THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
The Graduate School
School of Music

THE EARLY COMPOSITIONAL EDUCATION OF SERGEY PROKOFIEV:
A SURVEY OF PEDAGOGY, AESTHETICS, AND INFLUENCE

A Thesis in
Musicology
by
Laura J. Brown

© 2014 Laura J. Brown

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

May 2014
The thesis of Laura J. Brown was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Charles D. Youmans  
Associate Professor of Musicology  
Thesis Adviser

Mark C. Ferraguto  
Assistant Professor of Musicology

Adrian J. Wanner  
Professor of Slavic and Comparative Literature

Sue Haug  
Professor of Music  
Director, Penn State School of Music

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School
ABSTRACT

As the creative mind behind Peter and the Wolf—perhaps the most time-tested childhood staple from the world of orchestral music—Sergey Prokofiev has touched the musical experiences of children across the world for generations. This composer, however, was not only one of the most accomplished musical personalities of the twentieth century, but also a composer who had enjoyed a remarkable childhood of his own. Sergey Prokofiev was one of the youngest and most accomplished pupils ever admitted to the St. Petersburg Conservatory. This thesis investigates why.

Prokofiev was already writing operas on fantastic, fairy-tale subjects at the age of nine. He had an appetite for the spotlight and a determination to be taken seriously, even from a young age. What would happen, then, when such a precocious youth was taken seriously? In the summer of 1902, when Prokofiev was eleven years old, Reinhold Glière—a promising graduate of the Moscow Conservatory, preceded only by his reputation as a gold medalist in composition and the endorsement of his former Moscow mentors—stepped off a train in Sontsovka, Ukraine to become Prokofiev’s first significant professional music teacher. This young professional would spend the next two summers introducing Prokofiev to the rudiments of music and helping him harness his boundless childhood enthusiasm toward a career that would become world-famous. But just who was this Reinhold Glière, and what impact did he have on Prokofiev’s future? This thesis investigates Prokofiev’s childhood experiences in light of his early musical exposure under his mother’s guidance, his studies with Glière, and important archival documents, including part of a symphony written entirely under Glière’s supervision in 1902, which is currently held at the Russian State Archive of Art and Literature in Moscow.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Musical Examples ................................................................. v
List of Figures .................................................................................. vi
Acknowledgements .......................................................................... vii

Chapter 1: Reinhold Glière Becomes a Pedagogue ...................................... 1
Chapter 2: Prokofiev’s Early Musical Experiences ....................................... 22
Chapter 3: Glière in Sontsovka: Symphony in G Major ................................. 35
Chapter 4: Winter 1902 Correspondence and Summer 1903 ......................... 59
Epilogue .......................................................................................... 71

Bibliography ..................................................................................... 74
LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 1. Prokofiev, Symphony in G Major, principal theme, mm. 3-21 .................40
Example 2. Prokofiev, Symphony in G Major, secondary theme, mm. 44-87 ..............41
Example 3. Prokofiev, G-major childhood symphony, closing theme, mm. 88-91 .......45
Example 4. Prokofiev, G-major childhood symphony, mm. 121-23 ................................45
Example 5. Glière, *Symphony No. 1*, horn in F, mm. 55-56 ..................................45
Example 6. Prokofiev, G-major childhood symphony, mm. 30-35 .........................56
Example 7. Prokofiev, “Classical” Symphony, IV, mm. 42-47 ..............................56
Example 8. Prokofiev, G-major childhood symphony, mm. 164-68 ......................57
Example 9. Prokofiev, “Classical” Symphony, IV, mm. 68-73 ..............................57
Example 10. Prokofiev, G-major childhood symphony, exposition-closing cadence ....57
Example 11. Prokofiev, “Classical” Symphony, IV, exposition-closing cadence ........57
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Diagram of Glière’s explanation of “song form” ..........................................................38
Figure 2. G-major childhood symphony, I - proportions (by number of measures)........56
Figure 3. “Classical” Symphony, IV - proportions (by number of measures) .................56
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

These few lines can hardly express the immense debts of gratitude I owe for the support I have received in my research for this thesis. First and foremost, I wish to thank Professor Charles Youmans for his unfailing advocacy of my career in musicology and for his continued support throughout this project. I would also like to acknowledge Professor Adrian Wanner, who has had an integral presence in my study of Russian language and culture, and who has gone above and beyond in helping me to use my perspectives from that area in my musical research. I would also like to thank Professor Mark Ferraguto, whose expertise has brought a fresh vitality to my research perspectives.

This thesis could not have been undertaken without the assistance of Professor Simon Morris, who helped me to gain access to copies of Prokofiev’s childhood G-major symphony, as well as the assistance of Professors Maureen Carr, Kevin Bartig, and Irina Mikaelian, among others, who assisted me in correspondence with archival institutions.

Because this thesis is the culmination of my studies at the Penn State University, I wish to extend my thanks to all of the faculty mentors who have fostered my talents and helped me to discover my potential. These include (but by no means are limited to) Professors Marica Tacconi, Dan Armstrong, Marie Sumner Lott, Galina Khmelkova, and many others. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my family and friends for their unwavering support in all of my endeavors.

I wish further to acknowledge the Institute for the Arts and Humanities at the Pennsylvania State University for awarding me a graduate student residency to work on this project in the summer of 2013, and the Penn State School of Music for its continued administrative, financial, and professional support throughout my study.
CHAPTER 1
REINHOLD GLIÈRE BECOMES A PEDAGOGUE
Early in 1900, a promising twenty-five year old composer graduated from the Moscow Conservatory earning the gold medal in composition: Reinhold Moritsevich Glière.\(^1\)

Within two years he would step off a train in Sontsovka, Ukraine to begin a new chapter of his musical career as tutor to the eleven-year old Sergey Prokofiev. Glière’s time at the Moscow Conservatory had been one of musical conservatism, dominated by the memory of the late Tchaikovsky. To quote Rachmaninoff’s recollection,

Speaking of the Moscow Conservatory of that time, it is impossible not to remember the exclusive role of Tchaikovsky in the formulation of the worldview of the Russian musical youth. Tchaikovsky was the spiritual father of the Moscow Conservatory; his great legacy lived in the classes of Taneyev, Arensky, and Ippolitov-Ivanov.\(^2\)

Glière’s studies at the Moscow Conservatory under the musical supervision of Sergey Ivanovich Taneyev, Anton Arensky, and Mikhail Mikhailovich Ippolitov-Ivanov, among others, provided him with not only established pedagogical role models, whose teaching styles he could weigh against one another in order to develop his own personal tastes in teaching, but also with direct links to the movers and shakers of the Moscow musical establishment. Touching upon his three most influential teachers near the beginning of his article, “On the Profession of the Composer and the Education of the Youth,” Glière sentimentally recalled, “Upon my great fortune fell the happiness of being a student of


\(^2\) Sergei Rachmaninoff, quoted in Bel’za, R. M. Glier, 6. «Говоря о Московской консерватории того времени, нельзя не упомянуть об исключительной роли Чайковского в формировании художественного мировоззрения русской музыкальной молодежи. Чайковский был духовным отцом Московской консерватории, его великие заветы жили в классах Танеева,ARENСКОГО И ИППОЛИТОВА-ИВАНОВА». 2
Sergey Ivanovich Taneyev, Anton Stepanovich Arensky, and Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov. That is what I wish to remember about my years of study with these remarkable musicians." Hand in hand with the pedagogical example set forth by these three composers, of course, came an introduction to the aesthetic principles connected with the Moscow Conservatory, descended from the predilections of Tchaikovsky and Herman LaRoche, which provided a foundation for many of Glière’s later stylistic tendencies. In this tradition, both Taneyev and Arensky authored theoretical textbooks that would become standard teaching tools within the Russian music education establishment: Taneyev’s *Convertible Counterpoint in the Strict Style*, and Arensky’s three works *Handbook for the Study of Forms of Instrumental and Vocal Music*, *Short Handbook for the Practical Study of Harmony*, and *Collection of 1000 Exercises for the Practical Study of Harmony.* These books provide a glimpse into the personal aesthetic ideologies of Taneyev and Arensky, while also codifying the central concepts taught at the Moscow Conservatory, especially in the case of Arensky’s textbook on form. In the foreword, he outlines its purpose as such:

Despite the fact that this course [the Moscow Conservatory’s class on Counterpoint and Form] had existed almost since the founding of the conservatory itself, that is, for 25 years, up until now not a single textbook was written that contained in itself the complete content of the course […] this circumstance led me to compile the proposed handbook with the purpose of making more accessible the study of musical form to those studying at the Conservatory […]

---


4 Sergei Ivanovich Taneev, *Podvizhnoi kontrapunkt strogogo pis’ma* (Moskva, 1959); Anton Arenskii, *Rukovodstvo k izucheniiu form instrumental’noi i vokal’noi muzyki* (Moskva: P. Iurgenson, 1914); *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k prakticheskoi izucheniiu garmonii* (Moskva, 1891); and *Sbornik zadach (1000) dlia prakticheskogo izuchenia garmonii* (Moskva: Muzgiz, 1960).

5 Anton Arenskii, *Rukovodstvo k izucheniiu form instrumental’noi i vokal’noi muzyki*, 5-6. «Несмотря на то, что этот класс существует почти с самого основания Консерваторий, т. е. 25 лет, до сих пор не
Armed with glimpses into, on one hand, the personal aesthetic views of conservatory pedagogues, and on the other, the fundamental principles of the conservatory’s curriculum, one can begin to paint a more complete picture of the young composer who would become Prokofiev’s first professional musical tutor.

Taneyev as Pedagogue

From Glière’s enthusiastic yet decorously reverent recollections of Taneyev in “On the Profession of the Composer and the Education of the Youth,” it is clear that of his three primary teachers at the Moscow Conservatory, he reserved his highest admiration for Taneyev. The latter, of course, was musical conservatism incarnate. Described by David Brown as “the antithesis of Glinka,” that is, “owing nothing to the indigenous Russian tradition established by Glinka, and openly disapproving of contemporary nationalist composers,” Taneyev believed that musical mastery grew primarily from studying the great polyphonists of the Renaissance and the mainstream klassiki (classical composers). The latter would say to us. “Seek it in Bach, in Mozart, in Tchaikovsky (he worshipped). Write a great deal and analyze a great deal. This is just as important for the student as composing.”

In Taneyev’s classes, the students of the Moscow Conservatory heard (in many cases for the first time) the great polyphonists of the Renaissance and the mainstream klassiki (classical composers).
first time) the complex counterpoint of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the more familiar masterworks of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Tchaikovsky.\(^8\)

As a teacher of musical subjects, Taneyev was unsurpassable in Glière’s eyes. Glière’s descriptions of Taneyev’s teaching style revere him both for his strictness and his “tremendous power of artistic persuasion.” Of this, Glière writes,

Taneyev possessed a tremendous power of artistic persuasion. Showing in class some passage from a classical work, he did it with such an artistic completeness that he literally brought his listener-students to trembling awe. We received a full presentation of the most complex scores of the polyphonists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Under his fingers Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Tchaikovsky came to life. He could clearly bring out the polyphonic voices, showing all the interlocking melodic lines with unusual clarity.\(^9\)

Although much of Glière’s writing on the subject of Taneyev’s teaching undoubtedly was swayed by his enthusiastic admiration of his mentor, several facts about Taneyev’s approach in the classroom can be ascertained from these passages. First, Taneyev held high standards for conformity. According to Glière, he refused entrance into his course on strict polyphony to any student not receiving the highest mark (five) in harmony, which he considered the foundation of musical composition. Even Glière was initially held back, despite his status as student mentor to his struggling peers.\(^10\) Glière evidently would later share Taneyev’s pedagogical interest in harmony; Prokofiev reminisced that “after lunch came my lesson [with Glière] on the theory of composition and, above all, harmony [my emphasis].” (Similar hints at the emphasis placed on harmony by his

\(^{8}\) Ibid., 25.
\(^{9}\) Ibid., 25. «Танеев обладал огромной силой художественного убеждения. Показывая в классе какой-либо отрывок из классического произведения, он делал это с такой артистической законченностью, что буквально приводил в трепет своих слушателей-учеников. Мы получали полное представление о сложнейших партитурах полифонистов XVI и XVII веков. Под его пальцами оживали Баха, Гайдна, Моцарта, Бетховена, Чайковского. Он умел ясно выделять полифонические голоса, показывая с необычайной рельефностью все переплетения мелодических линий».
\(^{10}\) Ibid.
teachers are scattered through Prokofiev’s memoirs.)\textsuperscript{11} In addition to holding high academic expectations and placing a considerable emphasis on harmony, Taneyev encouraged students to value the work done in sketches and never to discard ideas, for as he supposedly put it, “Beethoven did not recognize the eraser!”\textsuperscript{12} Finally, Taneyev “demanded self-criticism—austere and relentless [self-criticism] toward deficiencies and errors of taste and mastery.”\textsuperscript{13} The mention here of both taste and mastery, coming from Glière, indicates that he considered the development of taste (aesthetic predilection) to be as much a part of his educational experience as the acquisition of technical skills; Taneyev’s aesthetic ideals thus figured centrally in Glière’s education, despite Glière’s statements elsewhere that Taneyev never forced his aesthetic preferences on his students.\textsuperscript{14} Overall, Glière’s enthusiastic adherence to Taneyev’s high academic

\textsuperscript{11} Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 47. He also writes later that “Since Glière was a good teacher, he tried to avoid any unfavorable reactions on my part to the teaching of harmony. I was eager to compose and could not understand the purpose of these boring assignments. And yet they were necessary, since harmony was providing a foundation for my work. Without it, I wouldn’t have known what I was doing, or why, or how.” Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 48. In the same entry of the memoir, he hints at the importance of harmony when he says “Glière had even canceled the harmony lesson [my emphasis].” Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 49. In addition, he hints at Taneyev’s commitment to harmony upon their first meeting, writing “[Taneyev] said that although [Prokofiev] was only ten, he must begin to learn harmony as correctly taught; otherwise the youthful composer would acquire bad habits he would find hard to break later on.” Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 44. Also, Prokofiev writes upon his meeting with Taneyev around a year later (Dec. 3, 1902) that “[Taneyev] said it wasn’t enough to give only one hour a week to harmony, that it would be better to take some of the time I was using for piano lessons and devote it to harmony.” Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 59.

\textsuperscript{12} Glier, “O professi kompozitora i vospitanii molodezhi,” in Stat’i i vospominaniia [1975], 27. «Бетховен не признавал резинки!»

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid. «Он требовал самокритики. Суровой, беспощадной к недостатками, к погрешностям вкуса и мастерства».

\textsuperscript{14} Glier, “Moi zaniatiia s S. I. Taneevym,” in Stat’i i vospominaniia [1975], 65. “To teach the composer to put forth and develop his ideas, to impart the greatest amount of vivacity to his compositions—Taneyev considered this particularly important. He enthusiastically showed his students countless examples from the literature, which could suggest the breakthrough of new, interesting and effective means of presenting musical ideas. Here, by the way, I’ll mention that Taneyev never imposed his musical tastes on students: with him studied Rachmaninov, Scriabin, Vasilienko, and many others, but each of these retained their individuality [my emphasis].” «Научить композитора излагать и развивать свои мысли, придавать наибольшую жизнь своим сочинениям Танеев считал особенно важным. Он с увлечением указывал своим ученикам на бесчисленные примеры из литературы, которые могли натолкнуть на открытие новых, интересных и действенных средств изложения музыкальных мыслей. Здесь кстати
expectations at the conservatory earned him the playful nickname “grey-haired old man,” courtesy of his friend Il’ia Satz. However, his deference to Taneyev and his seriousness in ‘following the rules,’ as it were, made him a celebrated student. As Taneyev wrote in a letter to Arensky on January 20, 1902, “No one I have had has ever worked so much in class as Glière.”

