uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTOCTORALES

uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSDOCTORAL STUDIES

Jada Watson

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

M.A. (Musicology)

GRADE / DEGREE

Department of Music

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

Aspects of the "Jewish" Folk Idiom in Dmitri Shostakovich's String Quartet No. 4, OP.83 (1949)

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Phillip Murray Dineen

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

Douglas Clayton

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

Lori Burns

Roxane Prevost

Gary W. Slater

Le Doyen de la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales / Dean of the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

ASPECTS OF THE "JEWISH" FOLK IDIOM IN DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH'S STRING QUARTET NO. 4, OP. 83 (1949)

BY

JADA WATSON

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master's of Arts degree in Musicology

Department of Music
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-48520-0
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-48520-0

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS iii

LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES vi

LIST OF EXAMPLES vii

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION ix

ABBREVIATIONS x

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION TITLES xi

ABSTRACT xii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xiii

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter Outline 3

CHAPTER 1: Shostakovich & the Jewish Idiom: Literature Review 6

Shostakovich & Jewish Musical Culture 8

Literature Review: 12

The Gap 12

Modality and Shostakovich's Jewish musical Language 17

Shostakovich's "Jewish" Compositions 20

Historical Context 22

CHAPTER 2: *Zhdanovschina* & Shostakovich's Creative Response (1948-1953) 26

Soviet Ideology: *Socialist Realism* 27

1936: From a Public *'Muddle'* to Private *'Music'* 28

1946-1948: *Zhdanovshchina* 30

1948: *Resolution on Music* 32

Persecution of Shostakovich 37

Shostakovich's Creative Response 38

Works "for the Drawer" 40

String Quartet no. 4, op. 83 42

Summary 47

CHAPTER 3: Stalin's Anti-Semitic Campaign, 1948-1953 48

A History of anti-Semitic Tendencies 48

The Growth of the Anti-Jewish Campaign 51

"Official" Anti-Semitism 55

"Rootless Cosmopolitanism" and the Charge of Zionist Conspiracy 58

"Jewish" Folk Idiom in Soviet Culture 66

Shostakovich & the Jewish Folk Idiom 68

Summary 69

CHAPTER 4: Analytical Tools: Shostakovich's "Jewish" Musical Language 71

Jewish Folk Idiom in Soviet Music 71

Modal Theory 74

Shostakovich's Modal Language 75

Jewish Altered Modes 76

Joachim Braun: Shostakovich's "Jewish" Musical Language 80

Ambiguities of the Jewish Idiom: 'Laughter Through Tears' 85

Summary 88

CHAPTER 5: Analysis: Aspects of "Jewishness" in String Quartet No. 4 89

Shostakovich and the String Quartet 90

String Quartet no. 4, op. 83 92

Movement I: Allegretto 94

Movement II: Andantino 102

Movement III: Allegretto 107

Movement IV: Allegretto 113

How Do These Movements Link Together? 122

Chorale Motive 123

"Laughter Through Tears" 128

Summary 132

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion: "The Power of Music" 134

String Quartet no. 4: Thoughts on Style and Meaning 135

The End of Stalin's Rule 138

"The Power of Music" 139

Intention vs. Interpretation 143

Conclusions 146

Appendix A: Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich's Three "Jewish" Periods 149

Appendix B: The Alexandrian Pentachord 153

Bibliography 159

LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES

Tables

Chapter 3:

3.1: Table from Agitprop Report on the "Selection and Promotion of Personnel in the Arts": Report on the Bolshoi Administration 53

3.2: Table from Agitprop Report on the "Selection and Promotion of Personnel in the Arts": Report on the Music Conservatories 54

3.3: Table from Agitprop Report on the "Selection and Promotion of Personnel in the Arts": Report on Art Critics 55

Figures

Chapter 5:

5.1: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement I, structural overview of form 97

5.2: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement II, structural overview of form 104

5.3: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement III, structural overview of form 108

5.4: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV, structural overview of form 115

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Chapter 4:

4.1: Jewish Altered Dorian Mode from Moshe Beregovskii 78

4.2: Jewish Altered Phrygian Mode from Moshe Beregovskii 79

4.3: Iambic Prime from the "Lullaby" in *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79 82

4.4: Fusion of Altered Dorian and Phrygian Modes (Shostakovich's "Jewish" Mode) from Esti Sheinberg 83

4.5: Alexandrian Pentachord III – 6 from Alexander Dozhanskii 84

Chapter 5:

5.1: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement I: Theme A 98

5.2: "Thoughtful Mother and Aunt", *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79 98

5.3: String Quartet No. 3, op. 83; Movement I: Development of Theme A 100

5.4: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement I: Theme B 101

5.5: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement II: Theme A 105

5.6: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement II: Cadence to Cadenza 106

5.7: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement II: Coda 106

5.8: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement III: Theme A 110

5.9: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement III: Motive from Theme A 110

5.10: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement III: Theme B 111

5.11: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement III: Motive from Theme B 111

5.12: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement III: Theme C 112

5.13: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement III: Motive from Theme C 113

5.14: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV: Introduction 116

5.15: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV: Theme A 116

5.16: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV: Theme B..... 117

5.17: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV: Octatonic Transition in Theme B..... 118

5.18: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV: mm. 155-159 119

5.19: Alexandrian Pentachord 6 Type III 119

5.20: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV: Introductory Material in Recap. 120

5.21: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV: Coda 121

5.22: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83: Movement I: "Chorale Motive", Rehearsal 13 126

5.23: DSCH Motive 126

5.24: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement II: "Chorale Motive", Rehearsal 31..... 126

5.25: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement II: "Chorale Motive", Rehearsal 34, 35..... 127

5.26: String Quartet No. 4, op. 83; Movement IV: "Chorale Motive", Rehearsal 98, 99.... 127

Appendix B:

B.1: 10 Possible Combinations of Alexandrian Pentachords 154-155

B.2: Enharmonic Musical Scales of AP 2 156

B.3: The Sixth Formula of the Alexandrian Pentachord 158

B.4: Five Variants of AP, Sixth Formula 158

B.5: Jewish Altered Phrygian and Dorian Modes with APIII 158

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

For this thesis, I have adopted, with some modification the Library of Congress system of transliteration. The Russian 'ы' is rendered by the English character 'y', the Russian soft sign (ь) by the Latin ', and the Russian 'й' is transliterated 'i'. The Cyrillic vowels 'я' and 'ю' appear as 'ia' and 'iu', and the Cyrillic 'e' is rendered by the English 'e', except at the beginnings of words, where it is rendered as 'ye'. The Russian ш, щ, and ч are rendered as 'sh', 'sch' and 'ch'. I have shortened names ending in 'ый', to 'y' (instead of 'iy'). However, I have also retained the familiar spellings of proper names, for example, 'Kabalevsky' instead of 'Kabalevskii'.

ABREVIATIONS

Agitprop:	*Otdel propagandy i agitatsii*: Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee
AP:	*Alexandriiskii pentakhord*: Alexandrian Pentachord
AP6-III:	*Alexandriiskii pentakhord*: Alexandrian Pentachord Variety 6, Type III
CC:	*Tsentral'nyi komitet*: Central Committee (of the Communist Party)
CPSU:	*Kommunisticheskaia Partiia Sovetskogo Soiuza*: Communist Party of the Soviet Union
GOSET:	*Moskovskii Gosudarstvennyi Evreiskii Teatr*: Moscow State Jewish Theater
JAC:	*Evreiskii Antifashistskii Komitet*: Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee
NKVD:	*Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del*: People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
MVD:	*Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del*: Ministry of Internal Affairs[1]
Orgkomitet:	Organizational Committee
TASS:	Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union
USSR:	*Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik*: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

[1] In 1946 the NKVD was renamed the Ministry of Internal Affairs, known as the MVD.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Einikeit:	"Unity", official journal for the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Yiddish
Izvestiia:	"Delivered Messages", daily newspaper in Russia
Literatura i iskusstvo:	"Literature and Art", an arts and culture magazine
Literaturnaia gazeta:	"Literature Gazette", weekly cultural and political newspaper. From 1932-1947 this was the official journal of the Union of Soviet Writers.
Muzgiz:	Gosudarstvennoe muzikal'noe izdatel'stvo, State Music Publishing Company
Novyi Mir:	"New World", a monthly literary magazine. In the early 1960s it took up a dissident political stance.
Pravda:	"Truth", official Communist Party newspaper
Sovetskaia Muzyka:	"Soviet Music", the music journal of the Union of Soviet Composers

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the context in which the Soviet composer Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich turned to the "Jewish" folk idiom in his Fourth String Quartet, op. 83 (1949). The Fourth String Quartet falls into the second of three "Jewish" periods of composition, a period that aligns with the continual denunciation of Shostakovich as a "formalist" and "anti-People" composer, as well as with Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign. Because Shostakovich was not Jewish, these works have been read as either an attempt to rehabilitate himself following the Resolution on Music or as a method of identification with an oppressed minority.

This thesis examines Shostakovich's professional and private life from 1948 to 1953. It outlines the rise of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union during this same period and analyses elements of "Jewish" musical language in the Fourth String Quartet. Ultimately, this thesis discusses how Shostakovich both followed Party demands and found a personal response to persecution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the course of my education I have been fortunate to have many wonderful professors that helped to shape my musicological interests. My desire to study music history began at Cambrian College, mainly from my history lectures and piano lessons with Dr. Charlene Biggs. Charlene first introduced me to Soviet music - in particular, Shostakovich's Jewish song cycle - and continually encouraged me down this musicological path. Although there are currently no Russian or Soviet music scholars at the University of Ottawa, every professor I have studied with has been supportive of my interests in Russian/Soviet music and encouraged me to complement my music studies with courses in Russian language and culture. In particular, I am indebted to the support and guidance of my two thesis advisors, Dr. Murray Dineen in the Department of Music and Dr. Douglas Clayton in the Department of Modern Languages and Literature. I would like to thank Professor Dineen for his insightful questions, observations and encouragement. I would like to extend a very special thank you to Douglas Clayton for agreeing to take part in my advisory team. I am grateful for our many discussions on Russian and Soviet culture, for his help with my first translation project, and for his continual support and encouragement. Спасибо Дагласу за постоянную поддержку и поощрение!

I would also like to thank my thesis readers, Dr. Lori Burns and Dr. Roxane Prevost, both of whom posed challenging questions that I pondered throughout the research and the writing of this thesis. They have acted as mentors throughout my education at the University of Ottawa and I am grateful to have met and studied with them. Thank you also to Dr. John

Armstrong for his advice and guidance in the formal and harmonic analysis of the Fourth String Quartet, I am extremely grateful for all of his help.

A very special thank you to the Vida Quartet: Katie Stevens and Ilana Waniuk (violins), Caren Abramoff (viola) and Andres Nicolas Tucci Clarke (cello), for learning the Fourth String Quartet and joining me in a lecture-recital this year. I truly appreciate their dedication to learning the music and their involvement in the presentation.

I am extremely grateful that this thesis was supported by graduate fellowships from Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Ontario Graduate Scholarship and the University of Ottawa's Faculty of Graduate and Post Doctoral Studies Excellence Scholarship. In addition the FGPS also granted Travel and Research Grants that supported my research and conference activities in Europe and North America, for which I am truly thankful.

♪ ♪ ♪

I began my graduate work at an opportune time in Shostakovich scholarship, during a year of events dedicated to the Centenary of Dmitri Shostakovich's birth. I was fortunate to have been able to attend conferences at Rutgers The State University of New Jersey, at the Eastman School of Music, and both Goldsmiths College and Bristol University in the United Kingdom. Each conference provided a wonderful opportunity to meet Shostakovich scholars from around the globe, and am privileged to have established friendships with many of them. This thesis would not have been possible without the help of many of these scholars. First and foremost, I extend my gratitude to Dr. Alexander Ivashkin at Goldsmiths College, who arranged for my appointment at Shostakovich Family Archive in Moscow, Russia and for his continual support in my academic pursuits. I would like to gratefully

acknowledge Olga Dombrovskaya and Olga Digonskaya at the Shostakovich Archive in Moscow for their help and willingness to answer my questions and Emmannuel Utwiller, at the Centre Chostakovich in Paris, France for his incredible generosity during my visit to the archive and for providing many rare recordings of the quartets. I would also like to extend my heartfelt appreciation to Irina Shostakovich and the heirs of D.D. Shostakovich for granting me copyright permission to include excerpts of the Fourth String Quartet in this thesis.

Thank you to Joachim Braun in Israel, who responded to my inquiries on his work and stance on the "Jewish" idiom in Shostakovich's music. I would also like to thank Dr. Judith Kuhn for providing me with a copy of her Ph.D dissertation; Dr. Marina Frolova Walker for her support and advice and for sending me a copy of documents she found in the RGALI; and Dr. Patrick McCreless for his encouraging words at the Bristol conference and for providing me with a copy of his paper on Shostakovich string quartets prior to its publication. I would also like to thank my friend and fellow Shostakovich enthusiast, John Riley for his continual encouragement, critical observations, friendship and for providing me with a place to stay during my research trip to London, England.

♪ ♪ ♪

There are many people who have supported me over the duration of both my undergraduate and graduate degrees in the Department of Music. In particular, I have been blessed by the support, friendship, and guidance of Linda Bergeron, Lise Desjardins, Hali Krawchuk, Pascale Lafrance and James Law. In addition, I would like to offer my gratitude to James for his continual technological help for conferences and presentations. Thank you

also to Debbie Begg, Luc Bedard and Gilles Daneau in the Musicotheque for their help over the past five years.

During my degree I was fortunate to have held a Research Assistant position under Lori Burns' supervision. In this position I found more than an interesting research experience, I found a friend and colleague in both Lori and her co-author Marc Lafrance. I am eternally grateful for their support and guidance in my country music work, and for continually believing in me.

I would like to thank my wonderful friends for always supporting and encouraging me: from Cambrian, Christina Edwards and Melanie Woodland; and from the University of Ottawa, Lee Carter, Shannon Cole, Emily Gale, Laura Hawley, Dian Le, Emilie Marshall, and Simon Roussy. Thank you to Xenia Pestova for her help with Russian translation and to Kimberley Francis for her friendship, support, guidance, and for offering me a place to stay Paris. I am also deeply thankful for the constant support, encouragement and advice of my oldest and dearest friend Nancy Lewis. And last, but certainly not least, my family: Mom, Dad, Nanny and Grandpa Harrison, Scott and Joyce, for their love and encouragement.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my best friend and mother Cathy Harrison who has been a source of inspiration throughout my life. Her support, guidance, and friendship mean more to me than she will ever know. Thank you for letting me paint on my bedroom walls!

INTRODUCTION

> It seems I comprehend what distinguishes the Jewish melos. A cheerful melody is built here on sad intonations.... The 'people' are like a single person.... Why does he sing a cheerful song? Because he is sad at heart.[1]
>
> - Shostakovich to poet Aron Vergelis

In this thesis, I will examine aspects of "Jewishness" in Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich's Fourth String Quartet, Op. 83, by placing the work within its complex historical, political and social context, by discussing the double meaning of the Jewish folk idiom, and by identifying and analysing Jewish altered modes and rhythmic figurations in the work. By "Jewish" and "Jewishness" I mean aspects of Ashkenazi Jewish culture present in Soviet Russia, and I shall refer especially to rhythmic devices found in klezmer music (Jewish instrumental music) as well as the altered Dorian and Phrygian modes sometimes called "Jewish". However, because Shostakovich was not Jewish and only possessed second-hand knowledge of Jewish culture and heritage through his many personal and professional relationships with Jewish cultural figures, it is important to recognize that what made his music "Jewish" was the incorporation of these modes, rhythmic figurations and, in the case of his vocal cycle, translated Yiddish texts. Also, as Soviet Jewish music specialist, Joachim Braun has correctly observed, "the modes that Shostakovich uses are often not

[1] Laurel Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2000), 169.

genuinely 'Jewish', but rather stylizations of our cultural perception of what 'Jewish music' sounds like."[2] Thus, it can be said, that Shostakovich employed various aspects of "Jewish" musical idioms along with his own personal "Jewish" idioms in his compositions, in an attempt to create a "Jewish" sound.

To understand the "Jewish" aspects in the oeuvre of a non-Jewish composer, one must understand how Shostakovich uses "Jewish" idioms and the complex environment in which the "Jewish" works were composed. In 1985 Joachim Braun provided the first concise definition of what constitutes a "Jewish" element in Shostakovich's music. This definition, combined with earlier observations on the composer's "Jewish" sound, has created a framework for analyses of Shostakovich's Jewish compositions. For example, Soviet theorist Aleksandr Dolzhanskii was one of the first analysts to discuss the pointedly "Jewish" sound in his compositions and to comment on the opposing characteristics of the Jewish Hasidic dance figuration and the lowered altered Jewish modes. Shostakovich, as Fay, and many others have pointed out, naturally gravitated towards modes with flattened scales degrees that allowed him to project "radically different emotions simultaneously."[3]

The context in which the Jewish works were composed is equally important. Each of Shostakovich's three Jewish periods of composition coincides with anti-Semitic activity in the Soviet Union. The middle period (1947-1953), examined in this thesis, is the most heatedly debated period. Not only does this period align with both the composer's infamous 1948 denunciation and Stalin's final attempt to cleanse the Soviet Union of Jewish culture, but also the Jewish works of this period were shelved until the political climate had relaxed.

---

[2] Esti Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's "Jewish Music" as an Existential Statement" in *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe*, ed. Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter (Berlin: Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 2001), 96-7.

[3] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 169.

Thus, for many scholars one questions remains: why did Shostakovich turn to the Jewish folk idiom? One side of the debate believes these compositions were an attempt at rehabilitation following the 1948 denunciation. The other believes they were an attempt to align himself with the oppressed Jewish minority. In this thesis, I suggest that we consider examining this period of Jewish works as a combination of these two arguments: the Jewish idiom afforded Shostakovich the possibility of expressing musically the tragedy of the persecuted artists through fulfillment of the Party demands for folk-inspired music.

Chapter Outline:

Chapter 1, "Shostakovich & the Jewish Idiom: Literature Review", will introduce Shostakovich's use of the Jewish idiom and his three periods of Jewish composition. It will also provide a brief outline of the context surrounding Shostakovich's turn to the idiom between 1948-1953. This will be followed by a review of the literature pertaining to Shostakovich's use of the Jewish idiom as well as anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

Chapter 2, "Zhdanovschina and Creative Response: Shostakovich from 1948-1953", will examine the political and cultural context in which Shostakovich composed the Fourth String Quartet, op. 83. This discussion will begin with an overview of the Soviet ideological policy of Socialist Realism and the 1936 "Muddle Instead of Music" denunciation. This will be followed by an examination of the January 1948 Conference of Composers and Musicians and the publication of the Resolution on Music, and how these two events affected Shostakovich's professional and personal situation in 1948. Discussing the Resolution and its demands for compositional output, I will outline Shostakovich's creative response, as well as the composition and premiere of String Quartet no. 4, op 83.

Chapter 3, "Stalin's Anti-Semitic Campaign, 1948-1953", will address the issues of the "Jewish" question in the Soviet Union under Stalin's reign in the 1940s. Gennadi Kostyrchenko's *Out of the Red Shadows* reveals that anti-Semitism began in the early 1940s, sparked by an investigation of the administration of cultural organizations. It will also be important to outline the rise and fall of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, the murder of its chairman, Solomon Mikhoels, the Soviet Union's shifting policies on the independent state of Israel, deportation and deaths of Jewish cultural elite, and the Jewish Doctor's Plot. This discussion will lead us back to the arts and to an examination of the ambiguous place the Jewish folk idiom held in Soviet culture during this period.

Chapter 4, "Analytical Tools: Shostakovich's 'Jewish' Musical Language", will provide a definition of what constitutes a "Jewish" idiom in Shostakovich's music. This discussion will begin with an overview of the Soviet concept of mode and Shostakovich's modal language as outlined by Ellon D. Carpenter. This will be followed by an overview of Moshe Beregovski's work on the Jewish altered modes, as found in his monographs *Old Jewish Folk Music* and *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music.*[4] I will also draw on the scholarship of Joachim Braun to outline the melodic and rhythmic devices used by Shostakovich (this will include Jewish modes, the altered Dorian and Phrygian, iambic primas, and the rhythmic klezmer "um-pa" beat). This chapter will also include a discussion of the Soviet concept of "laughter through tears" that accounts for the opposing relationship between lowered altered modes and the joyful characteristics of the Hasidic dance.

---

[4] Moshe Beregovskii, *Old Jewish Folk Music*, trans. and ed. Mark Slobin (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1982), 549-567; Moshe Beregovskii, *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music: the Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski*, edited by Mark Slobin, Robert Rothstein, and Michael Alpert. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001).

Chapter 5, "Analysis: Aspects of "Jewishness" in String Quartet No. 4", will draw on the analytical tools and concepts outlined in Chapter 4 for an analysis of the quartet. This will include a formal and harmonic analysis of each movement, revealing the relationship between the movements. While the finale is typically regarded as the only "Jewish" movement, my analysis will reveal the gradual accumulation of "Jewish" inflections in the preceding movements, which creates an overall idiomatic "Jewish" *sound.* In addition, the concept of "laughter through tears" will aid in understanding the ambiguities of the Jewish idiom and the relationship between the movements.

Chapter 6 will re-examine the musical and contextual analysis in the preceding four chapters for further discussion of Shostakovich's use of the Jewish idiom. This will include a discussion of Soviet culture and society after Stalin's death and Shostakovich's return to the Jewish idiom during Nikita Khrushchev's political "Thaw," which will aid in contextualizing Shostakovich's final turn to the idiom. Finally, this chapter will address the debate and the issue of authorial intention versus interpretation, and address the social value of his Jewish compositions. In the end, this chapter will suggest an alternate reading of Shostakovich's use of the Jewish idiom, as a tool for creative expression and the exploration of an artists' struggle under Soviet rule.

CHAPTER 1

SHOSTAKOVICH & THE JEWISH IDIOM: LITERATURE REVIEW

> No description – however brilliant – can give a true idea of the power of music. Words cannot rival it in appeal and impact. This is only natural: if music expressed just as much as speech, it would be unnecessary.
>
> Music is a means capable of expressing dark dramatism and pure rapture, suffering and ecstasy, fiery and cold fury, melancholy and wild merriment – and the subtlest nuances and interplay of these feelings which words are powerless to express and which are unattainable in painting and sculpture.[1]
>
> - Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich, "The Power of Music"

This chapter introduces the complexities surrounding Shostakovich's use of the Jewish folk idiom. First, I will highlight the main issues surrounding the debate concerning Shostakovich's intentions for turning to the Jewish folk idiom between 1948-1953. I will then outline the historical and analytical perspectives that will need to be considered throughout this thesis. Secondly, I will introduce Shostakovich's Jewish musical language, outline his three Jewish periods of composition and the complex context in which he turned to the idiom. Thirdly, I will return to the debate surrounding Shostakovich's Jewish compositions, and examine the literature pertaining to Shostakovich's use of the Jewish idiom as well as anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

---

[1] Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich, "The Power of Music" in *Music Journal* (September, 1965), 37.

For the past thirty years a divide has existed in Shostakovich scholarship over the composer's intentions in drawing on the "Jewish" folk idiom in his music. Much of the debate surrounds the process of deciphering where the compositions fit within the context of both the composer's oeuvre and the official rise in anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. The Jewish works composed between 1947 and 1953 are the most heatedly debated of Shostakovich's three periods of Jewish composition. Because three Jewish works from this second period did not receive an official premiere until after Stalin's death in 1953, they became part of a myth that had us believe they were written "for the drawer." Furthermore, this compositional period paralleled the rise of Stalin's campaign against the Soviet Jewry. Thus, by the time these Jewish works received their premiere they were no longer works of "folk" inspired music but were, for many, the composer's personal commentary on the ugly atrocities of the Soviet regime.

In order to fully comprehend Shostakovich's use of the idiom, several aspects will be considered here from both musical analytical and historical perspectives. First, I am concerned with the modality of Shostakovich's musical language and the identification of what constitutes a "Jewish" idiom in Shostakovich's music. Shostakovich achieved his "Jewish" musical language from a combination of both elements borrowed from Jewish musical heritage (such as the Jewish modes, drone pedals, and rhythmic figurations) and characteristics associated with a cultural perception of what Jewish music sounds like (such as his fusion of the Jewish altered modes and use of the augmented second interval). Identifying aspects of the composer's Jewish musical language will aid in the examination of the Fourth String Quartet and how Shostakovich used the Jewish idiom. Second, it is imperative to consider the complex situation in which Shostakovich composed the Fourth

String Quartet. This will include an examination of both the composer's personal and professional situation, changes in Soviet culture, and the rise of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

Shostakovich & Jewish Musical Culture

Shostakovich's first close encounter with the Jewish folk idiom was through the orchestration of Veniamin Fleishman's opera, *Rothchild's Violin*. Based on Anton Chekhov's short story of the same name, the opera recounts the story of an anti-Semite who repents on his deathbed and gives his violin to a Jewish musician.[2] Work on this opera provided Shostakovich with a musical education, as he examined the harmonic and rhythmic aspects of the "Jewish" idiom. By "Jewish" and "Jewishness" I mean aspects of Ashkenazi Jewish culture present in Soviet Russia, especially rhythmic devices found in klezmer music (Jewish instrumental music) as well as the Jewish altered Dorian ("Ukrainian" Dorian) and Phrygian (*freigish*) modes. Shostakovich would return to these musical idioms throughout his career. After the completion of this opera, Shostakovich tried his own hand at using the idiom in his *Piano Trio* no. 2, op. 67, dedicated to the memory of his best friend Ivan Sollertinsky. As pointed out by numerous scholars, notably Patrick McCreless, "wherever we look, it seems, whether in biographies of the composer, critical studies, programme notes or liner notes in recording," we read that the Trio was not only the composer's response to the sudden death of his closest friend but that its composition coincided with Shostakovich's

[2] Judith Kuhn, "Looking Again at the Jewish Inflections in Shostakovich's String Quartets," in *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe*, ed. Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter. (Verlag Ernst Kuhn: Berlin, 2001): 182.

learning of the Nazi concentration camps.[3] The Trio's grotesque, dance-like, *allegretto* finale, permeated with images of death, is now heard as a commentary on these camps.[4]

Shostakovich returned to the "Jewish" folk idiom in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and then again, in the 1960s; during these two periods he composed some of the most intimate and personal works in his entire oeuvre. As Joachim Braun has revealed, this list of compositions divides into three periods of "Jewish" composition, all of which correspond to anti-Semitic activity in the Soviet Union.[5] The first period (1943-1944), discussed above, includes Shostakovich's completion of Fleishman's opera *Rothchild's Violin* and the Second Piano Trio. The second period (1948-1953), examined in this thesis, includes Violin Concerto no. 1, op. 77, the song cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79(a), String Quartet no. 4, op. 83 and "The Fragment" from *Four Monologues on Texts by A. Pushkin,* op. 91. The third period (1959-1962) coincides with Shostakovich's adherence to the Communist Party. Compositions from this period include Cello Concerto no. 1, op. 107, String Quartet no. 8, op. 110 and Symphony no. 13, op. 113, the "Babii Yar". During this final period, Shostakovich also took on a role as Editor-in-Chief of a collection entitled *New Jewish Songs.*

The Jewish idiom provided Shostakovich with a means for expressing a multitude of emotions simultaneously. In the few quotations we have from the composer, he reminisces about the ambiguous and multifaceted nature of the idiom and his delight in the duality of a

---

[3] Patrick McCreless, "The Cycle of Structure and the Cycle of Meaning: the Piano Trio in E minor, Op. 67," in *Shostakovich Studies*, ed. David Fanning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 113.

[4] Ibid., 113.

[5] Joachim Braun, "The Double Meaning of Jewish Elements in Dimitri Shostakovich's Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (1985), 68-80. For a list of Shostakovich's "Jewish" works refer to Appendix A of this thesis.

"cheerful melody" built on "sad intonations."[6] This duality was crucial for Shostakovich in finding a way for personal expression through his music. For Shostakovich, music had the power to convey opposing characteristics of suffering and ecstasy or melancholy and merriment, and his music tends to exploit these opposites. In the modal and rhythmic aspects of the Jewish idiom, Shostakovich found these competing characteristics and thereby created his own personal "Jewish" language.

The composition of the Jewish works occurred during many pivotal events in the composer's career and the anti-Semitic campaign of 1947-1953. Shostakovich completed Violin Concerto No. 1, op. 77 in March of 1948 after two months of denunciations by the Union of Soviet Composers as a "formalist" and "anti-people" composer and the publication of the Resolution on Music. The Resolution demanded the return of Russian classical harmony and form, singable melodic lines and the use of folk inspired music, and Shostakovich's turn to the "Jewish" idiom fulfilled this criteria. In the summer that followed, he began work on the song cycle, *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79. Shostakovich composed the first eight songs of this cycle in August and presented them at his at-home birthday concert on 25 September. But after this private concert he added three more songs in October, bringing the final count to eleven. During this year, his only source of income came from one film score (*The Young Guard*), as he had been fired from the Moscow and Leningrad Conservatories and his compositions had been banned. In May 1949, after his return from the Congress of Peace in New York, Shostakovich turned to the idiom yet again, as he began composing String Quartet No. 4, op. 83. Composition of the quartet was interrupted by work on the propagandist oratorio dedicated to Stalin's reforestation program,

[6] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 169.

Songs of the Forest, which garnered him a First Class Stalin Prize and a return to official favour. Yet his "Jewish" works remained unperformed in public venues, for during this period the Jewish idiom had become taboo in Soviet culture.

The rise of anti-Semitism as a Russian phenomenon ran parallel to the Cultural Revolution, known now as *Zhdanovschina*, and the 1948 Resolution on Music. Understanding this relationship, how the former affected the latter, is crucial to evaluating Shostakovich's "hidden" works of the Second Jewish Period (1948-53) – including the Fourth String Quartet. As Shostakovich dealt with the harsh political blows to his own career in January 1948, the Jewish cultural community underwent its own shocking transformations, beginning with the murder of the chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Solomon Mikhoels.

In September, the Soviet Union reversed its stance on Israel and pulled its support for the independent state. In the months that followed the government systematically shut down every Jewish organization, newspaper and institution. Jewish cultural figures were also publicly denounced as "rootless cosmopolitans" and condemned for "un-Patriotic" activities. Thus, it became apparent that Shostakovich's Jewish songs could not be premiered.

As the campaign against "Jewish Bourgeois Nationalism" or "Rootless Cosmopolitanism" grew throughout 1948 and 1949, so too did Shostakovich's use of Jewish elements in his more serious compositions. They would have to be left in a drawer until the political climate relaxed. Furthermore, because Shostakovich was not Jewish, but a Russian of Polish-Lithuanian extraction, his use of the Jewish idiom during this period of anti-Semitism has led many scholars to question his motives for using the idiom. Some believe

that he simply chose a "folk" idiom to fulfill the demands of the Resolution on Music, while others see these compositions as a method of identification with an oppressed minority.

In this thesis I will offer another interpretation, one that requires a closure of this gap in the study of Shostakovich's Jewish works. For the past thirty years scholars have remained divided on the composer's reason for turning to the Jewish idiom: did he intend to follow the demands of the 1948 Resolution on Music, or did the idiom allow Shostakovich to align himself with the oppressed Jewish minority? These arguments appear neither right nor wrong individually. In fact, we may begin to find an answer in their fusion. This thesis will examine the context in which Shostakovich composed the works of his second Jewish period, specifically the Fourth String Quartet, as a combination of the two arguments. Through both a contextual and theoretical analysis, I will suggest that the use of the Jewish idiom was the composer's method for expressing musically the tragedy of the persecuted artist through fulfillment of the Resolution's demands for folk-inspired music.

Literature Review

The Gap

Research on the Jewish folk idiom in Shostakovich's music has flourished over the past 30 years. It began in the late 1970s and early 1980s, mainly through the research of Boris Schwarz and Joachim Braun. Although these two scholars brought the Jewish works to light, it was Braun's work that opened up this field of research.[7] In Braun's 1985 essay, "The Double Meaning of the Jewish Elements in Dmitri Shostakovich's Music", we find the

[7] Braun is credited with advancing the study of Soviet Jewish music and Jewish musicians and composers in the Soviet Union. He has also revived the work of Soviet Jewish ethnomusicologist, Moshe Beregovskii. See, Braun, *Jews and Jewish Elements in Soviet Music: a Study of a Socio-National Problem in Music* (Tel-Aviv: Israeli Music Publications, 1978).

first concise definition of what constitutes a "Jewish" idiom in the composer's oeuvre, an overview of the contexts in which his Jewish works were composed and a list of works containing the idiom. Braun also discussed how Shostakovich drew on the idiom of a group of people suffering at the hands of a vicious ruler, and the multiple private and social meanings associated with his use of the idiom. His analysis showed how Shostakovich by drawing on this idiom allowed himself to identify with an oppressed minority.

In the 1990s, however, this type of analysis came under scrutiny by Laurel Fay and Richard Taruskin. Both Fay and Taruskin expressed reservations about reading too much into Shostakovich's use of the Jewish idiom; they feared that scholars such as Braun had begun to re-write his history. A lack of documentation from the composer made it impossible to know for certain Shostakovich's intention for using this idiom. In 1996, Fay wrote an article in the *New York Times*, contending that in the wake of the Resolution on Music and his public denunciation in January-February 1948, Shostakovich turned to Jewish folk texts for his first, and hopefully rehabilitating, work. According to Fay,

> If he was now required to prostrate himself before the indigenous wellsprings of Soviet art, it was only natural that he should turn to ethnic sources that genuinely stimulated his creative imagination... He did what was required of him. It was his rotten luck that of all the available nationalities, great and small, he just happened to pick the wrong 'folk' as his inspiration.[8]

Likewise, Taruskin cautioned analysts about reading too much into the context, that often what made "Shostakovich's music as controversial outside of Russia as it was precious inside was precisely the result of the play of subtexts – the uncontrollable play of subtexts."[9]

---

[8] Laurel Fay, "The Composer Was Courageous, But Not As Much as In Myth" in *New York Times* (April 14, 1996): H27.

[9] Richard Taruskin, "Shostakovich and the Inhuman: Shostakovich and Us," in *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 472.

Thus, instead of analysing the compositions of the second "Jewish" period as though Shostakovich intended to make a political statement, I shall observe how the contexts shaped our perception of the work and its social value. We can never truly know Shostakovich's intention for these Jewish works, as the composer did not leave letters, a diary or notes indicating his personal thoughts on most of his compositions. However, we can examine the contexts in which they were written and combine this knowledge with an analysis of the works. This would lead to a better understanding of the social value of the work, how the work may be received, and the ways in which Shostakovich drew on particular idioms to convey a musical message (not necessarily a political one). As Taruskin has correctly observed, "sometimes the composer's intention is manifestly irrelevant to the meaning of his work, and to insist on limiting meaning to original intention can only, and obviously impoverish it."[10]

By the turn of the twenty-first century, however, the tides had turned in the great debate on Shostakovich's "Jewish" music. With the opening of archives in the late 1990s, historians have unearthed information regarding anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia, revealing not only that the campaign against "Jewish nationalism" began during WWII (alongside the formation of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee), but also that Shostakovich had taken part in saving the career of Jewish violin instructor Yuri Guzikov at the Moscow Conservatory. Even Manashir Yakubov, the director of the DSCH publishing house and president of Russia's Dmitri Shostakovich Society "notes that Shostakovich's work is rooted in the events of Soviet history" and refers to *From Jewish Folk Poetry* "as a direct response to

[10] Ibid., 473.

growing official anti-Semitism."[11] In addition to this surge of archival information, music analysts have begun borrowing from Soviet philosophy (notably Mikhail Bakhtin) to approach the Jewish works. Their work has revealed an opposing stance to that of Fay and Taruskin. Many scholars now view Shostakovich's "Jewish" oeuvre as the composer's personal musical language, one that allowed him to express both fear and despair on the one hand, while finding hope and joy on the other.

In 2001, the study of Shostakovich's Jewish music expanded with the publication of *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe.*[12] This monograph drew together contributions of scholars from the United States, England, Sweden, Germany, Israel and Ukraine, into one complete volume on Shostakovich's "Jewish" music and influence. The most notable contributions are those of Esti Sheinberg and Judith Kuhn. [13] In her article on Shostakovich's "Jewish Music" as an existential statement Sheinberg draws on Bakhtin's theory of the carnival and unfinalizability (discussed below). Kuhn's article is an important contribution to the discussion of the composer's use of the "Jewish" idiom. In her examination of the Jewish idiom in Shostakovich's string quartets, Kuhn reveals how the idiom permeates many of his quartets, not only the Fourth and Eighth. She focuses on the Second String Quartet (a composition not included in Braun's list of works that contain the Jewish idiom), and suggests that, in this quartet, the idiom was a purely aesthetic and

---

[11] Quoted in "Sound-Allegories: A Summary of Manashir Yakubov's Programme notes for the 1998 Shostakovich Seasons at the Barbican, London," on *Shostakovichiana,* http://www.siue.edu/~aho/musov/yak/yak.html (accessed 30 April, 2008).

[12] Kuhn, Wehrmeyer and Wolter, *Dmitri Schostakowitsch.*

[13] Other contributions include the discussion of the Jewish idiom in *Rothchild's Violin* (by Sigrid Neef), the Jewish dance in Violin Concerto No. 1, op. 77 (by Dethlef Arnemann), Symphony No. 13, no. 113 (by Gerhard Müller), Nelly Kravets' comparison of Shostakovich and Weinberg's Jewish song cycles and the Jewish idiom in Shostakovich's music (by Izaly Zemtsovsky). See *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe,* 2001.

expressive device, not a political statement like his other "Jewish" works.[14]

Shostakovich scholarship is steadily growing in both English and Russian. There are now two seminal biographies of his life and work in the English language; Dr. Laurel Fay's biography *Shostakovich: A Life* provides an illuminating and thorough chronology of the events of the composer's life through archival research, while Elizabeth Wilson's *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, provides a biography of the composer through reminiscences by family, friends and colleagues. Both of these biographies attend to the question of the composer's "Jewish" music and deal with these works in differing ways. Wilson, for example, believes that Shostakovich consciously divided his works into three categories after the 1948 denunciation, including compositions written "for the drawer." These were works of "serious composition [that] could not be performed in the current political climate."[15] These works "for the drawer" include all of his "Jewish" compositions. Fay, on the other hand, is cautious when discussing the place of the "Jewish" works in his oeuvre. In 1996, Fay claimed that Shostakovich turned to the idiom in hopes of political rehabilitation, and she supported this thought in her 2000 biography, stating

> Shostakovich was not a composer who willingly composed 'for the drawer'. He had a strong need to connect, to communicate with listeners, to hear his music performed. And in the summer of 1948 he was under intense pressure to redeem himself publicly.[16]

Thus, for Fay, Shostakovich did not write his "Jewish" works with the original intention of hiding them in the drawer; rather, as the political climate shifted throughout 1948 and 1949,

---

[14] Kuhn, "Looking Again...String Quartets," 191-195.

[15] Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006), 277.

[16] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 169. In footnote 16 from this section of Chapter 10, Fay writes that the obvious exception in regards to compositions written "for the drawer" is the satire, *Antiformalist Rayok*. She states, "in stark contract to the Violin Concerto, *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, and the Fourth Quartet, Shostakovich held this work *very* close to his vest. ...[I]t surfaced only years after his death, and its dates of composition are still a matter of contention." (322)

he realized that these works would not be suitable for public viewing. The disagreement in these two biographers' accounts of this second compositional period of "Jewish" works is indicative of a divide in Shostakovich scholarship.

Shostakovich scholars face three fundamental issues when analysing meaning in one of the composer's Jewish works. First, Shostakovich was not Jewish and only possessed second-hand knowledge of Jewish culture and heritage through his personal and professional relationships. Secondly, as previously mentioned, Shostakovich did not leave a diary, notes, letters or any documentation concerning his artistic intention. Thirdly, an ambiguous situation exists; according to Braun, the Jewish idiom in Soviet culture lies in the realm of both the permitted and the undesirable. While the Jewish idiom was never officially banned by the artistic Unions, the idiom was certainly not encouraged either.

