harpsichord mastery. Yelyzaveta Fall (born Zakharzhevskaya, 1788-1857) charmed her future husband with her unbelievable beauty, fabulous voice and wonderful playing the harpsichord. For a long time these artists were considered a product of Russian musical culture. However there are convincing grounds to revise such a narrowed, erroneous point of view.

Music in Ukrainian everyday life in the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century and its links with European musical tradition

New secular genres had already appeared: song-romance, opera and instrumental music. Such a flourishing of the music art in Ukraine was related to the high level of the general education of people, in which music used to hold the prominent place. Music education was very popular in aristocratic houses, but parish schools since the Middle Ages until the 19th century (when they were forbidden by the Russian government) on the ethnic Ukrainian territories also provided it on a reasonable level²¹. Famous Hlukhiv singing school was also available for all social groups. Secular singers and instrumentalists, which were present in the landowners' estates and military units, since the 17th century started to develop their activity also in cities, where they united in brotherhoods. This period was the high point of musicians' guilds, which appeared in Poltava (1662), Kiev (1677), Pryluky (1686), Starodub (1705), Nizhyn (1729), Chernihiv (1734) and other cities of Ukraine. Their activities were protected by the law. Guild instrumental music (mostly trios – violinists, cymbalists and wind players) was widely popular in everyday urban use at private functions and public festivals. These brotherhoods developed in the 17th-18th centuries, and existed till the beginning of the 20th century, when they have been dismantled by the Soviets. Orchestras and chapels were created by city councils. In the Left-bank Ukraine regimental musicians' guilds provided Cossacks with “regimental music”, performed by kobzars, timpanists, trumpet-players,

²⁰ N. Svyrydenko, *Єлизавета Білоградська та камерна музика часів гетьмана Кирила Розумовського (280 років від дня народження)*, Lviv, 2019.

²¹ O. Dziuba, T. Lazanska, *Парафіяльні школи [Parafiyal'ni shkoly]*, [online:] http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Parafialni_shkoly.

violinists, cymbalists etc. Regimental instrumental music was required for the military campaigns as well as used in the every-day life of Cossacks. Instrumental music was also in demand in the hetman's residence and residences of the prominent Cossacks. The upper class of the period often had their own bandura-, lute- and other instruments-players, and maintained private orchestras (the orchestras by hetmans Ivan Mazepa, Kyrylo Razumovsky, Pavlo Polubotok and others were the most famous ones). Private orchestras, as well as choirs and theatres, as a sign of a high status of the social elite, existed at the courts of Ukrainian and Polish aristocrats. Home music-making was popular in towns, involving bandura, string and keyboard instruments from Europe: clavichords, harpsichords and – from the end of the 18th century – pianos. The genre of song in the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, based on the works of various poets, grew on a basis of the national song and *kant* tradition. One of the first, who started to create the music of this genre, was Grigory Skovoroda, who assimilated philosophical and lyrical ideas into his songs.

These examples show that not just vocal, but also instrumental genres were present in Ukrainian music culture in the second half of the 17th and in the 18th century, and virtuoso performers appeared. Well-known are three harpsichord sonatas and a harpsichord concerto by Dmytri Bortniansky, a sonata for violin and basso continuo by Maksym Bereзовsky; the *Menuet* with variations by Yelyzaveta Bilohradska; they present quite a virtuoso approach to the keyboard. There are also interesting examples in collections of instrumental music, such as the Razumovsky collection; it consists mainly of dances, such as polonaises, minuets, variations etc., or instrumental transcriptions of songs; authorship of them is often unknown or doubtful, since they were preserved in aristocrats' collections together with foreign composers' music and often missed the names; their texture suggests mainly amatory use, but there may be found also some quite virtuoso pieces. This created the basis for the further improvement of instrumental music and performing skills.