Glière’s writings also demonstrate that Taneyev’s role as an educator and mentor extended far beyond his classroom teaching. For Glière and other students at the conservatory, this meant an avid interest in extracurricular projects, as well as a focus on developing students’ talents outside the classroom. At Taneyev’s behest, Glière was enlisted as a tutor to struggling conservatory students, and ultimately along these same lines Taneyev would arrange for Glière to teach Prokofiev. Taneyev’s activity as a mentor outside the conservatory echoes through the writings of many musicians who knew him. Before his first interview with the pedagogue, Prokofiev credited Yuri Pomerantsev with praising Taneyev as “kindness itself and very attentive,” qualities
meant to reassure the youth of Taneyev’s geniality. Rachmaninoff described Taneyev’s apartment as a hub of musical activity:

To [Taneyev’s] apartment in his small house flocked the most multifarious (in their significance) and incongruous people, from the beginning student to the great masters of all Russia. And all felt themselves quite at ease; for all it was enjoyable and comfortable; all were shown great consideration; all took from him some kind of vivacity, freshness, and all, I would say, lived and worked easier and better after a visit to the “Taneyev House.” In his relations with people [Taneyev] was impeccable, and I firmly believe that he could never offend, for no one was ever offended by him, such people could not exist, and could never remain [my emphasis].

Such a welcoming guardian of musical talent was, then, an ideal first point of contact for Maria Prokofieva in January of 1902, when she sought advice from Pomerantsev (a family friend) regarding the future of her son’s education. Indeed, Prokofiev’s many visits with Taneyev over the course of his early education indicate the latter’s amiability toward young musical talents (and, ostensibly, his awareness of the sway chocolate candies could hold in dealings with children). All of these descriptions indicate that Taneyev, while serving in his capacities at the conservatory, consciously made time for music education beyond its walls. It is undoubtedly with this in mind that Glîère, conscious of what he had learned from Taneyev and others and also of what he later had passed on to Prokofiev and other students of his own, noted in “On the Profession of the

19 Petrova, Reingol’d Moritsevich Glier, 14. «К нему на квартиру в его домик-особняк стекались самые разнокалиберные по своему значению, несовместимые люди от начинающего ученика до крупных мастеров всеи России. И все чувствовали себя тут непринужденно, всем бывало весело, уютно, все были обласканы, всё запасались от него какой-то бодростью, свежестью, и всем, сказал бы я, жилось и работалось после посещения "таневского домика" легче и лучше. В своих отношениях с людьми он был непогрешим, и я твердо уверен, что обиженных им не было, не могло быть и не осталось».
20 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 43.
21 Ibid., 43-44, 58-59, 82, 84, and 122-25.
Composer and the Education of the Youth” that “young composers should more often and more freely interact with composers of the older generation.”

Taneyev as Aesthetician

Taneyev’s exhaustive *Convertible Counterpoint in the Strict Style*, although translated to English and beginning to gain a foothold in the historiography of music theory in Russia, remains a highly complex volume still in need of interpretive unpacking in Western scholarship. A comprehensive analysis of this work falls far beyond the scope of this thesis; rather, this section will provide a brief overview of the salient aesthetic positions endorsed in the work. Ellon D. Carpenter credits Taneyev’s theoretical methodology and approach to the structure of music as one of the key catalysts for the twentieth-century transition from a strictly practical, applied-compositional approach to music theory to a more scientific, objective method; or, in other words, a shift from identifying theoretical study as a means (of reaching its ultimate application in practical composition) to identifying it as a scientific end in itself. Of course, Taneyev himself was both a composer and a theorist-academic, and furthermore one must acknowledge the place of Taneyev’s theoretical ideas as only one factor in the complex chronology that Carpenter discusses. Yet for Taneyev, both in his pedagogical work and in his theoretical work, theoretical skills—particularly harmony and counterpoint—were of the utmost importance. Taneyev’s pedagogical emphasis on these

---

23 Ellon D. Carpenter, “Contributions of Taneev, Catoire, Conus, Garbuzov, Mazel, and Tiulin,” in Russian *Theoretical Thought in Music*, ed. Gordon D. McQuere, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press), 253. Taneyev is included here in the context of a wave of change in theoretical methodology, brought on by other Russian theorists including Georgy Lvovich Catoire, Georgy Eduardovich Conus (another of Glière’s teachers), Nikolai Alexandrovich Garbuzov, Lev Abramovich Mazel, and Yuri Nikolaevich Tiulin. All of these figures served on the faculty of the Moscow Conservatory at one point or another in their careers.
areas, at its core, stemmed from his admiration of the ideas of *Convertible Counterpoint*’s dedicatee, Herman Laroche. A proponent of Anton Rubinstein’s European-style educational prerogatives, Laroche was a prolific music critic writing from a stoutly conservative stance (compared even by some to Hanslick, whose *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* he had translated),\(^\text{24}\) as well as a long-time friend of Tchaikovsky and professor at the Moscow Conservatory in the late 1860s and in the 1880s. Like Rubinstein, Laroche believed Russia to be lacking in music education, but he ruled out the possibility of Russia blossoming in the musical arts without first undergoing a period of contrapuntal mastery, observing that Europe had only reached its contemporaneous nineteenth-century artistic state after passing through the dogmatic, theoretical pedagogy of the medieval and Renaissance periods.\(^\text{25}\)

Taneyev reworked this theory, however, in an attempt to quell the ruptures in conventional tonality that had cropped up in musical trends toward the end of the nineteenth century: he sought to employ a mathematic approach to the study of counterpoint in order to broaden the possible combinations and permutations of compositional material within the existing functional tonal framework, as an alternative to stretching tonality to its breaking point with chromaticism (or abandoning it altogether).\(^\text{26}\) Fundamentally, like many European musical conservatives, Taneyev believed in the *necessity* of tonality for establishing large-scale formal structures in music, and viewed “the development of the free forms of instrumental music that appeared at the end of the eighteenth and…first half of the nineteenth century” as a direct


\(^{26}\) Carpenter, “Contributions of Taneev, Catoire, Conus, Garbuzov, Mazel, and Tiulin,” 255.
result of the ability of the free style of counterpoint to “be consolidated into one organic whole and then by means of modulation to [be dissected] into factors that are tonally interdependent.”

Glière’s career-long respect for the boundaries of tonality, a quality encouraged later in his career by the Soviet socialist realist movement and, concurrently, praised by Soviet writers seeking to stamp out the ‘harmful’ influences of formalism (any musical parameters impeding universal intelligibility),

still coincided at its most basic foundations with the emphasis on tonal harmony advocated by Taneyev’s musical philosophy.

Arensky as Pedagogue

From Taneyev’s overpowering presence in Glière’s writings on education, not to mention those articles directly related to him (“My Studies with Taneyev” and “Reminiscences About Taneyev”), it is clear that his colleague Anton Arensky was at best a distant second among Glière’s Moscow pedagogical role models. This may have resulted partly from Arensky’s departure from the Moscow Conservatory in the middle of Glière’s study there; in 1895 Arensky succeeded Balakirev as director of the Imperial Chapel in St. Petersburg. However, Arensky’s presence did loom over the Moscow musical scene, and if we are to fully understand Glière’s educational and pedagogical

---


28 Bogdanov-Berezovskii, “Predislovie,” in Reingol’d Moritsevich Glier, Stat’i. Vospominaniia. Materialy. [two-volume edition], (Moskva: Izdatel’stvo “Muzyka,” 1965), 7. “[Glière] knew the value of the great traditions of his predecessors, and he adhered to and developed them. In this lay his great historical achievement, since these tendencies of his activity, during a period of tumultuous wavering and the strongest differences in the compositional field, served him as a reliable, sturdy counterweight to both reckless, self-serving experimentation, cosmopolitan tendencies, and direct manifestations of formalism.” «[Глиэр] знал цену высоким традициям предшественников, придерживался и развивал их. В этом заключается большая историческая заслуга Глиэра, ибо эти тенденции его деятельности в периоды бурных шатаний и наиболее сильных разногласий в композиторской среде служили надежным, прочным противовесом и безглазому самоцельному экспериментаторству, и космополитическим устремлениям, и прямым проявлениям формализма». 
background, then his study with Arensky at the conservatory warrants further investigation.

Anton Arensky led the main course in harmony during Glière’s time at the conservatory, to be replaced by Georgy Konyus when he departed for St. Petersburg. In comparing the two, Glière favored Arensky for his manner of teaching “not only as a pedagogue, but also as an artist.” He continued:

[… ] Konyus had a different method for lessons. Looking at assignments completed by the students, he very precisely indicated the errors, operating with strictly professional terminology—seconds, fourths, fifths, the voice goes higher, the voice goes lower, etc. But Arensky could supplement this musical “technology” with living, creative observations. I remember once, having picked up one of my coursework preludes, he seriously looked at me and asked, “Are you in love?” He found even in our coursework the expression of living emotions.  

Glière also praised this artistic side of Arensky’s pedagogical approach, as opposed to technical drudgery, in the article “My Studies with Taneyev,” and Arensky’s primary biographer, Gennady Tsypin, echoed these praises further in the main passage of his biography concerned with Arensky’s pedagogical pursuits:

Arensky’s students emphasize in their memoirs: for them it was important that classes be led not ‘by an ordinary pedagogue…but a genuine artist, a composer of exceptional talent’ [Glière’s words]. This, it goes without saying, inspired and stimulated the youth; roused enthusiasm, energy, and the desire to work. It is precisely this that has led in the end to distinguished results of Arensky’s work as a pedagogue.


31 G. M. Tsypin, A. S. Arenskii (Moskva: Izdatel’stvo muzyka, 1966), 17. The specific students whose memoirs he cites include Glière, Goldenweiser, Presman, and Ostrovskiaia. «Ученики Аренского подчеркивают в своих воспоминаниях: для них было важно то, что занятиями руководил не “рядовой педагог…а подлинный художник, композитор исключительно даровитый”. Это,
Glière’s willingness to take seriously the work of the young Prokofiev may have had its roots in this emotional-artistic side of Arensky’s teaching, even if the technical dimension owed more to Taneyev. Just as Arensky “found even in…coursework the living expression of human emotions,” Glière also, in Prokofiev’s words, “always came to see [his childhood] plays, considering them to be something more serious than a game and seeing in them the embryo of future works for the stage by a composer.”

Glière knew the value of instilling pride in work, and the kind of pride the young Prokofiev developed as a result of the respect Glière held for his precocious attempts echoed Glière’s own pride in the “coursework prelude” Arensky had praised.

__________

Arensksy as Aesthetician

Arensksy’s 1893-94 *Handbook for the Practical Study of Musical Form*, his *A Short Guide to the Practical Study of Harmony* (originally published in 1891), and his *Collection of 1000 Exercises for the Practical Study of Harmony* became commonly-used pedagogical materials in the Russian language and, at least in the case of the third, continued to be reprinted in the Soviet Union in various editions even through 1960.

All three of these works, as noted by German scholar Andreas Wehrmeyer, were primarily “based on the pedagogical principles of Tchaikovsky and, respectively, his

разумеется, окрыляло и стимулировало молодежь, пробуждало энтузиазм, энергию, желание трудиться. Это же приводило в конечном счете к отличным результатам в работе Аренского-преподавателя».

Moscow School.” Glière also noted the concurrence of Arensky having written a textbook on the study of harmony when his two primary pedagogical influences—Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov—had already authored the predominant Russian-language works on the topic. Arensky’s textbooks openly betray their influences; the introduction to the textbook on form contains a recommendation of further reading ranging from A. B. Marx’s *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* to Taneyev’s translations of Bussler and *Cours de Contrepoint et de Fugue* by Cherubini. In terms of structure and organization, they strongly echo Tchaikovsky’s and Rimsky-Korsakov’s functional manuals, and they lack the kind of definitive aesthetic position that Taneyev takes in his *Convertible Counterpoint*, which presents a newer way of thinking about musical aesthetics, rather than a more pragmatic Russian-language codification of conventional Western music theory.

Ultimately, Arensky’s conservative tendencies derive from Tchaikovsky, despite the fact that his formal musical education had taken place under Rimsky-Korsakov at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. The professional relationship between Arensky and

---

Tchaikovsky, which had begun when Arensky joined the faculty of the Moscow Conservatory after his 1882 graduation from St. Petersburg, was certainly one of mutual regard; as Tchaikovsky wrote in an 1891 letter to Taneyev regarding Arensky, “Arensky is wonderfully gifted in music—somehow he thinks through everything subtly and genuinely! This is a very interesting musical personality!”

Arensky’s symphonies, particularly the First (Op. 4), descend directly from Tchaikovsky’s symphonic idiom, and many stylistic characteristics shared by Tchaikovsky and Arensky echo strongly in Glière’s symphonies, especially Nos. 1 and 2. Glière’s First Symphony in E-Flat Major (Op. 8) in many ways resembles Tchaikovsky’s Second (Op. 17)—the “Little Russian”—particularly in its introduction-coda frame device, its use of folk and folk-like material, and the insistently repetitive folk-like melody in its sonata-rondo finale, much akin to the Ukrainian folk song “The Crane” used in Tchaikovsky’s finale. Further similarities among these three composers’ aesthetic choices, indeed, are not difficult to uncover.

_________

Ippolitov-Ivanov

Although frequently included with Taneyev and Arensky in the pedagogical triumvirate of Glière’s Moscow Conservatory experience, Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov does not receive much individual attention in Glière’s writings, and the exceptions are

---

38 Tchaikovsky, letter to Taneyev, 14 January 1891, in P. I. Chaikovskii—S. I. Taneev, Pis’ma (Goskull’prosvetizdat, M., 1951), 169-70, quoted in Tsypin, A. S. Arenskii, 3. «Аренский удивительно умен в музыке,—писал Чайковский,—как-то все тонко и верно обдумывает! Это очень интересная музыкальная личность!»


40 For more information on the introduction-coda frame device, refer to James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, Elements of Sonata Theory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 304-05. This was a device especially popular in Russian symphonic music of the second half of the nineteenth century; for several examples see Benedict Taylor, “Temporality in Nineteenth-Century Russian Music and the Notion of Development,” Music & Letters 94, no. 1 (February 2013): 91 n. 43.