Modality and Shostakovich's "Jewish" Musical Language

Modality is an important concept to discuss in relation to Shostakovich's harmonic language. In drawing on a modal musical language, Shostakovich followed in the footsteps of previous Russian composers, especially Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Modest Mussorgsky (whose influence can be heard in many of the composer's scores). Since the early 1940s, Russian theorists have been examining the modality of Shostakovich's music, trying to discern the composer's unique harmonic language. As Ellon D. Carpenter has observed, these early theorists have revealed that in Shostakovich's music modes function linearly and are diatonically based. They have also discovered that Shostakovich often created his own modal language through a fusion of two modes.[17]

[17] Ellon D. Carpenter, "Russian theorists on modality in Shostakovich's music." In *Shostakovich Studies,* edited by David Fanning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 76-112.

Carpenter has written extensively on Russian modality and Shostakovich's modal language. In an article in the 1983 monograph *Russian Theoretical Thought in Music*, she revealed the intricacies of the Russian concept of "mode" and modal *intonatsiya* or "intonation".[18] In the 1995 monograph, *Shostakovich Studies,* she addressed Shostakovich's modal language in an essay entitled "Russian Theorists on Modality in Shostakovich's Music". Carpenter provides an overview of Soviet theoretical research work on modes in Shostakovich's music. Her work has illuminated the complexity of Shostakovich's language; he not only drew on a more modal harmonic language, but he also created his own modal inflections. Shostakovich's personal modal language often developed through a fusion of two other modes.

Aleksandr Dolzhanskii was one of the first Soviet theorists to acknowledge the "Jewish" character in the composer's work. Through his work, we begin to see analysts discussing the composer's natural propensity towards lowered altered modes. In addition, he defined a new modal formation in Shostakovich's music, a unique pentachordal formation called the Alexandrian Pentachord. The Alexandrian Pentachord appears as a fusion of the two Jewish modes, but also appears to be closely related to the Rimsky-Korsakov (or octatonic) collection.[19]

The most important scholarly contribution to the study of Shostakovich's "Jewish" musical language, however, is that of Joachim Braun. As mentioned above, in Braun's work we find the definition of what constitutes a "Jewish" idiom in Shostakovich's music. Either the text's subject or author, its liturgical basis, or its modal or metro-rhythmical association with Eastern European Jewish folk music, can classify the "Jewish" idiom in Shostakovich's

---

[18] Ellon D. Carpenter, "Russian Music Theory: A Conspectus," in *Russian Theoretical Thought in Music*, ed. Gordon D. McQuere (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983), 1-83.

[19] For an explanation of the "Alexandrian Pentachord" please refer to Appendix B of this thesis.

music, according to Braun. Braun's work revealed that Shostakovich did not always use a "genuinely" Jewish idiom, an idea that was developed further by Esti Sheinberg. For example, instead of drawing on traditional "Jewish" modes, Shostakovich created his own personal Jewish *sound* through either a fusion of the two Jewish modes, or an emphasis on the interval of an augmented second, drawing on "our cultural perception of what 'Jewish music' sounds like."[20]

Soviet Jewish ethnomusicologist Moshe Beregovskii spent much of his life collecting Jewish folk melodies and klezmer (Jewish instrumental folk music). Through his work we find the first reference to and definition of the Jewish altered Dorian and Phrygian modes. In his 1946 article "The Altered Dorian Scale In Jewish Folk Music (On the Questions of the Semantic Characteristics of Scales)", Beregovskii observes that the altered Dorian is not specific to Jewish music (it also appears in Ukrainian, Moldavian and Romanian folk music as well), but that it "is found in all the basic genres of Jewish folk music."[21] What makes this particular variation of the altered Dorian "Jewish" is a combination of both the mode's intervallic content and the drone accompaniment.[22] Beregovskii's work influenced many scholars analysing Shostakovich's "Jewish" music including Braun and Kuhn. In addition, Beregovskii discusses what he calls the semantic character of the Jewish altered Dorian; he examines the relationship and emotional tension that arises between the Jewish altered Dorian and jovial dance rhythms in Jewish folk music.

---

[20] Esti Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music,'" 97. Both Richard Taruskin and Patrick McCreless discuss the importance of the augmented second in Shostakovich's Jewish music. For discussion of this interval and its relation to Shostakovich's "Jewish" music see Chapter 4.

[21] Moshe Beregovskii, "The Altered Dorian Scale In Jewish Folk Music (On the Questions of the Semantic Characteristics of Scales)," *Old Jewish Folk Music*, edited by Mark Slobin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 551-9.

[22] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the altered modes.

He defines this character as a musical expression of "laughter through tears."[23] Shostakovich himself has described the combination Jewish modal and rhythmic elements as an expression of "laughter through tears."[24] Beregovskii's work has influenced many scholars who approach Shostakovich's Jewish musical language.

Esti Sheinberg has discussed the concept of "laughter through tears" in her work.[25] Sheinberg outlines the history of Russian and Soviet composers drawing on the Jewish folk idiom and discussing the idiom as "laughter through tears." She then draws on Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of carnival and unfinalizability to develop terminology for discussing the contradictory meanings that arise from interaction of the modal and rhythmic aspects of the Jewish musical idiom. Sheinberg discusses this interaction as a combination of modal "dysphoria" and rhythmic "euphoria" that allows for an infinite number of meanings. She also developed a "three-layered structure" of correlations that enables analysts to discuss the meaning of the idiom in different contexts.[26] We shall return to Sheinberg shortly.

Shostakovich's "Jewish" Compositions

Aside from Braun and Sheinberg, the literature on Shostakovich and the "Jewish" folk idiom continues to expand. Braun has written almost exclusively on both the Jewish idiom itself and Shostakovich's song cycle, *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79. Fay and Richard Taruskin have also discussed the song cycle in their work and Nelly Kravets has compared Shostakovich's cycle to Moisey Weinberg's own Jewish song cycle, *Jewish Songs*

---

[23] Ibid., 559.

[24] See Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 169; Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music,'" 94-96; Solomon Volkov, *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*, translated by Antonina W. Bouis (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 118.

[25] This discussion occurs in both "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music'" and in the concluding chapter of Sheinberg's monograph *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque in the Music of Shostakovich: A Theory of Musical Incongruities* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing, 2000).

[26] Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music,'" 100.

After S. Galkin, Op. 17 (1944). Jeffrey William Baxter has analysed Shostakovich's setting of Yevgeni Yevtushenko's poetry in Symphony No. 13, op. 113[27] and Ludmilla Leibman has included this symphony in her dissertation on methods of teaching about the Holocaust through music.[28]

In the realm of Shostakovich's chamber work containing the "Jewish" idiom, there have been three crucial contributions. David Fanning has written the seminal monograph, *Shostakovich: String Quartet No. 8,* on the topic of Shostakovich's most intimate and popular quartet. Fanning places the quartet within its context: Shostakovich composed the quartet after both his visit to Dresden, where he observed the destruction of war, and his adherence to the Communist party. He also reveals many of the misconceptions about its composition – notably, that the dedication "To the Victims of Fascism and War" did not actually appear on the manuscript but was included in the programme notes for the Moscow premiere and has been passed through history by Rudolph Barshai's chamber orchestra arrangement.[29] More importantly, it presents an analysis that illuminates the self-quotations and thematic allusions in the five-movement work. One of the most influential analyses of one of Shostakovich's Jewish works is Patrick McCreless' analysis of Piano Trio No. 2, op. 67, which leaves the politics of the debate behind and focuses on the music. His analysis reveals the interaction between modality and the Jewish rhythm, specifically that of the Jewish dance in the trio's finale. McCreless has also written an illuminating analysis of all

---

[27] Jeffrey William Baxter, "A Descriptive Analysis of the Yevtushenko Settings of Dmitri Shostakovich," (D.M.A diss., University of Cincinnati, 1988).

[28] Ludmilla Leibman, "Teaching the Holocaust Through Music," (D.M.A diss., Boston University, School for the Arts, 1999). Leibman also includes *A Survivor from Warsaw* by Arnold Schoenberg and *Different Trains* by Steve Reich in her analysis.

[29] David Fanning, *Shostakovich: String Quartet No. 8* Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004) 9-12. Fanning also questions the validity of Lev Lebedinsky's reminiscence of Shostakovich's suicidal state shortly after the composition of the Eighth Quartet. Lebedinsky claims that he removed sleeping pills from Shostakovich and gave them to the composer's son Maxim. In interview with Fanning, however, Maxim denied the story. (18)

fifteen string quartets by Shostakovich. Therein he describes the intricacies of ambiguous form and harmony in String Quartet No. 4. Judith Kuhn's doctoral dissertation, "Shostakovich in Dialogue: Form and Imagery in the First Six String Quartets", presents another invaluable source for this study. [30] Her analysis of String Quartet No. 4 reveals not only the "Jewish" aspects of the quartet, but also frames the work in the context of Shostakovich's early string quartets and the beginnings of his private, intimate language. Kuhn's analysis is thorough and convincing; she provides many insights into some of the motivic relationships throughout the movement. In addition, her contribution to the Kuhn, Wehrmeyer, and Wolter collection of articles on Shostakovich's Jewish music reveals that other quartets contain traces of the "Jewish" idiom. In fact, her list includes all of his string quartets with the exception of the First.[31]

Historical Context

In outlining the context of the Fourth String Quartet, I will discuss the context of the composition in both the composer's life and musical culture. Along with the monographs mentioned above, pertinent literature discussing Soviet music history include Alexander Werth's *Musical Uproar in Moscow*[32], which provides a thorough investigation of the events of the 1948 denunciation and Boris Schwarz's *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia,*[33] which analyses the complexities of musical life in the USSR. Another important source of

---

[30] Judith Kuhn's Master's thesis. "Shostakovich's Intimate Voice: an approach to language and meaning in the Fourth Quartet" (2000), written at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, could not be located for my research. Judith Kuhn has been very helpful in my search for her thesis by sending me a copy of her PhD dissertation. Chapters 3 and 5 from her dissertation ("Shostakovich in Dialogue") present a thorough account of the contents of her graduate work done at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

[31] For Kuhn's chart of "Jewish Musical Features in the String Quartets", see Kuhn, "Looking Again," 196-7.

[32] Alexander Werth, *Musical Uproar in Moscow* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973).

[33] Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia: Enlarged Edition, 1917-1981* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

information for assessing the phenomenon of Jewish music in the Soviet Union and the ambiguities of the idiom in Soviet culture is Joachim Braun's 1978 monograph, *Jews and Jewish Elements in Soviet Music: a Study of a Socio-National Problem in Music* and his 1984 article "Jews in Soviet Music."[34] Along with the composer's biographies and articles from *Sovietskaya Muzyka*, these sources provide the information for framing Shostakovich's life and music during this devastating period in his career.

In this contextual analysis, I will also analyse the rise of official anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, going back further than the death of Mikhoels (1948) to the 1942 investigation by Agitprop into the "Selection and Promotion of Personnel in the Arts."[35] In order to comprehend the atmosphere in which Shostakovich composed his "Jewish" works, it is necessary to outline this secret investigation up until the unveiling of the Jewish Doctors' Plot in 1953. It will also be important to note the friends and acquaintances of Shostakovich who were directly affected by this campaign, such as his close friend, Moisey Weinberg, Moshe Beregovski, the Borodin Quartet, as well as the Soviet Jewish musicologists who were arrested in late 1949. Another intrinsic piece of this puzzle lies in the Soviet Union's shifting stance on Israel and the USSR's subsequent denunciation of the newly formed state and the entire Jewish nation through Ilya Ehrenberg's statement of September 1948.[36]

Joel Cang was one of the first historians to discuss the history of Jews in the Soviet Union. In his 1970 monograph Cang presented an extensive outline of the relationship

---

[34] Braun, "Jews in Soviet Music," ed. Jack Miller, *Jews in Soviet Culture* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1984), 65-106.

[35] This investigation was unveiled in Gennadi Kostyrchenko's book, *Out of the Red Shadows: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995), 13-30. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Kostyrchenko's findings.

[36] Ilya Ehrenberg, "Po povodu odnogo pis'ma," [Concerning a letter] *Pravda*, September 21, 1948.

between the Jewish people and the Soviet state, beginning at the time of Lenin.[37] Over the last four decades, historian Zvi Gitelman has written extensively on the long and complicated history of Russian and Jewish relations. His 2001 monograph, *A Century of Ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present,* reveals the crucial points in the complex relationship. It shows that Jews in Russia "experienced cycles of repression and relaxation."[38] Since the opening of the archives after the fall of the Communist regime, many documents revealing the gravity of anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia have surfaced. For example, Gennadiy Kostyrchenko found documents that outlined an investigation into the selection and promotion of personnel in the administration of artistic organizations in the early 1940s. This investigation occurred at the same time as the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee's visit to the United States where they were appealing to the Jewish population of America for financial support for the war-torn Soviet Union. In his monograph, *Out of the Red Shadows: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia,* Kostyrchenko affirms that Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign actually began during WWII, not in 1947 as suggested by previous scholars. Since this finding, historians such as Arno Lustiger, Arkady Vaksberg and Shimon Redlich have contributed with their monographs, outlining the effects on Soviet culture.[39]

The context in which Shostakovich composed his second Jewish period is arguably the most complex of his career. Although the cultural revolution of *Zhdanovshchina* and

---

[37] Joel Cang, *The Silent Millions: A History of the Jews in the Soviet Union* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1970).

[38] Zvi Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 2.

[39] See Arno Lustiger, *Stalin and the Jews: The Tragedy of the Soviet Jews and the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee* (New York: Enigma Books, 2003); Shimon Redlich, *War, Holocaust, and Stalinism: A Documented History of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR* (Luxembourg: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995); and Arkady Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*, translated by Antonina W. Bouis (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).

Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign were phenomena that ran parallel to one another, it is imperative to examine how one affected the other in order to understand the context in which Shostakovich turned to the "Jewish" idiom between 1948 and 1953. Because of the rise of anti-Semitism in 1948, the place of the Jewish idiom in Soviet society and cultural spheres grew increasingly ambiguous. In the following chapters I will examine both of these contexts as well as the aspects of Shostakovich's "Jewish" musical language, in order to understand the circumstances in which the Fourth String Quartet was composed.

CHAPTER 2

ZHDANOVSCHINA & SHOSTAKOVICH'S CREATIVE RESPONSE (1948-1953)

Listen, Hasya!
Don't go for a walk, don't you dare go for a walk,
be careful not to go for a walk with just anyone,
be careful, be careful!
If you go for a walk, for a walk until dawn,
Oy; you will cry later, Hasya!
Listen, Hasya![1]

- "A Warning", *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79

> Formalism is usually considered to denote a lack of ideas, a lack of content, a complete concentration on form...with no reference to reality... Such "works" are sometimes written by composers, when they are not creatively alive... One cannot say that the works of Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Miaskovsky, Khachaturian, and others are completely divorced from life and reality, or completely lacking in content. Nevertheless, these works have a strong formalist basis.[2]
>
> - *Nadezhda Brusova, professor at the Moscow Conservatory of Music*

This chapter examines the 1948 denunciation and its impact on Shostakovich's life and creative output. First, however, I will begin with a discussion of the 1936 denunciation and its effect on Shostakovich's creative decisions as the composer shifted from public to private genres. Then, I will outline the events of 1948: the Congress of Composers, the Party's Resolution, and the fallout that ensued. Finally, I will discuss Shostakovich's creative response to the 1948 denunciation and the emergence of "Jewishness" in his music.

---

[1] Alexander Schelechow, trans., *Shostakovich, Bloch, Prokofiev: Music on Hebrew Themes* (West Germany: Chandos Records Ltd, 1990), 22-39.

[2] Werth, *Musical Uproar in Moscow*, 87.

Soviet Ideology: *Socialist Realism*

Public accusations and denunciations were a common occurrence in Soviet society; the life and work of writers, film workers, political figures, medical workers, engineers, and even musicians and composers were always at risk. Denunciations often came in a wave: they began in one discipline and rippled through all others, and left the victim (or victims) with no choice but to conform and toe the Party line. In 1932 the Party composed a policy called Socialist Realism that all cultural figures were expected to follow. The doctrine of Socialist Realism became the "basic method of Soviet literature and literary criticism," in which the Party developed rules for appropriate subject matter as well as a vocabulary for artistic criticism. The doctrine demanded of the artist:

> the truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic representation of reality must be linked with the task of ideological transformation and education of workers in the spirit of socialism.[3]

For writers, artists and film workers the policy was easier to follow – but how would this work for music? How do you condemn music for "anti-people" activities? The abstract nature of musical compositions made it more difficult for the Party to find a flaw – unless the music was accompanied by text. In music, as for all other artistic disciplines, following "Western" tendencies such as jazz, atonality or twelve-tone composition, was a sure sign of deviance. This often became the starting point for the denunciation of Soviet composers. But first, the Party needed a guinea pig, and in music that guinea pig was Dmitri Shostakovich (1906-1975). The first attack came in an anonymous article that appeared in the Moscow newspaper, *Pravda*, under the title "Muddle Instead of Music" (1936). The article's

[3] Abram Tertz, *On Socialist Realism* (New York: Pantheon, 1960), 24.

anonymous author accused Shostakovich of "formalist" tendencies, "Leftist" distortions and "bourgeois" decadence in his opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District.* This was merely a warning, however, for the truly devastating blow came twelve years later, in 1948, during the second cultural crackdown, Stalin's Cultural Revolution – known as *Zhdanovshchina*. Both of these denunciations had a critical impact not only on Shostakovich's career but on the creative decisions he made in their aftermath.

1936: From a Public *'Muddle'* to Private *'Music'*

The infamous 1936 "Muddle Instead of Music" denunciation in *Pravda* had a major effect in Shostakovich's musical output. Two trends can be traced from this incident: the composer's unwillingness to speak about his compositions and his retreat from "public" to "private" musical genres. As musicologist Laurel Fay reveals,

> For nearly twenty months after the appearance of the *Pravda* editorials in January 1936, Shostakovich's name had virtually disappeared from the press; before then his opinions and information about works-in-progress had been featured regularly and prominently. He had demonstrated no reticence in speaking about his music. Before the first performance of the Fifth Symphony, by contrast, his only published statement about it acknowledged only the simple fact of its completion. Even after its apparently successful unveiling, Shostakovich's unwillingness to speak about the work continued.[4]

In many respects this unwillingness to speak about his work remained throughout his career; Shostakovich rarely revealed his opinion or descriptive information about his compositions. Many of the written testaments that did appear after 1936 were hastily written by ghostwriters and signed by Shostakovich's pen. Also, after a year of scathing criticism and vilification, Shostakovich never returned to the ballet and opera genres, and abandoned his

[4] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 101.

vision of creating a Soviet *Ring of the Nibelungs* ("in which *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* would have taken the place of *The Rhinegold*"[5]). As Shostakovich pulled away from these public genres, he began concentrating his creative efforts on chamber music – a genre typically viewed as more personal or intimate.

Although Shostakovich composed his first chamber work, *Piano Trio* No. 1, op. 8, in 1923, at the age of seventeen, it was only in 1938, two years after the *Pravda* denunciation, that Shostakovich turned to chamber music, writing *String Quartet* No.1, op. 49, the first of fifteen quartets he would compose in the final thirty-seven years of his life.[6] As Patrick McCreless has observed,

> we may see [Shostakovich's] taking up of the string quartet in 1938 as a retreat out of the public eye into a more private genre... as he got older, [he] turned more and more to the quartet as a vehicle of his most original, most musically challenging ideas.[7]

Shostakovich continually turned to the genre during tragic points in his life and career, especially after the 1936 and 1948 denunciations (String Quartet no. 1 in 1938, and String Quartet no. 4 in 1949), after the loss of his first wife, Nina Varzar (String Quartet no. 7, 1959-60), after his admission to the Communist Party in 1960 (String Quartet no. 8, 1960) and during his illness in the final year of his life (String Quartet no. 15, 1974).

---

[5] Ibid., 78.

[6] To this list of post-1936 chamber compositions should be added the infamous *Piano Quintet*, op. 57 (1940) and *Piano Trio* no. 2, op. 67 (1944).

[7] Patrick McCreless, "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets" in *Intimate Voices: The String Quartet in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Evan Jones (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, forthcoming), 3.

1946-1948: *Zhdanovshchina*

The Second World War was a time of relative freedom for Shostakovich, and the arts in general. His Seventh Symphony, the "Leningrad" enjoyed enormous success; however, after the Soviet victory, all the arts were placed under increasing ideological control. During this time, it became evident that the Party was gradually redefining "the notion of the superstructure of society, a structure of which both music and linguistics were part."[8] Artists were now, more than ever, expected to follow the Party doctrine and create truly "Russian" art. This re-definition of arts in the Soviet Union was a by-product of Stalin's increased paranoia, international conflicts and the beginning of the Cold War. This became immediately clear in the terminology and reasons for these public "show trials" of cultural figures. Terms such as "formalism", "cosmopolitanism", "anti-revolutionary", "Leftist distortions" and "anti-people tendencies" became verbal signs of the anti-Western syndrome that touched every corner of society.

"Cosmopolitanism" was not a new term in Soviet polemics, but after 1945 it became the favored term for public denunciations. Cosmopolitanism is derived from the word "Cosmopolitan," which means "citizen of the world." As an ideology, Cosmopolitanism suggests that all of humanity belongs to one community and opposes ideologies of Patriotism or Nationalism. In the 1930s and early 1940s the charge of "cosmopolitanism" for a cultural figure meant that he or she was associated with the "Western" world. This could mean anything from writing in a particular style created or flourishing in the United States, to, in music, composing in "progressive" or "radical" styles or genres. Showing the influence of Paul Hindemith, Bela Bartok, Arthur Honegger and especially the twelve-tone

[8] Stanley Dale Krebs, *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1970), 56.

theories of Arnold Schoenberg led to accusations of "imitating the music bought by foreign capitalists to enslave the working class."[9]

Zhdanovshchina, the term coined to denote this new ideological tendency, was named after Stalin's right-hand man and cultural henchman, Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov, and its influence reached every corner of the cultural world. Between 1946 and 1948 every artistic discipline received critical assessment and restructuring. Literature led the way in 1946 as leading figures such as Mikhail Zoshchenko and Anna Akhmatova were charged with leading Soviet writers astray. Writers, according to the old Stalin dictum, were "engineers of human souls."[10] Thus literature was "expected to be functional and educative: its purpose is to inspire the readers to acquire and develop a Party-consciousness, a Soviet-consciousness."[11] The Party and creative Unions did not appear to promote or condone artistic individualism but demanded "Realism". This was a reminder that "Socialist Realism" – art with immediate mass appeal for education in the spirit of Socialism – was the method of culture in the Soviet Union. The Zhdanov reforms in literature, film and theatre were hardly new – in fact, they were simply an extension of the doctrine that had been pursued for many years. "But the Reform on Music...was much more startling and revolutionary. For here was a case of knocking down idols who had been built up and worshipped for years by the Party and Government press."[12]

---

[9] Ibid., 57.
[10] Werth, *Musical Uproar*, 12.
[11] Ibid., 12.
[12] Ibid., 18.

1948: *Resolution on Music*

For Shostakovich, the catastrophe began on January 13, 1948 with the Conference of Musicians at the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party in Moscow, where he, Sergei Prokofiev, Nikolai Miaskovsky and Aram Khachaturian received a public denunciation as "formalist," "cosmopolitan," and "anti-people" composers. Vissarion Shebalin and Gavril Popov were also on this list, but did not receive the same vilified treatment as the other four – who were actually dubbed "the Big Four" by American journalist, Olin Downes. The denunciation occurred primarily as a reaction to a lavish production of Vano Muradeli's opera *The Great Friendship*, and revealed a tone reminiscent of the "Muddle Instead of Music" fiasco over Shostakovich's opera, *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District.* Although Zhdanov had serious criticisms of Muradeli's opera and its production, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Miaskovsky and Khachaturian suffered most of the harsh criticisms. Andrei Zhdanov led a three-day meeting of composers and musicians discussing the problems with Soviet music and openly criticizing these "Big Four" for deviation from Russian classical form and harmony, for their intense interest in "bourgeois" Western trends, and they were blamed for leading Soviet music astray.[13]

[13] In a recent article Leonid Maximenkov suggests that the 1948 crackdown on "formalism" in music may have also been a reaction to a mishandling of funds by Muzfond (the financial agency of Orgkomitet that provided funding for musical events). In January 1948 Agitprop, the Finance Ministry and the economic counterintelligence department of the secret police conducted an investigation of Muzfond's bookkeeping, system of payment, and distribution of Stalin Prizes. Zhdanov's report revealed that Vano Muradeli (Muzfond's chairman) and his assistant Levon Atovmoyan had distributed more than 13 million rubles to their composer-colleagues over a seven-year period. Between 1946-47 Shostakovich received 230,200 rubles and Prokofiev received 309,900. In addition, millions of rubles were spent on a lavish production of Muradeli's opera *The Great Friendship* across the USSR without official approval. For more information on this investigation see Leonid Maximenkov, "Shostakovich and Stalin: Letters to a 'Friend'", in *Shostakovich and His World*, ed. Laurel Fay (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 43-58.

As Alexander Werth points out, Zhdanov used years of accumulated envy as a most effective weapon for downing the Big Four.[14] Second-rate composers took their turn chastising them and blaming them for Soviet music's "downfall". One such composer Vladimir Zakharov proclaimed: "from the point of view of the People, [Shostakovich's] Eighth Symphony is not a musical work at all; it is a 'composition' which has just nothing to do with musical art whatsoever."[15] The Director of the Leningrad Conservatory, Pavel Serebriakov blamed the composers for leading the youth astray: he complained about the low political ideological level of the staff, their attachment to ideas of "art for art's sake" and "music for music's sake," praising professors Shostakovich, Scherbachov, and Prokofiev as men of great talent, but blamed them for turning out "little Prokofievs or little Shostakoviches."[16] These sentiments were echoed by Ivan Dzerzhinsky, who also blamed these composers for creating an "elitist," capitalist system in which approval of leading personalities was more important than that of the public. "If the Big Shots like" the composition, he says, "it means the work will go before some committee, and then the question of prizes will arise... As for the People, in time they will 'grow up' to appreciate it."[17] As a result of such criticisms, composers who once championed Shostakovich and his colleagues' works were now throwing stones. It was much safer to join in the denunciation than to defend or keep quiet – such an action created suspicion of Party allegiances.

All of the "formalist" composers, especially Shostakovich, were expected to respond to this criticism and eat humble pie. Shostakovich spoke briefly on the first day, but on the third day he formally recanted his "errors" stating:

---

[14] Werth, "Musical Uproar", 30.
[15] Ibid., 54.
[16] Ibid., 60.
[17] Ibid., 58.

> In my work I have had many failures, even though, throughout my composer's career, I have always thought of the People, of my listeners, of those who reared me; and I always strive that the People should accept my music. I have always listened to criticism, and have always tried to work harder and better. I am listening to criticism now, and shall continue to listen to it, and shall accept critical instructions...I think that our three days' discussions will be of the greatest value, especially if we closely study Comrade Zhdanov's speech. A close study of this remarkable document should help us greatly in our work.[18]

The three-day events concluded with Zhdanov's final proclamation:

> [t]here is a great big hole in the very foundations of Soviet music. The truth of the matter is that the leading part in the creative work of the Composers' Union is played by Comrades Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Miaskovsky, Khachaturian, Popov, Kabalevsky, Shebalin...Let us consider these comrades as the principal figures of the formalist school. This school is radically wrong.[19]

The abuse did not end with the conference, however, for in the months that followed the meeting, the "Big Four" had to endure further denunciations.

The second round of these denunciations began on February 10 when the Central Committee of the Communist Party published its Resolution on Music under the title "On

---

[18] Ibid., 86. Ironically, Shostakovich did make use of Zhdanov's speech from this three-day Congress; in 1948 Shostakovich began writing a song now known as the "Anti-Formalist Rayok" based on speeches by Stalin, Zhdanov and Dmitri Shepilov (who replaced Zhdanov after his death). This satirical song uses text from their speeches, composed in a mocking way and even provides a "grading" system for the speakers: Iosef Vissarionovich Stalin became I.V Yedinitsyn, Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov became A.A. Dvoikin, and Dmitri Shepilov became D.T. Troiken. Yedinitsyn, Dvoikin and Troiken can be translated as Odin, Dva, Tri, or One, Two, Three corresponding with the Russian grading system. "Rayok" was not unveiled until 1989 – fourteen years after the composer's death – and when performed, the vocalists hold pictures of their characters over their faces.

[19] Ibid., 80. Dmitry Kabalevsky's name appears in this speech alongside the denounced formalists, however, his name did not appear in the publication of the Resolution in *Pravda*. Kabalevsky had received word that his name would appear on this list, but because of his position in the Union of Soviet Composer's and his contact in official circles he succeeded in having his name removed and replaced by the lesser-known Gavril Popov. See Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 240; and Frances Maes, *A History of Russian Music From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 310.

Muradeli's opera *The Great Friendship*" in the Party's official organ of propaganda, *Pravda*.[20] The Resolution followed the same denunciatory tone as the meeting and decreed,

1. To condemn the formalist tendency in Soviet Music as being anti-people and leading to the liquidation of music.
2. To propose to the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and to the Government Art Committee that they take the necessary steps for improving the state of affairs in Soviet music, and liquidate the faults enumerated in the present decree. ...
3. To call upon Soviet composers to become more conscious of their duties to the Soviet people...and assure a great upsurge of creative activity [that] would lead to the creation of high-quality works worthy of Soviet people.[21]

In addition, the Party and the Union of Soviet Composers demanded a return to Russian classical form and to clearly defined melodies (that could be sung). Attempting to establish a more nationalist musical message, they also emphasized the importance of drawing on folk music. The Resolution also outlined the Union's desire for certain genres of composition, including opera, symphonic music, songs, choral music (cantatas, oratorios, mass choruses, etc.) and music for ballet. Not mentioned was chamber music, a genre often viewed as an individualistic art form, or as an elitist Western phenomenon.

Following the publication of the decree, Soviet theorist Nadezhda Brusova explained the concept of "formalism" at the Composers' Meeting in Moscow: "Formalism is usually considered to denote a lack of ideas, a lack of content, [and] a complete concentration on form...with no reference to reality... " Although Brusova admitted that the works of such composers as Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Miaskovsky, and Khachaturian did not completely meet this description, she nevertheless accused their compositions of having a "strong formalist basis." She went on to write: "These men do not lack vision; their vision is

---

[20] A complete translation of this document can be found in Nicolas Slonimsky, "Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of 10 February 1948" in *Music Since 1900* (New York, NY: Schirmer Books, 1994), 1055-1057; and Werth, *Musical Uproar*, 28-34.

[21] Werth, *Musical Uproar*, 33.

distorted. ...Hence the tendency to imitate Western bourgeois art and contemporary modernism."[22] Brusova's definition of formalism here, as Werth correctly observes, sounds more like a political concept than an aesthetic one of excessive focus on form over content of artistic creation. Thus formalism, in Soviet musical criticism, became concerned more with art that gives a vague or distorted vision of reality – art that is generally viewed as "anti-Soviet" or an imitation of Western bourgeois and modernist tendencies.

Tikhon Khrennikov (First Secretary of the Union of Soviet Composers) was to follow suit: he condemned Western and Soviet composers, Shostakovich included, during the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Composers in April. But the biggest shock was delivered in May when the International Congress of Composers and Musicologists convened in Prague. This Congress announced its support for the Central Committee's resolution condemning "cosmopolitanism" in music and adopted a similar policy as the Soviet Union.[23] This Declaration decreed that composers and musicologists (1) express ideas and aspirations of the popular mass and of contemporary life, (2) turn towards national culture and become true defenders against cosmopolitanism, (3) compose pieces in concrete musical forms (operas, oratorios, cantatas, songs, mass choruses, etc.) and (4) involve themselves in the education of the people.[24] Thus, the major European and Soviet countries that attended this Prague conference were all combating the same evils of cosmopolitanism, individualism, and elitism in music, and all stressed the importance of creating a national

---

[22] Translated in Werth, *Musical Uproar*, 87-8.

[23] Joachim Braun, "Shostakovich's Song Cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry:* Aspects of Style and Meaning" in *Russian and Soviet Music: Essays for Boris Schwartz*, edited by Malcolm Hamrick Brown (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984), 262.

[24] Nicolas Slonimsky, "Declaration of the Second International Congress of Composers and Musicologists in Prague, 29 May 1948" in *Music Since 1900*, 1068. Brazil, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Austria, Rumania, the USSR, Switzerland and Great Britain were represented at this conference by leading composers or musicologists.

musical language in their respective countries. Shostakovich and his colleagues were under immense pressure to redeem themselves publicly.

Persecution of Shostakovich

Shostakovich was more and more the main target of abuse, becoming, for example, the subject of a four-part series of articles by Soviet musicologist Marion Koval under the title "Shostakovich's Creative Path." The final article was accompanied by a series of cartoons by A. Kostomolotsky under the title "Pedagogical Humour." Under a caricature of young Shostakoviches marching out of two portals, the Moscow and Leningrad Conservatories, was the following satirical poem:

> Years after years these glorious portals
> Disgorge a steam of inglorious mortals.
> They keep on coming –
> In vain one bemoans
> All the Shostakovich clones![25]

As a result of these meetings, Shostakovich lost his teaching posts at both the Leningrad and Moscow Conservatories in September. In addition, his works were then banned from performance and publication and he became the "target of continuing vilification and hate mail."[26] The attacks began to dissipate, and with the death of Andrei Zhdanov on 31 August 1948, the "official" attacks subsided.

Following the Party's Resolution, Shostakovich was left embarrassed, petrified, and unemployed, so he turned to folk music – Jewish folk music – within weeks of the

[25] Translated in Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 240.

[26] Laurel Fay "The Composer was Courageous", H27. In her dissertation, Judith Kuhn reveals that the banned works by Shostakovich included Symphonies 6, 8, and 9; the First Piano Concerto, the *Poem of the Motherland, Two Pieces for String Octet,* the Second Piano Sonata, *Six Romances on Texts by W. Raleigh, R Burns, and W. Shakespeare*, and *Aphorisms*. She also observes that, although the string quartets were not officially banned, both the Second and Third String Quartets disappeared from the Beethoven Quartet's programmes (as well as those of other chamber groups). See Judith Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue Shostakovich in Dialogue", 258.

Resolution's publication. Over the next five years Shostakovich continually had recourse to the Jewish folk idiom, composing *Violin Concerto No. 1, From Jewish Folk Poetry, String Quartet No. 4, 24 Preludes and Fugues* and *Monologues on Texts By Pushkin.* With the exception of the Preludes and Fugues (of which only eight contain use of the Jewish folk idiom), all of these works were withheld from public performance.

Shostakovich's Creative Response

The year 1948 was arguably the worst in Dmitri Shostakovich's life. Shostakovich "was transformed overnight into a virtual enemy of the people"[27] and all eyes were on him as Soviet society and the government awaited his creative response. In the years following the Resolution, "Shostakovich planned his creative output in such a manner as to avoid political controversy."[28] From 1948 until 1953 Shostakovich's music fell into three distinguishing categories; as outlined by Elizabeth Wilson, they were works (1) "for the drawer", (2) for cinema, or (3) "occasional" symphonic music such as oratorios, "which served to show he had assimilated Party criticisms and embraced an accessible style."[29]

Shostakovich completed the final movement of Violin Concerto no. 1, which he had begun composing at the end of the previous year immediately following the publication of the Party's Resolution. This work, however, did not meet the criteria of the Resolution and was to remain hidden from the public until 1955 (more on this work later). The first composition the public heard was his score for *The Young Guard,* directed by Sergei Gerasimov. This was followed by *Michurin,* directed by Aleksandr Dovzhenko and by

---

[27] Isaak Glikman and Dmitri Shostakovich, *Story of a Friendship: The Letters of Dmitry Shostakovich to Isaak Glikman with a commentary by Isaak Glikman,* translated by Anthony Phillips (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 31.

[28] Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia,* 244.

[29] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered,* 277.

Meeting on the Elbe, directed by Grigori Aleksandrov and Aleksei Utkin – all composed in 1948. Composing for cinema became Shostakovich's main source of income during this time frame, especially in 1948 and 1949, a task that seemed to drain his creativity and spirit. On 12 December 1948 he wrote the following to Isaak Glikman:

> Physically, I feel quite low, and this in turn does not foster my creative powers. I suffer from frequent headaches, and besides that I feel constantly nauseous, or, to put it simply, I feel like throwing up. I must say it's most unpleasant. While shaving I have a chance to examine my face. It's swollen, there are great bags under my eyes, and my cheeks are puffy and lilac-coloured. In this last week or so, I have aged considerably, and this ageing process races ahead at incredible pace. Further more this physical ageing is accompanied by a loss of youthful spirit. Maybe it's simply a case of being over-tired. After all, I've written lots of film music this year. It allows me to eat, but it causes me extreme fatigue.[30]

As Wilson observes, composing for film was not only a source of income for Shostakovich, but also a way in which he could "demonstrate that he was participating in patriotic acts."[31] Between 1949 and 1955, he would score six more films: *Belinsky,* directed by Grigori Kozintsev (1950); *Fall of Berlin* (1949) and *The Unforgettable Year of 1919* (1951), both directed by Mikhail Chiaureli; the score for the propaganda film *Song of the Great Rivers* (1954); *The Gadfly* (1955) directed by Aleksandr Fajnsimmer and Iosif Shapiro; and the *First Echelon* (1955), directed by Mikhail Kalatozishvili.

Although film scoring kept the composer visibly active during 1948, Shostakovich still needed a serious symphonic work that would rehabilitate his reputation in the eyes of the Party. In the summer of 1949 he composed *The Song of the Forests*, which was premiered on November 15 with Vladimir Ivanovsky (tenor), Ivan Titov (bass) and the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra and Academy Choir with Yevgeni Mravinsky conducting at the Leningrad Philharmonic Bolshoi Hall. Shostakovich received the Stalin Prize, First

[30] Glikman and Shostakovich, *Letters to a Friend*, 77.
[31] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 277.

Class, for *Song of the Forests* in December 1950 with a monetary prize of 100,000 roubles. The Stalin Prize put Shostakovich back in official favour. Aside from this composition, Shostakovich also composed *24 Preludes and Fugues,* op. 87 (1950-1), *Ten Poems on Texts by Revolutionary Poets of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,* Op 88, which received the Stalin Prize, Second Class in 1952 and *The Sun Shines Over the Motherland,* op. 90 – as well as several works that were never premiered or remain incomplete. These compositions proved to the Union of Composers and the Party that Shostakovich had embraced the Resolution, and had given a public response through the songs. Shostakovich had not pushed aside his classical roots altogether, but retained them with his homage to Bach in the *24 Preludes and Fugues.*[32]

Works "for the Drawer"

While Shostakovich put up this public front with the film scores and oratorios, he had also been composing works of a more complex musical idiom, and, as Schwarz and Wilson point out, laid them aside for a time when the political climate had relaxed. All of these compositions constitute his second "Jewish" period as each work contains aspects of the Jewish folk idiom, whether lyrical, rhythmic, harmonic, or melodic. In a *New York Times* article published in 1996, Laurel Fay asserts that in the wake of the Resolution on Music and his public denunciations in January-February 1948 Shostakovich turned to Jewish folk texts for his first, and hopefully rehabilitating, work. He was, as Fay states, "in all likelihood approaching the project in a constructive attempt to satisfy the 'public' promises he had just

[32] Shostakovich headed the Soviet delegation in East Germany in July 1950 for the bicentenary of Bach's death. After he returned to Moscow Shostakovich began composing his own cycle of Twenty Four Preludes and Fugues. For more information see Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 177-80; Sofia Moshevich, *Dmitri Shostakovich: Pianist* (McGill-Queens University Press, 2004); and Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 283-93.

made... [By] the summer of 1948 he was under intense pressure to redeem himself publicly."[33] Furthermore, as both Braun and Fay have pointed out, *From Jewish Folk Poetry,* the most controversial of this group, is an example of stylized urban folk art – with genuine folk texts and simple, accessible melodic writing. Thus, regardless of the composer's intentions, on the surface he fulfilled the letter, but not the intention of the Resolution.

