Vadim Borisovsky and His Viola Arrangements: Recent Discoveries in Russian Archives and Libraries, Part I

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Vadim Borisovsky (1900–1972) was the leading Russian viola soloist from the 1920s to the 1960s and a dedicatee of a number of viola works written by his contemporaries. Like his colleagues, Borisovsky began his career as a chamber violist but despite all odds moved on to promote the viola as a solo instrument, giving recitals, and researching and arranging works for this instrument. From 1925 until 1972, Borisovsky taught at the Moscow Conservatoire, where he founded the faculty of solo viola performance. He was one of the founding members of the Beethoven Quartet in 1922, remaining in the group until 1964, when he was replaced by one of his prominent former students, Fedor Druzhinin. The artistic talents of Borisovsky inspired many composers to write for the viola. Borisovsky was a dedicatee of various works for viola, including sonatas for viola and piano by Vladimir Kriukov (op. 15, 1920–1921), Sergei Vasilenko (op. 46, 1923), Nikolai Roslavets (1926 and the 1930s), Aleksandr Mosolov (op. 21a), and Vasilii Shirinski (1924) and pieces for viola and piano by Vladimir Kriukov (op. 13) and by Aleksandr Krein (op. 2a), among others. Borisovsky was an author of more than two hundred arrangements and transcriptions for the viola that span repertoire from the Baroque period to the music of his contemporaries. Some of them were published in limited editions in the USSR, and the others still remain in manuscript form. His innovative style—expanding the technical and sonorous potential of the instrument—launched new standards in viola performance and expanded its repertoire.
his catalogue of viola repertoire compiled with Whilhelm Altmann that led to his immediate political oppression in 1937, the following unprecedented protection granted by Viacheslav Molotov with Stalin's approval, and Borisovsky's fascination with Italy and the Silver-Age aesthetic that inspired his extensive poetic legacy. The specifics of Borisovsky's technical and stylistic approaches in his arrangements, including Bach's little-known *Pedal Study* for viola solo and Glinka's unfinished sonata, will be the focus of the second part of this article. The analysis and discussion of these subjects rely heavily on the unpublished and little-explored materials on Borisovsky from the archives and libraries in Moscow.

**Perception of the viola in Russia at the turn of the twentieth century**

The viola was primarily regarded as a chamber and orchestral instrument in Europe (including the Russian Empire) throughout the nineteenth century up to the turn of the twentieth century. It was customary to recommend that unsuccessful violinists switch to the viola, as its technical possibilities and sound qualities were considered relatively unsophisticated and artless and therefore required merely rudimentary skills. The first attempt to change this approach and set up a solo viola faculty in Russia was in St. Petersburg, at the first conservatoire in the country founded by Anton Rubinstein in 1862. In 1863, a renowned viola player, Hieronymus Weickmann, was invited to lead the solo viola faculty. However, the viola did not attract much interest among the students apart from one, Vasilii Bessel, who was initially enrolled as a violin student of Henryk Wieniawski. Bessel, who in 1869 founded a thriving music publishing firm known as *V. Bessel & Co.*, remembered how he became the only viola student at the Conservatoire: "At the beginning of 1865, I was asked by Anton Rubinstein to switch to the viola class of Weickmann, because the Conservatoire did not have a single viola player to join the student orchestra." Thus, Bessel was the first viola student at a conservatoire in Russia to have completed the full course. This episode illustrates a flagrant disregard for the viola and explains the reasons that forced the administration of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire to transform the viola-solo faculty into the obligatory orchestral viola course similar to the course at the newly founded Moscow Conservatoire in 1866 and many European conservatoires at the time.

It was common practice for distinguished violin soloists, including Leopold Auer, Ivan Grzhimaly, and Josef Perman, to perform occasional works on the viola. Unfortunately, these violinists, despite their prominence as soloists, did not form the vanguard of the viola movement in Russia, and the viola remained a secondary instrument in their careers. A contributing factor was that the Russian viola repertoire was very modest at the beginning of the twentieth century, containing only a few original works worthy of merit that unfortunately did not win much recognition among the public nor with performers. The young violists Nikolai Sokolovskii, Nikolai Averino, and Vladimir Bakaleinikoff, who performed these compositions, did not form the forefront of a viola movement that would change the reputation of the instrument. Their professional interests lay largely either in the field of chamber or violin music, as they all were initially trained as violinists. The absence of an active viola soloist on concert stages and a rather sceptical perception of the technical and sound qualities of the viola among musicians—and consequently the public—resulted in its negligible rank among other instruments of the string family. The status of the viola as a valuable ensemble and orchestral instrument, rather than a solo instrument prevailed in Russian minds until the early 1920s, when the thriving concert activities of a young violist, Vadim Borisovsky, drew attention to the viola.