42 See note 3 and other statements of the type in Glier, “O professi kompozitora i vospitanii molodezhi,” in Stat’i i vospominania [1975], 22, 27.
bland generalizations that tell us little about his teaching style. Glière’s only mention of
Ippolitov-Ivanov alone in the article “On the Profession of the Composer and the
Education of the Youth” exemplifies these comments: “My professor in free
composition…was Ippolitov-Ivanov. How interesting these classes were! What a great
impression they left in my musical consciousness!” Other more communicative
biographical sources have described his aesthetic position as particularly kuchkist
(certainly more so than Arensky). Ippolitov-Ivanov studied under Rimsky-Korsakov at
the St. Petersbourg Conservatory in the 1870s, and Sabaneev has noted his clear
indebtedness to the latter’s orchestrational prowess. Commentators on his aesthetic
position note above all its combination of kuchkism with conventionalism and clichés.
Barsova writes that, “not possessing a dazzling creative individuality, [Ippolitov-Ivanov]
made no attempt to establish an original style,” and Sabaneev writes that, “[his creative
work] shows little sign of independence,” and that “he never strove to reveal new paths
in music…his musical inspiration tended to simplicity, his style was always unaffected
and transparent…” Nonetheless, for Glière, Ippolitov-Ivanov’s more nationalistic
stylistic tendencies provided a counterbalance to the more predominantly Tchaikovskian
aesthetics of the Moscow Conservatory, particularly those channeled through Arensky’s
aesthetic position. Indeed, Glière’s Op. 33 symphonic poem The Sirens (1908) falls
directly within the scope of kuchkist stylistic influence. Thus, the Moscow Conservatory

---

учителем по свободному сочинению (в Петербурге этот предмет назывался «практическое
сочинение») был Ипполитов-Иванов. Какие это были интересные занятия! Какой глубокий след
они оставили в моем сознании музыканта!»
Barsova writes that “All that he inherited from Tchaikovskky was an elegance of phrasing and a song-like
arioso.” See Inna Barsova, “Ippolitov-Ivanov [Ivanov], Mikhail Mikhaylovich,” in Grove Music Online,
faculty—in particular, the three professors most influential to Glière—offered characteristics of both Tchaikovskian and nationalistic aesthetic leanings, and Glière, in the development of his own creative predilections, was able to receive and incorporate both traditions effectively into his own compositional style.\textsuperscript{47}

Glière as Pedagogue

Not long after Glière’s graduation from the Moscow Conservatory, his first opportunity to develop his own experience as a pedagogue materialized. Just a few years earlier, in 1895, Moscow Conservatory graduate Elena Gnesina, supported by her musically-inclined sisters Evgeniia and Maria and later joined by sisters Olga and Elizaveta and younger brother Mikhail, had first opened the doors of the Gnesin Music School (then known as the “Muzykal’noe uchilishcche E. i M. Gnesinykh”). This established one of the richest institutions in the history of music education in Moscow, eventually outshadowed in its renown only by the Moscow Conservatory itself.\textsuperscript{48} The Gnesin sisters, described by Glière as “strictly honest, independent, and direct,” governed an establishment often described in those same terms.\textsuperscript{49} Glière admitted some initial trepidation when the Gnesin sisters took him on as a teacher in 1901, writing in the article “My Meetings with the Gnesins” that “the organization in the school was so serious and so strict that for the first time, as a result of my young age, I was regarded as a teacher with some skepticism, and often presented with ‘treacherous’ [Glière’s quotes]

\textsuperscript{47} Petrova, Reingol’d Moritsevich Glier, 16.

\textsuperscript{48} “Gnesina” and “Gnesinykh imeni muzykal’noe uchilisheche i muzykal’no-pedagogicheskii institut,“ in Bol’shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia (2-oe izdanie), tom 11, B. A. Vvedenskii, glavnyi redaktor, (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe nauchnoe izdatel’stvo “Bol’shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia,” 1952), 551.

\textsuperscript{49} Glier, “Moi vstrechi c Gnesinymi,” in Stat’i i vospominaniia [1975], 90.
questions.” However, any initial skepticism on the part of the Gnesins soon dissolved entirely and Glière’s friendship with the family prospered for the rest of his life (Elena even spoke to him shortly before his death). Glière began his tenure at the Gnesin School as a teacher of harmony, taking on the responsibility of a course called “encyclopedia” (a course of study in pre-Revolutionary conservatories for broadening knowledge of music literature) in 1906, and courses in fugue, orchestration, and composition far later in 1922. Glière’s earliest experiences teaching harmony to children at the Gnesin School beginning in 1901 undoubtedly allowed him the opportunity to develop his own methods as a practitioner of the subject so revered by Taneyev, and also prepared him for his experience in Sontsovka with the young Prokofiev. As Natalia Petrova has noted,

Glière was very fond of children, and children repaid him with sincere, spontaneous sympathy. Communication with young musicians suggested to the composer the images and plots close to children’s perception.

This immediately brings to mind the anecdotes of croquet games, chess matches, horseback rides and dart pistol duels in Prokofiev’s memoirs, which Glière supposedly took part in with the young composer during his tenure in Sontsovka.

Having been established only recently before engaging the services of Glière, the Gnesin School was still in particular need of musical pieces suitable for instruction, especially for piano, and Glière was charged with producing short, easy works intended

---

50 Ibid. «Постановка в школе была настолько серьезна и строга, что в первое время, вследствие моей молодости, ко мне как к преподавателю относились несколько скептически, зачастую задавая мне "коварные" вопросы».
52 Petrova, Reingol’d Moritsevich Glier, 24.
53 Ibid. «Глиэр очень любил детей, и дети платили ему искренней, непосредственной симпатией. Общение с маленькими музыкантами подсказывало композитору образы и сюжеты, близкие детскому восприятию».
54 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 47, 68-70.
for technical development. Elena Gnesin remembered this in her article “Remembrances of Glière,” writing:

Working in our school, Glière created at our request a line of small pieces for piano—for two, four, and eight hands, and also pieces for violin and ensemble. All these pieces were usually dedicated to the Gnesin sisters.⁵⁵

While many of these works were published later on in Glière’s career as collections like the 1908 24 Characteristic Pieces for Youth (Op. 34), the 1909 8 Easy Pieces for Piano (Op. 43), and the 1911 7 Instructive Pieces (Op. 54), it remains possible that some may have been written during the early years of the Gnesin School’s existence. Glière writes that,

We eagerly worked, receiving the impetus for compositional activity because of the fact that many works were performed by the students. A great number of our choral and instrumental works, later having gained a foothold in the school repertoire, arose from this initiative and even on the basis of subjects put forth by the Gnesin sisters.⁵⁶

Although Prokofiev himself never mentions in his childhood memoirs any of these pieces specifically composed by Glière, he does describe a certain aspect of Glière’s instruction on orchestration—indeed a rather difficult subject to teach with no orchestra in the immediate area—which may relate to the kinds of basic semiotic triggers common in pieces of this nature. According to Prokofiev, Glière taught him the fundamentals of orchestration by pointing out examples in piano pieces evocative of certain timbral associations; Prokofiev writes:

⁵⁵ Gnesina, “Chelovek, pobedivshii starost,” 49. «Работая в нашем училище, Глиэр создал по нашей просьбе ряд небольших пьес для фортепиано—в две, в четыре и восемь рук, а также пьесы для скрипки и ансамбли. Все эти пьесы посвящались обычно сестрам Гнесиным».
⁵⁶ Petrova, Reingol’d Moritsevich Glier, 24. «Мы,—писал Глиэр,—охотно работали, получая стимул к композиторской деятельности, ибо многие произведения исполнялись учащимися. Большое количество наших хоровых и инструментальных произведений, впоследствии утвердившихся в школьном репертуаре, возникли по инициативе и даже на основе сюжетов, предложенных сестрами Гнесинными».
If, while working with me on the piano in the morning, he noticed in a Beethoven sonata or some other piece a chord, passage, or melody characteristic of some instrument, he would stop and point out that if one were orchestrating the piece “that loud chord should be given to three trombones, that pastoral melody to the oboe, and that cantilena middle voice to the cello.”…his method was so vividly descriptive that I grasped quite a bit.  

The connection between Glière’s novel approach to teaching instrumentation with piano works under the circumstances in Sontsovka and his own instructional piano pieces like “Song of the Hunters” (Pesnia okhotnikov) or “Little Bells” (Kolokol’chiki) from the Op. 34 collection of children’s piano pieces (the former of which uses fourths to evoke the sound of hunting horns and the latter of which evokes the sounds of bells) should not be overlooked. Regardless of which came first—Glière’s composition of these works for use in the Gnesin School or his work with young Prokofiev—Glière was clearly aware of the utility that orchestrational timbral associations could have for pedagogical purposes, even in pieces written exclusively for piano.

Ultimately, Glière’s work with the Gnesin School directly before his tutorship with eleven-year-old Prokofiev the following summer could only have improved his skills as a pedagogue. Moreover, having only recently finished his own education at the Moscow Conservatory under the direct guidance of mentors whom he idolized (Taneyev in particular), the young Glière saw the opportunity to work at the Gnesin School as a chance to experiment and to discern what pedagogical skills could and could not be transferred from these role models in their more mature conservatory setting to a context involving younger children. Through Glière’s enthusiastic writings shine the pedagogical traits he valued most from his studies with Taneyev, Arensky, and Ippolitov-Ivanov, and it goes without saying that these salient traits would later influence his own pedagogical

---

57 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 50.
approach. The difference between Glière and the typical pedagogue, however, was that Glière possessed not only these foundations set by mature pedagogical role models, but also experience filtering them into a format that could be easily understood and consumed by a younger audience. For Prokofiev, Glière was no Yuri Pomerantsev. “Glière,” rather, “was more flexible…and didn’t get so far away from practical composition.”

Glière effectively understood the fine line of balance between, on one hand, the serious pedagogical transfer of information and technical skills, and on the other the value of retaining the interest and attention of a young person. For the young Sergey Prokofiev, the stars could hardly have aligned more perfectly.

---

58 Ibid., 47.
CHAPTER 2

PROKOFIEV’S EARLY MUSICAL EXPERIENCES
To be sure, the boy who would greet Reinhold Glière at the station in Sontsovka was by few accounts an ordinary child when it came to musical abilities. Fortunate to have not only a musically interested but also a musically competent mother, Prokofiev had already begun his education in music long before Glière’s arrival. A “doting mother” who “gave [Prokofiev] tremendous confidence,” Maria Prokofieva, although by no means as demanding as a Leopold Mozart, still harbored vast ambitions for her talented son, and she played an assertive role in not only his early childhood music education, but also in his future career endeavors. Indeed, Prokofiev’s mother maintained a very close relationship with her son throughout his life and career, shepherding him through his time at the conservatory and even residing on and off with Sergey and his future wife Lina in the West after her dicey withdrawal from civil war-torn Russia in the summer of 1920.

During Prokofiev’s childhood, Maria served as the most dominant pedagogical figure before Glière’s tutelage, and the fact that Glière (with Taneyev’s support) would literally transplant his life to the remote Ukrainian estate of Sontsovka for two summers to cultivate the talents of this musical Wunderkind is a testament to the skills the young Prokofiev had developed under the guidance of his mother during his earliest years. Prokofiev often waxed sentimental in recalling his mother; always acknowledging her

---

60 Pamela Davidson has revealed some of the fruits of Maria Prokofieva’s continued involvement in her son’s musical career even after his graduation from the conservatory in her revelatory analysis of Maria’s literary notebook, which roughly dates to 1914-17. Because the present work will deal primarily with Maria’s role in Prokofiev’s earliest musical experiences before Glière’s arrival in Sontsovka, for more information on the continuation of this relationship the reader should consult Pamela Davidson, “‘Look After Your Son’s Talents’: The Literary Notebook of Mariya Prokofieva,” in *Sergey Prokofiev and His World*, ed. Simon Morrison (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 2-59.
61 Morrison, *Lina and Serge*, 50-52. Morrison alludes to the close bond between mother and son during this period, writing “…Lina saw in Serge’s mother the key to his heart.”
technical limitations as a musician, he nonetheless writes fondly of her in his childhood memoirs:

My mother loved music, and my father respected it. No doubt he, too, loved it, but on a philosophical level, as a manifestation of culture, as a flight of the human spirit...My mother’s attitude toward it was much more practical. She played the piano rather well, and her rustic leisure enabled her to devote as much time to it as she wished. It can hardly be said that she had musical talents. Technique was difficult for her to master, and her finger pads did not extend beyond her nails. She was too timid to play for an audience. But she had three musical virtues: persistence, love, and taste.62

These virtues would become the catalyst through which Prokofiev’s musical development would unfold in three distinct directions: his knowledge of musical repertoire (directly influenced by his mother’s own exposure and personal tastes), his pianistic abilities (aided by his mother’s persistence as a teacher), and his early compositional endeavors (aided by his mother’s boundless encouragement for his attempts). With a thorough investigation of Prokofiev’s development in these three areas before Glière’s arrival in Sontsovka in the summer of 1902, one can appreciate more fully the essential groundwork she laid for her son’s later experiences with Glière’s pedagogy.

__________

Developing a Knowledge of Musical Repertoire

Generally, the works Prokofiev heard as a child fall into two categories: music for piano, played within the walls of the Prokofiev home in Sontsovka, and music for the theatre, which Prokofiev witnessed on trips to Moscow in January of 1900, and to St. Petersburg and Moscow in December of 1901. In Prokofiev’s exhaustive childhood memoir, specific mentions of this exposure—that is, citations of specific composers, works, movements, and genres—appear frequently, and these offer a glimpse into the

62 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 11-12.
breadth of Maria Prokofieva’s aesthetic tastes. Overall they betray a predilection for the music of Beethoven and Chopin—more specifically Beethoven’s piano sonatas and Chopin’s preludes, mazurkas, and waltzes. Maria also occasionally played the easier piano works of Liszt (Prokofiev emphasizes that these pieces were “not too difficult”), including either the Rhapsodie espagnole or one of the Hungarian Rhapsodies.

According to Prokofiev, Tchaikovsky and Anton Rubinstein (particularly the latter) were the leaders of Russian music in his mother’s personal taste:

[My mother’s] favorite Russian composers were Tchaikovsky and Rubinstein. Anton Rubinstein was at the height of his fame, and my mother was convinced that he was a greater phenomenon than Tchaikovsky. A portrait of Rubinstein hung over the grand piano.

Maria’s admiration of Anton Rubinstein, whose pianistic technique drew heavily from the influence of Liszt, is consonant with her own interest in works by the latter composer. In her own technical studies, Maria used both Hanon and Czerny, although these rigidly technical works reveal less about aesthetic predilections. By age nine, Prokofiev reports playing Mozart and some of Beethoven’s easier sonatas. When it came to symphonies (in four-hand arrangements for piano, of course), Maria Prokofieva’s collection contained Beethoven’s Fifth and Seventh, a collection of six symphonies by Haydn, as well as a copy of Tchaikovsky’s Second (as of winter 1901-02), but none of Schumann’s

---

63 Ibid., 12-14.
64 Ibid., 13.
65 Ibid., 14. “One day, as my mother told it, ‘Sergushechka came to his mother with a sheet of paper covered with notes and declared, ‘I have composed Liszt’s Rhapsody.’’ She had to explain that one couldn’t compose a Liszt rhapsody because it was a piece of music Liszt himself had composed.” This suggests that his mother had played either Liszt’s Rhapsodie espagnole or one of the Hungarian Rhapsodies at some point in his childhood prior to this (the summer of 1896).
66 Ibid., 13-14. He also recalls an anecdote later on p. 35: “[My mother] told me, with evident approval, a story she had heard about Anton Rubinstein. It seems that he would mark in pencil some passage in a student’s sheet of music and write under it, ‘Repeat three hundred times’ or ‘Repeat five hundred times.’”
67 Ibid., 35.
symphonies. It is clear that Maria Prokofieva had also played excerpts from Gounod’s *Faust* prior to January 1900, including the waltz and march, and Prokofiev also recalls being familiar with waltzes from Tchaikovsky’s *Eugene Onegin* and either *Aïda* or Meyerbeer’s *Le Prophète* (he can’t remember which). References to a four-hand arrangement of the overture from von Suppé’s *Poet and Peasant* and Eilenberg’s march *Die Wachtparade kommt* also appear during this period.