The texts Shostakovich selected for the song cycle, *From Jewish Folk Poetry* came from a collection entitled *Jewish Folk Songs* (*Evreiskie narodnye pesni*), compiled by Y.M. Dobrushin and A.D. Yuditsky with Russian translations from the Yiddish poetry. According to Natalia Mikhoels (daughter of the actor and chair of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Solomon Mikhoels and wife of composer Moisey Weinberg), "Shostakovich raised questions in her presence about the pronunciation of certain Yiddish words and about the rhythmic flow of the original folk texts" in May 1948.[34] By August of that year, Shostakovich had completed the first eight songs of the cycle and presented them at a private concert in his home on his birthday – 25 September 1948. These first eight songs were tragic in tone and not in line with the Party resolution, and so after his birthday concert he added three token "happy" songs, rounding out the cycle to eleven. Furthermore, while Shostakovich composed these three final songs, he began orchestrating the cycle and retained the original text, possibly a way in which he could preserve his original intentions for the song cycle.

On 18 December, Shostakovich held another gathering in his home, including his wife, two children, Yury Levitin, Kara Karaev, Levon Atovmyan, and Daniel Zhitmorsky.

---

[33] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life,* 169.
[34] Braun "Shostakovich's Song Cycle," 261.

This was his dress rehearsal, as he planned on presenting the cycle to the Board of the Union of Soviet Composers for approval in January 1949. But as Shostakovich prepared for the presentation of his new song cycle, the political and cultural climate had completely changed and what had seemed like a small fight against "cosmopolitanism" had turned into an anti-Semitic campaign. It became painfully clear that *From Jewish Folk Poetry,* Shostakovich's hope for political rehabilitation, could not receive its official premiere. Thus, for the time being, *From Jewish Folk Poetry* found a place "in the drawer". Ironically, however, even though Shostakovich realized that his song cycle written on Jewish folk poetry could not be performed, his very next composition was a string quartet that also drew on the Jewish folk idiom throughout the first three movements until the finale's climax with the emergence of a Jewish folk dance.

***String Quartet no. 4*, op. 83**

The year of 1949 heralded an unexpected improvement in Shostakovich's life, which was to lead to his composition of the Fourth String Quartet. At the beginning of the year he was asked to join the official delegation to represent the USSR at the Cultural and Scientific Congress for World Peace at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York. Fearing questions about the Resolution on Music, Shostakovich felt uncomfortable about such a proposition. In a phone call with Stalin, Shostakovich expressed his concerns over appearing in a foreign country when his, Prokofiev, Miaskovsky and Khachaturian's works were not being performed in his own country. As Fay reveals, "by Stalin's personal instruction,

Glavrepertkom order no. 17, dated 16 February 1948, which had banned from performance and removed from the repertory the works of formalist Soviet composers was rescinded."[35]

Shostakovich departed for the United States four days later and quickly realized that his concerns were well founded. Russian émigré Igor Stravinsky chose not to welcome the Soviet delegate stating, "how can you talk to them? They are not free. There is no discussion with people who are not free."[36] Composer Nicholas Nabokov was so appalled by Shostakovich's speech condemning Western music as decadent and bourgeois, and his personal attacks on Stravinsky for betraying his homeland and as a demon "corrupter of Western art" that he decided to ask Shostakovich if he personally subscribed to the Soviet policy condemning Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and Hindemith. Of course, Shostakovich, who was being carefully watched during this trip, responded with "Yes, I completely subscribe to the views expressed by...etc..."[37] At the close of the Congress's final session, Shostakovich performed the Scherzo from his Fifth Symphony on the piano at Madison Square Garden to an audience of 18,000 people. While in New York, as Laurel Fay reveals, Shostakovich attended a concert of Bartok string quartets performed by the Juilliard Quartet, and upon his return home he began composing String Quartet no. 4 in D major, op. 83.

Inspired, no doubt, by what he had heard in New York, Shostakovich began work on the Fourth String Quartet shortly after his return. He dedicated the work to the memory of his friend, Pyotr Vladimirovich Villyams (Williams), a scene designer and painter. Villyams and the Shostakoviches "were neighbours while they were evacuees in Kuibyshev" during

---

[35] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 172.

[36] Igor Stravinsky, *Selected Correspondence*, edited by Robert Craft (London: Faber and Faber, 1982), vol. I, 358.

[37] Reminiscence of Nicholas Nabokov in Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 275-6.

WWII; during this time the artist did portraits of the composer and his daughter Galina.[38] Shostakovich composed the quartet over a period of eight months in 1949. He completed the first movement, *Allegretto* on May 4, the second, *Andantino*, on June 1, the third, *Allegretto*, August 3, and the fourth, *Allegretto*, on December 27. Composition was interrupted between the second and third movements in the summer of 1949 as the composer turned to the oratorio *Songs of the Forests*, Op. 81 in celebration of Stalin's reforestation program. According to the first violinist of the Beethoven Quartet, Dmitri Tsyganov, Shostakovich's "friends had been advising him that it would be a mistake to perform this work immediately, that it might receive an unfriendly reception."[39] The Beethoven Quartet (comprised of Dmitri Tsyganov, Vasili Shirinsky, Vadim Borisovsky, and Sergei Shirinsky) began rehearsing the quartet on February 10, 1950 and on 15 May they played the work twice for Aleksandr Kholodilin (head of the music division of the Committee for Artistic Affairs) where, according to Fay, "the decision to withhold the quartet was reached."[40]

Shostakovich spent much of this time unemployed, having lost both of his teaching positions. In hopes of him receiving payment for the Fourth String Quartet, both the Beethoven Quartet and the renowned Borodin String Quartet (Rostislav Dubinsky, Rudolph and Nina Barshai, and Valentin Berlinsky)[41] performed the work at the Ministry of Culture. The Beethoven Quartet was unsuccessful in this attempt; the Borodin Quartet, however, succeeded in securing the purchase of the work by the Ministry. Unfortunately, the quartet

---

[38] Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", fn2, 256. In her dissertation Kuhn reveals that the dedication did not appear in published versions of the Fourth String Quartet until 2001, despite its appearance on the manuscript. She notes that Manshir Yakubov suggested that it might not have been possible to publish a dedication to Villyams in the late 1940s, during the governmental campaign 'against all things foreign.' As Yakubov states, Villyams had a "suspiciously unpatriotic family name". See Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", fn. 2, p. 256.

[39] Translated in Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 176.

[40] Ibid., 176.

[41] At this time, the Borodin String Quartet (who were still students at the Moscow Conservatory) was known as the Moscow State Philharmonic String Quartet.

remained publicly unperformed for four years, but at the composer's request the Beethoven Quartet performed it at his private birthday celebrations in 1950. Although he attached importance to it at the time, Shostakovich later dismissed the work as "mere entertainment," in contrast to String Quartet no. 5, op. 92 (1952), which "was very important to him."[42]

The years 1953 to 1955 saw the premieres of many important works by Shostakovich, including the compositions of the Second Jewish period. On November 13, 1953 the Beethoven Quartet premiered String Quartet no. 5 at the Moscow Conservatory Malyi Hall; the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra with Mravinsky conducting premiered Symphony no. 10 at the Leningrad Philharmonic Bolshoi Hall and finally, on 3 December of the same year the Beethoven Quartet premiered the Fourth String Quartet at the Moscow Conservatory Malyi Hall. Both the Tenth Symphony and Fourth Quartet (this time performed by the Borodins) were then premiered in Leningrad on 29 December 1953 and 26 January 1954 respectively. The symphony received more attention than the two quartets. In 1955 two more Jewish works finally received their public premiere: Nina Dorliak (soprano), Zara Dolukhanova (mezzo-soprano), and Aleksei Maslennikov (tenor) with Shostakovich on the piano, performed *From Jewish Folk Poetry* in Leningrad on 15 January and David Oistrakh performed Violin Concerto no. 1 with the Leningrad Philharmonic with Mravinsky conducting on 19 September. Of this second Jewish period, only the song cycle, *Four Monologues on Texts by A. Pushkin,* would not be premiered during the composer's life.

Despite this lack of public attention, the Fourth Quartet was immediately recognized by some as a private, intimate work. Viktor Bobrovsky noted the expressivity and lyricism in the quartet's final three movements, as the centre of gravity shifted from the first

[42] Cited in Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 294.

movement to the fourth. Bobrovsky stressed the quartet's "embodiment of subtle nuances in the activity of a person's inner world."[43] Vasily Shirinsky, of the Beethoven Quartet, wrote that in the finale "the first theme [R58] is 'unmistakably Jewish', and the second theme is also Jewish, like a Jewish song."[44] Likewise, in 1965, theorist Aleksandr Dolzhanskii revealed that he read the quartet as a comment on the Holocaust or other anti-Semitic experiences; he related the work to the finale of *Piano Trio No. 2* and *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, both of which have been read as the composer's reaction to the unjust treatment of Jews during, as well as after World War II. He concentrated upon the contrast between the intimate lyricism of the first and second movements and the "gaiety" of the Jewish dance in the fourth as a manner of creating "laughter through tears".

The cultural and political context in which the Fourth Quartet – and the other Jewish works of this period – was written has complicated the meaning of the works. There were complexities in drawing on the Jewish folk idiom during this time (1948-1953). On the one hand, Shostakovich had followed the Resolution's request by using folk music and simple, accessible writing. On the other hand, however, he chose a folk that (1) was not his own ethnicity, (2) had just suffered at the hands of Hitler during the Holocaust and (3) was being persecuted in his own homeland, as signs of a potential Soviet Holocaust brewed. There is now a tendency to read the Jewish works, especially of this period, as Shostakovich's method of self-identification with an oppressed Jewish minority – a method of aligning himself with the persecuted ethnic group during the rise of anti-Semitism in Stalin's final years.

---

[43] Viktor Bobrovsky, "Kamernye instrumental'nye ansambli Shostakovicha," [The Chamber Instrumental Ensembles of Shostakovich] *Sovetskiye Kompozitor* (1961): 137.

[44] Translated in Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 277.

Summary

In this chapter I have examined the context surrounding Shostakovich's turn to the Jewish folk idiom between 1948 and 1953. Through a discussion of the 1948 denunciation of Soviet composers and Resolution on Music, I revealed how the government responded to innovation and individualism in the arts. In particular, I discussed how continual denunciations through the first few months of 1948 affected Shostakovich's personal and professional life, as well as how the composer responded to this criticism through both public and private works. During this five-year period, Shostakovich explored the sonic and rhythmic possibilities of the Jewish folk idiom; he composed four works with Jewish harmonic and rhythmic inflections and left them aside until the political climate relaxed. Three of these compositions were premiered after Stalin's death (one has yet to receive a premiere), and each has acquired a significant social meaning when placed alongside the context of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. The following chapter will discuss this anti-Semitic campaign and its impact on Soviet culture.

CHAPTER 3

STALIN'S ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGN, 1948-1953

My Sheyndl is in bed, and with her a sick child.
There's not a splinter in the unheated hut, and outside the wind howls. Ah...

The cold and the wind have returned, one cannot bear it and be silent.
So scream, so weep, children, for winter has come back. Ah...[1]

- "Winter", *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79

> [Peretz] Markish whispered to me, 'Hitler wants to destroy us physically, Stalin wants to do it spiritually.' Destroying spiritually meant shutting the theater, the school. But we never thought about physical exterminations, despite the tragic experiences of our people.[2]
>
> *- Professor Moisey Belenky, director of the Jewish Theater School*

This chapter examines the history of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It will focus specifically on the anti-Semitic campaign of 1948-1953. It will begin with an outline of anti-Semitic behavior under the Russian Tsars in the late 1800s, but will then examine aspects of anti-Semitism under Stalin, namely the campaigns that arose during and after WWII. It will also examine the place of the Jewish folk idiom in Soviet culture and Shostakovich's use of the idiom between 1948 and 1953.

A History of Anti-Semitic Tendencies

The history of the Jewish people in Russia is long and complicated; throughout Russian and Soviet Russian history, Jews were always viewed as the "Other". According to Soviet Jewish historian Zvi Gitelman, Russian Jews "experienced cycles of repression and

[1] Schelechow, *Shostakovich, Bloch, Prokofiev: Music on Hebrew Themes*, 22-39.
[2] Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*, 173.

relaxation,"[3] especially under the reigns of Nicholas II, Alexander III and Stalin. Anti-Semitic behavior dates back to the Tsarist Empire, the refusal to allow Jews into Russia and the pogroms of the 1880s. But Nicholas I's ascension to the throne in 1825 marked the beginning of the difficulties for Jews in Russia.[4] To Nicholas, "the Jews were an anarchic, cowardly, parasitic people, damned perpetually because of their deicide and heresy; they were best dealt with by repression, persecution, and, if possible, conversion."[5] A number of decrees and restrictions were issued that effectively displaced Jews from their occupations and homes. In 1827 the tsar issued a decree ordering Jews "serve twenty-five years in the military, beginning at the age of eighteen, but the draftable age was as low as twelve."[6] Following Alexander II's assassination on March 1, 1881 pogroms rolled over Jewish settlements and by May of 1882, new laws were issued for Jewish settlements, which essentially "cleansed" the countryside of Jews, and confined them to the Pale of Settlement.

These cycles of repression and relaxation continued under Stalin's reign (1926-1953), following the Soviet dictator's increasingly xenophobic fears and nationalistic beliefs. In 1932 the Soviet government introduced a new internal passport system that regulated Soviet citizens' place of residence. Line 5 of this passport indicated the holder's ethnicity and "effectively prevented Jews from integrating into Soviet society."[7] Furthermore, during the purges of 1936-38, many of the trials were aimed specifically at Jewish organizations and nearly all NKVD leaders with Jewish names were shot. Stalin

---

[3] Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence*, 2.

[4] Ibid., 4.

[5] Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1983), 10.

[6] Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence*, 4.

[7] Ian MacDonald, "Fay Versus Shostakovich: Whose Stupidity?" in *East European Jewish Affairs* 26 (Winter 1996), 6.

himself described the Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev troika of the 1920s as a "conspiracy of 'three frustrated Jewish intellectuals'."[8]

The most complex and contradictory period of anti-Semitism under Stalin's rule occurred between 1948 and 1953 – his final six years in power. Stalin's xenophobic, nationalist tendencies intensified in the wake of the Holocaust and the United Nations' decision to establish the independent state of Israel. As observed by Peter Kenez, "in the severely limited public sphere, the same few topics were repeated time and again: (1) 'vigilance,' fear of subversion from the West, (2) 'anti-cosmopolitanism', and (3) a vastly overblown Russian nationalism."[9] These three topics were all relatable to his issues with the concept of "Jewish" nationality, on which he had written extensively in the early 1900s (more on this later). Stalin began to fear that the Soviet Jewish intelligentsia would join forces with the world Jewry in a Zionist conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet government. But with an increased global focus on the fate of Jews, Stalin had to disguise his anti-Semitic tendencies with overtly "Russified", nationalist agenda. Thus, his campaign focused on condemning "anti-Soviet" or "anti-people" activities; most of those reprimanded, however, were Jewish.

One factor external to the Soviet Union created difficulties for Stalin's final campaign: the creation of Israel. Initially, "Stalin had hoped for a socialist Israel to be the Soviet vanguard in the Mediterranean area"[10] and a race ensued to be the first nation to officially support the new state, a race won by the USSR. This had less to do with supporting Israel, however, than it did with beating the USA in recognition of the new state.

---

[8] Ibid., 6.

[9] Peter Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 182.

[10] Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 101.

Soviet propaganda continually presented the USSR as the best friend of Israel, and provided the newly formed state with moral support and military aid to the new state in its war with neighboring Arab countries.[11] Stalin soon realized that Israel would not become its Socialist ally and his support for Israel had stimulated the Soviet Jews growing sense of national consciousness, for Soviet Jews now felt as though they were part of an international Jewry.[12] As Arkady Vaksberg has observed, "a large-scale anti-Semitic campaign would not have been appropriate, and the order to march was not given. But neither was the retreat sounded."[13] In the final months of 1948 the wheels started turning on this anti-Semitic campaign, which gained momentum through 1949, as Stalin laid plans for the eradication Soviet Jewish culture.

The Growth of the Anti-Jewish Campaign

During WWII overt anti-Semitism subsided and Stalin exploited the Soviet Jewry to solicit global sympathy and financial support. After Hitler invaded Russia in 1941, Stalin realized that his country was in serious trouble; he allowed the creation of a Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (otherwise known as JAC) that would appeal to the Jews of the world for financial aid. He even sent its top two figures, the chair, Solomon Mikhoels and the director, Itzak Fefer to the USA to solicit funds. While in the USA, they met the President and other government officials as well as important Jewish cultural and scientific figures, such as Albert Einstein. They returned to Russia with a large sum of money to help with the war relief. JAC did not stop their activities once they returned, however; they began to find jobs or housing for the Soviet Jews, they attempted to publish the "Black Book" that outlined the

[11] Ibid., 102.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*, 175.

atrocities of the Holocaust, they were advocates of the State of Israel and they even attempted to create their own Jewish Republic in the Crimea, but their demands were often ignored. To Stalin, they were no longer of use; they had fulfilled their role, and Stalin began to lay plans to disband the committee. But, being in the middle of war with Nazi Germany, these plans had to wait for nearly five years. Furthermore, as the entire world grew sensitive to the fate of Jews after the Holocaust, Stalin had to continually hide his campaign, or hold off on plans.

While the two leading members of JAC were in the USA in 1942-3, Stalin began to work on a secret policy that would "purge" national minorities. In August 1942, the Propaganda and Agitation Directorate (Agitprop) submitted a report to the Central Committee, entitled "The Selection and Promotion of Personnel in the Arts." It stated that the Committee of Art Affairs had deviated in the work of art institutions and led to a distortion of Party policy in the selection, promotion, and education of art institutions' ruling staff, including vocalists, musicians, film directors, and critics. The document revealed Agitprop's investigation into the Directorates of the Committee of Art Affairs. It stated that many Russian institutions of art "turned out to be filled by non-Russian people (mainly by Jews)... As a result, in many Russian art institutions Russian people turn out to be the national minority."[14] According to the investigative report the Bolshoi Theater presented the most problems, because its governing body consisted almost entirely of non-Russians, or "unacceptable clogging."[15] Of the 12 administrative figures at the Bolshoi Theater, 10 were Jews (see Fig. 3.1).

---

[14] Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 15.
[15] Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*, 134.

Figure 3.1: Report on the Bolshoi Theater Administration[16]

BOLSHOI THEATER ADMINISTRATORS	NAME	NATIONALITY
Acting Director	Yakov Leontyev	Jewish
Chief Stage Manager and Conductor	Samuil Samosud	Jewish
Conductor	Yuri Fayer	Jewish
Conductor	Aleksandr Melik-Pashayev	Armenian
Conductor	Maximilien Shteinberg	Jewish
Conductor	Vasili Nebolsin	Russian
Theatre Branch Director	Mikhail Gabovich	Jewish
Ballet Artistic Manager	Asaf Messerer	Jewish
Chorus Executive	Emil Kuper	Jewish
Chorus Executive	Kaufman	Jewish
Chief Orchestra Leader	Valentin Zhuk	Jewish
Chief Theater Administrator	Viktor Sadovnikov	Jewish

The music Conservatories also posed a problem in this report - Moscow, being the worst as "almost everything was in non-Russian hands."[17] The director, Alexander Goldenweiser, was a Jew, as were the head of the Piano department, Samuil Fainberg, the professors in the Violin department with Lev Tseitlin and Abram Yampolskii, as well as the head of the Vocal department, Shostakovich's close friend, Nina Dorliak,[18] the organ department with Aleksander Geike and history with Mikhail Pekelis (see Figure 3.2). At the Leningrad Conservatory, Agitprop identified Nikolai Ostrovskii, Maximilien Shteinberg (Shostakovich's composition teacher), Yuli Eidlin in the violin department and Grigory Ginzburg in the Piano department (see Fig. 3.2). They pointed out that Jewish musicians such as violinist David Oistrakh (who premiered Shostakovich's violin works), Emil Gilels and others performed mainly compositions of Western European composers and not Russian

[16] The charts in Figs. 3.1-3.3 are reproduced from Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 16-18. Kostyrchenko does not provide personal names for all of these figures in his monograph. Personal names have been added to these lists where they were identifiable.

[17] Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 16.

[18] Nina Dorliak was not Jewish; according to Arkady Vaksberg she was accidentally added to this list because her last name *sounded* "non-Russian". (Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*, 135.)

composers. The investigation even pointed out that the music critics, such as David Rabinovich, Lev Mazel and Daniil Zhitomorsky, all of whom were Jews, did not write about Russian musicians, rather, they focused on Jewish performers such as Gilels and Oistrakh. They called this the "Jewish conspiracy" in art, and demanded that the non-Russians be replaced with Russians (see Fig. 3.3).[19] Vissarion Shebalin replaced Goldenweizer at the Moscow Conservatory in 1942 (who was fired due to his "old age").[20] In 1943 Y. Guzikov "was threatened with dismissal because of his nationality."[21] However, Kostyrchenko discovered a petition in Guzikov's support, signed by his colleagues at the Conservatory, Nikolai Miaskovsky, Yuri Shaporin and Dmitri Shostakovich.[22]

Figure 3.2: Report on the Music Conservatories

	NAME	NATIONALITY
Moscow Conservatory		
Director	Aleksander Goldenweiser	Jewish
Deputy to Director	Grigori Stolyarov	Jewish
Piano	Samuil Fainberg	Jewish
Violin	Lev Tseitlin Abram Yampolskii Yiosif Guzikov	Jewish Jewish Jewish
Voice	Nina Dorliak	Not Jewish, but assumed Jewish because last name "sounded" Jewish.
Music History	Mikhail Pekelis	Jewish
Organ	Aleksandr Geike	Jewish
Leningrad Conservatory		
Piano	Grigory Ginzburg	Jewish
Composition	Maximilian Shteinberg	Jewish
	Nikolai Ostrovskii	Jewish
Violin	Yuli Eidlin	Jewish

[19] Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 17.

[20] Ibid., 18. Ironically, the Party replaced Goldenweiser, who went on to receive awards for his patriotic work, while Shebalin became one of the condemned "formalists" in 1948.

[21] Ibid., 18.

[22] Ibid.

Figure 3.3: Report on Art Critics

CRITICS	NAME	NATIONALITY
Pravda, Literature and Art Section Executive	Koshmar Yunovich	Jewish
Izvestiya; Literature and Art Section Executive	O.S. Voitinskaya	Jewish
Vechernyaya Moskva; Literature and Art Section Executive	Orlikova	Jewish
Literatura i iskusstvo; Music	David Rabinovich	Jewish
Literatura i iskusstvo; Theatre	Bassokhes	Jewish
Literatura i iskusstvo: Editorial Office Secretary	Gorelik	Jewish
Muzgiz; Publishing House Director	Grinberg	Jewish
Others	Leonid Kogan	Jewish
	Daniil Zhitomorsky	Jewish

"Official" Anti-Semitism

In the early months of 1948, after a period of post-war "relaxation", Stalin began tightening his reigns on Soviet culture; this time, however, the campaign displayed anti-Semitic tendencies. An increase of official anti-Semitism was provoked by the United Nations decision to establish the independent state of Israel between November 1947 and May 1948; it occurred in the form of a campaign against "cosmopolitanism." According to Svetlana Alliluyeva (Stalin's daughter), in December 1947 Stalin began arresting her mother's Jewish friends on trumped-up charges related to their relationship with the chair of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Solomon Mikhoels. In her 1968 testimony, *Only One Year*, Alliluyeva stated:

> It was in the dark days of the Party's campaign against the so-called 'cosmopolitans' in art, when the party would pound upon the slightest sign of Western influence. As had happened many times before, this was merely an excuse to settle accounts with undesirables. In this instance, however, the struggle bore an openly anti-Semitic character.[23]

[23] Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 153.

Thus, as the "Big Four" received their denunciation as "formalist" and "cosmopolitan," Soviet Jewry were also being attacked for "cosmopolitanism" because of their connection with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (Joint).

The major signal of change for Soviet Jewry occurred on the eve of the 1948 conference of musicians with the death of Solomon Mikhoels. Reportedly, Mikhoels died in a car accident while on official business for both JAC and Stalin, reviewing a new play in Minsk. His friends and family, however, believed that he had actually been murdered by the secret police on orders from Stalin.[24] In the history of the Soviet Union, according to Arno Lustiger, "no other Jewish personality was as popular, deserving and charismatic"[25] as Solomon Mikhoels. He held various titles and positions, including (the most prominent) Jewish actor, director of the State Jewish Theater (GOSET), a member of the Committee on the Stalin Prize for the Arts and Literature under the Council of Ministers of the USSR and head of its theater section, and, most importantly, Chair of the Jewish Antifascist Committee. Mikhoels was regarded as the "number one Jew" in the Soviet Union, and "it was only natural that Jews would turn to...[him] personally, to solve their pressing problems."[26] Yet, at his funeral and in all official tributes "Mikhoels was posthumously presented mainly as an artist."[27] All of his official work for the Soviet Jewry through the JAC went unnoticed and unrecognized in the eyes of the government. He received a lavish state funeral, an in-depth obituary in *Pravda*, and large obituary posters were hung all over

---

[24] Shostakovich greatly admired the Mikhoels. Moreover, Mikhoels' son-in-law, Jewish composer, Mieczyclaw [Moisey] Weinberg, was one of Shostakovich's closest friends and confidents – especially throughout this period. The two composers met often to play through each other's works and offer each other advice. Current research on Weinberg suggests that he was a great influence on Shostakovich's Jewish music.

[25] Lustiger, *Stalin and the Jews*, 186.

[26] Redlich, *War, Holocaust, and Stalinism*, 37.

[27] Ibid., 131.

Moscow.[28] Yet with all of this official praise, rumors circulated concerning the actual cause of Mikhoels' death. Stalin continually countered these rumors by honoring forty Jews among the 190 recipients of the Stalin Award, by praising Moisey Weinberg's *Sinfonietta* (as discussed below), and by supporting Israel.

In the months following Mikhoels' death the anti-Semitic campaign gathered momentum; Soviet Jewish figures were continually reprimanded for their "anti-Soviet" and "cosmopolitan" behavior. In May nineteen musicologists were accused of "anti-patriotic activities,"[29] and "cosmopolitanism" - fourteen them were Jewish. Around this time, the Conservatory rejected Soviet Jewish musicologist Moishe Beregovskii's work on the Jewish altered Dorian mode and was arrested by the Communist government in Kiev in 1951 and denounced as a "rootless cosmopolitan". A few sources have reported that Shostakovich hid Beregovskii in his apartment during this time; however, it cannot yet be confirmed.[30] If true, this would be an intriguing finding, as it would place a condemned Soviet Jewish cultural figure in Shostakovich's apartment during a time when anti-Semitism was on the rise, and around the time that he turned to the Jewish folk idiom.[31] Furthermore, Beregovskii was involved with the compilation of the "Jewish Folk Poetry" collection from which Shostakovich selected the poetry for the *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79 song cycle.

---

[28] Lustiger, *Stalin and the Jews*, 192-3.

[29] Translated in Braun, *Jews and Jewish Elements*, 114.

[30] Four years earlier, in 1944, Shostakovich had been assigned to the defense of Moshe Beregovskii's dissertation on Jewish Instrumental Folk Music at the Moscow Conservatory. For this document Beregovskii had spent nearly twenty years collecting klezmer music. His work on the Jewish altered Dorian mode would have complemented his study on Jewish instrumental folk music. It has been suggested that this dissertation was of tremendous influence on Shostakovich, as it is one of the first Russian documents to discuss the Jewish modes. Beregovskii's personal and professional situation will be discussed further in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[31] Shostakovich would have been selecting the poems for *From Jewish Folk Poetry* at this time, and researching the rhythmic flow of Yiddish poetry. As related in Joachim Braun's monograph, *Jews and Jewish Elements in Soviet Music*, Beregovskii was one of the musicologists who worked on the collection of folk poems from which Shostakovich chose his songs for this cycle.

"Rootless Cosmopolitanism" and the Charge of Zionist Conspiracy

Questions concerning "Jewish nationalism" surfaced in 1948 as the Soviet government dealt with both the newly formed state of Israel and its own anti-Semitic agenda. As Kuhn observes, "the Soviet government considered Judaism to be a separate national identity...even those Jews living in Russia were considered 'non-Russian'."[32] Stalin had addressed the issue of Jewish nationalism in his 1913 essay, *Marxism and the National Question,* where he defined a nation as primarily a community of people who share a common language, economic life and psychological make-up.[33] Thus, according to Stalin, "it is only when all the characteristics are present together that we have a nation."[34] In referencing Otto Bauer's definition of a nation in his essay, Stalin then states:

> Bauer speaks of the Jews as a nation, although they 'have no common language', but...what national cohesion is there, for instance, between the Georgian, Daghestanian, Russian and American Jews, who are completely separated from one another, inhabit different territories and speak different languages? ...Russian, Galician, American, Georgian and Caucasian Highland Jews ...in our opinion do not constitute a single nation.[35]

This idea of a group of people who, in Stalin's mind, did not actually constitute what he defined as a "nation" was solidified by the claim that "Jews have no closed territory of settlement."[36] Thus, because they did not constitute a "nation" by Stalin's definition, nor did they share a central territory, Jews had no geographical roots, making them "rootless".

In the first few months of 1948 the meaning of the term "cosmopolitanism" shifted; it no longer signified only a negative connotation for association with Western bourgeoisie, but it also became codeword for denunciation of Soviet Jewish cultural and scientific

---

[32] Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue," 87.

[33] Joseph Stalin, "The Nation" from *Marxism and the National Question* (New York: International Publishers, 1942), 9.

[34] Ibid., 13.

[35] Ibid., 12-13.

[36] Ibid., 16.

figures. At first it was used in the same artistic context as the influence of Western ideas, but it soon appeared with the term "rootless" preceding it. The juxtaposition of "rootless" and "cosmopolitanism," then, had a double meaning: not only was the government targeting these "nationless" Jews, but it was also pointing to a very specific kind of Jew, one who had contact with or showed influence of the West. According to Robert J. Brym, Zhdanov used the label "rootless" to "explain why Jewish intellectuals had no place in Mother Russia."[37] A Soviet Jew with family in America, or organizations in contact with the new state of Israel and Joint, was in grave danger of this accusation, which eventually became, according to the Soviet government, a Zionist conspiracy. With the death of Mikhoels, the Soviet government began weaving its conspiratorial web around the Soviet Jewry, and because of his international connections, Mikhoels became branded as ringleader of a world Zionist conspiracy.

By September 1948 the Soviet government began openly addressing the Jewish question and systematically dissolving Jewish institutions. "The Kremlin issued a clarification of its policy on the Jewish problem, which warned against expecting much support for an independent Israel."[38] This warning came on the heels of Golda Meir's appointment as Israeli Ambassador to the Soviet Union. It came in the form of a letter signed by Ilya Ehrenburg in *Pravda*.[39] Ehrenburg's article outlined the Soviet Regime's attitude towards the "Jewish problem" and re-emphasized the belief that the Jews had no right to call themselves a nation. The article also revealed the same anti-Semitic tones as

---

[37] Robert J. Brym, *The Jewish Intelligentsia and Russian Marxism* (London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press, 1978), 115.

[38] Cang, *The Silent Millions*, 100.

[39] Ironically, Ehrenburg was Jewish – but this served Stalin well: using a Jew (and member of JAC to promote the future of Soviet Jewry as assimilated citizens, rather than part of a growing international Jewish community cleaned the government's hands of anti-Semitic actions. Years later Ehrenburg admitted that he did not take part in writing this letter, stating that it was written for him.

Stalin's writings of 1913. The only reason for a national union between the Jews of the world, according to Ehrenburg and Stalin, lay in their common religion, and despite the newly independent state of Israel, "the Jews were still not a nation."[40] As the regime solidified its stance against Israel, it denied the right of the Jews of the Soviet Union to join the Joint or emigrate to Israel, and by November "the Jewish Antifascist Committee was dissolved and its newspaper *Einikeit* closed down."[41] In December, as Shostakovich prepared for the premiere of *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79, the Ministry of Internal Affairs arrested leading Jewish personalities including writers, poets, artists, musicians and government officials.[42] Four hundred and fifty Jewish intellectuals were arrested, put in chains and sent off to concentration camps. Of the Jewish intellectuals sent to the camps, 217 were writers and poets, 108 were actors, 87 were artists and 19 were musicians. Most of those arrested were tried secretly in the camps and executed on 12 August 1952. This list includes three quarters of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.[43]

In January-February 1949, the campaign against "rootless cosmopolitanism" gathered momentum; through public forums, the government began openly addressing the "anti-people" tendencies of Soviet Jewish intelligentsia. On February 2 *Pravda* published an editorial entitled "On an Anti-Patriotic Group of Theater Critics", which slandered the Russian dramatist Leonid Malyugin, the Armenian Grigori Boyadshiyev and five Jewish

---

[40] Cang, *The Silent Millions*, 101.

[41] Ibid., 103.

[42] It is possible that Shostakovich chose not to present the song cycle to the Board of the Union of Composers at this time because of the drastic change in political climate (towards anti-Semitism). Yet because it did not receive an official, public premiere for seven years, it was assumed that Shostakovich wrote it "for the drawer" in secret dissidence. However, as Laurel Fay has aptly pointed out, *From Jewish Folk Poetry* was never a secret: he held numerous at-home concerts to prepare for its presentation to the board and even wrote letters to his students outlining this fact. (See Laurel E. Fay "the Composer Was Courageous But Not as Much as in Myth" *New York Times*.)

[43] For a list of persecuted and repressed Soviet Jewish cultural and political figures (especially that of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and the Yiddish and Hebrew Writers and Publishers) see Lustiger, *Stalin and the Jews*, 373-92.

authors, Aleksandr Borshchagovsky, Yefin Kholodov, Abram Gurvich, Joseph Yusovsky, and Yakov Varshavsky, as "parasites". It also accused them of being "bearers of a rootless cosmopolitanism, deeply repulsive to the Soviet human being and hostile toward it," and questioned their knowledge of the "national character" of a Russian Soviet person.[44] Six days later Stalin signed a Politburo resolution that closed the Jewish writers' unions in Moscow, Kiev and Minsk, as well as the Yiddish literary periodicals in Moscow and Kiev. The government justified the closure of the Jewish institutions: they proclaimed that the isolation of national minorities opposed the Soviet Union's ideologies - an obstacle to assimilation.[45] Signing this resolution was merely a formality, however, as the Jewish writers had already been arrested.[46]

These denunciations extended into the discipline of music, with further denunciation of musicologists. On the one-year anniversary of the Resolution on Music, action against the musicologists began, and those accused in May of 1948 were under attack once again. The Union of Soviet Composers held meetings on February 18, 21, and 22 to discuss the state of musicology. Lev Mazel, Daniel Zhitomirsky, Igor Boelza, Alexei Ogolevetz, Semyon Shlifstein, Yulian Vainkop, Grigori Sheerson, Israel Nestyev, and Ivan Martynov from Moscow and Semyon Ginzburg from Leningrad were accused of "anti-patriotic, harmful activity, bent on undermining the ideological basis of Soviet music."[47] Grigori Kogan, Mikhail Pekelis, Roman Gruber and Tamara Livanova from Moscow and Mikhail Druskin, Anatol Butzkoi, Aleksandr Dolzhanskii, Yuli Kremlev and Bogdanov-Berezovsky from Leningrad were accused of "cosmopolitan errors, 'groveling before Western music' and

---

[44] Translated in Lustiger, *Stalin and the Jews*, 195-6.
[45] Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 133-4.
[46] Ibid., 134.
[47] Translated in Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, 250.

disregard for Russian music."[48] And finally, the Union censured Yosif Ryzhkin, Viktor Zukkerman, Vladimir Protopopov, Viktor Berkov, Boris Levik and Vera Vasina-Grossman in Moscow and Elena Orlova, Maxim Brazhnikov, and six others.[49] Just over half of these musicologists were Jewish, and, as Boris Schwarz points out, "whether...anti-Semitism played a part in the purge of musicologists is difficult to determine."[50] The musicological issues of criticism, according to Schwarz, seem to have been more important than the ethnicity or religious orientation of those accused. Regardless, the manner of accusation used in these meetings was in keeping with those in literature; it showed that music did not remain untouched by accusations of "cosmopolitanism" and "anti-patriotism" in 1949.

Many artistic institutions, including music, remained under a critical lens in the early 1950s; in 1951 attention returned to the Bolshoi Theater. The Bolshoi Theater began preparing a new production of Camille Saint-Saëns's opera *Samson and Delilah* for their 175th anniversary celebrations in 1951. However, after careful examination of the libretto, Agitprop decided that it could not be staged, as it "undoubtedly possesses messianic, biblical, and Zionist features," and featured themes of persecuted Jews seeking revenge, warning that the opera may be "a stimulus for kindling Zionist sentiments among the Jewish portion of the populations, especially if we take into account certain well-known facts of recent years."[51] Agitprop also conducted inspections of the personnel of the Moscow Philharmonic Society, the Philharmonic Societies of Molotov, the Ural Region, Voronezh, Khabarovsk, Chkalovsk, Kemerovo and Vladimir, and the Union of Soviet Composers,

---

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid. Unfortunately the names for these six Leningraders are not indicated in Schwarz's monograph. Alexander Shaverdyan, Boris Shteinpress and Yuri Keldysh were also berated at the meetings, but escaped official censure.

[50] Ibid., 251.

[51] Translated in Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 193-4.

which they deemed "littered" with national minorities, especially in the two top spots.[52] Tikhon Khrennikov was "accused of liberalism and leniency...[for] not having carried out the anti-Jewish lustrations among the personnel of the Union of Soviet Composers board, the Music Fund and *Sovietskaya Muzyka*."[53]

The music conservatories did not go untouched during this time: Agitprop's inspectors also examined the ethnic diversity amongst faculty and students at the Moscow Conservatory. They discovered that in December 1950, 67.2 percent of the students were Russian, 15 were Jewish, 5.3 were Armenian and 6.3 were other nationalities. The largest problem was the Violin department of the conservatory, which they viewed as "the group most littered with representatives of a single nationality."[54] Agitprop's investigation revealed that the proportion of Jews in the Violin department had been high for years, and that "this was preconditioned by the national composition of faculty and professors...since professors' assistants [Abram] Yampolskii and [Lev] Tseitlin and others teach at the school."[55] The information from Agitprop's 1942-3 investigation into the "Selection and Promotion of Personnel in the Arts" became useful in this 1951 investigation; for Agitprop, the report proved that the Violin department admitted Jewish students in high proportions.

The high proportion of Jews in the Violin department also became a problem in the examination of the conservatory's Youth Symphony Orchestra - especially as it prepared for an international tour in 1952. The orchestra's first violin section had a predominance of Jews who had been using about two-thirds of the state's collection of Stradivari, Guarneri and

---

[52] Ibid., 196.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 197.
[55] Ibid.

Amati instruments.[56] In his autobiography, Rostislav Dubinsky (first violinist of the original Borodin String Quartet) recounts his "dismissal" from the conservatory orchestra. In 1952 the Youth Orchestra planned a tour abroad, and orchestra members were called to the Central Komsomol Committee to fill out a special questionnaire with biographical information, including their names, birthdates, Komsomol and Party membership, and, most importantly, their nationality. Students of "Jewish" ethnicity, like Dubinsky, were removed from the orchestra. The entire first violin section had been replaced; in fact, the "new" orchestra did not have one single Jewish student.[57]

The final blow to the Jewish community came on 13 January 1953 when the official Soviet News Agency (Tass) announced that the MVD had arrested a group of Jewish physicians who had "plotted" to murder Soviet leaders. The article accused these doctors of killing two already, Aleksandr Sergeivich Shcherbakov in 1945 and Zhdanov in 1948. Shortly after this statement, *Pravda* published the new revelations:

> The doctors...admitted that they were connected with the International Jewish bourgeoisie nationalist organization Joint [the Joint Distribution Committee] established by the American intelligence...to conduct extensive espionage, terrorist and other subversive work in many lands, including the Soviet Union and with a world Zionist conspiracy.[58]

In reality, the investigation began in 1950, and the group of Jewish doctors had actually been arrested one at a time, over a two-year period beginning in 1951 – not in January 1953 as the article stated. The investigation had taken place in secret, and hundreds of doctors were

---

[56] Ibid.