Information about activity of the belonging to squires peasant theatre groups, choirs and orchestras, is scattered throughout sources, which are divided into two groups. Documents, memoirs, letters, descriptions of parties and divertissements belong to the first. The second group of sources consists of collections of scores, albums and catalogues of the current cultural tradition. A multicoloured palette of forms of the home music-making in the villas of city gentlefolk and in the estates of landlords shows the variety of music instruments, which became historic rarity in the 20th century. For example, Ukrainian aristocrat Yakiv Markovich played the clavichord and the lute. He writes: "I took a lute, tuned it and played for the first time"²², and adds, that he created poems for his daughters. Probably these poetic verses could have sounded with lute accompaniment. Popular in Western Europe keyboard instruments, the harpsichord and clavichord, are often mentioned in historical sources. As Markovich

²² О. Zinchenko, "Домашній протокол" 1717-1767 рр. генерального підскарбія Якова Марковича в контексті українського щоденництва XVIII ст. [*Domashniy protokol* 1717-1767 rr. heneral'noho pidskarbiya Yakova Markovycha v konteksti ukraïyns'koho shchodennykarstva XVIII st.], [online:] http://shron1.chtyvo.org.ua/Zinchenko_Olha/Domashnii_protokol_1717-1767_rr_heneralnoho_pidskarbiia_Yakova_Markovycha_v_konteksti_ukrainskoho_sc.pdf, 2017 [retrieved: 22th August, 2019].

mentions, in October of 1724 he purchased *klavicimbali* in Moscow and brought them to his estate in Hlukhiv and Oleksiy Makedonskiy, a choir singer of prince Shakhovskoy, played this instrument. This information shows the high musical culture of ordinary musicians of that time²³.

There is a report in the diary of Petro Apostol, a son of hetman Danilo Apostol, that from 12th of July 1726 he began to take lessons of the harpsichord with a foreigner Schmidt. From notes of Mykhaylo Khanenko one can learn that in April 1733 he gave his clavichord to a local painter for painting and decorating. Besides keyboards, there were other orchestral instruments sounding in noblemen's homesteads; violins and French horns are repeatedly mentioned. For example, Khanenko orders a violin in Krivcy (Chernihiv area) by a local master constructor, and Markovich in 1738-1739 delegates his men to his relative Andriy Polubotok, son of hetman Pavlo Polubotok, for studying the violin and the French horn with a bandmaster Johann. This informs us about origins and existence of private orchestras in homesteads of hetman's officers and squires. A note in the diary of Khanenko from 17th of January 1732 testifies, that hetman Apostol maintained an orchestra and a vocal ensemble: he mentions salary of the choir singers and the oboe player.

At the same time Ukrainian folk instruments, for example bandura, were very popular in the estates of Markovich and Khanenko. Since the 15th century Ukrainian kobzars were invited to other countries, they played at the Polish kings' court etc.; this tradition transformed into the bandura playing style, which is still present nowadays. In 1724 Markovich orders by painters to "cover with drawings two lutes, gusli and a bandura"²⁴. Among patrons of art in that time there was a tradition of exchanging instruments and, probably, musicians. So, Khanenko in 1742 years sends his gusli to the regimental clerk in Starodub. A note of Markovich says, that he asks his parents in Romny to send a bandura-player to the Astrakhan governor A. Volinsky. He also names his own musicians, who he "gave" to Petersburg: a boy bandura-player Oleksiy to prince Mykhaylo Golitsyn and a bandura-player Kravchik-Danilets, who served "at Nestor"²⁵. There was also another instrument, very popular from the 1st half of the 18th century till the beginning of the 20th century in Ukraine, Russia and Poland – torban or theorban, similar to theorba, but with different (like that of bandure) position of strings.

Memoirs and various loose documents certify that in the musical life of nobility estates one of the leading positions was occupied by sacred music, which in the 2nd half of the 17th and the 1st half of the 18th century reached the zenith of its fame. Khanenko writes about the infatuation for a choir church singing, heard by him in 1742 in a church in Gorodischenskaya (Chernihiv area), located not far from his estate. Markovich informs, that besides some theological literature he bought collections of church songs in Kiev and that "after dinner they were singing a canon" together with his friends (7.02.1725)²⁶.