While these works represent a smattering of what was, no doubt, a much larger collection of works played within the confines of the Sontsovka estate, Prokofiev also attended several public performances before his study with Glière during two sojourns to Russia’s then-thriving cultural centers: Moscow and St. Petersburg. The theatrical experiences of the first trip, which brought the youth to Moscow in January of 1900, would furnish young Prokofiev with the driving impetus to compose the first of his four childhood operas—*The Giant*. On this trip, Prokofiev saw *Faust*, Borodin’s *Prince Igor*, and Tchaikovsky’s *Sleeping Beauty*. His self-reported opinions of the works are varied: in *Faust* he enjoyed the action (particularly the duel), but found *Prince Igor* less impressive and was distracted for most of *Sleeping Beauty*, aside from the scene with the

---

68 Ibid., 55. “[My mother continued] to play four-hand arrangements of Haydn and Beethoven symphonies with me. She would play the bass part, having worked on it in advance. I would sight-read, sometimes with pleasure, at other times without…Still, I did like the Haydn and Beethoven symphonies and usually played them with pleasure. My mother had chosen Beethoven’s Fifth and Seventh symphonies. Haydn was represented by a volume of six selected symphonies.” This excerpt describes the autumn of 1902, between Glière’s two posts in Sontsovka; however, it is reasonable to assume that these four-hand volumes were part of Maria Prokofieva’s collection as early as the early months of 1898, when Prokofiev recalls first hearing a four-hand arrangement (two players simultaneously playing). See Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev*, 15. The purchase of Tchaikovsky’s second symphony is mentioned in Prokofiev, 45. Schumann’s symphonies are mentioned in Prokofiev’s first interview with Glazunov, during which the latter asks Prokofiev if he’s played any of them and the response is negative. See Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev*, 86.

69 Ibid., 21. Prokofiev writes that he recognized these two excerpts from his mother’s playing in Sontsovka, and that she had chosen to take him to see *Faust* so that he would hear music he was already familiar with.

70 Ibid., 30.

71 Ibid., 37-38.
His second sojourn (December 1901 to January 1902) took him to both St. Petersburg and Moscow, where he saw Glinka’s *A Life for the Tsar*, Dargomyzhsky’s *Rusalka*, Anton Rubinstein’s *The Demon*, Verdi’s *La Traviata*, and Bizet’s *Carmen*, none of which he opines about specifically. However, in Moscow he also attended a symphonic rehearsal of Tchaikovsky’s Second Symphony, which he particularly enjoyed, prompting his mother to purchase the aforementioned four-hand arrangement.

Such itemizing amounts to more than lists; the evidence in this survey of Maria Prokofieva’s tastes in music (as reported by her son) answers several important questions. First, Maria Prokofieva’s musical activities were primarily directed toward standard composers of the Western canon and those Russian composers most closely associated with the Western tradition. The prospect, then, of hiring a music tutor like Glière, whose Moscow Conservatory education had saturated him with the echoes of Tchaikovskian aesthetics, would have seemed attractive. These works also reveal an underlying irony between Maria’s aesthetic tastes and Prokofiev’s later conservatory education: nowhere in descriptions of his mother’s domestic repertoire does Prokofiev mention a single composer associated with the Russian nationalist movement (or its descendants), and the only nationalist works that appear at all in the pre-conservatory memoirs are Borodin’s *Prince Igor*, Glinka’s *A Life for the Tsar*, and Dargomyzhsky’s *Rusalka*, for which Prokofiev offers little in the way of commentary. Thus, the child-composer who would go on to study with Rimsky-Korsakov, Glazunov, and Liadov—some of the last major names associated with the *kuchkist* style—appears to have grown up somewhat detached from this notorious branch of Russian musical culture, save for seeing a few

---

72 Ibid., 21-22.
73 Ibid., 42.
74 Ibid., 45.
performances in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Overall, Maria Prokofiev’s tastes in the music she played herself, domestically, betray a strong preference for the Western art music tradition, and this predilection shows through further in her selection of works like Faust, La Traviata, and Carmen, or composers like Tchaikovsky and Rubinstein for Prokofiev’s experiences of public performances.

Along with Prokofiev’s recollections of specific works, his self-reported opinions of his musical experiences before Glière offer equally significant insights for the present study, for they indicate overwhelmingly the extent to which Prokofiev’s tastes in music were directly influenced by his mother. A typical example is as follows:

Before giving the pieces to me, Mother would play through all of them herself; and if any struck her as dull she would discard them. Those she approved would be given to me to play, and then we would discuss them: I would tell her what I liked, and what I didn’t like, and why. In this way I early developed independence of judgment; while the ability to read music well, and my familiarity with a lot of music, helped me to judge pieces easily [my emphasis].

From this it is clear that, even while discovering his own sense of taste, the young Prokofiev ultimately worked from a pool of works, composers, and styles filtered by his mother. Prokofiev’s opinions duplicated his mother’s by an emphasis on “serious music;” as Prokofiev writes:

Mother strove for the best possible execution of the pieces she was learning; she worked at it lovingly; and she was interested only in serious music, a fact which played a very important role in developing my taste in music [my emphasis].

From the day I was born I heard Beethoven and Chopin; and I recall that at twelve I was genuinely scornful of light music. While she was pregnant with me, my mother played the piano as much as six hours a day. The

75 Ibid., 19.
76 Ibid., 12.
future homunculus was formed to the accompaniment of music [my emphasis].

While such assessments indicate the young composer’s early desire to form his own aesthetic positions, one must interpret them cautiously, for they also have come down to us via a much older Prokofiev, who compiled his memoir in the 1930s. Thus, although they support Glière’s remark that the young Prokofiev “not only knew [the musical literature], but had his own independent judgments about it,” the specific parameters, such as what constituted “serious music,” as opposed to “light music,” remain subjectively conditioned by both Maria Prokofieva’s influences and Prokofiev’s later mediation of them. Moreover, it goes without saying that the works and composers mentioned in the memoirs represent only a small portion of what was likely a much larger pool of musical exposure, whose complete scope has largely been lost.

Learning Piano: Maria Prokofieva as a Teacher

Not surprisingly for a composer who would one day explode onto the scene of musical modernism with electrifying performances as a pianist, the early study of this instrument formed the center of all of Prokofiev’s early musical study. Christina Guillaumier has dealt extensively with Prokofiev’s childhood piano compositions from this angle in her article “The Giant and Other Creatures,” calling the piano “a testing

77 Ibid.
78 Glier, Stat’i i vospominanii [1975], 28. “[Prokofiev] rather briskly played the piano, read well from the page and for his age knew very well the musical literature. In fact, [he] not only knew it, but had his own independent judgments about it…Playing the works of the classic composers, he always tried to understand the form of the composition, to discern its main themes, the character of the development, and harmonic plan…” «Он довольно бойко играл на рояле, хорошо читал с листа и для своего возраста отлично знал музыкальную литературу. Причем не только знал, но и имел о ней свои самостоятельные суждения…Играя произведения классиков, он всегда старался понять форму сочинения, определить его основные темы, характер разработки, гармонический план».
ground for musical material that [Prokofiev] conceived away from the keyboard.”79 Furthermore, she has argued convincingly in her article “Ambiguous Modernism” that Prokofiev’s conservatory-period and early post-conservatory orchestral works show symptoms of the composer’s struggle “to reconcile and transfer his forward harmonic thinking and specific gestural language developed in his writing for the piano into his orchestral idiom.”80 Because Prokofiev viewed much of the musical world through the lens of the piano (more so than Glière, who, although a modest pianist, was primarily trained as a performer on violin), Prokofiev’s early development of piano skills, supervised primarily by his mother, laid the foundations for his further artistic development. Yet Maria Prokofieva’s pedagogical approaches, while undeniably successful in instilling an interest in musical study, did so to a certain extent at the expense of technique. To be sure, she worked with her son on exercises from a number of resources, including the Strobel School Library, the von Arc School Library, and Czerny’s etudes, and prescribed him a daily practice regimen.81 She also taught him to transpose and had him transpose easy piano pieces into different keys, prompting him to explore which sounded best (he tended to prefer the original).82 To best equip herself to teach her son, Maria took lessons when she could and studied the instrument herself.83 Still, Prokofiev notes that because of his ability to read music well and his widening familiarity with musical repertoire,

[…] this coin had another side: I didn’t learn any piece thoroughly, and tended to play carelessly. And I was sloppy in another way: in

81 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 19.
82 Ibid., 35.
83 Ibid.
positioning my fingers on the keys. My thoughts would run ahead, and my fingers would follow somehow or another. This lack of polish in details and impurity of technique remained my bête noire all the time I was at the conservatory. It was a fault I began gradually to overcome only after I was twenty.  

Slight technical deficiencies aside, however, Maria Prokofieva’s work with her son on the piano effectively paved the way for Glière’s success in Sontsovka. The synonymous language Prokofiev uses to describe how both teachers avoided “drudgery” or “unfavorable reactions” in favor of stimulating his interest in studies testifies to the similarities between them. Indeed, Maria Prokofieva herself picked up on this similarity—the avoidance of “drudgery”—between her own teaching and Glière’s, remarking:

I passed my student in piano playing to Glière, fully aware of his advantage having just graduated the course at the conservatory and seeing his genial attitude, which in no way could repulse a student from lessons [my emphasis].

Moreover, Prokofiev’s negative reviews of the teaching style of Yuri Pomerantsev—the interim tutor with whom he took a few brief lessons in Moscow in the early months of 1902, whose dry explanations and “boring” assignments were, according to Prokofiev, “of no use to anyone,”—indicate the extent to which Prokofiev divided teaching approaches into two polarized areas: the teaching of difficult concepts and the fostering of creativity. Through his descriptions of both his mother’s teaching and Glière’s, it is clear that he considered both of them more than proficient in balancing the two, and this

---

84 Ibid., 19.
85 Maria Prokofieva, “Muzykal’nyi vospitatel’ Serezhi,” in Glier, Stat’i. Vospominaniia. Materialy. [1965, vol. 1], 56. «Я передала своего ученика по игре на фортепиано Глиэру, вполне признавая его преимущество как только что окончившего курс в консерватории и видя его мягкое отношение, которое никак не может оттолкнуть ученика от занятий».
86 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 44.
continuity likely helped him to transition successfully from his mother’s teaching to Glière’s.\footnote{Ibid., 14. “Mother had pedagogic talent. Unobtrusively, she tried to guide me and explain how to use the instrument. I was curious about what she played, and critical.” Also, Prokofiev, \textit{Prokofiev by Prokofiev}, 35: “But with me, Mother stuck to her own system: to make things interesting, to expand my horizons, to develop skills gradually, and above all not to alienate me with drudgery.”}

\textbf{Prokofiev’s Childhood Compositions}

Prokofiev’s juvenilia amount to one of the most adventurous collections of childhood works by any renowned composer in the entire Western music tradition. This collection—\textit{one} meticulously catalogued in sources by the composer himself (if, at times, with questionable accuracy\footnote{M. Kozlova, “Preface to the Notes,” in Prokofiev, \textit{Prokofiev by Prokofiev}, 323. Also Prokofiev, \textit{Prokofiev by Prokofiev}, 108.\footnote{Kozlova, 323-24.\footnote{Guillaumier, “The Giant and Other Creatures,” 29-35.}}) and by Soviet musicologist Boris Asafiev,\footnote{Kozlova, 323-24.} described in detail in the memoirs, and in a number of cases physically preserved—offers a glimpse into the budding artistic personality of a composer whose creativity was fostered under ideal circumstances. Christina Guillaumier has explored the nascent hints of the mature Prokofiev’s compositional style in several of these works in “The Giant and Other Creatures,” but her essay’s scope is limited to piano and stage works, with no investigation of the symphony composed under Glière’s guidance in 1902—a work which will receive comprehensive attention in Chapter 3 of this thesis.\footnote{Guillaumier, “The Giant and Other Creatures,” 29-35.} Moreover, Guillaumier’s article includes works from the entire pre-conservatory period, both before and after Glière’s influence, and tends to focus (with the exception of its coverage of \textit{The Giant}) on works composed after the start of Glière’s tutelage. Before investigating Prokofiev’s work with Glière, a brief overview of Prokofiev’s prior compositional output is in order. This activity amounted to two operas (\textit{The Giant} and \textit{On Desert Islands}), as
well as a few elementary piano pieces, but *The Giant*—as Prokofiev’s first opera—stands as the boldest undertaking of the period.

*The Giant*, far more than *On Desert Islands*, testifies to Maria Prokofieva’s influence on her son’s earliest compositional endeavors. Not only did she help him to smooth out the technical edges of his still somewhat confused sense of notation in this work, but some of her earlier pedagogical decisions had a direct bearing on Prokofiev’s conception of the work’s structure. For instance, Prokofiev notes that at this time he “was convinced that the most important numbers in operas must be marches and waltzes,” as a result of the fact that his mother had played him the march and waltz from *Faust* before taking him to see it performed. As a result, he expended great compositional energy on a march leading into the battle scene in Act II, Scene 3 of the opera, and on the elaborate waltz in F Major in Act III. Along with these influences, Prokofiev also attributes the scoring layout of his manuscript (a two-hand piano score, without a separate vocal part—that is, with text scribbled above the piano score) to vocal scores he had seen in his mother’s music library. Generally, *The Giant* largely supports Guillaumier’s observations about the centrality of pianistic tendencies in Prokofiev’s early compositional style: the improvisatory, *commedia dell’arte* nature of the text and its lack of independent staff in the scoring make it seem almost an afterthought next to the plodding chordal or arpeggiated piano score. The greatest deficiency in the work is by far its muddled construction—arbitrary phrase lengths, jerky modulations, and odd

---

93 Ibid., 26.
metric idiosyncrasies are common. In the symphony he would compose the next summer, pianistic tendencies would persist (particularly motoric arpeggios and simplistic accompanimental structures), but Glière’s tutorship did much to smooth over the rough edges that pervade The Giant.

The transfer of Prokofiev’s musical education from his mother to Glière was not a clean break. On his sojourn to Moscow in the winter of 1901-02, on the advice of Taneyev, he took a few lessons with Yuri Pomerantsev, a family friend and soon-to-be graduate of the Moscow Conservatory. Pomerantsev worked with Prokofiev on intervals and voice-leading, and gave him assignments from Arensky’s textbook, but ultimately Pomerantsev’s teaching was drab and failed to engage the young Prokofiev in the way Glière—with his Gnesin school experience—would be able to. Judging by Prokofiev’s recollection of his short stint of study with Pomerantsev, the results of this experience were negligible in his development.

94 S. S. Prokof’ev, Bez opusa; Velikan and Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 24. Prokofiev himself looks back with frustration on the modulations in his memoir, where he writes “I felt the need for a modulation, for a new key but I hadn’t the slightest notion or either one or the other, and couldn’t figure out where to go […] even today I cannot imagine what key I wanted.”