**Borisovsky's upbringing**

Borisovsky lived through the most rapid, dramatic, and brutal political and social changes of Russian and world history. This included World War I and the February and Socialist Revolutions of 1917 that were followed by the Civil War and World War II, as well as the Stalin purges of the 1930s. These conflicts had a major impact on the life of its citizens, including Borisovsky, particularly those that overturned the constitutional and civil structure of the country, changing it from Imperial to Bolshevik Russia and
then transformed it into the Soviet state. In order to survive and maintain his professional activities, Borisovsky had to conform to the Soviet constraints.

Borisovsky's brief biography can be found through various sources. Notably, there is a book on Borisovsky by Viktor Iuzeofovich published in Moscow in 1977, which is a valuable source for research, though its content provides only a brief account on Borisovsky's interests, family, and establishment as a leading violist in Soviet Russia. Iuzeofovich prepared his book in close collaboration with Borisovsky's widow, Aleksandra De-Lazari Dolli Borisovskaia (1904–2004), who provided him with documents from the family archive. However, this book is limited in its resources, because it underwent severe censorship in order to comply with the state autocratic ideology. In 1977, at the height of the rule of Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, Borisovskaia could not disclose many facts, as this would have led to problems with the authorities. Therefore, many interesting details about Borisovsky’s family milieu and professional experiences have been confined to unpublished documents and materials until recently.

Borisovsky was born on January 19, 1900, in Moscow and had a privileged educational background because of his family upbringing and wealth. His piano and violin tuition was nurtured by his parents from the very early age. French was the first language Borisovsky learnt to speak, and he was fluent in Italian, German, and English, along with considerable knowledge of ancient Greek and Latin. A residence in Italy for reasons of health from 1912 to 1914 made a huge impact on Vadim’s future interests in Italian culture, literature, and music, including organ playing. In 1918 he graduated with a Gold Medal from the First Gymnasium for boys and then read medicine at the Moscow University at the request of his mother. Nevertheless, his dedication to music grew stronger, and Borisovsky concurrently entered the Moscow Conservatoire as a violinist, keeping this secret from his mother. Borisovsky never kept a secret of the broad education that allowed him to become eminently sophisticated and erudite in modern and ancient languages, music, literature, fine arts, and other fields of study.

However, he never publicly disclosed his family roots, as this biographical fact would have been injurious to official loyal existence within the new socialist administration. Borisovsky was a grandson of a peasant-serf, Peter Arsent’evich Smirnov (1831–1898), which could have been an immediate positive case for a clear-cut definition of being a reliable and trustworthy Soviet citizen. However, Peter Smirnov had managed to buy his freedom and was liberated from serfdom. He then became not only a merchant but also the founder of one of the wealthiest Russian trade houses and vodka distilleries of the nineteenth century “Peter Smirnov,” known today as the “Smirnoff” brand. Borisovsky was an illegitimate
son of Aleksandra Smirnova, the youngest daughter of Peter Smirnov. Borisovsky understandably kept this fact undisclosed as both his father, Vasilii Nikolaevich Bostandzhoglo, who was a wealthy tobacco merchant from an Old Believer family, a cousin of Konstantin Stanislavsky, and a talented ornithologist and the founder of the collection of the Zoological Museum of the Moscow University, and his step-father, the merchant Martem’ian Nikanorovich Borisovsky, were shot by the Cheka in 1919. His mother lost her property and income and was classified as "lishenka" [disenfranchised], which meant that she was deprived by the Soviet Constitution of 1918–1936 of all social rights. This included employment, housing, rations, pension, and the right to vote due to her bourgeois roots; she was, therefore, fully dependent on her son. Today, it justifies Borisovsky’s inability to openly defend his professorship against the attack of the RAPM and the purges of the late 1930s, which will be detailed further in this discussion. Due to his family roots, he automatically fell into the same disenfranchised group of people, who were repressed even after 1936, when this category was officially eliminated.