[57] This story is recounted in Rostislav Dubinsky, "Orchestra: 1952" in *Stormy Applause: Making Music in a Workers State* (London; Sydney; Auckland; Johannesburg: Hutchinson, 1989): 24-33. According to Dubinsky, a few Jewish string players were added to the orchestra's roster before they departed on tour – this included the Violist Rudolph Barshai from the Borodin Quartet.

[58] Cang, *The Silent Millions*, 109.

arrested in connection with the "crime" – not only the six responsible for Zhdanov's care, on the accusation that they were plotting an assassination of the entire Soviet government.

The doctors were not the only figures to be arrested in early 1953; in February, Shostakovich's dear friend, Moisey Weinberg, son-in-law of Solomon Mikhoels, was also arrested. Under pressure he "confessed" that in 1944 he had raised the idea of establishing a Jewish republic in the Crimea at his father-in-law's request. He also admitted to his desire for creating a Jewish Crimean Music Conservatory and was "accused of writing two vocal cycles based on Jewish folk music."[59] Shostakovich immediately wrote a letter to Lavrenti Beria that "vouched for Weinberg as an honest citizen and a most talented young composer, whose chief interest in life was music."[60] This was the second time Shostakovich wrote a letter in support of one of his Jewish friends. Shostakovich and his wife, Nina, had even agreed to take in Weinberg's children if necessary.

In his final six years of rule, Stalin had fabricated an intricate web of lies connecting Jewish intellectuals from many professional spheres in the Soviet Union with the dead Mikhoels and his "co-conspirators" in Joint, in a grand scheme to eliminate the Soviet government. Even the "Doctor's Plot" had been a complete fabrication by the government. Although many of these figures were tortured into "confessions", none of them was executed. Stalin's death on March 5, 1953 saved their lives and the lives of the entire Jewish population of the USSR. Weinberg, the doctors and the surviving Jewish intellectuals were released from prison and returned home within one month of Stalin's death. If Stalin's anti-Semitic plot had been completely carried out, it would have meant not only the complete elimination of Russian Jewish culture, but also possibly the entire Jewish community. In the

[59] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 196.
[60] Ibid., 264.

years following Stalin's death, news of the Doctor's Plot, and the deaths of the Jewish intellectuals on August 12, 1952 became available to the public.

"Jewish" Folk Idiom in Soviet Culture

The rise of anti-Semitism between 1948 and 1953 created an ambiguous environment for the Jewish folk idiom in Soviet culture; the idiom was not officially forbidden, but it was not tolerated either. Following WWII, a surge of Jewish nationalism occurred, as Soviet Jews strove for a new sense of Jewish ethnic identity, through both the establishment of the JAC and their support of Israel. The JAC was at the centre of this campaign, and "was an immediate concern to the government."[61] After Mikhoels' death, Soviet Jewish culture had taken a drastic turn and its place in art

> existed...on the borderline of the permitted, and the undesirable... This paradox of the permitted but undesired, and the forbidden but not unlawful, has created a highly ambiguous situation in Soviet culture regarding the employment of Jewish themes and motifs in art.[62]

Thus, while the Jewish folk idiom was not "officially" forbidden, the events of 1948-1949 sent a clear signal to cultural figures that the idiom was certainly not acceptable. Yet, as mentioned above, there were continual contradictions.

In the months following Mikhoels' death the Soviet government attempted to divert attention from its anti-Semitic agenda by praising Jewish intellectuals and artists for their achievements. Forty Jewish figures out of 190 received the coveted Stalin Award and in March 1948, Moisey Weinberg's *Sinfonietta*, Op. 41, no. 1 was premiered and received rave reviews from the authorities. Weinberg's *Sinfonietta* became political propaganda, for as Braun observes, "during the anti-Semitic orgy of 1948-49, what could be better for world

[61] Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 261.
[62] Joachim Braun, "The Double Meaning of Jewish Elements", 69.

display than to give [Weinberg] as an example?" In his praise for Weinberg, Tikhon Khrennikov stated:

> We now have to check how our composers are liberating themselves from formalism, how they are fulfilling the Party's directives...how they are using the great treasures of folk art, how they are defending the national character of Soviet music against the reactionary idioms of bourgeois cosmopolitanism. ...As a composer he [Weinberg] was strongly influenced by Modernistic music which badly mangled his undoubted talent. By turning to the sources of Jewish folk music, [Weinberg] has created a bright, optimistic work dedicated to the theme of the shining, free working life of the Jewish people in the land of socialism. In this work [Weinberg] has shown uncommon mastery and a wealth of creative imagination.[63]

Weinberg's *Sinfonietta* vanished from concert repertoire after its initial performances in 1948; however, it remained the "shining example of free working life of the Jewish people in the land of socialism" true to its propagandist label. Yet it is crucial to remember that Weinberg was Mikhoel's son-in-law, and as the government was trying to cover up his death as an accident, it seems possible that the *Sinfonietta* was more than an example of Soviet Socialist music – it was also a clever way of diverting the attention from the Mikhoels family and rumors of pre-meditated murder.

The early months of 1948 proved to be a difficult time for beginning an anti-Semitic campaign. It became important for the Soviet leadership to appear as friends of the Soviet Jewry and supporters of Israel (leading the international race of acknowledging the state), as they simply bided their time until they could commence their own plans. Thus, as they had many times before, they played a vicious game of "carrot and the stick": they doled out awards and used works of Jewish composers as '"shining examples of Socialism," but turned the tables in September when they shut down the JAC, their journal and arrested leading Jewish personalities. The closures came under the guise of opposing Soviet policies

[63] Translated in Braun, "Jews in Soviet Music", 91.

of assimilation and the isolation of a nationality, while the arrests, as we have seen, were kept secret until they found a way of connecting the individual stories to Solomon Mikhoels and a world Zionist conspiracy. In the mean time, the arrested intellectuals were accused of anti-Soviet or cosmopolitan tendencies.

Shostakovich & the Jewish Folk Idiom

Shostakovich's Jewish works were composed in the midst of the anti-Semitic campaign examined in this chapter. The anti-Semitic campaign no doubt influenced the composer in his decision to hold off on the premiere of Violin Concerto no. 1, *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, and the Fourth String Quartet. He turned to the idiom after the murder of his friend Mikhoels, the constant attacks on 'cosmopolitanism,' the Soviet regime's decision to pull its support from Israel and the purge of the Soviet Jewish intellectuals. Boris Schwarz explained that from 1948-53

> Shostakovich planned his creative output in such a manner as to avoid political controversy. He wrote works that were ideologically unassailable – scores for patriotic films..., the oratorio *Songs of the Forests*..., and so on. On the other hand, he composed several important works in a more complex idiom and laid them aside...; he obviously decided to postpone the premieres until the artistic climate would be more relaxed...Among the latter works are the Violin Concerto,...the String Quartet No. 4...and the vocal cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry*.[64]

Joachim Braun points out that this statement is not entirely plausible because both the Violin Concerto and Fourth String Quartet were still considered to be works of a "complex idiom" after their premieres, whereas *From Jewish Folk Poetry* should have been considered "stylized folk art." Furthermore, Shostakovich did not keep the song cycle a secret in 1948,

[64] Schwartz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, 244.

neither did he keep the concerto and quartet to himself: all three works were "premiered" at Shostakovich's private birthday concerts.

Shostakovich's use of the "Jewish" idiom during this period has led many to question the composer's intentions and assign a dissident message to the works. Because he was not Jewish and had only second-hand knowledge of the Jewish folk idiom, many saw his taking up of the idiom as a sign of dissidence or identification with an oppressed minority. Indeed, many theorists of the time *heard* these works as a recollection of or comment on the Holocaust and Soviet anti-Semitism; some even compared the grotesque dance movement of the Fourth Quartet with that of the Second Piano Trio (see Chapter 2). But these Jewish works also followed the 1948 Resolution on Music: they were composed on a "folk" idiom. Furthermore, not only did Shostakovich draw on the "Jewish" idiom, but he also established his own "Jewish" musical language that followed in the Russian tradition of creating a "Jewish" *sound.* Regardless of his intentions, Shostakovich's "Jewish" compositions of this period have established a significant social meaning, as his complex musical language has allowed for the possibility of numerous meanings and messages.

Summary

In this chapter I have examined anti-Semitic tendencies in the history of Russia and the Soviet Union. Focusing specifically on anti-Semitism during the 1940s and early 1950s, I discussed the cycles of repression and relaxation in the government's attitude towards Soviet Jews. Specifically, I have observed how Stalin used Soviet Jews to solicit financial aid during WWII and how he instilled hope in the Jewish community by allowing them to establish the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee as well as through his support of Israel. Thus,

on the surface it appeared as though Stalin supported Soviet Jews. However, while openly supporting the Jewish community, he was also deploying a complex plan to eradicate Soviet Jewish culture and possibly the entire Soviet Jewry. This uncertain atmosphere created an ambiguous environment for the Jewish idiom in Soviet culture; as the political atmosphere grew increasingly anti-Semitic, many Jewish (and non-Jewish) artists avoided the ethnic idiom. Shostakovich, however, turned to the idiom in precisely this climate and created a body of work that many believed revealed his identification with the persecuted minority. The following chapter will introduce the elements of Shostakovich's personal Jewish musical language.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYTICAL TOOLS: SHOSTAKOVICH'S "JEWISH" MUSICAL LANGUAGE

> I think, if we speak of musical impressions, that Jewish folk music has made the most powerful impression on me. I never tire of delighting in it; it is multifaceted, it can appear to be happy while it is tragic. It is almost always laughter through tears.[1]
>
> - Shostakovich, in *Testimony*

This chapter introduces the characteristics of Shostakovich's individual "Jewish" musical language, which will then be applied, in the following chapter, to an analysis of String Quartet no. 4, op. 83. First, I will discuss the Russian and Soviet concept of "mode" and modal 'intonation' associated with musical meaning. Second, I will define the Jewish folk idiom. In this definition I will draw on Moshe Beregovskii's scholarship on the Jewish altered modes and Joachim Braun's definition of the Jewish folk idiom in Shostakovich's music, so as to lead to a broader description of Shostakovich's "Jewish" *sound.* And finally, I will address the double meaning of the Jewish folk idiom, the duality between the emotional tension of the lowered altered Jewish modes and the gaiety of the Jewish dance as "laughter through tears".

Jewish Folk Idiom in Soviet Music

In the early months of 1948 Soviet composers turned to folk music for fulfillment of the Party's demands in the Resolution on Music. It was only natural that they turn to the idiom of their ethnicity whether Russian, Georgian, Polish or Jewish. Weinberg's *Sinfonietta* No. 1, op. 41 (1948) was the most successful use of folk inspired music post-Decree. The

[1] Volkov, *Testimony*, 118.

composer drew on the musical idiom of his Jewish ethnicity in this symphonic work, especially in the finale where the influence of traditional klezmer music is apparent.[2] Weinberg's *Sinfonietta* received praise from Khrennikov and the Composer's Union as the "shining example of Socialist Realism". After its initial performances in March 1948, Weinberg's *Sinfonietta* vanished from concert repertoire. In the final months of 1948, as Stalin systematically shut down all Jewish institutions and organizations, the Jewish folk idiom in music, literature, film, and visual art became "taboo", even – or perhaps, especially – for Soviet Jews.

Instead of turning to his own ethnic folk idioms, Shostakovich drew on aspects of the Jewish idiom and created a personal language through which he could communicate with his audience.[3] Because Shostakovich was not Jewish, he possessed only second-hand knowledge of Jewish culture and heritage through his many personal and professional relationships with Jewish cultural figures. He had numerous possible sources through which he came in contact with Jewish music and heritage: his composition teacher Maximillien Shteinberg, was Jewish; as was his student Veniamin Iosifovich Fleishman, close friend Moisey Weinberg, Moscow Conservatory ethnomusicology student Moshe Beregovskii, musicians who performed and conducted his works (including David Oistrakh, Rostislav Dubinsky and Samuil Samosud, to name a few) and his colleagues at the Conservatory (including Yuri Guzikov). Perhaps the most influential of this list are Fleishman, Weinberg and Beregovskii, all of whom, according to Kuhn, "provided a rich confluence of sources for Jewish music for Shostakovich in the early 1940s."[4]

---

[2] "Klezmer" is Jewish instrumental folk music.
[3] As mentioned in Chapter 1, Shostakovich was a Russian of Polish-Lithuanian extraction.
[4] Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 83.

In drawing on the "Jewish" idiom, Shostakovich followed a Russian tradition of creating a "Jewish" *sound* – an exotic musical "Other" – that began in the late 1800s. As second violinist of the Beethoven Quartet Vasili Shirinsky observed, in the Fourth Quartet, Shostakovich did not draw on original Jewish themes, but created his own distinct Jewish sound.[5] Rimsky-Korsakov used the Jewish altered Dorian mode in the *Hebrew Song* op. 7, no. 2, as did Mussorgsky in "Samuel Goldenberg und Schmuyle" (*Pictures at an Exhibition*); Mikhail Gnesin used iambic primes in 'A Jewish Orchestra at the Ball of the Town Bailiff' in his adaptation of Gogol's *Inspector General*; and Prokofiev drew on the folk idiom in his *Overture on Hebrew Themes*, op. 34bis.[6] Thus, it is important to recognize that what made Shostakovich's music "Jewish" was his incorporation of the Jewish folk idiom (Jewish altered modes, rhythmic figurations and, in the case of his vocal cycle, translated Yiddish texts[7]). This type of "borrowed" Jewish musical language had become a tradition in the compositional practice of non-Jewish Russian composers. Furthermore, as both Braun and Sheinberg have observed, the idiom used by Shostakovich is not always "genuinely 'Jewish', but rather stylization of our cultural perception of what 'Jewish music' sounds like" through either a fusion of the Jewish altered modes, or an emphasis on particular intervals.[8]

---

[5] Quoted by Fedor Sofronov, *D. Shostakovich: String Quartets Nos. 1, 3, 4* (Moscow, Russia: Melodiya, 1961), 14.

[6] Taruskin delivers an analysis of Mussorgsky's use of the augmented second as a negative portrayal of Jews in *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 328-95; Esti Sheinberg critiques the use of the Jewish folk idiom in Soviet music, notably in the work of Gnesin and Shostakovich, revealing how both composers viewed the idiom as an expression of 'laughter through tears' in *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque*, 301-09.

[7] Shostakovich's Jewish songs, *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79 will not be analysed in this thesis, but phrases from the songs will be used amongst the examples defining the Jewish folk idiom.

[8] Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music,'" 97.

Modal Theory

At the turn of the twentieth century, Russian theorists began an expansion of musical theoretical thought based on Western practice. This treated it as a "subject of scientific research", known as "the science of music".[9] Theorists became engrossed in the deep foundations of music such as its structure, perception and underlying laws of mode, formal and harmonic analysis, acoustics, and musical energy.[10] By the late 1930s and early 1940s Boris Asafiev had developed a concept of modal *intonatsiya* or "intonation" (introduced by Boleslav Yavorsky) that embraced "a wide range of musical meanings, such as those associated with aesthetics, sociology and history."[11] For Russian and Soviet theorists then, modality had garnered a much wider, social importance than its Western counterpart.

The Western concept of mode as melodic scale patterns that lie outside the major-minor tonal system, as Ellon D. Carpenter observes, has no exact equivalent in Russian music theory.[12] In the 1976 *Sovetskaya muzykal'naya entsiklopediya* (*Soviet Music Encyclopedia*), theorist Yuri Kholopov defines the term "mode" as a complex musical structure composed of three main elements. These three main elements of a "mode" include:

> (1) scale, or the melodic motif, the primary form of the embodiment of mode; (2) function, revealed through the stable and unstable notes in the mode, their relationships and interconnections, resulting in a hierarchy of pitch connections; and (3) Intonation (*intonatsiya*), a complex Soviet musico-theoretical idea that represents the manifestation in mode of its emotional, social and historical connections.[13]

---

[9] Carpenter, "Russian Music Theory," 33.

[10] Ibid., 33. Carpenter outlines the progress of this shift, beginning with Russian theorists such as Sergei Taneev, Boleslav Yavorsky, Georgy Conus and Georgy Catoire to Soviet theorists, including Boris Asafiev, Nikolai Garbuzov, Yuri Tiulin, Lev Mazel and Varvara Dernova.

[11] Carpenter, "Russian Theorists on Modality," 80.

[12] Ibid., 77.

[13] Ibid., 77.

Thus, the Western concept of mode corresponds only to the first element of the Russian concept - that of the melodic scale pattern.[14]

Asafiev's theory of 'intonation' has become a fundamental element of the Soviet concept of mode, one that allows for multiple meanings, both musical and cultural, and distinguishes Russian and Soviet theory from its Western counterpart. The term surfaces in many Soviet theoretical writings, especially in the scholarship of Moshe Beregovskii (discussed below). The concept of modal "intonation" has become fundamental in understanding the meaning of Shostakovich's "Jewish" musical language and the way in which he uses particular modes.

Shostakovich's Modal Language

Shostakovich's modal language has been described as functioning linearly and melodically, as diatonically based, and as gravitating towards lowered scale degrees. Soviet theorist Aleksandr Dolzhanskii has concentrated on Shostakovich's melodic use of modes and 'stepwise melodic gravitation', rather than on chordal harmonic function.[15] Dolzhanskii has also studied the 'lowered' altered mode in Shostakovich's music. His analyses reveal Shostakovich's tendency to use modes that were "minor" in quality but that usually contain additional lowered altered degrees. The most notable example is the Alexandrian Pentachord, which will be discussed below. In addition to these lowered altered modes are the Jewish altered modes that Shostakovich often drew on. These Jewish modes contain both

[14] In the opening paragraph of her essay, "Russian Music Theory: A Conspectus", Carpenter states that, aside from theory of Russian chant, a 'distinctly Russian theory of music cannot be said to have existed until the latter half of the nineteenth century.' Until that time, nineteenth-century Russian music theory was based on Western theory. The first Russian theory of music appeared in 1908, in Boleslav Yavorsky's publication, *The Structure of Musical Speech*, in which the theorist established what is now considered the foundation of Russian modal theory and in 1909, in Sergei Taneev's *Moveable Counterpoint in Strict Style*.

[15] Carpenter, "Russian Theorists on Modality," 92.

lowered scale degrees and augmented intervals. As Fay has noted, "the inflected modes of Jewish music went hand in hand with [Shostakovich's] own natural gravitation towards modes with flattened scale degrees."[16]

Moshe Beregovskii: The Jewish Altered Modes

Research in the field of Soviet Jewish music began with Moshe Beregovskii in Ukraine in 1927, who collected and recorded Jewish klezmer (instrumental folk music) and wrote extensively on the Jewish altered modes. As Izaly Zemtsovsky observes, "it is only with his arrival on the scene that Jewish musical folkloristics became a science."[17] In 1919, after studying composition and ethnomusicology with Shteinberg and Yavorsky at the Kiev and Leningrad conservatories, Beregovskii founded and directed the music section of the Jewish Culture League in Kiev (closed in 1920), headed the ethnomusicology section of the Institute of Jewish Proletarian Culture of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, worked at the Folklore Department of the Kiev Conservatory and directed the Folk Music Section of the Institute of Literature's Department of Jewish Culture under the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In 1944 he defended his *kandidat* dissertation, *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music*, which was the result of a twenty year long project collecting and recording klezmer (Jewish instrumental folk music) alongside historical and analytical commentary. In 1946 Beregovskii turned to the study of the semantic meaning of the Jewish altered Dorian mode; this work remained unpublished until 1973.

---

[16] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 169.

[17] Izaly Zetsovsky, "Foreword, the Encyclopedist of Jewish Folklore" in *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music*, translated and edited by Mark Slobin, Robert A. Rothstein and Michael Alpert (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), ix.

Although his work is comparable in size and scope with that of ethnomusicologists Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály and Abraham Idelsohn, also known for their fieldwork in collecting, transcribing and recording folksongs, Beregovskii "is a major but forgotten ethnomusicologist of Eastern Europe."[18] The reason for this can be pinned on the cultural climate in which Beregovskii lived and worked. Beregovskii's work came to fruition in the 1940s, at the same time as the Holocaust as well as Stalin's cultural crackdown of *Zhdanovshchina* and the anti-Semitic campaign. From 1948-51, as Braun points out, Beregovskii "witnessed the total destruction of Jewish culture in the USSR and the ruin of his work."[19] He was then denounced as a "rootless cosmopolitan", arrested, and sent to the gulags from 1951 to 1955, when he was released for medical reasons. Beregovskaya claims that Shostakovich appeared at a Soviet tribunal for Beregovskii's release. According to Braun, although Beregovskii took measures to preserve his work after his imprisonment, much of it remained unpublished until years after his death – if it survived at all.

Beregovskii's scholarship on the Jewish altered modes remains at the fore of Soviet Jewish ethnomusicology; in this work he defined the intervallic elements of the Jewish modes and provided examples of each mode in traditional folk music. In particular, his essay "The Altered Dorian Scale in Jewish Folk Music (On the Question of the Semantic Characteristics of Scales)" identified the expressive characteristics of the Jewish altered Dorian scale (also known as the Ukrainian Dorian or *Mi sheberakh*) when combined with a dance rhythm. This work revealed Beregovskii's "special interest in the ethos of Jewish

---

[18] Mark Slobin, *Old Jewish Folk Music: The Collections of Writings of Moshe Beregovski* (Philadelphia, 1982), 2. Interestingly, Beregovskii rejected Bartók's work, and ethnomusicologists whose folk song collection he viewed as merely a 'hunt for raw material', when he believed this type of fieldwork should be context sensitive.

[19] Joachim Braun, "The Unpublished Volumes of Moshe Beregovski's Jewish Musical Folklore" in *Israel Studies in Musicology* (1987), 126. Here Braun reveals that Beregovskii's collection of Jewish musical folklore vanished and has never been recovered.

modes, [which] probably echoes his experience with Yavorsky," who developed the concept of modal "intonation."[20]

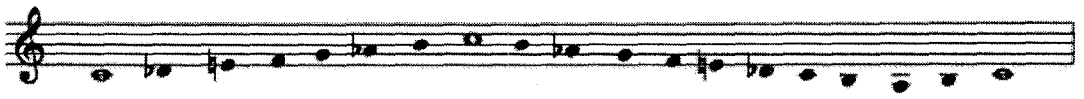
As Beregovskii reveals in his scholarship, the Jewish altered modes have much in common with contemporary scales, and even share tonic bases of major and minor triads. He also reveals that the altered Dorian was not necessarily unique to Jewish music, as it appears frequently in Moldavian, Rumanian and especially Ukrainian folk music, but states that it "is found in all the basic genres of Jewish folk music."[21] What makes this particular variation of the altered Dorian "Jewish" is a combination of both the mode's intervallic content and the drone accompaniment. The scale has a tonic basis of a minor triad (C-Eflat-G), with a raised fourth, a major sixth and a minor seventh. It also has an interval of an augmented second between the third and fourth scale degrees. In addition, the F# and F-natural often alternate in a single melody, naturalized in calmer sections of the melodic line, and raised to an F# for increased tension (Example 4.1). Another common characteristic to this altered Dorian mode is the tonic drone accompaniment, a device that heightens the emotional tension.[22]

Example 4.1: Jewish altered Dorian scale

[20] Ibid., 125.
[21] Beregovskii, "The Altered Dorian Scale," 551-9.
[22] Ibid., 551-2.

Beregovskii's also discusses the *freigish* or altered Phrygian mode (Example 4.2) in his work. The altered Phrygian is based on major triad (C-E-G), with a lowered second and sixth scale degree. The interval of an augmented second occurs between the second and third scale degrees in this mode. An augmented second interval also occurs between the sixth and seventh degrees of the mode (an observation not mentioned in Beregovskii's article). The placement of these two augmented intervals create a symmetrical scalar pattern. According to Beregovskii, this mode does not relate to the natural minor, as the altered Dorian does, and its tension resides only in the lower tetrachord. He states, "not only does the lower pentachord [of the altered Dorian] have a tense melodic line, but the upper tetrachord is tense due to the major sixth above the tonic, which sounds like, or implies, a drone."[23] The augmented second, in both altered modes, has become a common characteristic of "Jewish" sound, especially when accompanied by a real or implied tonic drone pedal.[24] Regardless of the extreme importance of Beregovskii's work, it remained largely unacknowledged until the 1970s in the work of Soviet Jewish music specialist, Joachim Braun.

Example 4.2: Jewish altered Phrygian scale



Many scholars have suggested that Shostakovich and Beregovskii's paths may have crossed during the 1940s, but the level of Shostakovich's involvement in Beregovskii's studies and knowledge of his work remains unknown. According to Rafiil Khozak,

[23] Ibid., 565.

[24] See Taruskin, *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue*, 328-95; McCreless, "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets," 13-5.

Shostakovich was nominated as an examiner of Beregovskii's 1944 dissertation, but this cannot be confirmed.[25] Of course, it is altogether possible that Shostakovich may have taken part in or attended this defense, or read and was influenced by Beregovskii's work, including Beregovskii's 1946 work on the Jewish altered Dorian modes. Furthermore, Beregovskii's daughter, Eda Beregovskaya claimed that Shostakovich wrote Beregovskii requesting advice on musical matters.[26] The letters in Beregovskaya's monograph on her father's life and work, however, discuss Beregovskii's concerns about his work being published and the payment for these publications and reveal no hint of musical matters.[27]

Joachim Braun: Shostakovich's "Jewish" Musical Language

Soviet Jewish musicologist, Joachim Braun, has written extensively on the history of Jewish musicians and composers in the Soviet Union, as well as the Jewish idiom in Soviet musical culture; but it is his work on Shostakovich's Jewish musical language that has been the most influential in the past thirty years. In 1985, Braun turned to the characteristics of the "Jewish" folk idiom unique to Shostakovich's music, and he discussed its meaning and the individual elements drawn on by the composer. As Braun states, in Shostakovich's "Jewish" music,

> the more hidden the meaning, the stronger is the ethnic coloring of the music, and the more intense is the Jewish musical idiom. Conversely, the more open and direct the meaning, the less Jewish is the music, and the more doubtful is its ethnic provenance.[28]

---

[25] Judith Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue," 81-82.

[26] Translated in Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 81-3; originally in Eda Beregovskaya, *Arfi na verbakh* (Moskva: Evreiskii universitet v Moskva, 1994), pp. 13-14, 17-18, 140. In Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 234, Khozak states that Shostakovich hid Beregovskii in 1948 while he was on the run from Soviet officials, however, this also remains to be proven and Beregovskaya makes no reference of it in her father's memoirs.

[27] Beregovskaya, *Arfi na verbakh*, pp. 140-1.

[28] Braun, "The Double Meaning", 76.

Thus, works such as the song cycle, *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79 and finale of the Fourth String Quartet, with a strong ethnic coloring of the Jewish folk idiom, would have a more hidden meaning than the "Babi Yar" setting in Symphony No. 13, which does not draw on the Jewish folk idiom in musical language (here, the Jewish idiom occurs only in the subject matter of the text).

Braun provided the first concise definition of what constitutes a "Jewish" element in Shostakovich's music.[29] These elements fall into four categories: first, the subject is defined as Jewish by the composer or author of a used text (for example, the text of *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79 and the first movement of *Symphony no. 13*, op. 113, the poem "Babi Yar" by Yevgeni Yevtushenko); second, the text is taken from Jewish folk poetry (for example, the poems in the song cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79(a)); third, the melos is based on the transformation of well-known secular or liturgical melodies; and fourth, the musical idiom, which shows modal, metro-rhythmical, and structural affiliation to East European Jewish folk music.

The musical idioms fall into both harmonic and rhythmic classifications. Here, Braun outlines a musical idiom that had been forgotten in Soviet musicological literature until this point, the Jewish altered Phrygian and Dorian modes identified in the work of Beregovskii. Braun further develops this list, however, with the addition of three more criteria of "Jewishness" in Shostakovich's instrumental music[30]:

---

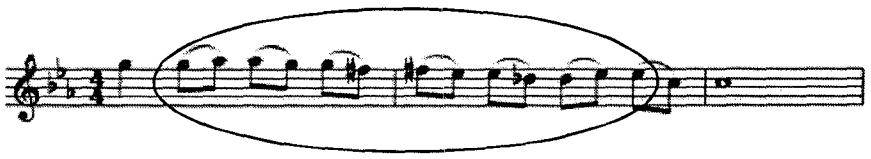
[29] Braun has worked extensively on recovering the work of Beregovskii, citing his importance in Soviet Jewish music history in his book *Jews and Jewish Elements in Soviet Music: A Study of a Socio-National Problem in Music* and in his essay devoted solely to Beregovskii's life and work in "The Unpublished Volumes of Moshe Beregovski's Jewish Musical Folklore".

[30] This list of "Jewish" elements in Shostakovich's music is taken from Braun, "The Double Meaning", 69-72.

1. Speech-like declamation of singing, as heard in *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79.

2. Descending Iambic Primes, a term introduced to Braun through Dolzhanskii's scholarship, is a melodic device where pitches change on weak beats and are then repeated on strong beats (Example 4.3).

Example 4.3: Iambic Prime in the "Lullaby" of From Jewish Folk Poetry, Op. 79



3. Klezmer "Um-pa" accompaniment: a dance-like rhythmic device where the accompaniment occurs over a pedal harmony (often creating a bi-tonal effect). Sheinberg has noted that in traditional klezmer, the "dance accompaniment is euphoric by nature."[31]

Braun's extensive scholarship has advanced study of not only Soviet Jewish music history and Beregovskii's work, but has also defined Shostakovich's Jewish musical language. His scholarship has become the very foundation of research and analysis in this area.

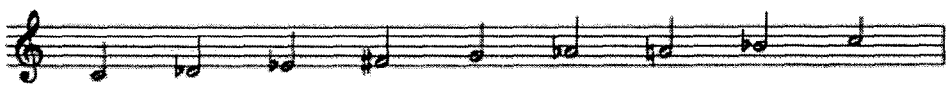
As mentioned earlier, the way in which Shostakovich created a "Jewish sound" did not always occur through the use of genuinely "Jewish" musical idioms, but through a stylization of our cultural perceptions of a "Jewish" *sound.*[32] Braun first observed this stylization in 1985; yet it is in the scholarship of Taruskin and Sheinberg that we find two elements that Shostakovich drew on to create his "Jewish" *sound.* Shostakovich achieved this sound through two devices: (1) the emphasis on the interval of an augmented second and (2) by creating his own modes based on the Jewish altered modes. Richard Taruskin discussed the importance of the augmented second in Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an*

[31] Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music,'" 94.
[32] Ibid., 97.

Exhibition, where the composer uses the interval as a negative portrayal of Jews.[33] Patrick McCreless' analysis of Shostakovich's "Jewish" music has also revealed the importance of the augmented second in establishing a "Jewish" character or *sound.*[34] Interestingly, Shostakovich also retains the augmented second in his fused modes.

Shostakovich fused the Jewish altered modes in a way that retained the lowered inflection, as well as the augmented second interval. The fused altered mode retains the lowered pitches from both the Dorian and Phrygian modes (Dflat, Eflat, Aflat and Bflat) as well as the F#, which creates an interval of an augmented second between the third and fourth scale degrees. In addition, the sixth scale degree (in this case, Aflat) can be raised to a natural pitch in a melody, establishing the ambiguous nature of the mode through chromaticism (Example 4.4). The mode also appears as a series of six pitches, known as an "Alexandrian Pentachord" (named after its creator, Aleksandr Dolzhanskii), which reduces the range, but retains the modal colouring of the altered Jewish modes.[35] In the previous fused mode Shostakovich doubles the sixth degree, but in the Alexandrian Pentachord the third degree is split. Here too, however, he retains both the flat and naturalized third degree (Example 4.5).

Example 4.4: Fusion of Dorian and Phrygian Modes



[33] Taruskin, *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue*, 328-95
[34] McCreless, "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets," 13-5.
[35] See Appendix B of this thesis for an explanation of the "Alexandrian Pentachord".

Example 4.5: Alexandrian Pentachord 6 – III

One might also compare these two fused modes (especially the Alexandrian Pentachord) with the octatonic scale, which alternates between semi-tone and tone. What differentiates the fused mode from the octatonic collection, however, is the presence of the augmented second between the third and fourth scale degrees – the element that establishes the "Jewish" sound. The use of the flattened and naturalized A in the fused mode and E in the Alexandrian Pentachord are also distinct markers of their formation. This chromatic "splitting" or alteration is a common melodic feature of Shostakovich's music, as he often alternated between naturalized and flattened pitches in one melodic line.[36] In addition, both of these modes are minor in quality (both have a tonic C minor basis) but with additional lowered pitches, naturalized and sharpened pitches. This type of chromatic language is reminiscent of Dolzhanskii's statement about Shostakovich's modal language and created tonal ambiguity.

[36] See Appendix B of this thesis for Dolzhanskii's explanation of chromatic "splitting".

Ambiguities of the Jewish Idiom: 'Laughter Through Tears'

The "Jewish" idiom afforded Shostakovich multiple possibilities for achieving an ambiguous character in his music through a combination of jovial and sorrowful musical elements. The minor and augmented second intervals of the lowered altered modes create an undeniable sense of harmonic tension that Shostakovich turned to often in his music. In his "Jewish" music, this tension finds ironic resolve in the gaiety of the Jewish Hasidic dance-like figurations, the use of the "um-pa" beat and even the modal inflicted iambic primas. Shostakovich establishes ambiguity in his "Jewish" music through the fusion of harmonic tension and the jovial dance, a combination of what Sheinberg has called the contradiction of "dysphoric and euphoric elements."[37]

Shostakovich's "natural gravitation towards modes with flattened scale degrees" appears to have come from a desire to express emotion and evoke dual or opposing meanings in his music. Many scholars have noted the relationship between lowered scale degrees and emotional tension in Shostakovich's music; Dolzhanskii, for example, believed these modes carry significance for the "possibilities of a great tragic tension."[38] Fay has also observed that the ambiguities of the lowered altered Jewish modes enabled Shostakovich to "project radically different emotions simultaneously."[39] The combination of the dysphoric nature of the lowered altered Jewish modes and the euphoria of a Jewish Hasidic dance create emotional ambiguity. Sheinberg discusses ambiguity in Shostakovich's music as a concept, one that she relates to Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of the carnival and unfinalizability. Sheinberg defines Bakhtin's theory as "an artificial unit that professes an infinite number of

---

[37] Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music,'" 95.

[38] Translated in Ellon D. Carpenter, "The Theory of Music in Russia and the Soviet Union, ca. 1650-1950," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988): 1407.

[39] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 169.

meanings. Such a unit correlates with and reflects the human condition, with its characteristic unresolvable mixture of contradictory meanings."[40] It seems that Shostakovich found this mixture very characteristic of contradictory meaning in the Jewish idiom:

> It seems I comprehend what distinguishes the Jewish melos. A cheerful melody is built here on sad intonations.... The 'people' are like a single person.... Why does he sing a cheerful song? Because he is sad at heart.[41]

This idea as presented by Shostakovich reveals the duality of the Jewish idiom as complex combination of contradictory elements. The compositional concept of composing a cheerful melody on sad intonations (or euphoria through modal dysphoria) is one that the composer, and Soviet Russian scholars call "laughter through tears".

Beregovskii's work on the altered Dorian mode has been crucial to understanding its meaning and expressive possibilities, or its modal "intonation". As Mark Slobin observes, Beregovskii envisioned the realization of individual expression in the folk musical process as an interaction of several forces. Here Slobin cites Victor Erlich's scholarship on Roman Jakobson's basic literary stance as "a conception of the literary process as a dialectical tension between the esthetic form, creative personality, and social milieu."[42] In his 1946 essay, Beregovskii discusses the use of the altered Dorian mode in a *frejlaxs*, which he defines as a "work of jolly character...found only in doinas and *taksims*[43], that is, in works meant for hearing."[44] The *frejlaxs* are rarely performed for dance, despite their "jolly character." The *frejlaxs* are dance numbers that follow a doina or taksim lament.

---

[40] Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music,'" 94.

[41] Fay, *Shostakovich, A Life*, 169.

[42] Mark Slobin, "A Fresh Look at Beregovski's Folk Music Research" in *Ethnomusicology* 30/2 (Spring-Summer, 1986): 256; originally in Victor Erlich, *Russian Formalism*, 3rd Edition (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), 208.

[43] A "doina" is a traditional Romanian and Moldavian lament on subjects of love and nature.

[44] Beregovskii, "Altered Dorian Scale," 559.

Beregovskii describes the *frejlaxs'* character as "laughter through tears."[45] He states:

> The deep sorrow brought on by the first part of the doina is somewhat cleared up. The heaviness, which weighs upon the soul, is somewhat dispersed, but the tears evoked by the narration about what has been endured have not yet dried up; we feel their aftertaste even in the *frejlaxs*. We can sense - as we perceive it - a distinct irony. The irony is directed not to the events described by at itself, at its readiness to make a transition to a lighter mood, to take part in merriment after we were so deeply moved by hearing the tale of some deep sorrow.[46]

The special meaning that Beregovskii ascribed to the altered Dorian mode has since become a standard manner by which scholars discuss the semantic characteristics of the modal colouring and the opposition of the dysphoria of modal 'intonation' and melody, and the euphoria of the dance-like rhythm.

The duality found in the relationship between a cheerful melody and the Jewish folk idiom was an important aspect of establishing musical meaning and emotional tension. Such an idea is expressed by Shostakovich in the following passage from *Testimony*:

> I think, if we speak of musical impressions, that Jewish folk music has made the most powerful impression on me. I never tire of delighting in it; it is multifaceted, it can appear to be happy while it is tragic. It is almost always laughter through tears.
>
> This quality of Jewish folk music is close to my idea of what music should be. There should always be two layers in music. Jews were tormented for so long that they learned to hide their despair. They express despair in dance music ... I can say that Jewish folk music is unique. ... This is not a purely musical issue, this is also a moral issue.[47]

Thus, the modal *intonatsia* or "intonation", the musical meaning associated with the altered Jewish modes, carried a special significance for Shostakovich, one that enabled him to express a multitude of emotions simultaneously. In his chamber and solo instrumental

[45] Ibid., 559.
[46] Ibid., 559.
[47] Volkov, *Testimony*, 118.

Jewish works, textless works, Shostakovich worked through inner conflict by drawing out the dysphoric and euphoric elements of the Jewish folk idiom.

Summary

In this chapter I have defined what constitutes a "Jewish" element in Shostakovich's music. Through an examination of scholarship by Moshe Beregovskii, Joachim Braun, Richard Taruskin, Patrick McCreless, Esti Sheinberg and Aleksandr Dolzhanskii, I culled a list of the harmonic and rhythmic devices Shostakovich used in establishing his unique Jewish *sound.* This list includes the two Jewish altered modes (the Dorian and Phrygian) and drone pedals, the rhythmic devices of the Iambic Primas and the "Um-pa" bass, the emphasis on the augmented second interval, and the fused Jewish modal constructions. And finally, I discussed the ambiguous character of these elements when combined in Shostakovich's music. This combination of modal dysphoria and rhythmic euphoria establishes an opposition that Shostakovich often desired in his music. In the following chapter I will analyse how Shostakovich drew on these Jewish elements in his Fourth String Quartet and how the modal and rhythmic elements create this oppositional musical tension.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS: ASPECTS OF "JEWISHNESS" IN *STRING QUARTET NO. 4*, OP. 83

> In basic character, [the finale of the Fourth Quartet] is related to the finale of the Trio and the vocal cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry*. And here also, the dance is not filled with gaiety. Laughter through tears is also sensed in it. The melodies carry the traces of a never-to-be-forgotten grief. Suffering, plaintiveness, hope and comfort are combined, inseparable from one another.[1]
>
> - Aleksandr Dolzhanskii on the character of *String Quartet No. 4*

This chapter presents an analysis of the Jewish elements in Shostakovich's Fourth String Quartet. First, I will discuss Shostakovich's contribution to the genre of string quartets. Secondly, I will present a formal and harmonic analysis of each movement and examine the Jewish idiom throughout the quartet. I will also discuss the motives used to link the movements together, especially the "Chorale" motive, which functions as both a formal marker and a method of linking the movements together. For each movement I have provided a chart that outlines both the formal and harmonic structures. These charts also reveal details regarding the Jewish folk idiom and motivic connections between each movement, and function as a summary of the analysis, as the information provided in each will be discussed in the accompanying analyses.[2]

The analysis in this chapter will discuss Shostakovich's individual Jewish musical language in the Fourth String Quartet. In particular, I will reveal how Shostakovich draws on

---

[1] Translated in Judith Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 276.