95 Ibid., 44. “I rebelled and showed poor results. Then Pomerantsev would get angry and say, ‘How stupid you are, Serezha!’”
CHAPTER 3

GLIÈRE IN SONTSOVKA: SYMPHONY IN G MAJOR
Prokofiev’s first summer under Reinhold Glière’s guidance in 1902 heralded the beginning of the young composer’s transition from childhood experiments to more directed projects, overseen by an experienced professional musician. Indeed, regarding the summer as a whole, during which compositional endeavors were dominated by the beginning numbers of a cycle of pesenki (“little songs”) and the composition of a symphony in G major, Prokofiev reflected that “of prime importance was the fact that [he] had passed from the hands of [his] mother—who, although a natural-born teacher, was an amateur and not a composer—into the hands of a professional who had a totally different attitude toward music and, without even being aware of it himself, opened up new horizons for [him].”

Prokofiev’s childhood memoir recounts the advantages and disadvantages of this first summer of study with Glière. Of course, the benefits of studying with an established musician of Glière’s stature at the early age of eleven need hardly be stated; Prokofiev himself notes both the switch from amateur to professional instruction and also Glière’s eager interest in his youthful efforts—the willingness to take such a young composer’s ‘work’ seriously and encourage it—as the primary benefits of the experience.

However, looking back as a mature composer, he also carefully highlights several bad habits, or “harmful influences” (vrednye vliiania) he picked up from Glière during this period of instruction:

But Glière also implanted other, harmful influences that I didn’t outgrow until much later, in my maturity. For example, it was a good thing that he taught me the song form and explained the ‘square’ structure: four bars plus four more. This brought order into my musical thinking. But he didn’t take into account that this should be learned only to be forgotten later.

96 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 53.
97 Ibid. “Also important was the fact that Glière was gentle and always took an interest in my work, thanks to which I unconsciously felt its importance and distinguished it from other pastimes such as croquet, building summer houses, or fighting tin-soldier wars with other children.”
... The second harmful influence involved stereotyped modulations of which Glière himself was a victim; e.g., digressions in the submediant and mediant...

... Finally, the third influence involved sequences, which I likewise had not known about before.⁹⁸

Not surprisingly, the extant first movement of Prokofiev’s childhood G-major symphony—the most ambitious project of the summer of 1902 and Prokofiev’s first major foray in the genre—is rife with these habits. The symphony itself marks a considerable step forward in Prokofiev’s compositional education, however, in part because it provided a flexible teaching space in which Glière could address form, modulation, and developmental techniques, among other procedures and tools.⁹⁹ Thus here—regardless of his later disposition at the time he penned his memoir—Prokofiev deployed for the first time traditional techniques of structure and form to generate a large-scale work.

Before turning to an analysis of the symphony itself, it would be useful to address Glière’s preceding formal explanation of “what in music is called a phrase and what is called a period,”¹⁰⁰ for as Glière writes:

I considered it unavoidable before all else to bring into order [Seryozha’s] still quite muddled notions about harmony, to teach him correct voice-leading, and to give him the elements of knowledge in the area of musical form. All of this Seryozha grasped with astonishing ease, exhibiting vivacious interest and independence of artistic thought.¹⁰¹

---

⁹⁸ Ibid. See also Sergei Prokof’ev, Autobiografiia, (Moskva: Vsesoiuznoe izdatel’stvo “Sovetskii kompozitor,” 1982), 90.
⁹⁹ Ibid., 48-50.
¹⁰⁰ Prokof’ev, Autobiografiia, 85. «Однажды мод вечер Глиэр посадил меня за рояль—тут же была моя мать—и стал объяснять, что в музыке называется предложением и что период». Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 48.
¹⁰¹ Glier, “Vospominaniiia o S. S. Prokof’ev,” in Stat’i i vospominaniiia [1975], 100. «Я считал необходимым прежде всего привести в порядок его пока еще весьма сумбурные представления о гармонии, научить его правильному голосоведению, дать ему начатки знаний в области
According to Prokofiev’s recollection, Glière’s explanation of “song form” (*pesennaia forma*) boiled down to the following steps:102

1. Compose four bars of music…in such a way that instead of ending in the basic key they end in, say, the dominant.
2. …compose another four bars in such a way that they begin roughly like the others but end in the tonic—in a full cadence.
3. …write another four bars in a related key—in the submediant, for example—but in such a way that they end in the dominant, like the first four bars.
4. …repeat [phrase two].
5. …write a trio in another, related key.
6. …repeat everything from the beginning.

Following these steps, one arrives at a structure that resembles a double period with a trio, a familiar construction in Western music:

![Diagram of Glière’s explanation of “song form.”](image)

After this explanation, Seryozha spent the next week producing six of his pesenki and growing more comfortable composing with his newfound consciousness of musical structure. He then progressed onward in his lessons to the topic of orchestration, and after the stepping-stone project of orchestrating the storm music from his previous opera *On Desert Islands*, he convinced the skeptical Glière to consent to his nagging requests to compose a symphony of his own.103 A careful examination of the remnants of this музыкальной формы. Все это Сережа схватывал с удивительной легкостью, проявляя живую заинтересованность и самостоятельности художественного мышления».

103 When recalling the orchestration of the symphony the following summer (1903), Glière writes “It goes without saying that [the symphony] was a very bold undertaking, but I, as always, did not consider it necessary to squelch the young composer’s fervor.” («Разумеется, это было очень смелое предприятие,
symphony’s orchestral score\textsuperscript{104} and Prokofiev’s own words about the process of its composition yields important information about the young composer’s early acquisition of technical musical concepts, and about his later attitudes concerning his childhood endeavors, particularly when he began to assemble his autobiography in the second half of 1937.\textsuperscript{105} Regarding his educational development, the symphony (along with his descriptions of Glière’s instruction regarding phrasing and form) offers a clear picture of how Prokofiev listened, learned, and plunged into the application of new compositional techniques and concepts.

\textbf{The Symphony}

In his autobiography, Prokofiev claims to have composed both the principal and secondary themes of the symphony without Glière’s help.\textsuperscript{106} Nonetheless, both of these themes reflect a studied attempt to adhere to Glière’s phrasing guidelines, albeit with slight imperfections. The first theme, in G major, follows Glière’s model in the first three phrases, but then delays the return to the tonic in the fourth phrase, remaining in the tonality of the submediant (E minor) and expending an extra three bars to return to the tonic of G major. The mature Prokofiev remarks that “the nineteen-bar(!) theme with

\textsuperscript{104} Sergei Prokof’ev, \textit{Sinfonii, G-dur} [1902], Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennii arkhiv literatury i iskusstva [Russian State Archive of Literature and Art], fond 1929:1, file 112. 19 pages. I am indebted to Simon Morrison for his assistance in helping me access copies of this document.

\textsuperscript{105} Kozlova, “Preface to the Notes,” in Prokofiev, \textit{Prokofiev by Prokofiev}, 320. Although miscellaneous notebooks and autobiographical jottings exist from as early as 1919, Kozlova (editor of the Soviet edition of Prokofiev’s autobiography) asserts that Prokofiev did not begin to actually write the work until June 1, 1937.

\textsuperscript{106} Prokofiev, \textit{Prokofiev by Prokofiev}, 51-52. Of the first theme he writes “I plunged into composing, and a few hours later I brought [Glière] the main theme, written in the form of an orchestral score.” Of the second theme, he writes “I composed the second subject on my own, and it came out even worse [than the bridge passage].” Glière had helped him write the modulatory bridge passage.
which the symphony began was in general not bad."\footnote{Ibid., 52. "…in general not bad" translates from «вовсе недурна» in Prokof'ev, 
_Avtobiografiia_, 88.} Despite the awkward three-bar expansion of the fourth phrase, the fundamental correspondence with Glière’s model is clear, even down to the digression to “the submediant, for example,” in the alleged suggestion of Glière:

Example 1. Prokofiev, Symphony in G Major, principal theme, mm. 3-21.

If the first theme follows Glière’s harmonic model recognizably but with some liberties, the second theme leaves both the harmonic plan and proportional balance untouched. Prokofiev signals the arrival of the second key area with a _fortissimo_ half-cadence in D major at the end of his transition, then commences with an expansion of the four-bar phrases from Glière’s model to longer eleven-bar units (each containing three phrases of three bars plus a two-bar sustained chord). This phrase expansion clearly maintains Glière’s overarching proportions (4+4+4 becomes 11+11+11+11), but expands the harmonic rhythm to a half-time feel, allowing for the _presto_ tempo to remain but signaling a change from the forward motion of the principal theme. Glière’s
harmonic roadmap, however, is carried out exactly, digressing once again to the submediant (this time in the key of D):

![Musical notation image]

Example 2. Prokofiev, Symphony in G Major, secondary theme, mm. 44-87.

From a musical standpoint, these creative choices suggest that Prokofiev the student, having just learned a new set of guidelines for correct adherence to form and now composing his own themes, sought to apply the new rules to demonstrate his understanding and impress his mentor, even while maintaining a small degree of personal liberty. This kind of fidelity falls in line with the young Prokofiev’s deferential admiration of Glière.\textsuperscript{108} To the older memoirist writing in 1937, however, the passage

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 67. An example of his admiration for Glière can be found here, where Prokofiev the memoirist waxes sentimental: “When the three of us—[Louise the governess], Glière and I—would go walking, I sometimes thought: ‘She gets fifteen rubles a month, and he gets seventy-five. That means he costs five times as much.’ And I would give him a respectful look out of the corner of my eye.” Minturn also alludes to Prokofiev’s general personal tendency to respect authoritative bounds (despite his innovative
was perhaps too faithful. If, to the older Prokofiev’s ears, the first theme was “in general not bad,” the second was “even worse [than the transitional theme, which he described as ‘mediocre’]”. Yet only the first theme, with its broken proportions, showed signs of shaking off the first “harmful influence” picked up from Glière:

The four-bar structure makes for order; but if an entire long piece is built on 4+4+4+4, that order becomes intolerable, and 4+5 [or 4+7, presumably] is like a breath of fresh air.\(^{109}\)

The first theme’s “breath of fresh air” thus showed an inspiration lacking in the second theme, where a square 4-by-11 structure (11+11+11+11) seems to have struck the mature composer’s ear as vexingly conventional.

Another marker of the older composer’s attitude appears in his consistent implication of Glière as the source of certain musical habits, in particular that of digressing to the submediant. This specific attribution of influence appears three times in Prokofiev’s account of Glière’s first summer in Sontsovka,\(^{110}\) subtly distorting this

---


\(^{109}\) Ibid., 53. For Prokofiev’s list of ‘harmful influences’ picked up from Glière, see above, footnote 98.

\(^{110}\) Ibid., 48, 52, and 53. The first time occurs in Prokofiev’s account of Glière’s explanation of song form on page 48: “‘Now,’ Glière said, ‘you must write another four bars in a related key—in the submediant, for example—but in such a way that they end in the dominant, like the first four bars.’” Whether or not at the moment in question Glière actually used the word “submediant” or Prokofiev’s account inserts this detail is an answer lost to history. The second appearance occurs when Prokofiev describes the first theme of the symphony on page 52: “The digression into the submediant had undoubtedly been written under Glière’s influence [«под глиэровским влиянием»], and he approved it.” Ironically, despite the fact that he later marks submediant digressions as a ‘harmful influence,’ here he seems unable to hide his pride at receiving Glière’s approval on the trait. Note here a discrepancy between the British Edition of *Prokofiev by Prokofiev* (prepared by Francis King and issued in London and Sydney by Macdonald and Jane), and the American Edition (prepared by David H. Appel and issued by Doubleday & Company in New York), both issued the same year (1979). The British version contains the above translation, while the American version incorrectly uses the word “supertonic” for “submediant.” Confirmation that “submediant” is the correct translation can be found in the original Russian «Отклонение в шестую ступень» [“digression to the sixth step/scale degree”] in Prokof’ev, *Avtobiografiia*, 88, and in the G-major to E-minor digression in the symphony’s score (mm. 11-21). The third appearance, and conclusive implication of Glière as the source of the habit, occurs at the end of his account of the summer of 1902, when he describes the ‘harmful influences’ (listed above): “The second harmful influence involved stereotyped modulations of which Glière himself was a victim; e.g., digressions in the submediant and mediant [«отклонения в шестую и третью ступень»].” For the original Russian, see Prokof’ev, *Avtobiografiia*, 90.
“harmful influence” and blaming Glière for its transmission. Here he comes across a bit harshly, since digressing to the submediant or mediant was a common device going back to Beethoven; as Charles Rosen writes, “almost from the beginning of his career as a composer, Beethoven attempted to find substitutes for the dominant in the classical tonic-dominant polar relation...After the Waldstein Sonata, [he was] almost as likely to use the more remote mediant and submediant keys as to employ a straightforward dominant.”

However, when discussing another of the “harmful influences” picked up from Glière (the four-bar phrasing habit), Prokofiev slips in an impish note of self-attribution:

“But you mustn’t abuse this device,” Glière warned me. “It’s better to use some figuration when you repeat something, rather than to leave it unchanged.” Nonetheless, I did abuse it.

In taking account of certain bland conventions and compositional peccadilloes, Prokofiev the autobiographer thus lets slip a sense of pride in his youthful individualism and precocious abilities, even as he assigns certain negative habits to pedagogical influence. Naturally such comments raise questions about hyperbolic nuance or distortive hindsight in the autobiographical writings. If taken at face value, these comments undermine Harlow Robinson’s remark that “Prokofiev did not rebel against the imposition of form and structure on his innate creativity” during his first summer with Glière. Instead

---

112 Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev*, 49; Prokof’ev, *Avtobiografii*, 86. «Ты все-таки не злоупотребляй, — поправил Глиэр. — Повторять лучше не в первоначальном виде, а с какой-нибудь фигурацией. Тем не менее я злоупотреблял».
113 Harlow Robinson, *Sergei Prokofiev: A Biography* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1987), 19. Robinson’s remark concerns only the summer of 1902 and Prokofiev’s working educational deference to Glière: “Cautious, conventional and long-winded in his own musical style, Glière provided a sensible creative super-ego for the boy’s fertile fantasy. Prokofiev did not rebel against the imposition of form and structure on his innate creativity; music remained, as it had been since his earliest years, a wonderfully complex game.” The final statement here lacks clarity (is the “wonderfully complex game” one of experimenting within the structural bounds imposed? Or perhaps finding creative ways to undermine them without being caught, as Prokofiev’s comment in note 112 suggests?). Nonetheless, as evidenced by the above “impish self-attribution” in note 112, the extended 19-bar principal theme of the symphony referenced above, and Glière’s reference to the young composer’s “самостоятельности художественного
they seem to foreshadow Prokofiev’s later relationships with authority (particularly at the conservatory) and, similarly, Neil Minturn’s perceived contradiction between iconoclasm and deference toward authority that intermittently resurfaced throughout the composer’s later career. With this in mind, the 46-year old memoirist’s words serve as a reminder that, as with most autobiographical writings, a healthy degree of skepticism should be maintained.

Influences

Neither the distinguishing features of the childhood symphony itself nor Prokofiev’s later reflections on the work’s gestation leave us with a shortage of potential sources of inspiration for the 1902 G-major symphony. The most explicit mention of a formal precedent in the autobiography concerns the first movement’s development:

And of course I hadn’t the slightest notion of how to write a development. Glière showed me examples from Beethoven sonatas, and helped me to develop the material of the first movement.