**Start of Borisovsky's career: The catalogue of the viola repertoire**

Borisovsky was profoundly dedicated to the development of the viola and to the research, promotion, and enlargement of its repertoire. In June 1922, Borisovsky graduated with distinction as a violist from the Moscow Conservatoire. On August 29, 1922, Borisovsky was promoted to the position of the viola leader at the Bolshoi Theatre after two years of performing as a rank-and-file violist. His first viola recital with the pianist Konstantin Igumnov took place at the Mal'yi [Small] Hall of the Moscow Conservatoire on October 22, 1922, which was the start of his long-lasting career as a soloist. The programme included the Sonata for Viola and Piano, op. 10, by Aleksandr Vinkler and the premiere of the Sonata for Viola and Piano, op. 15, by Vladimir Kriukov. Concurrently, Borisovsky’s concert activities as a violist of the Beethoven Quartet began to flourish, and in September 1925 he was offered a teaching post at the Moscow Conservatoire, replacing his professor Vladimir Bakaleinikoff, who immigrated to the United States. Nevertheless, Borisovsky’s fine professional accomplishments neither found recognition among the administration of the Conservatoire at that time nor did they protect him personally from political oppression, which almost brought to a standstill his activities. The meticulous chistki ['cleansing," purges] among musicians, who were judged by their social origins and contributions to revolutionary values, became characteristic of the time.

Despite being promoted to the position of Professor in 1935, Borisovsky was sacked from the Conservatoire at least twice during the purges. The political oppression was directed not only against individuals and their aesthetic ideas that did not conform to the Soviet ideology, but also against musical instruments. At the beginning of 1930, the RAPM, which by then effectively controlled Soviet musical life, decided that the viola was an instrument that overloaded the educational programmes. Borisovsky, who held the only viola teaching position at the Moscow Conservatoire, was forced to resign from his post in 1931, and all his students were compelled to enroll in the violin course. Unofficially, his students continued their viola tuition at Borisovsky’s home, despite the fear of trouble that likely would ensue if this arrangement became known. Only a year later, Borisovsky was invited back to the Conservatoire, due to the fact that the RAPM was dissolved by then.

Borisovsky ran into serious trouble again because of the viola catalogue he had published in 1937 with Wilhelm Altmann, a music researcher from Berlin. This catalogue was a significant publication for violists, as it listed for the first time all known original and transcribed works for viola solo and for viola with other instruments, a valuable source of viola research data even today. The growth of Stalin’s authority brought a time of despair. On January 4, 1938, Borisovsky was attacked in a Pravda article, “Podozritel’noe sodruzhestvo” [Suspicious Partnership], by a music-critic, Georgy Khubov, who accused him of being a Nazi advocate—even though the catalogue was of solely musicological content and had been put together by
December 1932, well before the Nazis seized power. An article of a similar content that severely criticised Borisovsky and his catalogue was prepared by the state publishing house *Iskusstvo [Art]*. It is kept in RGALI in draft form with no author's name: "Borisovsky was always indifferent to Soviet reality. [...] His notorious individuality as an artist was only the outer shell of his political isolation from the Soviet public." From the context of the article, one may assume that it was written at the end of the 1930s, the time when the purges reached a new peak. When such anonymous articles appeared in the press, it meant that they were published by a direct command from the high officials, and the people who were targeted had no chance to exonerate themselves as their fate had been already decided. An official claim against Borisovsky was accepted for legal action and the file delivered to the Kremlin for further investigation. Borisovsky wrote a letter of explanation addressed directly to Stalin that prompted the secretariat of Viacheslav Molotov, a leading Soviet politician and a protégé of Stalin, to call Borisovsky for a meeting, at which the case against him was dismissed. Borisovsky was lucky to survive.