[2] All score excerpts in this chapter are reproduced from the DSCH Publisher's score with permission of the heirs of D.D. Shostakovich. Dmitri Shostakovich, *String Quartet No. 4, For Two Violins, Viola and Violoncello* (Moscow, Russia: DSCH Publishers, 2001).

aspects of the Jewish musical idiom throughout the Fourth String Quartet, as a method of gradually introducing his audience to the idiom before the Hasidic dance of the finale. The analysis focuses specifically on the use of the idiom in the finale, as it is the only movement with a predominantly "Jewish" sound. In this movement, Shostakovich contrasts a dance-like figuration with flattened modal and minor tonalities, as a way of creating multiple and contradicting messages. Through the clash of these rhythmic and harmonic elements Shostakovich establishes a personal musical language that allows him to explore not only his personal thoughts, but also reflect on the tragedies of living under Soviet rule. This analysis will contribute to the growing scholarship concerning the social value of Shostakovich's music.

Shostakovich and the String Quartet

Like the Jewish folk idiom, the string quartet also held an ambiguous place in Soviet music society: composers and performers accepted and delighted in it, yet the Union of Soviet Composers discouraged composition in the genre. Many composers turned to the genre as a locus for compositional inspiration and innovation, including Stravinsky, Prokofiev, and Shostakovich. In fact, Shostakovich remains one of the only Soviet composers of his generation to concentrate so passionately on the genre of the string quartet; his 15 quartets have been compared to the canon of his predecessor, Beethoven.[3] He has also joined the distinguished list of twentieth-century composers, such as Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, and Bartók, who viewed the quartet as a cutting-edge genre.[4] The Union of Soviet Composers, however, disapproved of the composition of string quartets; they believed the

[3] Shostakovich's colleagues, Nikolai Miaskovsky and Moisey Weinberg wrote 13 and 17 quartets (respectively), however, their compositions did not receive as much attention as Shostakovich's 15 quartets.

[4] McCreless, "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets," 3.

genre to be "individualist" and "elitist" in nature. After the 1948 denunciation, the Union omitted the string quartet from the list of acceptable genres of Socialist Realist music. Despite the objection to the genre, many composers continued to turn to the string quartet for musical expression.

According to Kenneth Gloag, "many twentieth-century composers from many different cultural backgrounds and stylistic positions looked to the genre [of string quartets] as a context suitable for their most intimate thoughts."[5] Gloag attributes this personal, intimate characteristic of the quartet to the genre's conduciveness to experimentation, formal innovation and re-engagement with tradition. These characteristics allowed composers a medium for expression through the dichotomous opposition of innovation and tradition. For Shostakovich the string quartet assumed all of these characteristics; he followed in the tradition of his Classical predecessors, especially Beethoven, but expanded its formal capabilities through either the addition of movements (over and above the traditional four) or seamlessly linking movements together.[6] Themes and motives introduced at the beginning of a string quartet often returned or were alluded to in final movements, and self-quotation became an important tool for Shostakovich as he strove for a genre in which he could explore his most intimate thoughts. Moreover, the genre afforded the composer a venue for complex melodic writing, not only allowing for dialogue between the instruments, but also "[loading] the music with signifiers that beg for interpretation beyond the notes themselves."[7] In 1949, after a year of vilification and scathing criticism, Shostakovich turned to the genre,

---

[5] Kenneth Gloag, "The String Quartet in the Twentieth Century" in *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet"*, edited by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 288.

[6] While Shostakovich's First String Quartet consisted of four traditional movements, this tradition slowly disappeared and movements were often linked together. In both the Third and Fourth Quartets the final two movements are linked together. While in the Fifth, Seventh Eighth, Eleventh and Fifteenth String Quartet all movements were interlinked.

[7] Here McCreless ("Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets", 4) is citing Taruskin, "When Serious Music Mattered," 368–70.

and composed a four-movement quartet. The composer drew on the Jewish folk idiom to create an intimate and personal dialogue through the interplay of opposing elements.

***String Quartet no. 4*, op. 83**

Shostakovich pushed the formal and harmonic boundaries in his Fourth String Quartet. As many scholars have observed, Victor Bobrovsky, Judith Kuhn and Patrick McCreless included, the quartet is off-balance, or deformed. It begins with a brief, almost introductory, first movement and ends with a longer finale more than twice the length of the first movement. Bobrovsky called the quartet 'deformed' precisely because of the heavy weight accorded to the finale.[8] In addition, formal structures are often hidden because of elided cadences; movements appear either truncated (or as though Shostakovich omitted formal sections) or "through-composed". For example, in the first movement, Shostakovich reaches the development section prematurely in the "exposition", and develops theme A before even introducing theme B. The second movement is based mainly on one expanded and developed theme, indeed making it difficult to discern the formal structure. Shostakovich then links the third and fourth movements with new material that, interestingly, returns throughout the final movement. In addition to his formal innovations, Shostakovich pushes tonal boundaries in the quartet. The quartet shifts from one tonal centre to another chromatically making it difficult to discern individual keys and, by extension the formal structure. Although many of the formal sections begin in a major or minor key area, he quickly lowers pitches to create a more modal harmonic colouring.

Throughout the quartet Shostakovich heightens tension by contrasting elements of the Jewish folk idiom. In the first three movements, this harmonic or rhythmic clash is

[8] Translated in Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 281.

subtle; he uses a drone pedal in the first movement, the iambic primes in the second movement, and an "um-pa" beat bass line in the rondo. In each movement, the Jewish idiom creates a subtle tension, and begins establishing a "Jewish" sound in the quartet. In the finale, he emphasizes the opposition of rhythmic and harmonic characteristics of the Jewish folk idiom. He combines dissonant intervals and lowered altered modes in Hasidic dance-like structures in a manner that draws out more tension. This fusion of "sad" or dissonant harmonies with the merriment of the dance structure creates a clash of contradictory themes and elements.

The formal anomalies and harmonic ambiguity in the Fourth String Quartet coupled with the overriding sense of "Jewishness" in the Fourth String Quartet, results in a personal and almost tragic expressivity. In his analysis of the quartet, Bobrovsky noted the expressivity and lyricism in the quartet's final three movements, as the centre of gravity shifted from the first movement to the fourth. He stressed the quartet's "embodiment of subtle nuances in the activity of a person's inner world."[9] In 1965 Dolzhanskii claimed that he read the fourth quartet as a comment on the Holocaust or other anti-Semitic experiences. He related the work to the finale of Piano Trio No. 2, and *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79 song cycle, both of which have been read as the composer's reaction to the unjust treatment of Jews during and after WWII. The Jewish dance of the fourth movement, according to Dolzhanskii,

> [i]s not filled with gaiety. Laughter through tears is...sensed in it. The melodies carry the traces of a never-to-be-forgotten grief. Suffering, plaintiveness, hope and comfort are combined, inseparable from one another.[10]

---

[9] Viktor Bobrovsky, "Kamernye instrumental'nyet ansambli Shostakovicha," [The Chamber Instrumental Ensembles of Shostakovich] *Sovetskiye Kompozitor* (1961): 137.

[10] Translated in Judith Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 276.

What is it about the music that creates this "suffering", on the one hand, and "hope and "comfort" on the other? What makes this composition sound "Jewish"? And how do the "non-Jewish" movements relate to the "Jewish" finale? This chapter seeks to answer these questions first, through formal and harmonic analysis of each movement, including an examination of the aspects of "Jewishness" in the finale, and second, through an analysis of the motives that link each movement. This analysis will reveal the contrast between the intimate lyricism of the first and second movements with the "gaiety" of the Jewish dance in the fourth as an expression of the grief ("laughter through tears") that Dolzhanskii identifies in his assessment of the quartet.

Movement I: Allegretto

The Fourth String Quartet opens with a brief, almost introductory, movement with a deformed formal structure. As Patrick McCreless observes, in this quartet Shostakovich breaks with his tradition of beginning with a sonata movement: instead he presents only what could be called an exposition and recapitulation.[11] Judith Kuhn has also noted the movement's lack of development, but has suggested that instead of reading the movement as an exposition and recapitulation without a development, one might view the movement as a "deforming expositional crisis, which constrains the development."[12] Rather than label the movement as a sonata without a development section, however, one might consider the movement's formal structure as a simple binary structure (A-B) with a Coda. Figure 5-1 reveals the formal and harmonic structures of the first movement. It also provides a map of the Jewish elements and "Chorale" motive that will be discussed in the following analysis.

---

[11] McCreless, "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets," 12.
[12] Judith Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 282.

Although Shostakovich does indeed present two themes, they are (1) off-balance and (2) not developed in the manner of a true sonata form. In the "exposition" section of this movement, Shostakovich develops the Theme A before the introduction of Theme B. Thus, the movement's formal crisis resolves by the transition to Theme B, and there seems to be almost no need for a traditional development section. In the restatement of these themes, "the recapitulation", Themes A and B are roughly the same length (29 and 28 measures respectively) and are followed by a Coda.[13] Even though the movement's formal crisis is resolved in the "exposition", however, a sense of internal crisis remains throughout the movement, due to a lack of clear cadence points and tension in the harmonic structure.

The first movement begins in the key of D major, but by the third measure Shostakovich begins naturalizing the two sharp pitches and the key area becomes ambiguous. He continually flattens pitches throughout the first theme, a technique that allows for the seamless transition between tonal areas, tonal ambiguity and harmonic tension. The first theme shifts seamlessly between D major and minor for the first 64 bars over a tonic D pedal. The 64-measure pedal point results in a sense of harmonic stagnation, or lack of harmonic movement, in the first theme, and heightens the internal crisis of the movement. Harmonic relief occurs with the transition to the second theme in B minor. This new theme is brief, less than half the length of Theme A (64 mm. to 24 mm.), and because of the lack of strong cadence points seems to flow straight from the development of the previous thematic material. Theme B is followed immediately by a two-measure false recapitulation of the first theme beginning with an alternating E-F-E gesture (instead of D-E-D), but the theme quickly settles back to the ambiguous D major/minor key. This time,

[13] In the "exposition" Theme A is 64 measures in length (including its developmental expansion) and Theme B is 24 measures.

however, Theme A occurs over an E drone and emphasizes the dominant rather than the tonic of the key area. After the recapitulation of Theme A minus its development from the "exposition", the quartet shifts into a "Chorale" motive at R. 13 in "E" (Ex. 5.21). This motive provides resolution after the dissonant E pedal, as the quartet transitions to Theme B stated in the parallel minor of the key in which the movement began. They tonal area of D minor remains the dominant tonal area throughout the rest of the quartet: Theme B is restated in D minor, as is the Coda. In the final measures of the Coda, however, Shostakovich quickly shifts back to the parallel major, ending in the home key of D major.

The movement begins with a dialogue between the first and second violins, moving in parallel motion over a D drone in the viola and cello. The first violin plays the principal theme, which is based on its opening D-E-D motive, while the second violin doubles it with its own thematic material that moves in parallel motion (Ex. 5.1).[14] These two melodies, although quite distinct in their nature, function as a unit that moves in parallel melodic fourths. As both McCreless and Kuhn have observed, Shostakovich used parallel fourths as a melodic device in the second song, "The Thoughtful Mother and Aunt" of the *From Jewish Folk Poetry* song cycle (Ex. 5.2).[15] Although not technically "Jewish" in nature, the relationship between the parallel melodic fourths in the Jewish folk poem and the opening movement of the quartet is striking similar and reveals a possible link between his Jewish works.

---

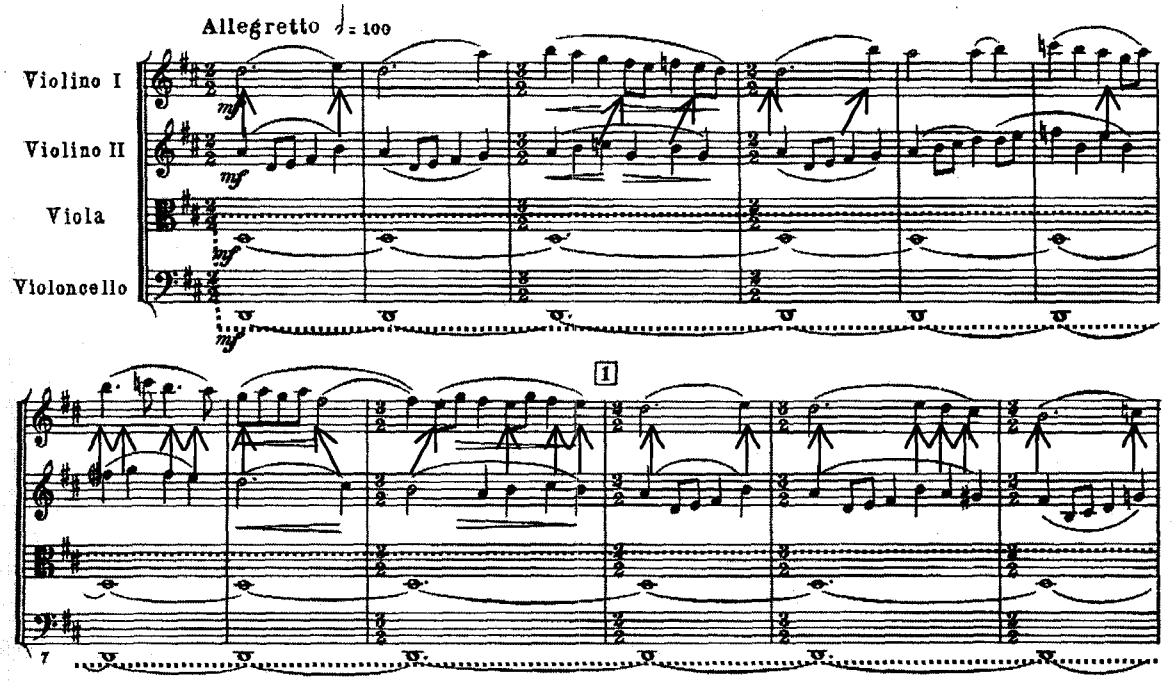
[14] Throughout this chapter the dotted line (·····) will outline a drone pedal.

[15] Throughout this chapter parallel melodic fourths will be indicated by an arrow (→) and the solid line (———) will outline iambic primes. Judith Kuhn discussed the parallel fourths in her dissertation "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 284; McCreless revealed the relationship to the Jewish songs in "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets", 14.

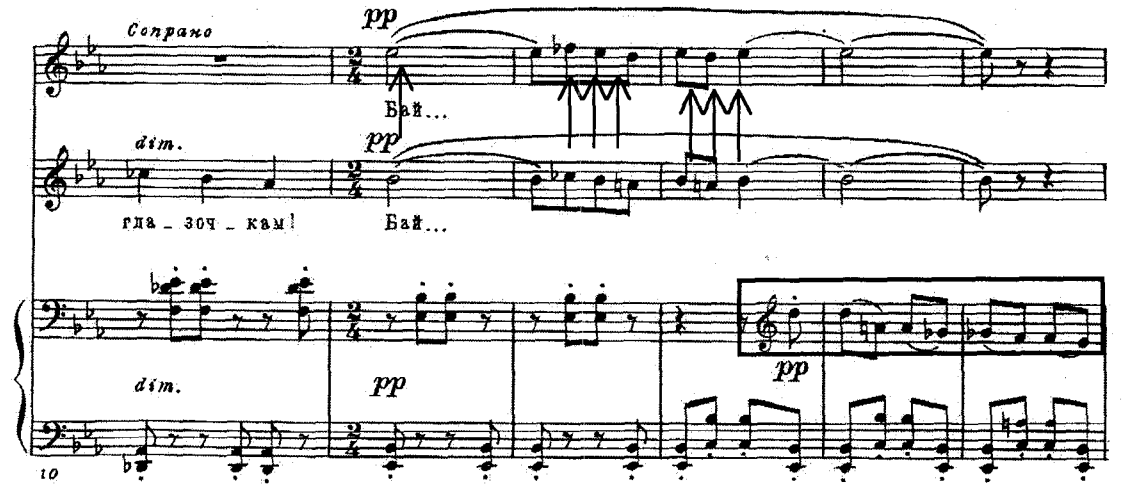
Figure 5-1: Movement 1, Allegretto (Binary form in D major/minor)

	A: mm. 1-88		B: mm. 89-151			Coda: mm. 152-164
Theme:	A	B	A^1	"Chorale"	B^1	"A"-like material fragmented
Rehearsal:	1-7	8-9	10-12	13	13^{+5}-15	16
Tonal Areas:	D major over D tonic pedal	(transitioning to) B minor	"D" (minor) over E pedal	"E"	D minor	D minor over D pedal, ends in D+
				* Full statement of "DSCH" in transposition	Emphasis on E ♭ - D in bass line throughout this section	
Jewish Elements:	* Theme A developed R. 3 to 8 over a tonic D pedal *Parallel fourths, as used in *From Jewish Folk Poetry.*		* Dissonant "E" pedal			* D tonic pedal

Example 5.1: First Movement: Theme A



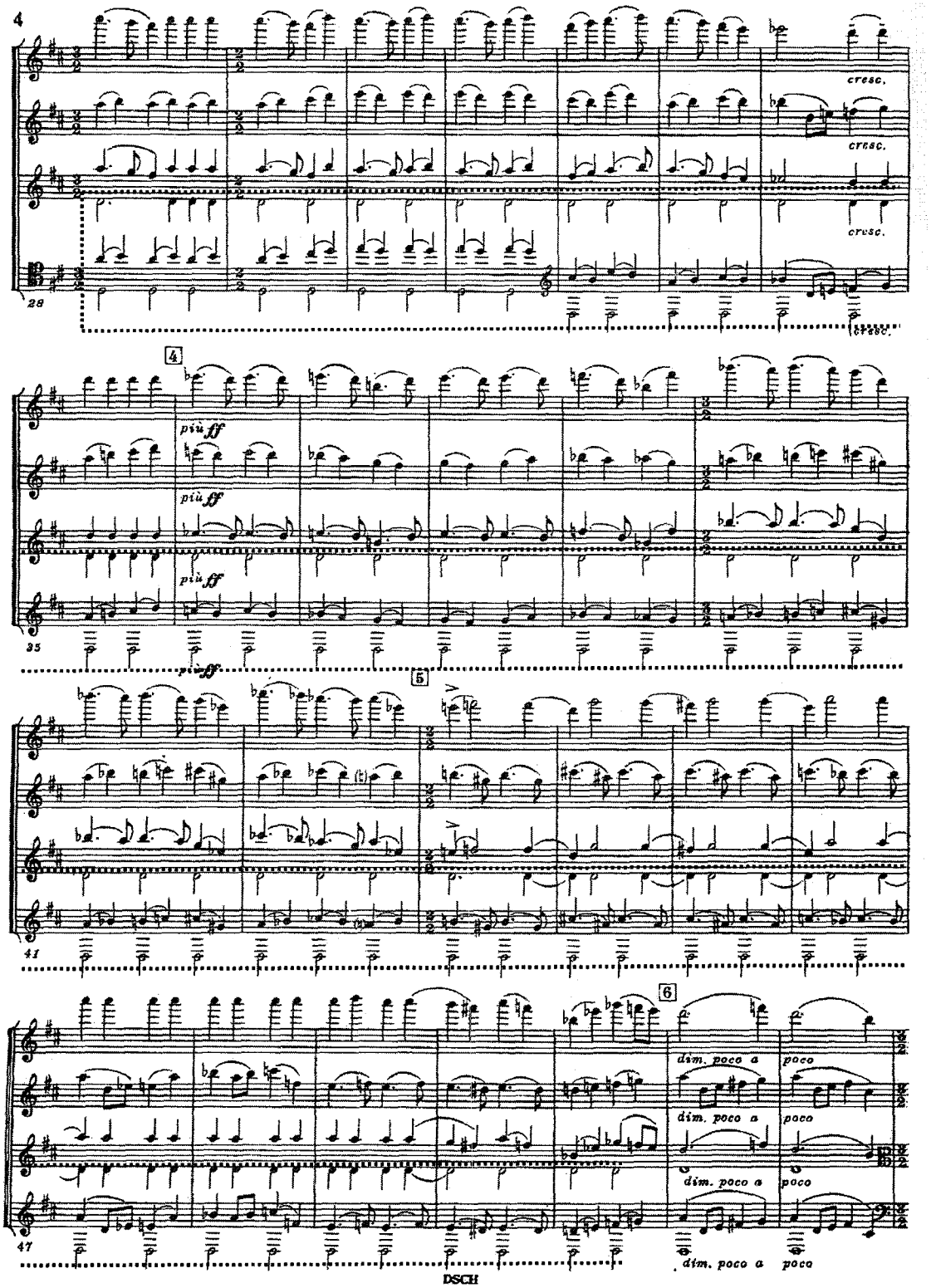
Example 5.2: "Thoughtful Mother and Aunt" (mm. 19-22), *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79[16]



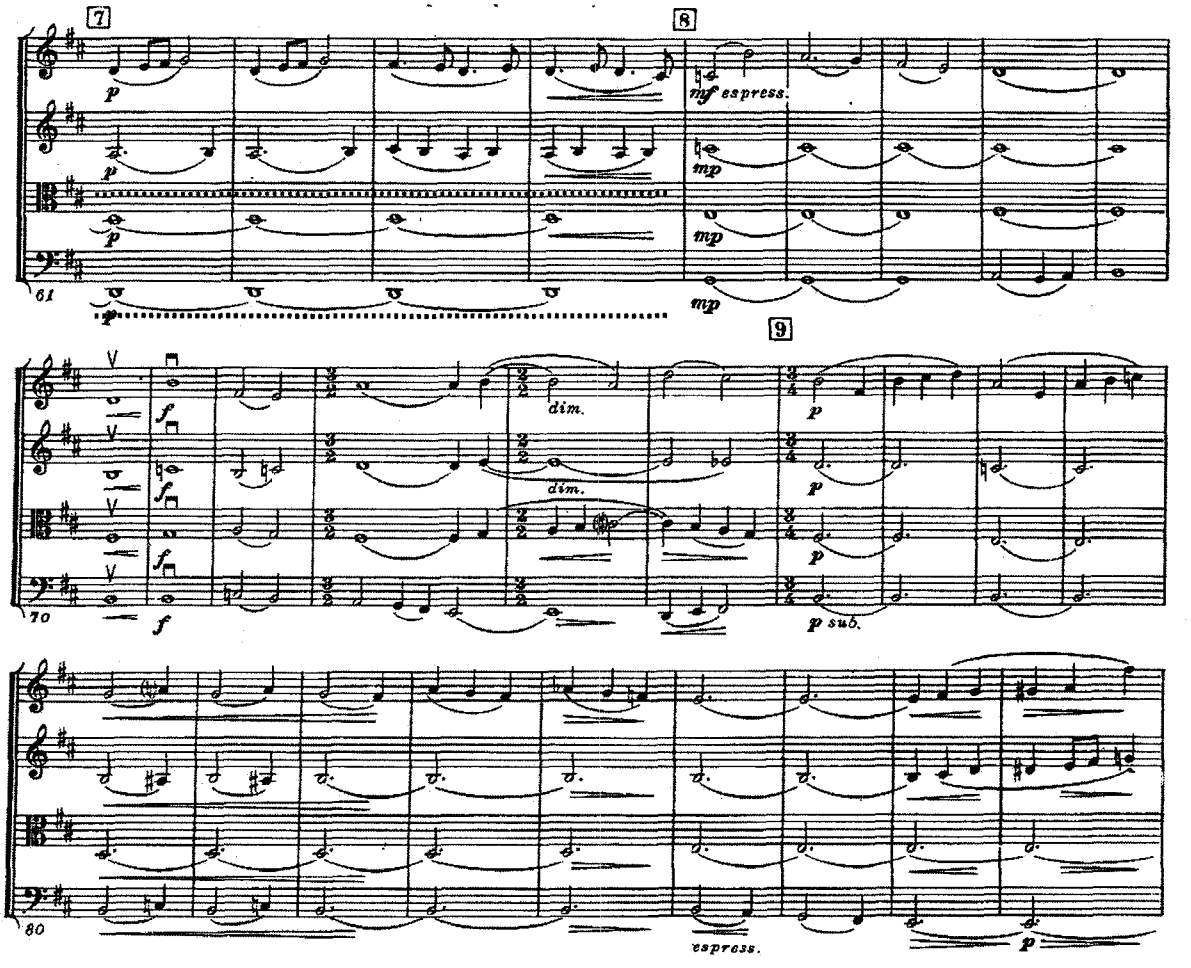
[16] Shostakovich, "Zabotlivye mama i tetya" ["Thoughtful Mother and Aunt"], *Iz Yevreiskii narodnoi i pesni*, op. 79" in *Sobraniye Sochineni: D. Shostakovicha*, vol. 31 (Moskva, Rossia: Muzyka, 1980), 69.

The instrumental dialogue continues throughout the first theme and its development. In fact, in its development section (R. 3 to R. 6) all four instruments participate in the dialogue: the viola doubles the first violin and the cello doubles the second violin (Ex. 5.3). Despite the doubling in this passage, the thirty-measure section feels unstable due to the constant shifting in the harmonic structure and the extreme registral differences. As the viola and cello continue to hold the D drone, the two violins become harsh and dissonant in their shrillingly high register, and create a sense of internal crisis. After this development section following Theme A the sense of crisis appears to have vanished. Theme B (Ex. 5.4) and the recapitulation of these two first themes establish a more somber tone, a sense of calm after the storm through minor key areas and intervals, as well as the lack of any further harmonic development.

Example 5.3: First Movement: Development of Theme A



Example 5.4: First Movement: Theme B (R. 8-9)



Movement II: Andantino

The first movement is followed by an elegiac romance in F minor, presented in a ternary form with a Coda.[17] The formal and harmonic structures of this movement are outlined in Figure 5-2, which also reveals the presence of Jewish elements and Chorale motives that occur in the Andantino. These aspects will be discussed further throughout the analysis.

The movement opens with the second violin and viola playing an interval of a minor third on beats one and two of each bar, a "sigh-like" gesture that is repeated throughout the movement. Over this rhythmic base, the first violin enters with Theme A. This theme contrasts the opening theme of the first movement: while the first movement opened with a rising major second, the second movement opens with a minor seventh leap – inverting the interval (Ex. 5.5). This leap immediately alters the mood of the quartet, from the crisis of the first movement to the elegy of the second. The B section of the Andantino introduces a rocking D-Eflat-D motive that alludes back to the opening pitches of Theme A from the first movement (this two-note rocking motive becomes an important gesture throughout the quartet). The tonality of this section becomes unstable, and after a passage of internal harmonic crisis the movement finds temporary resolution on the dominant of F minor. From this cadence, the first violin enters into an eight-measure cadenza-like passage that leads back to the Theme A in F minor (Ex. 5.6). For the remaining measures of this movement, the four instruments function as a chorus of strings in the "Chorale" motive in R. 31 and continually return to this motive, with brief interjections of solo first violin (reminiscent of

[17] This lyrical Andantino has been described as a chorale (McCreless, "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets", 13), a fantasia (Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 289), or even a instrumental romance (Yakubov, "Strunniye Kvartete i drugiye instrumentalye ansambli Dmitria Shostakovicha" [String Quartets and Other Instrumental Works of Dmitri Shostakovich], 1991).

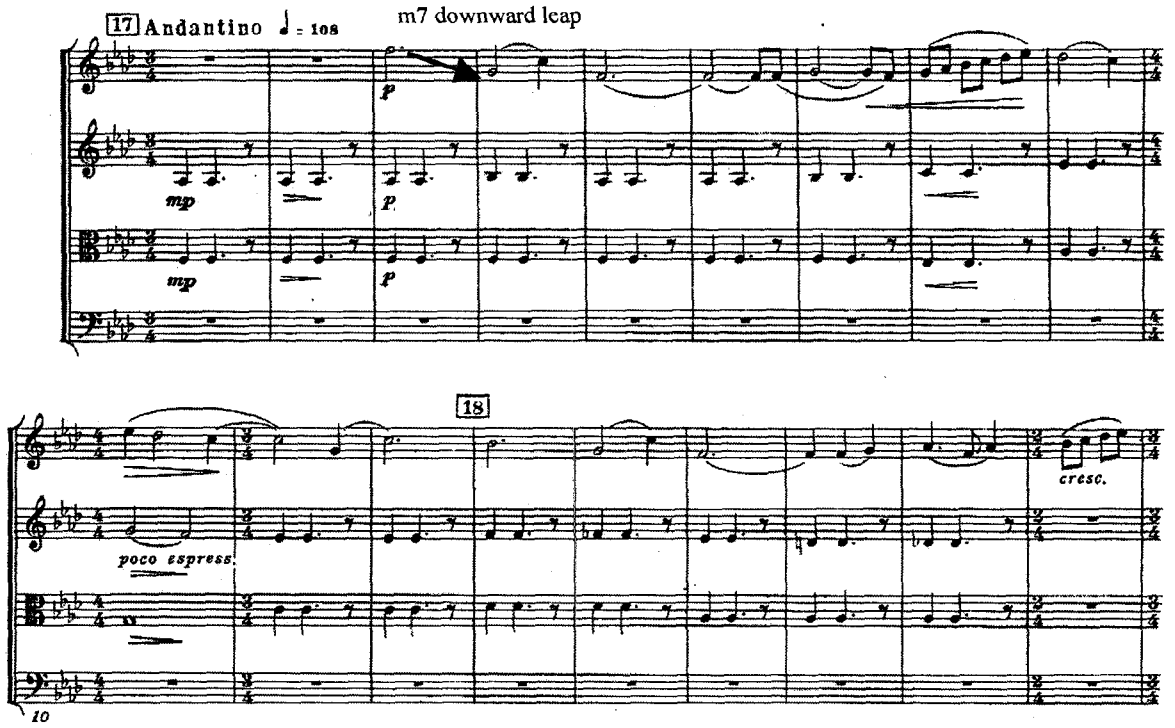
the "cadenza-like passage"). The movement comes to a close on an F major chord, which the first violin departs from yet again in its final solo passage, ending on the dominant an octave higher than where it began (Ex. 5.7).

This movement exudes a sense of sorrow and lamenting through its melancholy intonations. The flattened key signature and additional flattened scale degrees help to establish this sense of sorrow, as does the use of dissonant intervals in the opening measures of the first violin melody: the opening of the principal theme emphasizes the downward leap of a minor seventh and then a major second through longer held notes (Ex. 5.5). The Andantino beings in F minor, but shifts into a triadic Gflat key area in the expansion of Theme A, before returning to F minor at R. 21. In fact, whether or not the movement remains in F minor, or modulates away from this tonal centre, Shostakovich is continually lowering pitches and creating tension through bi-tonal harmonies (or chords of stacked intervals). This occurs in the first movement and finale as well, especially when there is a drone pedal underneath the thematic material. This lowered alteration is a way in which Shostakovich establishes a great emotionally tragic tension, and even though the movement comes to a harmonic resolution on F major, the intense sorrow throughout the movement does not actually feel resolved. This internal resolution can only be found in the final measures of the entire quartet.

Figure 5-2: Movement II, Andantino (Ternary form in F minor)

	A: mm: 1-55			B: mm: 56-115	A: mm: 116-138		Coda: mm: 139-184
Themes:	Theme A	Expansion of A	Theme A	B	Theme A^1	"Chorale"	Coda
Rehearsal:	17-18	19-20	21	22-29	30	31	32-35
Tonal Areas:	F-	G-flat	F-	"D"	F-/+	Eflat-	G+ to F+
				*R26-29 transitioning back to "F". Half Cadence (V of F) at R. 29. *Emphasis on "D-E-D" movement, alluding to Movement I			* Shifts from G+ (R. 32) to A+ (R. 34). Transitions between A+ and F+ from R. 34 to end Interjections of "Chorale" motive.
Jewish Elements:				*Appearance of Iambic Primas (R. 26) *Followed by a cadenza-like passage (*Violin Concerto*)			Cadenza-like passage (*Violin Concerto*)

Example 5.5: Second Movement: Theme A

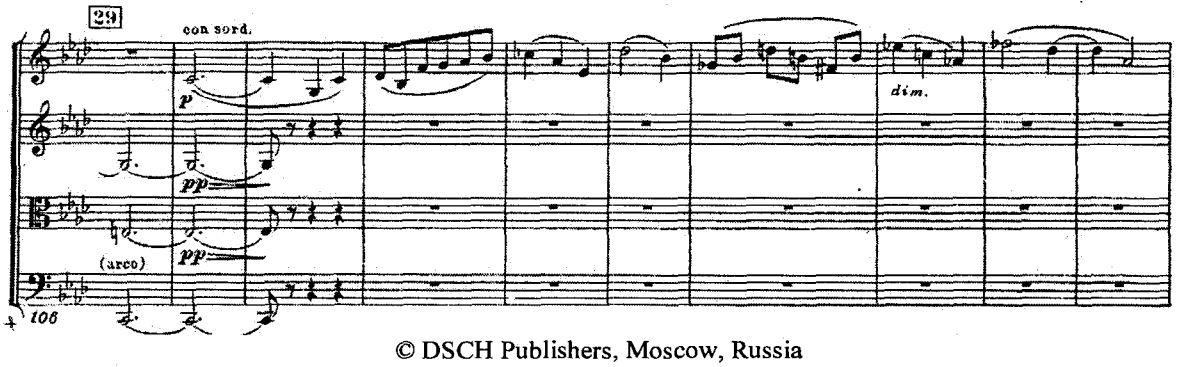


In her dissertation, Kuhn revealed that this movement is based on motives drawn from the passacaglia movement of the Violin Concerto.[18] As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Violin Concerto is the first of the compositions exhibiting "Jewish" influences from the second period. In fact, the passacaglia movement is the one that Shostakovich began composing during the week of his denunciation in January 1948. As Kuhn observes, both the Passacaglia and Andantino are in F minor and share motives. The first common motive appears in the opening intervals in the bass line of the passacaglia, the downward leap from tonic to supertonic and up to dominant (F – G – C), which is the opening motive of the first violin in the Andantino. In addition, the Andantino draws on the repeated quarter notes on

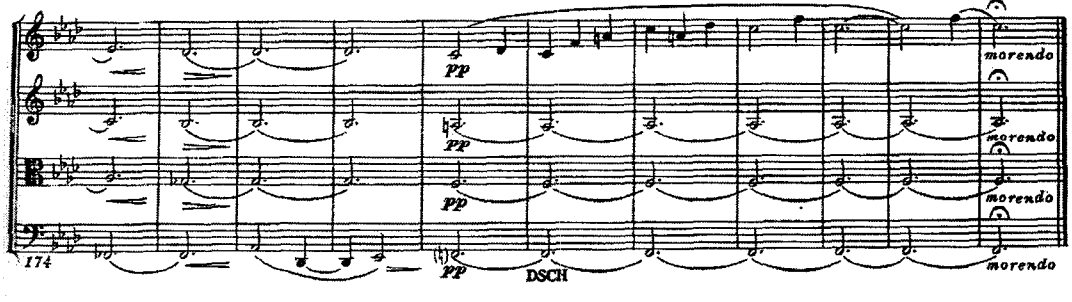
[18] Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue," 282; 290.

beats one and two for its rhythmic pulse, the pattern found in Passacaglia. Whether intentional or not, Shostakovich created another link between his Jewish works of the second Jewish period. Composed at a time of utter desperation and possible fear for his life during the 1948 denunciations, the Passacaglia is now viewed as one of the composer's most intimate works. By inserting motives that seemingly represent this desperation, Shostakovich created an intimate moment, and revealed subtle shared meanings between two intimate works of this middle Jewish period. The same could possibly be said of his use of the parallel melodic fourths from the Jewish song cycle in the opening movement.

Example 5.6: Second Movement: Cadence to Cadenza-like Passage



Example 5.7: Coda (cadenza-like passage at conclusion)



Movement III: Allegretto

The third movement is a lively dance-like rondo in C minor ending with a brief Codetta and transitioning material that seamlessly links the third and fourth movements together. Although there are indeed bouts of harmonic instability (occurring mainly in the form of periods of chromaticism), this third movement is the most harmonically stable and has the most clearly defined formal structure of the entire quartet. The formal and harmonic structures are outlined in Figure 5-3, which also provides a map of the Jewish elements in the third movement. Theme A is in C minor, and although the second and fourth scale degrees are flattened in the second half of the first and second statement of Theme A (at R. 38), it remains in this key. Theme B occurs in the dominant but gravitates towards flattened scale degrees mid-way through the theme. And Theme C, the most exuberant of the three themes, is in A major. The entire Coda section is in C minor, but at the last minute it shifts to the parallel major with the appearance of the new material (only to return to C minor in the fourth movement). Throughout the movement, however, the instruments gravitate towards flattened scale degrees and in Theme C the "um-pa" beat creates a sense of bi-tonality. This gravitation towards flattened pitches coupled with the bi-tonality of the "um-pa" beat reveals an overall "folk" song feel to the third movement, preparing us for the "Jewish" colouring in the finale.

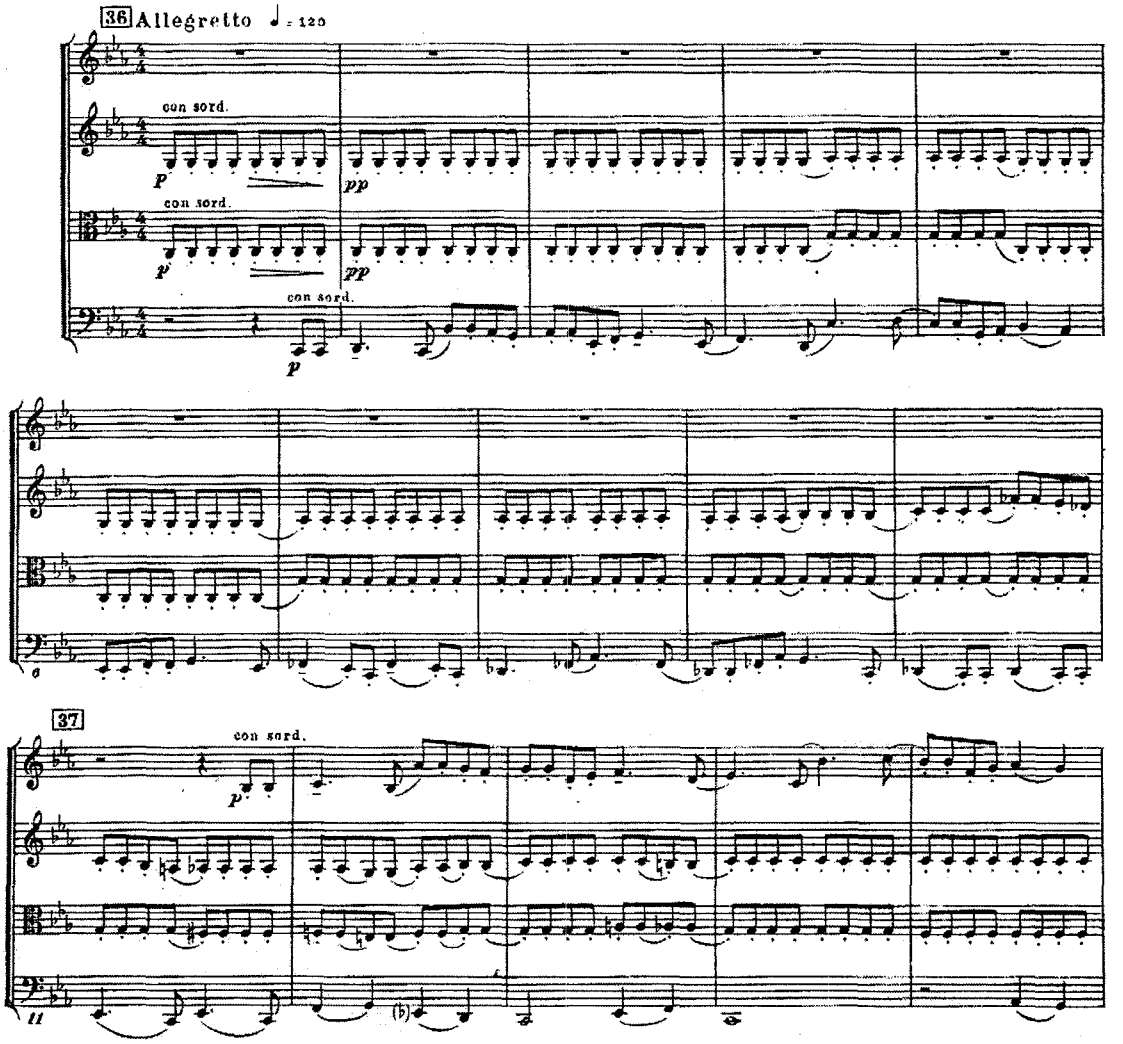
Figure 5-3: Movement III, Allegretto (Rondo form in C minor)

Themes:	A mm: 1-37	B mm: 39-51	A Mm: 55-73	C mm: 74-96	A+B Mm: 97-125	C mm: 126-140	Coda [A+B] mm: 141-153	"Transition" mm: 154-55
Rehearsal:	36-38	39-41	42^{+4}-44	$45^{-1}47$	48-50	51-52	53	54^{+7}
Tonal Areas:	C-	G+	C-	A+ (Flattened throughout)	C- Themes A and B fused here. C tonic pedal begins at R. 50^{+7}	C-/+ Over C tonic pedal	C-/+ Themes A and B are fragmented throughout the Coda.	C+ Over C tonic pedal
Jewish Elements:				"Dizzying" dance-like theme over um-pa beat		"Dizzying" dance-like theme minus um-pa beat		Transitioning material to IV: alternating um-pa and iambic primes.