Prokofiev’s development begins with a restatement of his exposition’s monophonic closing theme (a jaunty, Vstavaite liudi russkie sort of theme):

мышления” (independence of artistic thought) in note 101, Prokofiev did retained some degree of independence despite Glière’s guidance. Minturn, The Music of Sergei Prokofiev, 8-9 (including quotation from Robinson, 72-73). Robinson writes, “[Prokofiev during the conservatory period] was too idiosyncratic, definite and artistically self-confident to be a teacher’s pet…and yet he was never so much a rebel as to reject the value and necessity of Conservatory training. Prokofiev might criticize, resist and try to outsmart his professors, but he still wanted the institutional stamp of approval and respectability.” Minturn elucidates the paradoxical tendencies of iconoclasm against conventional authority (driven by the forces of innovation) and deference to authority (signaled by the desire for authoritative approval). Although his discussion outlines only later examples of Prokofiev’s relationship with authority, the chronic desire to push the limits of convention but still receive affirmation from authoritative figures almost certainly applied in a more nascent form to the relationship between Prokofiev and Glière. Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 53.

At the outset of the development, this theme harmonically swings between dominant and tonic in the key of B minor (the mediant), rather than its original D major, and after two repetitions of the alternation between the dominant closing theme and its B-minor woodwind response, the development plunges into a sequential progression, falling round the circle of fifths from B major to D major (B-E-A-D), where it lands as a preparation to the G-major recapitulation. Here the most striking homage to Glière appears, in the hastening of the sequence’s cropped trombone gesture (mm. 109-123), analogous to the cropped horn effect in mm. 51-58 of the first movement of Glière’s Symphony No. 1 in Eb Op. 8 (1900), which tumbles headfirst into the principal-theme Allegro moderato.\footnote{Reinhold Glière, \textit{Erste Sinfonie} [Orchestral Score] (Frankfurt: M. P. Belaieff, 1986), 6-7. This symphony was Glière’s first large-scale formal work, and evoked warm responses from his musical contemporaries and elders. See Natal’ia Petrova, \textit{Reingold Moritsevich Glier, 1875-1956: Kratkii ocherk zhizni i tvorchestva}, (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe muzïkal’noe izdatel’stvo, 1962), 17: «[Симфонию] одобрили Танеев и Скрябин; Римский-Корсаков и Глазунов очень тепло отзывались о ней». ("[The symphony] won the approval of Taneyev and Scriabin; Rimsky-Korsakov and Glazunov very warmly commended it."). Also see Igor’ Bel’za, \textit{R. M. Glier}, (Moskva: Sovetskii kompositor, 1962), 13: «Симфония заслужила одобрение Римского-Корсакова, Танеев, Скрябина и Глазунова, советами которого композитор воспользовался, готовя партитуру произведения к печати». ("The symphony was met with the approval of Rimsky-Korsakov, Taneyev, Scriabin, and Glazunov, whose advice the composer took advantage of while preparing the score of the work for publication.").}
Beginning the development with the closing theme, while not overly radical, is a less-than-common occurrence in conventional sonata form, especially compared to beginning the development with a return to principal-theme material. After all, “a P-based theme,” in the words of James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, “invites the understanding that a new rotation is underway.”

In their chapter on the developmental space, Hepokoski and Darcy write that modules of developmental rotations frequently “appear in the same order as that in which they had been presented in the exposition,” that is, “P is usually elaborated upon first, and the music may then move forward.”

They go on to discuss the various developmental onsets, giving the section covering principal-theme onsets the forthright title “The Onset of the Development; P-Material as the Norm; Fifth-Descents.”

Arensky’s textbook on musical form, which codified the teachings of the Moscow Conservatory (and which, thus, gives insight into Glière’s education on musical form), offers a distilled version of this “P-material as the Norm” tendency in its directives for sonata-form developments:

Section 135. The development presents in itself a large transition, built from motives occurring in the exposition. More than anything the principal theme serves as the material for this; the secondary theme usually appears episodically and does not have thematic development, such as its character—vocal—is unsuited for development. –This section usually ends with a half cadence in the tonic, sometimes with a pedal point on the dominant [my emphasis].

119 Ibid., 206-07.
120 Ibid., 207-17.
121 Anton Arenskii, *Rukovodstvo k izucheniiu form instrumental’noi i vokal’noi muzyki*, 68. Although this edition was not published until 1914, Arensky’s Grove article cites the first publication in 1893-94. See David Brown, “Arensky, Anton [Antony] Stepanovich,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed January 14, 2014. Arensky also writes in the *Foreword* that “[the Moscow Conservatory’s class on Counterpoint and Form] had remained essentially the same since the founding of the conservatory, that is, for 25 years,” which suggests, since the Moscow Conservatory was founded in 1866, that he may have been writing as early as 1891. He goes on to comment that “up until [that time] not a single textbook was written that contained in itself the complete content of the course…this circumstance led [him] to compile the proposed handbook with the purpose of making more accessible the study of musical form to those
This principal-heavy explanation falls in line with Taylor’s assertion that Arensky’s music, along with that of Tchaikovsky and Kalinnikov, contained greater affinities with Austro-Germanic developmental conventions than did the music of other Russian composers.\(^\text{122}\) Perhaps not coincidentally, these three composers all had ties to the Moscow Conservatory at one point or another, as Glière did; one cannot help but recall the comment in Arensky’s foreword that “[the Moscow Conservatory’s class on Counterpoint and Form] had remained essentially the same since the founding of the conservatory.”\(^\text{123}\) That Glière’s Symphony No. 1 follows the more ubiquitous principal-theme developmental outset in its first movement likely derives from this broader conventional tradition, channeled through the pedagogy in Moscow.

Thus, in a sonata-form world that assumes “P-Material as the Norm,” where could Prokofiev’s inspiration for a closing-theme developmental outset come from? His attribution of developmental procedures to “Beethoven sonatas,” while perhaps a model for other developmental features, warrants further investigation on this front, particularly since Beethoven most frequently began his developments in the piano sonatas with principal-theme material. Only six of the piano sonatas contain developmental outsets with any directly-preceding closing material, but in three of these the repeated material

\(^{122}\) Taylor, “Temporality in Nineteenth-Century Russian Music and the Notion of Development,” 100.

\(^{123}\) See note 121.
from the closing section itself derives from a previous theme. In Op. 10 No. 2 the development begins with an elaboration of a recurring figure that closes the exposition but also has an affinity with the theme at mm. 19-20 and a preceding cadential figure in mm. 40-41; in Op. 22 the closing theme is a cadential reduction of the opening gesture to the principal theme; and in Op. 49, No. 1 the closing material is shared with the secondary theme. In addition, the outset of the Op. 54 development echoes only the final cadential gesture of the exposition as the developmental outset; its resemblance to Prokofiev’s independent closing theme remains equally questionable. In addition, despite Prokofiev’s stated fondness for the finales of Op. 2 No. 1 and Op. 27 No. 2 “Moonlight,” and indication that Glière had assigned him “one of Beethoven’s G major sonatas,” none of these offers any better example. In Beethoven’s piano sonatas the only convincing candidates as models for Prokofiev’s formal idiosyncrasy are Op. 2 No. 3 and Op. 106 (“Hammerklavier”). This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that any of the aforementioned six with closing-theme echoes in the developmental outsets (Op. 2 No. 3; Op. 49 No. 1; Op. 10 No. 2; Op. 22; Op. 54; and Op. 106) might have helped to inspire Prokofiev’s developmental beginning, since the thematic linkage between exposition and development in these works, caused by “reverberations of ideas from the end of C” (to quote Hepokoski) smoothes over the juncture between exposition and development. In addition, at least the G-minor Op. 49 No. 1 (“Sonate facile”) would likely have fallen

---


125 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 47. The finale of Op. 2 No. 1 begins the development with new thematic material, and the finale Op. 27 No. 2 begins with a restatement of the principal theme. All sonata-form movements in the G-major piano sonatas (Op. 49 No. 1; Op. 14 No. 2; Op. 31 No. 1; and Op. 79) use principal-theme developmental outsets.

126 Hepokoski and Darcy, Elements of Sonata Theory, 215.
within the range of Prokofiev’s pianistic abilities at this time, and the autobiography’s reference to Glière’s assignment of a G-major sonata likely referred to its major-key counterpart, Op. 49 No. 2, also labeled “Sonate facile.”

Ultimately, however, Beethoven much more frequently uses principal-theme developmental beginnings in the piano sonatas, and the proportion of principal-theme outsets to closing-theme ones is roughly the same in the symphonies, of which only the Second and Fifth contain with any sort of reiteration of closing material in the developmental onset. Yet here again, both closing themes derive from principal-theme material. This occurrence, which accounts for some of the aforementioned examples in the piano sonatas, exemplifies what Hepokoski and Darcy refer to as the P-based-C option, which occurs more frequently in Beethoven and Mozart:

> While the P-based-C option is by no means invariably selected, the awareness that it may well appear is a central aspect of the psychology of contrasting-S-space, especially in Mozart’s and Beethoven’s expositions.\(^{127}\)

Thus, when we do see a correlation in Beethoven’s music between the closing space and developmental onset, it often results from the coincidence of two factors: this P-based-C option and the more general tendency of principal-theme developmental outsets. Prokofiev’s independent closing theme, however, does not fit this mold. In light of the frequency of principal-theme outsets in Beethoven’s sonata-form developments, particularly those that Prokofiev was most exposed to by this point (certainly the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies and at least some of the piano sonatas),\(^ {128}\) the likelihood that

---

\(^{127}\) Ibid., 185.

\(^{128}\) Confirmation that Prokofiev was exposed to the fifth and seventh symphonies is corroborated by both his autobiography and Glière’s writings. See notes 68 and 133.
Prokofiev absorbed the idea for his closing-theme developmental outset from a Beethovenian development seems tentative at best.

In addition, given Arensky’s omission of the closing theme at all in the development instructions in his textbook, which preserved the formal concepts taught at the Moscow Conservatory, and given the deployment of a principal-theme outset in Glière’s own First Symphony, it remains unlikely that Glière served as the channel through which Prokofiev received the awareness of the alternate possibility, especially when he served as the boy’s first major instructor in basic musical form. Where, then, could the young composer have discovered this possibility? An excerpt of Glière’s article “On the Profession of the Composer and the Education of the Youth,” omitted with ellipses in the 1965 two-volume edition of his writings but reinserted in the otherwise abridged 1975 single-volume edition, suggests the precocious attentiveness to form paid by the young Prokofiev while playing piano. succinctly played the piano, read well from the page and for his age knew very well the musical literature. In fact, [he] not only knew it, but had his own independent judgments about it…Playing the works of the classic composers, he always tried to understand the form of the composition, to discern its main themes, the character of the development, and harmonic plan…[my emphasis].

129 Glier, Stat’i. Vospominanii Materialy. [1965, vol. 1], 306-07 and Glier, Stat’i i vospominanii [1975], 27-28. The reason for the omission likely has to do with the fact that some of the omitted material is repeated in Glière’s longer article devoted to memories of working with Prokofiev. This is most evident in the near-verbatim appearances of the sentence “Играя произведения классиков, он всегда стремился понять форму сочинения, определить его основные темы, характер разработки, гармонический план” [“Playing the works of the classic composers, he always tried to understand the form of the composition, to discern its main themes, the character of the development, and harmonic plan”] in both the present article “On the Profession of the Composer and the Education of the Youth” and in the article “Remembrances About S. S. Prokofiev,” where the phrase “гармонический план” [“harmonic plan”] is left out. For a comparison of the two articles in the 1975 edition, see Glier, Stat’i i vospominaniiia (1975), 29, 101.

130 Glier, Stat’i i vospominaniiia [1975], 28. «Он довольно бойко играл на рояле, хорошо читал с листа и для своего возраста отлично знал музыкальную литературу. Причем не только знал, но и имел о
Glière’s observations indicate that Prokofiev took keen notice of the formal characteristics of the pieces he played on the piano. In addition to the piano exposure noted before Glière’s arrival in 1902, from which the most significant sonata-form works were piano sonatas by Beethoven and Mozart,\textsuperscript{131} other remarks indicate further possible sonata-form models that may have come from piano exposure:

On quiet summer evenings Glière would call me to the piano, then take up his violin and we would play Mozart sonatas together.\textsuperscript{132}

[My mother continued] to play four-hand arrangements of Haydn and Beethoven symphonies with me. She would play the bass part, having worked on it in advance. I would sight-read, sometimes with pleasure, at other times without...Still, I did like the Haydn and Beethoven symphonies and usually played them with pleasure. My mother had chosen Beethoven’s Fifth and Seventh symphonies. Haydn was represented by a volume of six selected symphonies.\textsuperscript{133}

The alternative offered by Mozart’s developmental onsets is little more suitable than Beethoven’s for offering a model for Prokofiev’s closing-theme outset. Only a few of the piano sonatas contain closing-theme reverberations at the start of the development (K. 281 in Bb Major, K. 545 in C Major, and K. 576 in D Major), and of these, only K. 545 shows any significant resemblance to Prokofiev’s work (in K. 281 the theme that begins the development appears just before the end of the exposition, but both the interruption of cadential material and the alterations to the theme in the development obscure the resemblance, and in K. 576 only the single-measure cadential figure echoes

\textsuperscript{131} Prokofiev, \textit{Prokofiev by Prokofiev}, 35. “By nine I was playing some Mozart and two of Beethoven’s easier sonatas. I would transpose the simplest pieces into another key—or several keys.”

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., 47.

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., 55. Glière corroborates this in Glier, \textit{Stat’i i vospominanii} [1975], 101. “We together played a great deal in four hands—Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Tchaikovsky. Seryozha was tireless.” [«Мы с ним много играли в четыре руки—Гайдна, Моцарта, Бетховена, Чайковского. Сережа был неутомим.»] A nearverbatim restatement of the comment regarding Prokofiev’s attentiveness to form follows. See notes 68 and 129.
into the development). K. 545, however, does share a certain affinity with Prokofiev’s juncture, down to the punctuated final expositional cadence, and exposure to K. 545 can certainly be considered a possibility in Prokofiev’s early piano instruction.

Mozart’s violin sonatas almost invariably rely on principal-theme developmental outsets. Variations of the P-based-C option occur in K. 61, K. 301 (C is based on a second theme in the principal-key complex), and K. 305, and K. 454 contains reverberations of the single-bar cadential material into the developmental space, but ultimately none of these shares any particular resemblance to Prokofiev’s work. K. 380 provides the closest similarity, with a motive that appears on the third-to-last measure of the exposition that takes the reins at start of the development. Still, compared with Prokofiev’s full closing theme this shorter motivic relation fails to offer a convincing model. Aside from the aforementioned piano and violin sonatas, Mozart’s Symphony No. 39 in E-flat also contains an example of a closing-theme developmental onset, but no mention of Mozart’s symphonies appears in Prokofiev’s autobiography until later.