**Borisovsky and Shostakovich**

Borisovsky's loyal public reputation and musical accomplishment as a member of the respected Beethoven Quartet appealed to the Soviet authorities, but his recognition as a viola soloist was a different matter, because the viola was not held in esteem. Besides, his compliance as a performer and teacher with the state cultural policy of socialist realism officially announced in 1934 was of critical importance. In all fields of music, it required musicians to convey the fight and victory of the proletariat, recognize the importance of classical and national folk traditions and make them understandable for the masses, and reject any modern styles, religious features, and experimentation due to their association with bourgeois culture. Nothing granted protection from it—neither one's previous achievements nor one's artistic talent. Borisovsky's efforts and successes are valued today, but there was every reason for him to believe that they would be neglected or forgotten due to the impact of the doctrine, which he and his colleagues had to obey. The system of rewards and punishments that one may call "the carrot and stick approach" allowed the Soviet authorities to monitor and control its citizens. Like Shostakovich, Borisovsky fully experienced this approach.

It is virtually impossible to determine the exact number of Borisovsky's concert appearances. One of the archival folders that belonged to cellist Sergei Shirinski, Borisovsky's colleague in the Beethoven Quartet, contains 900 pages of concert programmes and posters from 1923 until 1972, recording Borisovsky's participation as a soloist, chamber musician, and the violist of the quartet. His compatriots enjoyed many opportunities to listen to this exceptional musician and violist, whom Shostakovich described as follows in 1969:

> I have been fortunate to enjoy the kind admiration and limitless friendship of Vadim Vasil'evich [Borisovsky] towards me and my music for a very long time. It has always been a great pleasure to collaborate with this musician of great talent and immense mastery, and also a man with a heart of gold, incredibly profound intelligence and of broad education. If asked—what exactly attracts me most in Borisovsky's personality, I would answer: Everything.  

The feeling of deep respect between these two great musicians was mutual. This is a poem written by Borisovsky in 1949, which was published for the first time in Moscow only in 2012:

*To Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich*

> Quadrille of stupid daily pantomime,  
> With a herd of hundred thousand faces—  
> That glare at your undying blaze,  
> Is blinded by your greatness.  

> Through hours of your painful thoughts,  
> Through hours of tragic ideas—  
> Don't wait for the love of moving mummies,  
> Those, with nicknames—human beings.
Let their lost, passionless souls
Offence numerous treasons—
Life and path they are inept to finish
Their essence—dust and ashes.

Shake off the soot from earthly light,
Despise insignificant trivial dramas—
Always fly—a glistening comet,
Always shine—to spite blind moles!

Ironically, Borisovsky had generally been portrayed by the authorities as an honored and respected figure, as had been Shostakovich. However, this official portrait was only a part of the real picture of the leading Soviet violist who emerged with a flourish from the new socialist state. The archival documents that have been analyzed above challenged this established conception. Today, we take it for granted that musicians travel around the world for concerts, which undoubtedly is of immense importance in the promotion of an underappreciated instrument and for one’s international recognition. Borisovsky was deprived of this ordinary practice, despite being the deputy head of the “USSR-Italy Friendship Society” that promoted international cultural and public exchanges between those countries. Borisovsky was in correspondence with his colleagues, but he was not allowed to go abroad, apart from his very first and only concert tour to Germany in 1927 and his appearances as a judge at the ARD International Competition in Munich and the International Contest of Violists in Budapest in 1967. The renowned Japanese violist Nobuko Imai vividly remembers her only meeting with Borisovsky and her feelings of deep admiration for him and his students from the Soviet delegation in Munich, where she won the highest prize.

Many years of persistent torture,
Many years are wiped out . . .
Life, alas, I cannot change it,
If there is no life in it.

Indeed, Borisovsky was the driving force of the majority of solo viola activities in Moscow from 1923 until 1963, when a heart attack halted his performing engagements. In 1965, he was awarded an honorary title of People’s Artist of RSFSR (the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) that allowed him a number of social privileges. Thanks to his initiative, Russian viola makers made 183 violas in his lifetime, thus promoting the instrument in the country.

Borisovsky’s creative response to injustice and restrictions of the officials was his poetry.

Borisovsky’s poetic legacy

Borisovsky was an author of hundreds of poems dated from 1936 until his death, which have only recently come to light. They were influenced by the Italian sonnet form and the Silver-Age aesthetic with its mysticism, symbolic approach, and visual images. This poetry reveals expressions of bitterness about surrounding rulers and bureaucrats with elements of satire, grotesque, contempt, sadness, and forgiveness. Borisovsky’s path to professional success and musical independence was a challenging one and at times a demoralizing and discouraging experience, which meant he could communicate openly neither with his colleagues nor in public.