The three themes in the third movement have a dizzying feel, due to the constant repetition of small circular motives. Theme A begins with the same intervallic rocking as in the first movement, with a C-D-C pattern. Theme A consists of a short eight-note pattern repeated in a chattering manner; every time the melodic line breaks away, the eight-note motive peeks back in an almost frantic reminder of its presence (Ex. 5.8). The principal motive is approximately two measures in length (although when repeated it tends to be fragmented), with the interval span of a perfect fifth (Ex. 5.9). In Theme B the circular theme occurs in unison, and feels as though it is in a frenzied state. Because of the dotted quarter and eighth note pattern it is perceived as a tempo acceleration, enhancing the frenetic character (Ex. 5.10-5.11). At Theme C, the rhythmic unit is shortened again (a dotted eighth and a sixteenth note pattern), and centered around major and minor second intervals (Ex. 5.12).[19] This motive runs in a continually moving circular pattern, over an "um-pa" bass line, heightening the dizzying characteristic of the movement, as though there is an internal struggle (5.13). After the excitement of this intense, frantic struggle, the themes seem to tire out and collapse four measures from the end, just before the linking material begins.

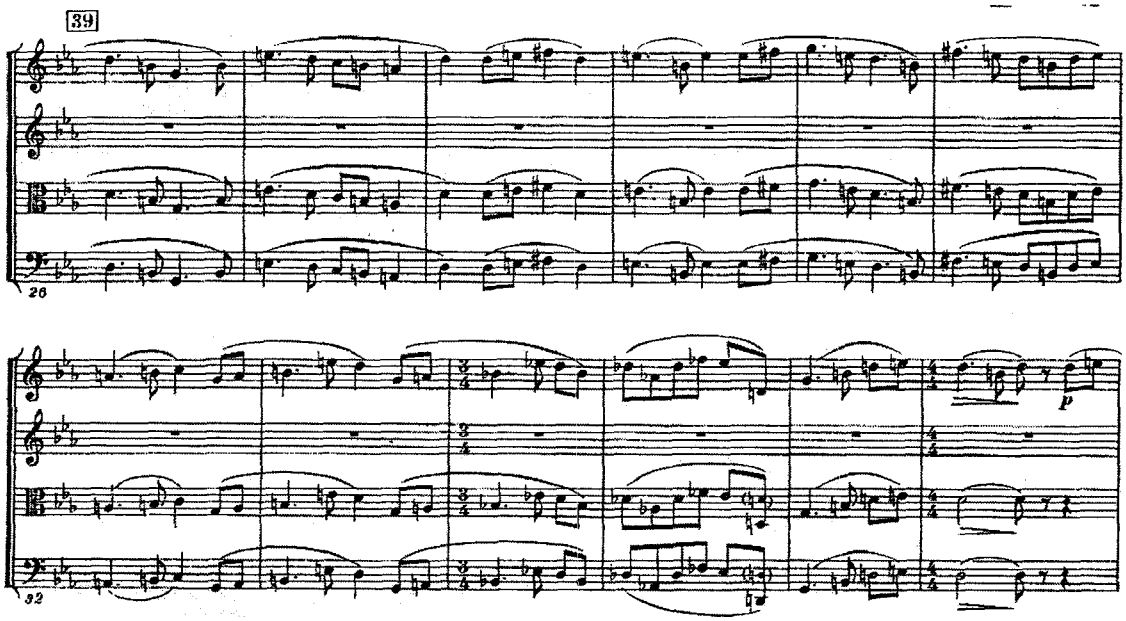
[19] Throughout this chapter a broken line (- - -) will outline an "um-pa" beat.

Example 5.8: Third Movement: Theme A in Cello

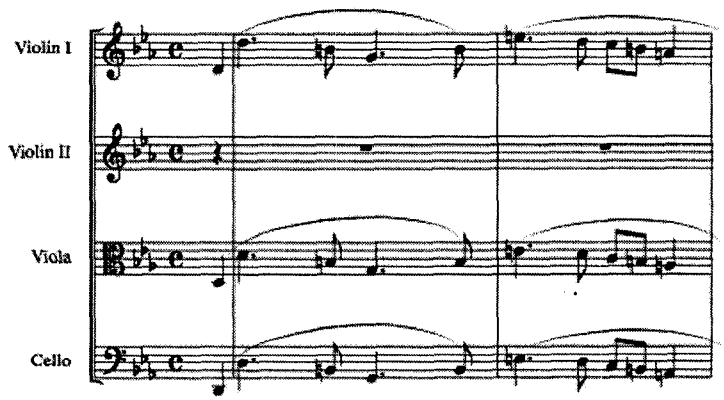


Example 5.9: Third Movement: Motive from Theme A

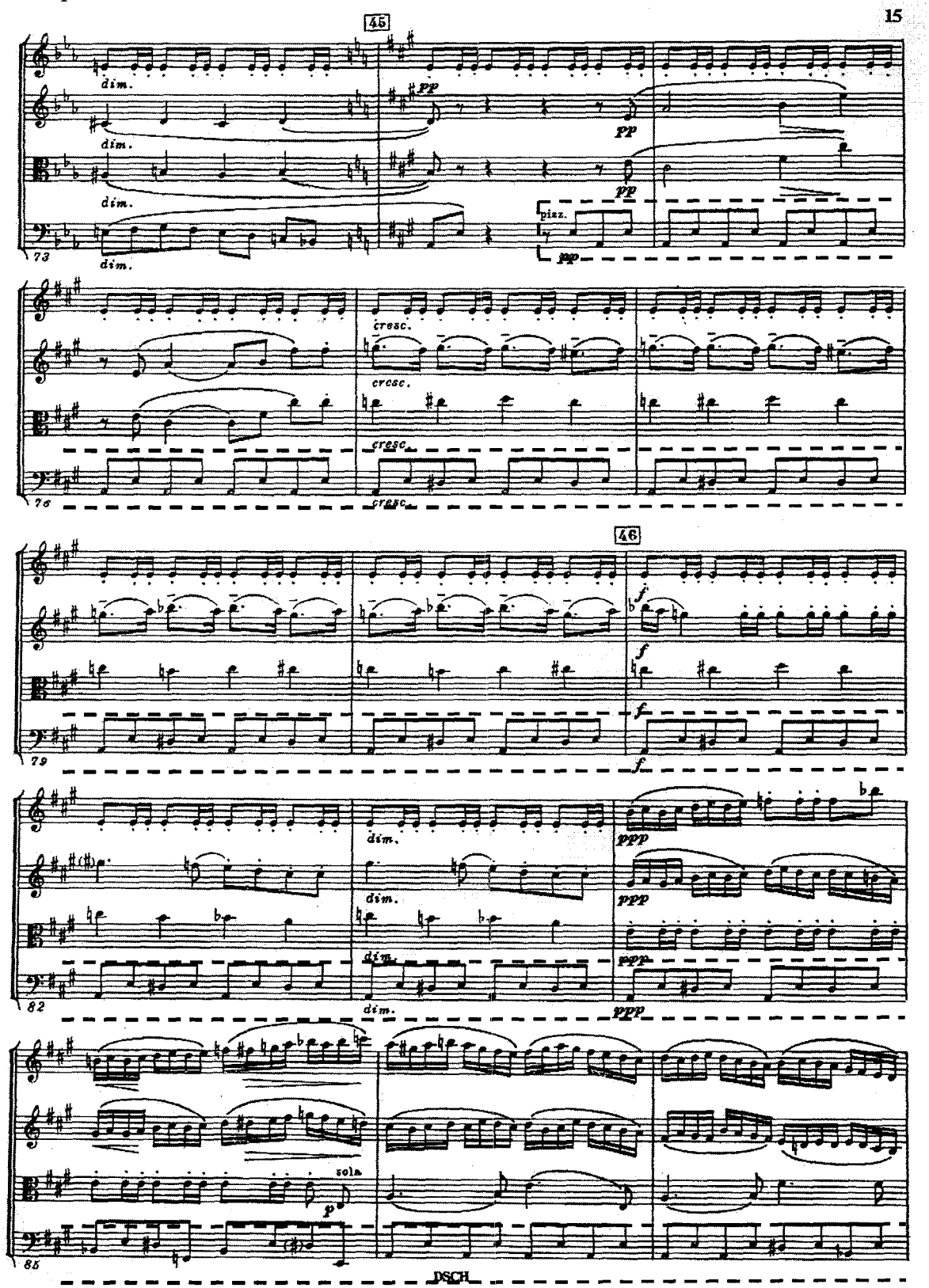
Example 5.10: Third Movement: Theme B in Unison



Example 5.11: Third Movement: Motive from Theme B



Example 5.12: Third Movement: Theme C in Second Violin and Viola



Example 5.13: Third Movement: Motive from Theme C

Movement IV: Allegretto

The finale of the Fourth String Quartet is typically regarded as the only "Jewish" movement. Indeed, Shostakovich does explore both harmonic and rhythmic capabilities of the Jewish idiom in this movement, more so than in the three preceding movements. The dance-like melody of the first theme occurs over a Jewish "um-pa" beat, and he uses both a drone pedal and iambic primes throughout the movement. However, one could easily see each preceding movement as a gradual buildup of the idiom before the Jewish dance of the fourth movement. The D and E pedal points in the first movement establish the dissonant tension often found in the "Jewish" modal colouring. The parallel melodic fourths from Theme A in the first movement also create a sense of "Jewishness" for those familiar with *From Jewish Folk Poetry*. The flattened second scale degree and iambic primas in the second movement establish internal harmonic dissonance associated with "Jewish" *sound*. And finally, the "um-pa" beat in the middle of the rondo's Theme C creates bi-tonality and the dizzying dance-like motive accumulates in a way that establishes a "Jewish" feel before we even reach the finale. The fourth movement then, becomes a cathartic release of the tension that accumulated throughout each preceding movement with the profusion of the "Jewish" folk idiom.

As mentioned above in the analysis of the third movement rondo, the final two movements are linked together with material in C minor. This new material, as McCreless observes, might be heard as an "introduction to the fourth movement, or as an afterthought of the third."[20] Within this 27-measure introduction and the closing 2-measure fragment of the preceding rondo Shostakovich begins establishing the "Jewish" character of the sonata movement (Ex. 5.14). Figure 5-4 maps out the formal and harmonic structure of the finale, as well as the occurrence of the "Chorale" motive. This chart also reveals the profusion of the Jewish idiom in this movement, which begins with the transitioning material from the conclusion of the third movement. The cello and two violins pluck a fragmented "um-pa" bass while the viola interjects with the descending iambic primas. The passage then shifts from C minor to its parallel major before a three-bar "Pesante" passage of block chords that introduce the first theme of a sonata movement. Interestingly, the first theme is in D minor with Dorian mode inflections (a sharpened sixth degree). The first theme opens with double-neighbour major second intervals (D-E-D--D-C-D). The major second is a defining motive of this theme, as Shostakovich seems to play with this interval within the D-Dorian key structure (Ex. 5.15). As observed in the previous movements, Shostakovich pulls this major second interval from the opening of the first (D-E) and third (C-D) movements.[21] Also, in the elegiac second movement, Shostakovich reverses this interval: instead of opening with the major second as he had in the first movement, he leaps down a minor seventh, which alters the mood. This rocking two-note motivic gesture connects the movements.

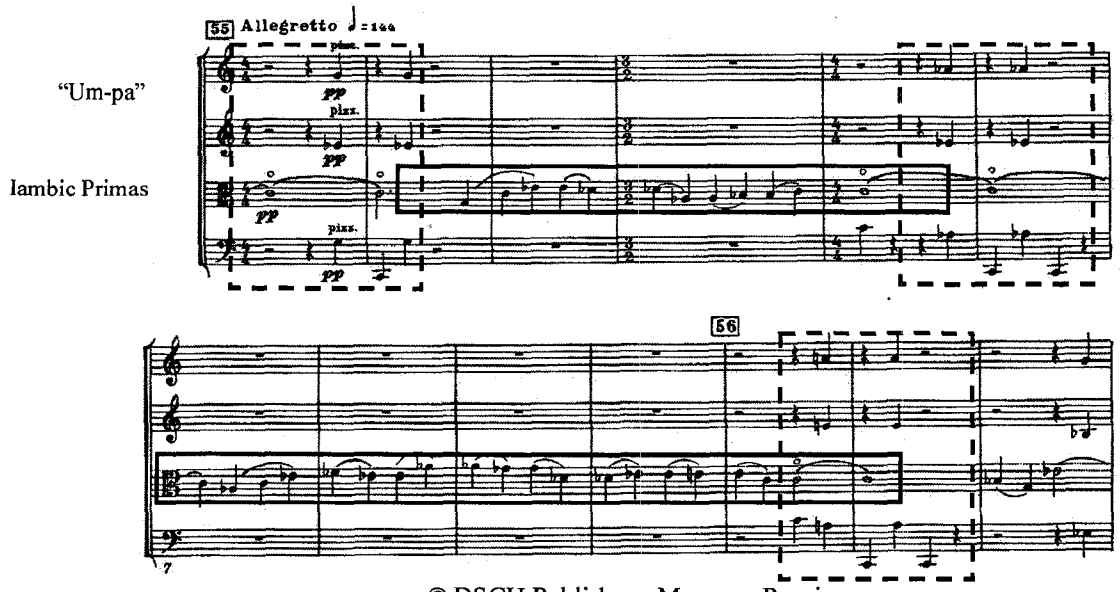
[20] McCreless, "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets," 13.

[21] Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue," 279-281; McCreless, "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets," 13.

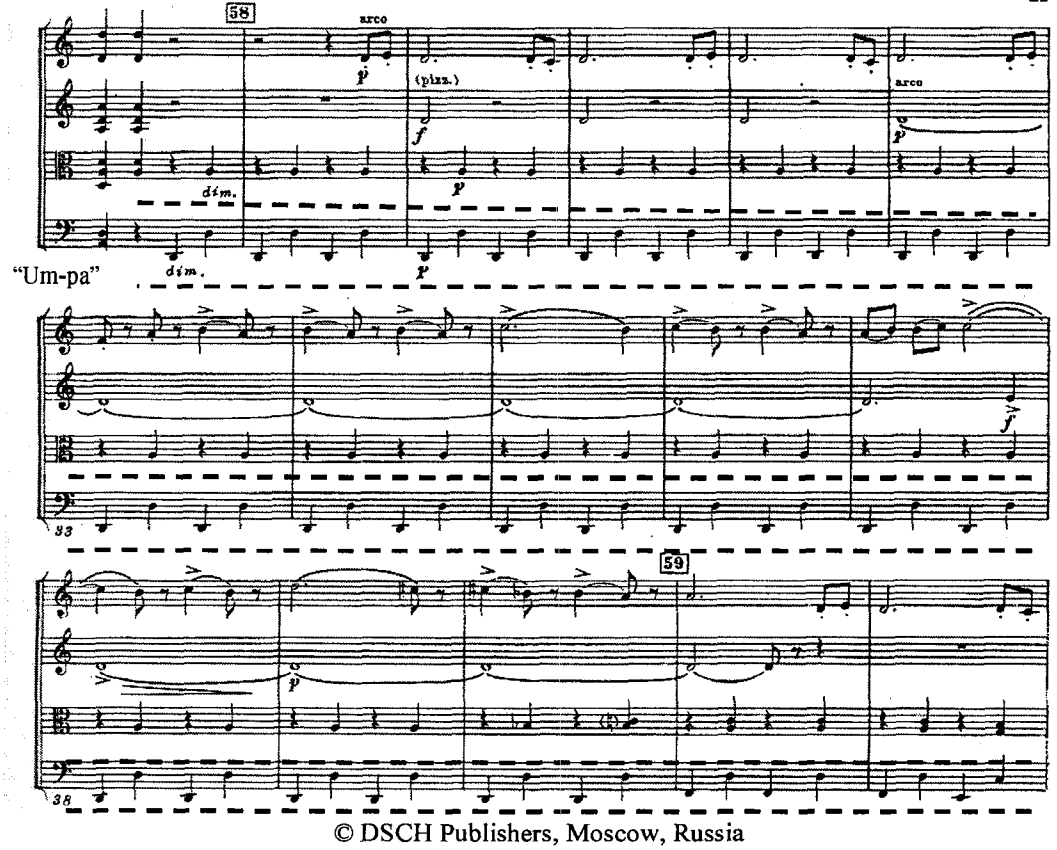
Figure 5-4: Movement IV, Allegretto (Sonata in D with an Introduction in C minor)

	Intro: mm. 1-27	Exposition: mm. 28-128		Development: mm. 129-229	Recapitulation (Intro, A, B): mm. 230-342			Coda (to quartet): mm. 343-377
Theme:	*Transitioning material from III: alternating um-pa and iambic primes.	A	B	$A^1 + B^1$	Intro	A^2	B^2	* Introductory material interjected by Chorale Motive * Allusions to previous movements.
Rehearsal:	55-58	58-62	63-68	69-83	84-86	87-89	90-94	98
Tonal Areas:	C-	"D"	A+	Emphasis on "D#" in melody over "A" pedal	"C-"	"D-minor"	"F#+"	D- to D+
		Shifts between D minor and D Dorian	Octatonic passage	Tri-tone created between D# in melody and A pedal		"A" in new time signature		*Emphasis on E b - D (as in movement I)
Jewish Elements:	Transitional material: alternating um-pa and iambic primes.	Tonic pedal of D Dorian in um-pa beat rhythm	Dissonant glissandos	Dissonant pedal in um-pa beat rhythm	"Um-pa" played in block chords and iambic primes in unison, in smaller rhythmic units	Hints of introductory material remains throughout the Recapitulation and Coda sections (metre is altered giving the illusion of expanding and contracting the um-pa and iambic primes). Interjections of the "Chorale" motive in Coda.		

Example 5.14: Fourth Movement: Introduction

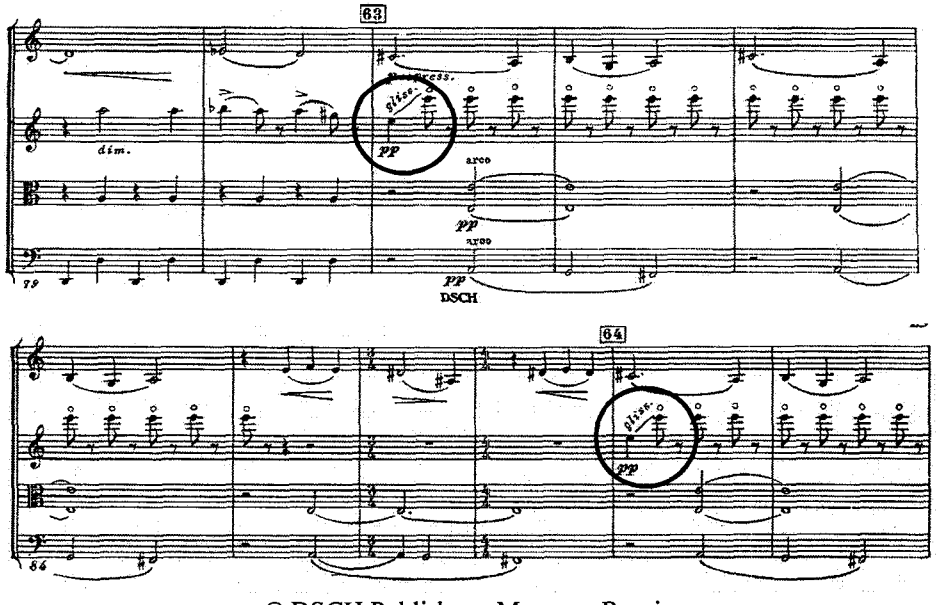


Example 5.15: Fourth Movement: Theme A in First Violin

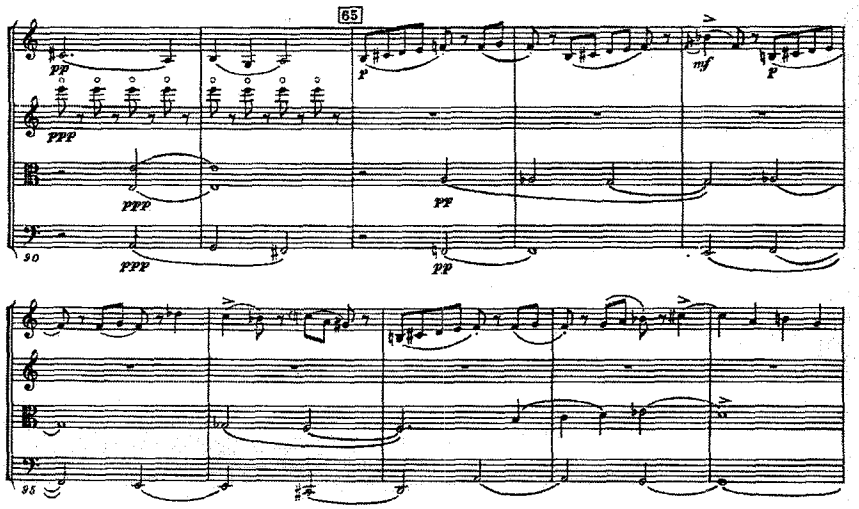


The second theme (labeled B) begins in the key of A major, conforming to sonata form techniques by starting this theme in the dominant key (Ex. 5.16). Yet this key area does not remain for a long time; after 11 measures of this theme Shostakovich begins modulating chromatically, pausing in an octatonic tonality with a transition motive (Ex. 5.17). Underneath the initial thematic material of Theme B, the second violin plays an octave glissando up to a repeating "E". Again, although this is not typically labeled a "Jewish" idiom, in this instance, it adopts a "Jewish" feel because of the profusion of the idiom in this movement.

Example 5.16: Fourth Movement: Theme B



Example 5.17: Fourth Movement: Octatonic Transition in Theme B



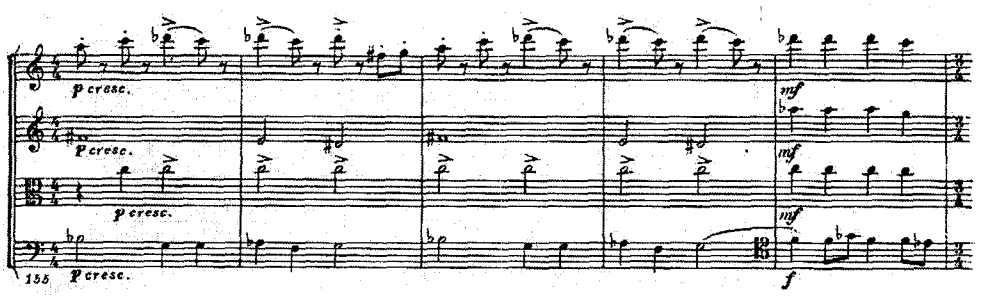
The development section continues with its intense chromaticism and modulates to a passage of the fused Jewish modes. At R. 73^{+5} the third formation of Alexandrian Pentachord type 6 (AP6-III), otherwise known as a fusion of the Jewish altered modes, appears (Ex. 5.18-5.19).[22] Shostakovich then modulates away from this fusion and continues through a series of flattened keys but ultimately leads back towards C major with a restatement of the Pesante block chords from the introduction. Here, the Pesante chords mark the beginning of the Recapitulation (R. 84, Poco meno mosso). Interestingly, Shostakovich not only recapitulates theme A and B, but also the introductory material (Ex. 5-20). This time, however, Shostakovich presents the iambic primes in unison between all four instruments and alters the rhythm of this passage and gives the illusion of occurring at an accelerated tempo in comparison to the opening further intensifying the dissonant iambic primas. The tension begins to dissolve, and the introductory material returns to its original

[22] See Appendix B for an explanation of the Alexandrian Pentachord.

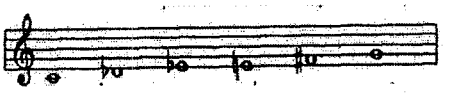
formation of the fragmentary "um-pa" and iambic primas interchanged. The fragmented "um-pa" continues through a restatement of Theme A in D minor but dissolves before Theme B returns in F#.

Ex. 5.18: Fourth Movement: mm. 155-159

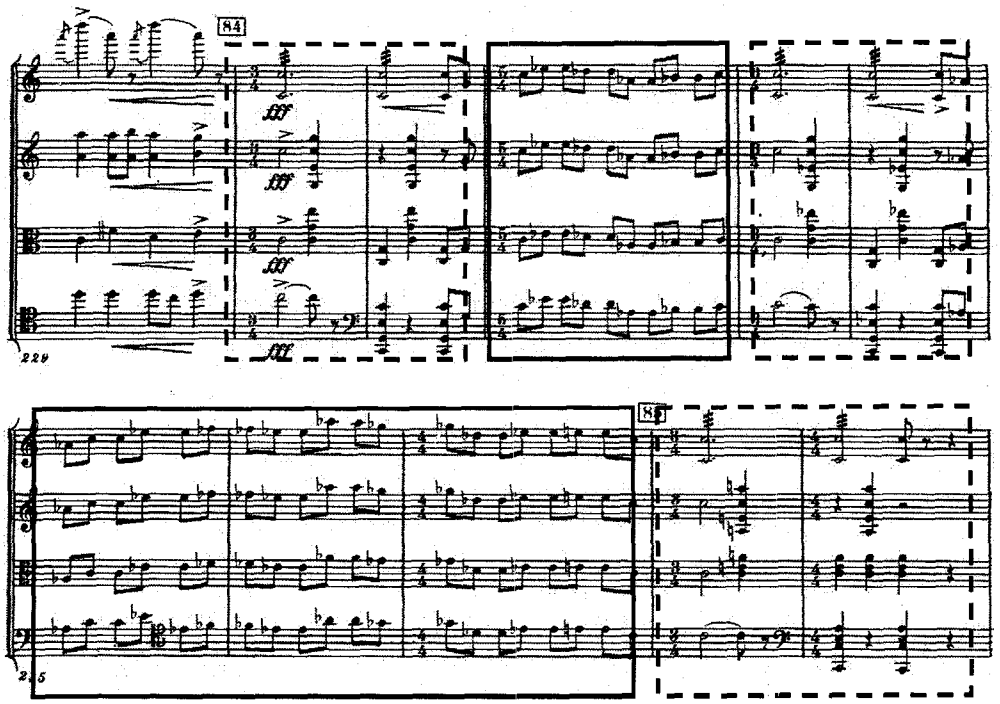
*Here Shostakovich uses D# instead of E b



Ex. 5.19: Alexandrian Pentachord 6-III

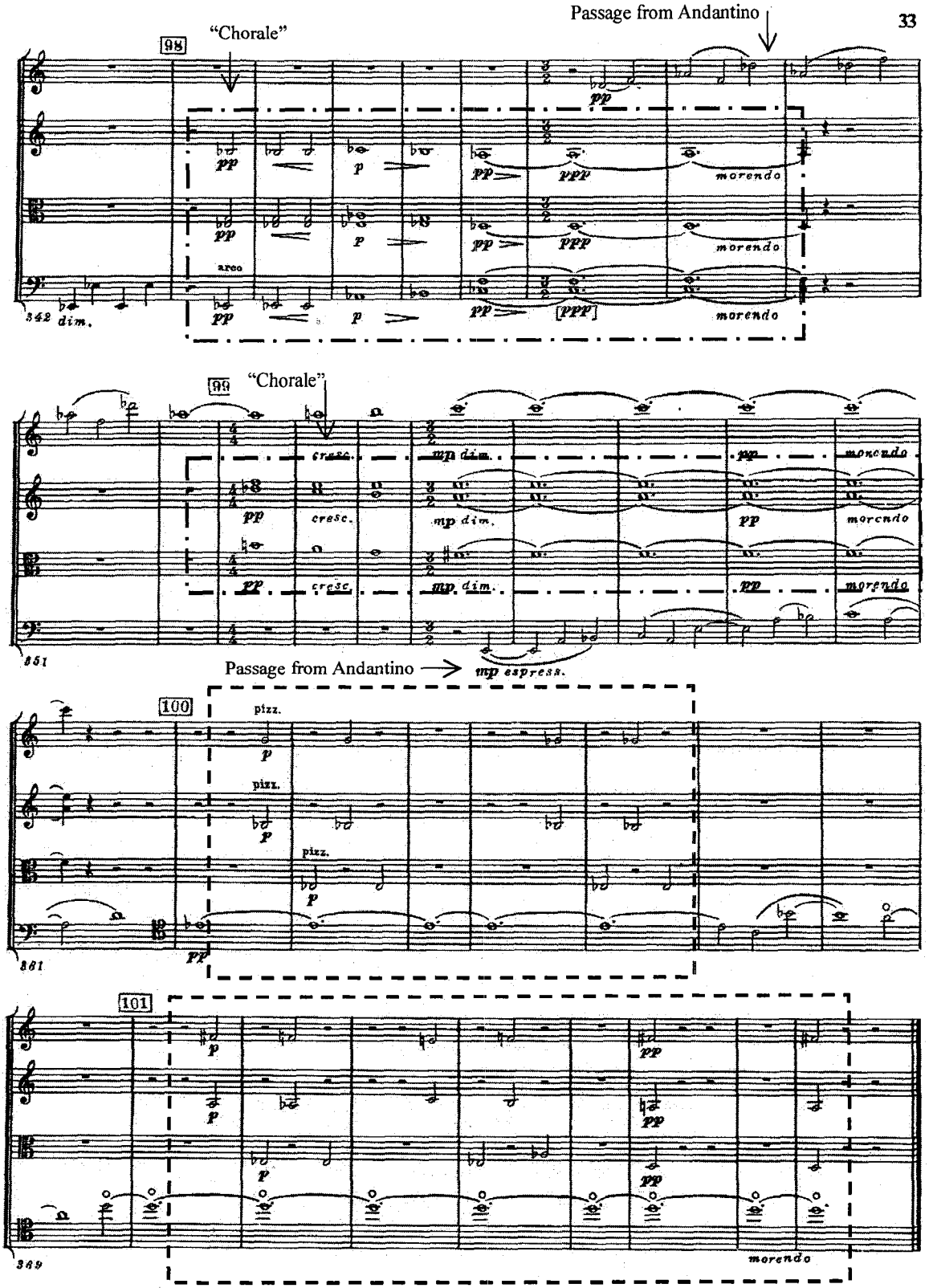
AP6-III: 

Ex. 5.20: Fourth Movement: Return of Introductory material in Recapitulation



Through the final eighty measures of the movement, Theme A and B fragment and are interjected with iambic primes from the introductory material, with the texture thinning throughout the section. First Theme B material fragments with the first violin interjects with iambic primas, then Theme A the two violins and viola hold a D major chord over a D minor pedal point (an alternation of A-Bflat-A-D in broken octaves), which then modulates to the "Chorale" motive in Eflat at the opening of the Coda section (Ex. 5.21). In this Coda, Shostakovich reprises the "Chorale" motive (from the first and second movements), the "cadenza-like" material (from the second movement) and finds rest with the introductory material (from the end of the third movement), still in Eflat. In the final sixteen measures, Shostakovich shifts from Eflat to D major on muted strings, returning to the opening tonal centre.

Ex. 5.21: Fourth Movement: Coda



In the Fourth String Quartet's finale, Shostakovich finally presents his audience with a sonata form – modified, of course, with the recapitulation of the introductory material. He also alludes to previous movements. First, with the opening D-E-D motive that opened each movement. Second, he presents the cadenza-like passages from the conclusion of the Andantino. Third, with the "um-pa" beat from the rondo. And finally, Shostakovich links the rondo and finale with an alternating "um-pa" beat and iambic prime passage. Interestingly, by bringing back these specific elements, Shostakovich alludes to the hidden "Jewishness" of the previous movements and intensifies the quartet's Jewish character in the finale. Despite the quartet's final tonic cadence on D major, the home key area, the *morendo* ending with the cello playing a D on harmonics, leaves a slightly unsettling conclusion. Perhaps the two statements of the drawn out "Chorale" motive preceding the final fragmenting "um-pa" beat on pizzicato strings create a sense of somber reflection after the lively rondo and the Jewish Hasidic dance. I will return to this idea shortly.

How do these Movements link together?

Colin Mason argued that there are "no thematic links between the movements of Quartet No. 4" in his 1962 essay, "Form in Shostakovich's Quartets."[23] This is, in fact, not an accurate claim, one which has been corrected in both Kuhn and McCreless' analyses of the quartet. As we have seen, Shostakovich relies on a few motivic cells to draw the movements together, including the emphasis of a major second motivic gesture (or its inversion) as the opening intervals of each movement, the "cadenza-like" passage from the second movement (which appears in the coda of the finale), and the "um-pa" rhythm and

[23] Colin Mason, "Form in Shostakovich's Quartets" *The Musical Times* (Vol. 103, no. 1434: Aug, 1962), 532.

closing material from the scherzo. In addition to these motives, Shostakovich drew on a Chorale-style motive in the first, second and fourth movements. This motive occurs mainly in Coda sections and functions as both a moment of reflection after musical struggle and a marker of formal changes for each movement.

Chorale Motive

Shostakovich links the first, second and fourth movement together with one motive, a Chorale or Hymn-like motive. Judith Kuhn first discovered this motive in her analysis of the Fourth String Quartet. She discussed the motive as linking material in the quartet. However, the "Chorale" motive functions not only as linking material between the movements, but also serves a formal role. This motive appears for the first time at Rehearsal 13 of the first movement (see Ex. 5.22); after two bars of a minor third dyad (C# and E) the first violin plays a descending F, E, D and C# over minor harmonies (a D minor chord, and then two minor third intervals) and marks the return of Theme B in the "recapitulation".

In the second movement, this motive appears three times: at Rehearsal 31, Rehearsal 34 and Rehearsal 35 (Ex. 5.24 and 5.25). In its first appearance in the Andantino, the "Chorale" marks the Coda section with chromatic descending chords (an A-flat minor chord, Eflat minor chord and a Dflat diminished seventh chord). In its second occurrence, the Chorale shifts chromatically from an A major to an F minor and back to A major. And in its final statement, the passage shifts from an F minor chord to a dissonant pairing of a major and minor third interval (E-flat and G with F and A-flat), resolving to an A major chord. Here, in the Andantino's Coda section, Shostakovich continually shifts between F and A

major; the final A major chord of the third "Chorale" passage acts as a pivot chord back to F major.

The "Chorale" does not appear in the third movement, but returns in the Finale. Here the "Chorale" motive appears two times, both of which are in the Coda section (at Rehearsal 98 and 99). The first Chorale motive marks the beginning of the Coda and occurs in the second violin, viola and cello only (Ex. 5.26). The chords shift from an Eflat major, to Aflat minor, back to Eflat major (inverted), and then D-flat major with a diminished seventh. The first violin plays a "Cadenza-like" passage (from the second movement) on the final chord of the "Chorale". After the "Cadenza" passage interruption, the violins and viola play the final Chorale motive, moving from a D-flat major chord with a B-natural added in the root, to an A minor chord, to E minor and then a seventh chord built from two minor intervals with a major on top (F#-A-C-E) held for five measures (Ex. 5.26). The cello then plays the final "Cadenza" passage before the return of the introductory material. In its final statement, the "Chorale" motive marks the conclusion, not only of the Finale, but also the entire quartet.

In her doctoral dissertation, Kuhn made an interesting observation about the pitch-class content embedded within this motive. She identified that the motive consists of pitch class set 0, 1, 3, 4, the same set as the famous DSCH motive.[24] This DSCH motive (known by its German spelling of D-Eflat-C-B) can also be identified simply through its intervallic content, of a semi-tone, tone and semi-tone arrangement (see Ex. 23). In the Fourth String Quartet the motive is not always presented in its completed DSCH pitch-class formation. Because of the chorale-style figuration we recognize this motive as the same "Chorale"

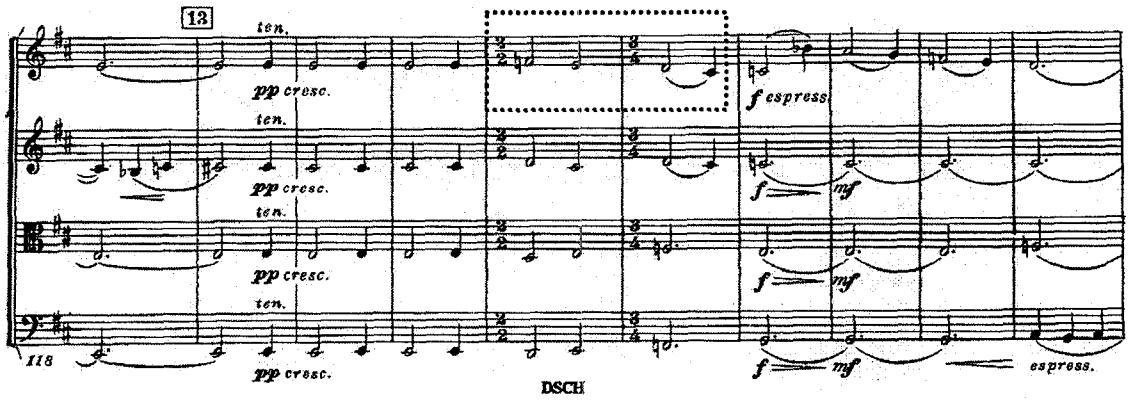
[24] Kuhn's identification of the pitch-class content, although in transposition, is an important one in Shostakovich studies, revealing its occurrence in this work shows that Shostakovich naturally gravitated towards this intervallic construction (as it can be found in both the Jewish modes and the octatonic collection).

motive with the completed DSCH statements. For example, in the first movement, the first violin plays a complete motive - a descending F, E, D and C# (0, 1, 3, 4 or semi-tone, tone, semi-tone). Seven measures from the movement's end, however, the motive is left incomplete – the second violin descends from F to D only. In the second movement, this motive appears (in incomplete form) in the first and second violins and cello at R. 31 and moves from an incomplete statement in R. 34 to a complete statement in the first and second violins at R. 35 (Ex. 5.24 and 5.25). It then appears (in incomplete form) in the second violin and viola at R. 98 and 99 (Ex. 5.26).