The closest possible model for the closing-theme developmental outset in Prokofiev’s movement may, in fact, come from the four-hand arrangements of Haydn symphonies he played on the piano. For one, having badgered Glière into allowing him to undertake his own experiment in the genre of the symphony, it stands to reason that Seryozha would look toward other symphonies for ideas, and as mentioned above, the symphonies by Beethoven in his possession (the Fifth and Seventh) offered little in the way of models for his developmental outset. Haydn’s G-Major Symphony No. 92 (“Oxford”), on the other hand, contains a near-identical instance of Prokofiev’s exposition-development juncture: the exposition ends with an independent closing
theme, which comes to a punctuated cadence, sealing off the exposition, and then it returns in altered harmonic function as commencement to the development. Moreover, in addition to sharing with Prokofiev’s work the G-major key and similar monophonic developmental repetition of the closing-theme (like Prokofiev’s monophonic Nevsky-esque theme), this symphony also reworks the closing theme in such a way that its initial developmental statement functions as dominant harmony leading to a cadential echo. Prokofiev’s developmental closing-theme statements function similarly, alternating between the dominant closing theme and tonic woodwind responses, and he even uses a similar dynamic scheme to Haydn’s. Moreover, Haydn’s Symphony No. 92 appears in the third volume of Hugo Ulrich’s widely-disseminated collection of four-hand arrangements of Haydn’s symphonies, issued in four volumes of six symphonies each. In Ulrich’s arrangement of No. 92, the treble part contains both the closing theme and its reiteration at the developmental outset, and Prokofiev states in the autobiography that he played the treble parts when playing with his mother; thus if this was indeed the “volume of six” mentioned, then he would have pounded through the closing-theme device himself. While this symphony provides the clearest possible model for Prokofiev’s juncture, a few cases of the P-based-C outset also occur in four-hand piano arrangements of Haydn symphonies issued in volumes of six; these include No. 88 (also a G-major work) and No. 96, both issued in the same volume of the Ulrich collection as No. 92, as

---

134 Haydn’s development starts with a ff statement of the closing theme, with the second statement marked p, while Prokofiev begins with a mf statement and marks the second statement of the closing theme mp, retaining the loud first then soft second effect of Haydn’s work.


136 Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev*, 55. “[My mother] would play the bass part, having worked on it in advance. I would sight-read, sometimes with pleasure, at other times without.”
well as No. 73 which appeared in the fourth volume of that collection. No. 88 also appeared in the collection *Six célèbres symphonies pour piano à 4 mains de J. Haydn*, published by Henry Litolff’s Verlag, and No. 96 appeared in a collection of six Haydn symphonies arranged by Julius André and issued by Offenbach.\(^{137}\) These other symphonies, however, share considerably less affinity with Prokofiev’s outset than No. 92.

Although these connections are admittedly speculative (and they assume that Prokofiev did not simply come up with the device on his own, which is certainly a possibility), the similarities in genre, key, closing-theme developmental outset, and closing-theme style all reinforce the possibility that the young Prokofiev may have looked toward Haydn’s Symphony No. 92 when composing his own work. Indeed, the compact proportions of the work also carry over into Prokofiev’s economical first movement. More generally, the feature of closing-theme developmental outsets, although still a rare occurrence, appears slightly more often in Haydn’s developments than in Beethoven’s or Mozart’s, particularly in monothematic works where the closing theme alone may contrast the principal theme’s predominance, a case which Symphony No. 92 exemplifies.\(^{138}\) Moreover, according to Glière, Prokofiev maintained an avid interest in the inner workings of form not only during his composition lessons themselves, but also while practicing the piano and playing recreationally. Haydn’s

\(^{137}\) Joseph Haydn, *Six célèbres symphonies pour piano à 4 mains de J. Haydn* (Braunschweig: Henry Litolff’s Verlag, 1870s). This collection contained Nos. 94, 104, 102, 100, 88, and 85; Joseph Haydn, *Sechs sinfonien* [Vols. I and II], Offenbach a/M, 1800s. Julius André’s arrangements contained Nos. 100, 95, 86, 93, 98, 96 in the first volume and Nos. 103, 104, 99, 102, 94, and 101 in the second.

\(^{138}\) Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 186. “Or [a new theme as C] might suggest a zone of liberation or celebration, a new theme freed from the rigors of the essential exposition, as when Haydn provides a new theme after a monothematic essential exposition.” Symphony No. 92 exemplifies this, since the thematic material in the secondary key area derives largely from the first theme. Another example occurs in the first movement of No. 104, as pointed out in Wallace Berry, *Form in Music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), 184.
influence on Prokofiev would, of course, develop further in the hands of Nikolai Tcherepnin during the conservatory period, and would ultimately culminate in his first published symphony, the “Classical” Symphony.\(^{139}\) Reflecting on that later work, the memoirist would pen his strongest reflection on Haydn’s aesthetic:

> It seemed to me that, if Haydn had lived in our age, he would have preserved his own style of composing and, at the same time, have absorbed something from the new music. That was the kind of symphony I wanted to write: a symphony in the classical style. And when it began to hang together, I renamed it the Classical Symphony. First, because that was simpler. Second, out of mischief, to “tease the geese,” and in the secret hope that in the end I would be the winner if the symphony really did prove to be a classic.\(^{140}\)

Indeed, Prokofiev’s childhood symphony may provide a heretofore undiscovered link between the “Classical” Symphony and Haydn, for the resemblances between the three works are almost too conspicuous to ignore. The sonata-form movement of the finale to the “Classical” Symphony not only makes use once more of the closing-theme developmental outset used in the childhood symphony and Haydn’s Symphony No. 92, but it also strongly recalls the latter in its blending of the stylistic distinctions between principal and secondary themes (m. 1 and m. 43 at the key change, respectively), which contrast strongly with the appearance of the closing theme at m. 75. It also shares nearly identical dimensions with the first movement of the childhood symphony:

---

\(^{139}\) Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev* [American edition], 275. “I liked very much going to Tcherepnin’s class...As Tcherepnin and I were sitting side by side with the score in front of us at one of those endless lessons...he would say, ‘Just listen to how marvelous the bassoon sounds right here!’ And I gradually developed a taste for the scores of Haydn and Mozart: a taste for the bassoon playing staccato and the flute playing two octaves higher than the bassoon, etc. It was because of this that I conceived or thought up the Classical Symphony, although that was five or six years later.” Also, see Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev* [American edition], 345. “…thus arose the notion of a symphony in Haydn’s style, since Haydn’s technique had somehow become especially clear after my work in Tcherepnin’s class; and in that familiar milieu it was easier to embark on a dangerous voyage without the piano [the “dangerous voyage” being a first attempt at “writing an entire symphony without the help of the piano”].

\(^{140}\) Ibid., 345.
Indeed, in the finale to the “Classical” Symphony Prokofiev also recycles a number of smaller-scale aesthetic techniques from the childhood symphony, including motoric rhythms, hyperbolic cadential punctuations at structural markers, lack of any introduction or coda, and square four-by-four sequences.\footnote{Serge Prokofieff, \textit{Classical Symphony} [Orchestral Score] (New York: M. Baron Co., 1940).} He may have had the latter in mind when he wrote of Glière’s harmful influences that he “didn’t outgrow them until much later, in [his] maturity.”\footnote{See note 98.}

![Figure 2. Prokofiev, G-major childhood symphony, I proportons (by number of measures).](image2)

![Figure 3. Prokofiev, “Classical” Symphony, IV proportons (by number of measures).](image3)


Ultimately, Prokofiev’s childhood exposure to Haydn’s aesthetic, nurtured later by Tcherepnin, would paint the backdrop for one of the most salient features of Prokofiev’s own mature compositional aesthetic—the simultaneous presence (or, perhaps, confrontation) of tradition and innovation. Jonathan D. Kramer’s perception of “wrong notes…out of place in a symphony of Mozart or Haydn,” 143 Neil Minturn’s observations of a “traditional musical rhetoric uncomfortably cohabiting with a

---

deliberately injected modernism,”¹⁴⁴ and Richard Bass’s classic elucidation of chromatic displacement in “surface structures” (as opposed to underlying “shadow structures”) as key to Prokofiev’s “innovative, style-transforming techniques within the confines of a basic tonal framework”¹⁴⁵ all grope for a more lucid, yet still pithy explanation of same perceived incongruity: a seemingly conventional structural context infused with new, unexpected modernist details. Or, perhaps we see here the clash within a Prokofiev who himself “preserved his own style of composing and, at the same time…absorbed something from the new music.” In the youthful G-major symphony we perceive the outcome of a Glière’s primarily conventional pedagogical approach, concerned with the foundational structures of the musical form; yet the symphony reflects not only Prokofiev’s grasp of these fundamental concepts, but also the absorption, conscious or not, of a variety of influences long before they would become crucial tools disguised masterfully within a mature compositional idiom.

CHAPTER 4

WINTER 1902 CORRESPONDENCE AND SUMMER 1903
Glière’s supervision of Prokofiev’s musical education continued after his departure from Sontsovka in the autumn of 1902. However, given Prokofiev’s less-than-enthusiastic recollections of the continuation of harmony lessons via mail correspondence, it seems that the young composer did not benefit nearly as much from this experience as from his face-to-face studies (or if he did, he did so somewhat begrudgingly). The assignments for these correspondence lessons came once again from Arensky’s textbook, *Collection of 1000 Exercises for the Practical Study of Harmony*, the source Prokofiev had so disliked from his studies with Yuri Pomerantsev the previous year. He describes these correspondence-lessons with an indifference similar to that of the prior experience:

I would select the easiest problems, the ones involving passing tones, and was not very thorough in my work. Glière would correct it, often underlining several measures and reworking the harmony. But I never studied his corrections, so that the whole point of the exercises was lost.

Justifying his poor performance in these exercises with the excuse that “the very system of correspondence-lessons was faulty” due to slow postal delivery, Prokofiev even wondered later whether he had actually opened all of the assignments from Glière, let alone completed them. Although he writes that Glière had become aware of his boredom with these assignments, Glière’s recollection of the period contains few such hints of the youth’s apathy. “In the course of the winter 1902-03 I continued by correspondence to lead Seryozha’s lessons,” Glière writes; “he promptly sent me his little

---

146 Anton Arenskii, *Sbornik zadach (1000) dlia prakticheskogo izuchenia garmonii*.
147 Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev*, 44. “[Pomerantsev] explained the four-voice style and the relationships among the scale degrees, and had me do assignments from Arensky’s textbook. I can’t say that I liked it. I wanted to compose operas with marches, storms, and complicated scenes, but now I was being held back.”
148 Ibid., 55.
149 Ibid., 55, 58. “…Mother said, ‘Also bring along the mailing wrappers with Serezha’s assignments. His teacher [Glière] wants to explain his mistakes.’ Apparently Glière had got word of my lax attitude toward the assignments and, conscientious as always, had decided to show me why he had made certain corrections. For that matter, the word ‘wrapper’ sounded suspect. Could it be that I hadn’t even opened some of them?”

60
His writings reflect on the correspondence more warmly, and he supplements his own words with several letters that he received from Prokofiev and his mother that winter. These quoted letters tend to indicate progress; one from Maria dated September 24, 1902 reports that Prokofiev was completing the assignments daily.\textsuperscript{151} This may suggest either that Prokofiev the autobiographer exaggerated his apathy for these correspondence-lessons or that Glière hyperbolized the boy’s productivity. Regardless, only one letter from the youth himself hints that he had not completed everything:

I am sending you a list of uncompleted exercises by Arensky. I ask you to note on the list those I should do. I am also sending a parcel of the exercises I completed this week, and I ask you to correct them.\textsuperscript{152}

It is, however, to be expected that the boy would request such a point of departure in early February of 1903, given that he had just spent the larger portion of the winter (from November 1902 until the end of January 1903) in Moscow.

During this trip to Moscow, the young Prokofiev’s musical network had blossomed, with great debt to Glière’s interest in his development. According to letters to Sontsovka from both Prokofiev and his mother dated November 17, 1902, Prokofiev had met Arensky and Konyus the previous night at a concert, and through Glière he had earlier met Alexander Goldenweiser—the student originally recommended by Taneyev for the post in Sontsovka.\textsuperscript{153} Glière played an integral role in both introducing Prokofiev

\textsuperscript{150} Glier, Stat’i. Vospominaniia. Materialy. [1965, vol. 1], 334. «В течение зимы 1902-1903 года я продолжал заочно руководить Сережиными занятиями. Он аккуратно присылал мне свои пьески и гармонические задачки на просмотр».

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 333-34.


\textsuperscript{153} Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 57.
to older musical personalities and also in helping to arrange Prokofiev’s musical affairs in Moscow, particularly his relations with Taneyev. In this line, he facilitated and attended Prokofiev’s main interview with Taneyev on November 20, 1902, during which the youth experienced an incident of career-altering significance. After playing through the 1902 symphony, Taneyev allegedly remarked upon the simplicity of the harmony with a chuckle, which struck young Prokofiev to the core; as he writes:

That little “heh, heh” played a very great role in my musical development. It went in deep, stung me, and put down roots. When I got home I broke into tears and began to rack my brains trying to think up harmonic complexities [...] the microbe had penetrated the organism and required a long incubation period.\textsuperscript{154}

Considering Prokofiev’s primarily conservative musical exposure and educational experiences under his mother and Glière—and his relatively harmonious tutelage under Glière the previous summer—this was indeed a harsh blow, for, as he learned, following the rules could only get a composer so far. Indeed, his recognition of the importance of Taneyev’s remark in his memoirs indicates that he felt the lasting weight of its impact. From this moment forward, the Prokofiev who had developed the foundations of his compositional aesthetic within the realm of conservatism—the Prokofiev who had just produced his own compact, Haydn-esque symphony—would embark on a path that would lead him toward modernism.

Glière’s writings make no mention of this trip to Moscow or the meeting with Taneyev, and all but one of the letters he cites from this winter correspondence date from after the trip. These letters do, however, reveal a great deal about Prokofiev’s activities in the spring of 1903. Creatively, Prokofiev focused his energies on composing a violin

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 59. He recalls taking Taneyev some of his compositions eight years later and reminding him of the “heh, heh,” to which Taneyev supposedly “put both hands to his head and exclaimed, not without humor, ‘So I was the one to nudge you onto such a slippery path!’”
sonata, assigned by Glière. His attitude toward this work differed entirely from his impatience with the technical exercises from the Arensky textbook. In the memoirs, Prokofiev writes, “I worked enthusiastically and in some five weeks I had written a rather long sonata in three movements.”

A letter to Glière from March 29, 1903 reads:

By mother’s arrival I had finished the violin sonata. Despite the fact that the first movement is in C minor, I wrote the finale in C major, since for me the presto didn’t come out well in minor. Tchaikovsky’s Second Symphony also begins in C minor and finishes in C major.

From this letter, it is evident that Prokofiev continued to look toward his prior exposure for reference and for validation of his own compositional decisions. Throughout this period Prokofiev also produced several more of his pesenki, which Christina Guillaumier addresses to a great extent in her article “The Giant and Other Creatures,” calling them “snapshots of the young Prokofiev’s compositional obsessions, capturing the nascent elements of his later style and attesting to his gift for melodic invention.”