The samples of Borisovsky’s extensive poetic legacy offered below attest to this statement. Thus, in the poem without a title written in 1947, only a year after he was awarded the prestigious Stalin Prize of the first degree for his achievements with the Beethoven Quartet, Borisovsky used a distinctive tone of expression:

Many years of persistent torture,
Many years are wiped out . . .
Life, alas, I cannot change it,
If there is no life in it.

Yes, indeed, it was fragrant
Youth—that first dawn,
Yet the torture is constant,
Merely because I exist.

Indeed, Borisovsky was the first performer in the USSR of numerous works of his contemporaries, including Bloch and Bax, as well as Hindemith after Borisovsky’s 1927 concert tour, where he performed in the presence of the composer. Borisovsky was alone, one to one in his musical and poetic world. In this respect, he was comparable to his colleague, the composer Sergei Vasilenko, whose numerous works for the viola have been unknown until recently. Their active collaboration on viola repertoire was halted due to the requirements
of the cultural policy. Borisovsky was highly dependent on the official approval of his activities and strived to promote the viola as a highly commendable solo instrument among the officials. Today, there is no debate on the significance of his accomplishments, but a question: How did he manage to achieve all this? His independence of thought, exceptional personal and professional qualities, immense intellectual curiosity in search for the unknown, love for the viola, and clear vision for its future as a solo instrument fuelled his inspiration and willpower.

One can observe a close correlation between Borisovsky’s poetry and transcription choices with special emphasis on a Romantic idiom and symbolic and narrative rhetoric typical of Russian composers of the time, which will be discussed in the second instalment of this article. Borisovsky’s poems illustrate his personal likes and dislikes and his exquisite taste and feel for form and structure, as many of them are written in sonnet form. They also demonstrate his distinctive talent as a poet with rich imagination, a musical ear for elegant stanzas, a tasteful sense of humor, and infinite faith in and aspirations for artistic learning and enhancement.

Sursum Corda…

Let us build a temple of creativity, A paintbrush for artists, a word for poets!
Let us sing a hymn to eternity,
Lift up your hearts to heaven!
Let us worship the miracles on earth . . .
In poetry of new inspiration,
Let us forgive all those who committed sins,
Lift up your hearts to heaven!
Let us pour a healing balm into souls,
Weave unseen yarn among unkind men,
Lift up their minds in reverence for Thought,
Lift up your hearts to heaven!28

Today, one may interpret these words composed in 1971 by the seventy-one-year-old musician as his overlooked legacy, in which he emphasized one’s belief in justice in the world and the importance of forgiveness, creativity, and appreciation of present and past achievements that would inspire one’s own vision and bring artistic wisdom.

This poem and his numerous viola arrangements were Borisovsky’s attempts to sink into a reverie away from the realities of everyday life. They also emphasize Borisovsky’s broad scope of interests formed in his youth that became a contributing factor to the musical range of his arrangements existing today. Their technical and stylistic approaches are varied, because he continually sought the enhancement and enrichment of the viola’s instrumental and timbral possibilities. Fortunately, Borisovsky’s newly discovered arrangements and recordings are no longer restricted by any authoritarian decree to archives and libraries. The second part of this article provides an analysis of some of his musical arrangements based on manuscripts, which will assist their future performers and researchers of the violist’s legacy.

Violist and musicologist Elena Artamonova holds a PhD in Music Performance from Goldsmiths College, Centre for Russian Music, University of London, where she was under the guidance of the late Professor Alexander Ivashkin. Her work has been presented at many international conferences, and her CDs of the first recordings of complete viola works by Grechaninov and Vasilenko on Toccata Classics, the fruits of Elena’s archival investigations, have been released worldwide to a high critical acclaim.

1. Among his many talented students was our contemporary, internationally renowned soloist, Yuri Bashmet.

2. The Beethoven Quartet closely collaborated with Dmitri Shostakovich and gave the premieres of many of his compositions.