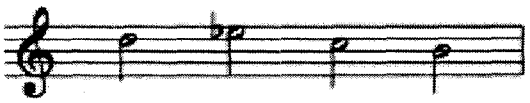
This motive creates a strong link between the first, second and fourth movements – drawing together the lyrical and intimate movements with the concluding Jewish dance. It also creates a stronger sense of "Jewishness" throughout the entire quartet that grows in intensity until the finale. In Shostakovich's later works, notably the Eighth String Quartet, the DSCH motive (in its non-transposed formation of D, Eflat, C, B) became a code of self-identification. Although this motive appears in transposition in the Fourth String Quartet, the continual return to this motive after moments of musical struggle and crisis appears to function as a moment of inner reflection after chaos, rather than a personal code of self-identification.[25]

[25] As mentioned in the analysis of the second movement, the Andantino draws its opening motives from the passacaglia of the Violin Concerto No. 1, op. 77. Interestingly, Kuhn also points out in her analysis that the Passacaglia also has a "Hymn" motive, thus revealing how important this motivic idea was to Shostakovich (and would remain throughout the rest of his oeuvre). Kuhn's observations can be found in "Shostakovich in Dialogue," 290.

Example 5.22: First Movement: "Chorale Motive", Rehearsal 13



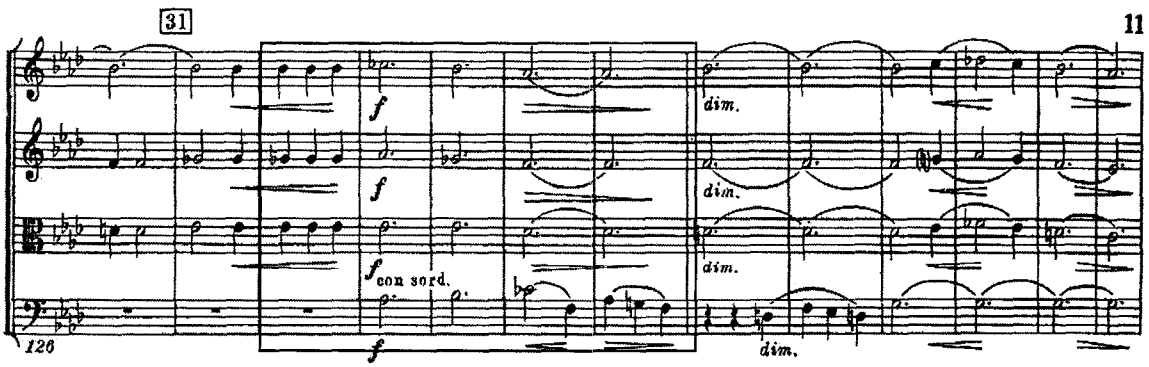
Example 5.23: DSCH Pitches



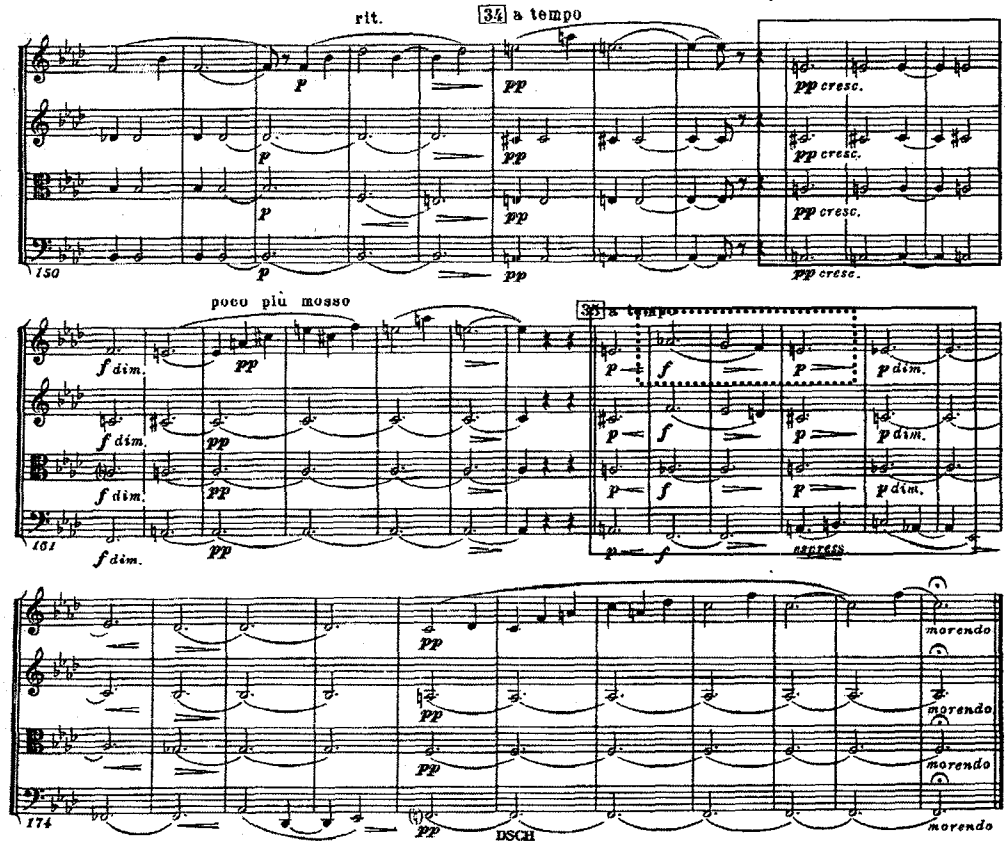
German Spelling:	D	E(s)	C	H (B natural)
Pitch Class Numbers:	(2)	(3)	(0)	(11)

Pitch Class Set: 0, 1, 3, 4 = Forte 4-3

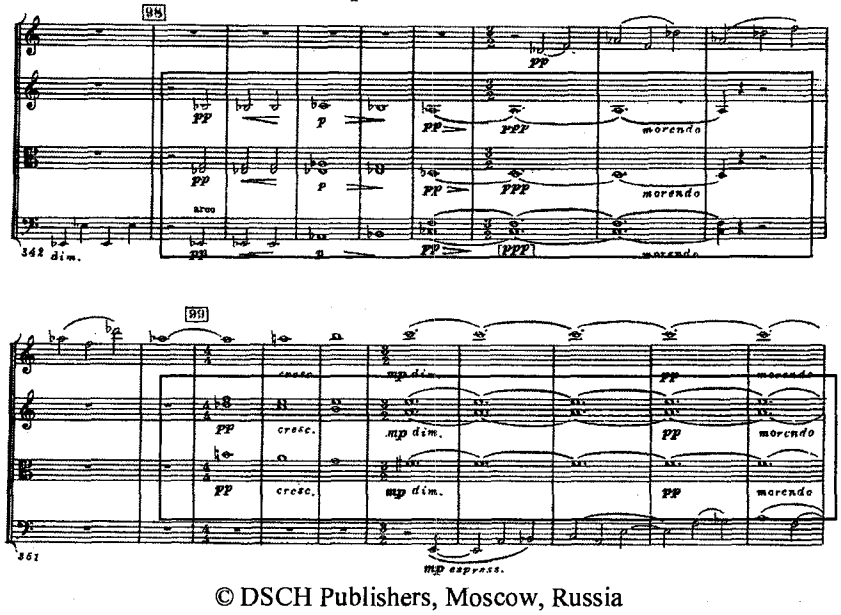
Example 5.24: Second Movement: Incomplete "Chorale Motive", Rehearsal 31



Example 5.25: Second Movement: Incomplete-Complete "Chorale Motive", Rehearsal 34-5



Example 5.26: Fourth Movement: Incomplete "Chorale Motives", Rehearsal 98 and 99



"Laughter Through Tears"

Shostakovich's Fourth String Quartet is fraught with conflict and inner crisis. The tension begins within the first forty measures of the first movement with the premature development of Theme A over a Tonic D drone. A majority of the formal and harmonic instability stems from elided cadences, bitonality created by dissonant drones, and the continual chromatic alteration of pitches within already ambiguous key areas. However, the shift in character from one movement to the next plays a significant role in establishing a sense of internal struggle in the Fourth String Quartet. The extreme registral differences in the development of Theme A in the first movement (shrill violins over low pedal drone) aid in establishing harmonic tension that is not released in the melancholy Andantino. Rather, the slow movement simply reveals a new sense of sorrowful tension. The rondo and finale mark a shift in character from sorrow to dance. But these dance movements do not bring comforting resolution either. The scherzo presents a kind of dizzying internal struggle through its constant repetition of short, almost circular, motives that collapse momentarily in the final measures of the movement and introduction of the finale. By the finale, the quartet has shifted from internal crisis, to sorrowful lament and a dizzying dance-like scherzo, and one would expect to find complete resolution in its Hasidic Jewish dance.

Despite the finale's "jolly character", we do not find solace in the jovial dance of the finale. Within the dance movement we find hidden emotions of sorrow and despair through the lowered altered modes of the first theme and unresolved tension in harmonic structure. The opposition found in the relationship between the dance and "Jewish" inflected modal "intonation" allow for an emotional subtext and secret expression of inner thoughts. In reflecting on Beregovskii's passage from the previous chapter, we can find a new

understanding for the dialectical tension between the lowered altered tonalities and the "jolly character" of the Hasidic dance. Although the deep sorrow has somewhat resolved with the conclusion of the first and second movements, the scherzo's struggle renews the sense of internal crisis and

> the tears evoked by the narration about what has been endured have not yet dried up; we feel the after taste even in [this finale]. We can sense...a distinct irony. The irony is directed not to the events described by itself, at its readiness to make a transition to a lighter mood, to take part in merriment after we were so deeply moved by hearing the tale of some deep sorrow.[26]

In fact, we cannot truly leave the sorrow of the first two movements behind, as they appear woven through the very fabric of the dance. In the Finale Shostakovich draws on the tonic D drone from the first movement, the "cadenza" passage from the Andantino, and the "um-pa" beat and transitioning material from the third movement. In doing so, Shostakovich alludes to the hidden "Jewishness" of these previous movements.

The concept of modal "intonation" allows for a deeper understanding of the Jewish folk idiom in Soviet Russia. The mode itself carries deeper social significance than a scale or key area. It gains a larger emotional, social and historical meaning, allowing for multiple musical and cultural readings. In its placement throughout this quartet, and especially the Hasidic dance, we find a dialogue between modal dysphoria and the euphoric nature of the dance. This combination of elements relates to the Soviet concept of "laughter through tears", an opposition that permits multiple messages and emotions; here, as in the finale of the Second Piano Trio, sorrow, fear and pain to find resolve in the gaiety of the dance.

Shostakovich drew on the contradiction between these opposing modal and rhythmic characteristics in two ways: (1) through their fusion and (2) through their order of

---

[26] Beregovskii, "Altered Dorian Scale," 559.

progression. In both the third and fourth movements, Shostakovich fused lowered altered harmonies with his dance-like figurations and created an inner tension. In the third theme of the rondo, Shostakovich composed the dizzying-struggle motive over an A minor harmony. The minor harmonic qualities enhance the sense of struggle in this circular motive and create a sense of panic. The first theme of the Finale functions in the same manner: the Hasidic dance-like figuration over the "um-pa" bass in the Jewish altered mode of D Dorian. In both instances Shostakovich drew on minor and flattened harmonies (what he would call "sad intonations") in combination with merry dance-like figurations (his "cheerful melody") and created a contradictory statement. The same conflicting characteristics occur when dance-like figurations precede or follow periods of harmonic instability. As mentioned above, the strongest statement of "laughter through tears" occurs in the location of the Finale's Hasidic dance after two movements of harmonic instability and the internal crisis of the dance-like rondo. In addition, we could consider the quartet's conclusion and the dissonance that occurs after the dance-like figuration. Despite the Finale's dance-like figuration and quartet's final tonic cadence on D major, the *morendo* ending with the cello playing a D on harmonics leaves a slightly unsettling conclusion. The Finale's Coda marks a change in character from the euphoric dance that preceded it. The Jewish idiom remains throughout the Coda with the fragmented "um-pa" beat, but its performance on pizzicato strings between and after the final two statements of the drawn out "Chorale" motive establishes a sense of somber reflection after the lively rondo and the Jewish Hasidic dance. Thus, not only does this complex and contradictory opposition of modal dysphoria and rhythmic euphoria occur when the idioms are fused, but they also create a strong clashing statement when they appear in a linear fashion.

The contradiction of opposing elements has not only musical significance, but within the context of anti-Semitic Soviet Russia we also find a larger social commentary. Shostakovich, as Yakubov states,

> sees both sides of the coin at once with his extraordinary double vision... the solemn, the formal and the heroic can all suddenly turn shallow and comic, while in a single moment the ridiculous can descend into tragic nightmare.[27]

One could interpret the Fourth String Quartet in this double-sided manner. The solemn Andantino follows the crisis of the first movement, but then the composition turns comical in the hysteric dance-like figurations of the rondo. The light-ness of each theme in the rondo could be heard by some as a comical, yet frenetic, circular motive that descends, by way of the transitioning material, into a tragic Hasidic dance in the finale.

Shostakovich's second "Jewish" period, especially the Fourth String Quartet presents a commentary on life in Soviet Russia not only for the Jew, but also for all persecuted Soviet citizens, at a time when this particular idiom was not socially accepted. His continual return to this idiom during Stalin's final years is revealing. He did not merely compose one or two "folk" inspired works that the Resolution demanded; rather, he drew on the persecuted Jewish idiom in all of his "serious" works between 1948 and 1951. On the surface, Shostakovich followed the Resolution's directives in choosing a "folk", but chose a folk idiom that was not his own and that belonged to a persecuted people. In doing so, he revealed his sympathies and understanding for the fate of Soviet Jews, while also making a larger social statement about the persecution of people and artists.

Shostakovich's exploration of the oppositional elements of the Jewish folk idiom also reveals his own feelings of persecution at a time when words were not permitted. The

---

[27] Yakubov, "Sound-Allegories," accessed 30 April, 2008.

composer had been denounced and victimized for his "modernist" compositional tendencies in January 1948. In turning to the persecuted "Jewish" idiom at this time, he was able to follow the Resolution's demands on the one hand, while expressing his sorrow and fear, on the other. Just as the instruments are in dialogue in the quartet, Shostakovich is in dialogue with Soviet culture and his audience. In the "Jewish" idiom, Shostakovich found the qualities that he naturally gravitated toward in his expressive musical language, one that allowed for multiple readings, messages and meanings.

Summary

In this chapter I have analysed the form and harmony and identified the Jewish elements in Shostakovich's Fourth String Quartet. Despite Mason's argument that none of the string quartet's movements relate to one another, previous analysis by both McCreless and Kuhn, as well as the analysis presented in this chapter have revealed not only that there is harmonic consistency in the work as a whole, but also that Shostakovich relied on motivic connection to draw together all four movements. In addition, I have discussed how all four movements have Jewish elements embedded within their musical material. Thus, each movement can be seen to add to the Jewish idiom, leading to an idiomatic culmination and release in the Jewish Hasidic dance in the quartet's finale. Shostakovich drew on these elements for create expression, and through a contradiction between lowered altered modal dysphoria and rhythmic euphoria he created a larger social statement on the fate of the persecuted artist in society.

The analysis in this chapter drew largely on the work of both Patrick McCreless and Judith Kuhn, both of whom had contributed enormously to scholarship on Shostakovich's

string quartets. McCreless's discussion of the composer's formal and harmonic language and his observations on the "Jewish" character of the finale provided insights into Shostakovich's quartet-writing. In her dissertation, Kuhn examined the concept of dialogue in regards to Shostakovich's first six string quartets and placed each within their historical and political contexts. Her discussion of the "Jewish" elements in the Fourth Quartet influenced my own analysis; she observed the relationship between the string quartet and two other Jewish works from the 1948-1953 period (*From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op 79 and the First Violin Concerto), identified the "Chorale" motive built on the DSCH pitch-class formation, and the shared major second interval between each movement. Although influenced greatly by these two authors, the analysis in this thesis does offer an alternate reading of the Fourth String Quartet. In the analysis I was concerned with the location of the idiom, with the accumulation of the idiom from one movement to the next, and, especially, with the contrast of opposing musical elements. These questions led to an understanding of how Shostakovich drew on the Jewish idiom in the Fourth String Quartet. In addition, in drawing on Sheinberg's scholarship and examining the contradicting messages that arise with the clash of opposing musical elements, I have contributed to the discussion of the social value of the personal narrative in the Fourth String Quartet.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: "The Power of Music"

> The Significance of Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Shostakovich in and for the history of twentieth-century music is immense, possibly unparalleled, and, above all, continuing.[1]
>
> - Richard Taruskin on Shostakovich

Shostakovich composed String Quartet No. 4 during a period of extreme uncertainty in both his career and Soviet culture. Although the 1948 ban on his music had been reversed in the early months of 1949, the continual denunciations of the previous year had a lasting effect on the composer and his craft. Between the period of 1948 and 1953 the Soviet public heard only film scores and propagandist oratorios from Shostakovich's pen, while he set his more serious, complex works (Violin Concerto No. 1, *From Jewish Folk Poetry,* and String Quartet No. 4) aside until the political climate had relaxed.[2] In the latter works, Shostakovich resumed his exploration of the expressive qualities of the modal and rhythmic elements of the Jewish folk idiom that he began in the early 1940s in his orchestration of *Rothschild's Violin* and the Second Piano Trio, op. 67. The fusion of these Jewish elements enabled him to deliver multiple messages through their clashing characteristics. In the chamber works, the Fourth String Quartet especially, the profusion of the Jewish idiom became an intimate and personal dialogue between the artist and society.

---

[1] Taruskin, "Shostakovich and Us", 497.

[2] During this period he also composed *Four Monologues on Texts by A. Pushkin*, which has yet to receive a public premiere, and the 24 Preludes and Fugues. In 1953 Shostakovich also composed String Quartet No. 5 and Symphony No. 10, both of which were premiered at the end of that year (along with String Quartet No. 4).

String Quartet no. 4: Thoughts on Style and Meaning

Shostakovich continually pushed boundaries in his quartet writing in way that allowed for personal freedom at a time when he felt trapped. As discussed in Chapter 5, the genre afforded the composer multiple possibilities for personal expression and social commentary. As Kuhn has observed,

> [f]or Shostakovich, the dialogic questioning of traditional forms was one feature of his language that enabled participation in this discourse, and allowed his music, despite its constraints under which it was written, to speak eloquently and thoughtfully on the problems of the twentieth-century world.[3]

The Fourth String Quartet is no exception. The off-balance movement lengths and the formal anomalies in each movement reveal an expansion of formal capabilities in Shostakovich's string quartet writing. The premature development in Theme A of the first movement establishes an immediate sense of internal conflict and turmoil that does not seem to find complete resolution, even in the finale. In the second movement, Shostakovich continually expands and develops Theme A and creates a lamenting elegiac romance, while in the dizzying euphoric dance of the rondo he uses three distinct themes that are woven together in the musical struggle of the Coda section. The Coda collapses into new material based on alternating Jewish elements that link the rondo with the Hasidic dance in the finale. This material concludes one movement and introduces the next, acting as a transitional interlude between these movements, while also establishing the Jewish character of the finale.

The finale, like the first movement, manipulates the sonata design. After 27 measures of introductory material, two themes are explored in the exposition and then developed. At

[3] Kuhn, "Shostakovich in Dialogue", 443.

the recapitulation, however, Shostakovich presents not only both main themes, but he also re-presents the introductory material. This time, however, the alternating iambic primas and "um-pa" beat occur in unison between all four instruments and at an accelerated pace, a technique that heightens tension. With this accelerated tempo Shostakovich creates a feeling of internal panic before the return of Themes A and B. In the finale's Recapitulation and Coda sections Shostakovich alludes to the three previous movements and returns, yet again, to the introductory material. The quartet concludes with a fragmentation of the "um-pa" beat from the opening introductory material on pizzicato strings. Through the crisis of the opening movement, to the elegy of the second, Shostakovich establishes a sense of inner tension that is then released in the dizzying dance of the third and fourth movements.

In the Fourth String Quartet Shostakovich creates harmonic ambiguity through chromatic modulation, continual flattened scale degrees in an established key area, and elided cadences. Throughout the quartet, Shostakovich gravitates to minor and lowered altered key areas. Typical to Shostakovich's harmonic language, the quartet does not remain in the minor key areas established at the opening of formal sections; the composer quickly flattens pitches and creates modal ambiguity. The first movement shifts between D major and B and D minor, the second movement modulates chromatically from F major to Gflat and Eflat, the third movement begins and remains in C minor with the exception of shifts to G and A major. Because the finale opens with the new and transitioning material from the scherzo, the fourth movement begins in C minor, but Theme A shifts to D Dorian, turning to the "Jewish" modal colouring, which persists throughout the movement.

Throughout the final two movements, Shostakovich explores the contradictory clash of euphoric and dysphoric elements inherent in the Jewish musical idiom. The continual

shift towards flattened minor and Jewish modal key areas creates what Esti Sheinberg calls a dysphoric element. The state of dysphoria established in the shifting keys, and even in the dissonant intervals used at the opening of each movement and in the iambic primas, clashes with the euphoric moments in the dance figures in the scherzo and finale. These lowered key areas do not correspond with the euphoric nature of the scherzo's dizzying motives; rather, they seem to establish a sense of hysteria, almost panic at moments. This inner conflict established in the scherzo seeps into the Hasidic dance of the finale, where euphoric elements appear woven throughout the fabric of the movement's themes and their development. Through the interplay of the euphoric Hasidic dance and the dysphoric modal colouring, or what Shostakovich called the "jolly melody" built on "sad intonations," we find a tragic musical tension associated with the Jewish idiom. Beregovskii – and Shostakovich – attributes this quality to the semantic characteristics of the Dorian mode, a method of expressing "laughter through tears."

In the Fourth String Quartet Shostakovich's formal, harmonic, rhythmic and motivic language reveals an intimate and personal musical dialogue. Despite the use of clear and accessible melodic writing, the increase and decrease of formal, harmonic and rhythmic tension throughout the quartet's four movements creates a sense of crisis, struggle and despair in the score's fabric. The interjection of the "Chorale" motive in the Coda sections alters the mood in the final measures of the first, second and fourth movements: crisis, struggle and despair dissolve for moments of inner reflection.

The Jewish idiom intensifies the musical drama from the quartet's beginning to end. The idiom accumulates throughout the quartet: the drone and the parallel melodic fourths in the first movement, the iambic primas in the second movement, and the dizzying third theme

over an "um-pa" beat in the third movement establish a growing sense of "Jewishness" before the Hasidic dance of the finale begins. The interaction between the harmonic and rhythmic characteristics of the Jewish idiom in the third and final movements further intensifies the sense of internal tension and ambiguity as dance figurations are presented in lowered altered modes and minor key areas. Through these contradictory elements, Shostakovich found his personal response to the criticisms and persecution of 1948 – one that remained hidden until four years after its conception.

The End of Stalin's Rule

The death of Joseph Stalin in 1953 brought about many changes in the Soviet Union. In the months and years following his death, Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign was unveiled to the Soviet public, and Jews accused of being "anti-People" or having "cosmopolitan" tendencies had their criminal charges reversed. Between 1953 and 1955, Shostakovich's "Jewish" compositions were unveiled to the Soviet public; these works, which were once a composer's response to the Resolution on Music, were now a proclamation of a persecuted artist. Many heard these works as comments on anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, while others saw them as a method of identification with an oppressed minority. The period of political "relaxation" that followed Stalin's tight-gripped rule created an environment in which many artists felt relatively free to discuss the tragedies of the previous regime.

Nikita Khrushchev's reign in the late 1950s and early 1960s also saw many changes. Ilya Ehrenburg's monograph *Ottepel'* ("Thaw")[4] and Alexander Werth's *Russia Under*

[4] Ilya Ehrenburg, *Ottepel'* (Moskva, 1954). [Ilya Erenburg, *The Thaw*, translated by Manya Harari (Chicago, Illinois: H. Regnery Co., 1955).

Khrushchev[5] describe a country riddled with uncertainty after Joseph Stalin's death in 1953. The term, "Thaw", coined by Ehrenburg, signified the "loosening" of political control under Khrushchev, a period of "liberalism" or "relaxation" of the censors. This period saw the publication of two monumental works, the poem "Babii Yar" by Yevgeni Yevtushenko in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (1961) and *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in *Novy Mir* (1962). "Krushchev perhaps failed to foresee the enormous reaction provoked by the publication of such literature:" by 1963 he began tightening the reigns of control and literary censorship.[6] This "relaxation" was felt in the music world as well; many of Shostakovich's previously "forbidden" works saw their premiere and revival, including Symphony No. 4 and *Katerina Izmailova* (the revised and renamed version of his 1935 opera, *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*).[7] This period also saw Shostakovich's return to the Jewish folk idiom.

"The Power of Music"

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Shostakovich returned to the Jewish folk idiom in his third and final period of Jewish composition. He composed Cello Concerto No. 1, Op. 107, String Quartet No. 8, Op. 110 and Symphony No. 13, op. 113. He also premiered the 1948 orchestrated version of *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79a. While String Quartet No. 8 is commonly regarded as the composer's most private and intimate work, one based almost

---

[5] Alexander Werth, *Russia Under Khrushchev* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1962).

[6] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 400.

[7] Both of these compositions were tied to the 1936 "Muddle Instead of Music" denunciation; *Lady Macbeth* provoked the infamous *Pravda* editorial, and the Fourth Symphony was Shostakovich's first composition after the denunciation. Shostakovich withdrew the symphony from public performance the morning of its scheduled premiere, presumably due to the lack of preparation of the Leningrad Philharmonic and conductor Fritz Stiedry (see Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 115-20; and Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 95-98). Some colleagues, however, recalled that the symphony may have been withdrawn due to circulating rumors that the Fourth Symphony was "devilishly difficult and jam-packed with formalism." (see Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 95).

entirely on the DSCH motive and including quotations to crucial works from his oeuvre that preceded it,[8] Symphony No. 13 could be seen as an extroverted comment on anti-Semitism. The Symphony, known as the "Babii Yar", was composed at the height of the "Thaw", amid much public scrutiny.

On 19 September 1961 at the height of the political "Thaw" Yevgeni Yevtushenko's poem "Babii Yar" appeared in *Literaturnaya Gazeta.* Yevtushenko's poem condemned anti-Semitism and the absence of a monument at the Babii Yar ravine near Kiev where nearly 100,000 Jews were murdered in 1941.[9] Disappointed in Yevtushenko's poem, many critics chastised him for forgetting the tremendous loss Russians and Ukrainians felt during the Babii Yar tragedy. Shostakovich immediately set the poem to music, envisioning a one-movement cantata, and completed the orchestral setting of "Babii Yar" by 27 March 1962. As both Wilson and Fay observe, by the time he had completed the "Babii Yar" setting, Yevtushenko had "been subjected to a campaign of criticism"[10] and so Shostakovich set four other poems, creating a series of five scenes that would become Symphony No. 13 for solo bass and bass choir.[11]

Symphony No. 13 underwent much scrutiny following the premiere. This time, however, it was not the music that posed a problem, but the text of Yevtushenko's "Babii Yar". After the Symphony's premiere, Yevtushenko received an ultimatum to alter the text and indicate that Ukrainians and Russians were murdered alongside Jews in the Babii Yar

---

[8] In String Quartet No. 8, Shostakovich quoted the grotesque Jewish dance from the finale of Piano Trio No. 2, the principal motive from the Cello Concerto No. 1 (which is based on the DSCH motive), and a fragment from his opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District.* For more information on the quartet and the quotations, see David Fanning's monograph, *Shostakovich: String Quartet No. 8.*

[9] United States Holocaust Museum, "Kiev and Babii Yar" in *Holocaust Encyclopedia,* http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10005421 (Accessed January 23, 2008).

[10] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered,* 406.

[11] The five poems in Symphony No. 13 appear as a cycle, "Babii Yar", "Humour", "In the Store", "Fears" and "A Career".

ravine. Yevtushenko revised these stanzas to include Russians and Ukrainians and avoid further castigation for Jewish nationalism. Although Shostakovich did not like the new lines, he felt pressure to include Yevtushenko's revisions, and ultimately had to choose between having the symphony performed again, or not. According to Fay, Shostakovich "did not inscribe the new text in his manuscript score."[12] He incorporated the new lines into the score for the February 1963 performance in Moscow, but then returned to the original text in two performances in Minsk a few months later. Shortly after its premiere, performance of Symphony No. 13 was no longer encouraged, although, of course, not prohibited.[13]

During the Symphony's rehearsals, Shostakovich made a rare, yet powerful statement on his strong beliefs against anti-Semitism. At a rehearsal, the bass understudy Vitali Gromadsky, asked the composer,

> Dmitri Dmitriyevich, why did you choose this poem when there is no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union? Why write about it in your symphony?

Shostakovich, as the conductor Kirill Kondrashin recalls in Wilson's monograph, almost shouted his response,

> No, there is, there is anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It is an outrageous thing, and we must fight it. We must shout about it from the rooftops.[14]

This would be the only instance in which the composer spoke openly about anti-Semitism, and reveals Shostakovich's anger towards this gross human injustice. Shostakovich himself stated, "I have always been interested in the social behaviour of man the citizen. In my Thirteenth Symphony I pondered the problem of civic, repeat, *civic*, morality."[15] His setting

---

[12] Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, 236.

[13] Ibid., 237.

[14] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 407.

[15] Translated in Dmitri Shostakovich, "Editor's Note", *Collected Works, Symphony No. 13 for Bass, Bass Choir and Symphony Orchestra, Op. 113 (1962)*, vol. 7 (Moskva: Izdatelctvo "Muzyka", 1980. Originally in M. Shaginyan, "About Dmitry Shostakovich", (Moscow, 1979), 12.

of Yevtushenko's poem revealed his support not only of the young poet, but also of the Soviet Jewish community and the need for a monument or recognition of their loss. Two years after the "Babii Yar" Symphony's premiere, Shostakovich premiered the orchestral setting of *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, op. 79(a). He would not return to the idiom in any compositional projects, and these final two orchestral compositions became, perhaps, his final statement against anti-Semitism.

In Symphony No. 13 Shostakovich relied heavily on a Russian folk idiom for its extroverted condemnation of anti-Semitism, not the "Jewish" idiom he had drawn on in his earlier "Jewish" compositions. Shostakovich may not have needed the musical idiom to deliver his message. The poem itself spoke to Soviet society about the persecution of Jews, and by merging his own ethnic Russian idiom with Yevtushenko's text, Shostakovich's setting revealed his support of the oppressed minority. In the more private chamber and instrumental works such as the Second Piano Trio and the Fourth and Eighth String Quartets, however, the proliferation of the Jewish musical idiom was necessary for the communication of his internal struggle, as words could not be spoken to convey such feelings. As Braun stated: the more intense the Jewish musical idiom, the more hidden the meaning.[16] In his chamber works, the idiom became one of the composer's personal codes for expressing his most intimate thoughts about struggle, crisis, and helplessness after continual persecution and condemnation.

[16] Braun, "The Double Meaning of Jewish Elements", 76.

Intention vs. Interpretation

In a country that had been lashed by a vicious wave of anti-Semitism, the most prominent Russian composer had the courage to present a work that spoke of Jews with both pity and compassion. As a result, his "Jewish" works became a testament to the fears, anger and feelings of betrayal of the Soviet Jewry and one could not avoid the assumption that Shostakovich's own feelings of oppression resonated through his "Jewish" works. Much of the problem in Shostakovich studies lies in the difference between intention and interpretation. Because the composer did not leave a diary, and rarely made public commentary (written or oral) about the meaning or intention behind his works, we cannot ascribe an intention to any particular composition. That said we have the ability to learn a lot about the music from the context in which Shostakovich composed the music, the idiom he used (as well as continual use of said idiom), and the appearance of quotation or allusion to other works (or other composers' works). Combined, these aspects of analytical inquiry reveal much about the composition in question, public interpretation, and the possible meanings or readings.

The lack of existing documentation has led to a divide in Shostakovich scholarship over the his intention in composing these "Jewish" works. Fay has suggested that Shostakovich was both following Weinberg's lead, as well as "turning to ethnic sources that genuinely stimulated his creative imaginations" – unfortunately he merely chose the "wrong" folk.[17] Her opposition, however, argues that Shostakovich turned to the Jewish folk idiom in dissident protest and as a method of self-identification with an oppressed minority. Both of these arguments have problems. Fay's assertion suggests that Shostakovich, who

[17] Fay, "Composer Was Courageous", H27.

was surrounded by Jewish intellectuals and artists, was completely ignorant of the changing political climate. Likewise, because Shostakovich did not leave any documentation concerning his artistic intention, we cannot establish that he turned the Jewish folk in dissident protest. Even though new information may appear to answer some questions concerning Shostakovich's knowledge of the anti-Semitic campaign, many questions are still, and may forever remain, unanswered. Both sides of the debate are ascribing answers to questions without documentation to verify or support their claims. In fact, they are overlooking each other's arguments, as we may begin to find another possible answer in their fusion.

The idea of looking at the middle ground is by no means a new phenomenon for Russian and Soviet cultural scholarship, let alone Shostakovich scholarship. Russian and Soviet artists often found ways of shading or coding their work so that multiple layers of meaning could co-exist. On the surface these works would appear to appeal to the state censors and ideological policies, yet within their fabric lies many other possible readings and meanings that could only be understood by those in an artist's circle. This type of artistic *doublespeak* permitted individuals to think and speak critically about their surroundings, question ideologies, and reveal their true beliefs and oppositional stances, while superficially conforming to Party rule.

One could easily see Shostakovich's taking up of the Jewish folk idiom as an attempt to follow the Party's Resolution on Music in genuine hopes of redeeming himself. Shostakovich had turned to the idiom in December 1947 in the scherzo movement of the First Violin Concerto, his first work of the second Jewish period. In the months following the demands of the Resolution on Music Shostakovich carefully selected text for a Jewish

song cycle, researched its rhythmic flow, and arranged each of the eight songs in simple and accessible melodic writing. He then premiered the work at his private birthday party (25 September, 1948) and added three final songs in October, bringing the total count to eleven. As he added these final songs, Shostakovich also orchestrated the cycle. As the political climate shifted and revealed and upsurge of anti-Semitism, Shostakovich decided to delay the premiere of these two Jewish works, and put them aside until the political climate had relaxed.

Shostakovich, however, was not naïve in his choice of folk, one that was not his own, and one that was under heavy political and cultural scrutiny. Shostakovich, as Esti Sheinberg stated, "was not as stupid as to believe that 'a folk is a folk is a folk, and it doesn't matter which folk idiom you choose for your works as long as it is a folk idiom'."[18] In addition, while anti-Semitism was on the rise in the Soviet Union Shostakovich did not cease his use of the idiom. After the reversal of the 1948 Resolution and ban on his music in early 1949, Shostakovich drew on the harmonic and rhythmic elements of Jewish folk music in his carefully crafted Fourth String Quartet that captured intimate moments of internal conflict and extreme sorrow. He also drew on aspects of the Jewish idiom in his homage to Bach, the *24 Preludes and Fugues*, op. 87, and in the first song in the cycle *Four Monologues on Texts by A. Pushkin*, op. 91. By continually turning to the Jewish folk idiom at a time when anti-Semitism was on the rise in the Soviet Union, Shostakovich made an important career decision and political statement – whether or not he intended to do so. Shostakovich, as discussed in previous chapters, found genuine inspiration in the modal and rhythmic characteristics of the Jewish folk idiom. Yet, external to these purely aesthetic

[18] Sheinberg, "Shostakovich's 'Jewish Music'", 93.

interests, this body of work aligned the composer with the oppressed Jewish minority, and, for many, became a sign of his identification with a persecuted group. The composer's intention, then, fades into the background and public interpretation plays a significant role. On the surface, these hidden "Jewish" works fulfilled the criteria of the Party's Resolution, however, in the layers of subtext made manifest in the choice of folk and the combination of dysphoric and euphoric qualities we find a more personal response.

Conclusions

Like many Soviet artists, Shostakovich used his craft to explore the role of the individual and artist in society.[19] In 1998 Yakubov stated,

> Shostakovich was acutely sensitive... to the ambiguity of all that went on around him, to those glimmering, elusive double-meanings that everything possessed, but which we ourselves have only recently begun to acknowledge as an agonizing aspect of our former physical, social, and psychological lives [in the USSR].[20]

Shostakovich's music then, represented not only his own story, but also the story of artists and intellectuals living under Soviet rule. Through double-meanings and opposing characteristics, he expressed musically what many could not verbalize in a time of stifling censorship and fear. His music had immense social value and is the effect of an "uncontrollable play of subtexts." Subtext in Shostakovich's music was precisely what the Soviet government feared. As Taruskin observes, "what made Shostakovich's music the secret diary of a nation was not only what he put into it but what it allowed listeners to draw out."[21]

---

[19] Kuhn has also reflected in this aspect of Shostakovich's music, as one of the messages found in his string quartets ("Shostakovich in Dialogue", 442).

[20] Yakubov, "Sound-Allegories," accessed 30 April, 2008.

[21] Taruskin, "Shostakovich and Us", 475.

The internal conflict present in the Fourth Quartet captures turmoil on multiple levels. On the one hand, the internal crisis is purely a musical phenomenon; Shostakovich contracts and expands formal structures, shifts seamlessly between key areas through chromatic modulation, and emphasizes a clash of opposing musical elements and idioms. On the other hand, this music conveys both personal and social messages. The use of a predominantly Jewish idiom in the intimate string quartet heightens the musical and emotional tension. The lowered modal harmonies in combination with the "um-pa" rhythmic figurations create a contradictory clash of dysphoric and euphoric elements, a manner of expressing tragic emotions through a jovial dance. Shostakovich turned to the idiom for creative expression, and through this fusion he found a musical language that permitted multiple messages and meanings. His "Jewish" compositions, especially the intimate quartets, shifted seamlessly between opposing emotions: conflict and calm, sorrow and hope, and struggle and freedom. The use of an idiom from a persecuted minority enabled Shostakovich to contemplate his own persecution and explored a musical language that drew on contradicting elements for emotional tension. The idiom of the persecuted Jew became an important idiom that Shostakovich could turn to as a method of expressing his intimate thoughts and private struggles.

Shostakovich often drew on opposing characteristics to express the tragedy of living under Soviet rule. He naturally gravitated towards contradicting elements in his personal exploration. According to Yakubov,

> He would combine the lyric with the grotesque, and joy with irony, while the weak voice of hope was filtered through the deepest of despair. Grief was intertwined, somewhat paradoxically yet perfectly naturally, with lighthearted frivolity and mindless merriment.[22]

[22] Yakubov, "Sound-Allegories," accessed 30 April, 2008.

In the Fourth String Quartet Shostakovich drew on opposing musical characteristics in creative expression of both personal and collective tragedies. The contrast of the dysphoric lowered altered modes and euphoric rhythmic elements of the Jewish folk idiom went hand in hand with his desire to express contradicting emotions in his music, which allowed for multiple readings on the part of his audience. Thus, the composer relied on these opposing musical elements in his Fourth String Quartet to open a dialogue with Soviet society, and future audiences. After suffering a year of continual denunciation, the Jewish folk idiom afforded him the possibility of fulfilling the Party demands for folk-inspired music while also expressing musically the tragedy of the persecuted artist.

APPENDIX A: Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich's Three "Jewish" Periods[1]

TITLE	DATE OF COMPOSITION	DEDICATION	DATE OF PREMIERE	VENUE	PERFORMERS	JEWISH CONTENT
FIRST PERIOD: 1943-44						
Orchestration of Veniamin Fleishman's opera *Rothschild's Violin*	1943	-	20 July 1960	-	Moscow State Philharmonic Society	Entire work: Based on a short story by Anton Chekhov about an anti-Semite who repents on his deathbed and gives his violin to a Jewish musician.[2]
Trio for Violin, Cello, and Piano, Op. 67	1944	To the memory of Ivan Ivanovich Sollertinsky (musicologist and best friend)	14 November 1944	Moscow Conservatory Bolshoi Hall	Dmitri Tsyganov (violin), Sergei Shirinsky (cello), Dmitri Shostakovich (piano)	4th movement: *allegretto* Contains a traditional Jewish folk dance in the fourth movement. Some sources believe this was a ritual dance that Jews sang as they dug their graves in the Holocaust. Uses the Jewish altered Dorian mode, "um-pa" rhythmic accompaniment and iambic primes.