²³ V. Mudryk, *Традиція музичної культури дворянських садіб України [Tradytziya muzychnoyi kul'tury dvoryans'kykh sadyb Ukrayiny]*, [online:] <http://tmf-museum.kiev.ua/pauka/41-павленко-г,-саполькіна-а-сторінки-пам'яті-м-ф-покотило-2.html> [retrieved: 22th August, 2019].

²⁴ М. Khanenko, *Дневникъ генеральнаго хоружаго Николая Ханенка (1727-1753) [Dnevnik general'nogo khorunzhego Nikolaya Khanenka]*, Kiev, 1884, pp.107, 109.

²⁵ O. Zinchenko, op. cit.

²⁶ V. Mudryk, op. cit.

The second half of the 17th and the whole 18th century in Eastern Slavic countries is characterized by the change of cultural paradigm (as mentioned before), which took place in the dramatic process of the “meeting of two musical cultures”, in expression of Nina Gerasymova-Persydska²⁷ – medieval and modern, Ukrainian and Russian (as a result of the union between Ukraine and Russia). This meeting variously influenced the music culture of two nearby nations, entailing the bloom of professional performing on Russian ground, provided by participation of musicians-virtuosos, voluntarily or forcedly transmigrated from Ukraine, and decelerating the gradual motion of performance art (first of all, in the field of instrumental music) in Ukraine. The substantial outflow of professional performers to Russian capitals and their integration in “all-Russian” imperial culture essentially stipulated provincialisation of Ukrainian music art and its homogeneity in the meaning of the concentration on vocal music.

In the days of Empress Catherine II musical life in aristocratic estates were flourishing with orchestras, choirs and theatrical plays. Some magnates created private musical-dramatic schools for systematic training of musicians. A Polish nobleman Ignacy Marchocki in the village of Minkivtsi in addition to his own choir and orchestra organized an “academy of music”, where serfs studied music and basic stage skills²⁸. In homesteads of noble grandees and higher officers, there were even opera theatres and symphonic orchestras. In Vishenki village near Chernihiv there was the choir of a count Rumyantsev-Zadunaisky. In the “Notes” of Mikhail Shchepkin there is information about the serf theatre of Wolkenstein. According to Shchepkin, Wolkenstein had a good orchestra, an outstanding choir and

to diversify entertainments, created a home theatre, which amused children and serfs. He thought that this will give fun to children, job to musicians, and it will be more useful to serfs than to spend their time in taverns. The orchestra was placed between the stage and the audience. Musicians were seated at a long narrow table with a comfortable board for the scores. Notes were written with ink. The orchestra consisted of violins, violoncello and bass viol, flutes, clarinets, French horn and bassoons. The orchestra was large enough and its sound must have been strong enough for a big hall²⁹.

Some landlords sold the actors, even whole groups and orchestras in the same way as cattle or furniture. Announcements published in newspapers of that time testify this fact. In the village of Romaniv, near Berdychiv, a magnate Ilyinsky maintained enormous theatrical and ballet groups, choir, orchestra, and sent abroad his serfs for musical studies. In the second half of the 18th century in the homestead of Ivan Galagan a choir and an orchestra was formed from his serfs. Later, in 1851 the symphonic orchestra of Galagan performed in Kiev – it was the first successful concert tour of a provincial private ensemble. The successful selection of the repertoire was warmly approved by the Kiev audience and became a real artistic event in the cultural life of the city.

²⁷ N. Gerasymova-Persydska, *Русская музыка XVII века – встреча двух эпох* [Russkaya muzyka XVII veka – vstrecha dvukh epokh], Moscow, 1994.

²⁸ V. Mudryk, op. cit.