4. Hieronymus [Ieronim Andreevich] Weickmann, a Russian violist of German descent, worked in Russia from 1853 as a soloist, viola leader at the Mariinskii Theatre, violist of the quartet of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Musical JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN VIOLA SOCIETY
Society led by Leopold Auer, and teacher at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire from 1863 to 1891.

5. Vasilii Bessel, Vospominaniia [Memoirs] (St. Petersburg: Russkaia starina, 1895), 354. All translations are by the author.

6. Regrettably, there are only a few viola compositions worthy of notice from this period. Such notable works as the sonata by Mikhail Glinka and the viola concerto attributed to Ivan Khandoshkin were not discovered until 1931 and in the mid-1940s, respectively.


8. Old Believers was a prohibited movement of the Russian Orthodox Church that rejected the ecclesiastical reforms of Patriarch Nikon in the mid-seventeenth century and from that time led a clandestine existence in spite of severe persecution. Only in 1905 did the last Russian tsar, Nicholas II, impose a law of religious tolerance toward the Old Believers.

9. VCheka (usually called Cheka) is an abbreviation of the Vserossiiskaia Chrezvychainaiia Komissiia [All Russian Emergency Commission], the first Soviet security organization, the predecessor of the KGB, and with unlimited powers. It was founded by Lenin's decree in December 1917 in order to combat counterrevolution and sabotage. This information about the fate of Borisovsky's father is confirmed in the memoirs of Vladimir Petrovich Smirnov (1875–1934), the third of thirteen children of Peter Smirnov.

10. RAPM, the Rossiiskaia asociatsiia proletarskikh muzikantov [the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians], was founded in Moscow in 1923 and disbanded by the Party decree on April 23, 1932. RAPM strove for an ideological monopoly in music and considered its members the only representatives of the true proletariat.

11. Despite his great potential, Borisovsky left university after his first year of study. Teachers Mikhail Press and Robert Pollak made a huge influence on the young musician, but were forced to emigrate from Russia in fear of prosecution. Borisovsky was re-enrolled to the violin class of Josef Ryvkind, whose teaching style was very academic. String-quartet sessions held more appeal, and Borisovsky became so fond of the viola that decided to switch instruments. Bakaleinikoff, who moved to Moscow in 1920, agreed to teach Borisovsky, the only viola student at the Conservatoire.

12. See also: RGALI, fund 648 (GABT), op. 1, ed. khr. 374, 1–22.

13. Borisovsky completed the catalogue in 1937 and sent a letter to Altmann, who had helped him to find certain materials at the Prussian National Library in Berlin, asking to edit and publish this catalogue as a co-operative work. In December 1932, the first and only edition was completed. It was planned for publication in 1933, but the publication was unexpectedly delayed and was available in print only in 1937.

14. Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo “Iskusstvo” [State Publishing House “Iskusstvo”], O politicheskoi bespechnosti rukovoditelei Moskovskoi Konservatorii i drugikh organizatsii iskusstv [Regarding the Political Carelessness of the Administration of the Moscow Conservatoire and Other Arts Organisations]. Housed in RGALI, fund 672 (Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo ‘Iskusstvo’), op. 1, ed. khr. 1010, 1–2.


16. See also: Housed in RGALI, fund 3052 (Shirinski, Sergei Petrovich), op. 1, ed. khr. 58–99.

17. Iuzefovich, Vadim Borisovsky—osnovatel' sovetskoi al'tovoi shkoly, 3.


20. A public organization that promoted the development and strengthening of friendship between the USSR and foreign countries led by cultural exchange. It was a powerful method to ensure Soviet interests in the sphere of foreign relations.


23. The term “Silver Age” is applied to a number of artistic movements of the first two decades of the twentieth century, which announced the idea of transforming the world through art, and in which only the individuality of an artist seemed to account for artistic merit. The movements were unified by irrationalism, mysticism, eccentricity, and the eradication of logic in favor of intuition and “cosmic consciousness.”


25. Evgeniia Stoklitskaia, interview by the author, Moscow, August 23, 2010. Stoklitskaia (b. 1937), a former Head of the String Department at the Gnessin Music College in Moscow and an author and editor of educational anthologies and publications for viola players, is a former student of Borisovsky and a close family friend.


27. The *Sursum Corda*, which translates from Latin as “Lift up your hearts,” is the opening dialogue of the Eucharistic prayer in Christian liturgies.