[1] Compiled from two sources: the chart on pages 70 and 71 of Joachim Braun's essay "The Double Meaning of Jewish Elements in Dimitri Shostakovich's Music" (*The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 71, no. 1 (1985) 70-1) and Derek C. Hulme's book *Dmitri Shostakovich: Catalogue, Bibliography, and Discography* (Landhamm Md: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

[2] Judith Kuhn, "Looking Again at the Jewish Inflections in Shostakovich's String Quartets" in *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe*, ed. and Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter. (Verlag Ernst Kuhn: Berlin, 2001): 182.

SECOND PERIOD: 1947-53						
Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 77	1947-8	David Fyodorovich Oistrakh (violinist)	19 September, 1955	Leningrad Philharmonic Hall	David Oistrakh (violin) with the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra; Yevgeni Mravinsky (conductor)	2nd movement: *scherzo* Uses 'klemer texture' and "um-pa" rhythmic accompaniment.[3]
From Jewish Folk Poetry, Op. 79	1948	-	15 January 1955	Leningrad Glinka Concert Hall	Nina Dorliak (soprano), Zara Dolukhanova (mezzo-soprano), Aleksei Maslennikov (tenor) and Dmitri Shostakovich (piano)	Subject matter: uses traditional Yiddish and Hebrew texts from a collection by Dobrushkin and Yinitsky. - Use of Jewish altered Dorian and Phrygian modes, iambic prime, and "um-pa" rhythmic figuration as well as 'musicalised speech.'[4]
String Quartet No. 4 in D major, Op. 83	1949	In memory of Pyotor Vladimirovich Vilyams (designer)	3 December 1953	Moscow Conservatory Malyi Hall	Beethoven String Quartet (Dmitri Tsyganov, Vasili Shirinsky, Vadim Borisovsky, and Sergei Shirinsky)	4th movement: *allegretto* (3rd movement also contains "Jewish" musical inflections) - Use of Jewish altered Dorian/Phrygian modes as well as a fusion of these modes (Alexandrian Pentachords), features the interval of an augmented second, and "um-pa"

[3] Ibid,, 182.
[4] Ibid., 182.

						rhythmic figurations and iambic prime.
24 Preludes and Fugues, Op. 87	1950-51	-	23 & 28 December 1952	Leningrad Glinka Hall	Tatyana Nikolayeva	Pr./F. no. 8 Pr. no. 14 F. no. 16 Pr. no. 17 F. no. 19 F. no. 24 Use of iambic prime, "um-pa" rhythmic figurations.
Four Monologues on texts by A. Pushkin for Voice and Piano, Op. 91	1952	-	-	-	-	No. 1: *The Fragment [In a Jewish Hut]* Use of Jewish subject in text.
THIRD PERIOD: 1959-70						
Concerto for Cello and Orchestra no. 1, Op. 107	1959	Mstislav Leopoldovich Rostropovich (cellist)	21 September 1959 4 October 1959	USSR Composers' Club, Moscow Leningrad Philharmonic Bolshoi Hall	Mstislav Rostropovich (cello) and Dmitri Shostakovich (piano) Mstislav Rostropovich with the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra; Yevgeni Mravinsky (conductor)	4rd movement: *allegro con moto* Use of Jewish altered Phrygian mode, "um-pa" rhythmic figuration and syncopated rhythms. Kuhn suggests that the first and second movement also contain "Jewish" musical inflections.[5]

[5] Ibid., 183.

String Quartet no. 8, Op. 110	1960	In memory of the victims of fascism and war[6]	2 October 1960	Leningrad Glinka Hall	Beethoven String Quartet (Dmitri Tsyganov, Vasili Shirinsky, Vadim Borisovsky, and Sergei Shirinsky)	2nd movement: *Allegro molto* (Uses a uotataion of the Jewish folk dance from the finale *Trio no. 2*)
Symphony no. 13, Op. 113 for Bass solo, Bass Choir and Orchestra	1962	-	18 and 20 December 1962	Moscow Conservatory Bolshoi Hall	Vitali Gromadsky (bass), Republican State and Gnessin Institute Choirs (basses only) with the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra; Kiril Kondrashin (conductor)	1st movement: *Babi Yar* "Jewish" subject matter. Set to a text by Yevgeni Yevtushenko about the massacre at the Babi Yar ravine in Kiev during WWII.
From Jewish Folk Poetry, Op. 79a for Voice and Orchestra	1963[7]		19 February 1964	Gorky (now Nizhni Novgorod)	Galina Pisarenko (soprano), Larissa Avdeyeva (mezzo-soprano), Aleksei Maslennikov (tenor), with the Gorky Philharmonic Orchestra; Gennadi Rozhdestvensky (conductor)	Entire work (traditional Yiddish and Hebrew texts from a collection by M. Dobrushkin and A. D. Yinitsky, edited by Yuri Sokolov) (see notes for *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79)
Editor-in-Chief of Song Collection *New Jewish Songs*, compiled by Z. Kompanejetz	-	-	-	-	-	Entire work

[6] As David Fanning points out in his book, *Shostakovich: String Quartet No. 8*, this dedication does not actually appear on the manuscript but has been passed through history from the "conductors of Rudolf Barhsai's chamber orchestra arrangement". (9)

[7] The autograph score for Opus 79a contains the date 1 October 1948, but the date usually given is 1963 (more research needs to be conducted in regards to the actual date of composition of this orchestral version).

Appendix B: The Alexandrian Pentachord

In 1966 Soviet theorist Alexander Dolzhanskii discovered a new modal formation in Shostakovich's music that he labeled the "Alexandrian Pentachord". Although he does not speak of the Jewish idiom in this article, this modal formation does indeed relate to Shostakovich's fused Jewish mode formation. Thus, the "Alexandrian Pentachord" is another important element of Shostakovich's "Jewish" sound. At the "International Centenary Conference" for Shostakovich's life and music in Bristol, England, Katerina Slutskaya shed light on the use of the "Alexandrian Pentachord" as an element of "Jewishness" in Shostakovich's music. Aleksandr Dolzhanskii uncovered this new modal language in his final analytical essay, "Alexandrian Pentachord in the Music of Dmitri Shostakovich,"[1] revealing the composer's tendency to use altered modes, which he then named "Alexandrian Pentachords" (after himself). In Bristol, Slutskaya illustrated Shostakovich's use of the pentachord and illuminated one particular modal variation that was actually a fusion of the two Jewish altered modes, and appeared in many of Shostakovich's "Jewish" compositions, especially those of the second period. The following is a description of Dolzhanskii's theory of the "Alexandrian Pentachord" as found in the music of Shostakovich.

[1] Aleksandr Dolzhanskii, "Alexandriĭskiĭ pentakhord v muzyke Shostakovicha," [The Alexandrian Pentachord in the Music of Shostakovich] *Izbranniye Stat'i* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Muzyka, 1973).

"The Alexandrian Pentachord in the Music of Shostakovich"

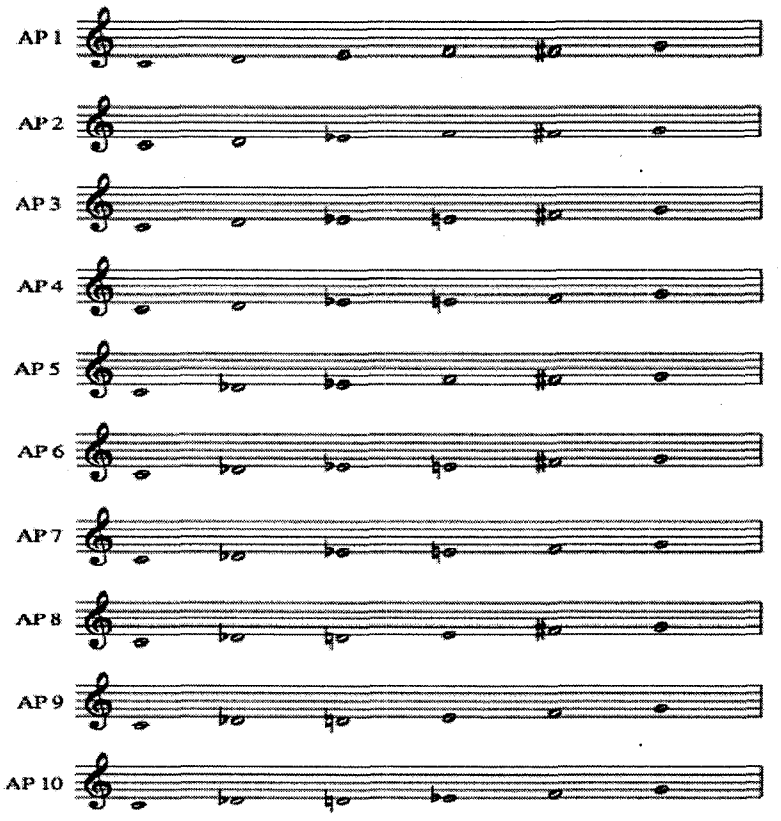
The "Alexandrian Pentachord" is a diatonic scale that does not exceed three and a half tones, or a perfect fifth. Instead of the usual number of four intervals one would encounter in the lower pentachord of a C major scale, however, the number of intervals is increased to five. Therefore, the "Alexandrian Pentachord" does not exceed a perfect fifth, but within that range there are five intervals between six pitches (rather than 4 intervals between 5 pitches). As Dolzhanskii states, the "six-tone scale within the limits of three and a half tones must consist of: [either] (a) four semi-tones and one tone and a half, or (b) three semi-tones and two tones."[2] As one might assume from this statement, unlike the major or minor scale, the Alexandrian Pentachord is not a fixed pattern; rather, there are a number of possible variants of tones to semi-tones within the range of three and a half tones. For example, if we examine only the scales with three semi-tones and two tones, there are 10 possible combinations on which one can build the pentachords (Ex. B.1).

Example B.1: 10 Possible Combinations of Alexandrian Pentachords[3]

* 'Т' represents a *ton* (tone) and 'П' represents a *poluton* (semi-tone)

1) т т п п п	6) п т п т п
2) т п т п п	7) п т п п т
3) т п п т п	8) п п т т п
4) т п п п т	9) п п т п т
5) п т т п п	10) п п п т т

[2] Ibid., 87.
[3] Ibid., 87.



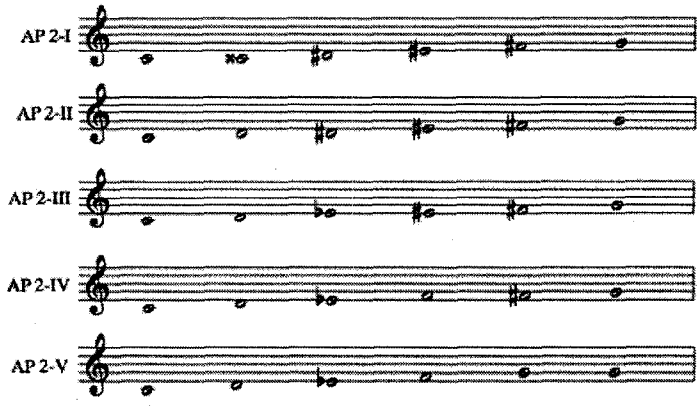
Dolzhanskii then provides a formula for determining the pitches in each variation. First, as stated earlier, each scale must be constructed of pitches within the range of a perfect fifth (c, d, e, f, g) and second, they must be expanded pentachords consisting of five intervals of which (1) four pitches are represented in one form and (2) one pitch is represented in two forms. This simply means that four of the pitches will only be represented once (or in one form), as either a flat, naturalized or sharp note, for example, C, Dflat, Eflat and G. The remaining pitch will be split to reveal two variants of one pitch (or two forms), as an F-natural and F#.[4] Depending on which scale degree is split into two forms, Dolzhanskii states that it is "possible to form equal enharmonic musical scales on the

[4] Ibid., 88.

basis of each of the 10 formulae, each with a different modal meaning."[5] For example, the second formula (т п т п п) can be spelled in five different ways, as observed in Example B.2.[6]

Example B.2: Enharmonic Musical Scales of AP 2

*This example reveals the possible enharmonic spellings of Alexandrian Pentachord 2 (AP 2). A new degree is "split" chromatically in each scale.



In Shostakovich's music, we encounter varying constructions of the Alexandrian Pentachord, but the most typical is built on the symmetrical sixth formula, п т п т п (Ex. B.3). Of course, five possible variants of this formula can be constructed (Ex. B.4), the third, AP III, being one that Shostakovich drew on. It is imperative to note here the resemblance between the sixth formula (п т п т п) and the Rimsky-Korsakov, or octatonic, scale (т п т п т п т п). This is an important relationship, for it reveals the Russian modal and

[5] Ibid., 88.

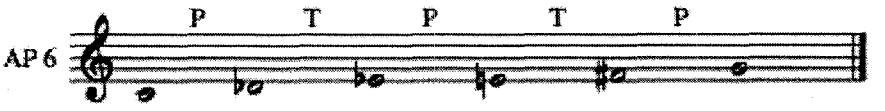
[6] Ibid., 88-9. Here Dolzhanskii points out that, of these five variations, the fourth forms the bottom of a minor scale with an additional raised fourth degree and that the third variation "seems extremely eccentric and hardly likely applicable in music."

compositional lineage between Shostakovich and his predecessor. One might argue here that this Pentachord is merely a variant of the Rimsky-Korsakov scale, however, regardless the similarities, both composers draw in this scalar pattern to achieved different melodic and harmonic colourings. Rimsky-Korsakov often achieved a colouring we often associate as either "oriental" or a distinctly "Russian" folk sound depending on its musical context. The third variation of the sixth formula (AP III), however, is an interesting and important one in the Jewish works of Shostakovich: it is a fusion of the two altered Jewish modes (Ex. B.5). In this fusion, the lowered pitches (D and E) and the raised pitch (F) are retained from both Jewish altered modes, preserving the augmented seconds in both modes. In addition, Shostakovich alternates between the naturalized and flattened third scale degree (here, E and Eflat) in one melodic line, establishing both harmonic ambiguities and, at times, dissonance. By fusing these two modes, as Zemtsovsky observes, "the high degree of melodic ('intonational') interaction (*kontaktnost'*) of Jewish music, of its traditional openness to external influences and its own ability to enter other cultures."[7] Thus, we have here two examples of how these modes are open to cultural affiliation. Shostakovich established his own personal "Jewish" modal colouring (one that also had strong Russian ties), as well as a way in which he can transition between the two Jewish modes if he so chooses. It is this third variation (AP III) that appears in the fourth movement of String Quartet no. 4, op. 83, as seen in the analysis in Chapter 5.

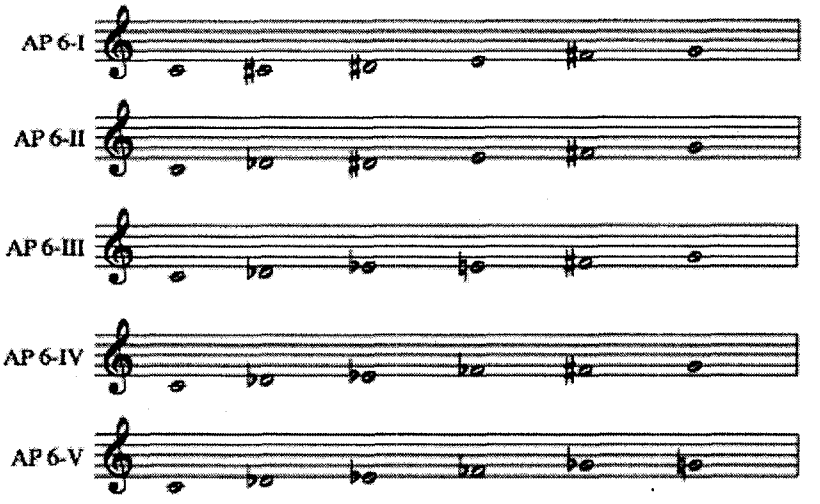
By drawing on traditional "Jewish" musical idioms and fusing the two Jewish altered modes in the Alexandrian Pentachord, Shostakovich created his own personal "Jewish" musical language – one that he drew on in times of personal and cultural despair.

[7] Zemtsovsky, "Foreword", xii.

Ex. B.3: The Sixth formula of the Alexandrian Pentachord (π τ π τ π)

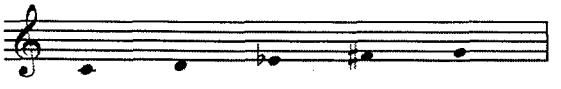


Ex. B.4: Five variants of the AP, Sixth formula (π τ π τ π)



Ex. B.5: Jewish Altered Phrygian and Dorian modes and APIII

Jewish altered Dorian



Jewish altered Phrygian

Fused Jewish Altered Phrygian and Dorian modes (AP 6-III)

Bibliography

Alliluyeva, Svetlana. *Only One Year.* New York: Harper & Row, 1969.

Ardov, Rev. Michael. *Memories of Shostakovich: Interviews with the Composer's Children.* London: Short Books, 2004.

Baxter, Jeffrey William. "A Descriptive Analysis of the Yevtushenko Settings of Dmitri Shostakovich." D.M.A. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1988.

Beregovskaya, Eda. *Arfi na verbakh: Prizvanie i sud'ba Moiseia Beregovskogo.* Moskva: Evreiskii universitet v Moskva, 1994.

Beregovski, Moshe. *Old Jewish Folk Music: the Collections and Writing of Moshe Beregovski*, edited by Mark Slobin, 19-43. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

———. *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music: the Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski.* Edited by Mark Slobin, Robert Rothstein, and Michael Alpert. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001.

———. "The Altered Dorian Scale in Jewish Folk Music: On the Question of the Semantic Characteristics of Scales." In *Old Jewish Folk Music: the Collections and Writing of Moshe Beregovskii,* edited by Mark Slobin 549-567. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

———. *Evreiskaia narodnaia instrumental'naia muzyka* [Jewish Instrumental Folk Music]. Edited by Max Goldin. Moscow: Sovetskiy kompozitor, 1987.

Bartlett, Rosamund. *Shostakovich in Context.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bobrovsky, Viktor. "Kamernye instrumental'nyet ansambli Shostakovicha." [The Chamber Instrumental Ensembles of Shostakovich] *Sovetskiye Kompozitor* (1961), 137.

Bouscant, Liouba. *Les quatuors a cordes de Chostakovitch.* France: Univers Musical, 2003.

Braun, Joachim. "The Double Meaning of Jewish Elements in Dimitri Shostakovich's Music." *The Musical Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (1985), 68-80.

———. "Fifty Years Ago: October 1954-March 1955." *DSCH Journal* (January, 2005), 31-4.

———. *Jews and Jewish Elements in Soviet Music: a Study of a Socio-National Problem in Music.* Tel-Aviv: Israeli Music Publications, 1978.

———. "Jews in Soviet Music." In *Jews in Soviet Culture*, edited Jack Miller, 65-106. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1984.

———. "The Jewish National School in Russia." In *Proceedings of the World Conference of Jewish Music: Jerusalem 1978*, edited by Judith Cohen, 198-203. Tel Aviv: Institute for Translation of Hebrew Literature, 1982.

———. "The Unpublished Volumes of Moshe Beregovski's Jewish Musical Folklore." In *Israel Studies in Musicology* (1987), 125-44.

———. *Shostakovich's Jewish Songs: 'From Jewish Folk Poetry', Op. 79: Introductory essay with original Yiddish Underlay.* Israel Taligraph, Tel-Aviv: World Council for Yiddish and Jewish Culture and Institute "Yad Lezlilei Hashoa," 1989.

———. "Shostakovich's Song Cycle *From Jewish Folk Poetry:* Aspects of Style and Meaning." In *Russian and Soviet Music: Essays for Boris Schwartz,* edited by Malcolm Hamrick Brown, 259-286. Ann Arbor, Michigan, UMI Research Press, 1984.

Brown, Malcolm Hamrich, ed. *Mussorgsky, in Memoriam 1881-1981.* Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1982.

———. *Shostakovich Casebook.* Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Brym, Robert J. *The Jewish Intelligentsia and Russian Marxism: A Sociological Study of Intelllectual Radicalism and Ideological Divergence.* London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1978.

Cang, Joel. *The Silent Millions: A History of the Jews in the Soviet Union.* New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1970.

Carpenter, Ellen D. "Russian Music Theory: A Conspectus." In *Russian Theoretical Thought in Music*, edited by Gordon D. McQuere, 1-83. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983.

———. "Russian theorists on modality in Shostakovich's music." In *Shostakovich Studies,* edited by David Fanning, 76-112. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

———. "The Theory of Music in Russia and the Soviet Union, ca. 1650-1950." Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 1988.

Dolzhansky, Aleksandr. "Alexandriiskii pentakhord v muzykye Shostakovicha." [The Alexandrian Pentachord in the Music of Shostakovich] *Izbrannye Stat'i.* Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Muzyka, 1973.

———. "O ladovoy ocnovye sochinenii Shostakovicha." [About the Modal Basis of the Compositions of Shostakovich] *Cherti Stilia D. Shostakovicha.* Moskva, 1962.

———. "Kamerniye instrumental'niye proizvedeniya D. Shostakovicha" [Instrumental Chamber Works of D. Shostakovich] *Izbrannye stat'I*, 120-151. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Muzyka, 1973.

Downes, Olin. "Changes in the Soviet: Shostakovich Affair Shows Shift in Point of View in the USSR." *New York Times,* April 12, 1936, X5.

———. "Composing in War Time Russia." *New York Times*, December 23, 1945, X6.

———. "Composing by Fiat." *New York Times*, February 22, 1948, X7.

———. "Effect of an Epoch: How it Conditions a Composer's Work in Soviet Russia Examined Again." *New York Times*, December 1, 1946, X7.

———. "Music and Bolshevism: Russia's Mistaken Attempts to Subdue Art to Politics." *New York Times*, January 8, 1933, X6.

———. "New Soviet Opera is Presented Here: 'Lady Macbeth of Mzensk' by Shostakovich Staged by Cleveland Orchestra." *New York Times*, February 6, 1935, 23.

———. "Russia's Mistaken Attempts to Subdue Art to Politics." *New York Times*, January 8, 1933, X6.

———. "Russia's Musical Life Today." *New York Times,* March 11, 1945, X5.

Dubinsky, Rostislav. *Stormy Applause: Making Music in a Workers State.* London: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1989.

Dyer, Paul Eugene. "Cyclic Techniques in the String Quartets of Dmitri Shostakovich." PhD diss., Florida State University, 1977.

Edmunds, Neil. *Soviet Music and Society Under Lenin and Stalin: The Baton and Sickle.* New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004.

Ehrenburg, Ilya. *Ottepel'.* [*Thaw*] Moskva: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1954.

———. "Po povodu odnogo pis'ma" [Concerning a letter]. *Pravda,* 21 September 1948.

———. "Po povodu odnogo pis'ma" [Concerning a letter] in *The Soviet Government and the Jews: 1948-67.* Translated and Edited by Benjamin Pinkus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

———. *The Thaw*, translated by Manya Harari. Chicago, Illinois: H. Regnery Co., 1955.

Fairclough, Pauline. "Facts, Fantasies, and Fictions: Recent Shostakovich Studies." *Music & Letters* 86, no. 3 (2005), 452-60.

Fanning, David. "Shostakovich: The Present-Day Master of the C Major Key." *Acta Musicologica* 73, fasc. 2 (2001), 101-40.

———. *Shostakovich: String Quartet no. 8.* Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

———, ed. *Shostakovich Studies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Fay, Laurel Elizabeth. "The Last String Quartets of Dmitri Shostakovich." PhD diss., Cornell University, 1978.

———. *Shostakovich: A Life.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

———, ed. *Shostakovich and His World.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004.

———. "Shostakovich versus Volkov: Whose Testimony?" *Russian Review* 39, no. 4 (1980), 484-93.

———. "Shostakovich Was Courageous But Not as Much as in Myth." *New York Times,* April 14, 1996, H27.

Gitelman, Zvi. *A Century of Ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

———. *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics: The Jewish Sections of the CPSU, 1917-1930.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Hakobian, Levon. *Music of the Soviet Age 1917-1987.* Stockholm, Sweden: Melos Music Literature, 1998.

Ho., Allan B. and Dmitry Feofanov, eds. *Shostakovich Reconsidered.* New York: Toccata Press, 1998.

Jackson, Timothy L. "A Contribution to the Musical Poetics of Dmitri Shostakovich: Observations on 'Putting the Jew back in Christ.'" *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe,* edited by Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter, 19-55. Verlag Ernst Kuhn: Berlin, 2001.

Jemian, Rebecca Ann. "Tonality of the String Quartets of Dmitri Shostakovich." Master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1983.

Keldish, Yuri. "Avtobiograficheskiy kvartet." [An Autobiographical Quartet] *Sovetskaya Muzika.* No. 12 (1960), 19-23.
———. "An Autobiographical Quartet" *Musical Times*, CII (1961), 226-8.

Kenez, Peter. *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Khazdan, Evgeny. "The first Jewish National School in Music and the Contemporary Jewish Art Music in St. Petersburg: Historical and Musical Parallels." *Jüdische Kunstmusik im 20. Jahrhundert,* edited by Jascha Nemtsov, 233-241. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.

Khentova, Sofia. *D.D. Shostakovich: tridtsatiletiye 1945-74* [D.D. Shostakovich: The Thirty years 1945-75]. Leningrad, Russia: "Sov. kompozitor," 1982.

———. *Shostakovich: zhizn' i tvorchestvo* [Shostakovich: Life and Works]. Leningrad, Russia: "Sov. kompozitor," 1985-86; 2/1996.

———. *V mire Shostakovicha* [In the World of Shostakovich]. Moscow, Russia: Izdatel'stvo obedinenie "Kompozitor", 1996.

Kholopov, Yuri Nikolayevich. 'Lad' [Mode], *Sovietskaya muzykal'naya entsiklopediya*, iii. Moscow, 1976, col. 131.

Kostyrchenko, Gennadiy. *Out of the Red Shadows: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia.* Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995.

Koval, M. "Tvorcheskii put' D. Shostakovich" [Shostakovich's creative path] *Sovietskaia muzyka.* No. 2: 47-61; No. 3: 31-43; No. 4: 8-19 (1948).

Kramer, Lawrence. *Musical meaning: Toward a Critical History.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Kravets, Nelly. "*From Jewish Folk Poetry* of Shostakovich and *Jewish Songs* Op. 17 of Weinberg: Music and Power" in *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe*, edited by Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter, 279-297. Verlag Ernst Kuhn: Berlin, 2001.

Krebs, Stanley Dale. *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1970.

Kuhn, Ernst, Andreas Wehrmeyes and Gunter Wolter, eds. *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe* [Dmitri Shostakovich and the Jewish Heritage in Music]. Berlin: Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 2001.

Kuhn, Judith E. "Aspects of Meaning in Shostakovich's String Quartets." Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2006.

———. "Looking Again at the Jewish Inflections in Shostakovich's String Quartets" in *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das judische musikalische Erbe*, edited by Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter, 180-199. Verlag Ernst Kuhn: Berlin, 2001.

———. "Shostakovich's Intimate Voice: an approach to language and meaning in the Fourth Quartet." Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Miluakee, 2000.

———. "Shostakovich in Dialogue: Form and Imagery in the First Six String Quartets." PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2005.

Leafstedt, Carl Stuart. "A Study and Analysis of the String Quartets of Dmitri Shostakovich." Undergraduate thesis, Williams College, Department of Music, 1986.

Leibman, Ludmilla. "Teaching the Holocaust Through Music." D.M.A. diss., Boston University, 1999.

Lustiger, Arno. *Stalin and the Jews: The Tragedy of the Soviet Jews and the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee.* New York: Enigma Books, 2003.

MacDonald, Ian. "Fay Versus Shostakovich: Whose Stupidity?" *East European Jewish Affairs*, 26 (Winter 1996), 5-26.

———. *The New Shostakovich.* London: Fourth Estate, 1990.

Maes, Francis. *A History of Russian Music from Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2002.

Mason, Colin. "Form in Shostakovich's Quartets" *MT.* CIII (1962): 531-3.

Maximenkov, Leonid. "Shostakovich and Stalin: Letters to a "Friend"", in *Shostakovich and His World*, 43-58. Edited by Laurel Fay. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

McCreless, Patrick. "Dmitri Shostakovich: The String Quartets" in *Intimate Voices: The String Quartet in the Twentieth Century,* edited by Evan Jones. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, Forthcoming.

———. "The cycle of structure and the cycle of meaning the Piano Trio in E minor, Op. 67" in *Shostakovich Studies,* edited by David Fanning, 113-136. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Meir, Golda. *My Life.* New York: G.P Putnam's Sons, 1975.

Moshevich, Sofia. *Dmitri Shostakovich: Pianist*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004.

Nikitina, Lyudmila. "Weinberg [Vaynberg], Moisey [Mieczyslaw] Samuilovich" *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com (accessed 6 September 2006).

Norris, Christopher. *Shostakovich: The Man and His Music.* London: Lawerence and Wishart, 1982.

Olkhovsky, Andrey. *Music Under the Soviets: The Agony of an Art.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975.

O'Loughlin, N. "Shostakovich's String Quartets" *MT.* CXV (1974), 744-6.

Rabinovich, David. *Dmitry Shostakovich, Composer.* Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959.

Redlich, Shimon. *War, Holocaust and Stalinism: A Documented History of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR.* Luxembourg: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995.

Redpenning, Dorothea. "And art made tongue-tied by authority: Shostakovich's Song Cycles." *Shostakovich Studies,* edited by David Fanning, 205-228. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Reichardt, Sarah Jane. "Composing the Modern Subject: Four String Quartets by Dmitri Shostakovich." PhD diss, The University of Texas at Austin, 2003.

Ringer, Alexander L. "Jewish Music – Old Problems, New Dilemmas." *Proceedings of the World Conference of Jewish Music: Jerusalem 1978,* edited by Judith Cohen, 251-264. Tel Aviv: Institute for Translation of Hebrew Literature, 1982.

Ritzarev, Marina. "When Did Shostakovich Stop Using Jewish Idiom?" *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das judische musikalische Erbe*, edited by Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter, 114-130. Verlag Ernst Kuhn: Berlin, 2001.

Rosebery, Eric. "Ideology, Style, Content and Thematic Process in the Symphonies, Cello Concertos and String Quartets of Shostakovich." Ph.D. diss., University of Bristol, 1982.

Schelechow, Alexander, trans. *Shostakovich, Bloch, Prokofiev: Music on Hebrew Themes.* West Germany: Chandos Records Ltd. (1990), 22-39.

Schwarz, Boris. "Interactions between Russian and Jewish Music and Musicians in the 19th and 20th Centuries." *Proceedings of the World Conference of Jewish Music:*

Jerusalem 1978, edited by Judith Cohen, 204-210. Tel Aviv: Institute for Translation of Hebrew Literature, 1982.

———. *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia: Enlarged Edition, 1917-1981.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.

———. "Shostakovich, Soviet Citizen and Anti-Stalinist." *Music & Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang,* edited by E. Stainchamps, Maria Rika Maniates and Christopher Hatch, 363-370. New York: Norton, 1984.

Sheinberg, Esti. *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque in the Music of Shostakovich.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000.

———. "Jewish Motifs in the Music of Dmitri Shostakovich." *The Edinburgh Star: Journal of the Edinburgh Jewish Community,* 19 (1994), 22-25.

———. "Shostakovich's "Jewish Music" as an Existential Statement." *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das jüdische musikalische Erbe.* Edited by Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter, 90-101. Berlin: Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 2001.

———. "Signs, Symbols, and Expressive Elements in the String Quartets of Dmitri Shostakovich." *Musical Semiotics in Growth,* edited by Eero Tarasti, Paul Forsell and Richard Littlefield, 567-583. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press and Imatra: The International Semiotics Institute, 1996.

Shneer, David. *Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture, 1918-1930.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Sholokhova, Lyudmila. "Jewish Musical Ethnography in Russian Empire: Ideology and Chronology" *Jüdische Kunstmusik im 20. Jahrhundert,* edited by Jascha Nemtsov, 217-223. Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz Verlag, 2006.

Shostakovich, Dmitri Dmitrievich. "Power of Music." *Music Journal* (September, 1965), 37.

———. *Sobraniye Sochineni: D. Shostakovicha.* Moskva, Rossia: Izdatdelstvo "Muzyka", 1980.

———. *String Quartet No. 4, For Two Violins, Viola and Violoncello.* Moscow, Russia: DSCH Publications, 2001.

———. "Zabotlivye mama i tetya" ["Thoughtful Mother and Aunt"], *Iz Yevreiskii narodnoi i pesni,* op. 79." *Sobraniye Sochineni: D. Shostakovicha, Romancye i pesni,* vol. 31. Moskva, Rossia: Izdatdelstvo "Muzyka", 1980.

Shostakovich, Dmitri, and Isaak Glikman. *Story of a Friendship: The Letters of Dmitry Shostakovich to Isaak Glikman (1941-1975).* Translated by Anthony Phillippa. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1993.

Shostakovich, Irina. "An Answer to Those Who Still Abuse Shostakovich." *New York Times*. August 20 (2000), AR27.

Slobin, Mark. "A Fresh Look at Beregovski's Folk Music Research." *Ethnomusicology* 30, no. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1986), 253-60.

———. "The Evolution of a Musical Symbol in Yiddish Culture." *Studies in Jewish Folklore,* 313-330. Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1980.

———. "Ten Paradoxes and Four Dilemmas of Studying Jewish Music." *World of Music*, 37 (1995), 18-23.

Slonimsky, Nikolai. *Music Since 1900.* New York: Schirmer Books, 1994.

———. "Discussion at the General Assembly of Soviet Composers Moscow, 17-26 February 1948: Speech of A.A. Zhdanov." *Music Since 1900.* New York: Schirmer Books, 1994.

———. "Declaration of the Second International Congress of Composers and Musicologists in Prague, 29 May 1948." *Music Since 1900*, 1068. New York: Schirmer Books, 1994

———. "Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of 10 February 1948." *Music Since 1900*, 1055-1057. New York: Schirmer Books, 1994.

Slutskaya Levine, Katya. "The Cultural Exotics or the Art Organism? The Creation of 'Jewishness.'" Lecture, Shostakovich 2006: International Centenary Conference, Bristol University, Bristol, England, September 30, 2006.

Smith, Arthur Duane. "Recurring Motives and Themes as a Means to Unity in Selected String Quartets of Dmitri Shostakovich." D.M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1976.

Sofronov, Fedor. "CD Liner Notes." *D. Shostakovich: String Quartets nos. 1, 3, 4 by Beethoven Quartet,* edited by Anton Rovnerz. Moscow, Russia: Melodiya (1961), 14.

Stalin, Joseph. "The Nation." *Marxism and the National Question.* New York: International Publishers, 1942.

Stanislawski, Michael. *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1983.

Stravinsky, Igor. *Selected Correspondence*, edited by Robert Craft, vol. I. London: Faber and Faber, 1982.

Taruskin, Richard. "Casting a Great Composer as a Fictional Hero." *New York Times* (March 5, 2000), AR43.

———. *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992.

———. "The Opera and the Dictator: the peculiar martyrdom of Dmitri Shostakovich." *The New Republic* 200, no. 12 (20 March 1989), 34-40.

———. *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Thompson, Robert Jay. "The Preludes and Fugues, Opus 87 of Dmitri Shostakovich." DMus thesis, Indiana University, 1979.

United Press. "Shostakovich Apologizes for Ideological Mistakes." *New York Times.* April 26, 1948.

———. "Soviet Denounces its 'Big 3' In Music, Orders a New Line: Shostakovich, Khachaturian, Prokofiev, Others Censured for Ideological Errors and Atonality – Return to Melody Set." *New York Times,* February 12, 1948, 1.

———. "Soviet Music Compared to the Dentist's Drill." *New York Times,* March 24, 1948, 9.

United States Holocaust Museum, "Kiev and Babii Yar" in Holocaust Encyclopedia, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10005421. (Accessed January 23, 2008).

Unknown. "7 Russians Silent on 'Peace' Mission." *New York Times,* March 24, 1949, 3.

———. "Article No. 1 (Shostakovich Denounces Stravinsky)." *New York Times,* May 27, 1949, 3.

———. "Ask Soviet Music Reform: Composers Widen the Attack on Shostakovich." *New York Times,* February 17, 1936, 20.

———. "Composers Heed Soviet: Tass Indicates Shostakovich and Prokofieff Follow Official Line." *New York Times,* August 1, 1948, 51.

———. "Muradeli Assailed in Pravda Article." *New York Times,* April 24, 1948, 7.

———. "Music on the Party Line." *New York Times,* March 30, 1948, 22.

———. "Musical Art Quartet Plays in Town Hall: Shostakovich's Work has its First American Premiere." *New York Times,* December 3, 1940, 27.

———. "Musicians Union to Shun Cultural Parley, Urges Shostakovich Seek to Live in the U.S." *New York Times,* March 17, 1949, 4.

———. "On Music Composers and Their Work." *New York Times,* January 1, 1939, 73.

———. "Shostakovich's New Symphony Called Our of Tune With Party Line." *New York Times,* October 2, 1946, 31.

———. "Shostakovich Welcomes Party 'Fatherly Concern.'" *New York Times,* February 22, 1948.

———. "Shostakovich's Work Praises Stalin's Plan." *New York Times,* April 29, 1949, 12.

———. "Soviet Artists Find Themselves Decadent." *New York Times,* February 26, 1948, 3.

———. "Soviet Arts Purge Declared Popular." *New York Times,* February 15, 1948, 5.

———. "Soviet Art Under Fire." *New York Times,* June 26, 1946, 12.

———. "Soviet Composer Fights Fire." *New York Times,* August 8, 1941, 5.

———. "Three Well Known Here." *New York Times,* February 12, 1948, 19.

———. "Baletnaia fal'sh" [Ballet Falsehood]. *Pravda,* February 6, 1936.

———. "Sumbur Vmesta Mysiki" [Muddle Instead of Music] *Pravda*, January 28, 1936.

Vaksberg, Arkady. *Stalin Against the Jews.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.

Vishnevskaya, Galina. *Galina: A Russian Story.* San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984.

Volkogonov, Dmitri. *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy,* edited and translated by Harold Shukman. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995.

Volkov, Solomon. "Dmitri Shostakovich's 'Jewish Motive': A Creative Enigma (1985-1991)." *Dmitri Schostakowitsch und das judische musikalische Erbe.* Edited by Ernst Kuhn, Andreas Wehrmeyer and Gunter Wolter, 1-18. Verlag Ernst Kuhn: Berlin, 2001.

———. *Shostakovich and Stalin: The Extraordinary Relationship Between the Great Composer and the Brutal Dictator*. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.

———. *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich.* Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. New York: Harper & Row Publishers Inc., 1979.

Werth, Alexander. *Musical Uproar in Moscow*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973.

———. *Russia Under Khrushchev.* New York: Hill & Wang, 1962.

Wilson, Elizabeth. *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.

———. *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered.* Great Britain: Faber and Faber Limited, 2006.

Yakubov, Manashir, ed. "Editor's Note." *Sobraniye Sochineni: D. Shostakovicha, Symphony No. 13 for Bass, Bass Choir and Symphony Orchestra, Op. 113 (1962)*, vol. 7. Moskva: Izdatelctvo "Muzyka", 1980.

———. 'Proizvedeniya dlya strunnogo kvarteta' [Works for string quartet], *Programme Notes for the Shostakovich International Quartet Competition* (St. Petersburg, 1991).

———. "Strunnii Kvartete i drugie instrumentalnye ansambli Dmitria Shostakovicha" [String Quartets and Other Instrumental Works of Dmitri Shostakovich], 1991.

Zetsovsky, Izaly. "Foreword, the Encyclopedist of Jewish Folklore." *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music*, translated and edited by Mark Slobin, Robert A. Rothstein and Michael Alpert, ix. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

Zhdanov, Andrei Andreivich. *Essays on Literature, Philosophy and Music.* New York: International Publishers, 1950.