²⁹ M. Shchepkin, *Записки актера Щепкина* [Zapiski aktera Shchepkina], [online:] http://az.lib.ru/s/shepkin_m_s/text_0040.shtml.

The growth of the significance of a performer was unequivocally observed in a social sphere: many Ukrainians of the Cossack-peasant origin, who migrated to Moscow and Petersburg, received nobility, and in case of Oleksiy Rozum's (Razumovsky) the career of an ordinary Ukrainian boy-singer was really fabulous. Public demand of talented Ukrainian performers, starting from the second half of the 18th century, entailed their mass migration to Moscow. Requirements "to send" singers became more and more categorical after 1654 year (the year of the union between Russia and Ukraine in Pereyaslav) and more than once forced hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and metropolitan Sylvestr Kosiv to refuse. After hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Vyhovsky, Ukrainian rulers did no longer dare to oppose the will of Moscow politics and church chiefs. As a result of the outflow of the best Ukrainian performers and composers to Russian capitals, the Ukrainian art from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th centuries was concentrated in Saint Petersburg, blooming there brilliantly, but Ukraine itself in the sense of artistic life turned into a province for a long time.

Conclusion

For a certain time Ukraine was a source of specialists for nearby countries, so their creative achievements were attributed to other cultures. Though due to geographic situation and historical circumstances Ukraine was the "medium" between Western European and Slavonic musical cultures and created very special pieces of art, in particular in the music field. Rediscovering it by research, performing and elaborating is a very important task for modern Ukrainian musicians as well as for scholars. Information in this study, the substantial part of which might seem obvious for professional musicians, often is *terra incognita* for a wider audience, so it still needs to be promoted both in the field of scientific research and in the domain of music performance. Historically informed performance in Ukraine nowadays is also an important field for research and promotion among professionals and amateurs. Despite the existence of the Early Music Department in Ukrainian National Tchaikovsky Academy of Music and a harpsichord class in the Glier Kiev Music Academy, all achievements in the field of rediscovering early music often are not known in a wider circle of musicologists and performing musicians. In the same time, in our opinion, this knowledge can enrich not only early music lovers, but also the musicians who play the classical repertoire – as it is, for sure, *historical* in many ways. This path easily creates many ways for collaboration between Ukrainian and European musicians and forms a positive image of Ukraine on the world scene.

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UKRAINIAN BAROQUE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

The study presents an overview of the history of instrumental music in Ukraine, where choir and solo singing has always played a prominent role. Singing was a substantive part of the church life and folklore of the city and countryside. Thus, the more prominent was the distribution of *instrumental* music, which embodied cultural links between Ukraine and other European countries. Instrumental music tradition, more common for Catholic and Lutheran countries, came to Ukraine and brought some remarkable examples of brilliant composers with great theoretical and performing skills. Many important names, which belong to Ukrainian musical culture, have been known in the Western Europe as 'Russian'. For many foreign researchers 'The Former Soviet Union' remains a *terra incognita*, where the national origin of an artist is sometimes forgotten. In the past, for many years the most talented Ukrainian musicians were invited or came for fame and money to other countries and became popular there. Although they often got music education in Ukraine, they were often considered as representatives of the Russian culture.

For some time, Ukraine was the source of specialists for nearby countries, so it was the 'in-between' between the Western European and Slavonic musical cultures. Rediscovering it by research, performing and elaborating is a very important task for modern Ukrainian performing musicians as well as for scholars. Historically Informed Performance in Ukraine nowadays is also an important field for research and promotion among professionals and non-professionals. Achievements in the field of rediscovering of early music are often unknown in the wide circle of musicologists and performing musicians. At the same time, this knowledge can turn out useful not only for early music lovers, but also for musicians who play classical repertoire. This path easily creates many opportunities for collaboration between Ukrainian and European musicians and forms a positive image for Ukraine on the world scene. It also explains the importance of the study.

Keywords: Ukrainian music culture, instrumental music, baroque, HIP (historically informed performance)