In addition to these compositional projects, Prokofiev continued his technical study of the piano, and the letters referenced by Glière reveal much about his progress on this front. Glière’s assessment of Prokofiev’s pianistic abilities upon his first arrival in Sontsovka had echoed the deficiencies in technique that the composer himself had noted in his early pianistic practice, but Glière had worked extensively to fix some of the more serious issues (particularly the placement of the hands) during his first summer in Sontsovka. That Glière’s focus in terms of piano rested upon technical issues like

155 Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 61.
motion and placement of hands is supported by one of the letters from September 1902, in which Prokofiev reports his progress on Beethoven sonatas and Duvernoy’s etudes;\(^{159}\) Jean-Baptiste Duvernoy had written several exercises for the development of piano technique, including the Op. 120 *School of Mechanism*, the Op. 176 *Elementary Studies*, the Op. 263 *Douze Etudes d’égalité et de gout* (which included the rip-roaring agility exercise No. 12, “Rapid Fire”), and the Op. 276 *Preparatory School of Velocity*, among others.\(^{160}\) Prokofiev’s mother, while ceasing her own study “when [she] saw that Serezha had caught up with [her],”\(^{161}\) still continued to guide her son’s technical development at the instrument. According to Prokofiev she had paid close attention to Glière’s teaching during the previous summer so as to take his place in his absence, and she reported back to Glière in September of 1902 that “Serezha so far diligently plays, and holds his fingers

His playing was not ordered, he held his hands incorrectly. His long fingers seemed very awkward. Sometimes he very easily grasped fairly difficult passages. But sometimes he could not master simple scales, smoothly play easy arpeggios. In those years I understood little in piano playing, but it was clear to me that for Seryozha much did not work out because of the incorrect placement of the hands. Technically he played sloppily, inexacty, without the proper finishing of phrasing or polishing of details. Sitting beside him at that time, while he played scales, etudes, and pieces, I tried to help him in mastering the technique of piano playing. It is necessary to say, Seryozha was rather stubborn and did not always agree with my advice with regard to methods of piano technique. And sometimes not without inner guile he asked me to play for him a difficult place in an etude or sonata, which often placed me in a difficult position.”


\(^{161}\) Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev*, 54.
fairly well [my emphasis].” However, although Maria Prokofieva more and more deferred to Glière on matters of technique after his first post in Sontsovka, she continued to take part actively (albeit now in consultation with Glière) in the selection of repertoire for her son, as evidenced in one of Glière’s recollections from this period:

…I had received a letter from Maria Grigorevna, which contained a request for me to select for Seryozha music and instruct Jurgenson’s store to send them to Sontsovka. In this same letter she asked me to send a collection of dictation exercises by Ladukhin. Judging from the list of music that was intended for Seryozha, he then played pieces from the fourth level of difficulty from the libraries of Strobel and Czerny [my emphasis].

Such information indicates further that Prokofiev continued to apply himself to his pianistic study, and provides additional support for Christina Guillaumier’s claims of the centrality of Prokofiev’s pianistic development in the idiom of his early compositions (see Chapter 2).

Summer of 1903

It is perhaps with an echo of Taneyev’s remarks on the simplicity of Prokofiev’s 1902 symphony that Glière also wrote, in his recollections of the following summer, that:

in the early compositional experiments of Prokofiev a great deal was rational, ‘from the head.’ As it seemed to me then, in his symphony, opera


65
[A Feast in Time of Plague], and little pieces something was a bit dry; the music at times lacked warmth and lyricism.\textsuperscript{164}

The congruence of Glière’s remarks with Taneyev’s comment is no surprise, given that Glière had been present during Prokofiev’s interview with Taneyev in Moscow.\textsuperscript{165} With these shortcomings in mind, Glière occupied himself in his second summer as Prokofiev’s musical supervisor with self-assigned goals to remedy the tendency toward dry rationality and to “send [Prokofiev] in search of direct expression of emotion [my emphasis].”\textsuperscript{166} Such objectives call to mind Glière’s anecdote about Arensky’s teaching in “On the Profession of the Composer and the Education of the Youth” (see Chapter 1, note 29), during which the latter asked Glière if he was in love after hearing one of his coursework compositions.

Unfortunately, however, the largest project of the summer of 1903—the opera A Feast in Time of Plague—fell somewhat flat with Prokofiev, who wrote that “it was not really a very good choice, since [it] offered few events likely to stimulate [his] youthful imagination.”\textsuperscript{167} Only a few short fragments, including the incipit from Prokofiev’s catalog of childhood works and the passages in the autobiography, remain from the work, which Prokofiev had completed only in pencil sketches by the end of the summer.\textsuperscript{168} Like the symphony of the previous summer, however, the opera allowed Glière to

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., 336-37. 〈В ранних композиторских опытах Прокофьева было немало рассудочного, «от головы». Как мне тогда казалось, в его симфонии, опере, пьесах кое-что было суховатым, музыке порой недоставало тепла, лирики〉.

\textsuperscript{165} Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 59.  Прокофьев вспоминает, что в ходе их беседы Танеев посоветовал Глиеру провести второй год в Сонтовке. Это вполне вероятно (и, возможно, даже вероятно) что они оба обсуждали вопрос о следующем году ещё в более свободной обстановке (не в присутствии Прокофьева и его матери).

\textsuperscript{166} Glier, “Воспоминания о С. С. Прокофьеве,” in Stat’i. Vospominanii. Materialy. [1965, vol. 1], 337.  «Занимаясь с ним, я пытался направлять его на поиски непосредственного выражения чувства. Иногда это ему удавалось, и, конечно, такие произведения оказывались наиболее удачными и доходчивыми».

\textsuperscript{167} Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 65.

\textsuperscript{168} Ibid., 330 n. 34; 71.
address a number of genre-specific issues unique to opera. Described by Glière as “an attempt to create a ‘real’ opera, with developed arias and even ensembles,” this work provided the young Prokofiev with a supervised introduction to the various styles of operatic writing. Working through the text, Glière explained to Prokofiev how to best depict certain passages; for example, he suggested a secco recitative for the text addressing the chairman, jocular music for lines mentioning “jokes and funny stories,” dark, gloomy music for the plague, and a “background of liturgical organ harmonies” to depict the priest. Although Prokofiev had already demonstrated a certain attentiveness to programmatic musical detail in his previous opera On Desert Islands, Glière approached the relationship between music and drama with a far greater depth, examining the text line-by-line and encouraging Prokofiev to write music that would be more evocative of different moods and scenes. (This, of course, coincides with his goal to remedy the cerebral nature of Prokofiev’s youthful style.) Sometimes Prokofiev’s attempts in this regard failed, as in the case of the jocular music, which Glière had to write for him. Still, for a youth who would go on to become world-famous as a composer of opera, this early foundation in the formal principles of operatic writing resulted in an advance over his two previous self-directed childhood operas, and also provided a great advantage for the future. Indeed, twelve years later, Prokofiev pulled part of A Feast in Time of Plague from his back pocket for a conservatory examination, replacing his rather


171 Ibid., 37. “At the end of the second scene there is a passage in C-minor portraying a shower, with reiterated notes.”
innocent childhood setting with a dissonant “raging and gnashing of teeth,” to which, supposedly, “the entire Conservatory council gasped and raised a hue and cry.”

Another benefit of the 1903 work on *A Feast in Time of Plague* came from the composition of the overture, a sonata-form work that, in Prokofiev’s opinion, far eclipsed the level of the previous summer’s symphony and “from a technical point of view, remained unsurpassed for several years.” Glière prompted Prokofiev to keep in mind the eventual composition of the overture during his construction of the other themes in the opera, so as to create a cohesive work, and he closely supervised the details of the overture’s construction. In Prokofiev’s description of this process, as in the descriptions of the previous summer’s symphony, we find yet another indictment of Glière as transmitter of the “rather stereotyped sequence,” suggesting that Glière’s influence over Prokofiev’s symphonic writing remained active. The experience of writing a second major symphonic work in sonata form, however, undoubtedly benefited the young Prokofiev, augmenting both his comfort and proficiency in this form. The impact of this early facility with sonata-form composition shows through both in Prokofiev’s later music and also in his later self-reflections, such as when he related in a 1930 interview that “in [instrumental or symphonic music], I am well content with the forms already perfected. I want nothing better, nothing more flexible or more complete, than the sonata form, which contains everything necessary to my structural purposes.”

172 Ibid., 304.
173 Ibid., 71.
174 Ibid., 66.
175 Prokofiev, interview with Olin Downes on February 2, 1930; see Olin Downes, “Prokofieff Speaks: Russian Composer, Here This Week, Favors Return to Simpler, More Melodic Style,” *The New York Times* (New York, NY), Feb. 2, 1930. Also partially quoted in David Ewen, *The Book of Modern Composers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 143. This interview was overwhelmingly concerned with defending simplicity in the face of the increasing complexity and dissonance in music of that time. Prokofiev’s rhetoric (particularly in his discussion of counterpoint and polyphonic combinations) is strongly
Aside from *A Feast in Time of Plague*, the summer of 1903 also included a continuation of Prokofiev’s study of orchestration, which Glière taught once more with a piano piece: Schumann’s *Warum*. According to Prokofiev, the two examined the work together, marked the instrumental entries, and then Prokofiev orchestrated the work himself. Prokofiev had, of course, evolved since the previous summer’s orchestration lessons by hearing several concerts and operas in the interim; thus, this assignment likely proved more advantageous than his somewhat exaggerated attempts from the previous summer. That Glière would select a tender, contemplative work like Schumann’s *Warum* falls once more in line with his attempt to nudge Prokofiev in the direction of emotive expression; the introspective nature of the work differs greatly from the robust style of many of Prokofiev’s childhood works.

By the time Glière departed Sontsovka on August 15, 1903, he left behind a young composer altogether different from the boy he had first met more than a year earlier. Glière’s supervision over the course of his two summers in Sontsvoka had guided Prokofiev through the genres of short piano piece (*pesenka*), symphony, violin sonata, and opera; had related the basic structures of song form, sonata form, and operatic forms; and had instilled in the youth the fundamental principles of harmony, orchestration, and musical evocation of text. In addition, the young Prokofiev emerged from this experience with an extensive collection of his own music, which helped him greatly both in his networking with older composers and also in his examinations at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. While, of course, a mature grasp of the concepts taught by Glière did not

reminiscent of Taneyev’s rhetoric in the preface to *Convertible Counterpoint*. Far more could be said about this relationship, but it exceeds the scope of the present study.


177 Ibid., 30.
follow until much later in Prokofiev’s musical career, the youth left his studies under Glière with an enormous advantage over his peers—one he certainly felt conscious of, and one from which he continued to reap the benefits for years to come.

178 This is evident from the handful of extant assignments and exams remaining at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, which contain intermittent errors in voice-leading, missed accidentals, misspellings, etc. These indicate that Prokofiev, even with his incredibly lucky musical background, still had his imperfections. See Sergei Prokof’ev, Papers, St. Petersburg State Conservatory Archives, Piatigolosnyi kontrapunkt, trekhgossoenaia fuga, and Chetyrehgossoenaia fuga, Files 24-26. Also Uchenicheskaia rabota po voennoi instrumentovke (Chaikovskii Pol’skii iz opery “Evgenii Onegin.”

179 In a letter to his father dated September 9, 1904, Prokofiev recounts his theory examination at the St. Petersburg Conservatory with Rimsky-Korsakov. He mentions a conversation between some of the professors and another student in which they ask if the latter had brought any compositions, to which he responded that he brought one song but had not yet written an accompaniment for it. Prokofiev then writes that he “picked up [his] two portfolios (one contained all the things [he] wrote [that] year, and the other the things from the other years) and went into the office.” He continues, writing that “there was not room in the portfolios for the bound copybook of the twenty-four “little songs,” so [he] carried it by itself.” Prokofiev, Prokofiev by Prokofiev, 103.
EPILOGUE
At the present time, the English-speaking world lacks a comprehensive scholarly biography of Reinhold Moritsevich Glière. Even in Russian, the two biographies by Bel’za and Petrova offer only the barest outlines of a career that figured prominently in Soviet music history. It is important to remember that, although Glière’s most frequently performed compositions—one or two of the concerti, the third symphony, some chamber works, and excerpts from *The Red Poppy* like the “Russian Sailors’ Dance”—exist today on the periphery of the Soviet music repertoire (let alone the broader Western repertoire), Glière was nonetheless a prolific and effective pedagogue. His students ranged from old to young—from Valentina Serova (widow of the nineteenth-century composer Alexander Serov)\(^{180}\) to young talents like Prokofiev, Myaskovsky, and Khachaturian, who would make significant contributions to music both in the future Soviet Union and abroad. When Prokofiev writes in the introduction to his autobiography that he does not find the business of writing it worthwhile—but feels nonetheless obligated to complete it lest others make mistakes attempting to compile it later—he makes a valid point.\(^{181}\) However, Prokofiev’s perspective is only one half of the story when it comes to his educational experiences under the guidance of Reinhold Glière, and Glière’s perspective helps to add nuance to this multifaceted pedagogical relationship. In addition, a study of Glière’s own educational background contextualizes his pedagogical and aesthetic views within the greater context of his own Moscow training, and helps bring to light the traditions from which he—the first major role model for the young Prokofiev—emerged.

\(^{180}\) Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev*, 58.

\(^{181}\) Prokofiev, “Introduction—And Apology,” in *Prokofiev by Prokofiev*, xi. “Is it worthwhile to write one’s autobiography—and a long one at that? Of course it’s not worthwhile. The only trouble is that, if I don’t write it, others will; and they will no doubt get things wrong—with the best of intentions. [New paragraph] I have kept quite a number of papers—diaries, letters and notebooks—and there is one great advantage if I go through them myself: I can remember between the lines—making out nuances that even the friendliest biographer can’t discern.”
Ultimately, the present study has sought to debunk part of the genius myth associated with Prokofiev’s childhood through the careful investigation of his educational experiences before he reached the conservatory. Prokofiev was not a musical genius who required no training—on the contrary, from the outset of his musical upbringing he had the fullest benefits of cultural capital at his disposal: a musical library to read and study; a mother capable herself of filling his ears with music from the start; personalized, nurturing attention to his development of both musical skills and musical intellect; selfless mentors who never failed to help him expand his network; and exclusive access to a professional composer, in residence in his very household. His fate could not have conditioned him more perfectly for his future. However, by no means would I discredit the value of Prokofiev’s work ethic in his early education, for he could have just as easily wasted all the resources at his disposal if he had failed to retain an interest in music from an early age and to distinguish music as a more serious endeavor than his other childhood hobbies. And indeed, despite his occasional complaints of boredom with the Arensky exercises handed to him from Pomerantsev and Glière, Prokofiev did take his musical study rather seriously, especially for his age. This, undoubtedly, also owes some credit to the constant nurturing of his talents by both his mother and Glière, which instilled in the boy a sense of pride and duty with regard to musical pursuits. In addition, it also owes something to Glière’s ability to recognize and respect the balance between lessons and creativity; between teaching core concepts and encouraging childhood imagination; between engaging in a lesson one minute and an imaginary duel the next.
Bibliography


__________. *Rukovodstvo k izucheniiu form instrumental’noi i vokal’noi muzyki*. Moskva: P. Iurgenson, 1914.


Duvernoy, Jean-Baptiste. *Douze Etudes d’égalité et de gout* [Piano Score]. Paris: Léon Gris, ca. 1868.


________. *Six célèbres symphonies pour piano à 4 mains de J. Haydn*. Braunschweig: Henry Litolf’s Verlag, 1870s.


_________. *Sinfoniiia, G-dur [1902]*. Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva [Russian State Archive of Literature and Art]. Call Number: Fond 1929: Box 1, File 112. 19 pages.


